

DANIEL READ ANTHONY, 1824-1904
A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN KANSAS HISTORY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Anthony! Fearless and daring, who hath not heard
Of this great man of action, by deed and by word?"

A. W. Stubbs

Few men, if any, who maintain an active participation in public affairs can escape arousing strong emotions on the part of both admirers and detractors. Daniel Read Anthony was by no means an exception. From the time he first exploded onto the pages of Kansas history, Daniel R. Anthony was prominently before the public longer than any other man in the history of the state.¹ He was a man of many interests and many causes. Into whatever area he chose to venture, he soon became a center of controversy.

Anthony first came to Kansas in 1854, one of the thirty-one members of the original group of settlers sent by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. As a member

¹Kansas State Historical Society, "Kansas Biographical Scrapbook," II, 18. This set is a miscellaneous collection of newspaper clippings pertaining to Kansas history. All volumes referred to are from series A. Hereafter cited as "Scrapbook"; Charles L. Anthony (comp.), Geneology of the Anthony Family from 1495 to 1904. (Sterling, Illinois: Charles L. Anthony, 1904), pp. 364-365. Hereafter cited as Anthony, Geneology.

of this group, he assisted in the founding of Lawrence, homesteading a claim on Mount Oread. Returning shortly afterwards to his home in New York, Anthony attended and spoke before the 1854 convention at Saratoga Springs which founded the Republican party in that state. Returning once again to Kansas in 1857, he settled in Leavenworth, at that time a pro-slavery stronghold. While his ostensible purpose in returning to Kansas seems to have been to establish an insurance office, Anthony also began to speculate in land and land warrants, and within two years after his arrival he had established a bank. He had a brief experience as the publisher of a newspaper, the initial issue of which scooped the state in announcing Kansas' statehood. He sold the paper eight months later, after enlisting in the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. As a lieutenant colonel, Anthony was partly responsible for the actions which led to the Seventh Kansas being known as the "Jayhawkers," a term which was not applied with great approbation. While serving in Missouri, Anthony and his men seriously compromised Lincoln's policies in the border states and were guilty of acts which eventually led to the demands, on the part of Union officers, that either the Seventh Kansas voluntarily remove itself from Missouri or be

driven out by Union troops. While stationed in Tennessee, Anthony's actions became the storm-center of a controversy between the United States Senate and Lincoln's administration.

Returning to civilian life in 1862, Anthony became one of the acknowledged leaders of the state Republican party. He was seven times nominated for mayor of Leavenworth, twice elected; twice nominated for the state legislature, elected once; five times appointed as post-master of Leavenworth, serving sixteen years in all; two times a presidential elector; numerous times a candidate for the United States Senate; attended practically every State Republican convention; was several times chairman of the State Republican Central Committee; and was at least twice a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor.² As a newspaper editor and publisher, he

²Edgar Langsdorf and R. W. Richmond (eds.), "Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXIV (1958), 7. These articles state that Anthony was elected mayor three times. There are many discrepancies in the various accounts of events and dates of events in Anthony's life. In these cases of conflict, the events and dates incorporated in the body of the text are those that seem most plausible on the basis of available information. In major areas of such conflicts, a footnote citation is used. Hereafter cited as Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters." Hereafter KHQ will be used to indicate Kansas Historical Quarterly. In addition to the above, the following mentions that Anthony was "trustee and director of several railroad corporations." Katherine

won state and national recognition which led, after his death, to his elevation to the Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame.³ He was a member of and helped to organize various newspaper organizations and editorial associations in Kansas. Anthony was on the first board of directors, a life-time member, and a conspicuous contributor to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Up to and including his eightieth year, Anthony maintained a vigorous participation in public affairs. In the forty years he had been in Kansas he was involved in three gun duels, engaged in numerous fistfights, horsewhipped, pistol-whipped, beaten with a cane, spit upon, cursed, denounced, flattered, criticised severely, and revered. If D. R. Anthony was not a central player on the stage of Kansas history, he was certainly conspicuous in upstaging the more prominent actors.⁴

Anthony, Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), p. 486. Hereafter cited as Anthony, History and Era.

³"Kansas Historical Notes," KHQ, III (1934), 336.

⁴"... few men in Kansas, if, indeed, any, have advocated more radical unpopular measures that have afterwards become the adopted policy of the state as represented by the party in control of public affairs than has Col. Anthony." W. W. Admire, "An Early Kansas Pioneer," Magazine of Western History, X (1889), 701. Hereafter cited as Admire, "Early Pioneer." "Conspicuous he always was, a picturesque figure, but never a commanding one in the state's public life." "Scrapbook," VI, 123.

The events in Anthony's life can be easily chronicled; but, as most men's, his personality remains an elusive quality. It is the purpose of this study to record the events of his life and, in addition, to try to capture and portray a portion of this personality, a personality which had a significant influence upon the pages of Kansas history for nearly half a century. This quest for an understanding of Anthony, the man, is complicated because Anthony, a powerful and influential newspaper editor, had full access to an organ to express himself to the public and hence to history while his opponents, numerous and prominent as they were, did not always have at their disposal this means to public opinion. It is further complicated because of the violent partisan emotions that Anthony seemed to arouse on the part of his contemporaries. Apparently, few people viewed Anthony's actions in a purely objective manner; either he was condemned as one of the most treacherous and despicable villains or he was praised as one of the truly great men in the history of the state.

Some of his more unsympathetic contemporaries described him as follows:

The fiendish, bloodthirsty proprietor of the Leavenworth Times, is so fearfully low down and utterly despicable . . . that the very dogs . . . [would] pass him by. . . His bestiality of disposition, and brutishness of heart, have banished him from the walk in life of every gentleman, and he stalks through our

streets, despised, shunned, and hideous to the sight of those who . . . loathe disagreeable or disgusting surroundings.⁵

Gentlemen, congregated on the sidewalk, scatter at his approach, as though a cyclone of epidemic pestilence was imminent, and ladies shudder, as they drop their veils and shrink with horror, when they realize his vicinage. . . .⁶

D. R. Anthony was thrashed, last week, in the streets of Leavenworth, by a book agent. As there is no ordinance in Leavenworth against kicking a dirty dog in the streets, even though he be Mayor of the city, the man was not arrested.⁷

One thing we admire in D. R. Anthony is, that he never goes back on a friend. His best friend is the Devil, the father of lies; and Anthony never goes back on a lie.⁸

His zealous admirers said:

Col. Anthony is a man of very positive character, of a high sense of public duty, and an indomitable will to carry out his convictions at all hazards. He bows to no human dictation, but unflinchingly advocates those principles in public life that to him seem best for the public good.⁹

⁵Cecil Howes, "Pistol-Packin' Pencil Pushers," KHQ, XIII (1944-1945), 120. Hereafter cited as Howes, "Pistol-Packin'." From an article in the Kansas City Times, May 30, 1880.

⁶Ibid.

⁷James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856: Part II," KHQ, XX (1952-1953), 573. Hereafter cited as Malin, "Lecompte." From an article in the Kansas Chief by Sol Miller.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 701.

Daniel R. Anthony was one of the ablest men of his generation in Kansas. He possessed that ability so generally admired of fighting without quarter in behalf of any movement in which his convictions were enlisted.¹⁰

Absolutely without fear, as true to the cause of freedom as the needle is to the pole, a leader among leaders, Lieut.-Col. D. R. Anthony was the Oliver Cromwell of Kansas. . . .¹¹

In order to present Anthony's story, this study is divided into six parts, the approach used being both chronological and topical. The second chapter contains the history of the Anthony family in general and of Daniel Read Anthony in particular to the year 1860. The story of his participation in the Civil War forms the subject of Chapter III. The fourth chapter is primarily concerned with the years 1862 to 1893 when Anthony was actively engaged in state politics. Anthony's attempts to build a newspaper empire and his role in various newspaper organizations and editorial associations are presented in Chapter V. Chapter VI is both a general

¹⁰William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918), V, 2385. Hereafter cited as Connelley, Standard History.

¹¹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 700.

review of the information presented previously and a presentation of other facets of Anthony's life not mentioned before. This, then, is the history of the Kansas Quaker, Daniel Read Anthony.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO CONFLICT

"In the perilous days of his new western home,
With its broad rolling prairies, the sky for its dome;
With his keen, piercing eye, and his strong will
and mind,
He foresaw weal or woe for the hosts of mankind."

A. W. Stubbs

The Anthony family originated with William Anthony of Cologne who migrated to England during the reign of Edward VI, at which time Anthony was made Chief Graver of the Royal Mint and Master of the Scales. He held this position under Queen Mary and during part of Elizabeth's reign. His grandson, Francis Anthony, was a chemist who, about 1600, became interested in a medical career and began to sell a cure-all which he manufactured from a secret formula. This remedy he called "Aurium Potabile," which was gold dissolved in potable form. This formula quickly acquired a wide public appeal and Anthony did a brisk and profitable business. Although calling himself a doctor, Francis Anthony failed to obtain a license from the London College of Physicians which became incensed over his deception and profitable business. Anthony was subsequently arrested for practicing without a license

and unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain the secret formula of his "Aurium Potabile." The formula remained in the family for several generations and became the foundation upon which its wealth was based.¹

The American branch of the Anthony family began with John Anthony who was born in 1607 in Hempstead near London. He migrated to New England in 1634 and was a resident of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1640. The great-grandson of John Anthony and Daniel R.'s great-grandfather, David, bought land, just prior to the Revolutionary War, near Adams, Massachusetts, in an area which was then regarded as the Far West.² His son, Humphrey Anthony, was a Quaker and was known as a man of "indomitable will and strong character." Daniel R.'s maternal grandfather, Daniel Read, served under Arnold during the Revolutionary War, "enduring the hardships of the winter campaign against Quebec, and later fighting in the Battle of Bennington."³

¹Anthony, Genealogy, pp. 18-20; Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 311. Hereafter cited as Lutz, Susan B. Anthony.

²Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 311; Frank R. Holmes (comp.), Directory of the Ancestral Heads of the New England Families, 1620-1700 (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1923), p. vi. The name Anthony comes from the Greek and signifies a flower, flourishing, beautiful, graceful. Ibid.

³Connelley, Standard History, V, 2385; Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 311.

Although Daniel Anthony, father of Daniel Read Anthony, carried on the Quaker tradition, "he had the reputation of thinking for himself, following the 'inner-light' even when its leading differed from the considered judgment of his fellow Quakers."⁴ His wife, Lucy Read, was not a Quaker and Daniel received a severe condemnation from the church elders for "marrying out of meeting." In fact, his wife, a member of a wealthy and prominent family and fond of ostentation, parties, and gay clothes, found herself occasionally chafing under the stern restrictions imposed by her marriage. However, she was a dutiful wife and closely followed the Quaker beliefs in her home. She attended the meetings but never became a Quaker, "feeling always that she could not live up to their strict standard of righteousness."⁵ With a strong Quaker religious background prevailing in the Anthony home, there also developed an atmosphere of liberality in religious and business matters. Daniel, on several occasions, was criticized by the church elders for straying from the strict tenets of the Quaker church. Once he was reprimanded for wearing a cloak which was considered ostentatious; and in spite of continued remonstrances by church members, Daniel continued

⁴Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 4-5.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

to wear the cloak. After Anthony suffered severe losses in the Panic of 1837, the church saw fit to remind him that this was because of his erring from the true path: Quakers did not countenance speculation. In spite of the almost constant friction which existed between Anthony and the church, the elders felt his conduct and observances were sufficient to counteract his numerous offenses and Anthony was not expelled from membership.⁶

Because of the financial losses suffered in 1837, the Anthonys were forced to sell their home and possessions and take up residence in an old building which had once served as a wayside inn. Because a large room on the second floor of the building was not in use, the young people of the locale urged Anthony to allow them the use of the room for dancing. Anthony, of course, refused their request until he was told they would have to use the facilities of a nearby tavern. Rather than allow the young people to be forced to seek their recreation in such a place, Anthony relented and allowed the dancing to be conducted in his home on condition that his children not be allowed to participate, although they might sit and watch. For this transgression, regardless of motive, Anthony was severely criticised by the Quakers and read

⁶Ibid., pp. 6-12.

out of meeting. Although no longer a church member, he continued to attend the meetings with his family, growing more and more liberal as the years went by.⁷ He also continued to allow the young people to use his home for their dancing lessons.

Daniel Anthony showed the effect of his Quaker background in many ways. He, of course, did not countenance the use of liquor under any circumstances. Prior to the Panic of 1837 while operating a cotton mill, he attempted to avoid buying cotton raised through the use of slave labor. He refused to vote and pay taxes, not wishing to support a government believing in war. Unlike Thoreau, he had no desire to be imprisoned to prove his point and when visited by the tax collector, Anthony would place his pocketbook upon the table and remark, "I shall not voluntarily pay these taxes. If thee wants to rifle my pocketbook, thee can do so."⁸

The Quakers placed great stress on education for boys and girls alike. Daniel Anthony's father started a school for neighborhood children on his front lawn. Prior to 1837, Daniel did the same, setting aside a room in his home for the education of his children and for

⁷Ibid., p. 13.

⁸Ibid.

the children of the neighborhood. He even started an evening school for his mill workers.⁹

In 1845 the Anthony family, with the exception of two married daughters and Daniel R., who was clerking in a store in Lenox, settled in Rochester, New York. Daniel became an agent for the New York Life Insurance Company. Successful in this field, he continued in it the rest of his life and Rochester remained the family home. Quickly interested in the anti-slavery movement which was active in western New York, the Anthony home became a center of such anti-slavery sentiment.¹⁰ A regular subscriber to the Liberator, Anthony's house guests included William Lloyd Garrison, Fredrick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, and the Rev. Samuel J. May.¹¹ Of the seven children born to Daniel and Lucy Read Anthony, two were destined to attain a certain amount of prominence, Susan B. Anthony, famous for her work for women's suffrage, and Daniel R. Anthony, the subject of this study.

Daniel Read Anthony, eldest son of Daniel and Lucy Anthony, was born in South Adams, Massachusetts, on August 22, 1824. He received a common school education

⁹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 23-24.

until about thirteen years of age when he attended the academy at Union Village, New York, for about six months. After leaving the academy he worked for his father, first in the cotton mill, then as a clerk in the store, and later in the flour mill.¹² In 1847, Daniel R. joined his family in Rochester where he taught two winters in a country school "for want of more congenial employment." He went into the insurance business, presumably with his father, after this interim work in teaching.¹³ On his seventy-third birthday, Anthony wrote the following account of his early years:

I commenced work at the age of 12 or 13 years, in a cotton factory making cotton batting, and attending to running the spinning frames.

Later I helped my father work in a saw-mill, cutting up spruce, hemlock and pine logs. My father was unfortunate enough in 1837 to fail in the business of cotton and woolen manufacturing, as did nearly every cotton and woolen manufacturer in the United States . . . which conditions of things was brought about by Democratic rule and free trade.

¹²Anthony, Genealogy, p. 364. A cotton manufacturing plant such as Anthony, McLean & Co., "consisted of [a] cotton mill proper, a store, flouring mill, saw mill, machine shop, blacksmith shop, and all the other necessary establishments. . . ." Ibid.

¹³Ibid; Connelley, Standard History, V, 2385-2386.

I afterwards engaged in the running of a country grist mill . . . And many a day I ground alone, from three to four hundred bushels of grain. . . .

.

I afterwards did some farming, then engaged in insurance, emigrated to Kansas in 1854, in charge of the first emigrant aid party that ever came to Kansas.¹⁴

This interest in the emigrant aid movement had a profound effect on the future course of Anthony's life.¹⁵

It was this interest which led him in the direction of Kansas; and it was from a desire to promote the Free State cause, which had originally influenced him to support the emigrant aid movement, that led to his early involvement in both politics and journalism. While most authors agree that the New England Emigrant Aid Company was founded primarily as a profit-making venture, and that most settlers it sponsored came to Kansas in search of cheap land, the myth has persisted that its purpose was to flood the Kansas territory with Free State men

¹⁴"Scrapbook," II, 40-41.

¹⁵An interesting and capable article on the Emigrant Aid Society is Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854," KHQ, XII (1943), 115-155. The basic study of the New England Emigrant Aid Company is Samuel A. Johnson, The Battle Cry of Freedom; the New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1954). Hereafter cited as Johnson, Battle Cry.

who would oppose the pro-slavery forces already there.¹⁶ Some pioneers did fit this popular conception of the emigrant aid settlers. Available information indicates that D. R. Anthony was one of those settlers who came to Kansas to do battle with the "black waves of slavery." Thirty-two years later, in a speech given at the celebration of the Kansas Quarter-Centennial held in Topeka, Anthony gave his reason for undertaking the journey to Kansas:

. . . I came . . . because, under the teachings of Garrison, Sumner, Gerritt Smith, and Thad. Stevens, I had been brought up to detest the methods by which the political slave power of the country was seeking to rob this free government of its birth-right of free territory. . . .¹⁷

Anthony, not one to wait thirty-two years to give the reasons for his actions, expressed this same sentiment

¹⁶Albert E. Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 40. Hereafter cited as Castel, Frontier State. Castel is one who presents this view as a myth, and concludes that ". . . very few of those who settled in Kansas during the fifties did so for idealistic antislavery reasons. Even Brown probably came to Kansas originally for no higher purpose than acquiring some land.", Ibid., pp. 40-41, citing James C. Malin, John Brown and The Legend of Fifty-Six (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), pp. 7-9, 22-23.

¹⁷Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 695. This celebration, January 29, 1886, was sponsored by the Kansas State Historical Society of which Anthony was president at the time.

in 1854 when the first wave of emigrant aid settlers reached the mouth of the Kansas River. A meeting was held which decided it would be both unwise and unhealthy for the group to show its true sentiments on the slavery question. Four members of the group, including Anthony, would not so agree and withdrew from the meeting,

. . . having first declared that they had come [to Kansas] to assist in establishing a Free State; that they hated slavery and the slave power; and that they did not propose, now that they were entering a field upon which this contest was to be fought to a finish, to show the white feather by keeping their mouths closed whenever the subject of slavery was mentioned.¹⁸

How Anthony happened to join this original group of settlers is not clear. Some years later, Anthony, in a speech before the Old Settlers meeting at Bismark Grove, stated that Eli Thayer wrote to him directly, requesting

¹⁸Ibid., p. 691. This meeting was held on July 28, 1854. The four men who withdrew from it were: D. R. Anthony, Samuel F. Tappan, Dr. John Doy, and J. C. Archibald. Tappan later became a newspaper correspondent, clerk of the first territorial legislature, ". . . a co-worker and companion of United States Senators Ingalls and Plumb, John Brown, of Osawatonia, etc." Dr. John Doy, in 1859, was sentenced to five years imprisonment for helping slaves to escape to Nebraska. He was, however, rescued from jail while confined in St. Joseph and given a public reception upon his return to Lawrence. "Archibald was a builder and a prominent Free State character." Ibid.

that he join the party.¹⁹ He did not explain how Thayer learned of his interest in such an undertaking. Dr. John Doy states that a public meeting was held in Rochester in June, 1854, on behalf of Kansas and infers that two citizens of Rochester were so excited by the meeting that when the party of pioneers passed through in July, it was joined by D. R. Anthony and himself.²⁰ It is highly probable that by this time Anthony's name was well known in anti-slavery circles; as will be explained, it does not appear that Anthony's decision to join the first

¹⁹Charles S. Gleed (ed.), The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers Meeting Held at Bismark Grove, Kansas (Kansas City, Missouri: Press of Ramsey, Millet & Hudson, 1880), p. 103. Hereafter cited as Gleed, Memorial. Eli Thayer, 1819-1899, was a Massachusetts educator, legislator, and congressman. He was the founder and principal promoter of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

²⁰Daniel W. Wilder, The Annals of Kansas: 1541-1885 (new edition; Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), p. 294. Hereafter cited as Wilder, Annals. Anthony, at the time of his first involvement in Kansas history, was thirty years old. There are two brief descriptions of Anthony at this time. "Physically he was of square, solid frame, 'built for strength,' was six feet tall, and weighed one hundred and eighty pounds. His voice was clear and powerful, and in public speaking he had no difficulty in making himself distinctly heard and understood by every one, in the largest outdoor audience." Anthony, Genealogy, p. 378. He was "tall, athletic, six foot in height, square built and well proportioned. His dark eyes flashed. His blood boiled on a minute's notice . . . Anthony was one of those who chafed and fretted at delays." "Scrapbook," II, 20.

emigrant group was as spontaneous as Doy would lead one to believe, but was reached only after careful thought and after correspondence with Thayer. However exaggerated, there must have been some basis for Anthony to have declared that he was in charge of the first emigrant group; he must have been in some position of authority. Also, it would seem unlikely that Thayer, with his pronounced feelings on the slavery question, would assemble the first emigrant group to Kansas without assurance that there were at least some who shared his anti-slavery views. On July 18, 1854, Anthony became one of the twenty-nine settlers bound for Kansas. Never having been west of Chicago, Anthony was troubled as to what to take with him on his journey. His decision was recorded in a letter published in a western newspaper.

I finally packed my valise as if I were going down to New York, and I had cause to be glad. I was the only man not burdened with luggage. In those days I was somewhat of a dude. A black silk neckcloth two yards and a half long was wrapped about a standing collar until I couldn't turn my head. I soon dropped these foibles.²¹

²¹"Scrapbook," III, pp. 177-178. Anthony did not completely drop such foibles. When again preparing for the journey to Kansas in 1857, he found it necessary to purchase two silk hats; one white and one black. Also, in a letter to his mother dated March 14, 1859, he enumerated a recent purchase of clothes. "Have just had twenty shirts made--6 colored Linen 4 White Linen--10 Cotton with Linen colars & Bosoms,--Some with colars, rolling some without any colars-- . . . the lot cost me \$50.00--Also

Upon reaching Kansas City the group was joined by the two advance agents of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, bringing the total number of settlers to thirty-one.²² A member of this group, B. R. Knapp, described the journey from Kansas City in a letter which was later published in the Boston News.

We prepared ourselves at once for starting. An ox team was purchased to transport the baggage and at ten o'clock Saturday evening [July 29] we started on foot . . . across the prairie. We traveled as much as possible during the night as the weather was very hot during the middle of the day. We saw occasionally a log house as we passed along, inhabited by farmers, of whom we obtained milk, etc. On the evening of Sunday we encamped on the lands of the Shawnee Indians. On Monday morning we started early, and in the evening arrived at the Wakarusa River, within ten miles of our destination . . . Here we established our camp, and pitched our twenty-five tents, which made a fine appearance though somewhat soiled. On Wednesday the second day of August, we went to work setting up our claim to the lands, and preparing for permanent settlement.²³

5 Shaker Flannell Shirts & 3 Do Drawers 1 pr Cass Pants--1 Blk Do 1 Brown Coat--1 Blk velvet vest--1 pr Boots--costing \$75" Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 217. All of Anthony's letters and excerpts from his letters are verbatim; spelling errors, such as "colars" in the above quotation, and the unusual punctuation are as Anthony wrote and used them.

²²The two who then joined were Charles Robinson, who later became the first governor of the state of Kansas, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, who was one of the first two senators from Kansas. Pomeroy later became the presidential candidate for the Prohibitionist party in 1891.

²³Richard Cordley, A History of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence, Kansas: E. F. Caldwell, 1895), pp. 5-6. Hereafter cited as Cordley, Lawrence. Two letters written by

According to another source, the group did not immediately begin settlement in Lawrence. It first considered settling on the Wyandotte reservation and a committee, which included Anthony, was formed to look into the possibility.²⁴ The committee decided it would be impractical to locate on the reservation, and it was then decided to settle in the area now known as Lawrence. Several days were spent "claim hunting" all around the proposed town site, which at that time boasted only one house. Anthony reported later:

While at Lawrence I pre-empted a quarter section of land on Mount Oread, where the university now stands. My selection of the rocky land was due to a spring on one side.²⁵

After staking out their claims, about half of the group returned East with the intention of returning the following spring with their families.²⁶

Anthony describing the journey can be found in Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854," KHQ, XII (1943), 119-121.

²⁴Charles Robinson, The Kansas Conflict (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), p. 71. Hereafter cited as Robinson, Conflict.

²⁵"Scrapbook," III, 178. After returning to Rochester, Anthony relinquished his claim to Samuel F. Tappan.

²⁶Cordley, Lawrence, p. 6.

Anthony's motive for returning to Rochester is not definitely known.²⁷ He was unmarried and, in fact, he stayed not until the following spring but for nearly three years. Neither is there extensive information available as to his activities in Rochester from 1854 to 1857, although there are some indications he again became an insurance agent, presumably with his father.

In writing of the original group of settlers to come to Kansas and of Daniel R. Anthony, ex-Governor Robinson had this to say:

The names of this party will go down the ages as the names of men who dared begin a conflict against great odds. To single out individuals would seem invidious . . . D. R. Anthony . . . who came with the party but returned East until 1857, is a fit

²⁷In the Kansas State Historical Society, Charles and Sara Robinson MSS, is an interesting letter by George Washington Brown addressed to Mrs. Robinson and dated December 5, 1904. In this letter Brown states: "I met D. R. Anthony for the first time at Saratoga, about the middle of August, 1854, I having gone there to arrange with Thayer for an early removal to Kansas, and Anthony to report on the success of the pioneer party that went out with Dr. Robinson to locate the town site of Lawrence . . . Anthony made no stay at Lawrence, which he reached Aug. 2, '54, but hastily retraced his steps to meet Thayer and report as stated." This letter was occasioned by a midwestern newspaper article stating that the heroes of the free Kansas story were John Brown and D. R. Anthony. G. W. Brown took exception to this article, stating that Anthony was a "private" person--one who did not actively engage in the political affairs of the time--whose name was not known in the prominent anti-slavery circles, and who did not publicly express his political

specimen of the material required to beat back the black waves of slavery . . . He was and is and ever will be irrepressible. No cause espoused by him from conviction will be relinquished while his life remains.²⁸

Life remained with Anthony, however, and he had not remained in Kansas to "beat back the black waves of slavery." He had most certainly espoused the anti-slavery cause from conviction. Was he not as irrepressible as Robinson had thought? Or was his three year stay in New York in some way connected with the "conflict against great odds"?

It is interesting to note that within one month after Anthony's return to New York, a mass convention, comprised of the "old Whig party, and the Kansas and Nebraska party," met in Saratoga Springs "for the purpose of organizing the Republican party [in New York]."²⁹ When the convention assembled, Anthony was present. He

sentiments until after the Free State forces were in control of the legislature and it was safe to do so. Brown concluded that the real heroes in making Kansas a free state were Robinson, Thayer, and Ewing. George W. Brown to Sara Robinson, December 5, 1904; Charles and Sara Robinson MSS, Kansas State Historical Society.

²⁸Robinson, Conflict, p. 74.

²⁹Gleed, Memorial, p. 103. This convention met in September, 1854.

was introduced to the assemblage by Eli Thayer as "one who had just returned to tell the story to the thousands who were anxious to go West and help make Kansas free."³⁰ Anthony then proceeded to give a "practical and convincing speech on Kansas."³¹

I spoke to them of the richness and productiveness of Kansas soil, of what a magnificent country it was, of its capabilities, and what the future had in store for those who had courage to go there and help build up and develop the natural resources of the country, and above all, save it from the curse of slavery.³²

Further indication that Anthony was actively working for the Free State cause is contained in a letter to Anthony by Eli Thayer in 1893. Thayer had been studying the Williams Barnes' letters which contained the correspondence of the New York State Kansas Committee of Albany.

These letters very much increased my admiration for yourself and for your patriotic devotion to the cause of free Kansas. Now I very much doubt whether anyone in Kansas did so much as yourself in your absence from the territory to accomplish the grand result . . . achieved by our organized emigration.³³

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ "Scrapbook," II, 35.

³² Gleed, Memorial, p. 103.

³³ "Scrapbook," II, 35. The purpose of this letter, as stated by Thayer, was to give Anthony recognition for his "great work in the state of New York in organizing colonies for Kansas." Ibid.

Exactly how active Anthony was in the "cause of free Kansas" is not known. Johnson notes one emigrant group for which Anthony supplied recruits. On April 15, 1856, a party of fifty-three left Boston. Twelve more joined the group in Albany and "several" more at Rochester, "raised by D. R. Anthony."³⁴

Evidently, then, it is entirely possible that Anthony's journey to Kansas and back was not a haphazard movement. Having become interested in the Kansas Free State cause, he had entered into active correspondence with Thayer with the apparent idea of becoming an agent for the Emigrant Aid Company in New York. Before actively pursuing this course it could have been decided that he gain a first-hand knowledge of the situation. Perhaps this is why, on the journey to Kansas, he was "the only man not burdened with luggage"--intending from the

³⁴Johnson, Battle Cry, p. 174. He cites the Aid Company Records, Book II, 99 and 101. In the W. F. Barnes MSS, Kansas State Historical Society, are several letters by Anthony requesting tickets for prospective settlers. There are also several receipts signed by Anthony as agent for the New York State Kansas Committee. In one letter Anthony stated: "For one I am ready to go [to Kansas] myself whenever a respectable number are obtained--" D. R. Anthony to W. F. Barnes, June 6, 1856; W. F. Barnes MSS, Kansas State Historical Society. In a later letter, part of the Higginson MSS, Anthony confided that he was thinking of "visiting" Kansas in March of that year. D. R. Anthony to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, February 14, 1857; Thomas Wentworth Higginson MSS, Kansas State Historical Society.

beginning to remain but a short time. Returning to New York, he had almost immediately begun his work of gathering recruits for the trek west. Later, deciding his work of organization was done or that the time was auspicious for personal involvement, he again set out for Kansas.³⁵

However, if the reason for Anthony's return to Kansas was to further the Free State cause and to strike out against the "slave power of the country," there is a surprising absence of mention of this factor in his letters to his family. Indeed, his letters during this period are almost solely devoted to matters of business: his interest in insurance, land speculation, and banking. It must be pointed out that Anthony, while detesting the institution of slavery, was not a rabid, fire-eating, uncompromising abolitionist. While there are numerous reports of his freeing or aiding runaway slaves, he was not prone to loudly proclaim his anti-slavery principles

³⁵In answer to a letter from F. E. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1898, Anthony gave his date of settlement in Leavenworth as June 9, 1857. "Biographical Circulars," Kansas State Historical Society, A-L. These are looseleaf folders containing miscellaneous items pertaining to famous men in Kansas history. In a letter dated June 10, 1857, Anthony boldly announced, "Here I am in the land of Border Ruffians. Arrived here Monday morning June 8th at 10 O'clock safe & sound. . . ." Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 9.

when it would be unwise to do so. When he first arrived in Leavenworth and was questioned as to his feelings on the slavery controversy, he avoided giving a direct answer. In a political campaign he counseled to go lightly on the slavery question so as not to antagonize possible supporters. Later, however, when he thought the temper of the people behind him, he defied his commanding officer, the United States Army, and President of the United States over this same question. The point is, even though his personal letters make little mention of the Free State question, there can be no doubt that this was his primary reason for returning to Kansas. Being a practical businessman, he could see no reason why he could not establish himself in business as well as aid the Free State cause. The very fact that he chose to settle, not in Lawrence but in Leavenworth, a pro-slavery center, would appear to be some indication that politics still had an important influence on D. R. Anthony.

