

Chapter one

Went to Kansas

One reward bestowed on the victor of Waterloo was the stewardship of the Tower of London. Originally built soon after the Norman Conquest, by the nineteenth century the Tower had become an ancient symbol of authority that held long associations with the darker side of power.¹ Here it was that enemies and heretics were incarcerated; here it was that Kings and Queens lost their heads and here it was that boy-princes were smothered.² The very names of parts of the Tower are evocative of this dark history—the White Tower, the Bloody Tower, Traitors Gate—and the entire edifice is still watched over by huge black ravens, the totemic bird of Bran, the ancient war-god of Celtic Britain.³

Yet the Tower was not only a locus of great and grisly history, for it has a history of its own. As well as a forbidding prison and place of execution it has served a multitude of uses: fortress, royal apartments, repository of the Crown Jewels and site of the royal menagerie. Within its embattlements has lived a succession of communities whose differing needs across the centuries have shaped the Tower's every structure. By the time Wellington was appointed constable of the Tower in 1826, many buildings had fallen into disrepair and to help in the huge task of renovation he employed a young architect, Anthony Salvin (1799–1881). First the moat was emptied of centuries of detritus—‘10,000 cubic feet of muck’—and then the drainage system was rebuilt according to Salvin's plan. It was later reported that there was ‘hardly any old building in the Tower which had not been brought under Mr Salvin's consideration’ and in 1841, when Martin Tower—where the Crown Jewels were kept—was damaged in a fire, Salvin ‘was instructed ... to provide a secure and fireproof place for their safekeeping’.⁴

With a family name that appeared in the first edition of *Burke's Peerage*, Anthony Salvin was born in Durham and as a young man had moved to London where, before establishing his own practice, he became a pupil of the great John Nash (1752–1835). Salvin became an authority on medieval fortifications, the most successful restorer and purveyor of castles in the second half of the nineteenth century and, in a career spanning sixty years, built up an impressive portfolio of over seventy major projects across the length and breadth of Britain.⁵ In 1836 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, twice became its vice-president and in 1863 was awarded the Institute's Royal Gold Medal.⁶

In 1856, while working on renovations at Warwick Castle, Salvin suffered a stroke but continued working despite his disability—notably at the royal castle of Windsor under a contract he had secured through the good offices of Albert, the Prince Consort, who had been impressed by Salvin's work on the Tower of London. At his doctor's insistence Salvin retired in 1862, and bought a mixed farm of a hundred and forty-five acres some sixty miles from London, near the village of Fernhurst in West Sussex, where he built his own country seat, Hawksfold.⁷ Although now in his sixties, Salvin did not completely retire: not only did he work on his own house, he renovated other local wealthy houses and the Fernhurst village church, and he also continued with major projects such as Muncaster Castle.⁸ In 1866, Salvin employed George Abel (1840–1934) as his estate gardener and installed him in Hawksfold Cottage, the gardener's lodge.

George Abel was born in the village of Suttie in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. He was only nine years old when his father died and three years later took up employment as an apprentice gardener at nearby Keith Hall, home of Lord Inverurie, where he worked for some four and a half years. He seems to have been an ambitious young man, for he moved on to work in various noble estates in the Clyde valley before finally leaving Scotland in 1863 to work in London and then to Hawksfold three years later.⁹ One of the house servants in Salvin's employ was Kentish-born Amelia Anne Hogben (1837–1918). Victorian country gentlemen's gardeners 'often chose brides from the Big House' and on 3 September 1868 the couple was married at St Margaret's church, Fernhurst, an edifice of Norman origin upon which their irrepressible employer had worked while in retirement.¹⁰ George brought his bride into Hawksfold Cottage where their first son, George junior, was born the following



Fernhurst at the end of the nineteenth century.

March. After the birth of their second son, William, in December 1870 and despite their apparently secure position in Salvin's household, the Abels decided to emigrate to America, probably because Amelia's brother William Hogben had moved to Kansas two years earlier.

The prolonged sectional crisis that resulted in the American Civil War had hindered westward expansion across the continent but during the post-bellum boom the railroads were snaking out across the Great Plains, providing a conduit for settlers. But as much as settlement needed the railroads, the railroads needed the settlers. On either side of their tracks, the railroad companies had been granted a total of 129 million acres of public land that, if settled, could reap them large rewards from local freight business.¹¹ Therefore, the railroads offered loans at short credit for land purchase to would-be settlers, or inducements such as cheap round tickets—including a rebate certificate should a purchase be completed—for exploratory journeys. Even free land was available through schemes such as homesteading, pre-emption or the promotion of timber culture. Lincoln's Homestead Act of 1862 provided a half section (eighty acres) to any head of a family over twenty-one years old who lived on those acres for five years, an offer that was open to all United States citizens or those who had filed their intention to become citizens.¹²

To lure would-be immigrants to the middle border states, such as Kansas, a huge advertising effort got underway that effectively created a 'continuous chain of incentives from the western frontier back to Europe and especially to the farming classes in Britain'. The railroads employed hundreds of British agents, published emigration newspapers and flooded England and Scotland with posters and other advertising matter.¹³ These campaigns, however, did not result in large-scale emigration from the United Kingdom, but they did enjoy some success in Sussex because in 1870 about three hundred people emigrated from there to Geary County, Kansas.¹⁴ It was perhaps in the excitement of this moment that the Abels chose to leave England and join William Hogben at Turkey Creek a few miles east of the tiny frontier town of Salina.¹⁵ However, like many nineteenth-century residents of the Great Plains, the Abels soon became 'afflicted with the ague' (malarial fever) and, according to family tradition, Amelia 'did not like the Indians or living in a sod

house'.¹⁶ So perhaps finding frontier life altogether too challenging, the Abels returned to England after only a year in Kansas while William Hogben stayed behind and eventually opened a grocery store in Salina.¹⁷

The Abels were certainly welcomed back by Anthony Salvin, for they soon moved back into Hawksfold Cottage where, on 18 February 1873, the first daughter and third child of George and Amelia was born. She was christened Anna Heloise but, since each of the Abel children either adopted or was given a nickname, from an early age she was called Annie and signed herself by that name ever after. The Abels had four more children, each one born at Hawksfold Cottage and each christened at the Norman font in St Margaret's, Fernhurst, as were their elder siblings.

Anthony—the youngest son and presumably named after the Abels' employer—was born in 1874, followed by Rosa, Lena and Eliza (Lucy) who were born between 1876 and 1881. But the Abels' joy at the birth of their last child was no doubt tempered by the death of their generous employer, Anthony Salvin, only six months later on 17 December 1881.

From a deceased estate worth over £70,000 Salvin bequeathed to each of three of his servants, including George Abel, 'one years wages, free of duty'.¹⁸ Although no figure was mentioned in the will, one historian has suggested that at the time 'head gardeners would be satisfied with £40–65' per annum.¹⁹ Presumably to maintain the gardens until the future of Hawksfold was decided, the Abels remained for three years after Salvin's death. Then, despite their previous experience, in December 1884 George and Amelia, with their three sons and baby Lucy, once more departed for Kansas.²⁰ Annie, Rosa and Lena stayed behind in London, living with their aunt Suzy Luscombe (Amelia's sister) in the leafy suburb of Maida Vale where they attended the local school, St Peter's. The sisters were reunited with the rest of the Abel family in America seven months later, but just how three young girls aged twelve, nine and seven made the journey from London to Kansas and if anyone accompanied them is not now known.

What is certain is that in the summer of 1885, Annie Heloise Abel had arrived at Salina, Kansas, on the very frontier that her more famous contemporary Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932) would soon declare closed.²¹ Annie Abel was to spend almost twenty years in Kansas, first helping her family to resettle before resuming her schooling and eventually going on to attend the state university. Yet this was not

merely the site of her personal maturation, for the central feature of her early work as an historian was to demonstrate how Indian policy featured in the founding of her adopted state.

The State of Kansas not only lies at the geographical centre of the continental United States, its very creation was central to the internecine struggle that would redefine the nation. It took its name from the Kansa (also known as the Kaw) a Siouan-speaking Indian tribe who migrated into the region from the north in about the seventeenth century.²² This territory lay within the Louisiana Purchase, an area of eight hundred thousand square miles bought by President Thomas Jefferson from Napoleon for \$15 million in 1803. In July of the following year, Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery passed through its eastern edge on their way to the Pacific north-west; and in 1806, the frontiersman and explorer Zebulon Pike crossed the territory and gave his name to Pike's Peak (now in the State of Colorado) that rises out of the plains to some thirteen thousand feet, the easternmost sentinel of the Rocky Mountain chain.

It was reports from explorers such as Pike that gave rise to the area's reputation as the mythical 'Great American Desert', described as 'uninhabitable by a people depending on agriculture for their subsistence', full of 'strange and perilous landscapes ... ferocious grizzly bears and ... hostile Indians'.²³ But with the opening up of the Pacific coast and then the discovery of California gold in 1849, a direct route across the Great Plains became imperative. As yet there were only two overland routes to the west coast, each of them long and arduous. The Santa Fé Trail curved for some three thousand miles through the south and the Oregon Trail (opened in 1843) made a similar but northward perambulation to the Pacific north-west.²⁴ It would be a railway entrepreneur and great believer in western expansion, the Illinois Democrat senator, Stephen H Douglas, who took the first legislative steps towards the opening up of the Great American Desert by the introduction of his Nebraska Bill.