Anthony, however, did not return to Kansas for political reasons and then suddenly also decide to go into business. Consider the letter written to his father on June 5, 1857, while enroute to Leavenworth:

A Leavenworth man [I met] . . . says . . . there are already four or five Banking offices there--

I have no doubt I can make a good thing out of the money operation I talked of--Drafts were selling at 1% discount only four weeks ago--. . . .

The Baggage man at Chicago weighed my Packing Trunk filled with Stationary & Insurance paper--it weighed 215 pounds--. . . .³⁶

The above excerpts indicate Anthony had made definite arrangements for opening an insurance office and seriously considered commencing banking operations. It also indicates he had decided upon Leavenworth as his sphere of operations and as a likely place to settle. Conspicuous by its absence is any mention of land speculation which was to claim most of his efforts upon first reaching Kansas.

In spite of the lack of supporting evidence, there is no doubt that the basic reason for Anthony's return to Kansas was his desire to aid the Free State cause, however vague and ill-defined this desire might have been in his own mind. The assigning of motives or reasons for the actions of an individual is at best only an intelligent guess. In doing so, several items must be considered: the background of the individual, his pronouncements, his preconceived ideas, and his subsequent actions. It is dangerous, however, to rely heavily upon the individual's pronouncements after an event for two reasons: first,

³⁶Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 9.

some amount of rationalization may have tempered his original motives; second, the passage of time has the tendency to diminish or cloud the memory. Also, as in the case of Anthony, the individual's conceit tends to magnify his own part in the event.³⁷

In searching for reasons or motives for Anthony's actions it must be kept in mind that his home environment was such to encourage the development of qualities of determination, stubbornness, devotion to a cause, a progressive and crusading spirit, a willingness to fight against odds, and a predisposition to disregard tradition, public sentiment, or legal statute when they stood in the way of some immediate objective. These were evinced in varying degrees by three members of the Anthony family: Daniel, Susan B., and Daniel Read. Another trait to consider in determining the reasons for the various actions of D. R. Anthony is that at no time in his life did he have a definite goal towards which he was working--immediate objectives, yes, a definite goal, no. Because of this, he was not hampered by being forced to rationalize or to explain to himself how his actions were

³⁷Anthony, as quoted earlier, declared himself to have been the leader of the first party sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company. There have been numerous articles written about this group; none consulted mentioned Anthony in any way as being the leader.

helping to achieve his goal. Because of this, he was not restricted in his actions since he could always justify them in terms of an immediate end or objective. Still another trait that must be remembered is that Anthony was not troubled with self-doubt. There is no evidence of his ever questioning whether he was right or wrong, he simply assumed he was right and those who opposed him were wrong. He was a free agent restricted only by the most fundamental ideas of ethics, morality, and religion. His actions were like a sailing ship, able to tack with the wind. Consistency over a period of time was not a requirement he placed upon himself. He was free to take advantage of any situation which might present itself; he appeared to act by instinct, tempered only by reason. He lived totally in the present, unconcerned about the future, as he was sure it would take care of itself. He was a restless person, never happy unless simultaneously involved in several projects. He was not, however, irresponsible. Although believing that the end justified the means, in important matters he acted only from deep convictions. This unconcern and lack of definite objectives are aptly demonstrated in a letter to his family discussing his occupational pursuits: "For myself I made up my mind to pitch in a little here and a little there and come out some where--but I have no

fear of the result. . . ."38 Anthony, over his next forty-seven years, was to do just that--pitch in a little here and a little there with no fear of the result.

Still another demonstration of his indecision and his trait of changing purposes dictated by changing circumstances are to be found in his early business interests in Leavenworth. Less than a week after the letter to his father in which he indicated an interest in both insurance and banking, he again wrote his father. This letter showed a growing apprehension of dealing in banking operations and a developing interest in land speculation.

I think a good speculation can be made--money is worth from 3 to 5 per cent a month--but it can be used to much better profit buying lands--at least so I think--

.

I shall not do any thing at loaning Money--. . . .39
The disinclination to open a banking establishment is confirmed in a letter to Susan B., "I shall endeavor not to loan anything, and from present appearances shall not . . . [until I] can . . . tell more about it. . . ."40

³⁸Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 20.

³⁹Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 14.

That this disinclination dissolved within just four months is shown in the following two excerpts of letters to his father dated respectively, October 1, 1857, and November 7, 1857. This change, perhaps, was encouraged by the great demand for cash in Kansas.

I loaned \$300. last week 90 days 5 per cent per month and took a deed of 160 acres of land and a good note into the bargain. I could loan any amount almost at same rate--⁴¹

I must make some arrangements for money next year. It seems to [o] bad not to have money to loan at 5% per month when it can be had east at 7 to 10 per cent per annum and on poorer security than we get here.⁴²

Anthony's reluctance to loan money was evidently due only to his optimistic expectations of the profits to be made in land speculation. With the increasing demand for cash on highly advantageous terms and the realization that high profits in land speculation necessitated a long term investment, Anthony became less hesitant in loaning his own available funds and actively sought eastern capital for which he could act as banking agent. In a letter to his family, dated November 26, 1858, he tells of his increased banking activities:

I am loaning money [\$2,500] for a New York City man at 4 to 5 per cent per month--he gives me 6 per

⁴¹Ibid., p. 21.

⁴²Ibid., p. 28.

cent per annum for transacting the business and one half of all I can make over 20 per cent per annum and no risk on my [part]. . . .⁴³

By the middle of December, 1858, he was able to report that he had a total of \$1500 loaned out at 5% per month.⁴⁴ By March of the following year, he was writing his father to seek an arrangement with some New York banks whereby he might loan and circulate their notes in Kansas.⁴⁵ Some such satisfactory arrangement was made as is shown in a letter, dated May 14, 1859, in which he declared he had made "arrangements to do quite an extensive business in the money department. . . ."⁴⁶ The nature of these arrangements is clearly demonstrated in an advertisement appearing in an 1859-60 city directory of Leavenworth:

D. R. Anthony and Co.,
Bankers,
Dealers in Money, Exchange, and
Land Warrants.
Collections made in all parts of Kansas and Nebraska.
D. R. Anthony C. W. Soule⁴⁷

⁴³Ibid., pp. 212-213.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 220.

⁴⁶Ibid. He also informed his father in this same letter "Have as yet not made a dollar loss--and trust not to. . . ." Ibid., p. 221.

⁴⁷James Sutherland and Henry M. McEvoy (comps.), Leavenworth City Directory, and Business Mirror, for 1859-60 (St. Louis: Sutherland & McEvoy, 1858), p. 8.

In the 1860-61 edition of the city directory D. R. Anthony and Co. is not mentioned. There is an advertisement, however, announcing Anthony's "Exchange and Collection Office, Dealer in Land Warrants," which then proceeds to list seven banks in New York, Wisconsin, and Missouri with which Anthony was affiliated. This is the last available reference applying to Anthony's interest in banking operations and naturally leads to the assumption that for some unknown reason or reasons Anthony was no longer loaning money. There might be any number of reasons for his discontinued interest in money matters. Perhaps he was no longer able to obtain the highly advantageous terms he desired or the eastern banks might have found it undesirable to supply him with funds. Perhaps he became interested in some other area of activity. Perhaps he simply found it unprofitable or undesirable to act as agent for someone else's capital. Whatever the reason, he disassociated himself with banking practices and no mention is ever made of his revived interest in this field.

Anthony's primary business interest during his first months in Kansas was land speculation. Scarcely a letter went to his family in which he did not praise the possibilities in this enterprise or implore the family to send

him money to invest.⁴⁸ Anthony spent the first few months in Kansas traveling about the northeast portion of the territory searching for likely sites for speculative purposes. The Anthony family did not share D. R.'s enthusiasm for land speculation and little money was forthcoming. Money was becoming scarce in the East and Daniel Anthony had not forgotten his last experience in speculation. Some money, however, was sent and land purchased for a few members of the Anthony family:

These Delaware Lands are sold by Gov . . . they are appraised at from \$1.25 to \$4.50 per acre none are sold below the appraisal and Actual settlers can have them at that price--but most every one manages to evade the Law of the commissioner of sales--The cost of putting up cabins for you [Susan B.] and Mary [for preemption purposes] . . . is about \$50. . . .⁴⁹

In a letter dated May 14, 1859, Anthony was able to announce he owned 1,211 acres of "A No. 1" land within twenty to thirty-five miles of Leavenworth and that some of this land was becoming "quite valuable."⁵⁰ This figure did not include the land he had purchased for his two sisters. In writing to his brother-in-law in October of the same year, he explained he had just bought "some

⁴⁸Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," pp. 7-30.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 221.

10,000 acres Land Warrants at 85 cts" and proudly proclaimed that he "now own[ed] some 2,000 acres Land of first quality. . . ."51

How extensive Anthony's land holdings later became or what profits he realized in land speculation unfortunately cannot be determined. Occasional references to his real estate holdings throughout his life demonstrate he maintained a life-long interest in such speculation, but the scarcity of such references would indicate that this did not long remain a major interest. It can be assumed Anthony gradually liquidated his holdings, except in the immediate vicinity of Leavenworth.

The third phase of Anthony's business activities during his early years in Kansas, and the one usually cited by his biographers, is as an insurance agent. Although opening an insurance office had been one of his original objectives in returning to Kansas, he had been in Leavenworth nearly three months before commencing operations.⁵² The growth of his agency was slow but steady. In December, 1858, he was able to open a sub-office in Elwood, Kansas, with D. W. Wilder as his

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 222-223.

⁵²Ibid., p. 21.

agent.⁵³ By this time Anthony was acting for numerous companies: The Aetna Insurance Co., of Hartford, Connecticut; Manhattan Life Insurance Co. of New York; Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York; Home Insurance Co. of New York; and The Charter Oak Insurance Co., presumably of Connecticut.⁵⁴ This agency proved prosperous and he repeatedly wrote home requesting members of his family to come to Kansas to help him handle the business in Leavenworth or to open a branch office in Lawrence. One such overture to his father is as follows:

If you cant make a living in Rochester I would hire a small boy about 65 years of age and could afford to give him \$1,000 a year, providing he would pay his attention to business⁵⁵

Anthony's agency proved so successful he was able to declare to his family that no one in the territory approached his knowledge of the insurance business. One of the secrets of his success, as he saw it, is contained in a letter to his father presenting this bit of advice:

. . . give no credit to any man who is doubtful.
in any case or for any reason, demand prompt payment.

⁵³Ibid., p. 216.

⁵⁴Advertisement appearing in Leavenworth Daily Times, January 9, 1858.

⁵⁵Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 201.

better loose some business than to run any hazard.
Always make them pay up before the month is up--⁵⁶

These were not merely words of advice, but a statement of policy which D. R. followed assiduously, as evidenced in another letter to his father:

I canceled three fire policies last month for non payment of premiums--amounting to (126.00)--they were all good--but I did not wish to break a good rule. the same men say they will insure with me next month--⁵⁷

Exactly when Anthony discontinued his agency is another fact about which little is known. The last reference to Anthony's insurance office is contained in a letter mentioning Alex D. Niemann, who was in charge of the office during most of Anthony's absence while serving in the Civil War.⁵⁸

Since an attempt is being made to capture a portion or segment of Anthony's personality, any discussion of this part of his life would be incomplete unless his views on religion were presented. These views are difficult to state, because not much mention is made of them. Although he retained his membership in the Quaker church in Rochester after settling in Leavenworth, Anthony appears

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 202.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 353.

to have had little interest in religious matters and even seems to have become indifferent toward the church in general. He reported:

I have less faith than ever in preaching or Lecturing. The world is bound to go to the Devil anyway, and the easiest way is to slide along easy.⁵⁹

Eighteen months after arriving in Leavenworth, Anthony was able to report to his sister, Susan B., that he had attended church services but twice. He recorded his second attendance as follows:

Spent sunday in a pious way, cost me only 25 cents--church is cheaper than the Theater, although the acting is not near as good⁶⁰

The church to which he referred was the Democratic Episcopal church in Leavenworth. His description of the service was brief and to the point, "came around with the Box paid a quarter--got roasted--heard the old story--went home" ⁶¹

Although nominally a Quaker, Anthony was forced to undergo a readjustment in his views on religion: first, because of the friction between his father and the church; second, the nature of his business operations; and third,

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 211.

⁶¹Ibid.

his experiences in Kansas. During his first few months in Kansas, while riding about the state in search of land investments, Anthony had the opportunity and the occasion to learn of the ruthlessness and brutality of the Border Ruffians. Not only was he astounded that the Border Ruffians could be capable of such heinous actions, but he was equally astonished that the less violent pro-slavery men could condone such acts. In spite of his Quaker background he became more and more convinced of the need for meeting violence with violence. This conflict between his Quaker principles and the immediate need for overt physical action in self-defense could easily have led to a confusion which resulted in developing or strengthening his indifference toward religion. This feeling of a need for physical action is demonstrated in a letter to Susan B. dated October 20, 1857:

My God men who will approve and defend such mens acts, are not men to reason with. I know many of them will not reason. The only argument is the strong arm of might. And were the people once to stand up and say we will have our rights, they would be granted at once--The Pro Slavery Border Ruffian Democracy never attack a man here who says he will defend himself. So I have been compelled to wear a knife and carry a Colts Revolver--and the consequence is no trouble will be made on my account.⁶²

⁶²Ibid., pp. 23-24. Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 118, reports that "he carried two big horse pistols for many years and to his dying day these lethal weapons, ready to go, laid on or in the top drawer of his desk."

Anthony's religious views in later life will be mentioned elsewhere. It is of interest to simply note here that he had no faith in the available organized religions and appeared to be quite indifferent about religious matters in general.⁶³ These feelings were to undergo a radical change in the not too distant future.

Returning once again to the problem of motivation, why did Anthony choose Leavenworth as a likely place to settle? It was a pro-slavery stronghold and notoriously unhealthy for those of Free State sentiment.⁶⁴ Anthony's answer, as published some years later, was because Web

⁶³"Colonel Anthony never professed any religion but always exhibited a deep interest in any biblical matters. The teachings of Buddha appealed to him strongly, and he many times during his life expressed admiration for the wonderful power and great influence for good of the Catholic church." "Scrapbook," VI, 11. "While wedded to no religion himself, he recognized the right of every man to the fullest protection of the government in the enjoyment of his individual opinions and convictions." Anthony, Genealogy, p. 318. This statement could be convincingly refuted, as will be demonstrated in later chapters.

⁶⁴"The Free State men in Leavenworth and Atchinson counties at this time [1856] were in a hopeless minority. The towns of Atchinson and Leavenworth were Proslavery strongholds. The Free State factions were forced into a humiliating submission after many of their comrades had been murdered.

" . . . the roads in the vicinity of Leavenworth were 'literally strewn with dead bodies.'" R. H. Sherar, "John Brown and Border Warfare," Kansas Magazine, IV (1910), 56.

and Carter Wilder and others of his acquaintance were there.⁶⁵ Lawrence, a growing and prosperous town of Free State sentiment, would have seemed to offer a more congenial and prosperous place to settle. To be with his New York friends might be a sufficient answer, but it also seems, like the Daniel of old, he preferred to face the lions in their own den. Anthony's original arrival in Leavenworth was not without incident; in his first week in Kansas he was attacked no less than three times.⁶⁶ One such incident was recalled by Anthony in 1901.

Major Miller, an Indian agent under Buchanan, asked who I was, where I was from and what I was doing in Kansas, and what my politics were. [I] was new in Kansas and I prevaricated a little. I told him I was an old-time Whig. He said a man who was so cowardly as to say he was a Whig when there was no longer a Whig party, had no right to live in Kansas. He drew his revolver and struck me a heavy blow on [my] head. One or two shots were fired. I had no friends in the crowd, but he was frightened out very quickly. No one was hit.⁶⁷

⁶⁵"Scrapbook," III, 178.

⁶⁶Charles C. Howes, This Place Called Kansas (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), p. 81. Hereafter cited as Howes, This Place Called Kansas. "Since Leavenworth was near the Missouri line and was largely sympathetic to the slave owners, the citizens of Leavenworth determined to rid themselves of this powerful abolitionist. But their determination failed them, and Anthony went on supporting the abolition cause" Ibid.

⁶⁷"Scrapbook," III, 163.

Although this was Anthony's first involvement in the conflict between slave and Free State men after returning to Kansas, it certainly was not his last. If none of Anthony's friends had been members of the crowd mentioned above, they compensated for the deficit in an incident which occurred about the same time.

Up to that time [Anthony's arrival in Leavenworth] I had never tasted whiskey, and one of the first acts of my Eastern friends in the West was to lead me to a bar. A fellow I had never seen before came up behind and shoved my beautiful white hat over my ears.

"You can't wear that hat in Kansas territory," he said. It was all in good fun--they were a funny lot, and I have never worn a silk hat again to this day.⁶⁸

Anthony's entrance into Kansas politics was no less brash or uninhibited than in his other affairs in Kansas. Within sixteen months Anthony was able to proclaim:

I have already earned the reputation of being the most radical man in Kansas. My name was used by the opposition speakers as the embodiment of all that was horribly in the way of Niggerdom.⁶⁹

The opposition speakers were those in the Leavenworth municipal election of 1858. In this election Anthony was concerned because the Republican candidates had run on a Free State ticket rather than under the Republican banner. It appears a great many people believed it was

⁶⁸Ibid., III, 178.

⁶⁹Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 208.

the objective of the Republican party to elevate the Negro to an equality with the whites; most voters were not willing to go this far.⁷⁰ Anthony wrote:

For one I am in favor of putting in the word white in our Republican Platform in Kansas [Free white state for white men] to combat the ignorance and prejudice of the Irish--it is throwing cake to our enemy--but it will deprive them of their only rallying cry--and in reality will make no difference in the end--⁷¹

One of Anthony's more sympathetic biographers described him as "one who had that 'firmness of spirit and swell of soul which meets danger without fear'" who had "a courage that would sustain him in any emergency" to which he was always equal "going upon the principle that the ends justified the means."⁷² That the ends justified the means was certainly a basic concept of Anthony's; it permeated his life and formed the basis for most of his actions. In this respect he became almost ruthless, attacking any opposition, either verbally or physically, which might appear in his path. If a law were passed inimical to his, hence the state's, interest,

⁷⁰"In general, Kansans at the time of the Civil War were as much anti-Negro as they were antislavery, and they were probably in large measure antislavery because they were anti-Negro; that is, they feared the social and economic consequences of the introduction of Negro slave labor into the state." Castel, Frontier State, p. 41.

⁷¹Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 208.

⁷²Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 694.

the law was to be broken. If a court made an unsatisfactory ruling, it was not to be obeyed.

The local barber in Leavenworth, Charles Fisher, was a fugitive slave from Mississippi.⁷³ Recaptured by his master, he was taken before the United States commissioner. Before he could be returned to Mississippi, Free State men of the town arranged to help him escape. Anthony, a leading figure in the escape,⁷⁴ described it in part as follows:

The man in the lead to recapture Fisher was William M. Pleas . . . I barred his way and caught Pleas by his coat collar, and kindly told him not to be in a hurry. When threats were made weapons were drawn, but not used because they were not needed, the force of free-state men present being so great that they blocked the way⁷⁵

Fisher made good his escape but the pro-slavery men were determined upon revenge and so the prominent parties involved in his escape were indicted by a grand jury.⁷⁶

⁷³Wilder, Annals, p. 251. After the Civil War Fisher became a state senator in Mississippi. Ibid., pp. 251-252.

⁷⁴Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 695. Admire states that the group rescuing Fisher was led by Anthony.

⁷⁵O. E. Morse, "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from Charlestown, Va., Jail," Kansas Historical Collections, VIII (1903-1904), 221. Hereafter cited as Morse, "Attempted Rescue." This incident took place July 13, 1859. Hereafter KHC will be used to indicate Kansas Historical Collections.

⁷⁶Anthony's only comment on the incident to his family appeared in a letter to Susan B. dated March 20, 1859. ". . . we had a Negroe Kidnapping case here--which made some excitement for awhile. It has mostly died

The court was to convene in about thirty days and Anthony wrote to a friend, James Montgomery, "asking for advice and help." Montgomery quickly responded by arriving in Leavenworth with fifty armed men.⁷⁷ Prior to Montgomery's arrival, friends of Anthony stole and burned all papers pertaining to the indictments, and,

At the appointed hour . . . Montgomery and his men, with 100 or 200 citizens of Leavenworth, were in the city hall . . . all armed. The order had gone forth privately . . . that if Judge Pettit called these cases for trial he was to be shot⁷⁸

The cases were not called for trial; Judge Pettit was not shot; and Anthony and his fellow law-breakers went free.

away--They were going to 'drive out' certain Radicals, this was old doctrine, and it awoke a spirit of 'wont go'--" Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 218.

⁷⁷Anthony, reporting the episode to his family, wrote: "Our trial comes off on Monday next--Dont Know how the matter will end--it may end in trouble.

"Some of the Southern Kansas Boys will attend our trial to see we have justice done us--" Ibid., pp. 224-225. James Montgomery had settled in Kansas in 1854, buying a claim about five miles from Mound City. He quickly became recognized as a Free State leader and three years after his settlement in Kansas he had organized the "Self-Protective Company," which was an association formed "to defend the rights of the anti-slavery settlers." During the Civil War, Colonel Montgomery commanded the Second South Carolina colored regiment, which distinguished itself at the battle of Olustee, Florida, February 20, 1864. Connelley, Standard History, III, 1232.

⁷⁸Morse, "Attempted Rescue," p. 222, quoting Anthony.

Several months later Anthony again found himself involved in an attempted rescue. After John Brown's attack at Harpers Ferry and following his arrest, feeling ran high in several sections of the country and many thought an attempt should be made to free Brown and his men. Brown himself dissuaded any such attempt on his behalf but plans were still laid to rescue his men. The leader of the Kansas attempt was James Montgomery.⁷⁹ Both Montgomery and one of his followers approached Anthony about advancing money for the proposed expedition. As Anthony later recalled it, the incident occurred:

In the fall--about November, I think it was--James Montgomery came to my house, saying he was in command of a party of men, and was on his way to Harper's Ferry to, if possible, release John Brown from imprisonment . . . He wanted help from me, and I advanced him \$150.⁸⁰

The attempt was unsuccessful and Brown's two men, Albert Haylett and Aaron D. Stevens, were executed March 16, 1860, in Charlestown, Virginia. Wilder recorded the attempted rescue in this manner: "James Montgomery and a few of his

⁷⁹Castel, Frontier State, p. 42, mentions Montgomery's attempt to rescue Brown.

⁸⁰Morse, "Attempted Rescue," p. 222. R. S. Hinton, the other person who approached Anthony on the attempted rescue, agrees substantially with Anthony's version but states that both Montgomery and he received \$150 from Anthony. Ibid., p. 220.

men went from Kansas to rescue these men from prison, but were prevented by the deep snow. Thomas W. Higginson organized a New England and New York party, and they met Montgomery at Harrisburg."⁸¹

A sequel to the Harpers Ferry attack, which was not made known until 1920, occurred because Brown and his men had stayed at the home of Frederick Douglass, the Negro leader, while in Rochester. It was at Douglass' home that the plans for the raid were made. When the raid proved a fiasco, Douglass, fearful he would be implicated, fled to Canada and then to England. During his absence it was the Anthonys who cared for his family. The eldest son, Lewis Douglass, told about the incident some sixty years later. "But for the Anthonys--Col. D. R. and Susan B., I and the rest of my father's family would have starved"⁸²

During the interval between the escape of Charles Fisher and his involvement in the attempted rescue of Brown and his men, Anthony found time to devote to the more mundane political activities in Kansas in what was to become true Anthony fashion. On October 3, 1859, he

⁸¹Wilder, Annals, p. 296.

⁸²"Kansas History Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, V, 218. Hereafter cited as "Kansas History Clippings." This set is similar to the "Scrapbook."

became involved in an "argument and scuffle which followed an exchange of remarks at a political meeting in Leavenworth."⁸³ In this "argument and scuffle" Anthony was accosted by three Leavenworth men, Bob Miller, W. F. Ford, and Mr. Gladden (or Gladding). The details of the scuffle are sketchy, but the facts seem to be as follows: Gladden struck Anthony with a sheathed Bowie knife. Miller was knocked down. Gladden suffered a knife wound by an unknown person, not Anthony. Gladden was the only person injured; he subsequently recovered.⁸⁴ Anthony later sent a clipping of the newspaper account of the incident, which he conceded was essentially accurate, to his family. His only comment was:

. . . I am satisfied I did right--only I ought to have better prepared with weapons to defend myself with . . . Think they will not attack me again. If they do--I hope to be prepared for them with the "Armor of Truth"--with no slips--⁸⁵

The political sentiment in Leavenworth had not greatly changed since Anthony's arrival. Less violent as the Border Ruffian types began their exits, the county was still a strong pro-slavery and Democratic stronghold

⁸³Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," fn., p. 222.

⁸⁴Ibid. In reporting the incident to his family, Anthony wrote: "I have doubted all the time whether he was seriously hurt, the wound was just above the Nape and below the Stomach--" Ibid., p. 222.

⁸⁵Ibid.

in Kansas.⁸⁶ This fact is shown in the results of the state election of December, 1859. In this election the Republicans were defeated in Leavenworth but carried the state. Anthony briefly recorded the election results. "Had time to vote--got whipped in this county but the country [state] comes up all right--"⁸⁷

In the coming battle for the Republican presidential nomination, Anthony was a strong Seward supporter, as were most Republicans in Leavenworth. This did not keep them from according Lincoln a warm welcome when he visited the city in 1859. Anthony was one of the men who met Lincoln at Doniphan, Kansas, to drive him to Leavenworth. While ostensibly visiting a kinswoman in Leavenworth, Lincoln was one evening entertained by Anthony in his rooms. There were four or five people present, primarily Seward men. Because of this, the conversation carefully avoided any matters dealing with politics.⁸⁸ Anthony later

⁸⁶Castel, Frontier State, p. 17. In fact, later evaluations of why Anthony, such a prominent figure in Republican politics, was unable to capture a major elective office gave as one reason the comparatively strong Democratic sentiment which was so long apparent in Leavenworth city and county.

⁸⁷Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 223.

⁸⁸"Leavenworth County Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, IV, 108. Hereafter cited as "Leavenworth County Clippings." Another of the collections of newspaper clippings.

exclaimed that this was indeed a strange sensation, as all of those present were politicians and the coming Republican convention was uppermost in all their minds. Forty years later Anthony recalled this Lincoln meeting.

Lincoln sat there for hours, his feet against the stove and his chair tilted back. His reputation as a story-teller is deserved, for he was the leader in swapping tales that night. None of them, however, was sufficiently funny, strong or unique to make a forty years' impression on me. I can't recall a single line of one of them. It was simply a winter evening of talk among young men who liked to talk. There was nothing to drink but some of the men were smoking.

In appearance Lincoln was not the impressive man the next few years made him. He was made up of head, hands, feet and length. The lines that gave his face and figure a majesty of sadness were yet to come.⁸⁹

The meeting with Lincoln had no apparent effect upon Anthony's political views. He remained a Seward man and so declared himself at the national convention in Chicago that year.

Anthony's involvement in the early years of Kansas history was neither outstanding nor unique. Numerous settlers of Free State sentiment had emigrated to Kansas Territory since 1854; many of them had proved willing to do battle with the "black waves of slavery"; some had already given their lives in this battle. Anthony, whose announced purpose in journeying to Kansas was to fight

⁸⁹"Scrapbook," III, 179.

against the "slave power of the country," had proved to be quite circumspect in his actions. In the Miller episode he found it expedient to temporize on the slavery question; in the Leavenworth elections of 1858 he decided the people were not yet receptive to the more radical demands of the anti-slavery group and therefore cautioned discretion in pursuing the anti-slavery principles. It was not that Anthony was lacking in moral or physical courage; it was that at the time he believed discretion to be the better part of valor. During this period Anthony approached the Kansas problem judiciously, gauging the depths of public sentiment, examining the strengths and weaknesses of the pro-slavery forces, establishing himself as a successful businessman and prominent figure in the Free State movement--in short, acquiring the knowledge and laying the foundations which were to serve as the basis for his future actions. This period, for Anthony and others of his convictions, was more a prelude to conflict rather than a period of internecine warfare such as that which characterized the Civil War years. With the exception of occasional outbursts, Anthony's turbulent personality appears to have

been lying relatively dormant. It would erupt with its full force and violence in the tempestuous era which lay just a few years ahead.

CHAPTER III

GOD OF THE MACHINE

"With freedom his watchword, he welcomed the foe,
Who sought to take Kansas for slavery's woe,
And woe to the men who thus dared to resent
In the battle for freedom on which he was bent."