For all the Enlightenment protestations concerning freedom and inalienable rights contained in its founding document, the United States had subsequently been forced to deal with the reality of slavery. At the very time that the 'peculiar institution' was losing favour in the North, it was becoming more entrenched as the

foundation of Southern plantation economy and the issue threatened to cause sectional division. The maintenance of the Union thus came to exercise the minds of the young republic's legatees and they devised a series of congressional compromises. By 1820, the United States comprised eleven slave-free states and eleven others with a slave population of four million—nearly half that number in five states alone: Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. With westward expansion, each time that a new piece of territory was added to the United States the formula to maintain parity between North and South in the Senate had to be revisited. Under the Missouri Enabling Act of 1820 (later known as the Missouri Compromise) the new State of Missouri was to be admitted into the Union as a slave state and, in order to redress the sectional imbalance, the free State of Maine was created out of the northern part of Massachusetts. Under this compromise, the Mason–Dixon line, originally the border between Pennsylvania and Virginia, was extended along the southern border of Missouri and the northern border of Arkansas Territory at latitude 36° 30' N. Within the Louisiana Purchase area, but with the exception of Missouri, slavery was to be 'forever prohibited' north of this line.²⁵ Thus the Nebraska Bill of 1853, by which Douglas sought to establish a new territory in the wild heartland of continental America, lay at the intersection of the two great movements in American history: the longitudinal thrust of geographical expansion and cultural hegemony as the republic sought to fulfil its Manifest Destiny; and the latitudinal divide in America's political and social development as it sought to deal with the question of slavery.

The Bill was introduced to Congress on 14 December and passed to the Territories Committee (chaired by Douglas), which then amended it, as a sop to the South, by granting popular sovereignty on the slavery issue to the new Nebraska Territory. Yet the Bill still held that slavery could not be permitted there until such popular sovereignty could be expressed and because of the 1820 compromise that meant that Missouri (lying contiguously to the east of the proposed new territory) now stood potentially isolated and surrounded by slave-free territory. The South also held strongly to the doctrine of common property by which the federal government—as guardian of the territories on behalf of the states—'must allow citizens from every State to move to the territories with their property, including slaves', and furthermore the government was obliged to protect such property.²⁶ Contrary to this doctrine, therefore, the amended Bill would have the effect of

restricting Missourians in the movement of their property including, of course, their slaves. Southern Democrats again prevailed upon Douglas and by two further amendments it was proposed to create *two* territories—Nebraska and Kansas—and also to declare the Missouri Compromise ‘inoperative and void’. The Bill was finally given approval by President Pierce to become the Kansas–Nebraska Act on 30 May 1854.²⁷

Because Nebraska now lay next to the free State of Iowa, and Kansas was contiguous with slave-holding Missouri it was assumed that, despite the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, sectional parity in Congress would be maintained by each of the new states aligning with the sections to which they were adjacent. Indeed, the Nebraska Bill was introduced on the premise that by giving the new territories popular sovereignty, the national political conflict over slavery could be avoided and the country could get on with its proper agenda of westward expansion—which happened to coincide with Douglas’ railroad interests.²⁸ His reasoning was that if by democratic means a territory or state should choose slavery or not, then that should be the end of the matter; not only should Congress *not* interfere, the need for a divisive national debate would also be circumvented by turning slavery into a state or territory matter. The effect proved to be the exact opposite.

If the Kansas–Nebraska Act can be located at the ideological intersection of the two great waves of American history, then the spark for the violence which eventually enveloped the entire nation in bloody civil war may be precisely located at the geographical intersection of the then western frontier and the 36° 30'N parallel: Lawrence, Kansas. In December 1855, more than five years before the official opening of the Civil War at Fort Sumter, pro- and antislavery forces faced off against each other across the Wakarusa River, just three miles from Lawrence. This confrontation, which claimed only one fatality, later became known—with some exaggeration—as the Wakarusa War. But early the next year, eight hundred proslavery settlers got drunk, rode into Lawrence and destroyed two newspaper offices, a hotel and the home of the governor. Three days later, the fanatical abolitionist John Brown hacked five proslavery men to death at Pottawatomie Creek thereby starting the three-month conflict known as Bleeding Kansas in which over two hundred more men would be killed. As one settler fearfully wrote: ‘We are in the

midst of war ... a war of extermination. Freedom and slavery are interlocked in deadly embrace ... and only God knoweth where it will end'.²⁹

Although the fighting subsided for a while, four rival constitutional conventions were held in Kansas Territory and four constitutions were submitted to the people before one was found that was satisfactory. The Wyandotte Constitution, under which Kansas was finally admitted as a state, was presented to the United States Senate on 14 February 1860. During the next few months it came before the Senate several times as a Bill of Admission but filibusterous tactics on the part of Southern senators, who feared that the new state would oppose slavery, delayed its passage. The power of the slave states in Congress was eventually broken on 21 January 1861 when, in the gathering storm of secession, ten Southern senators withdrew and the Bill was quickly passed. Eight days later, President Buchanan signed the Act of Admission by which Kansas became the thirty-fourth state of the Union, adopting the locally abundant sunflower as its state emblem.

Although the sectional violence in Kansas was real enough, it was in fact based on empty rhetoric. Despite the claim of one pamphleteer that 'slaves could raise hemp, tobacco, wheat and corn as profitably in Kansas as they could raise cotton', few in the South really believed that plantation slavery could be successfully established out on the western plains.³⁰ For all the rhetoric about Manifest Destiny, at bottom, the Kansas–Nebraska Act was little more than an excuse for a huge land-grab; it was with an eye on the enormous potential railroad profits that Douglas first introduced the measure.³¹ While eastern land speculators looked to the opening of the West with an eye for a quick and easy profit, the creation of the new territories—with its attendant expansion of gubernatorial and other offices—was seen as a potential cash cow for superannuated congressmen. Apart from extremists on both sides of the sectional divide, the vast majority of the thousands of settlers who poured into Kansas were looking for land to settle, not ideologies to promulgate. The Wakarusa War was sparked by a murder that was the result of an argument over a land claim; the fact that victim and perpetrator were on different sides of the sectional divide merely served to exacerbate the conflict.³²

Yet, ironically, on the day in 1854 that the Kansas Territory was opened for settlement, it was conveniently forgotten that 'there was not within it an acre of land that was available for sale'.³³ Much of the territory lay unsurveyed and was therefore

closed to would-be settlers; but more importantly, the entire eastern border region was a patchwork of reservations, home to some ten thousand Indians, in which whites were forbidden to settle. Twenty-five years earlier, in an effort to solve the ‘Indian problem’, the eastern states had moved their Indian populations westward onto reservations in the then distant trans-Mississippi territory of the Louisiana Purchase. The entire area between the Red River on the Texan border and the Platte River, in what would become central Nebraska, was designated as Indian Territory and legally closed to white settlement. When, by mid-century the western frontier had again caught up with these dislocated Indians, one argument put forward for the opening up of Kansas was, as Abel herself was to point out, that if not ‘it would be forever consigned to the wild beast and the savage’.³⁴ Legal impediments were therefore soon swept aside and it was the tragic history of the Indian removals, the creation and the dismantling of the reservations in Kansas and finally the devastating effects of the Civil War in the West upon those Indians that were to receive the attention of much of Annie Abel’s scholarship.

The survey of the land that was to become the town of Salina and eventually the seat of Saline County, was commenced in March 1858, the plat finally being filed with the Territorial Legislature of Kansas on 14 April 1862, while the Civil War was raging. During that summer, upon hearing rumours of hostile Indians approaching from the west, the townspeople—consisting of only about a dozen families—built a sturdy stockade and seeing such preparations, the Indians passed by and Salina escaped a massacre.³⁵ The town was not so lucky in late September when a ‘bushwacker led fourteen men ... and raided the far-flung hamlet. After stripping the place clean of horses and arms, the raiders dissolved once again into the endless Kansas prairie’.³⁶ It was not until the end of the Civil War, and the building of the Kansas Pacific Railway (later the Union Pacific) in 1867, that Salina began to grow. In 1870 the town erected a courthouse—‘a very fine stone county building’—and was designated a city of the third class. By 1872 it had become a cowboy town and although business prospered, this was at the price of being:

infested with such a crowd of disreputable characters, both male and female, that whatever advantage was gained in trade was more than counter-balanced by loss in morals, and when the cattle trade moved westward, two years afterwards, the citizens of Salina were more rejoiced at its departure than they were at its coming.³⁷