A. W. Stubbs

Daniel R. Anthony, as a lieutenant colonel in the Seventh Kansas Volunteers, was a member of the United States Army less than one year. Yet, in that short time he managed to renew the border strife between Kansas and Missouri, compromise Lincoln's policy in the border states, cause a heated dispute between the United States Senate and the President, find his army command threatened by other segments of the Union Army, be arrested by the military on charges of insubordination, and anticipate Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation by a full seven months. Because history has condemned the actions of the Seventh Kansas--the pillaging, burnings, and outright thievery of its members--it is appropriate at this point to question what part Anthony had in these actions: what responsibility he must take for the reputation which led the Seventh Kansas to be known as the "Jayhawkers."

Anthony received his commission as a major in the Seventh Kansas Volunteers on September 29, 1861, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He was recognized head of this regiment until October 28 when C. R. Jennison was mustered into service as a colonel and commanding officer of the Seventh. On this same date Anthony was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel.¹ While most histories of the period place the blame for the transgressions of the Seventh Kansas on Jennison, the fact appears to be that the command of the Seventh Kansas was only nominally in his hands. Since, however, a commander in the field is accountable for the troops under his command, Jennison is not relieved from any responsibility of the actions of the Seventh Kansas. Indeed, his decision to ignore his responsibility only deepens his guilt. However, the fact that Jennison was in at least nominal command tends to cloud Anthony's own responsibility in the matter. Fox, the regimental adjutant, declared that

. . . Colonel Jennison never for a minute commanded the Seventh Kansas in person on any

¹S. M. Fox, "The Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," KHC, XI (1909-1910), 240. Hereafter cited as Fox, "Early History."

raid or during any field operation in Missouri during the time he was connected with the regiment.²

Castel found that Jennison "occupied himself with 'playing poker over at Squiresville' and auctioning off loot collected during the raids into Missouri." Castel then concluded that "Anthony was in effective charge most of the time the Seventh was in the field"³ Prior to Jennison's resignation, Anthony himself was able to declare that Jennison "has yet to give the first command . . . I have always commanded [the Seventh]."⁴ Fox was even more emphatic on this point: Anthony was "the god of the machine."

. . . Lieut. Col. D. R. Anthony superintended the organization of the regiment and was the god of the machine. He was in active command . . . during the brief time it served in Missouri, and to him should be given all credit or blame that justly belongs to this organization⁵

²Ibid. Fox had enlisted in the Seventh Kansas as a private. He served in this rank for nine months and then was promoted to corporal. He subsequently received promotion to regimental sergeant-major and finally to first lieutenant and adjutant. He was appointed adjutant general of the state in 1895 and reappointed to this position in 1899, serving in this capacity for a total of six years.

³Castel, Frontier State, p. 60.

⁴Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 362.

⁵Fox, "Early History," p. 243.

Jennison, since he was placed in official command of the Seventh Kansas even though he chose not to assume this active command, must shoulder most of the blame for which the Seventh has been criticized. However, Anthony, because he was in actual command, must at least equally share the responsibility for the outrages and depredations which earned the Seventh the nickname of Jayhawkers.

While President Lincoln explained the war as necessary to preserve the Union, Anthony viewed the purpose of the war somewhat differently. To him the purpose of the war was clear and simple, it was a war to free the slaves and to punish those who had excited rebellion.

Col. Anthony's position in the army afforded him opportunities for assisting slaves into freedom, and no such opportunity was ever allowed to pass without his taking advantage of it. That seems to have been a part of his mission in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion⁶

To achieve this mission he displayed those qualities which had characterized his earlier years: resolute determination, disregard for the ultimate effects of his actions, unshakeable belief in the righteousness of his cause, and an unconcern for established authority, excepting, of course, that exercised by himself.

⁶Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 697.

In his mind, the supporters of slavery were guilty of a moral wrong and as such were to be punished. He was, of course, the instrument of their punishment. There is no evidence of his sanctioning the killing of civilians or prisoners; there is abundant evidence of his sanctioning the destruction of property and expropriation of livestock, household goods, and personal belongings. It was largely through his actions that the border strife between Kansas and Missouri, which had characterized the pre-Civil War era, was ignited once again.

. . . a good many rebels in the border counties of Missouri were smarting to avenge the conduct of [Anthony and the Seventh Kansas who] robbed and plundered the people of Missouri of personal property which could not in any manner be applied to military purposes . . . There was a general feeling along the Kansas border that [because these were] not justifiable acts of war, the organized rebels of Missouri would, if an opportunity offered, retaliate with interest.⁷

It was to be nearly two years before the "opportunity offered" and the Missouri rebels were able to "retaliate with interest." The survivors of the Lawrence Massacre testified that the reason given by Quantrill's Raiders was "to revenge the wrongs done their families by [Union]

⁷Wiley Britton, The Civil War on the Border, 1861-65 (second edition; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), I, 343. Hereafter cited as Britton, War on the Border. All citations are from volume I.

men under Lane, Jennison, Anthony and Co. They said they would be more merciful than were these men when they went into Mo."⁸

By the end of 1861 Major General Henry W. Halleck, then in command of the Department of the West, was forced to the conclusion that a few more raids by the Seventh Kansas would make Missouri "as Confederate as Eastern Virginia." By the end of January, 1862, angered by "almost daily complaints of outrages," Halleck threatened to drive the Seventh Kansas out of Missouri, if they did not leave immediately, and, if they should resist, to "disarm and hold them prisoners."⁹

With this background it is now appropriate to chronicle Anthony's brief military career to understand why he aroused such violent emotions on the part of his contemporaries. The Seventh Kansas had been placed on active duty even before officially being mustered into federal service. On September 18-20, 1861, Confederate troops won a victory at Lexington, Missouri. It was feared they would follow up their victory with an attack on Kansas City.

⁸Castel, Frontier State, p. 136, citing "One of the Sufferers" to S. N. Wood, Lawrence, September 2, 1863, Council Grove Press, September 14, 1863.

⁹Castel, Frontier State, p. 61.

The Seventh Kansas at this time was in process of recruiting. Only three companies, A, B, and C, had been organized, and these were rushed, under the command of Anthony, to aid in the defense . . . For several weeks these troops served as provost guards at Kansas City and Anthony was provost marshal.¹⁰

The anticipated Confederate attack failed to materialize and the Seventh Kansas returned to Leavenworth to complete the process of recruiting. On the day they were mustered into federal service an incident occurred which affords a preview of the rigid discipline Anthony was to impose on his troops.

A dismounted parade had been formed . . . Colonel Anthony receiving the salute. Cleveland had made his first appearance. He was dressed in a somewhat mottly garb--a soft hat, a regulation coat, drab trousers thrust into low-topped riding boots, a belt carrying a surplus of revolvers and a saber that seemed a hinderance. Colonel Anthony did not approve of the drab trousers, and forthwith proceeded to deliver a public censure; whereupon the restive Jayhawker

¹⁰ Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 352; Wilder, Annals, p. 324. Fox, "Early History," pp. 239-240. A description exists which is purported to be of the actions of these three companies while in Kansas City. The following was written by Henry E. Palmer, captain in the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry. "Returning from their first raid into Missouri, [the Seventh Kansas] marched through Kansas City, nearly all dressed in women's cloths, old bonnets and outlandish hats on their heads; spinning-wheels, and even gravestones, lashed to their saddles; their pathway through the country strewn with (to them) worthless household goods; their route lighted by burning homes." Fox, "Early History," p. 239. Fox, who was on duty in Kansas City at this time, claims that the Seventh Kansas took no part in such a parade.

proceeded to advance to the "front and center" without waiting for orders. There was language, profane and incisive, while each man looked the other directly in the eye. The amenities being passed, they glared at each other a moment, then Cleveland, with a parting compliment which has passed into history, strode away to his horse . . . and a moment later was galloping toward Leavenworth city. His resignation quickly followed, and was as promptly accepted.¹¹

This is an incident which accurately portrays one of Anthony's traits as an officer. "[He] was a rigid disciplinarian and exacted obedience on every occasion . . . He never stood for foolishness . . ." ^{November, 1861. Inform.}¹² Anthony paid close attention to details, with a constant eye upon his troops even while on the march. He was an exacting officer and his men could never hope to escape punishment through his forgetfulness or softening of attitude. "The army was too new for this excess of discipline, and often he would have accomplished more by

¹¹Fox, "Early History," p. 244. Cleveland's real name was Charles Metz. Originally from New York, he had been a stage-driver in Ohio and had served a term in the Missouri penitentiary. Upon leaving the penitentiary he adopted the name of Moore but later took the name of Marshall Cleveland. Before serving in the Seventh Kansas, Cleveland had led a band of Jayhawkers. Upon his resignation he once again began plying his old trade. For a time he eluded all attempts to capture him, but he was finally shot and killed by a member of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry while trying to escape pursuit across the Marais des Cygnes.

¹²Fox, "Early History," p. 249.

less exacting methods."¹³ On the other hand, the type of men in the Seventh Kansas required that the command rest in firm and steady hands if it were not to become a military mob. Perhaps there was no one but Anthony who could have controlled this explosive element during its first year of federal service, if he can be said to have controlled, rather than channeled it.

The first and only battle in which Anthony distinguished himself was in that of the Little Blue.¹⁴ This battle occurred in November, 1861. Information was received on November 10 by the Seventh Kansas that a guerilla force led by Upton Hayes had camped on the Little Blue River. After an all-night march, Anthony, with 110 men, attacked the rebel camp early on the morning of November 11. The rebel guerillas were driven from their camp after a furious struggle; they then gained a strong position, which Fox described as impregnable, on the hills which bordered the river and made their stand. Although Hayes' force numbered nearly 300, Anthony attempted to drive them from the rocks. The attempt cost Anthony nine men killed, thirty-two wounded, and in the end proved unsuccessful. After burning the

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Anthony, Geneology, p. 365.

rebel's camp and capturing all their horses, tents, and wagons, Anthony's force withdrew from the field.¹⁵

Colonel Anthony, thirteen days later, reported the battle in a letter to his father:

I doubt whether any battle has been fought which was more desperate . . . we lost 9 men killed and 8 or 9 wounded--the enemy lost 15 killed & a large number wounded--

I was only struck on the hilt of my saber by a colt revolver bullet . . . they said if it had not been for me the battle would have been lost . . .¹⁶

Anthony, as shown in numerous incidents, desperately needed the respect and admiration of his men. He would not consciously court their favor, as evidenced by his perhaps too stern and too strict disciplinary methods, but he was constantly looking over his shoulder to see if they were sufficiently aware of his accomplishments and applauding them.

Later in November, the Seventh Kansas was ordered to march to West Point, Kansas, to prepare for a possible attack by pro-Southern Missouri forces. One member of

¹⁵S. M. Fox, "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," KHC, VIII (1903-1904), 29. Hereafter cited as Fox, "Seventh Kansas"; Fox, "Early History," p. 248; Castel, Frontier State, p. 58; William G. Cutler, et al (eds.), History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1883), p. 188. Hereafter cited as Cutler, The State of Kansas.

¹⁶Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 355.

the John Brown Jr. Company described their march to West Point as follows: "Every house along our line of march but one was burned and off on our left flank for miles, columns of smoke from burning houses and barns could be seen."¹⁷ This is the first recorded example of the wanton destruction of property which came to characterize the Seventh Kansas' operations in Missouri. The Kansas City artist, George Caleb Bingham, who was not overly sympathetic to the Union cause, said the route of the Seventh Kansas to West Point could be "traced by the ruins of the dwellings of our citizens, which being mainly of wood, are now but heaps of ashes, above which the tall chimneys remain in their mute solitude."¹⁸

The regiment subsequently participated in the engagement at Little Santa Fe, and on November 26 in that at Independence. While at Independence, a town known to be strongly sympathetic to the Southern cause, Anthony had all the male population "rounded up and corralled" in the courthouse square. From the courthouse steps

¹⁷Castel, Frontier State, p. 59.

¹⁸Albert E. Castel, William Clarke Quantrill; His Life and Times (New York: Fredrick Fell, Inc., 1962), p. 60. Hereafter cited as Castel, Quantrill.

Anthony then "impressed upon their minds some wise and salutary truths."¹⁹ Fox states that, while in Independence, the regiment was not permitted to break ranks. Another source presents a slightly different account.

While the male population of Independence was gathered at the courthouse square, the rest of the "Self Sustaining Regiment," as it was locally known, robbed the private homes of the place. Watches, jewelry, shawls, scarfs, comforts, blankets, and counterpanes were packed up and carried off.²⁰

Earlier it was stated that Anthony viewed the Civil War as a holy crusade to free the enslaved Negro. As a de facto commander of what he viewed to be an army of occupation in a conquered area, he was prepared to do his part in this crusade. "It was Kansas that cast the first stone at slavery . . . Wherever Kansas' troops marched, from the first raid of Col. D. R. Anthony, the shackles fell from the slaves."²¹ Ex-Governor Morrill later said:

The negroes of Independence had been waiting for the coming of a Moses, and Colonel Anthony was apparently the Moses they were looking for . . . [They] took wagons and carriages . . . loaded them with whatever they could gather up, and followed the regiment

¹⁹Fox, "Early History," p. 249.

²⁰Richard S. Brownlee, Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 46. Hereafter cited as Brownlee, Gray Ghosts.

²¹R. G. Elliott, "The Grasshopper Falls Convention and the Legislature of 1857," KHC, X (1907-1908), 189.

back to Kansas City . . . [where] Anthony distributed the goods among the negroes and sent them over into freedom, which somewhere had an existence within the confines of Kansas . . . I have no doubt this exodus of negro slaves was instigated by Anthony²²

How many slaves were freed by Anthony at Independence or what became of them is not definitely known. Wilder, in his Annals of Kansas, did note that on December 20 "One hundred contrabands, freed by Colonel Anthony, at Independence, arrived at Leavenworth in gay procession."²³ Anthony's policy regarding the slaves is clearly stated in a letter to his sister, Susan B., dated February 3, 1862.

In our march we free every slave, every man of all nations. Kindred tongue and color, and arm or use them in such manner as will best aid us in putting down rebels--We hope to stir up an insurrection among the negroes--²⁴

An idea of the total number of slaves freed by Anthony and the Seventh Kansas in Missouri is given in a letter by John Brown, Jr.:

Before our regiment left Missouri more than two thousand slaves by us [were] restored to the possessions of themselves, [and] were "Jayhawked" into

²²Fox, "Early History," p. 239.

²³Wilder, Annals, p. 328; Fox, "Early History," p. 239.

²⁴Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 359; Castel, Quantrill, p. 60.

freedom. This especially secured for us the title of "Jayhawkers" which ever since we have borne without blushing.²⁵

In describing the obstacles encountered in carrying out their holy mission, Brown goes on to state that "The chief difficulty we had to confront from first to last, has been the persistent efforts of those higher in authority to make us yield to the demands of slavery" ²⁶ Anthony was not known as one easily swayed by those higher in authority. His views on this subject were succinctly stated by his newspaper partner, Web Wilder, in the September 20, 1861, edition of the Daily Conservative:

Jayhawking was got up in Kansas. It's one of our things. It works well; we believe in it, we are going to have it. It don't make any difference whether the authorities, civil or military, believe in it or not. Kansas don't care much for authorities; never did, never will.²⁷

Just a few days before Christmas, Anthony took 250 of his men on a wide sweep through central Jackson County in Missouri.²⁸ The results of this expedition were reported in a letter to his father dated December 22, 1861.

²⁵Langedorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 352.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Castel, Frontier State, p. 214.

²⁸Castel, Quantrill, p. 60.

. . . we had several skirmishes with the enemy mostly with out picket guards . . . we took 150 mules & 40 Horses--129 Negroes and gave the negroes 60 Horses & mules a lot of oxen, 10 waggons & two carriages & all loaded down with Household Furniture--The negroes train into Kansas was over a mile long--²⁹

Although it was the holiday season, December proved to be a busy month for Colonel Anthony and his Kansas Jayhawkers. The Seventh Kansas stayed in Jackson County, Missouri, throughout the final month of 1861.

During that time they stole wagonloads of dry goods, groceries, and drugs, and every horse, mule, and conveyance they could lay hands on. Farmers were held up in daylight and their purses taken, men were beaten, and where resistance was met, homes were burned³⁰

Within a week after the day celebrating "peace on earth good will toward men," Anthony led raids on the towns of Dayton and Rose Hill. In each of these raids the Seventh Kansas was accused of burning, pillaging, and looting. In the case of Dayton the town was burned on the direct command of Anthony. Dayton at that time consisted of forty-six buildings. Forty-five of these were burned, the one unscathed belonging to a Union man.

²⁹Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 356.

³⁰Brownlee, Gray Ghosts, p. 47.

In his official report, Anthony gave as his reason for the attack that Dayton was voluntarily used as a "depot for recruiting and supplying the rebels."³¹

The actions of the Seventh Kansas at Rose Hill were described by another Union officer in his report to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri.

. . . Jennison's men, under [Colonel] Anthony, are in [Rose Hill] committing depredations upon Union men and secessionists indiscriminately. They have burned forty-two houses in that vicinity and robbed others of valuables and driven off stock.³²

Less than two weeks later, Kansas troops were responsible for burning Columbus, Missouri. Captain Merriman, one of Anthony's subordinate officers, was in charge of the patrol responsible for this action. However, Anthony sanctioned the action because the town was used as the rendezvous for rebel troops and because inhabitants of the town had led Merriman's patrol into an ambush. In the same report Anthony described another

³¹United States War Records Office, War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies . . . (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899-1901), VIII, 45-46. All volumes cited are from Series I. Hereafter cited as O. R.; Fox, "Early History," p. 251.

³²O. R., VIII, 507; Fox, "Early History," p. 251.

of the Kansas Jayhawkers' raids which netted "60 head of horses, mules, and cattle, and young stock" which belonged to rebel sympathizers.³³ General Hunter, Commander of the Department of Kansas, responded to the reports of Anthony's expedition in a letter in which he stated, "your reports are . . . disapproved and held in reserve for further consideration and action."³⁴ There is no information available to show that any further action was taken. So, although Anthony was censured, he was never punished. The official communication censuring Anthony was dated January 20, 1862. Two days previous to this, General Halleck dispatched a letter to the Adjutant General of the United States Army, Lorenzo Thomas, informing Thomas that Halleck had:

. . . directed General Pope to drive [Lane, Jennison, and Anthony] out of [Missouri,] or, if they resist, to disarm them and hold them prisoners. They are no better than a band of robbers; they cross the line, rob, steal, plunder, and burn whatever they can lay their hands upon. They disgrace the name and uniform of American soldiers and are driving good Union men into the ranks of the secession army.³⁵

As previous threats against the Seventh Kansas had not affected a change in their conduct, but, indeed, had

³³O. R., VIII, 46-47.

³⁴Ibid., VIII, 508.

³⁵Ibid., VIII, 507; Brownlee, Gray Ghosts, p. 48.

been met by vague reference to political influence in Washington, the letter from Halleck to Thomas continued as follows: "If the Government countenances such acts by screening the perpetrators from justice and by rewarding with office their leaders and abettors it may resign all hopes of a pacification of Missouri."³⁶

Herein lay the crux of the problem caused by the Seventh Kansas and Anthony. Lincoln, if he were to successfully pursue the war, would have to satisfy the Northern politicians who were becoming more abolitionist in their demands and, at the same time, keep the populations of the neutral border states, many of whom were slaveholders, from actively supporting the Confederate cause. It was a delicate situation requiring the brilliant maneuvering of a master politician. Lincoln had to resist the more radical demands of the Northern politicians and assure the border states that this was not a war to free the slaves. It was this explosive situation into which Anthony and the Seventh Kansas intruded. In two months Anthony had come dangerously close to wrecking Lincoln's policy for pursuing the war. The entire state

³⁶O. R., VIII, 507. Complaints were also made by Missourians in Union regiments charging the Seventh Kansas with committing "all sorts of depredations." Britton, War on the Border, p. 344.

of Missouri was on the verge of open rebellion and of actively aiding the rebel cause. The other border states must have watched the affairs in Missouri with interest to see how the government would react to this bold commander who had made it his avowed purpose to "free every slave . . . and arm or use them in such manner as will best aid . . . in putting down the rebels."

Less than two weeks after Halleck's letter to Thomas, the Seventh Kansas went into camp at Humboldt, Kansas. Not much is known of Anthony's activities while in Humboldt. There were reports of depredations committed by the Seventh Kansas, and Anthony was forced to confide to his mother that "[my men] have lived among rebels so long that it now comes hard for them to respect the person and property of Loyal citizens."³⁷ He also admitted that while in Union territory "My living is not half as good as when in Mo--"³⁸ The Seventh Kansas remained at Humboldt until ordered to Lawrence, March 25, 1862.³⁹

While encamped at Lawrence, Jennison resigned his commission and the command of the regiment devolved temporarily on Anthony. Prior to being ordered to

³⁷Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 360.

³⁸Ibid., p. 361.

³⁹Cutler, The State of Kansas, p. 188.

Lawrence, Anthony had written a letter to his family, dated March 1, 1862, in which he frankly described Jennison as follows:

I do not wish any thing public said of what I say of Jennison--We are on the best of terms--But we are very careful not to permit him to write or do any thing unless done under the supervision of some of his friends

Col Jennison has been col of this regimt six months and has yet to give the first command to them--I have always commanded them⁴⁰

Perhaps recognizing his figurehead position, and certainly frustrated in his desire to be promoted to brigadier general, Jennison early in April made an intemperate speech to his men in which he practically advised them to desert. Anthony described this speech in a letter to his father:

Col Jennison got into trouble on acct of his own foolishness saying the regiment would disband if he resigned--the officers resign &c--The officers wouldn't and he made extravagant statements about its disolution.⁴¹

Several men, principally those of Company H, did desert. On April 11, Jennison resigned. Six days later he was arrested by order of General Sturgis and taken to St. Louis

⁴⁰Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 362. Although not wishing any of what he wrote to be made public, Anthony further wrote in this letter: "you might show this letter to the [Rochester, N. Y.] Express Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 365.

under guard. No official action was ever taken and Jennison was subsequently released and reinstated in his original rank. In the April 30 edition of the Leavenworth Conservative, General Sturgis was quoted as saying that Jennison's arrest "was the result of representations made by Lieu't Col. D. R. Anthony, of his own regiment, and Col. Geo. W. Deitzler, his immediate commanding officer"⁴² There is no reason to doubt the veracity of Sturgis, although it does seem strange that he would air such information in the public press. It seems rather out of character for Anthony to cause Jennison's arrest when he voluntarily relinquished his command, but then Anthony was also seeking military promotion and perhaps, somehow, he felt this would have furthered his plans.

On April 22 the Seventh Kansas was ordered to Fort Riley. It was then ordered to return to Fort Leavenworth to join the Union forces moving south and east. From Leavenworth the Seventh Kansas proceeded to Corinth, Mississippi, and from Corinth to Rienzi, Mississippi, arriving July 23, 1862.⁴³

⁴²Ibid., fn.

⁴³Cutler, The State of Kansas, p. 188.

In June, while encamped near Trenton, Tennessee, General Halleck, now commander of the Department of Mississippi, sent an order to be read to all Union troops to the effect that the war was being fought to preserve the Union, not to free the slaves. Therefore, any former slaves found behind the Union lines were to be returned to their rightful owners. When the order arrived to be read to the Kansas brigade, the commanding officer, General Mitchell, was absent and Anthony was temporarily in command. Anthony had the order read as commanded and he then read an order of his own. The incident was described in an official report to Halleck as follows:

Colonel Anthony had the order [Halleck's] read at dress-parade, and then another of his own, threatening punishment to any officer or soldier who should dare to obey yours, and when General Mitchell returned he took no notice of it, so that Anthony's order still stands on the books of the brigade as law.⁴⁴

Anthony's order, known as Order No. 26, was issued on June 18 and contained the following language, "Any officer or soldier of this command who shall arrest and deliver to his master a fugitive slave shall be summarily and severely punished according to the laws relative to such crimes."⁴⁵ Contrary to the report to Halleck

⁴⁴O. R., XVII, part II, 54.

⁴⁵Fox, "Seventh Kansas," p. 30.

mentioned above, most sources state that Mitchell took immediate action upon his return that same day. Mitchell demanded that Anthony rescind the order and the following conversation is reported to have taken place.

Colonel Anthony refused, stating that as he had been relieved from command he had no authority to countermand a brigade order. General Mitchell then said hotly, "I will place you in command long enough to rescind it." Anthony then asked, "Am I in command of the brigade?" General Mitchell replied "Yes." Then said Colonel Anthony, "You, as an officer without command, have no authority to instruct me as to my duties."⁴⁶

For his refusal to rescind Order No. 26, Anthony was arrested by order of General Mitchell upon the charge of insubordination on June 18, 1862.⁴⁷ The incident reached the attention of the United States Senate and was the subject of a heated exchange between that body and

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 31; Anthony, Genealogy, p. 366. "On account of the evident public sentiment among the masses of the people at home, as well as the rank and file of the army, in favor of [Order No. 26, General Mitchell] didn't like to take the responsibility of countermanding it." Anthony, Genealogy, p. 366.

⁴⁷Cutler, The State of Kansas, p. 188. Langsdorf and Richmond were more specific in enumerating the charges against Anthony. There were two charges; one, disobedience of orders, contained five specifications; the other, conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman, contained four specifications. Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 460.

President Lincoln.⁴⁸ Finally, after a Senate investigation, Halleck issued an order restoring Anthony to duty. Order No. 26, which was never countermanded, "became the policy of the commanders of the northern armies, antedating as it did President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation."⁴⁹

It would seem that after the incident regarding Order No. 26, Anthony might be more restrained in his actions. Such was not the case. On July 7 Halleck wrote the following report to Secretary of War Stanton:

Since the Kansas troops entered this department their march has been marked by robbery, theft,

⁴⁸Frank A. Blackmar, Kansas (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), III, part I, 55. Hereafter cited as Blackmar, Kansas; Connelley, Standard History, V, 2385. The Senate resolution on this point took the following form: "Resolved, that the President of the United States be directed to communicate to the Senate any information he may have as to the reason for the arrest of Lieut-Col. [D. R.] Anthony, of the Seventh Kansas Regiment W. S. Burke and J. L. Rock, The History of Leavenworth, the Metropolis of Kansas, and the Chief Commercial City West of the Missouri River (Leavenworth: The Leavenworth Times Book and Job Printing Establishment, 1880), p. 85. Hereafter cited as Burke and Rock, History of Leavenworth. "[Anthony] at once became a martyr in the eyes of the northern public. From the press and the stump, his name and his cause went before the people of the north. Because of the pressure of popular opinion, the United States senate sent to President Lincoln a resolution asking why Colonel Anthony remained under arrest." Topeka State Journal, February 22, 1926. It is reasonably clear that another reason for the exchange between the Senate and the President was Anthony's connection with the highly controversial Senator James H. Lane of Kansas. Cf. footnote 52.

⁴⁹Connelley, Standard History, V, 2385.

pillage, and outrages upon the peaceful inhabitants, making enemies to our cause wherever they went. Brigadier-General Quinby . . . asked for authority to muster them out of service.

On their reaching Major-General McClelland's command he made similar recommendations and reports . . . It is reported that General Mitchell took no measures whatever to restrain his men from robbery and plunder, while Colonel Anthony actually encouraged his men in committing outrages along the road, on the grounds that they were "slaveholders" who were plundered.⁵⁰

Once again Anthony was endangering the administration's policy regarding fugitive slaves. He must have been, by this time, a very painful thorn in the side of General Halleck and those in Washington who attempted to avoid the slavery question. There is no evidence that he was reprimanded or punished in any way while on active duty in the South, either for his celebrated Order No. 26 or the continuous depredations committed by his troops. There are two possible answers for this. Perhaps the radical leaders in Washington, continually gaining in strength and power, regarded Anthony as one of their own and prevented any action from being taken against him. The second possibility was that the administration

⁵⁰O. R., XVII, part II, 77. Supporting the previously mentioned allegation of Anthony's possible political influence in Washington, Halleck's letter continued: "I . . . shall do my best to reduce them to proper discipline, but am very doubtful of success, so long as bad officers, supported as they allege by political influence at Washington, encourage them in violating laws, regulations, and orders." Ibid.

leaders, anxious not to bring the slavery question to a climax at this time, decided not to take the risk of making a martyr of Anthony and therefore tolerated his actions. At any rate, Anthony himself resolved the problem by offering his resignation which was accepted September 3, 1862.⁵¹ Three months earlier he had indicated a desire to quit the service because of being passed over for promotion.⁵² He was further embittered because of the official policy which limited the war to the preservation of the Union. Anthony interpreted this limitation as protecting slave owners and slave property.⁵³

⁵¹Fox, "Seventh Kansas," p. 31.

⁵²"Yet I desire to get out of the Army at an early day on account of some little differences in the Regt in reference to who shall be colonel--Gov. Robinson wont commission me for the reason I have always belonged to the Lane party as its called" Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 370.

⁵³Ibid., p. 458. Had Anthony waited another three weeks to offer his resignation, the future course of his life might have been drastically changed. Lincoln had earlier realized the necessity for issuing a proclamation of emancipation but was forced by circumstances to await a favorable change in the fortunes of war before doing so. An opportunity came in the middle of September and on September 22 he read such a proclamation to his cabinet, announcing to the nation that the provisions of such a proclamation would become effective January 1, 1863. Had Anthony not previously resigned, it is conceivable he might have remained in the Union Army for the duration.

Anthony returned to Leavenworth on September 18 and resumed his duties as postmaster, having received that office from President Lincoln in 1861.⁵⁴

At a state editorial meeting some years later, while reminiscing about his military career, Anthony remarked that "he felt the greatest mistake he had made . . . was, he had been too conservative."⁵⁵

While in his own mind, perhaps, Anthony could have felt his actions "too conservative," it is not to be doubted that today's students of the Civil War would argue against this evaluation. It must be remembered, however, that throughout this period Anthony was acting only from deep convictions. He viewed the slave holders and Southern sympathizers as traitors; not only traitors to the laws and government of the United States, but also traitors to the moral code which Anthony held. Because of this treason these men had forfeited any and all rights; civil, political, and property rights. As rebels to the laws of God and man, therefore, any means which could be used to hasten the day of their ultimate defeat was justifiable. If the burning of homes, the destruction or

⁵⁴Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 55; Cf. Wilder, Annals, p. 353.

⁵⁵Fox, "Early History," p. 244.

expropriation of crops and livestock, or the freeing of Negro slaves would hasten the defeat of the Confederacy, it would be a moral wrong not to take advantage of any such measures.

The above is not to be taken as an apology for Anthony's actions. If he had, himself, profited from the livestock or personal belongings taken from the Southerners or if his reasoning was that the Southerners were to be punished for causing the war, then D. R. Anthony would certainly be open to criticism. If he reasoned, instead, that these methods were a way to bring the war closer to a successful conclusion and thus save human lives, then he was anticipating a mode of fighting that has come to be known as modern warfare. It was this method of warfare which the North was eventually forced to adopt against the South, the most notable example of which was Sherman's march through Georgia. Unfortunately, in this type of warfare there are always those who view it as an opportunity for personal aggrandizement, regardless of what a military commander might try to do to discourage it. Anthony, because he was among the first to wage such a war of attrition, probably found this type of problem compounded. One company in his regiment, popularly known as the John Brown Jr. Company, was composed of zealous midwestern abolitionists; another, Company H, was almost

wholly comprised of former Jayhawkers recruited by Cleveland. Is it any wonder that there were examples of flagrant excesses by the Seventh Kansas? It must also be remembered that those quoted as critical of Anthony regarded his methods as basically wrong and would therefore tend to magnify and distort any of his actions.

It would be false to judge Anthony on the basis of a twentieth-century conscience; it is difficult to judge him with the view of a nineteenth-century conscience. Regardless of whether his actions are viewed as those of a misguided zealot, an unprincipled brigand, or a farsighted military strategist--the harbinger of the modern methods of warfare--the facts are evident that D. R. Anthony acted basically from deep personal convictions, assumed full responsibility for the actions of the Seventh, and, with the strength of his convictions, was not swayed from his purpose by the opposition of his superiors. From September, 1861, to September, 1862, Anthony was, indeed, the "god of the machine."

CHAPTER IV

STILL SOME LIFE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

"Undaunted in danger, he stood for the right,
Though a Quaker by birth, ever ready to fight.
A terror to evil, Dan Anthony stood
As a giant, upholding the true and the good."

A. W. Stubbs

Anthony's activities in Leavenworth during the nearly six months that lapsed from the time of his resignation from the Seventh Kansas until March, 1863, are largely shrouded by lack of historical evidence. He had returned to his job as postmaster of Leavenworth and, as events tend to prove, again became active within the Republican organization of the state. In one of his sweeping generalizations, Adaire records that Anthony, immediately after his return to Leavenworth, "became the recognized leader of the Republican party in that town and county. . . ." ¹ In March, 1863, Anthony received

¹Adaire, "Early Pioneer," p. 699. It is interesting that about six months after his return to Leavenworth, Governor Thomas Carney found Anthony troublesome enough to confide that: "I have been thinking about appointing Anthony [to colonel] . . . just to get him out of town, as I believe it would add to the peace of the city." Thomas Carney to J. L. McDowell, March 16, 1863; J. L. McDowell MSS, Kansas State Historical Society.

the Republican nomination for mayor of Leavenworth. On April 6 he was elected to that position "by a large majority." About six weeks after the election, the following letter appeared in the Topeka Tribune describing the Anthony administration:

A transition from a stormy day to clear and bright sunlight is not more pleasant than that which Leavenworth has experienced in its entrance upon the Anthony administration. Formerly rogues dwelt in the most luxurious profusion; now they seek a more congenial clime; formerly, dirty streets seemed one of our permanent institutions; now a filthy spot is an exception, while cleanliness is the rule; formerly law seemed an inoperative something, but now it is a strong engine of power administering justice speedily.²

The sentiments expressed in the above estimate of Anthony's administration are not shared by all commentators on that period. Many contemporaries of Anthony were certainly less charitable. Of today's commentators, Castel, generally unfavorable to all of Anthony's activities, characterized his administration as "arbitrary and inefficient."³ Certainly, Anthony introduced vigorous policies and the reactions to these policies varied in proportion to the degree one was affected by them. It is true, however, that violent criticism and deprecations are not necessarily evidence of misguided policy or

²Anthony, Genealogy, p. 368.

³Castel, Frontier State, p. 113.

ineptitude. A civil administration advocating vigorous policies, whether they be for constructive and beneficial changes or for corrupt and detrimental purposes, is always met by violent opposition. The situation in Leavenworth in 1863 indicated the need for a radical change and the inauguration of vigorous policies.

Prior to Anthony's election, evidence indicates that Leavenworth was a notoriously lawless town and that the military had found it necessary to proclaim martial law because an Anthony-led mob broke up a Democratic meeting and later rioted in the streets. Within two weeks after his inauguration, Anthony wrote to General Blunt, Commander of the District of Kansas, requesting that he raise the order of martial law as:

The city . . . is now quiet. The citizens generally have confidence in the administration . . . I am confident that, with the police force I have, the lives, persons, and property of loyal citizens will be fully protected.⁴

True to the Anthony code, it was to be Mayor Anthony, of course, who was to be the final judge concerning those defined as "loyal citizens."

Exactly one week after the letter to Blunt, a town meeting, composed of the "best citizens of the town," was

⁴O. R., XXII, part II, 218. Martial law was subsequently lifted on April 18, 1863. *Ibid.*, XXII, part II, 226.

held. In one area of Leavenworth there were several large houses inhabited by "disreputable women," serving as a headquarters for the lawless element, and sheltering southern sympathizers. The town meeting called by Mayor Anthony decided the situation demanded immediate action. Accordingly, this group of "better class of citizens," led by Anthony, adjourned to the area under discussion and proceeded to burn the buildings to the ground, a rather severe remedy for the problem.⁵ In defense of this action, it was stressed that for three years prior to Anthony's election, Leavenworth had been terrorized by the "desperadoes and gangs of lawless characters" who had inhabited these buildings; acts of violence had become the rule rather than the exception; and murders were almost of daily occurrence. Further, all of the city newspapers went on record as approving the action. One Leavenworth paper, commenting on the burning, printed the following:

The determination thus evinced by the people to rid the city of thieves and desperadoes . . . resulted in putting an end to anarchy and mob law that had held sway in Leavenworth for three years.⁶

⁵Anthony, Genealogy, pp. 367-368; Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 55.

⁶Anthony, Genealogy, p. 368.

Again Anthony had demonstrated his unspoken contention that the end justified the means.

The raids by Kansans into Missouri had not abated since the Seventh Kansas had been ordered out of Missouri. Indeed, such raids had grown into a highly profitable business and there is considerable evidence that Leavenworth was used as the market area in which to dispose of the loot gathered in these frequent raids. Was Anthony in any way connected with this nefarious traffic? This is a question difficult to answer. The moral code by which Anthony lived was not a simple or uncomplicated one. Indeed, by present standards he may appear to have been a scoundrel, rogue, and hypocrite. Perhaps, but not necessarily so. Morality in the frontier condition was not always open to clear definitions. Today what might be considered moral lapses, then could have been regarded simply as practical. If Anthony received a favor in business or political matters, he expected one day to be called upon to return such a favor. Thus, he felt justified in rewarding his political supporters with appointive offices and thus he might be expected to reward those in elective office who had performed him a service. This was a fact of political life. In this respect he was no better or no worse than other politicians of his day; even today the spoils system is much in evidence,

though somewhat modified in form. The methods of politics have greatly changed since the days of Anthony; it would therefore be disastrous to evaluate his actions in light of today's morality. This is by way of explanation for the seeming contradictory evaluation of Anthony's political and business ethics; by way of explaining on one hand why it can be said that Anthony would not be consciously involved in any dishonest dealings, and, on the other, to say later that it would not be out of character for him to buy votes in the Kansas legislature.

The word dishonest is a dangerous one to use, since between Anthony's time and our own its interpretation has undergone one hundred years of change. The statement that Anthony would not consciously be guilty of anything he regarded as dishonest does not lead to the assumption that morality in one time or place is relative or that a criminal is to be excused because he does not consider his actions dishonest. A criminal, in the true sense of the word, is always aware of the basic dishonesty of his actions, regardless of the rationalization he attempts.

In light of the times in which Anthony lived, it was not necessarily dishonest to try to influence elected officials although certainly inexpedient to expose this to public view. Another point, if the influencing, monetary

or otherwise, of the elected officials led to beneficial results for the people of the city or state, then Anthony regarded the entire act, means as well as result, as good and, hence, not as dishonest. But to return to the situation in Leavenworth, although Anthony had sanctioned the destruction or expropriation of Southern property while in the field, he could not be expected to condone the actions of the Red Legs in Leavenworth which were no better than those of organized brigands. While it might be conceivable that Anthony could have sanctioned raids into Missouri because he considered it rebel territory, he would not have been able to justify the actions of those who made it the means for a livelihood. There have been numerous attempts to link Anthony's name with the operations of the Red Legs in Leavenworth. There is no evidence yet produced to this effect.

There are two other points to be mentioned which might help explain the events which followed in Leavenworth. First, there has been some question as to the connection between Senator James Lane and Anthony.⁷ There is no

⁷James Henry Lane was born in 1814 probably in Lawrenceburg, Indiana. He served in the Mexican War, was the Democratic lieutenant-governor of Indiana, 1849-1853, and congressman, 1853-1855. While in the House of Representatives he voted for passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill after allegedly reaching a political agreement with Stephen A. Douglas. He emigrated to Kansas Territory in

doubt that the "Leavenworth gang," led by Anthony and the Wilders, at this time supported the policies of the senator. Whether there was any actual connivance between Lane and Anthony is a separate question. Castel feels that such connivance was a fact; indeed, that Anthony was a lackey of Lane. There is strong evidence that gives credulity to such a contention. Second, General Thomas Ewing, Jr., commander of the District of the Border, entertained political ambitions which were opposed by Lane.⁸ Ewing consequently became an active opponent of Anthony. This opposition could have been the result of any of the following three factors: personal animosity between the two; Ewing's desire to reduce the influence of the Lane faction in Leavenworth; or the illegal actions

1855 for the purpose of establishing the Democratic party there. In Kansas he soon became a leader in the Free State cause. Elected to the United States Senate, he served from 1861 until his death by suicide in 1866. ". . . he was a pioneer in advocating emancipation of Negroes and their use as soldiers, and was a strong supporter of Lincoln." Joseph E. G. Hopkins, et al (eds.), Concise Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), p. 542. Hereafter cited as Hopkins, Concise DAB.

⁸Thomas Ewing, Jr., was born in Lancaster, Ohio, in 1829. By profession a lawyer, he distinguished himself in fighting in Missouri and Kansas in 1863-1864. 1870-1881 he was the leader of the Greenback wing of the Democratic party. He died in 1896. Ibid., p. 280.

of the Red Legs in Leavenworth, which Anthony apparently allowed to go uncontrolled. Whatever the motives, Ewing soon found himself able to move against the mayor of Leavenworth.

Two Missourians entered Leavenworth looking for their horses which had reportedly been stolen by the Red Legs. Upon locating the stolen livestock and producing evidence to that effect, Ewing's information stated that Anthony refused to allow them to regain their property and drove them from the town.⁹ Ewing then proceeded to once again proclaim martial law in Leavenworth because "the mayor was interfering with efforts to rout out the illegal trade in stolen livestock centering in the town."¹⁰ Three days after proclaiming martial law, Ewing justified his action to his superiors in the following report:

I became perfectly satisfied that I could not get along with the mayor, who was bent on "running the machine," as he expressed it, in his own way, and whose interference with my officers was proclaimed as intentional¹⁰

⁹Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 120. Contrary to the above, Cutler states that Anthony ordered the return of the animals to the two Missourians. This order was carried out by the Leavenworth police. Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 137.

¹⁰Castel, Frontier State, p. 113.

¹¹O. R., XXII, part II, 386.

Although Anthony protested vehemently against the imposition of martial law and demanded that it be lifted at once, Ewing answered that martial law would not be lifted until Anthony left office. This was an overstatement as martial law remained in effect only six weeks and Anthony did not leave office. Even under martial law, the Red Legs' forays into Missouri continued. These were followed by reprisal raids by Missourians into Kansas. In May, Missouri guerilla bands raided the cities of Diamond Springs, Rock Springs, Black Jack, Gardner, Shawnee, Mound City, and Fort Scott. These were followed, in late August, by Quantrill's attack on Lawrence. The Lawrence massacre roused the residents of Kansas to a fever pitch of emotion. Less than a week after the attack, Lane was in Leavenworth where he addressed an "open-air mass meeting." In this meeting he called for an assembly to meet in Paola on September 8 in order to carry out "the extermination of the first tier of counties in Missouri." Anthony also addressed the audience in favor of this plan.¹²

Previous to Lane's call for the Paola meeting, Anthony himself had called for such a war of extermination.

¹²Castel, Frontier State, p. 146.

Ewing had reported that Mayor Anthony had gone so far as to threaten the provost marshal at Fort Leavenworth "to make him [release] control of the ferry and flat boats in Leavenworth for a raid into Platte County"¹³ Anthony's proposed raid into Platte County never materialized, probably because he committed himself to support the raid being organized by Lane. The publicity of the proposed Paola meeting caused great consternation to Ewing and his superior officer, General Schofield; necessitating a visit by Schofield to Leavenworth where he consulted with Governor Carney and the principals involved in the Paola meeting.¹⁴ Carney was asked to

¹³O. R., XXII, part II, 490. Anthony had called for a war of extermination and the destruction of Independence, Westport, and Kansas City, and proposed that a group for such a purpose meet in Leavenworth; hence, his threat to the provost marshal at Leavenworth. Castel, Frontier State, pp. 143-144.

¹⁴John McAllister Schofield was born in Gerry, New York, in 1831. He was an 1853 graduate of West Point and from 1855-1860 served as professor of natural philosophy at that school. Promoted to the rank of major general during the Civil War, he was in command of the Department of the Missouri. In 1864 he took part in Sherman's Atlanta campaign where he served with distinction. From 1865 to 1866 he served as confidential agent for the U. S. State Department in France. He subsequently commanded the Department of the Potomac; served as United States Secretary of War, 1868; "made the recommendations which led to the acquisition of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, as a naval base"; served as Superintendent at West Point, 1876-1881; became commanding general of the army, 1888; and retired as a lieutenant general in 1895. He died in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1906. Hopkins, Concise DAB, p. 920.

dissuade the citizens of Kansas not to attend the meeting. But Carney, with his eye on Lane's senatorial seat, did nothing to persuade his fellow citizens not to attend the proposed meeting, hoping it might prove a political fiasco for Lane. Schofield, consequently, was forced to issue a public order to the effect that any band of men not in uniform found operating across the border would be treated as brigands and outlaws. The lines of battle were therefore carefully drawn, tension began to mount, and all eyes in Kansas and Missouri were drawn to Paola, Kansas, in expectation of what might happen.

The Paola meeting turned out to be a dismal failure. The date of the meeting was evidently set ahead a few days, few people attended, it was a bleak, rainy day, and although Lane and Anthony attempted to install enthusiasm for the raid among the small congregation that had gathered, all present eventually left Paola and returned peacefully to their homes.

Thomas Carney was born in Ohio in 1824. The family being poor, Carney held a variety of jobs throughout Ohio until he finally settled in Cincinnati. He remained in that city for twelve years and became a successful member of the firm Carney, Swift and Company. For reasons of health he left Ohio and began a wholesale house in Leavenworth in 1858. He became active in politics in 1861 when he was elected to the state legislature. In January, 1863, he became the second governor of Kansas. Following his one term as governor, he became the mayor of Leavenworth, 1865-1867. For the next twenty years he was involved in various railroad and banking affairs. He died as a result of apoplexy in 1888. Connelley, Standard History, II, 765-768.

. . . instead of thousands of armed and vengeance-bent men, only a few hundred "blanketed, crestfallen, dripping people" assembled at Paola. After standing in a thundershower listening to "the stale and well-remembered 'Great Gods' of Jim Lane," they passed a resolution demanding the removal of Schofield and Ewing. . . . Then they went home.¹⁵

On the eve of the Paola meeting Anthony had been arrested by Ewing's detectives and taken to Kansas City. The reason for the arrest is unknown although some sources indicate it was done on the express order of General Ewing. There is strong reason for believing this contention.¹⁶ Since the Lawrence massacre, Lane and the "Leavenworth gang," Anthony and the Wilders, had begun to openly and publicly attack Ewing and General Schofield. The ostensible reason for the criticism leveled at Ewing and Schofield was that their negligence and ineptitude had contributed to Quantrill's raid.

Possibly as equally important in motivating this public criticism was the fact that both Ewing and Schofield refused to do the bidding of the radical faction in Leavenworth. Also, Lane had reason to suspect that Ewing had designs on the senatorial seat then occupied by himself. However, since Ewing was forced to order the

¹⁵Castel, Frontier State, p. 146.

¹⁶Cutler states the arrest was ordered by Ewing. Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 437.

release of Anthony the following day and to lift the order of martial law he had imposed on Leavenworth, it seems unlikely he was involved directly with Anthony's arrest. Ewing was too astute a politician not to be aware of the consequences of such an ill-advised action. Castel verifies this interpretation when he states that Ewing's detectives acted without any authority and that Ewing ordered Anthony's release as soon as he heard of this rash action.¹⁷ It was a colorful episode and both Anthony and the Leavenworth papers capitalized on it. D. W. Wilder, in the Conservative, described Anthony's arrest as follows:

Mayor Anthony was yesterday afternoon arrested by one of Gen. Ewing's detectives in a most indignant and brutal manner. While performing his official duties in his office about three o'clock, the officer entered the Mayor's office, seized Anthony rudely by the arms, and said, "I want you sir!" Mayor Anthony replied, "What do you want?" The officer replied, "I arrest you--go with me!" Anthony asked, "By what authority do you arrest me?" The officer answered, "By God, I am authority"--at the same time dragging him from the door and ordering his men to "throw" him into the buggy, some of whom were disguised with coverings over their faces. The order was obeyed, and he was rudely seized and thrown into the carriage, his feet hanging over the side. The officer mounted his horse and ordered the driver to drive on, and threatened to blow Anthony's brains out if he offered the least resistance.¹⁸

¹⁷Castel, Frontier State, p. 149.

¹⁸Anthony, Genealogy, pp. 369-370.

Anthony's return to Leavenworth the next evening was in marked contrast to his unceremonious exit. Another Leavenworth newspaper, the Bulletin, described the mayor's return.

At eight o'clock last evening the whole city assembled at market house to receive Mayor Anthony, who had telegraphed from Kansas City that he would be in the city that hour. The Mayor's office and city hall were beautifully illuminated, and the largest gathering of citizens ever witnessed on any occasion, were present. The arrival of the Mayor was announced by a salute from the city battery. A band of music was in attendance, and amid its martial strains, the roar of cannon and the shouts of the people, the Mayor was escorted to the speaker's stand.¹⁹

There is evidence that Anthony's popularity as mayor was waning in Leavenworth. With the city of Leavenworth assembled before him, Anthony took full advantage of the political situation and addressed the population as follows:

Yesterday I was brutally arrested and marched out of town with two thieves at my side, followed by a company of soldiers with cocked revolvers pointed at my back. To-night I returned to Leavenworth, my home, escorted by a committee of ten of your truest and best men . . . Yesterday I marched between two thieves. To-day their heads are in the dust. Yesterday martial law reigned in Leavenworth. To-day it is scattered to the four winds of heaven, yesterday we were despondent. To-day we are triumphant.²⁰

¹⁹Ibid., p. 371.

²⁰Ibid.

The order declaring martial law in Leavenworth was countermanded the same day as Anthony's release and the remainder of his administration "was characterized by the strict enforcement of civil law, and by the good order and general prosperity of the city."²¹

In spite of the political capital Anthony had been able to make on his arrest in September, the political opposition in Leavenworth greatly increased. On April 3, 1864, the day before the municipal elections, Anthony sent four letters to General Davies, Commander of Fort Leavenworth, asking for a force of men to be placed under his (Anthony's) personal orders to maintain law and order in the city. The number Anthony requested varied from fifty to one hundred. Davies sent several of his men, who reported they could see no signs of rioting as reported by Anthony. Davies therefore refused to send any men to serve under Anthony's authority. He did ready a force, however, of 150 men and two artillery pieces, and he himself and his staff went into Leavenworth on the morning of the fourth. In his official report Davies stated:

I understand . . . that the mayor had undertaken to disarm a man claiming to be acting as deputy U. S. marshal, and that he was struck two or three

²¹Ibid., p. 372.

times and knocked down in the mud; that the mayor ordered the closing of one of the polls, and caused the ballot-box to be removed, whereupon some armed citizens arrested him, but he was soon after released by others.²²

Anthony later approached Davies again and asked him to intervene, but Davies again refused because his aides reported that all was once more quiet. Anthony was defeated for re-election. One of his more sympathetic biographers attributed this defeat "to force and fraud by a mob of 'Red Legs'."²³

Twenty-five years after Anthony's first term as mayor, a Topeka newspaper reported an incident which was supposed to have taken place during this administration. Anthony was continually irritated by a "loud-mouthed old rebel." One day when this "old rebel" was particularly offensive, Anthony had the police arrest him on a charge of vagrancy. The fine, one hundred dollars, was so quickly and cheerfully paid that Anthony was further inflamed and so, in addition to the fine, compelled him to sing "John Brown's Body" as he passed down the stairway.²⁴

²²O. R., XXXIV, part III, 55-56.

²³Anthony, Genealogy, p. 372.

²⁴"Scrapbook," II, 27.

In evaluating Anthony's administration as mayor of Leavenworth, one source characterized it as one with "a vigorous policy that brought him both friends and enemies." This source then goes on to state that "many of the most permanent improvements in the city were made during his term, and the growth and population was never so marked as then."²⁵ Another authority points out that Anthony, as chief executive of Leavenworth, "carried into civil life the same uncompromising union spirit which he had shown in the Army, and his administration was one of the most vigorous and effective which the city has ever enjoyed."²⁶ In 1865 Anthony again sought the office of mayor of Leavenworth. He was defeated by ex-Governor Thomas Carney by a slim majority, possibly as a result of the opposition of the Wilders which was caused by a realignment of forces within the Republican party in Leavenworth.

In 1866 Anthony was removed as Postmaster of Leavenworth because he would not support President

²⁵Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin Counties, Kansas (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1899), p. 146. Hereafter cited as Portrait . . . of Leavenworth.

²⁶Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 437.

Johnson's policy of reconstruction.²⁷ Two years later in the impeachment proceedings against Johnson, Senator Edmund G. Ross from Kansas was noncommittal on how he was to vote.²⁸ The following telegram, addressed to "D. W. Wilder or D. R. Anthony," was sent by Gen. R. C. Schenck, a member of the House of Representatives, on May 12, 1868.²⁹ "There is great danger of the peace of the

²⁷Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 55.

²⁸Edmund Gibson Ross was born in Ashland, Ohio, in 1826. Prior to 1856 he was recognized as a Free State leader in Kansas. Between the years 1857 and 1862 he edited and published the Topeka Kansas Tribune and the Kansas State Record. He became the editor of the Lawrence Tribune in 1865 and from 1866 to 1871 he served as United States Senator. He entered the Senate as a radical and an opponent of Johnson's policies. However, during the President's impeachment proceedings Ross demanded that he should have a fair trial. Accordingly, he cast his vote against conviction on the basis of a lack of evidence. This vote destroyed his political career in Kansas. He remained active in Kansas journalism until 1882 when he removed to New Mexico. He served as governor of that territory from 1885 to 1889 and died in Albuquerque in 1907. Hopkins, Concise DAB, pp. 890-891.

²⁹Robert Cumming Schenck was born in Franklin, Ohio, in 1809. A lawyer by profession, he served as a Whig congressman from Ohio from 1843 to 1851. He served two years as United States Minister to Brazil, 1851-1853. He then saw two years service in the Civil War, attaining the rank of major general. From 1863 to 1871 he again served in the House of Representatives. There "he distinguished himself by violent attacks on the Copperheads and by opposition to President Andrew Johnson." In 1871 he became United States Minister to Great Britain but his "connection with a fraudulent mine promotion in the West" forced his resignation in 1876. He died in Washington, D. C., in 1890. Ibid., pp. 917-918.

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country and the Republican cause if impeachment fails. Send to your Senators before Saturday, public opinion, by resolution, letters and delegations."³⁰ Accordingly, two days later the following was sent to the two Kansas Senators, Pomeroy and Ross. "Kansas has heard the evidence and demands the conviction of the President."³¹ This telegram was signed by seventy-one Kansas Republicans, among whom was D. R. Anthony. To this announcement, Ross replied with the following addressed, surprisingly, to "D. R. Anthony and others,"

I do not recognize your right to demand that I shall vote either for or against conviction. I have taken an oath to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws, and trust that I shall have the courage and the honesty to vote according to the dictates of my judgment and for the highest good of my country.³²

Anthony, always anxious to have the last word, shot back that same day: "Your vote is dictated by Tom. Ewing, not by your oath. Your motives are Indian contracts and greenbacks. Kansas repudiates you as she does all

³⁰Nyle H. Miller, Edgar Langsdorf and Robert W. Richmond, through the assistance of Robert W. Baughman, Kansas in Newspapers (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society, 1963), p. 75. Hereafter cited as Miller, Langsdorf and Richmond, Kansas in Newspapers.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

perjurers and skunks."³³ On May 16, 1868, the same day as the last two telegrams, Ross voted for acquittal. Needless to say he no longer had a political career in Kansas.³⁴ The following year, 1867, Anthony made an unsuccessful bid for United States senator, receiving only one vote in the Kansas legislature.³⁵ That same year he was president of the Republican State Convention held at Topeka and was elected one of the three Kansas presidential electors.³⁶

In 1870 Anthony again ran for mayor of Leavenworth but was defeated by the Hon. John A. Halderman by a

³³Ibid.; William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 125. Hereafter cited as Zornow, Jayhawk State.

³⁴Ross voted for acquittal; Pomeroy, the other Kansas senator, voted for conviction.

³⁵Cutler, The State of Kansas, p. 214. The actual vote was: S. C. Pomeroy, 16; A. L. Lee, 8; D. R. Anthony, 1.

³⁶Wilder, Annals, p. 48. All of the electors cast their ballots for Grant. The three electors were I. S. Kallock, D. R. Anthony, and A. H. Harton. Cutler, The State of Kansas, pp. 214 and 236; Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 55. Anthony was "a member of nearly every Republican state convention held in Kansas." Ibid. "He was a member of every Republican state convention up to the time the State was divided into Congressional districts, when he preferred to be a member of the Congressional Convention of his district, which assembled simultaneously with the State Convention." Anthony, Genealogy, pp. 372-373.

forty-seven vote margin.³⁷ He was elected to the city council from the first ward, however, by a four to one margin and the following year was re-elected.³⁸ In 1870 and again in 1871 he served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.³⁹

In 1870 he was also a candidate for the Republican nomination for congressman from Kansas. One of his admirers made the following remarks in support of his candidacy:

Your old friend, Col. D. R. Anthony . . . is spoiling for office, and is willing to serve his fellow-citizens in any capacity, from governor down to city councilman. He would make a red-hot representative in congress, like the boy's step-mother, he would make it lively for the whole

³⁷Anthony, Genealogy, p. 372. John A. Halderman, born in Kentucky in 1833, was a judge, Union soldier, Kansas legislator, and diplomat. From 1880 to 1885 he was the consul-general and minister resident to Siam, "where he introduced postal and telegraph systems." Hopkins, Concise DAB, p. 383. Halderman, on the back of a note from Anthony dated January 12, 1894, wrote a brief description of and tribute to Anthony: "D. R. Anthony, an original Abolitionist, a loyal soldier for the Union; able, resourceful: a sword of Damocles to his foes as I well knew [know] by the experience of years. To me [?], constant and rock ribbed as Gibraltar in his friendships as now I well know by the experience of longer years" John A. Halderman MSS, Kansas State Historical Society.

³⁸Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 55.

³⁹Anthony, Genealogy, p. 373.

party. His past services are not forgotten, nor is the colonel himself willing to blush unseen and waste his sweetness on the desert air.⁴⁰

Balloting for the nomination took place on September 8.

Of the 198 votes cast, Anthony received nine. The following day Anthony tried for the Republican nomination for governor; he was once again unsuccessful.⁴¹

In September, 1872, the Republican State Congressional Convention at Lawrence was called to order by Anthony, who was again a candidate for Congress.⁴² In the spring of that year Anthony was elected to a two year term as mayor of Leavenworth. There were no incidents marking his second administration as mayor, in contrast to his first administration, and Anthony made many contributions to the development of the city.

During the several terms of Messrs. Denman, Lattin, Anthony and Carney, nearly all the public improvements in the city were made. During the period covered by

⁴⁰ Paul H. Giddens, "News from Kansas in 1870," *KHQ*, VII (1938), 176. Hereafter cited as Giddens, "News."

⁴¹ Wilder, *Annals*, p. 524. The three candidates for the Republican nomination for governor were Harvey, Anthony, and Osborn. Harvey received 125 votes, Anthony 45, and Osborn 24.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 578. Seven months previously he was presiding officer of the Republican State Convention held at Lawrence, *Ibid.*, p. 567.

the time these gentlemen occupied the Mayor's office public buildings were erected, streets were graded and paved, sidewalks were constructed, several railroads were completed to the town, and Leavenworth was known as the busiest, most prosperous and most rapidly growing city in the West.⁴³

In 1873 Anthony was elected to the Kansas House of Representatives.⁴⁴ Nothing is known of his activities while a member of the state legislature. It may be assumed--he was such a regular office-seeker--that he failed in a bid for re-election.⁴⁵ In 1874, because of his services to the Republican party, he was appointed postmaster of Leavenworth by President Grant.

Anthony, throughout his life and regardless of the field of endeavor, entered the lists in full array ready to give battle for the right, of which he never doubted his exclusive and inclusive knowledge. He did not always remain unscathed, however. His most nearly fatal attack occurred on May 10, 1875. "D. R. Anthony, of the Leavenworth Times, was shot by W. W. Embry, of the Appeal, on the stairway of the Opera House. Three

⁴³Burke and Rock, History of Leavenworth, p. 17.