Salina went through a series of steps both forward and back: as business boomed, so the town was swept with a series of disastrous fires which forced it eventually to adopt building in brick; the prosperity of 1875 was offset by the effects of a grasshopper plague in 1874. But by 1877 the town could proudly boast an opera house and in the following year was upgraded to a city of the second class. By 1882 the town's population of three and a half thousand was served by: nine religious denominations, all Christian; three newspapers, two Republican and one Independent; and five fraternal lodges.³⁸ It could also boast: '14 attorney's [*sic*], 6 doctors, 6 hotels, 3 banks, 9 loan offices ... 4 restaurants, 7 general mdes. [merchandise] stores, 10 grocery stores, and 9 hardware stores'.³⁹

Such was the early history of the town in which the Abels came to settle—and they arrived at a time of prosperity. In that year of 1885, the Kansas Wesleyan College was chartered and public transport—five miles of track along which a mule pulled a car at about seven miles per hour—was begun.⁴⁰ The reunited Abel family's first northern winter must have been a shock, though, as throughout January the infamous Blizzard of '86 swept across the state causing serious food and fuel shortages.⁴¹ But in the following year, Salina's first telephone switchboard and electric light plant were installed and the arrival of the Santa Fé made a total of seven railroads that serviced the town.⁴² A year later, 'scarlet women' were known to be operating in Salina—an unforeseen effect, perhaps, of the installation of street lighting. The Gay Nineties saw a proliferation in 'bicycles and bloomer girls' and the arrival in town of the first phonograph, whose owner stood on street corners and charged five cents 'to play a record of your choice'. In 1899 Salina celebrated its fortieth birthday with a gigantic six-day fair that included horse and harness racing, a booth with '250 lights lit in various colors' and a nightly fireworks display.⁴³

Like much of Kansas, the apparent progress of Salina was built largely on a bubble of credit. The satirical novel that was to give its name to the post-bellum period was published in the same year that Annie Abel was born, 1873. Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age* lampooned this time of rampant corporate capitalism and great corruption—excesses that were not curbed until Roosevelt's vigorous application of anti-trust legislation in the early 1900s. As in all such times, the many had to pay for the conspicuous consumption of the few and for many western pioneers the Gilded Age became a time of debt and—when the climate

fluctuated—downright penury. The success of the railroads in bringing migrants to Kansas was partly a function of unusually high rainfall between 1879 and 1887; then the crops flourished and the advertised promises of a life of ease and perpetual June weather appeared to have a ring of truth.⁴⁴

In the decade to 1880 the population of Saline County tripled to just over twelve thousand, a percentage increase that reflected the figures for the state, which reached nearly one million. The boom years peaked in 1887 and the next decade saw drought, consistent crop failure and overall emigration from the state. In that decade Saline County grew by less than a third, and in the next the population actually decreased by a small amount to just over seventeen thousand. In August 1896, William Allen White (1868–1944), owner and editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, published his renowned editorial ‘What’s the Matter with Kansas?’ in which he complained that despite the birth of some ten thousand children in the previous year, so many people had left the state that the natural increase was actually less than two thousand, and this was a trend that had continued for eight years. Whereas the national population had increased by some ten million over the previous five years, White was shocked that ‘in the very garden of the world ... Kansas has apparently been a plague spot’.⁴⁵

Mechanisation had improved agricultural productivity but it had also led to an alarming increase in the number of farm mortgages, which raised concerns about interest rates and foreclosure and contributed to emigration from the state. Farmers were reliant upon and indebted to the banks, the railroads, the grain elevator operators and other service-providers. When the boom collapsed in the late 1880s, farmers sought to empower themselves by organisation and by the end of the decade the Kansas Farmers’ Alliance formed the basis for the Populist Party. Promising to wrest the government from the hands of corrupt politicians and big business, the Populists won a stunning victory in the fall of 1890, gaining control of the Kansas House of Representatives and electing five of their candidates to the lower house of the United States Congress.

Women were especially active in the Populist movement, calling for universal suffrage and demanding a greater participation in political and social affairs. As one contemporary humorist put it, ‘wimmin is everywhere’. While caring for a home and children, the extraordinary Mary Elizabeth Lease (1850–1933) of Wichita had found time to study law and gained admission to the bar in 1889; the following year she

became a leading voice in the Farmers' Alliance and one of the best-known Populists in the state. Lease reputedly called on farmers to 'raise less wheat and more *Hell*', but typically she spoke about poverty in a land of millionaires:

The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master ... Kansas suffers from two great robbers, the Santa Fé Railroad and the loan companies. The common people are robbed to enrich their masters.⁴⁶

Another influential woman was Annie Diggs who in 1882 began her own newspaper, the *Kansas Liberal*, which likewise lambasted the rich and demanded a fair go for farmers and workers.

The outcome of the 1892 Kansas State elections was contested, with Republican and Populist Parties each claiming victory. The Populists had stood on a platform of government regulation of the railroads, the adoption of the Australian (that is, secret) ballot, mortgage and tax law reform, and fair market prices for farm products. The Supreme Court eventually found in favour of the Republicans who accepted Populist legislation providing for a secret ballot and revision of the state mortgage laws, but rejected proposals for railroad regulation. In 1896, the Populists united with the Kansas Democrats, regained control of the state legislature and won five congressional seats. However, this would be their last significant state election. William Jennings Bryan, the Nebraskan who later gained notoriety as the leading prosecuting attorney in the Scopes trial of 1925, first gained national attention as the Democrat-Populist candidate for the presidency in 1896. Only thirty-six years old, Bryan lost to Republican William McKinley, marking the end of Populism as a national political force. Weakened by national setbacks and a return of farm prosperity, Populist strength in Kansas gradually began to fade and by 1898 the Republicans had regained political dominance of the state.

A fundamental tenet of Kansas Populism was the belief in women's suffrage, although this had been an issue in Kansas since territorial times, long before the emergence of the Populists. The first state legislature of 1861 gave women the right to vote in school elections and it was a Kansas senator, Samuel C Pomeroy (lambasted as the corrupt Senator Dilworthy in *The Gilded Age*), who introduced the first federal women's suffrage amendment into the United States Congress in late 1868. The measure failed, but the failure served only to strengthen the movement in Kansas with the founding of a state-wide Equal Suffrage Movement in 1884.⁴⁷ Three years later Kansas became the first state to grant women municipal voting rights and

allow them to run for office in all city elections across Kansas. On 4 April 1887, the town of Argonia elected Susannah Medora Salter as the first female mayor in the nation. Despite this progress, the whole question of women's role in politics remained a divisive one and Kansan voters rejected women's suffrage in the 1894 state referendum. By the end of the century more than a dozen Kansas towns had elected women as mayors, but it was not until 1912 that the state adopted a constitutional amendment granting women full suffrage.

The Salina branch of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance reportedly met in secret on 21 October 1891 and, although there is no evidence that George Abel played any part in this movement, these developments would most certainly have been talked about in the Abel household.⁴⁸ Actually, it would appear that the family was little troubled by the rural downturn for, by the time that Annie Abel and her sisters joined the rest of the family in the summer of 1885, her father had acquired (presumably with the help of his inheritance from Salvin) a sixty-acre plot of land a few miles to the south-east of Salina on the east bank of the Smoky Hill River.⁴⁹ In the national demographics of post-bellum immigration, the Abels were not typical. Of the five-and-a-quarter million immigrants to the United States of America during the 1880s only fifteen per cent came from Britain, and the Abel family did not, as did most immigrants, disappear into the 'melting-pot' cities of the North but—despite their previous difficult experiences in Kansas—returned to the rural West.

The railroads, the State Bureau of Immigration and various land companies and colonising schemes had all launched immigration advertising campaigns aimed specifically at the British market to lure both 'the capitalist and working man' to the sunflower state; yet when the Abels arrived in Kansas, its English-born population was less than fifteen thousand out of a total of nearly a million residents.⁵⁰ The Abels were certainly not—as Emma Lazarus' famous poem etched on the Statue of Liberty would have it—the wretched refuse of a teeming shore; George senior was a skilled worker with capital, two strapping sons and a brother-in-law in town who owned a grocery store. Through the economic downturn that saw thousands of farmers forced to leave Kansas the Abel family not only survived, they thrived: all seven Abel children went to college and each went on to fulfil the American dream by becoming successful, middle-class citizens. But this fulfilment did not occur in Kansas for, by

the early years of the twentieth century, the entire Abel family had followed the trend of which White wrote so alarmingly, and had left the state.

In August 1855, within only fifteen months of being organised as a territory, Kansas enacted a statute that provided for the establishment of schools in each territorial county, which were to be ‘open and free for every class of white citizens between the ages of five and twenty-one years’.⁵¹ Three years later, while the territory was yet bleeding from the slave/free controversy, the law was amended to open all school districts to all children regardless of colour and stipulated that ‘no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein’.⁵² By 1866 there were more than eighty schools across the state and in 1874 an annual minimum of twelve weeks of compulsory education for all children between the ages of eight and fourteen became law. According to the census of 1890, Kansas had the highest percentage of public high school children in the country, and this was at a time when only three out of every thousand Americans were high school students.⁵³ That all seven Abel children could be counted within this tiny minority was all the more remarkable.