⁴⁴Wilder, Annals, p. 630. Anthony was elected "by a very large majority." Burke and Rock, History of Leavenworth, p. 86.

⁴⁵This source states he was a candidate for the legislature in 1872 and 1873 but was defeated both times, Anthony, Genealogy, p. 374.

shots were fired by Embry, one of which took effect . . . and was thought to be fatal."⁴⁶ Wilder described the bullet as entering the right side of Anthony's chest, just below the collar, and severing an artery.⁴⁷ Cutler simply stated the bullet passed through Anthony's shoulder.⁴⁸ Admire savored his clinical description of the bullet's passage: "The ball passed through the right calvicle almost exactly in its longitudinal centre, fracturing it in its entirety, wounded the sub-clavian artery, and lodged somewhere in his body, where it still remains."⁴⁹

All sources reporting the incident agreed that it was a dangerous wound and that Anthony's survival was miraculous. As Howes pointed out, medical journals of the time stated "so far as we can ascertain there are no parallels in the annals of surgery of surviving such a wound."⁵⁰ An explanation of how Anthony managed to survive is given by Cutler and Admire.

⁴⁶Wilder, Annals, p. 681.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 437.

⁴⁹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 700.

⁵⁰Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 119. Evidently, doctors attending Anthony found it exceedingly difficult to stop the flow of blood. Since a compress could not be used due

Death was warded only by the iron constitution of its would-be victim. [Anthony] fought it down as he conquered most obstacles which stood before him, by natural strength of constitution, joined to an indomitable will.⁵¹

His strong physical constitution and his indomitable will power kept him alive under circumstances that would have caused the death of any man of less resolute determination⁵²

Although Anthony was not the most popular personage in Kansas, public feeling was decidedly against the attack, especially as Anthony was unarmed at the time. The Topeka Commonwealth declared: "It was . . . if Col. Anthony survives, a wicked, unnecessary and unprovoked assault; if Col. Anthony dies, a cruel, wicked murder."⁵³ Throughout the remainder of May, until there was hope of Anthony's recovery, the leading daily and weekly papers in Kansas made their appearance with inverted column rules, and they

to the location of the wound, in desperation they decided to attempt to stem the bleeding by applying pressure to the artery with a finger. Because this pressure had to be maintained constantly, members of the Anthony family, including Susan B., relieved each other at this task. This procedure accounted for Anthony's unparalleled and miraculous recovery.

⁵¹Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 437.

⁵²Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 701.

⁵³Wilder, Annals, p. 681.

reported the course of Anthony's recovery to eager readers.

The following are typical:

- May 17, 1875 -Col. Anthony's death predicted daily by the physicians.⁵⁴
- May 25, 1875 -The chances for the entire recovery by Col. Anthony are better now than they have ever been before. He was able to lift his left arm yesterday, for the first time since he was wounded.⁵⁵
- August 25, 1875 -Col. D. R. Anthony was, for the first time since he was removed from the Opera House . . . able to move about, yesterday. He was driven through town in his carriage.⁵⁶

There is some question concerning the reason for the assault on Anthony. Some histories refer to Embry as a rival editor, which he was; some call him a political rival, which is quite possible. Embry was tried and sentenced to prison. The length of his sentence is not known, but he was evidently paroled after only a few years because he was killed in a saloon on January 1, 1880.⁵⁷ It is perhaps ironical that he was shot by his

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 682.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 683. Quoted from the Leavenworth Times.

⁵⁶Wilder, Annals, p. 689. Quoted from the Leavenworth Commercial.

⁵⁷Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 437. This was approximately the same time that Thurston attempted to murder Anthony. The chain of circumstances is strong enough to suggest that Embry, like Thurston, was a paid assassin.

newspaper partner, Thomas Thurston, who was a former employee of Anthony and who was later to make a similar attempt on Anthony's life.

Anthony's recovery from the Opera House shooting was evidently quite rapid after the end of August. By the first of the new year, Anthony was again in the midst of a political battle, resisting the efforts of his enemies who were attempting to divest him of his job as postmaster of Leavenworth.

In the closing months of 1875, numerous complaints were made to the Postmaster-General of the United States concerning Anthony's conduct as postmaster of Leavenworth. A special agent was appointed in 1876 to check into the charges and to make an examination of the Leavenworth office. After a reportedly patient and thorough investigation, the special agent related that he found the office "better conducted than any other that he had ever examined."⁵⁸ In the actual report purported to have been made by the special agent of the Post Office Department, the agent seems to have overstepped his duty as an impartial examiner. Indeed, the political overtones are so strong as to suggest Anthony still had important influence in

⁵⁸Anthony, Genealogy, p. 374.

Washington. It would be extremely interesting to know the identity of this special agent and to discover if there might be a personal connection between him and Anthony. However, as the identity of the examiner is unknown, one can only read his report and speculate:

These charges were gotten up in a malicious spirit. The evidence produced is of the lowest and most worthless kind. Not a man of character was introduced as a witness against Col. Anthony . . . Col. Anthony is a very independent man; if he don't think a man honest or fit for an office on the Republican ticket, he will not support him. At the election last fall he was placed in antagonism to two or three men on the Republican ticket whom he declined to support, hence the post office fight.⁵⁹

Who these "two or three" Republicans were is not known. It is significant, perhaps, that Anthony's cousin, George T. Anthony, took the oath of office as governor of Kansas in 1876.⁶⁰ It is not entirely clear what the personal relations between these two cousins were. In 1867 they had both been affiliated on the Bulletin,

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰On August 31, 1876, Anthony was a member of the First District Republican Convention held at Abilene. A dispute as to the temporary organization arose and twenty-four members left the convention. Anthony called the regular convention to order and later served on a committee to resolve the conflict. Wilder, Annals, pp. 719-720.

D. R. as owner and George T. as editor.⁶¹ McNeal, however, points out that the two men "hated each other as long as they lived."⁶² Howes, on the other hand, states that George T. Anthony had the most active support of D. R. in the first campaign.⁶³ Whatever their feelings prior to 1876, the two powerful cousins clashed headlong during the first few months of Governor Anthony's term. Again, the reasons for the quarrel are not clear. One history

⁶¹George Tobey Anthony was born in New York state in the same year as his cousin, 1824. Because of the poverty of his family, Anthony had little formal education. In 1862 he was commissioned a captain in the Seventeenth New York Independent Battery of Light Brigade. When the Battery was mustered out of federal service in 1865, Anthony and his wife moved to Leavenworth where he edited the Leavenworth Evening Bulletin and the Leavenworth Daily Conservative. Later he became editor and proprietor of the Kansas Farmer. A list of his elective and appointive offices is as follows: Collector of Internal Revenue, 1868; Assistant Assessor of United States Internal Revenue, 1873; governor of Kansas, 1876-1878; President of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture; Board of Managers for the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition; General Superintendent of the Mexican Central Railroad; member of the Kansas legislature, 1885; member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1889 and 1892; and Superintendent of Insurance, appointed by Governor Morrill. He held this latter position until his death in 1896. Connelley, Standard History, II, 782-784.

⁶²Tom A. McNeal, "Governors of Kansas," KHQ, V (1936), 75. Hereafter cited as McNeal, "Governors of Kansas."

⁶³Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 121.

simply states it was over a matter of policy;⁶⁴ another declares that the Colonel accused his cousin of having embezzled funds from his regiment during the Civil War.⁶⁵ Although the governor was later cleared by a unanimous vote of the state central committee, it is understandable that such an accusation could lead to bitter feelings.

Another factor which might have caused the bitter feelings between the two cousins was D. H.'s own political ambition: Daniel Read also desired to occupy the governor's mansion. Jealousy can be a strong, motivating force, and it is not at all unreasonable to assume that it might have affected the Colonel. Daniel is credited with leading the forces in opposition to the governor in 1878 and being instrumental in defeating his cousin's bid for renomination.⁶⁶ However, an incident occurred toward the end of Anthony's administration which probably had as much to do with his failure to win renomination as did the opposition of his cousin. A major strike had broken out in the Santa Fe yards in Emporia and the governor, over the protests of the local sheriff and board of county

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Zornow, Jayhawk State, p. 132.

⁶⁶McNeal, "Governors of Kansas," p. 75; Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 121.

commissioners, had dispatched fifty militiamen to the city. The minister of the Emporia Congregational church, Reverend O. J. Shannon, was killed when he entered the place these militiamen were billeted. This tragedy, coming late in an election year, was too great for the Anthony administration to overcome, and Zornow infers the incident heavily contributed to the governor's defeat.⁶⁷

George T. Anthony evidently had an opportunity to revenge himself in later years when Daniel R. Anthony actively sought the Republican nomination for governor. The Colonel was passed over as the Republican candidate in 1880, and when he once more offered his services in the 1882 campaign, the nod again went to another candidate. Anthony had an imposing amount of newspaper support in both these nomination campaigns.⁶⁸ It is not to be doubted that Anthony owed his party's rejection to the vast number of enemies he had gathered in his nearly thirty years in Kansas. The Colonel's name was evidently again mentioned

⁶⁷Zornow, Jayhawk State, p. 132.

⁶⁸"Scrapbook," II, 46-57.

in the 1886 campaign because the following article in his support appeared in the Kansas City Daily Times:

[Anthony's soul] is perturbed and agitated. It always will be unless he is made governor of the state. This is his one consuming, all-absorbing ambition and desire . . . He was a wonderful executive ability and it cannot be doubted that he would . . . be regarded as one of the brainiest governors Kansas has ever had⁶⁹

Another reason for the Colonel's failure to win his party's nomination for governor lay in the suspicion which clouded his name concerning possible bribery of state officials. In 1879 an investigation was carried on by the United States Senate into the affairs of some of its members. Senator Ingalls of Kansas was one of those under investigation as there was a question about possible dishonesty in his election.⁷⁰ Anthony's name was mentioned

⁶⁹Ibid., II, 18.

⁷⁰Ivan Benson, "Passing of the Crusading Editor in Kansas," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1928), p. 57. Hereafter cited as Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas." "[Anthony] felt that the whole mess had been stirred up by irritated political enemies of the Kansas senator. He voiced his disapproval of the investigation in no uncertain terms." Ibid. John James Ingalls, born in Middleton, Massachusetts, in 1833, was by profession a lawyer. In 1858 he moved to Kansas where he became known for his "denunciatory oratory." He served as United States Senator from 1873 to 1891. "Not so much the controlling leader of the Republican party in Kansas as its figure-head" Hopkins, Concise DAB, p. 475.

as having been instrumental in arranging Ingalls' election and the following accusation appeared on the pages of the Kansas City Daily Times:

It is reported here [Topeka] that D. R. Anthony intends to leave the State until the close of the session [of the state legislature]. This should not be permitted, as he is too deeply implicated in the bribing of members to vote for Ingalls, having offered money to at least two members.⁷¹

Anthony was under similar suspicion in 1873 when the sensational story of Senator Pomeroy buying votes for re-election came to light.⁷² It would not be greatly out of character for Anthony to be involved in bribing members of the state legislature. However, in neither case was anything proven against him. Ingalls was also cleared of the charges and as late as 1890 Anthony was supporting him for re-election.

In the latter part of the 1880's Kansas tried one of her perennial flirtations with prohibition. There was widespread opposition to the law, particularly in Wichita and Leavenworth. The plan for enforcing the prohibitory law was to set up a police board in the larger Kansas cities whose function would be "to surpress liquor-selling,

⁷¹"Scrapbook," II, 6.

⁷²Malin, "Lecompte," p. 57.

gambling, and kindred offenses." The police-board system was generally unsuccessful although the appointees to this board were usually "men of the highest integrity and standing in the communities, and well known friends of law enforcement."⁷³ In 1885 Anthony's views on prohibition had been quoted in the Topska Capital as follows:

My present position on prohibition is the same as it has been for the past thirty years. I have always believed porhibition would fail to abolish intemperance; that the only practical method of dealing with it was to control it by high license and local option.⁷⁴

In spite of this position on the prohibitory law, Anthony was appointed as police commissioner in April, 1889, and again in October, 1890. Opposition to the state law was strenuous and vigorous; many violations occurred in Leavenworth. "Though to advocate enforcement . . . was both dangerous and unpopular, Daniel R. Anthony did not hesitate an instant, and personally and through his papers gave a strenuous opposition to the liquor traffic."⁷⁵

Another contemporary evaluation as to Anthony's effectiveness on the police-board differs greatly. Referring to Anthony as the "boss bulldozer of Kansas" and "bulldozer

⁷³D. O. McCray, "The Administration of Lyman U. Humphrey," KHC, IX (1905-1906), 423.

⁷⁴"Scrapbook," II, 14.

⁷⁵Connelley, Standard History, V, 2386.

of Leavenworth," an 1890 newspaper article suggests it was necessary to remove Anthony from the board of police commissioners. The article then continues by quoting another member of the Leavenworth board:

Much of the trouble with the enforcement of the prohibitory law in this city . . . has grown out of the opposition and interference of D. R. Anthony. His actions lead me to believe that he has not desired to see the law honestly enforced in this city for he has openly and underhandedly frustrated the board whenever an opportunity seemed to present itself⁷⁶

In view of earlier evaluations of Anthony's character, it is difficult to believe he would purposely attempt to circumvent this law. Not because it was not part of his character to ignore state laws with which he disagreed, but because he agreed with the objective of the law, though he thought the law itself would be ineffective. It is not inconceivable that other members of the board would find it difficult to work with Anthony, might even mistake his motives, hence the above quotation.

The last reference to Anthony's active participation in Kansas politics occurred in the statehouse war of 1893. In the election of 1892 the Populist party had gained control of the executive branch of the government and of the state senate. To make their victory complete, they also

⁷⁶"Leavenworth County Clippings," I, 377-382.

needed to control the lower house. Of the one hundred thirty-five seats in the lower house, sixty-five were Republican, fifty-one Populist, one Independent, and eighteen seats were contested by the Populists on the basis of "fraud, illegal voting, or improper counting."⁷⁷ As both parties claimed the eighteen disputed seats, two separate houses were formed; one organized under a Republican speaker and the other under a Populist speaker. For a time both houses shared the same chambers and the two speakers would alternate on the dias. Finally, the Populist representatives forcibly ejected the Republicans and barred the chamber doors. Not to be outdone, the Republicans surged back into the house chambers, breaking down the chambers' doors, forcibly ejected the Populists, and barricaded themselves in the chambers. At this point the Populist governor, L. D. Lewelling, declared martial law and called out the state militia. The sheriff of Shawnee County, a loyal Republican, had anticipated the governor's move by swearing in between 500 to 1,000 fellow Republicans as deputies. The state militia had been charged to expel all but Populists from the house chambers; the sheriff and his deputies were determined not to let

⁷⁷Howes, This Place Called Kansas, p. 157.

this occur. Both sides had reached an impasse. Finally it was decided to let the state supreme court settle the question which ruled in favor of the Republicans.⁷⁸ One of the leading figures in this fray that had come dangerously close to a state civil war, was Daniel R. Anthony.⁷⁹ An 1893 newspaper article reported that D. R. had found it expedient to use "one little 'swear word'" when he forced his way into the statehouse when the battle was at its highest.⁸⁰ Another article reported that the Colonel was seen marching through the streets of Topeka with a baseball bat, proclaiming to one and all that "there [was] still some life in the Republican party of Kansas."⁸¹

This was the last active appearance of Anthony on the stage of Kansas politics although it can be assumed

⁷⁸For a fuller account of this "statehouse war," see Howes, This Place Called Kansas, pp. 157-158; Miller, Langsdorf and Richmond, Kansas in Newspapers, p. 125; Zornow, Jayhawk State, pp. 201-202; and Gen. W. H. Sears, "The Robinson Rifles," KHQ, II (1933), 309-320. Hereafter cited as Sears, "Robinson Rifles."

⁷⁹Sears, "Robinson Rifles," p. 313. Anthony's name does not appear on the roster for the 1893 state legislature. Either he was one of the disputed delegates or, as is more likely the case, he was an unofficial participant.

⁸⁰"Scrapbook," II, 33.

⁸¹Ibid., II, 34.

that he remained a political force in the Republican organization until the time of his death.⁸² He seems, however, to have devoted the majority of his time in his later years to his newspaper empire. Anthony was active in Kansas politics for over thirty-five years. Although never capturing the two positions he most desired, that of governor and United States senator, he faithfully served his party and state in many capacities. A party regular, he was a member of practically every state Republican convention, served as chairman of numerous Republican State Central Committees, was present at practically every district Republican congressional convention, was twice a presidential elector, and twice was appointed as a police commissioner in Leavenworth. In the various state and district conventions he attended, he served on innumerable special committees.

While elective offices generally eluded him, he was twice elected mayor of Leavenworth, twice served on the city council in his home city, elected once to the

⁸²In the First District Congressional Convention held in Holton in February, 1904. Anthony expressed his determination to participate "or know the reason why." He did participate and delivered a scathing speech denouncing Congressman Curtis. D. R. Anthony II was nominated in opposition to Curtis but the contest board decided the legal nomination was that of Curtis. "Scrapbook," VI, 120.

state legislature, and he made himself conspicuous during the statehouse war of 1893. Because of his prominence in the party and to reward him for his party loyalty, he served sixteen years as postmaster of Leavenworth, in his later years relinquishing the post to his son, Daniel Read Anthony II.

For nearly four decades Anthony had been a power in his party; but because of antagonisms which his fierce independence had aroused, the top offices he sought always eluded him. There are few men in Kansas history who have been the center of the violent partisan emotions Anthony was. His life, beliefs, and actions did much to prove that, during his lifetime, there was "still some life in the Republican party of Kansas."

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CHAPTER V

THE CAESAR OF LEAVENWORTH

MORNING JOURNALISM

"No compromise measure found favor with him,
Who wrote and who spoke with such fervor and vim."

A. W. Stubbs

Businessman--banker--military commander--railroad executive--politician--journalist--Anthony's activities were many and varied. His interests were as diverse as his personality, and his contributions in his various positions were decisive and numerous. It is as "fighting Dan Anthony," editor from Leavenworth, however, that he is best remembered; and it is as the founder of the Leavenworth journalistic dynasty, as the "Caesar of Leavenworth morning journalism," that Anthony is usually described in histories of the state.

His first newspaper, the Daily Conservative, published its initial issue the day Kansas was admitted to the Union; and he sold it in November, 1861, when he became a lieutenant colonel in the Seventh Kansas. He bought his second newspaper, the Evening Bulletin, in September, 1864, and sold it in August, 1868. In May, 1871, he purchased the Daily Times, the first daily

paper in Kansas, which had previously absorbed the Conservative. In November, 1871, Anthony again purchased the Bulletin and combined it with the morning Times. He subsequently purchased, in 1876, the Commercial; in 1902, the Evening Standard; and 1903, the Chronicle-Standard, all of which he consolidated into the Leavenworth Daily Times, which is still controlled by the Anthony family. For his editorship of the Conservative and Times, he was elected to the "Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame."

The newspaper profession in Anthony's time differed greatly from that of the present day. Early-day journalism in Kansas was highly personal; Kansas editors quickly learned that a good verbal fight was sure to draw reader interest; consequently, they tore into public figures and rival editors "with shameless and often amusing calumniating."¹ Editorial columns in those days were usually "fire-eating, sarcastic, denunciatory, vituperative."² They were never compromising or indecisive, always positive. Often abusive language was resorted to, sometimes unjustly, but those early editors were convinced the ends they sought justified the means. The language generally used by these

¹William B. Bracke, Wheat Country, (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pierce, 1950), p. 177. Hereafter cited as Bracke, Wheat Country.

²Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas," p. 46.

early editors was "one with equivocation, innuendo, double talk or double meaning . . . It [didn't] wiggle, wobble, or waver, beat about the bush, put out a smoke screen, play hide and seek or dodge the issue"3 As a whole, no other state has ever equaled the Kansas press in either the "ability or enterprise" exhibited during that period.⁴ Typical of the early Kansas editors was "fighting Dan Anthony," the "fightingest of a pugnacious lot."⁵ As the driving force behind Leavenworth journalism, "Anthony killed another editor, was beaten, flogged, cuffed, shot at, and several times injured by those he offended."⁶ Journalism in the early days of Kansas was not, evidently, a profession for the cautious or faint-hearted. This chapter is a description of Anthony's newspaper activities in the early years of Kansas journalism, and the story of his efforts to build a newspaper empire and the "most radical mouthpiece of Kansas."⁷

³Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 115.

⁴Bracke, Wheat Country, p. 176. "In general these journals were as unpretentious as they were insignificant, but in several instances they were of decidedly high caliber. Constantly proclaiming itself the 'leading' newspaper of Kansas, not without justice, was the Daily Conservative" Castel, Frontier State, p. 11. This is high praise, indeed, from one who usually regards Anthony's affairs unfavorably.

⁵Bracke, Wheat Country, p. 177.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Anthony, History and Era, p. 186.

Anthony had neither been bred nor educated for the newspaper profession; and, unlike his other business endeavors, there is no evidence of his having communicated with his family on the intention of starting a newspaper. He appears to have drifted into the profession quite accidentally but was quick to realize the potential of a newspaper to help advance his other ambitions. When these other ambitions became frustrated, Anthony gave the full force of his genius and energy to his newspaper and created an instrument second to none west of St. Louis.

From the time he first arrived in Kansas, in 1854, Anthony began to write for the New York Tribune, edited by Horace Greeley, and other eastern papers.⁸ Then he was espousing a cause and was writing to gain support for the Kansas Free State movement. He began his first newspaper, the Conservative, for no other reason than "the chivalrous intention of making a place for Web. Wilder, who he thought had received harsh measure and unjust treatment at St. Joseph."⁹ The actual beginning of the

⁸"Scrapbook," VI, 120.

⁹Noble L. Prentis, Kansas Miscellanies (second edition; Topeka, Kansas: Kansas Publishing House, 1889), p. 102. Hereafter cited as Prentis, Miscellanies. Wilder had managed a newspaper in that violently pro-slavery town but had been forced to leave because of his outspoken sympathies for the anti-slavery cause.

Conservative was stated inconspicuously enough by Wilder in his Annals of Kansas, under an entry dated January 28, 1861. "The Leavenworth Daily Conservative started.

D. R. Anthony, Publisher; D. W. Wilder, Editor. Matthew Weightman, Geo. F. Prescott, Henry Buckingham and George C. Hume were members of the publishing company."¹⁰ Castel, when referring to the origin of the Conservative, added a little more color. "It was owned by Daniel R. Anthony, brother of Susan B., 'a hot-headed, impracticable, energetic, smart, money-making ambitious abolitionist,' and edited by another abolitionist, D. W. ('Web') Wilder"¹¹ Another entry in the Annals of Kansas, dated January 29, 1861, recorded the publication of the first issue of the Conservative.

The signing of the bill by Buchanan is made known in Leavenworth by a dispatch from Marcus J. Parrott to the Conservative. That paper prints an extra, and D. R. Anthony carries it to Lawrence. The Legislature thanks the paper for its enterprise.¹²

¹⁰Wilder, Annals, p. 309; "Matthew Weightman," KHC, VI (1897-1900), 235; William C. Connelley, "Daniel W. Wilder, the Father of Kansas History and Literature," KHC, XVI (1923-1925), 2.

¹¹Castel, Frontier State, p. 11.

¹²Wilder, Annals, p. 311; Connelley, Standard History, II, 708.

A member of the Kansas legislature, which was then meeting in Lawrence, recalled this initial issue of the Conservative while making an address celebrating the quarter-centennial admission of Kansas.

It must have been as late as nine o'clock when D. R. Anthony came into the hotel with a sturdy stride and flashing eyes, and told us that the president of the United States had that day signed the bill admitting Kansas into the union.¹³

Although Anthony was associated with this newspaper only nine months, in that time the paper became "the most radical, the most-hated, most-read, and most-news-containing paper in the state."¹⁴ Many years later, Wilder wrote to Anthony's son to explain how they had come to name the Conservative:

It was called the Conservative because we hated that word. The cowards who did not dare to take side for or against slavery or for or against the Union posed as "Conservatives" and were despised by positive men. Without your father's aid financially and by effective personal influence, the paper would not have been started or become successful. I was its editor and became its publisher after your father became the lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Kansas Calvary.¹⁵

¹³Cordley, Lawrence, p. 173, this incident was recalled by the Hon. B. F. Simpson; Alice Nichols, Bleeding Kansas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 253.

¹⁴Castel, Frontier State, p. 213.

¹⁵"Scrapbook," VI, 114.

Anthony sold his interest in the Conservative in November of 1861. Although it was to be nearly three years before he again became actively involved in the newspaper profession, Anthony several times displayed a keen interest in journalistic affairs during this interval. On February 9, 1863, a mob led by Jennison and Anthony broke up a Democratic meeting in Leavenworth. The mob then sacked the offices of the Daily Inquirer, a Democratic paper, and drove its editor, Burrell E. Taylor, from town. When the city authorities tried to halt the mob, street fighting ensued and the next day General Blunt was forced to impose martial law. The following month Anthony was elected mayor, but even in this position he demonstrated a civic awareness as to the political responsibilities of newspapers. On May 1 he arrested David H. Bailey, the editor of the then Democratic Leavenworth Times, on the charge of disturbing the peace by criticizing General Hooker in Virginia. Bailey was fined \$20.00 but he refused to pay the fine and spent three hours in jail until he was released on a writ of habeas corpus. Bailey later sued Anthony who was fined \$50.00 and costs.¹⁶

¹⁶Castel, Frontier State, p. 213.

It was earlier stated that Anthony financed the Conservative as an attempt to make a place for Web Wilder. It was also because of Wilder that he began his second paper, the Evening Bulletin. In the Republican Congressional Convention held in Topeka on September 8, 1864, Sidney Clarke was nominated as the congressional candidate, replacing the incumbent, Carter Wilder. This incensed brother Web who thought his brother's failure to win renomination was the result of a deal made between Lane, Clarke, and Anthony. This caused a split among the Republicans of Leavenworth into the Wilder and Anthony factions. Later that month Anthony and Clarke bought the Evening Bulletin to counterattack the anti-Clarke feeling among the Republicans in Leavenworth. The depth of the feeling and bitterness which existed between these two Republican factions was demonstrated on October 10 in a Leavenworth County Republican meeting which was controlled by Wilder and other anti-Lane men. Anthony, of course, was present. When he attempted to heckle the speakers and in other ways tried to disrupt the meeting, "some of those present

knocked him unconscious."¹⁷ The ill-feeling engendered by this split of the Leavenworth Republicans into rival factions undoubtedly was one reason why Anthony failed in some of his future attempts for political office.

Several months after purchasing the Bulletin, Anthony's sister, Susan B., visited her brother's home in Leavenworth. Although in Kansas for a rest, she found it difficult to remain inactive, and she soon began to accept lecture invitations and to write articles for several Kansas newspapers. When D. R. began his 1865 campaign for another term as mayor, he increasingly relied on his sister's assistance to help edit the Evening Bulletin. In February of 1865, Susan B. reported to Mrs. Statton Cody that; "Brother D. R. owns a paper which he wants me to help edit. He wants to make it the most radical mouthpiece of Kansas" ¹⁸ Susan quickly found that her

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 182. It is not known how long Anthony and Clarke remained in partnership. Clarke was successful in the 1864 campaign and was re-elected to Congress for two successive terms. During this time he was the only representative from Kansas and was in the House at the time of the assassination of Lincoln, "of whom he was a close friend, and was placed on the committee that accompanied the body to its last resting place." Clarke was defeated for re-election in 1870 but in 1878 he was elected to the state legislature and became the Speaker of the House. In 1898 he removed to Oklahoma, "few men had a more powerful hand in shaping the destinies of the new state." Connelley, III, 1278.

¹⁸ Anthony, History and Era, p. 186.

brother's idea of a radical newspaper was not the same as her own. Although proving to be a very able assistant, D. R. found it necessary to warn his sister "not to fill his paper up with women's rights, and in spite of his sympathy for the Negro, forbade her to advocate Negro suffrage in his paper."¹⁹

Originally a Free Soil Republican, Daniel R. was having his own troubles adjusting to the swiftly changing policies of the post-war Republican regime. As he intended to adjust, he could not allow Susan's social reforms to complicate his problems.²⁰

Unable to persuade Daniel to publicly support Negro suffrage, Susan was successful in persuading him to hire a Negro printer. The other printers, however, refused to accept him and they went out on strike until the Negro was discharged; Susan again failed in her efforts in behalf of Negro rights while in Kansas.²¹

In May of that same year, 1865, a shooting incident occurred between Anthony and his old friend, Colonel Jennison. There are conflicting reports of the incidents leading to the duel between these two men. According to one source, a resident of Leavenworth, Gen. James C. Stone,

¹⁹Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 110.

²⁰Anthony, History and Era, p. 187.

²¹Ibid., p. 189; Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 111.

had attacked Anthony on the street with an umbrella. What precipitated the attack by Stone is unknown; but Anthony, in characteristic fashion, then castigated Stone on the pages of the Bulletin. Stone and some of his friends then "ganged up" to lie in wait for Anthony. Anthony's friends, not to be out done, "ganged up" in turn, and both sides went armed as a matter of course.²² The shooting incident itself was succinctly described by Susan B. in her diary:

May 13, 1865.--Col. J. R. Jennison [a friend of Stone's] attacked brother D. R. at 5½ P. M. Shooting occurred. Jennison hit in the leg.

May 14, 1865.--The fears of brother D. R.'s friends are very great.

May 27, 1865.--Col. Jennison able to ride out. He threatened to shoot D. R. still.²³

Howes gives as the reason for the shooting that Anthony was involved in a "violent controversy" in behalf of a Capt. J. B. Swain who was sentenced by a court martial at Fort Leavenworth for "killing rebels." In the Bulletin Anthony had printed that "Col. Jennison gave the

²²Anthony, History and Era, p. 188; Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 121. While Stone was beating Anthony with the umbrella, "Anthony backed for half a block while he received the castigation and then ran yelling for mercy." Ibid., quoted from the Kansas City Times.