George Abel junior and his brother Will both attended Salina Normal University, a private college established in 1884 that offered two-year business and teaching courses until it was destroyed in a spectacular fire in 1904. Upon his graduation from Salina Normal, Will taught high school in the town for a while but early in the new century followed his childhood sweetheart, whose family had moved to Montesano, Washington State. Here he studied law, became one of that state’s most prominent attorneys and counted William Boeing (1881–1956), founder of the Boeing aircraft corporation, as one of his early clients. He reputedly owned the largest private law library west of the Mississippi and gained some notoriety with his involvement in the 1920 Centralia Massacre trial.⁵⁴ George junior first moved to Lincoln Center, Kansas, where he also studied law and by 1898 had been elected Lincoln County Prosecutor. In May of that year he joined the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Regiment as a first lieutenant, and served briefly in the Spanish–American War. In 1911 he followed his younger brother and also moved to Washington and settled in the town of Hoquiam. Six years later, he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court for Grays Harbor County.

The other five Abel children attended Salina High School and all became alumni of the University of Kansas, Lawrence. At the 1892 school Commencement

Exercises, eighteen-year old Anthony Abel delivered the oration, entitled ‘The Past, Present and Future of Man’, and eventually followed closely in his brothers’ footsteps by becoming a lawyer in the State of Washington, and even marrying his brother Will’s sister-in-law.⁵⁵ While at the University of Kansas each of the girls was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.⁵⁶ Rosa undertook graduate study at the University of Chicago and Oxford University, England, before completing her PhD in English Literature at Yale. Lena went on to gain a master’s degree at Stanford and taught in Montana and Seattle until she married. Lucy moved to Washington with her parents in 1907 and became one of that state’s first female attorneys.

That the Abels made a success of their farm *and* sent all seven children on to college was an extraordinary achievement given the economic climate at that time in the Midwest. Certainly by 1905 they owned their farm outright for, ‘all improved and under fence’, it was valued in that year’s census schedule at \$2000.⁵⁷ Tuition at the University of Kansas was, in those days, free to all residents of the state and the university catalogue for 1898–99 indicated that, depending on lifestyle, students could expect to spend between \$140 and \$320 annually on board, rent, laundry, books and other incidentals.⁵⁸ Such costs—even for five of seven children—were surely not beyond the means of a frugal and reasonably successful, farming family. In 1907, with all but Lucy having left the nest, George and Amelia moved to Aberdeen, Washington, to be near their sons and their house on North M Street was to become Annie Abel’s final home long after her parents had passed away. But that was far into the future.

As the eldest daughter, Annie Abel was quite probably called upon to help the reunited family establish themselves on their new farm; for whatever reason, she did not go back to school until the age of fourteen. As GW Martin, editor of *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, mentioned in a 1904 biographical footnote, ‘in the late fall of 1887 [Annie Abel] was enrolled as a pupil in the Salina public schools with which she was identified until 1893’. He also noted that before entering university, she taught for two years in the Parsons district, just to the east of Salina.⁵⁹ This was partly corroborated by a handwritten, autobiographical sketch submitted to the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) in which Abel stated that she had indeed graduated from Salina High School in 1893. A few years later, in

a Yale University Graduate School document, she again noted her four-year attendance at Salina High School, but neither here nor in the autobiographical sketch did she mention her post-high school teaching experience.⁶⁰

In 1895, the twenty-two year old Annie Abel became one of some six hundred and fifty students to enrol at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, which at the time boasted a faculty of fifty-five and a total student body of just over nine hundred.⁶¹ Her university entrance card, dated 12 September, recorded that she had gained certification from Salina High School in: arithmetic, algebra, geometry ('plane and solid'), physics, American history, general history, physical geography, civil government, English grammar and composition, rhetoric, four terms of German and six topics of Latin. The card also noted that the university awarded her advanced credit for a term in English and a half term each in chemistry and botany, possibly in recognition of her teaching experience.⁶² Over the following four years, Abel's School of Arts report card showed her consistently achieving top grades in all but a few subjects as an undergraduate and, on 15 February 1898, she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.⁶³ The fraternity's chapter at the University of Kansas, known as the Alpha of Kansas, had been organised in 1890 and elections were not held until the candidates were in their senior year. Since candidature was based on scholarship alone and not more than a quarter of any class might be chosen, election to the fraternity was a true recognition of academic excellence.⁶⁴

On Wednesday 8 June 1898, Annie Heloise Abel headed the alphabetical list of seventy-five graduands who were admitted to the AB degree (Bachelor of Arts).⁶⁵ The senior graduates of that year produced an illustrated memorial pamphlet; next to each graduate's name was a verse of poetry that, it might be supposed, reflected their character.⁶⁶ Listed under the School of Arts, the name of Anna Heloise Abel is accompanied by the following quatrain from Tennyson's 'The Palace of Art':

Full oft the riddle of the painful earth
Flash'd thro' her as she sat alone,
Yet, not the less held she her solemn mirth
And intellectual throne.⁶⁷

Whoever inserted this particular verse alongside Abel's name was either an astute observer of character, or exceedingly prescient, for it very concisely summed up much of her future working life. She was indeed to spend many hours fossicking 'alone' through archival records, a lifetime habit she first developed as a graduate

student and continued for another thirty or so years. And those archives very often held ‘riddles of the painful earth’—the official records of man’s inhumanity to man which told of native peoples being cruelly brushed aside by the white man’s relentless expansion. As her works would reveal, her ‘mirth’ (such as it was) was indeed ‘solemn’ as she sought always to maintain the strict neutrality of the ‘intellectual throne’ that the methodology of scientific history afforded her. On the opposite page of the memorial, her somewhat austere photo—bespectacled and in black—appeared along with those of the six other School of Arts graduates.⁶⁸

After graduation Abel returned once more to teaching, this time at Colby in western Kansas where she taught English and Latin at the Thomas County High School, but sometime in the following year she returned to the university to become ‘head manuscript reader in the English department’.⁶⁹ According to the university’s *English Bulletin*, the essays of *all* disciplines were submitted to the English department each year, and although Abel was listed as one of only two manuscript readers, the job entailed the critical reading and correction of ‘about 45,000 pages of manuscript, aggregating nine million words’.⁷⁰ She did not stick long at this frankly Herculean task and in September 1899 enrolled in the Graduate School where she took courses in aesthetics, modern philosophy, metaphysics and experimental psychology as well as Anglo-Saxon, Middle English and American history.⁷¹

Two curious notices concerning her appeared at this time: the *Kansas University Weekly* of 17 February 1900 noted that ‘Annie H. Abel had completed the work for her Masters degree last term’, and the March issue of the alumni magazine *The Oread* reported that she was ‘now an assistant in the English Department and is taking work for a degree of PhD’.⁷² If either of these reports was true, then Annie Abel was indeed a truly remarkable student, for it would have meant that she had completed her master’s degree in less than six months and then embarked on her doctorate while working at the same time. In fact, her graduate school record clearly shows that she undertook a full year of study including course work and submission of a thesis and, on 6 June 1900—almost two years exactly to the day of her admission as a bachelor—was admitted to the AM degree (Master of Arts). It must have been a doubly joyous event for the Abel family because, at the same Annual Commencement Exercises, Annie’s younger brother Anthony also gained his law degree.⁷³



Abel family, Salina, Kansas, circa 1900.
Clockwise from left: Annie, Anthony, Rose, Lucy, Amelia, Lena.

Annie Abel's mentor at the University of Kansas was Professor Frank Heywood Hodder (1860–1935). A graduate of the University of Michigan, Hodder had come to Kansas in 1891 after teaching history at Cornell University and studying in Germany at the universities of Göttingen and Friburg. He began his studies at a time when several of the great teachers were urging young students to investigate 'the history and development of local institutions in their own communities' and Hodder demonstrated a commitment to the history of his adopted state in 1895 with the publication of *The Government of the People of Kansas*.⁷⁴ In November of the same year, soon after Abel's arrival at the university, Hodder delivered an address to the Historical Seminary, 'The Making of Kansas', which attracted considerable attention.⁷⁵

Although at least four of his students went on to write theses on state-based subjects, Hodder's book 'did not please certain factions then prominent in Kansas political life'.⁷⁶ As a junior professor, Hodder thought discretion the better part of valour and dropped the study of local history in favour of general American history with the result that, as his student James Malin later remarked, 'the state of Kansas has been the loser'.⁷⁷ Hodder was on the committee that elected Abel to Phi Beta Kappa and it was later claimed that he once described her as 'the most brilliant history student he had ever known'.⁷⁸ When, just prior to her graduation to the Bachelor of Arts, Hodder's 'American Administrations' class presented him with a copy of Henry Adams' *History of the United States*, it was Abel who made the presentation speech.⁷⁹

After gaining her master's degree, Abel did not return to teaching but, at Hodder's recommendation, left Kansas to undertake graduate study at Cornell University at Ithaca, New York. Here she took courses in English constitutional history with Morse Stephens and in American history with Moses Coit Tyler (1835–1900). Tyler was a supporter of female education and his stated aim was 'not so much to make historians as to make citizens and good leaders'.⁸⁰ Yet it is doubtful that he had much influence on Abel since he died at the end of her first term, in December 1900. In June of the following year Abel returned to Lawrence where she taught politics and American history at the local high school and in her free time undertook advanced studies in American history and English constitutional history at the university.⁸¹

On 2 December 1902, Abel read a paper at a meeting of the KSHS entitled 'The Indian Reservation in its Relation to the Settlement of Kansas'.⁸² She began with the contention that the real history of Kansas began with the Louisiana Purchase and that in this connection the migration of Indian tribes had taken on a new significance. She compared Kansas 'to a blackboard upon which the federal government had tried to work out certain important steps in the solution of its two great race problems' and claimed that although there was a general familiarity with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 in its relation to slavery, few people were aware of the 'earlier and greater [plan] to make Kansas a permanent Indian reservation'.⁸³ She traced the origin of this plan to Thomas Jefferson's 1804 draft of a proposed constitutional amendment which would have set aside all the land lying within the Louisiana Purchase north of the thirty-first parallel, to be 'temporarily reserved for the aborigines'.