²³Anthony, History and Era, p. 188.

orders for the killing, and when called on to testify, denied his verbal order."²⁴ The day after this article appeared, Jennison, in a rival paper, had the following advertisement printed: "D. R. Anthony, in his statement of May 11th, in regard to me, lied, and he knew he lied, when making it. [signed] C. R. Jennison."²⁵ The two later met in the streets of Leavenworth and Jennison was wounded in the leg. Anthony was later acquitted of a charge of assault with intent to kill.²⁶ Thirty-six years afterwards, Anthony himself recalled the incident in an article appearing in the Topeka Daily Capital:

. . . I said in my paper it was cowardly for Jennison to stay in the background and not come out and assume the responsibility for the killing

²⁴Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 119. Connelley states that Jennison had been forced to resign from the Seventh Kansas because of his "murderous forays and plundering proclivities," and that he was best known for his proficiency in "lifting livestock"--a common pedigree for many Kansas horses being "out of Missouri by Jennison." It is interesting that in spite of such a background he was still able to find appointive and elective office. In 1863 he was appointed colonel in the Fifteenth Kansas and subsequently elected to the Leavenworth city council, 1864; to the state legislature, 1865 and 1867; and to the state senate, 1872. Connelley, Standard History, II, fn., 759 and III, 1274-1275.

²⁵Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 119.

²⁶Ibid. " . . . only [other] person hurt was a stranger, who was standing in a hotel doorway when a spent ball struck him on the neck." "Scrapbook," VI, 121.

for which he had tactily consented . . . Jennison drew on me in the streets of Leavenworth. He shot at me six times and I shot at him six times. One of my bullets took effect in his leg. You can see it was very good marksmanship.²⁷

Anthony, in the above quotation, referred to the unfortunate soldier as Captain Cleveland. It is assumed that the thirty-six year lapse had dimmed Anthony's memory and the captain, in fact, was J. B. Swain. It is further assumed that both sets of incidents described above are historically accurate and culminated in the shooting incident; although, undoubtedly, the events in regard to J. B. Swain had more importance in leading to this gun duel than the personal enmity between Anthony and Stone.

All of Anthony's ventures in the field of journalism did not end in violence. Two years after the Jennison incident, March 20, 1867, the Missouri Valley Press Association was organized. Sixteen dailies were represented and D. R. Anthony was elected as the first president of the organization.²⁸ The next year, however, Anthony sold the Bulletin and nearly three years were to

²⁷"Scrapbook," III, 163.

²⁸Wilder, Annals, p. 455.

elapse before Anthony again showed an interest in newspaper work.²⁹ His first two newspapers, the Conservative and the Bulletin, Anthony had purchased, whether directly or indirectly, because of Web Wilder. In his third newspaper, the Leavenworth Daily Times, Anthony evinced a more enduring interest. Whether Anthony once again embarked on a journalistic career because of a sincere interest in journalism or simply because he viewed a newspaper as essential to repair his frustrated political ambitions, it is as editor of the Leavenworth Daily Times that Anthony is best remembered and that he made his most lasting contributions to Kansas journalism.

Kansas newspapers during the 1870's, while Anthony was editor and owner of the Daily Times, have been widely praised. Bracke states that in no other state has the press ever equaled that of Kansas during this period in either "ability or interest."³⁰ Howes believes that these early Kansas editors "brought to Kansas a record in the

²⁹ Wilder records that Anthony sold the Evening Bulletin on June 29, 1867, and that George T. Anthony ceased to be its editor on that date. Cf. Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 7, states it was sold in August, 1865. Cf. Burke and Rock, History of Leavenworth, p. 87, states it was sold to W. S. Burke in 1868.

³⁰ Bracke, Wheat Country, p. 176.

number of newspaper readers that has not been approached by any other state."³¹ In 1861 there were only ten towns in Kansas with over 500 inhabitants. The principal ones were Leavenworth, Atchison, and Lawrence. Leavenworth was the largest with an approximate population of 5,000.³² By 1870 the population of the state was estimated at 500,000. The principal cities were Atchison, Lawrence, Topeka, and Leavenworth with populations of 6,000, 6,500, 8,450, and 22,000, respectively.³³ In this same year the state boasted of over eighty regularly-appearing papers. As editor of the most important newspaper in the largest city of Kansas, Anthony was soon to wield tremendous political power in his adopted state.

[The Times] rank[ed] both in influence and circulation as the leading Republican organ of the State. The Times own[ed] one of the finest and best arranged newspaper book and job offices west of St. Louis. Both the daily and weekly issues of the Times [had] a larger circulation than any other publication in Kansas. It [exhibited] more enterprise, [was] conducted with more ability, and [was] the most prosperous journal in the West. It [was] to Kansas and the West, what the Chicago Tribune [was] to its area of publication.³⁴

³¹Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 115.

³²Castel, Frontier State, p. 8.

³³Giddens, "News," p. 171.

³⁴Burke and Rock, History of Leavenworth, p. 81.

Concerning the editor of the Times, Benson describes Anthony as "dynamic in his convictions and . . . quick to grasp at the handy phrase and the definite words to express his beliefs."³⁵ He further states that: "there were those who agreed with [Anthony] and those who disagreed . . . but there were surely none who misunderstood him."³⁶ The Times itself was the oldest newspaper in Kansas retaining its original title. It was established as a weekly under an oak tree on March 7, 1857, and published as a daily since 1858, the first permanent daily in Kansas.³⁷ Originally a Democratic organ, under Anthony's guidance it became the most influential Republican paper in the state.

On May 5, 1871, the Times was purchased by Anthony.³⁸ Six months later, on November 13, Anthony again gained control of the Bulletin which he consolidated with the Times. January 1, 1876, Anthony purchased the Commercial which had been established as a Democratic paper October 3, 1866. Anthony ran the Commercial as an evening edition

³⁵Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas," p. 56.

³⁶Ibid., p. 54.

³⁷Ibid., p. 56; "Kansas Historical Notes," KHQ, XIII (1944-1945), 540.

³⁸"Kansas History as Published in the State Press," KHQ, I (1931-1932) 402; Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 56.

for a few months, but then he found it expedient to merge it regularly with the Times.³⁹ Although Anthony's earlier interest in newspaper work had been sporadic and, apparently, accidental, beginning with his acquisition of the Times in 1871 such an interest took on a new dimension. Although perhaps acquiring the Times to further his business and political interests, Anthony soon discovered its value as an organ to disseminate his political views to the people of Leavenworth city and county. He then embarked on a course of consolidating numerous smaller Leavenworth newspapers with the Times, eventually building the most influential Republican newspaper in the state--a course which was to earn Anthony the title of "Caesar of Leavenworth morning journalism."

While actively pursuing the course which was to result in a journalistic empire second to none in Kansas, Anthony also demonstrated a keen interest in the various newspaper organizations which began making their appearance in the state. In 1874 he was elected president of the Kansas Editorial and Publishers' Association which had been organized eight years previously.⁴⁰ This was the

³⁹Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 430.

⁴⁰Harold W. Wilson, "Eighty Years of Editorial and Press Association Activities in Kansas" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1947), p. 13. Hereafter cited as Wilson, "Eighty Years."

first year the organization was criticized for its annual excursion which some members felt was detracting from the regular and legitimate business of the association. On May 26 of that same year Anthony was elected president of the "first editorial convention of newspapermen in Kansas" which met at Fort Scott.⁴¹ The next year Anthony was again elected president of the Kansas Editorial and Publishers' Association and was a member of the committee appointed to organize a state historical society and to petition the state legislature for support.⁴²

The Kansas State Historical Society, as it exists today, had its inception at this Kansas Editorial and Publishers' Association meeting in Manhattan, April 7 and 8, 1875.⁴³ The resolution naming a committee, "to organize an historical society and to request of the legislature an appropriation of at least one thousand dollars per year to cover the expense of collecting and preserving historical material" was introduced by D. W. Wilder.⁴⁴ The committee named consisted of Floyd P. Baker,

⁴¹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 700; Wilder, Annals, p. 638.

⁴²Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 700.

⁴³The Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1928), p. 6.

⁴⁴Ibid.

Solomon Miller, D. R. Anthony, John A. Martin, and George A. Crawford. The committee's petition to the legislature was successful and the Kansas State Historical Society was incorporated on December 15, 1875. The first board of directors consisted of S. A. Kingman, G. A. Crawford, J. A. Martin, E. P. Baker, Sol Miller, D. W. Wilder, and D. R. Anthony.⁴⁵

At the annual meeting of the Kansas and Missouri Associated Press on January 19, 1876, held in Leavenworth, Anthony was elected secretary-treasurer.⁴⁶ The following year, January 18, 1877, Anthony was unanimously re-elected to this position and was also named one of the directors of the organization.⁴⁷ Anthony was the president of the Editorial Association when it met on June 13, 1877, but he was not re-elected to that position for the following year.⁴⁸

While Anthony was demonstrating his ability in the various newspaper organizations of Kansas, he was not neglecting his responsibilities as editor of one of the most powerful newspapers in Leavenworth. In

⁴⁵Ibid.; Wilder, Annals, p. 697.

⁴⁶Wilder, Annals, p. 703.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 758.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 765.

discussing the factors for the growth of Fort Leavenworth, Hunt stated that:

Credit is also due . . . to the press of Leavenworth from the time when the first newspaper was printed on the Levee in 1854, through the Seventies when Colonel Daniel R. Anthony presided so forcefully and picturesquely over the fortunes of the Leavenworth Times⁴⁹

Anthony's newspaper leadership did not go undisputed. Many papers regularly appeared and disappeared in the city of Leavenworth. Undoubtedly a large number was started by rivals or opponents of Anthony for the sole purpose of causing him embarrassment and perhaps as attempts to ruin the Times. Usually such papers passed unnoticed in the pages of Anthony's paper. In one instance, however, Anthony took it upon himself to pronounce the eulogy on such a rival newspaper.

The Daily Appeal died yesterday morning. It had been running about two months. It lived one month longer than anybody supposed it would. It was a bankrupt concern in every sense of the word, from the first. It was without capital, ability, or integrity It made no manner of difference to the Times whether the thing lived or died. If a dozen such concerns should be started in Leavenworth everyday the Times would not be disturbed by them anymore than so many gnats.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Elvid Hunt, A History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1937 (second edition; Leavenworth, Kansas: The Command and General Staff School Press, 1827), p. 216.

⁵⁰Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas," pp. 55-56.

Kansas journalism reached its highest point in the eighties. Benson, in discussing this period, lists as the three outstanding editors Sol Miller, Marsh Murdock, and D. R. Anthony. Benson then continues with a brief description of the early Kansas editorial practices and concedes that:

Other vigorous editors followed, but the efforts of the later editors became more spasmodic . . . and the enthusiasm of the editorial column soon became more an individual outbreak than a general tendency. The editors of these early days felt that the vigor of editorial columns was a tradition of their craft, and even if they were not so sure of that, they were determined to give their newspapers the stamp of individuality.⁵¹

The Leavenworth Times certainly bore the stamp of individuality. "The Times was Col. D. R. Anthony and Col. D. R. Anthony was the Times."⁵²

Like the war-horse in Job, the Times hears the sound of battle afar off, and usually meets the battle itself halfway, yet it seems to grow a little stronger with each fight. It stands by itself among Kansas newspapers in its singular personal character. It is the voice of one man, and that man of rare force, courage, pertinacity, and enterprise.⁵³

Prentis refers to Anthony as the "Caesar of Leavenworth morning journalism" but goes on to state that

⁵¹Ibid., p. 64.

⁵²Ibid., p. 54.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 54-55; Prentis, Miscellanies, p. 103.

he had "never written a regularly organized 'leader' in his life He writes when he has something to say, and for the rest employs assistants" ⁵⁴

It would be suspected, from what has previously been said of Anthony, that he would not be easy to work for. A former employee admitted he was a "hard task-master," albeit a good one. In journalism, as in his other activities, Anthony's like and dislikes were quite pronounced. "If he didn't like you it was best to remain in the back-ground for he never forgot why he disliked you." ⁵⁵ On the other hand another employee, shortly after Anthony's death, wrote the following:

One of the good things about Col. Anthony was his great reluctance to discharge an employee. In all the time we were with him [eight years] he discharged but one man, and he was a man who held a responsible position and who, the Colonel had good reason to believe, was stealing from him. He dreaded change, but this did not account altogether for his retaining some of his help. He had a kind heart that made him sympathize with the man, and hold him, even though his work was not satisfactory. ⁵⁶

The Times itself and its physical plant were described by Cutler in 1883 as follows:

The Times is a finely printed eight-column folio sheet staunchly Republican in politics. It is a political power in the State, and yet is a newspaper

⁵⁴Prentis, Miscellanies, p. 102.

⁵⁵Sewes, "Pistol-Packin'," p. 121.

⁵⁶"Scrapbook," VI, 140.

in the true sense of the word. Its news, whether local, county, State, or national, is always fresh, and presented in a pithy, readable shape; its advertising list is a conclusive proof of its financial prosperity. Attached to the newspaper is a large and well-managed job-office. For enterprise and a solid financial basis, the Times has no superior in the State.⁵⁷

The Times building, a fine brick structure, 48 X 110 feet, three stories and a basement, is one of the best equipped printing houses west of St. Louis. On the first floor is the counting room, private office and library of Col. Anthony, stock room and nicely arranged reading room. On the second floor are the editorial and composing rooms. The basement proper is occupied as an engine room. On the next floor are the book and job office, printing presses, folding machines. . . .⁵⁸

Although devoting more and more of his interest to the Times, Anthony also found time to devote to his first love, politics. In the early 1880's Colonel Thomas Moonlight was nominee for sheriff of Leavenworth County; his opponent was D. J. Keller. In the campaign which followed Moonlight referred to Keller as the "Anthony candidate." A fierce personal contest followed; Moonlight and Anthony attacked each other on the stump and in the press--Keller was only a side issue. When the election was over, Keller won by a seventeen-vote margin. The next issue of the Times was spent in rejoicing and one page was

⁵⁷Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 430.

⁵⁸Ibid.

devoted to attacks by Moonlight on Anthony. After each reprint, without any further comment and printed in italics, was "Dave Keller elected by seventeen majority." For some time after the election, whenever his enemies would say or publish anything derogatory, Anthony would simply answer, "Dave Keller elected by seventeen majority." Finally, Anthony was accidentally thrown from his carriage in the streets of Leavenworth and knocked insensible. A crowd gathered and several doctors attempted to revive him. Upon regaining his speech but not yet completely sensible, Anthony's first words were, "Dave Keller elected by seventeen majority."⁵⁹

In May of 1881 the following sentence appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital, showing, perhaps, that even at age fifty-seven Anthony's escapades still had an air of notoriety, and a touch of humor. "It has been some months since Col. D. R. Anthony . . . has been engaged in mortal combat, yet we presume but few Kansans were surprised when they read the news of the latest scrimmage"⁶⁰ The scrimmage referred to occurred when ex-Senator Ross moved his printing office from Lawrence to Leavenworth and began

⁵⁹"Scrapbook," VI, 137-138.

⁶⁰Ibid., II, 9.

the Leavenworth Standard. Ross and Anthony had long been at political odds, and almost immediately they began attacking one another in the editorial columns of their respective newspapers. One day Anthony clamly walked into Ross' office, spat upon him, and began to beat him with a cane.⁶¹ Later, about 4:00 in the afternoon, the two met on the street. Anthony called Ross a "great liar and dirty dog." Both gentlemen were this time armed with canes and they proceeded to use them. Both voluntarily quit later.⁶²

The next year Kansas elected its first Democratic governor, George W. Glick. The inauguration of the governor occasioned the calling of a convention of Democratic editors to participate in the celebration. Some of the Republican papers took advantage of the occasion to ridicule the Democratic press. The procedure angered Anthony and he reminded his Republican colleagues that there were about forty Democratic papers in the state

⁶¹Ibid., VI, 126.

⁶²Ibid., II, 9. Later, when referring to this incident, Anthony remarked that he had acquitted himself remarkably well considering that his right arm had been partly disabled for about five years as the result of a wound in the shoulder. About ten years later, in a photostatic copy of what was evidently a rough draft of an editorial, Anthony mentioned a scrimmage with Shaw F. Neely in which he was hampered by a "paralyzed right arm." D. R. Anthony Miscellaneous MSS, Kansas State Historical Society. Evidently, the shoulder wound Anthony had suffered in the Embry assault had gradually led to total paralysis of Anthony's right arm.

and that some of them were edited with "conspicuous ability."⁶³ This was indeed a different Anthony from the one who had led a mob which sacked the offices of the Democratic Daily Inquirer or who, as mayor, had arrested the editor of the then Democratic Times because he took exception with an editorial.

Interest in the Kansas Editorial and Publishers' Association began to decline by 1883. There were two reasons for this. First, the Association "failed to meet the needs of newspapermen. Instead of exchanging ideas on better editing and publishing, it became a jumping off place for excursions."⁶⁴ This was the same objection raised the year Anthony became president of the organization. Second, "sectional organizations, begun in 1879, were encroaching on activities of [the] State Association."⁶⁵ Two years later the state association held its last recorded business session. "This session was strictly a business one and was not well attended."⁶⁶ As an effective and efficient aid to Kansas publishers and editors, the Association had failed. However, in

⁶³James C. Malin, "William Sutton White, Swedenborgian Publicist: Part I," KEQ, XXIV (1958), 456.

⁶⁴Wilson, "Eighty Years," p. 19.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

reviewing the achievements of the Association, Wilson found it:

. . . had been able to secure legislation for three projects [it] sponsored. [The Association] agitated for and secured the office of state printer. [Its] early efforts to secure a state historical society [were] rewarded, and one of the most efficient and up-to-date historical societies in the United States is the result. [It] sponsored the Kansas Magazine, which lasted but a year, but is a "bright literary gem in the history of Kansas."⁶⁷

On April 9, 1886, the Eastern Kansas Editorial Association was organized. Nineteen papers held membership in this new regional association, one of which was the Leavenworth Times.⁶⁸ The next year, 1887, Anthony sold a controlling interest in the Times to "an eastern syndicate for a handsome figure."⁶⁹ Two years later, however, he again became its managing editor. Admire describes this two year interval in his usual poetic manner:

During his brief absence from the control of the paper it drifted rapidly into public disfavor, and in order that it might be saved from an ignoble death he was at last induced to again take hold of the helm and steer the sinking craft into a safe harbor.⁷⁰

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 24.

⁶⁹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 700.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 701.

Evidently Anthony proved a capable pilot because the Times quickly regained its reputation as a leading Kansas newspaper and within a few years Anthony was conspicuously participating in the new sectional editorial association. This sectional association, the Eastern Kansas Editorial Association of which the Times was a member, functioned similarly to the older state organization. The primary difference in the program was that this regional association laid more emphasis upon the everyday problems of newspapers.⁷¹

In the early years of newspaper publication in Kansas, as has already been stated, the papers were in actuality mouthpieces of certain political groups.

The editor's eyes were not yet open to the business opportunities of newspaper publishing. They did fight legislative action which aimed at decreasing their revenue from legal notices, and they sought to limit the state printing plant's activities which would reduce their job printing. However, they did not attempt to increase advertising space and subscription list except in an effort to drive competing newspapers out of business.⁷²

This cutthroat competition partly accounts for the ineffectiveness of the Kansas Editorial and Publishers' Association which helped lead to its early demise. That

⁷¹Wilson, "Eighty Years," p. 22.

⁷²Ibid., p. 161.

such competition existed is demonstrated by an early resolution proposing the Association disapprove of such "competition which results in the increasing of circulation at less than actual cost of such increase."⁷³

Because of this severe competition, the editors were never able to agree upon a standard policy of advertising rates while the Association was in existence. On the other hand, beginning in 1893, Wilson discovered a trend which reflected "a new interest in the newspaper editorially, and a steadily increasing emphasis on the business and advertising phases of publication."⁷⁴ A further description of Kansas journalism in the last decade of the nineteenth century is as follows:

In the nineties the editors of Kansas put their heart and souls into politics. Trenchant and personal expressions of opinions held sway. There was no equivocation to be noted in the editorial columns. Issues were presented straight from the shoulder. Personal journalism in Kansas is no better exemplified than in the newspapers of the nineties. The papers were known by the editors rather than by any other

not for all the subscribers

of the Times

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

designation. There was an abundance of editorial expression and the life and vigor of the state was in its newspapers.⁷⁵

Though Kansas editors "put their hearts and souls into politics," it is reported that Anthony was once tempted to stray from the Republican fold. A former employee of the Times' staff, J. M. Mickey, disclosed that in 1890 or 1891, the Times became a Populist paper. In the fall election of 1890, the Populist party had polled over 100,000 votes. There were weekly Populist papers but no dailies of any standing. A Populist editor of Great Bend, Armstrong, wrote Anthony that if he, Armstrong, were made editor and the Times a Populist paper, circulation would increase by 100,000. Anthony agreed. The alliance between Armstrong and Anthony lasted about a month until Armstrong wanted to pronounce against the protective tariff. To this proposal Anthony retorted: "Let my paper pronounce against protection, that has built this country up! Not for all the subscribers they can give me."⁷⁶ This was the end of the Times' Populism.

⁷⁵Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas," p. 59. "The unanimity of the Kansas press this fall [1890] is unparalleled in the history of the state. In kicking and faultfinding generally, probably the Leavenworth Times, Atchison Champion, Lawrence Journal, Emporia Republican and the Kansas City Gazette are the most unanimous." Ibid., pp. 60-61.

⁷⁶"Scrapbook," VI, 141.

It was during the 1890's that Anthony ceased to actively pursue public office. Perhaps as a result, his participation in journalistic activities increased at a remarkable pace. On September 11, 1893, the first meeting of the new Kansas Editorial Association created a legislative committee "to exert influence upon the legislature to enact laws favorable to the newspapers."⁷⁷ There were seven members on the committee, one from each congressional district; Anthony was the member from the First District.⁷⁸ In 1890 a Women's Editorial Association had been formed. This association held its meetings only occasionally and in 1896 it was unable to hold a meeting because of its small membership, eighteen women. Perhaps prompted because of his sister's fight in behalf of women's rights, Anthony sponsored a resolution to the 1896 meeting of the Kansas Editorial Association to admit the women's group to membership. Anthony requested that the women discontinue their own organization and, to give them recognition in the larger association, he further suggested that the ladies be named as vice presidents.⁷⁹ There is no

⁷⁷Wilson, "Eighty Years," p. 26.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 36.

evidence as to how this resolution was received or to what action was taken upon it.

Anthony was elected vice president from the First District in both the 1897 and 1899 meetings of the Kansas Editorial Association. In the 1899 meeting he was appointed to a committee to go before the Kansas House of Representatives' Ways and Means Committee to urge an appropriation for furnishing quarters for the Kansas State Historical Society. At the 1900 meeting he presented a paper to the group entitled "Protection of the Material Interests of Kansas."⁸⁰ That same year D. R. Anthony II was the vice president from the First District. In 1903 Anthony was elected president of the Association. During the discussions that same year, someone remarked that newspapermen should not be permitted to hold the office of postmaster. Anthony retorted that "the post office was created for the newspapermen and that they should get everything that was coming to them."⁸¹ Also at this meeting Anthony joint-sponsored a resolution requesting the legislature to appropriate funds for D. W. Wilder to write a history of Kansas.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 37-41.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 47.

While Anthony was becoming a commanding figure in the Kansas' journalistic organizations and building a Leavenworth newspaper empire, he was not entirely free of minor annoyances in his newspaper plant or with local subscribers. In fact, everything was not always running smoothly at the Times. In 1886 it was reported that the typographical union was going back on Governor Martin because he was supported by the Kansas City Journal and the Leavenworth Times, two newspapers which employed non-union men.⁸² That same year Anthony "repeatedly assailed the Knights of Labor, and assured them that their votes were not wanted by the Republican party."⁸³ Evidently Anthony was violently anti-union. In 1887 the Leavenworth saloonkeepers and bartenders resolved to boycott the Times and all of its advertisers because it favored closing the saloons.⁸⁴ On October 30, 1890, the Times was refused admission to the mails because it contained an account of a raffle held at a church supper.⁸⁵

⁸²Dorothy Leibengood, "Labor Problems in the Second Year of Governor Martin's Administration," KHQ, V (1936), 205-206.

⁸³Ibid., p. 204.

⁸⁴Jennie Small Owen (annalist) and Kirke Mechem (ed.), The Annals of Kansas: 1886-1925 (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society, 1954-1956), I, 32. Hereafter cited as Owen and Mechem, Annals: 1886-1925. All references are to volume I.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 110.

December 22, however, Anthony was found not guilty of sending newspapers containing lottery advertisements through the mails and the Times was once again allowed the use of the postal service.⁸⁶

Even though he was in his late sixties by this time, Anthony was still an active commentator on political matters. On April 15, 1891, William N. Fortescue, a former Leavenworth mayor, "horsewhipped" Anthony in the streets of Leavenworth for Anthony's scathing attacks in the pages of the Times. Fortescue was later fined \$30.00 and costs for this beating of Anthony. Before the hearing both men were searched for firearms.⁸⁷

In 1904 Anthony was again elected president of the Kansas Editorial Association. By this time he was referred to as the "Dean of the Association." At this meeting, his final one, he presented his ideas on successful newspaper editing and publishing.

There are certain cardinal features of a paper which all should strive to attain. These are: Print all the news and every day. Work constantly and hard. Be under no obligation to any man. Tell the truth and shun the devil. Always have an eye on the business end of the paper and make it a successful financial venture. Have plenty of

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 112.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 119 and 120.

libel suits; a lying newspaper is good for nothing. Be earnest, be radiant, be sure you are right, do your duty as you see it, and you are sure to succeed.⁸⁸

This last bit of advice was more a part of Anthony's personal philosophy than just "cardinal features" of running a newspaper. In each of his various capacities--businessman, military commander, politician--Anthony had followed these points assiduously. Although his original motives for entering the journalistic profession are not clear, through his enterprise and genius Anthony, in thirty-three years, had succeeded in making the Leavenworth Times one of the largest and most influential Republican organs in the state and surrounding area, and in laying the foundations for a journalistic dynasty which has continued to this day. While it is doubtful that Anthony achieved the announced purpose of building the most "radical mouth-piece of Kansas," for over three decades he did preside as the most picturesque, most controversial, and most influential newspaper editor in Kansas journalism. His efforts in behalf of the various Kansas editorial and publishers organizations as well as his work in building a Leavenworth newspaper empire more than earned him the unique title, "Caesar of Leavenworth morning journalism."

⁸⁸Wilson, "Eighty Years," pp. 47-48.

CHAPTER VI

THE HEART OF MAN

"Let the mantle of charity cover the form
That never was known to take refuge in storm.
Forgetting his faults, let his virtues remain,
Knowing well, as we do, he has not lived in vain."

A. W. Stubbs

Who was Daniel Read Anthony? In the preceding pages he was described in numerous and various ways. His admirers praised him to the point of idolatry; his detractors criticized him as a treacherous and despicable villain. Could he possess any one, or all of the characteristics attributed to him? Has he been abandoned to history's interpretation strictly on the basis of accounts by prejudiced observers? Certainly the biography of any man can be viewed, and written, only with prejudice; the truly objective observer is so rare as to be virtually nonexistent. Any estimation of a person's character and personality is only relative and Anthony, in the final analysis, is what the predilections and prejudices of each individual reader make him. He must be understood not only in regard to the times in which he lived but also in regard to the times in which he is viewed.

Who was Anthony? He was not one of the giants one notices as he thumbs through the pages of history. Instead, Anthony belongs to one of those innumerable tribes of less-than-giants which people the written accounts of the past. His effect on history, nonetheless, is as fixed and irrevocable as that of those of greater stature, though perhaps less easily measured. If it is assumed that the great men in history are produced by the times in which they lived, it should equally follow that these times themselves are produced by the aspirations, follies, absurdities, and superhuman achievements of the less-than-giants. To gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the past, an acquaintanceship with men of both statures should be made.

But who was Anthony? The conclusion that he was either good or evil cannot be reached. Neither is it sufficient to say he was a combination of both good and evil as these are merely relative terms, the definition of which will vary from individual to individual. The events in Anthony's life can be easily chronicled; but when these events are viewed by different observers, each can form his own interpretation of the same historical fact. The actions of an individual can be evaluated primarily on the basis of the results of these actions.

But what of the individual himself? Upon what basis can he be judged? In Anthony's own words, "I don't believe that a devil exists anywhere except in the heart of man" Any evaluation of the nature of a man must take into consideration not only his actions but also the reasons for these actions. The question of good or evil can be resolved only by judging the "heart of man." Who was Daniel R. Anthony? Each reader will have to answer that question for himself as the heart of man can never be known with certainty.

This chapter, the final one in the story of the Kansas Quaker, is both a summation and an expansion. A summation in that it is a recital, in chronological order, of the major events in Anthony's life previously recorded. An expansion in that anecdotes, which have no great historical significance but are necessary to fully explore the facets of Anthony's many-sided personality, are included. Born in Adams, Massachusetts, on August 22, 1824, Anthony spent his childhood in historical obscurity. In 1837 he attended an academy in Union Village, New York, for six months until the depression forced him to quit school and commence working in his father's mill. In 1847 he rejoined his family who had previously moved to Rochester, New York. After teaching school, working in a bank, and acting as an insurance agent, he joined the first Emigrant Aid Company

party bound for Kansas on July 18, 1854. The group reached Kansas in early August and Anthony assisted in the founding of the settlement of Lawrence. Later that same month, August of 1854, Anthony returned to New York where he remained for three years. While in New York he attended the Saratoga Springs Convention, acted as agent for the New York State Kansas Committee, and presumably worked in his father's insurance office.

Returning to Kansas in 1857, Anthony opened an insurance office of his own, began a banking establishment, and engaged in land speculation. In the early years of his return to Kansas, Anthony demonstrated a deep interest in business matters. However, that he was also involved in politics is shown in a letter to his sister, Susan B., written in 1857. The letter, in part, reads as follows: "I shall go to Topeka . . . to attend the convention of the Free State Party having been delegated by the people of Atchinson Co where for the present I hail from--"¹ Shortly after this time he settled in Leavenworth which was to be his home for the next forty-seven years.

¹Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 14. This convention, held on July 15 and 16, was to nominate officers under the Free State Topeka Constitution.