This plan necessitated the compulsory migration of eastern tribes to the trans-Mississippi region and had, in Abel's account, two purposes. Its avowed purpose was 'ostensibly based upon a desire to advance the civilization of the Indians and to prevent their absorption or annihilation by the white people'. The real purpose Abel subdivided into remote and immediate, and then argued that the remote purposes could be further enumerated as fivefold: to prevent the formation of an Indian confederacy that could prove inimical to the Union; to remove those Indians whose presence had hindered certain military activities during the War of 1812; to deprive fugitive slaves asylum in Indian country; to prevent an Indian alliance with any potentially hostile United States' neighbours; and 'to keep a somewhat tardy faith with Georgia under the memorable compact of 1802'.⁸⁴ The immediate purposes for removal Abel connected directly to sectional interests in that both North and South coveted Indian lands: the former to relieve the pressure on its burgeoning population, the latter to make white immigration more inviting, 'it being contended that Europeans objected to dwelling near the red men'. Abel claimed that the South also sought to force the acknowledgement of state's rights by a negation of Indian sovereignty and thereby offset the North's perceived advantage under the Missouri Compromise.

Jefferson's original plan never came into effect, but the subsequent federal removal policies which emerged from it brought to the Indians an injustice which Abel laid squarely at the feet of the South:

With the slave states ... originated the idea of Indian removal, by them it was agitated, adopted, and executed and by them in 1854 [the year of the Kansas–Nebraska Act] its beneficial effects were completely obliterated.

Abel found the principal evidence for this Southern duplicity in an 1825 report prepared by John C Calhoun (1782–1850) who, as secretary of war, was also head of the Indian Office. Calhoun proposed removing Indians to land west of the Missouri and north of the Arkansas rivers, land that under 'solemn guarantee ... should be secured to them forever'. In fact, as Abel pointed out, Calhoun 'purposed the killing of two birds with one stone' since the Indians he proposed removing were those tribes—Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw—that 'encumbered' the slave states. Thus *northern* expansion would be blocked by the resettlement of *southern* Indians (together with the resettlement of some north-eastern tribes) to the unoccupied lands west of Lake Michigan. Indeed it was 'because of its extreme sectionalism', Abel claimed, that Calhoun's plan failed.⁸⁵

The idea of Indian removal was resurrected during the administrations of John Quincy Adams [1825–29] and Andrew Jackson [1829–37]; but this time, land in the west would be prepared for the relocation of Indians from the east by first extinguishing the local native title. Treaties were negotiated with the two powerful tribes of the area, Kaw and Osage, by which they relinquished part of their domains, thus leading to the creation of what Abel rightly identified as 'the first Indian reservation ever established west of the Missouri River'. After the forced relocation of the eastern Indians became legally sanctioned under the infamous Removal Act of 1830, the number of Indian reservations rapidly multiplied until within 'the present boundaries of Kansas there had been laid out not less than sixteen'.⁸⁶ This situation pertained for some twenty years and 'the Indian emigrants ... being fairly well reconciled to their forced migration, advanced slowly but surely in civilization', though Abel gave no evidence for either the alleged reconciliation or the advance. The 1854 repeal of the Missouri Compromise opened Kansas to white settlement and so 'saved her [*sic*] from becoming a permanent Indian reservation'. Yet this was not without some irony for, as Abel continued:

It is interesting to observe that among the most convincing arguments presented by the friends of the Douglas measure was one voicing the fear that, unless Kansas were immediately restored to the public domain, it would be forever consigned to the wild beast and the savage. Presumably no-one remembered that that very object had been with the slave power the fundamental cause of its organization as Indian territory.⁸⁷

She also emphasised that as far as the Indians were concerned, the Kansas–Nebraska Act was the first step towards the usurpation of land ‘which had been sacredly promised, “as long as the grass should grow and the water should run”’.⁸⁸

The immigrant Indians had hardly been settled when, in 1854, negotiations began for further land cessions—a scheme that, according to Abel, some antislavery ‘extremists’ believed was for the sole benefit of the South.⁸⁹ These cessions were negotiated with small tribes, such as the Otoes, Missouriias, Iowas and others living in the north-eastern corner of Kansas, and Abel noted that an element of almost all these early treaties was a diminished tribal reserve ‘held by the Federal Government in trust for the benefit of the original owners’. Under increasing white pressure for settlement immediately after the Civil War, a second set of treaties was entered into, ‘most of them forced from the Indians under great restraint’. Sometimes whites would claim land by the expedient of a ‘mere crossing of four sticks in one corner of the coveted section’, whereas ‘the Indians’ plea for justice availed nothing’. After a third set of treaties in 1868, most of the tribes moved to the Indian Territory.⁹⁰ This last migration was caused, according to Abel, not only by white expansion but also by the hatred engendered by the troubles in southern and western Kansas. Thus, the Indians of the plains—Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches—although owning no reservations in Kansas, ‘played a conspicuous part in effecting its settlement’.⁹¹

Abel concluded her paper with the observation that the reservations then currently in Kansas were the few acres belonging to less than half a dozen tribes. She then reflected that—as was the contemporary view—‘land held in common as these Indians hold it is repugnant to twentieth century civilization; it denotes a non-progressive state of society’.⁹² In her summing up, Abel recast the whole sad tale in somewhat epic terms and ignored the main thrust of her argument—namely the relocation of Indians as an aspect of the sectional dispute:

Seventy-eight years have passed since the Kaws and Osages first admitted strangers to the domain over which they had previously held undisputed sway for centuries ... The first few years saw the eastern tribes journeying westward trusting implicitly in the promises of the Federal Government ... Then came the irresistible flood-tide of immigration, the signal for the Indians to begin again their wanderings. Their career in Kansas was a great historical drama, in some respects a tragedy.⁹³

In December 1902, the same month that Abel delivered this paper, the editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, George W Martin, wrote in his preface to the seventh volume of that journal:

There are still several of the 'first things' in Kansas to be gathered, and as rapidly as we can find suitable parties to work them up, we solicit and urge. Two papers by members of the history class of the state university attract much attention because of their originality and practical value. The paper by Miss Rosa M. Perdue on 'The Sources of the Constitution of Kansas' ... is the subject of much favorable comment from lawyers. Miss Anna Heloise Abel, of the university, has been at work for a year or more on a paper entitled 'The Establishment of Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Titles,' and all regret that she has been unable to complete it for this meeting. This paper will be of infinite value, involving an amount of labor that but few would attempt.⁹⁴

Why Martin made no mention of the paper that Abel *did* read, is now difficult to determine, but in his preface to the subsequent volume of the *Transactions*, for 1903–04, he wrote:

Especial credit is due to Frank H. Hodder, professor of history in the State University, for three papers of great practical importance, contributed by young lady students—members of his class in history. In the seventh volume is an address by Miss Rosa M. Perdue, entitled 'The Sources of the Constitution of Kansas'. In this volume are two papers, one entitled 'Indian Reservations in Kansas, and Extinguishment of their Title,' by Anna Heloise Abel, of Salina, and 'The Establishment of Counties in Kansas,' with maps, by Helen G. Gill, of Vinland. These papers, prepared under the direction of Professor Hodder, are of infinite value to the students of history, and show that the people have a very practical teacher of history at the State University. They involved great labor and application upon the part of the young ladies, who have thus made their mark in Kansas history, and naturally suggests, the first thing, what are the young men doing?

Hon. D.W. Wilder writes, concerning Miss Abel's paper: 'Miss Abel has a great but neglected field. I cannot recall any paper in the Society's proceedings that equals it in matter and manner. I have not read every page, but have looked at them all with high respect for the author. We need such writers in all the states'.⁹⁵

For her very first publication, this was high praise indeed from the man who is still considered to be the 'Father of Kansas History'. Daniel Webster Wilder (1832–1911) was a journalist, lawyer and politician, who had served as secretary of the

Osawatomie convention that organised the Republican Party in Kansas, and had travelled through the state with Abraham Lincoln. He founded the abolitionist newspaper, the Leavenworth *Conservative*—just one of the many Kansas newspapers of which he was editor. In 1863, he was appointed surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska and later elected as Kansas state auditor and superintendent of insurance. He published the first *Annals of Kansas* in 1875 and in the same year was one of the founders, then later the president, of the KSHS.⁹⁶

As with her 1902 paper, Abel opened ‘Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title’ by locating Indians within the context of the sectional divide:

Those of us who are accustomed to regard the tariff, the national bank and negro-slavery as the all-important issues that made and unmade political parties prior to 1861 forget how intimately the aborigines were concerned with the estrangement of the North and South ... strangely enough, that part of the ‘Great American Desert’ which, on account of its sunny skies and brilliant sunsets, has been called ‘the Italy of the New World’ was destined to be the testing-ground, or experimental station, of the two principal theories connected with the sectional conflict—squatter sovereignty and Indian colonization. Truly, Kansas has had a remarkable history.⁹⁷

She again traced the origin of the idea of Indian removal to Jefferson’s proposed constitutional amendment following the Louisiana Purchase of 1804, noting that Jefferson not only believed that this vast acreage should remain in the possession of the aboriginal inhabitants, but that Indians living east of the Mississippi should also be removed there—an idea that was not acted upon until after the War of 1812. The south-eastern states of the United States were home to four large and powerful tribes, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek, who occupied ‘some of the most valuable agricultural districts south of the Mason and Dixon line’.⁹⁸ Foremost in clamouring for Indian removal was the State of Georgia, which held, by the terms of an 1802 agreement known as the Georgia Compact, that the federal government was duty bound to expel the Indians from within its borders.

The Georgia Compact formed part of a cession agreement with the federal government by which, in return for the extinguishment of native title within its borders, the state would give up some of its western lands in order to form the new Territory of Mississippi. Officially known as ‘*Articles of agreement and cession entered into ... by virtue of an act ... for an amicable settlement of limits within the*

State of Georgia...' the salient point of this compact was expressed in the fourth paragraph of Article I:

That the United States, shall, at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, *as early as the same can be peaceably obtained, on reasonable terms*, the Indian title to the country of Talassee, to lands left out by the line drawn by the Creeks, in the year [1798] which had been previously granted by the State of Georgia, both which tracts had formally been yielded by the Indians; and to the lands between the forks of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers; for which several objects the President of the United States has directed that a treaty should be immediately held with the Creeks; and that the United States shall, in the same manner, also extinguish the Indian title to all the other lands within the State of Georgia.⁹⁹

There was certainly no hint here of *forced* removal of the Indians in the wording, thus Georgia's insistence was, as Abel quite correctly stated, based on a 'liberal interpretation' of the compact. But it was not only Southern states that were seeking an answer to the 'Indian problem' for in the Old Northwest, Indians in the 'hunter stage' became a serious impediment to the rapidly expanding white population.¹⁰⁰ Here it was primarily land speculators who were anxious to remove the Indians, yet Abel suggested that their motivations were somewhat less mercenary than those of Southern politicians:

Indeed at times it was actually philanthropic, for isolation appeared ... the only possible way of preserving the red men from moral degradation and from ultimate extinction.¹⁰¹

Abel then succinctly traced the development of the idea of Indian removal (or, as she called it, colonisation) through to the notorious Indian Removal Act of 1830 introduced under President Andrew Jackson. She suggested that 'a few of the most broad-minded statesmen hoped that an Indian state in the Union would ultimately be created' and that a reservation for such a purpose had been laid off in Franklin County, Kansas, although that scheme had come to nought.¹⁰² Yet in order to prepare for Indian colonisation, the United States government first had to deal with the indigenous peoples of the trans-Missouri region. The buffalo hunting grounds of the Western Plains' horse cultures, such as the Cheyenne, Kiowa and Comanche, were too far westward for the United States to deal with and since these tribes were anything but peaceful, the government simply left them alone.¹⁰³

Other tribes, like the Pawnees, the Otoes, and the Missouriias, were likewise, for the time being, left unmolested; because infectious diseases and internecine wars had placed them in no condition to dispute the entrance of foreigners.¹⁰⁴

It was the traditional lands of the Kansa and Osage, ‘powerful tribes, both of Dacotah lineage’, that covered the area in which the government sought to establish its colonies of eastern Indians. The Kansa, Abel wrote in a somewhat school-marmish tone, were ‘more familiarly known in the vulgar language of today as the Kaws’. She thought, nonetheless, that it was fitting they should have given their name to the state since their lands lay totally within the limits of what was to become Kansas, whereas Osage lands lay south of the Kansas River and extended much further south and west than the boundaries of the eventual state.¹⁰⁵ Abel did not enter much into the history of these tribes prior to the treaties of 1825, although she did note that they were blood relations and hereditary enemies.¹⁰⁶ She further noted that it was Governor William Clark of Missouri—who partnered Meriwether Lewis in the famous 1805 Corps of Discovery expedition, and thus had a great deal of experience with Indians—who drafted the treaties with the Kansa and Osage tribes.¹⁰⁷

Abel then described the various treaties that were negotiated with the two indigenous and seventeen removed tribal groups that came to be confined on reservations in eastern Kansas. Under the treaties of 1825 and 1846, two reservations were allotted to the Kansa, but the whole process was so plagued with inaccurate surveying that soon the complexities of land tenure began to emerge. White settlers had inadvertently moved onto the reservations and when the mapping error was revealed in 1856, the removal of the intruders ‘became an issue in local politics; but in the long run the Indians, as usual, were held responsible for the carelessness of the federal government’.¹⁰⁸ The situation was further complicated by a special dispensation to those who, in the terms of the 1846 treaty, were considered as half-breeds each of whom received an individual interest in their allotted lands whereas full blood Indians retained theirs in common.¹⁰⁹ Abel also reminded her readers that Andrew H Reeder, the first territorial governor of Kansas, was removed from office for alleged speculation in Kansa half-breed land.¹¹⁰

With the laying out of the Osage reservation south of the Kansas River, it was not so much surveying errors but the contracting of the survey to private parties who then altered the survey for their own gain, that later led to discrepancies of ownership. In the interests of racial harmony or, as Abel put it, to ‘prevent hostile incursions of one race upon another’, a buffer tract between the Missouri line and the Osage reservation proper was created. Since the Indians held only a nominal interest

in this easternmost part of their allotted reserve, it was deemed ‘neutralised’ and when this tract later came to be occupied by Cherokee refugees from Georgia, it became known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands.

Abel commenced the second part of her paper with a long, sad list—her own trail of tears, so to speak—of the Indian migrants who were persuaded, cajoled and even force-marched to the West. The Shawnees were the first emigrants and Abel considered that the establishment of their reservations was a process mired in corruption in which ‘the honor of the United States was seriously compromised’. She revealed that these Indians were even tricked into having to pay in part for their own reserve—a fraud that took Congress more than twenty-five years to rectify.¹¹¹ Some tribes, like the Ottawa, hardly survived the removal:

out of about 600 emigrants, more than three hundred died within the first two years, because of exposure, lack of proper food, and the great difference between the cool damp woods of Ohio and the dry, hot plains of Kansas.¹¹²

Of the seventeen tribal groups that came to occupy the eastern border of what would one day constitute the Territory of Kansas, some came from as far as Lake Ontario in upstate New York; others were shifted from just over the borders of southern Nebraska and north-west Missouri. All of these people had been dislocated at least once before by white expansion. The last reservation to be set aside in Kansas was that for Munsees, Christianised Indians whom Abel surmised were survivors (or the descendants of survivors) of the Gnadden Hutten massacre of the Revolutionary War era.¹¹³ Abel also went to some lengths to show how the Indians of New York had suffered a history of unscrupulous speculation in their lands, particularly at the hands of the Ogden Land Company whose shenanigans were exposed by pressure from the Society of Friends; but this did not prevent the Indians’ eventual forced emigration westward.

The treaties laying out the reservations for these tribes were often negotiated ‘to our national discredit in a rather questionable manner’; this was Abel’s reference to the tactic of dealing with individual tribal leaders rather than by Indian custom, with the whole tribe in council. By the terms of such a treaty in 1842, some Wyandot Indians ‘were given the right to choose 640 acres of public land anywhere west of the Mississippi’ and such lands as were located in Kansas became known as the ‘Wyandot floats’. Since the floats did not come under the usual pre-emption laws, they later became very popular as town sites, and Abel noted that Lawrence (later the

site of her *alma mater*), Topeka (which became the state capital) and other important centres were built on Wyandot floats.