Anthony's business ventures were not an immediate financial success and he found it necessary to place himself on a strict budget. In October of 1857 he confided that "in these money Panic times one must economise as much as possible in Dress, traveling expenses, &c My Cigar, Whiskey & Pleasure Bills generally are mere nothing for the last two months."² However, Anthony saw Leavenworth as a city of opportunity. It was the largest city in Kansas with an endless stream of new immigrants flowing in. In December of 1858 he wrote a description of the city.

Leavenworth has a population of 8,000 people 150 to 200 Stores, 5 or 6 Hotels, 5 or 6 Steam Saw Mills--1 Pork Packing establishment, 1 Large Brick Steam Flouring Mill 4 . . . Stores--2 Iron Foundries--2 or 3 Waggon shops, an endless number of boarding houses³

By the following year Anthony's business ventures were providing him with sufficient income to be able to report the following reading matter to which he subscribed: "Atlantic Monthly & the Standard by the year & N. Y. Daily Tribune--Daily Times & Ledger, Weekly Times, & Herald & Weston Platte Argus . . . Insuran[ce]--Monitor & Bank Note Reporter."⁴

²Ibid., p. 25.

³Ibid., p. 215.

⁴Ibid., p. 217.

During these early years in Kansas, as throughout most of his life, there is little evidence of Anthony demonstrating any particular interest in religious matters. In one letter to Susan B. he referred to the church as a cheap form of entertainment, although not as exciting as the theater, and told of spending one Sunday evening talking with a group of men "against the Church and the Democratic party." In this same letter he humorously told of his views of the relationship of spiritual and worldly matters, concluding, "the Spiritual and the Physical are so intimately related that that which promotes the comfort of the one must interest the other--"⁵

When Anthony settled in Leavenworth the town was noted for its strong pro-slavery and pro-Democratic sentiment. Yet the later territorial years of Kansas saw a gradual change in this attitude and in the early years of statehood Leavenworth acquired a more Republican flavor. This transition from pro-slavery sentiment has been credited to the large foreign migration to the city. "The foreigners were almost all free-state men in sympathy; the

⁵Ibid., p. 212.

German settlers [in particular] were a force of importance in converting [it] from a pro-slavery to a free-state center."⁶

By 1860 Anthony was showing an interest in matters other than business and politics. On January 6 of that year a charter from the territorial legislature was obtained for the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association in Leavenworth. The objectives of the organization were "the improvement of its members, [the establishment of] a permanent library [and] for the purpose of mental culture."⁷ D. R. Anthony was elected treasurer of the association. The initiation fee was set at \$1.00; annual dues were \$3.00; and lecture admission was 25¢. Little enthusiasm was shown for the project and it folded within two years. On October 17, 1860, Anthony was a member of the railroad convention which met "to plan and devise a scheme for securing a practical railroad system" for Kansas.⁸ Since the railroads in early Kansas could either

⁶J. Neale Carman, "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives reprint, p. 194, from Territorial Kansas, University of Kansas Social Science Studies, 1954.

⁷James C. Malin, "Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas: Part III," KHC, XXI (1954-1955), 360-362.

⁸George W. Glick, "The Railroad Convention of 1860," KHC, IX (1905-1906), 468-469.

cause the growth or decay of ambitious young towns, it was only natural that Leavenworth, hence Anthony, should be vitally interested in proposed rail systems. The reports of the proceedings of this convention are confusing but it appears Anthony was only partially successful in representing the interest of his adopted city.

On January 30, 1861, the first issue of the Daily Conservative appeared in which the passage of the Kansas statehood bill was announced. The following editorial appeared on the front page of this issue, demonstrating the strong pro-Union sentiment which characterized Anthony's life.

It is sufficient to announce to our people that we are at length a state. They will rejoice everywhere; on all our prairies, on every hill side, in every valley, when the glad news reaches them. Our universal shout will go up from every heart for the Constitution and the Union.

Whatever other States, urged on by prejudice and fanatic zeal, may do or say against our country and its glorious flag, the people of Kansas with one heart and with one voice, will fight forever for that Union under which our liberty was first secured, and through which it has ever been maintained.

If the dread necessity shall come, if an appeal shall be made to the arbitrament of the sword, we will fight for the stars and stripes till the last enemy is vanquished, till the last drop of blood comes from our veins.⁹

⁹Miller, Langsdorf and Richmond, Kansas in Newspapers, p. 53.

Leavenworth's statehood celebration was led by Anthony; it was at his suggestion that cannon were placed on the banks overlooking the Missouri River and ramméd with the hated territorial statutes which were "adopted from the Missouri statutes by the pro-slavery men [who] had swarmed into Kansas." After the cannon were thus loaded, they were then discharged toward Missouri and "the hated statutes were blown toward the equally hated Missouri shores."¹⁰ It is not too surprising to find Anthony leading the Leavenworth statehood celebration. During the previous four years he had been marked as a rapidly rising Free State and Republican leader. He had attended the Free State Convention of 1857, led in the rescue of the runaway slave, Fisher, had entertained Lincoln in his rooms, financially contributed to the attempted rescue of John Brown, and had been chosen to preside over a Leavenworth Republican dinner honoring Anson Burlingame.¹¹

¹⁰"Scrapbook," III, 174.

¹¹Wilder, Annals, pp. 279-280. Anson Burlingame was born in New Berlin, New York, in 1820. From 1855 to 1860 he served as a Free-Soil and Republican congressman from Massachusetts. He held the post of minister to China from 1861 to 1867. He was head of the first diplomatic mission sent by China to foreign powers, 1867-1870, which resulted in the Burlingame Treaty with the United States in 1868 and "an equivalent declaration from Great Britain acknowledging sovereignty of China." He died in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1870. Hopkins, Concise DAB, p. 125.

Upon the elevation of Kansas to the status of statehood and immediately following the election of Kansas' first two senators, Lane and Pomeroy, a swarm of office-hungry Kansas politicians, including Anthony, hastened to Washington. So many of these seeking political appointment were from the state legislature that for a while it had difficulty raising a quorum to conduct business.¹² While the Kansas politicians were thus employed in the nation's capital, a rumor was circulated that the Virginians were planning to strike across the Potomac at the nearly defenseless capital. The people of Washington were thrown into a panic and desperate attempts were made to organize various defensive units as there were not yet enough Union troops in the vicinity to defend the city. The rumor proved false, but the Kansans in Washington played a leading role in those hectic days when the threat of immediate invasion hung over the capital city.

When the rumor of the threatened invasion was first circulated, Senator Lane had quickly organized his fellow Kansans into a defensive unit, known as the Frontier Guard,

¹²Castel, Frontier State, p. 34.

and offered its services to the government.¹³ The offer was promptly accepted and the Frontier Guard was assigned the task of protecting the White House and President Lincoln from April 18 to May 3, until sufficient Union troops arrived to protect the city. During that time the Guard was bivouacked in the White House itself. Although never officially entered on the rolls of the Union army, in the mustering-out ceremonies in the White House, Lincoln thanked them personally and Kansas was justifiably elated when it heard of the singular honor paid its citizens. The exact number who served in the Frontier Guard cannot be determined but the Kansas State Historical Society has verified the names of fifty-one of its members, among whom were Mark W. Delahay, D. R. Anthony, Marcus J. Parrott, A. C. Wilder, and Samuel W. Greer.¹⁴

Although little of a positive character was accomplished by the Frontier Guard, it is credited with

¹³This account of the Frontier Guard is drawn from the following sources: Castel, Frontier State, pp. 34-35; Noble L. Prentis (Henrietta V. Race, ed.), A History of Kansas (Topeka, Kansas: Caroline Prentis, 1909), pp. 144-145, hereafter cited as Prentis, Kansas History; and Edgar Langsdorf, "Jim Lane and the Frontier Guard," KHC, IX (1940), 13-25, hereafter cited as Langsdorf, "Frontier Guard."

¹⁴Prentis, Kansas History, pp. 144-145; "The Soldiers of Kansas," KHC, X (1907-1908), 419.

capturing the first rebel flag taken by Union forces during the Civil War. This flag was captured during a brief skirmish between a unit of the Guards and a rebel patrol.¹⁵ As an indirect result of the formation of the Frontier Guard, however, it has been pointed out by some authorities that President Lincoln and Senator Lane became fast friends. As a result of this friendship, Lincoln came to value highly the opinions of Senator Lane and to regard him as the final authority on any matters relating to Kansas, to the utter dismay of other Kansas politicians and to the utter confusion of state politics. Langsdorf, in exploring this point, cites from two studies of Lane that "this was the beginning of that intimate friendship which was never broken . . . except by the dissonant chords of death";¹⁶ that "it marked the beginning of an intimate friendship with the President . . . which gave him [Lane] a prestige and influence that continued throughout the war."¹⁷ Langsdorf, however, concludes that these

¹⁵Langsdorf, "Frontier Guard," pp. 18 and 19.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 24, citing John Speer, Life of James H. Lane (second edition; Garden City, Kansas: John Speer, 1897), p. 236.

¹⁷Langsdorf, "Frontier Guard," p. 25, citing "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, III (1930), 105.

were probably exaggerations, as: "the character and ideals of the two men were so disparate that any close bond seems unlikely."¹⁸ He then continues with the thesis that any influence Lane had upon Lincoln probably arose more from Lane's persistence and nuisance value than from any "intimate friendship." Regardless of the political capital Lane had been able to make from the incident, Anthony had been unsuccessful in his own political ambitions and when he left the capital he carried in his pocket the prize he had journeyed from Leavenworth to seek. On May 1, 1861, he received from Lincoln the appointment as postmaster of Leavenworth.¹⁹

Upon his return to Kansas, Anthony became almost immediately immersed in state politics. On May 22 he was elected secretary of the Republican Congressional Convention held at Topeka. As a member of this convention, Anthony offered three resolutions; all of which were adopted. These resolutions demonstrate Anthony's attitude toward the Civil War and his uncompromising stand toward

¹⁸Langsdorf, "Frontier Guard," p. 25.

¹⁹Wilder, Annals, p. 318.

the pro-slavery forces. Two of these resolutions are particularly clear in stating his position:

Resolved, that the grave responsibilities of this hour could not have been safely postponed, and that they have not arrived too soon, and that in the present war between Government and Anarchy the mildest compromise is treason against humanity. Resolved, that we spurn as spacious sophistries all suggestions for the peaceful dismemberment of the Union, and pledge our fortune and our honor to its maintenance, intact and inviolate.²⁰

Shortly after his attendance at this congressional convention, Anthony showed himself willing to do battle for the Union cause with more than words and resolutions. At a Missouri town, Iatan, about eight miles from Leavenworth, a rebel flag was displayed over a local store. The Leavenworth patriots were angered over this act of defiance and several attempts were made to capture the flag, one of which was finally successful. It was the first rebel flag captured in the area and created intense excitement. Anthony's and Wilder's paper, the Conservative, endorsed the act but many prominent people opposed it as illegal. A public meeting was held in Leavenworth which endorsed those who had captured the flag and the Conservative for "sustaining them." Both Admire and Wilder state the flag was captured by soldiers of the

²⁰ Ibid., p. 319.

First Kansas.²¹ Other accounts give Anthony a prominent role in the incident. Forty years later Anthony himself described the capture of the flag as follows:

We tried three times to get that flag . . . The first time we went after it we got licked before we got there by an overwhelming force. The next time we went after it we went up on a boat. The flag was at a store, but it was hauled down before the boat landed. We went into the store and saw the flag folded on a bench. I said I guessed I would take that flag with me. Instantly thirty men pulled their revolvers and said they guessed I would not. Under the circumstances I did not take the flag. There was only two of us there and the boat was a mile away

The third time I went after that flag I got it.²²

After his second visit to the store, Anthony described his adventure in the Conservative. The Leavenworth Herald, edited by R. C. Satterlee, copied Anthony's account and then included another version which concluded: "Whereupon, it is said, Anthony made double quick time out of the store down the railroad track, with coat-tails extended, and the utmost horror on his countenance."²³

The day following the publication of the Herald's version of the Iaton flag incident, Anthony and Satterlee met on the streets of Leavenworth. Anthony demanded a

²¹Ibid., p. 320; Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 696.

²²"Scrapbook," III, 163.

²³Howes, "Pistol-Packin'," pp. 118-119.

retraction on the grounds the information Satterlee printed was false. Satterlee refused, drew a revolver, and shot at Anthony. Anthony also drew a revolver and shot at Satterlee. In the exchange of shots a companion of Anthony was wounded; Satterlee was killed. In July Anthony was tried for the murder of Satterlee. The bond set was said to have been the largest demanded of anyone in Kansas for any crime. The trial, before Judge McDowell, lasted five days at the end of which time Anthony was acquitted.²⁴

Although acquitted by a court of law, the Quaker Society of Friends of Rochester was not satisfied and conducted an investigation of its own. The Society of Friends charged that Anthony had "resorted to the use of a deadly weapon in a personal encounter with [R.] G. Satterlee thereby causing the death of that individual." A committee was formed in March to carry out the investigation through the necessary correspondence. In June this committee informed the meeting they had received a communication from Anthony

. . . in which he acknowledges the complaint to be true, says he does not believe it to be right to take life under any circumstances, it was done under

²⁴Ibid.; Admire, "Early Pioneer," pp. 696-697; Wilder, Annals, p. 320.

the impulse of the moment to save his own life. That he had never justified the act but is sorry for it and now as ever fully believes in the principles so long maintained by the Society of Friends of which [he felt to be] so unworthy a member.²⁵

The case was discussed at the next two monthly meetings. In August the committee in charge of the investigation read another letter from Anthony. After reading the letter the meeting "concluded to retain him as a member." A new committee was then formed to communicate to Anthony the Society's decision. Anthony's response to this decision had to be received and deemed satisfactory before it became final. Further, according to Quaker rules, such a decision had to be unanimous. Three months later, in November, the final decision was recorded.

The outcome was one which certainly could not have been foreseen. It still stands as a rare if not unique chapter in Quaker discipline. What counted in the Quaker court was a man's attitude toward his misdeed, and Daniel R. Anthony had satisfactorily passed this test.²⁶

Anthony had stood accused in the courts of both law and religion for the death of Satterlee. In the one he had been held not to be legally responsible; in the other he was judged to be sufficiently spiritually contrite. It would

²⁵Anthony, History and Era, pp. 232-233.

²⁶Ibid., p. 233.

not have been an easy matter to convince the Quaker court that his attitude toward this act of murder was such as to remain morally acceptable for membership in the Society of Friends. That Anthony was able to convey his deep repentance and his continued belief in the Quaker faith bears testimony to his spiritual and religious feelings and his ability to communicate these feelings. Throughout the proceedings his family anxiously awaited the decision of the Society. Susan B., in particular, was deeply affected by the incident.

The question might be asked at this point if Anthony actually was sufficiently contrite or if his conduct during this investigation was somehow a sham; was he a "smooth rascal" who acted with tongue-in-cheek throughout the proceedings? It must be pointed out that Katherine Anthony, who is the only one to present the information on this incident, is not able to claim any direct relationship with D. R. or Susan B. but does state that she prefers to feel they do have a common ancestor. This might be sufficient reason to view with suspicion her evaluation presented in the above quotation. It is possible, however, to imagine Anthony's frame of mind and to conclude that Katherine Anthony's evaluation was correct. The warring factions of D. R. Anthony's earlier religious training and his tempestuous nature could easily

have fomented a major moral crisis in his mind. It is doubtful if any one such isolated internal conflict could have a permanent and radical influence on the future actions of Anthony, but the immediate result could have led to a temporary reassertion of his earlier religious principles. In view of Anthony's passionate nature, it is not doubted that the incident was sufficient to arouse a religious fervor during the period in question and that during the investigation he conducted himself with honesty and sincerity. It is, nevertheless, difficult to reconcile Anthony's penitence in the Satterlee incident, his reaffirmation of faith in Quaker principles, and his later actions. He became known for his fiery temper, his verbal and physical battles, and the alacrity with which he resorted to the use of firearms to settle a dispute.

I can well remember the first time I had my attention called to D. R.'s connection with affairs offensive and defensive. It was when I first went to Leavenworth. I had just finished my breakfast at the Planter's [hotel] . . . I was reading a newspaper when I heard shots in the street. Bang! Bang! Bang! went a pistol about as rapidly as you could count one, two, three. I noticed that the noise created no excitement in the hotel. The clerk worked at his books as complacently as ever. I walked over to the counter and asked him if he heard the noise. Without looking up he said he had.

"Do people shoot pistols in the streets of Leavenworth?" I asked.

"Old D. R. shoots when he pleases," was the reply.

.....

"Nobody here . . . bothers about old D. R.'s shooting a man except the fellow he wings."²⁷

Although all of D. R.'s gun battles did not end in physically harming his opponents, the mere thought of engaging in such a duel caused some to spend many apprehensive moments indoors. Several times his enemies put up a plea that Anthony be prohibited from gunning in the streets of Leavenworth. On one occasion after being assaulted, he paraded through the streets bearing a suspicious looking package. His enemies said it was a revolver and were afraid to go out for fear he would kill them; they subsequently caused his arrest on the charge of carrying a concealed weapon and a sensational trial followed.²⁸

After several days of testimony Anthony took the stand in his own defense. At the proper time and before a packed courtroom, he carefully unwrapped the package which contained a lead pipe carefully bent in the shape of a pistol. Cheer after cheer went up and, while his

²⁷"Scrapbook," III, 170. This article originally appeared in the New York Sun.

²⁸"Scrapbook," III, 170-171; VI, 121 and 126.

enemies quietly sneaked from the courtroom, Anthony held an impromptu reception for his friends. This "bluffing of the gang" with what Anthony called his "Quaker gun," he considered to be one of the triumphs of his life.²⁹

Another inconsistency between Anthony's professed belief in Quaker principles and his actions in his personal and private life can be found in his eleven months of military service. The Quaker belief in pacifism was apparently overridden by Anthony's patriotism and hatred of slavery. In the border troubles during the territorial days and the period the Seventh Kansas was stationed in Missouri, Anthony was compared with Quantrill, Jennison, Cleveland, Hoyt, and Stewart by Castel who concluded that they were all the "product of border strife and frontier violence."³⁰ As a military commander, his disregard for the legal and property rights of rebels and suspected rebels did not cast credit on his religious background. His sack of Independence, his responsibility in the burning of Dayton, Rose Hill, and Columbus, and the depredations committed by his troops in the South belie his Quaker training and must remain a blemish on his other achievements

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Castel, Frontier State, p. 105.

and accomplishments. Upon his resignation from federal service and his return to Leavenworth, an Anthony-led mob broke up a Democratic rally and sacked the offices of a Democratic newspaper, driving its editor from town. Street fighting ensued and became so violent that the military found it necessary to impose martial law in Leavenworth. These could hardly be known as the actions of a devout Quaker. During Anthony's first administration as mayor of Leavenworth, April 6, 1863, to April 4, 1864, he was both praised as an able administrator and criticized as a petty tyrant. His admirers declared that:

. . . under his vigorous and determined administration the loyal and law-abiding people of the town were no longer terrorized by the rebel desperadoes and gangs of lawless characters that had committed acts of violence . . . for so long a time prior to this new regime.³¹

His detractors simply pointed to his violent means of quelling opposition: his burning of part of Leavenworth, his arrest of an opposition editor, his alleged business dealings with notorious Red Legs, and his actions during the '64 municipal elections when he was reported to have stolen a ballot box in order to tamper with the election results. It was also during his administration that the traffic in livestock and property stolen by the Red Legs in Missouri

³¹Admire, "Early Pioneer," p. 699.

received federal attention, at one time causing Anthony's arrest by the military. Anthony was also a leading figure in the border raids by Kansans on suspected rebels in Missouri. This is demonstrated by his prominence in the Paola meeting called for this purpose, in his threat to the provost marshal of Fort Leavenworth unless he supply flatboats for a similar expedition, and in the following communication from Brigadier General Guitor to Brigadier General Ewing:

You can equally admonish the people of Kansas that Burnes, Price, Anthony, and Jennison will not be permitted the question who is and who is not loyal in Northern Missouri. Such a censorship will not be admitted or tolerated for a moment.³²

It was also during this first administration that Anthony began his second paper, the Evening Bulletin, in September of 1864, in an effort to counter the criticism of an opposing faction of Republicans in Leavenworth led by Web Wilder. In October while attempting to interrupt a rally of this opposition faction, he was knocked unconscious. His entire record as mayor of Leavenworth is such as to cast doubt on the statement that Anthony "now as ever fully believes in the principles so long maintained by the Society of Friends"

Even though in the Satterlee incident it is assumed that an internal crisis was fomented and Anthony, as a

³²O. R., XXII, part II, 591.

result, was filled with religious remorse, his later actions prove that his reaffirmation in Quaker principles was only temporary and that the final resolution of this crisis could not have been pleasing to the Quaker society. His belief in the use of force to pursue a goal finally gained ascendancy over any religious scruples, and Quakerism never again played a dominant role in his affairs, although he did die in full membership in the Society of Friends of Rochester. Although Quakerism never again played a dominant role in Anthony's life, there is little doubt that it remained an important influence on his actions. The moral fiber instilled by his Quaker background acted as a restraining force on his tempestuous nature so that he was never guilty of the flagrant excesses which tempted some of his contemporaries during those turbulent times. As a case in point, though his methods of conducting the Seventh Kansas might be decried by some, he was pursuing an announced plan of warfare and he was as distressed as others over senseless destruction, which might not have been the case had his earlier home and religious environment been any less influential.

During this period of violent activity, all of Anthony's interest was not concentrated on political

matters. Four months before the end of his term as mayor, Anthony married. There is little information on the events leading to this marriage which occurred on January 21, 1864. In 1858 Anthony had written the following letter to his brother-in-law which revealed his attitude toward marriage:

As to marrying Matters am inclined to take the subject into serious consideration and if so situated that the case could be fully discussed the question might be adjusted--Dont think there is any prospect [of] my making any such arrangement west--Please write me fully about the marriageable Ladies in Washington County--For reasons most satisfactory to myself, I have remained single thus far³³

It would appear from this letter that romantic considerations would have little influence on Anthony's choice for a wife. How Anthony met his future wife is unknown. From the above letter it would appear possible that he made several inquiries. One such inquiry could have been answered with information about Anna Eliza Osborne, daughter of one of the leading ship owners and whale merchants of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. The following is pure conjecture as the

³³Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 215. Approximately one year later, in a letter dated March 14, 1859, Anthony asked, "Did Anna Eliza get the spoons or Forks I sent her?" Ibid., p. 217. Anna Eliza was his future bride; evidently it did not take long for his inquiries to become successful. Also, it would seem quite possible that Anna Osborne, at least at that time, was in Rochester.

facts of Anthony's and Anna Osborne's courtship and marriage are incomplete.

Anthony, upon receiving numerous correspondences concerning "marriageable ladies," planned a trip east to meet several of the more likely prospective brides. Upon meeting Anna Osborne and deciding she met the qualifications he had in mind, Anthony proposed and was accepted. The two were later married in Edgartown and on the honeymoon trip back to Leavenworth the couple visited in Rochester, New York, where Anthony introduced his new bride to his family. It is difficult to believe that during this turbulent period as mayor of Leavenworth and with the Civil War beginning its final phase, Anthony would have planned for his trip taking too long a time, so it can be assumed that his was not a leisurely honeymoon excursion.

By present standards Anthony's attitude toward marriage might appear cold and calculating. Arranged marriages, however, were not uncommon during this period and there are indications that D. R. might have had an unhappy romance in Rochester. One Battenville, New York, belle is reported to have confided to Susan B. that she might have become Susan's sister-in-law but that she

could not abide the "Anthony nose." If this conversation actually took place it was an extremely unkind remark as Susan B., like D. R., had a prominent nose.³⁴

Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Anthony had only two children who were to survive them, Maude, who was to marry Major L. M. Koshler, U. S. A., and Daniel Read II, who was to follow in his father's footsteps as a politician and newspaper editor, eventually to enter Congress as the Representative from the First District.³⁵ One year after his marriage Anthony again made a trip to the East, this time to Washington, D. C., presumably to reaffirm his political connections in that city and to confirm his continued appointment as postmaster. It was also at this time he extended an invitation to Susan B. to share his

³⁴Anthony, History and Era, p. 173.

³⁵Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 56; Connelley, Standard History, V, 2386. There is some question as to the exact number of children. "Scrapbook," VI, 125, mentions two daughters and one son; Ibid., II, 23, mentions three daughters and one son; Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 8, states there were four daughters and one son. The deaths of two of Anthony's children were mentioned in a biography of Susan B. In February, 1899, a seventeen-year-old daughter, named after her famous aunt, drowned while skating with her schoolmates. Six months previously a five-year-old daughter had died. Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1898-1908), pp. 648-649. Hereafter cited as Harper, Life and Work.

home in Leavenworth which she gratefully accepted. Anthony was anxious to discharge the responsibility he had inherited as head of the family; his father had died November 25, 1862. The mores of the time demanded that the married brother "must spread a sheltering wing, the wife never questioning, over the solitary life of a maiden sister."³⁶ Family loyalty was very strong in D. R. and, had Susan B. been "that kind of woman," she could have made her home in Leavenworth for the rest of her life.

When Susan B. reached Leavenworth she rejoiced in the comfort of D. R.'s "neat, little, snow-white cottage with green blinds." She and Anna became fast friends, Susan B. admiring her sister-in-law for her gaiety and the way she "fearlessly drove her beautiful black horse across the prairie." In describing the comforts of her brother's home, Susan B. informed friends that Daniel and his wife had "a real 'Aunt Chloe' in the kitchen and a little Darkie boy for errands and table waiter."³⁷

The Anthony home was certainly comfortable. D. R. had prospered in all of his business dealings. Three years

³⁶Anthony, History and Era, pp. 185-186.

³⁷Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 109.

previous, in describing his expected income for 1862, he had listed his prospects as follows:

Post Office	2,500
Rent on Anthony Buildings	3,000
My pay as Lieut Col	2,652
Interest & Insurance	1,848
My hopes are - - - - - Total	10,000 ³⁸

There is no reason to believe that by 1865, even with the loss of his military pay, Daniel's prospects would not have increased to an even higher level. Besides his home in Leavenworth, Anthony owned a fine farm a few miles outside of the city which he managed himself "as a recreation from his newspaper work."³⁹ There was always also good companionship in the Anthony home; friends from both the West and the East found it a convenient stopping place and there was much discussion of political questions. The city, too, had greatly prospered in the time since Anthony had first arrived:

Business was booming in Leavenworth, then the most thriving town between St. Louis and San Francisco. Eight years before, when Daniel had first settled there, it boasted a population of 4,000. Now it had grown to 22,000, was lighted with gas, and was building its business blocks of brick.⁴⁰

³⁸Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 364.

³⁹Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 56.

⁴⁰Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 109.

Susan B., although in Leavenworth for a much-needed rest, found it difficult to remain inactive. Her brother had often offered financial assistance in Susan's fight for the recognition of women's rights. In June of 1859 he had donated \$200 to the cause and then concluded a letter to his sister as follows:

Cant say how much I can help the cause--we have enough to attend to besides Womans Rights just now--Would like to cultivate our people so that they will allow white men to live and breathe--first--as the Women already possess that right--they must help us first and then we will help them--⁴¹

Anthony had aided his sister in other ways than by direct financial contributions. As Susan valued highly her brother's judgment, he was charged with investing her savings, and on numerous occasions he was able to furnish her with railroad passes which helped reduce her ever-increasing traveling expenses.⁴² It would appear only natural that Susan B. would continue to rely on her brother for continued support in the various reforms she espoused. But although seemingly sympathetic to the cause of women's rights, Anthony appears, instead, to have been more interested in aiding his sister than in furthering the

⁴¹Langsdorf and Richmond, "Letters," p. 221.

⁴²Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 242.

movement. Even though Susan B. was to edit the Evening Bulletin while Anthony was engaged in the '65 municipal campaign, she was instructed not to fill the paper with articles favoring woman or Negro suffrage. As a result, Susan B. probably grew quite restive during her stay in Leavenworth. Although she remained active in her various activities while in Kansas, she quite conceivably longed for a vaster audience and more positive results. It is not known how long Susan B. remained in Leavenworth but she evidently left in early 1866 to continue her work for woman suffrage in the East.

The five years after his sister's departure were relatively uneventful ones for D. R. Anthony. The year 1866 saw the organization of the Kansas Editors and Publishers' Association and Anthony's removal as postmaster of Leavenworth because of his opposition to President Johnson's policies. In 1867 the Missouri Valley Press Association was organized, and Anthony made an unsuccessful bid for the nomination for United States senator. In 1868 Anthony waged another unsuccessful campaign for mayor of Leavenworth; he was, however, elected as president of the Republican State Convention; and he was one of the three Kansas presidential electors. It was also this year that Anthony sold the Evening Bulletin.

Anthony, in 1870, made two unsuccessful bids for public office. In both his campaign for mayor and congressman he was defeated. The year 1870, however, did see Anthony elected to the Leavenworth city council and as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. Anthony was re-elected to the city council the following year and on May 5, 1871, he purchased the Leavenworth Daily Times which had previously absorbed Anthony's old paper, the Conservative. On November 13 he regained control of the Evening Bulletin which was then consolidated with the Times. Anthony was again chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in 1871 and, as a member of the Leavenworth city council, took a prominent part in the "railroad war" of that year, "which was finally compromised by the agreement of the railroad to build a union depot in Leavenworth and make certain improvements on the levee."⁴³

Anthony was quite active in state politics in 1872. He began his second term as mayor of Leavenworth on February 22, was a candidate for the Republican congressional nomination in September, and, following his failure to receive the congressional nod, became an unsuccessful candidate for the state legislature. That same year saw Anthony as chairman of both the Republican State Convention and Republican

⁴³Portrait . . . of Leavenworth, p. 146.

Congressional Convention. The following year Anthony's desire for state office was partially fulfilled when he was elected to the state legislature.