So soon had the nation forgotten its sacred guaranty [*sic*] that Kansas should be an Indian territory forever, and that the reservation lands should belong to the red men 'as long as the grass should grow and the water should run'.¹¹⁴

In 1854—the very same year that the last reservation was laid out—the extinguishment of native title across Kansas began. With a succinct account of the spread of white hegemony across the continent, Abel showed how the ridding of the 'native encumbrance' had become central to the political processes of sectional expansion. She noted that one objection to the Kansas–Nebraska Bill 'heretofore overlooked, or at least unremarked' was the fact that the land could not be legally appropriated until Indian occupancy title had been extinguished. She also noted that behind the many calls for the repeal of the Missouri compromise lay the fear of the West being entirely closed to expansion because of its status as a permanent Indian reservation.¹¹⁵ So it was that the federal government dispatched Commissioner George W Manypenny (1808–1892) to negotiate further cessions of native lands.¹¹⁶ The Indians would be on the move again.

Otoes and Missourias were the first to agree to live on a diminished reserve in exchange for annuities, and their lands were opened to the plethora of corrupt practices that typified the Kansas land-grab. Pastoralists sought to fix auctions with straw bids, and 'settlers lived upon the lands, tax free and rent free, without paying a single cent of either principal or interest [of the \$516,000 owing] to the Indians'. Even the diminished reserve was overrun by illegal white settlement so that by 1881 these Indians were 'allowed' to move south to the Indian Territory. The Delaware treaty of July 1854 called for two cessions, the first of which was a simple sale to the federal government for \$10,000. The second—apart from land set aside for the Delawares themselves—was put into trust for sale to settlers and Abel described the first auction that was held at Fort Leavenworth in November:

For several weeks before the auction, the Delaware trust lands were the scene of dire confusion. At first log cabins, and later such rude contrivances as four crossed sticks, were used in the marking out of claims. Meanwhile the squatters beguiled the time with riotous living. They even gambled away the fertile farms that, for them, as yet lay only in the bright land of prospect. The greed for territory was contagious. Army officers and territorial officials shared in the general uproar, and, as later investigations into their conduct divulged, they even connived at every possible invasion of Indian rights.¹¹⁷

Under the terms of a later treaty signed in 1860, the Delawares agreed to live on a further diminished reserve allotted in severalty. The ceded lands, as Abel very precisely enumerated them, consisted of '223,890.94 acres' and were sold to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railway Company, which gave a mortgage rather than payment in cash. By 1866, the Indians found that life on their separate allotments was too restricting and so 'resolved to emigrate to the Indian Territory and resume the old life in common'.¹¹⁸

By another of Manypenny's treaties the Kickapoos ceded some twelve hundred square miles and agreed to live on a diminished reserve of 150 thousand acres. In 1862 the United States introduced an element of social engineering in a further treaty whereby individual allotments were granted 'only to those sufficiently advanced in civilization and desirous of severing their connection with the main body'.¹¹⁹ In thus seeking to break the ties that bound Indian society, each individual was made vulnerable to pressure to sell his or her land, providing a quick solution to the problem of 'native encumbrance'. This was the Kansas variant on the old imperialist doctrine of divide-and-rule and anticipated the Dawes Act of 1887 that sought to totally destroy tribal power by imposing allotment in severalty upon all reservation Indians across the United States. Although much of the Kickapoos' land was ceded to the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad, the tribe did remain in Kansas and held, as well as their individual allotments, a common reserve of just six and a half thousand acres until it was leased in 1897.

The Miamis, who gave their name to a Kansan county, were simply overrun by squatters and the government bought the greater part of their five hundred thousand acre reservation for \$200,000 in 1854. The tribe kept some seventy two thousand acres, but the United States president reserved the right to issue patents to individuals or to heads of families.¹²⁰ Despite the land having being 'assured to the tribes in perpetuity', it was the settlers who resented the Indians as intruders and the extreme anti-Indian feeling in late 1860s Kansas was for Abel:

excusable only when due weight was given to the atrocities of the Indians of the plains, and now we know that those same atrocities were often excited by the barbarous cruelty of the troops.¹²¹

Nonetheless, the government sought to calm the situation by renegotiating further cessions with various other tribes. That resulted in the Omnibus Treaty of 1868 by which the Miamis and those small tribes from New York who had become

confederated in 1854—Wea, Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankeshaw—moved to Indian Territory and their Kansan lands were finally disposed of in 1874. Although Indians were often cheated by deliberate mapping errors, Abel here noted that ‘the red men were often as accomplished in the art of trickery as the white’ and that in the allocation of individual allotments, minors were sometimes counted as adults, a fraud which resulted in many lawsuits.¹²²

The extinguishment of Shawnee land rights began with yet another of Manypenny’s treaties. In exchange for their 1.6 million acre reservation, the tribe agreed to settle on one eighth of the land—a diminished reserve within which were allotted ‘200 acres to each individual including absentee Shawnees, Shawnees by adoption, females, minors and incompetents’.¹²³ However, the whole process was complicated by the terms of the treaty which allowed some communities, should they so wish, to hold land in common, an option chosen by the followers of one tribal leader, Black Bob. In August of 1863, President Lincoln ordered the sale of Shawnee land that had been illegally squatted by settlers, although the final sale was actually postponed until April 1869, when Congress authorised a permanent and legitimate settlement.¹²⁴ Most Shawnees remained in Kansas until the following year when they were removed to the Indian Territory. Yet there was still wrangling over the legal niceties some thirty years later and the incompetence of the agents, the loss of deeds in a fire and the machinations of unscrupulous lawyers continued to delay resolution of the issue until the time of Abel’s writing.¹²⁵

Black Bob and his followers had fled Kansas during the Civil War, leaving their common land open to squatter settlement. After the War, speculators sought out the absentees and prevailed upon some of them to accept allotments in severalty and convey their deeds. When the speculators sought to file these deeds with the secretary of the interior, they were not accepted because the squatters believed them to be fraudulent. Although a common outcome of the chaotic processes that she was describing, Abel noted that this particular three-way controversy of Indian versus speculator versus squatter, gained prominence in Kansan politics. The issue of title to the Black Bob lands was partially settled in 1883 when the squatters paid \$10 for each acre, of which the Indians got \$4 and the speculators the rest.¹²⁶

Although Abel had previously mentioned citizenship clauses with respect to the treaty with the Miamis, in the case of the Wyandot treaty of 1855, she claimed that such a clause was special and that:

the significance of such a provision can be fully appreciated only by bearing in mind the general superiority of the Wyandots to most of the Indian emigrants. As is well known, they had considerable political ability ... and William Walker, first provisional governor [of Kansas], was one of their number.¹²⁷

Somewhat contradictorily, she then added that the citizenship clause was only an incidental feature of the treaty and ‘necessarily so, because other clauses provided for the disposition of much-coveted soil’.¹²⁸ In fact, apart from some common ground for a cemetery and other tribal institutions, the treaty simply converted the Wyandot reservation into allotments in fee-simple. The division of the tribe into two classes, competents and incompetents was, according to Abel, another peculiarity of the Wyandot treaty, despite having previously mentioned that such a division formed part of the Kickapoo treaty. She further suggested that at first the competents were able to exploit this division to their own advantage, but that by 1869 the entire tribe had become so impoverished that they took up an offer under the Omnibus Treaty and emigrated to the Indian Territory.¹²⁹

In connection with the sale of the Kansa (or Kaw) lands, Abel introduced for the first time the phrase ‘the Indian ring in Washington’, for it was this group of politicians and officials who drafted a treaty in 1859 for the sale of 150 thousand acres. The tribe was to live on a diminished reserve measuring nine miles by fourteen, and on allotments in severalty for which:

Each head and member of a family, each single adult male, and each of thirty-four half-breed Kaw children ... had the privilege of selecting forty acres, which they were to hold as inalienable property under certificate title.¹³⁰

These certificates—known as ‘Kaw scrip’—became a medium of exchange and speculation on the frontier. As was usual with Indian lands in Kansas, possessory title for Kaw trust lands became the source of much legal wrangling and political shenanigans involving squatters, speculators, railroad corporations, together with the lawyers and politicians who gathered like vultures at the feast of easy profits. This went on until 1876 by which time, Abel remarked almost as an afterthought, the Kansa had already migrated to the Indian Territory. Abel related a similar story in regard to Chippewas and Munsees who moved south in 1871, but whose final

payment for their entrusted lands was not made until November 1901. In regards to these latter tribes, she considered it worthy of note to mention that both men and women joined in the debates in tribal council.¹³¹

Under the 1860 treaty with the federated Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi, each full blood was to receive eighty acres, whereas three hundred and twenty acres was ‘given to every half-breed, and every squaw married to a white man’, a discrepancy upon which Abel did not feel it necessary to comment.¹³² The remaining lands were entrusted for sale under sealed bids and officers as high in the federal government as the comptroller of currency, as well as ‘W.P. Dole, commissioner for Indian affairs and John G. Nicolay private secretary to Abraham Lincoln, appeared among the bidders’.¹³³ This served to demonstrate just how high in the body politic the corruption reached, although Abel also noted that the largest, individual land purchase in Kansas was made by John McManus, the head of an iron manufacturing corporation. Under a further treaty in 1868, apart from about four thousand acres, the tribes were paid one dollar an acre for their land. The money thus raised, paid off the indebtedness they had accrued to agents and traders and by 1871 all but one band had departed from Kansas.¹³⁴