1873 was also the year in which Samuel D. Lecompte brought a libel suit against Anthony and the Times. The basis of the suit was a series of articles written by Cole McCrea and published in the Times on August 5, 10, 19, 24, and 31, and comments written by Anthony which were published on August 8 and 29, September 7 and 10, and December 23. The two men were describing Lecompte's actions while on the Kansas bench from 1855 to 1859. Both regarded him as a tool of the border ruffian element and sympathetic to the pro-slavery forces. Among other comments McCrea referred to Lecompte as a "vulgar twaddle . . . a snarling cur . . . the most servile of ruffian tools . . . unjust and imbecile judge . . . wretch . . . the most foul of proslavery lick-spittles . . . devil" and concluded his series of articles with, "Oh, God! did ever the judicial ermine rest on so foul a back!"⁴⁴

⁴⁴Malin, "Lecompte," pp. 555-558. Samuel D. Lecompte, 1814-1888, in October of 1854 was appointed the first chief justice of the Territory of Kansas by President Pierce. Lecompte retired from this position in March, 1859, and opened a law office in Leavenworth. At the end of the Civil War he renounced his Democratic beliefs and became a Republican. After this change in party membership Lecompte served four years as probate judge of Leavenworth County, was elected chairman of the Republican Congressional Convention of the First District in 1874; and he was elected

Anthony was even more lyrical in describing Lecompte in the territorial period. Said Anthony,

He prostituted the judicial ermine to do the dirtiest work of the slave power. He went to such extremes that his name became infamous and is today execrated by the friends of humanity throughout the country Judge Lecompte now prostitutes himself to do the work which no honorable Republican will do we must beg him not [to] make the Republican party responsible for his wild sub-servient nonsense.⁴⁵

Anthony was fond of applying the term subservient to Lecompte. In a later article further clarifying his estimation of the personality of Lecompte, Anthony continued his attack by calling him a "tool of the old Border Ruffians . . . [and] naturally a subservient, lazy man" ⁴⁶

Lecompte filed a bill of complaint against Anthony and the Times on December 24, 1873, charging criminal libel. A rival newspaper, the Commercial, reviewed the events leading to the suit and concluded: "Judge Lecompte is an excellent citizen and an estimable gentleman, and the

to the state legislature from Leavenworth County. "Chief Justice Lecompte was a political jackleg from Maryland and spent his time in the accumulation of property, of which he possessed a goodly share . . . It is said he adjourned the spring term of his court to plant potatoes; the summer term had to stand adjourned to allow him to hoe his potatoes; the necessity for digging his potatoes disposed of the fall term; and in the winter he could not hold court because he had to remain home to sell his potatoes." Connelley, Standard History, II, 644-645 and III, 1278.

⁴⁵Malin, "Lecompte," p. 559. ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 560.

whole course of D. R. Anthony towards him has been malicious and unjustifiable."⁴⁷ Of course this was written by a rival editor but it is possible that there was more than an element of truth in his statement. Whether the laws passed by the territorial legislature were just or unjust, whether or not he personally agreed with them, Judge Lecompte was charged with the responsibility of administering justice and pronouncing sentence under those laws, not on them. In fact, one article on the Kansas judiciary makes the statement that "of all the territorial judges Samuel D. Lecompte was the only one who appears to have left any great impression on those times."⁴⁸ Of course it might be true that the laws he had sworn to protect were not just and that Lecompte had been over-zealous in upholding them, but this Anthony and McCrea did not attempt to prove.

The preliminary hearings on the libel suit began in the criminal court of Leavenworth County on January 5, 1874. In the cross examination Anthony fell back on such phrases as "best information . . . general sentiment . . . do not know . . . comparatively . . . [and] universal

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 560-561.

⁴⁸T. M. Lillard, "Beginnings of the Kansas Judiciary," KHQ, X (1941), 95.

opinion."⁴⁹ Anthony held that "all that was necessary to prove was that prevailing public opinion held that Lecompte was guilty as charged by free state men." The court held differently and found a strong presumption of guilt. Anthony was then bound over for trial on \$500 bail. Anthony, in the preliminary hearings, had asserted that his comments were not intended with malice. The Times also insisted it had only printed the truth of Lecompte's reputation and that it had done so also without malice. The August 29, 1873, edition of the Times declared, "We have no unkind feelings toward the Judge," and that of December 27, 1873, "Personally our relations with Judge Lecompte have been pleasant. We have never exchanged hostile words with him" When the December 18, 1874, edition of the Chicago Tribune appeared with the allegation of personal enmity between Anthony and Lecompte, Anthony objected sharply. Even the judge of the preliminary hearing declared that "malice was not conclusively proven." Nevertheless, after a series of continuances, the libel suit came to trial December 8-12, 1874.

⁴⁹The following account of the libel case between Anthony and Judge Lecompte is drawn from the excellent and scholarly article by Professor Malin. All quotations are from this source. Malin, "Lecompte," pp. 553-580.

The defense testimony of the trial was described by the Leavenworth Commercial as of "a rambling character, and more important as a review of the history of the proslavery days in Kansas than a means of conveying any material intelligence or information to the jury." The trial ended December 12 with a verdict of guilty rendered against Anthony. The next day Anthony began, in the Times, a column under the title "A Chapter of Kansas History," each issue devoted to reprinting an account of Leconte's conduct during territorial days. Sol Miller, who was not known to be overly friendly toward Anthony, commented in his December 17, 1874, edition of the Kansas Chief, "considering that Anthony has many bitter enemies, and that the sheriff who had the picking of the jurymen hates him as hard as Leconte does, the cards were decidedly against him. We sympathize with him--"

Judge Byron Sherry pronounced the sentence on Anthony December 18, 1874--\$500 fine and costs. The day after the sentence was pronounced, Anthony's attorney, H. Miles Moore, recorded the following in his Journal: "It was a terrible blow, & I think unjust judgment. The idea of a white man being fined for libel on old Leconte for his misdeeds of 54, 55, 56, & 7--Oh Gods such an outrage on humanity." On that same day Anthony declared: "The English language cannot describe a more infamous

character than that which reputation, history, and public opinion accord Lecompte." Later, in again referring to the libel suit, Anthony reaffirmed his position in these words:

We want one thing distinctly understood, and that is, that all we have said about Lecompte was that history and his general reputation proved him guilty of the crimes named.

.....

Nothing can now be said that will change history.

The Kansas newspapers were overwhelmingly in sympathy with Anthony. Such comments as the following were typical: the Louisville Reporter didn't know what could be said about Lecompte to libel him unless Anthony had "accused him of having been an honest man in those times"; the Troy Doniphan County Republican felt the case was "decided by a jury of nincompoops or partisans in favor of Lecompte"; and the Topeka Times felt that "Judge Lecompte will in the end lose more than he will gain." The Chicago Tribune, in its comment on the trial, declared that the verdict was guilty, "notwithstanding the fact that the witnesses for the defense sustained all the charges made by Mr. Anthony . . . [who has] the sympathy of the community, and also of a majority of the people of the state."

Two months after the trial Anthony complained that the court demanded proof for every fact. He felt that

what is past is history, incapable of proof because most witnesses to the events of twenty years past were dead.

"Yet . . . the court ruled that we must prove every fact the same as we would in [the] case of a transaction of the past month." An appeal to the Kansas Supreme Court was denied and the mandate of the court was filed in the Leavenworth criminal court on March 4, 1875. However, a resolution of the board of county commissioners voted, on December 8, 1875, to remit all costs against Anthony.

Even with Lecompte's libel suit pending, Anthony found himself actively engaged in both state politics and state newspaper associations in 1874. In April President Grant appointed Anthony postmaster of Leavenworth; on May 26 he was president of the first editorial convention in Kansas; and on August 20 he was a member of the Republican Congressional Convention. 1874 also saw Anthony elected as councilman from the First Ward of Leavenworth and as president of the Kansas Editors and Publishers' Association.

He was re-elected as President of the Kansas Editors and Publishers' Association in 1875 and was a member of that body's committee to petition the legislature for support in founding a historical society. This petition

was successful and on December 15 the state historical society was incorporated with Anthony as one of the eight directors.⁵⁰ May 10 of that year witnessed the near fatal attack on Anthony by Embury; Susan B. hurried to Leavenworth as soon as she heard of the assault and personally nursed her brother for two months. In fact, she was given much credit by the newspapers for her brother's recovery.

The papers were filled with glowing accounts of Miss Anthony's devotion, seeming to think it wonderful that a woman whose whole life had been spent in public work should possess in so large a degree not only sisterly affection but the accomplishments of a trained nurse.⁵¹

On January 1, 1876, Anthony purchased the Commercial and incorporated it, too, with the Times. January 19 he was elected secretary-treasurer of the Kansas and Missouri Associated Press; January 18 of the following year he was re-elected to this position. Also in January of 1877 he was president of the Editorial Association. On the twenty-second of March, 1878, his continued appointment as postmaster of Leavenworth was approved by President

⁵⁰Blackmar, Kansas, III, part I, 56. Anthony was a life member of the Kansas State Historical Society.

⁵¹Harper, Life and Work, I, 471; Anthony, History and Era, p. 310.

Hayes.⁵² In March of 1879 Anthony was nominated for "School Director by men of all parties in Leavenworth."⁵³ The following September he was one of the principal speakers of the Old Settlers of Kansas Committee's quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of Kansas. The other speakers present included Edward Everett Hale, John Forney, S. M. Wood, Governor John P. St. John, and ex-Governor Charles Robinson. "The gathering proved to be one of the largest political meetings of the state up to that time; one newspaper correspondent estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 people were in attendance."⁵⁴

It was about this time that Thomas Thurston made an attempt upon the life of Anthony. Again the facts behind this incident are incomplete. One source gave as a reason for the shooting a scandal arising from the construction of a bridge which was built to span the Missouri River in

⁵²It would be interesting to determine if Anthony's appointment as postmaster was continued by his old schoolmate, President Arthur. Harper, Life and Work, I, 538. Although evidence to this effect has not been discovered, on the basis of the length of time Anthony held this position and the known dates of his appointments, it can be assumed he remained the postmaster of Leavenworth during Arthur's administration.

⁵³"Scrapbook," II, 8.

⁵⁴Robert R. Hubach, "Walt Whitman in Kansas," KHQ, X (1941), 150.

the vicinity of Leavenworth.⁵⁵ Another states that Thurston was a paid assassin. Both could be correct from the information available. That there was mutual bad feeling existing between the two men can be easily demonstrated by an article appearing in the July 8, 1879, edition of the Times, which is reprinted as follows:

For pure, unadulterated, malicious scounderalism, this drunken, lying whelp, Thurston, beats the world . . . Thurston is the worst dead-beat in the land and the newspapers that open their columns to his filth are not much better than he is."⁵⁶

Neither the date nor the year of Thurston's assault is known. The following facts are taken from a 1904 newspaper account of the incident. Thurston and Anthony passed each other on the street. After proceeding about another thirty feet, Thurston suddenly turned and fired at Anthony. The first shot hit Lucien Baker, who was seriously wounded and laid up for two months; a second shot hit another bystander who was not wounded seriously. Anthony, unarmed, was able to escape without being hit. Thurston later pleaded guilty to assault with intent to kill

⁵⁵Frank M. Gable, "Memoirs of a Pioneer of Kansas," KHC, XVI (1923-1925), 580.

⁵⁶Benson, "Passing . . . in Kansas," pp. 56-57.

and was sentenced to eighteen years in the state penitentiary.⁵⁷

Ten years later Thurston was released and went directly to Anthony, disclosing that he had been hired to murder him. Thurston said he was offered \$1000 and guaranteed a gubernatorial pardon but had received only \$300 and no pardon. Because he felt those who hired him had not upheld their part of the bargain, "he promised to serve Anthony ever afterwards."⁵⁸ Unfortunately, there is no record of Anthony's reaction to Thurston's revelation.

In January of 1880 Anthony was instrumental in organizing the Leavenworth Sugar Company which was described as an "important industry." This company was organized in January with a capital of \$75,000. The main stockholders were Lucien Hawley of Buffalo, New York, and M. H. Insley, Matthew Ryan, and D. R. Anthony of Leavenworth. In June of 1882 control of the factory passed into the hands of the Hamlins of Buffalo.⁵⁹ This was also the year Anthony

⁵⁷"Scrapbook," VI, 121. Lucien Baker, the bystander who was seriously wounded in this incident, was later a United States senator.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Cutler, History of Kansas, p. 434.

was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

Anthony served as president of the State Historical Society in 1885 and 1886. On January 28, 1886, Anthony was one of the principal speakers at the Kansas Quarter-Centennial Celebration held in Topeka. During this same year Anthony made another unsuccessful bid for the Republican nomination for governor. About the same time he was seeking his party's gubernatorial nomination, the Kansas City Times was able to proclaim that Anthony was "the richest newspaper man in the state. He has large real estate interests and owns property in Leavenworth besides one of the best stock farms in the state."⁶⁰

In 1887 Anthony sold a controlling interest in the Times. During the two year interval which followed, the newspaper began heading toward bankruptcy and ruin. Finally, in 1889, at the urging of friends and possibly in an attempt to protect his remaining investment in the paper, Anthony was persuaded to once again take command of the Times. There are indications that in 1888 Anthony made his final bid for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. The following letter was written by Anthony seeking political support in this campaign: "My nomination must come now

⁶⁰"Scrapbook," II, 23.

or never, 63½ years cant wait long in this world, and if I ever had a chance it is now."⁶¹ Anthony did not receive the nomination and there is no evidence that he ever again actively sought it. In both 1889 and 1890 Anthony was appointed to the police board in Leavenworth to supervise the enforcement of the state liquor law in that city and county. He resigned from this post under a cloud of suspicion although, considering his attitude toward intemperance, it appears likely that the charges against him regarding collusion with the liquor traffic were unfounded.

Although inactive in seeking any major political office in the years that followed, Anthony proved himself quite active in his editorial habit of criticising those prominently before the public on the state and local level. The following entry was made in the Annals of Kansas, dated August 7, 1887: "Leavenworth citizens, by a 'nickel subscription', paid the \$100 fine of Bill Bond, who had horsewhipped D. R. Anthony"⁶² Less than four years after this incident he was again horsewhipped in the streets of Leavenworth. William N. Fortescue had been under an

⁶¹D. R. Anthony to M. M. Beck, March 22, 1888; M. M. Beck MSS, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁶²"Annals of Kansas: 1887," KHQ, XX (1952-1953), 283; Owens and Mechem, Annals: 1886-1925, p. 41.

editorial attack by Anthony. On April 15, 1891, the two met in the heart of Leavenworth. Fortescue told Anthony he desired to talk with him and Anthony replied he had no wish for such a conversation. Fortescue then drew a whip from under his coat and began to beat Anthony over the head and body. Anthony made little effort to defend himself except to attempt to ward off the blows and to escape from his assailant. This he was unable to do as Fortescue closely followed him, maintaining the steady rain of blows. When they had traversed a distance of over a hundred yards, the citizens of Leavenworth, who had witnessed the entire affair, separated the two. Anthony immediately went to his office where he procured a pistol. He then publicly paraded up and down the street proclaiming he only wanted to catch sight of Fortescue; but Fortescue was home "resting," and the two did not meet.⁶³

Anthony's adversaries, however, were not always political opponents. In December of 1891 he was making a tour of his stock farm when he suddenly found himself in the same pasture as one of his bulls. The two did not notice each other until within 150 yards of one another. Anthony quickly took stock of the situation and saw that he was in a desperate position. There was not a tree in

⁶³"Scrapbook," II, 30; Owens and Mechem, Annals: 1886-1925, p. 41.

sight and the fence was too far away to offer a safe escape. Immediately in front of him lay a stump from which grew a clump of thorn spouts. The longest of these he cut with his pocket knife; thus armed he stood his ground and awaited his assailant. Bellowing and blowing, the beast charged Anthony and stopped when still about twenty feet away. The bull then viciously pawed the ground, bellowed, and again started forward, slowly. Anthony took a step toward the beast and the astonished animal stopped in his tracks. Anthony then tried to stare the beast down, to no avail. Finally, he began whipping the bull with the thorn branch and eventually the animal broke and ran.⁶⁴ Anthony's last foray into politics occurred in 1893 when he was involved in the statehouse war of that year. Despite his sixty-nine years, Anthony proved an able leader and for a time successfully resisted efforts of the state militia to expel the Republicans from the statehouse.

Six years later Anthony found himself less successful in another encounter with a uniformed group. A Times' telegraph operator, in August of 1899, was trying to record Bourke Chapman's reply to W. J. Bryan in Madison Square

⁶⁴Ibid., VI, 140.

Garden. While he was thus engaged, the local Salvation Army found it expedient to take a position directly below the operator's window. To the exuberant playing and lusty singing of "Are You Washed in the Blood of the Lamb," Anthony emerged from the Times' office building and politely requested the group to move on. The deaf band leader, Ensign Dodds, nodded his head as if in compliance and Anthony returned to the Times' building.⁶⁵ When the band resumed playing Anthony put in a second appearance. The second request from the Times' editor and a mild threat to call the police resulted in the drums being hammered faster and louder than before.

The Colonel, catching the rythm of the tom-toms and mistaking it for the din of battle, attacked the vast army with a single-handed and far inferior force in point of numbers.

The moment he kicked the big drum something broke loose and in general melee which followed the soldiers in petticoats fought bravely to resent the sacreligious act. The whole army piled on to the Colonel, but he defended himself in an able manner and was not hurt.⁶⁶

The confused band leader, Dodds, was later fined \$100 for disturbing the peace and hastily transferred to a new post in Topeka. This period, however, was not one

⁶⁵"Leavenworth County Clippings," IV, 109.

⁶⁶"Scrapbook," II, 43-44.

entirely devoted to being horsewhipped, fighting bulls, and repulsing elements of the state militia and the Salvation Army--Anthony still found time to engage in state newspaper activities. Anthony, in 1897 and 1899, was elected vice-president from the first district of the Kansas Editorial Association which had been formed on September 11, 1893. Then, in 1903 and 1904, he found himself elevated to the position of president of this association. Nor was he yet to find himself free of legal suits by former judges.

In 1898 Anthony was sued by John C. Douglass. The basis of the suit was a valuable lot on which Anthony had paid taxes for thirty years. Previous to that time Douglass had obtained a tax title to the property and was suing for possession. Anthony was "forced by circumstances" to seek the aid of John H. Atwood, a Democrat and a lawyer.⁶⁷ Atwood had verbally attacked and been attacked by Anthony and a bitter feud existed between the two. In fact, the Anthony-Atwood battles were known as a "spectacular part" of Leavenworth county's early days.⁶⁸ Evidently there were

⁶⁷"Kansas Judiciary Clippings," Kansas State Historical Society, II, 47. Another collection of newspaper articles. Hereafter cited as "Kansas Judiciary Clippings."

⁶⁸"Kansas History as Published in the State Press," KHQ, II (1933), 394.

some, including Atwood, who regarded both Douglass and Anthony as less than desirable citizens. In court Atwood began the case for the defense by denouncing Anthony as an old devil, reciting many of his past crimes, but concluding that since both were scoundrels and that since the case could not be decided against both, Anthony did have the saving grace of having paid the taxes, playing the part of a good citizen:

. . . a part that is new to him and sits awkwardly upon him, and one that startles the community with novelty

If it is said that Anthony stole horses in Missouri, I reply that Douglass has stolen homesteads in Kansas. If it is said that Anthony has been a detriment to the community, I reply that Douglass has never paid a debt he owed in the community. If it is said that Anthony has been sued often, I reply that Douglass has sued others twice as often.

I will admit, your honor, that it is a choice of evils; one of the evils has a hooked nose and the other a peg leg, but the hook nose pays his taxes and the peg leg doesn't

So I ask your honor to overlook the fact that my client has usually been wrong, and remember that now for once in his life he is right. Let his wickedness hide itself in a measure behind the wickedness of Douglass. I can see your honor is itching to hit them both . . . much as they deserve it, and since you must give the case to one of them, I ask your honor to shut your eyes and give it to Anthony.⁶⁹

⁶⁹"Kansas Judiciary Clippings," II, 47-49.

Atwood had given no advance notice of his unique mode of presentation and Anthony sat throughout the proceedings with a look of "amazement and bewilderment" on his face. The judge could scarcely contain himself, every official and clerk in the court house was in attendance as the news spread, and the audience was laughing outright. After his defense appeal, Atwood stood before the court wearing a "seraphic smile of self-satisfaction."⁷⁰ The case was decided in Anthony's favor. Two years later Anthony donated two lots to the city of Leavenworth. One, ninety-six by one hundred twenty-five feet, was for a public library. The other, 120 by 125 feet, plus \$5,000, was for a convention hall which was to be worth at least \$50,000.⁷¹ It would be interesting to learn if either of these were the lot involved in the Douglass-Anthony suit.

The last recorded incident involving Anthony occurred on July 3, 1901. A Kansas City actor, Ernest Castelberry, was criticised by the drama critic of the Times. Castelberry entered the newspaper office to register a complaint to this unfavorable review on his

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹"Scrapbook," II, 41.

acting. The Times' drama critic, D. R. Anthony, met him at the door and, without any loss of time, turned a hose on the actor, putting him to a soggy flight. Shortly afterwards Castelberry again presented himself at the Times' office but before he could announce the purpose of his visit, Anthony drove him out with a chair.

Castelberry, afterwards, was arrested for disturbing the peace.⁷² By this time Anthony's exploits had become famous in areas far from Leavenworth. The following article appeared in the New York Sun:

I saw in the morning paper that he turned a hose the other day on an actor who had rubbed his hair the wrong way. To me, and to all men who knew the colonel in his doughty days, there is something melancholy in the information that he used a hose. For when I knew D. R. . . . he was always prepared to shoot. I can no more think of D. R. being without a gun than I can think of a society man being without a spike-tail coat.⁷³

But Anthony was no longer "in his doughty days." Having first visited Kansas when he was thirty, he had been a conspicuous figure in the public affairs of his adopted state for nearly half a century. Although still active, his actions belying his age, time was leaving its barely perceptible mark on Anthony. After a full

⁷²Ibid., III, 170.

⁷³Ibid.

life in a state only half his age, after numerous verbal and physical encounters, after forty years of actively seeking political office in the state, and after three decades of journalistic leadership, D. R. was growing old. In 1901, the time of the Castelberry incident, he was seventy-seven. The first public notice of the effect of age on Anthony came three years later. "D. R. has been troubled lately with heart asthma. He says he can't breathe in enough air to keep things going, and chokes down occasionally."⁷⁴ His unknown friend on the pages of the New York Sun, with some presentiment that the end was near, wrote, with a touch of affection and humor, that:

D. R. is now about 80 years old, but I would not be surprised to hear of his taking a farewell shot at the Grim Ferryman who runs the boat on the Styx when the ferryboat calls to take him over. But there is no better friend, or braver man than D. R.⁷⁵

Anthony, equally aware that his thread of life was dangerously worn, began putting his affairs in order. In characteristic fashion he proposed his own epitaph:

He helped make Kansas a free state.

He fought to save the Union.

⁷⁴Ibid., II, 57.

⁷⁵Ibid., III, 171.

He published the Daily Times for nearly forty years in the interest of Leavenworth.

He was no hypocrite.⁷⁶

Anthony had been called many things in his fifty years in Kansas, but no enemy ever charged him with being a hypocrite. In all of his activities, Anthony had acted only from deep conviction and had exhibited great moral as well as physical courage. Whether or not the ends he sought to achieve or the means he utilized to achieve these ends are today acceptable or can be condoned, the fact remains that Anthony's actions were at all times consistent with his beliefs and convictions.

Anthony's death, which was attributed to "weakened heart action," occurred on November 12, 1904. One announcement of Anthony's passing was brief, simple, and without embellishment.

Col. D. R. Anthony, 80, editor and owner of the Leavenworth Times since 1871, and brother of Susan B. Anthony, suffragette, died at his home in Leavenworth. Anthony led a Free-State party to Kansas in 1854. He served as mayor and postmaster of Leavenworth, as government director of the Union Pacific, and in the Legislature.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Ibid., VI, 117.

⁷⁷Owens and Mechem, Annals: 1886-1925, p. 410.

During an eastern speaking tour in behalf of women's suffrage, Susan B. was notified by telegram of her brother's death. Heart-broken, she abandoned the tour and immediately began the long and arduous journey to Kansas, arriving in Leavenworth only a few hours before the funeral commenced.

The funeral took place from the home on North Esplanade and was attended by prominent men from all parts of the State. The casket was draped in the Stars and Stripes and the room where it lay was filled with floral offerings. Many colored people came to take a last look at the face of him who had ever been their friend. As the funeral cortege passed through the streets the bell on the city hall tolled for one who had thrice been mayor of Leavenworth. When it passed the Soldiers' Home hundreds of veterans of the Civil War lined up along the roadway with bared grey heads, and then marched over to Mt. Muncie cemetery and there listened to the services of the Grand Army of the Republic as their departed comrade was laid to rest among the ancient oaks of the burial ground.⁷⁸

Many in Kansas were saddened at the death of this man whose life had so closely paralleled the life of the state. "A pioneer of the John Brown era, he had struck root in Kansas and grown up with the state."⁷⁹ Most of his associates in the early days of Kansas

⁷⁸Harper, Life and Work, III, 1339-1340. D. R. Anthony II was well established in following in the footsteps of his illustrious father. He was already mayor of Leavenworth and with the death of his father he took over the "management of the paper, the care of the farms, all the business" Ibid., III, 1340.

⁷⁹Anthony, History and Era, p. 486.

history had already preceded Anthony in death. Even so, his long prominence in the affairs of the state and his many contributions in the fields of journalism, politics, and business had earned him the respect of a large number of admirers and friends who were deeply affected by his death. Susan B., in particular, was disconsolate with the passing of her brother:

Without Daniel, the world seemed empty. His strength of character, independence, and sympathy with her work had comforted and encouraged her all her life. A fearless editor, a successful businessman, a politician with principles, he had played an important role in Kansas, and proud of him, she cherished the many tributes published throughout the country.⁸⁰

Two of these tributes were especially successful in portraying a segment of the personality which for so long had emblazoned the pages of Kansas history:

He was too radical to suit the majority, as a rule, and yet the majority were always yearning to honor him; foes and friends alike respected him; for there was no questioning his personal honesty or his personal bravery.⁸¹

He was loved; he was hated; but the entire State of Kansas will bow [its] head at the bier of the last of the sort of men who made it free. Scholars and priests, reformers and statesmen, sages and philosophers--for once stand aside while we reverence the type of American of whom Anthony is the last!⁸²

⁸⁰Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 302.

⁸¹Harper, Life and Work, III, 1340, quoting the Chicago Inter Ocean.

⁸²Harper, Life and Work, III, 1340, quoting the Denver Times.

For nearly fifty years, from the territorial days of Kansas to the opening of the twentieth century, Anthony was actively involved in the history of the state. His name is not as conspicuous in the written accounts of the period as some of his associates; and his effect on the history of the times is felt only indirectly through the influence he exerted on contemporaries. In his own right, however, Anthony is an interesting historical figure. His family connection, his involvement in the anti-slavery movement, and his founding of a Leavenworth political and journalistic dynasty are sufficient to obtain for him a secure niche in the annals of the state. Beyond this, his numerous exploits, various business interests, participation in Leavenworth history, contributions to state Republican politics, and the many interesting facets of his personality make him a fascinating historical subject--an engaging and colorful part of Kansas history.

In the final analysis, "the heart of man" has eluded definition, which is, perhaps, as it should be. It would be distressing to see the historical remains of an Anthony placed on a dissecting table and to see the various components of these remains isolated, analyzed, and reduced to minute and barely recognizable details. The veil of mystery should not be completely torn aside from a character such as Anthony--there must remain some material on which

the mind and imagination might build. D. R. Anthony was not a sterile, unimaginative personage in Kansas history. He was a vigorous, passionate, sometimes vehement personality who was inextricably woven into the fabric of the state.

Journalist--politician--military commander--businessman--a man of many talents, a versatile genius, Anthony the historical figure should no longer remain obscured because of his more famous and colorful escapades. His achievements and triumphs are as much an integral part of his historical posture as his omissions and short-comings. The incidents for which he is most often remembered, usually of a sensational and notorious nature, do not show the complete Anthony. Instead, they tend to distort the image of the man, making it difficult to place him in proper historical perspective.

Five days after his death, the Times published the following letter by Anthony. It is interesting that in his final comment to the world Anthony did not concern himself with politics, business, journalism, or his efforts to make Kansas a free state. With the rapid approach of death, the barroom brawls, the shooting incidents, the editorial battles, and the political disputes began diminishing in importance; even his positive achievements and contributions

to Kansas history began to lose their luster. His interests had now completed their full cycle and, with the imminency of death, his mind fixed on that which he considered to be most important and permanent in human existence.

I die in full confidence of a Divine Power who made and controls the universe--that there have been no changes or control so far as we know.

Whatever was made by that Divine Power is perfect and remains perfect.

So far as the other world is concerned, we do not know. Divine Power is for good and not for evil. We believe that we should do unto others as we would be done by.

I don't believe God ever created a Devil. I don't believe that a devil exists anywhere except in the heart of man⁸³

⁸³"Scrapbook," VI, 116-117.

D. R. ANTHONY

Anthony! Fearless and daring, who hath not heard
Of this great man of action, by deed and by word?
Free men of the nation can never repay
The debt they owe him who has now passed away.

Undaunted in danger, he stood for the right,
Though a Quaker by birth, ever ready to fight.
A terror to evil, Dan Anthony stood
As a giant, upholding the true and the good.

No compromise measure found favor with him,
Who wrote and who spoke with such fervor and vim.
In the perilous days of his new Western home,
With its broad rolling prairies, the sky for its dome;
With his keen, piercing eye, and his strong will and mind,
He foresaw weal or woe for the hosts of mankind.

With freedom his watchword, he welcomed the foe,
Who sought to take Kansas for slavery's woe,
And woe to the men who thus dared to resent
In the battle for freedom on which he was bent.
As he lived, so he died, without fear, without dread,
And has passed on beyond to his home with the dead.

Let the mantle of charity cover the form
That never was known to take refuge in storm.
Forgetting his faults, let his virtues remain,
Knowing well, as we do, he has not lived in vain.

A. W. Stubbs

(Kansas City Journal, November 13, 1904)

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