At this point Abel inserted a footnote that offered a touch of colour to what had been up to this point a somewhat pedestrian account. She first noted that some ‘prominent citizens of Lawrence ... brought about the intoxication of Chief Moses Keokuk’ and obtained his signature to the 1868 treaty which was ratified after the chief had ‘regained his senses [but] before he could enter a protest’.¹³⁵ Abel then related the story of Mohokoko, which she suggested gave ‘a touch of romance to a history that would otherwise be filled with the recital of shameful episodes only’.¹³⁶ In fact, her story of Mohokoko (a would-be successor to the famed Shawnee resistance leader, Black Hawk) was precisely that—merely another shameful episode. A leadership succession contest had split the tribe and, rather than going to the reservation, Mohokoko and his followers went out onto the western plains and joined the Cheyennes. They later returned and the leadership question was considered before a special commission that found against Mohokoko who then refused to sign the 1868 treaty. When most of the tribe moved south, he and his band hung around their old home ‘like disconsolate spirits’. When the chief died there in 1870, some of his grief-stricken followers moved south to the Indian Territory and

the remainder were escorted there by troops in 1886. ‘They have never since returned’, concluded Abel.¹³⁷

Three groups formed the tribe of Pottawatomies: ‘the blanket Indians, known as the Prairie Band ... the Mission (or Christian) and the Woods’.¹³⁸ Following an 1862 treaty, the first group was granted some seventy seven thousand acres in common and the other two were allotted land in severalty. Some of the Mission band lands were later sold to a railroad company which paid, Abel found it necessary to note, ‘not in gold but in lawful money—that is, in greenbacks’.¹³⁹ In respect to this treaty there was, by Abel’s account, a new element in the treaty making process:

For the first time in the history of Kansas, an Indian was obliged to go before the courts to be citizenized, by a process similar to the naturalization of an alien. Thereupon he received a patent free from all conditions.

This meant that questions of Indian inheritance were now subject to state law and Abel viewed the citizenship clause as ‘a contrivance of the Indian ring’ that enabled the use of probate courts in their scheme of plunder. During the Civil War many Pottawatomies had taken refuge in Mexico and, since some absentees were presumed dead, their lands had been purchased, sometimes fraudulently and sometimes in good faith. With the inclusion of four long, dry paragraphs from an attorney’s brief, Abel sought to illustrate the complex legal arguments which involved not only interpretation of the various treaties but also United States inheritance laws. In the end, Congress upheld any land sales that had been undertaken in good faith and at the time of Abel’s writing the Prairie band was still in Kansas, although the legal wrangling over their land tenure still continued.

Like the other tribes in Kansas, the Ottowas also suffered from the incursion of settlers onto their lands and ‘once again, the enterprise of the white man sounded the knell of Indian progress’.¹⁴⁰ In order to protect their own interests (or so they thought) in 1862 the Ottowas agreed to a treaty under which, within five years of its ratification, they would become full citizens of the United States. Abel questioned the constitutionality of this particular clause on the grounds of the separation of powers because ‘citizenship is coincident with naturalization ... an exercise not of the treaty-making, but of the law-making power’. But then, as she rightly added:

Indian treaty-making, at best, was a questionable prerogative, and can be defended only on the supposition that the end always justifies the means.¹⁴¹

Further clauses in the treaty dealt with the distribution of the Ottawas' diminished reserve in severalty, but it was the provision of twenty thousand acres for the establishment of a school for the tribe, the so-called 'Ottawa University', that provoked Abel's greatest ire. The treaty had been engineered by the president of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company (LL&G), Isaac C Kalloch, and the Ottawa agent, CC Hutchinson: 'two men ... who were destined to illustrate, in its most glaring form, the miserable farce of government guardianship over an alien race'.¹⁴² Abel claimed that the episode was too long to relate in full but that, essentially, Kalloch was able to raise some \$40,000 from the American Baptist Home Missionary Society in New York for building construction on the site of the new campus. However, Kalloch took his time and by 1870, with the buildings still not finished, the Ottawas had migrated to the Indian Territory—although, as Abel stated, the treaty provided that 'no matter where they might wander, their rights in the school should ... never pass away'.¹⁴³ Hutchinson's successor eventually persuaded some twenty young girls to return from the Indian Territory and enrol in the school. Nevertheless, in 1873, the United States Congress wound up the Indian connection with the Ottawa University 'and in the process many prominent citizens of Kansas so manipulated things that the Indians received practically nothing from all that was left of the original endowment'.¹⁴⁴

The disposal of Cherokee lands was relatively straightforward. Because part of the tribe had joined with the Confederacy during the Civil War, the federal government considered all previous treaties abrogated and in 1866 demanded cessions in respect of lands in both the Indian Territory and Kansas.¹⁴⁵ The subsequent corporate wrangling over the Cherokee lands did not, by Abel's account, further involve the Indians.

The story of the dispossession of the Osage—who had by far the largest of all the Indian reservations in Kansas—Abel left until last. Not only was this chronologically correct, it was also significant in that it was the last attempt by the United States government to make a treaty with native peoples. In 1867, the Osage agreed to a fourfold division of their land which comprised: a hundred and fifty square miles which was sold directly to the federal government for \$300,000; lands usurped by settlers which were offered to them 'at the minimum price of a dollar and

a quarter an acre'; a third section set aside as trust lands; and, finally, a diminished reserve.¹⁴⁶

In the following year came the infamous Sturgis Treaty. Having taken over the presidency of the LL&G from Kalloch, William Sturgis drafted his own treaty by which he sought to purchase directly the Osage diminished reserve. This would have given his railroad not only exclusive access, but also have provided it with vast timber resources and lands for further speculation. More importantly, it would have also bypassed the inconvenience of a public land sale that would have attracted unwelcome competition from the settlers. However, the settlers rose in opposition, called mass meetings, and organised both legal and electoral campaigns to have the lands open for public auction. The treaty would have netted the Sturgis Corporation some eight million acres at the bargain price of twenty cents an acre, but the plan was exposed in the United States Senate and it was abandoned. Congress itself disposed of the diminished Osage reserve in 1870 and 'the Indians consented to move to the Indian Territory'.¹⁴⁷ From that year onwards, the United States would deal with its Indian wards not by treaty but directly through congressional enactment.

In her concluding paragraph, Abel asserted that significant land loss to the Indians clustered around the years 1854, 1860, 1863 and 1867, which 'corresponded fairly well' with the 'great waves of [Euro-American] immigration'. She also distinguished between the 'several ways of extinguishing the reservation title'—viz. direct cession, cession in trust, the various land sales and the straightforward pre-emption by the squatter sovereignty—concluding that:

All have however, resulted in removal, and the departure of the Osage was a very fitting close to the story of Indian colonization west of the Missouri river. Remnants of three tribes—Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Kickapoos—still remain in Kansas; but their identity is almost obliterated. Never, never again will the Ishmaelites of the desert know the wild, free life of the Kansas prairie. The broad plains east of the Rockies are closed to them forever.¹⁴⁸

In her oral presentation, Abel had interrogated the topic by means of a structural analysis of sectional imperatives in which, despite her title, the *actuality* of white settlement in Kansas was barely mentioned. However, she did demonstrate just how the Kansas reservation system came to fit into the North–South–West nexus of sectionalism and expansion. Although she made mention of the illegal and quasi-legal squatting on the reservations, the 'insatiable land-hunger' of which she

would later write was not specifically discussed. Either she had not yet fully developed that idea or, perhaps in deference to her Kansan audience, thought it impolitic to dwell upon, *face-en-face*. Abel's reference to the Plains Indians was somewhat specious. Indian 'troubles' anywhere in the West tended to create a moral outrage against *all* Indians that, when directed against those on the reservations in eastern Kansas, certainly would have contributed to their eventual departure to the Indian Territory. Yet Abel offered no direct evidence for the 'conspicuous part' that she claimed the Plains Indians played in effecting the settlement of Kansas.

In the published paper she again located the Kansas reservation issue within the broader framework of the sectional divide, but here her approach was less broadly analytical: of all the states that pressured for Indian removal, she concentrated on Georgia and its interpretation of the 1802 compact. She was also less reticent in her attack on United States Indian policy and on Kansan notables and her overall critique hardly amounted to an historical analysis. On the other hand, Abel here fulfilled the promise of her title and did indeed chronicle the reservation experiment in Kansas and its abandonment in the face of expansionist pressure. This stylistic tendency—to produce works of dry, objective chronology in which glimpses of subjective commentary only rarely appear—became the hallmark of Abel's scholarship. By the age of thirty she had become what might be termed today an 'archives tragic', having spent much of her free time over the previous four years fossicking in dusty files. Her doctoral training later enhanced both this methodology and its concomitant chronicling style.

No annotation appears on the manuscript of the earlier presentation but in the published version Abel's footnoted sources are almost exclusively official ones, comprising United States Statutes, Indian treaties, commissioners' reports, congressional documents of record and various court reports. There is a sprinkling of newspaper sources and the occasional reference to the *Kansas Historical Collections*, but the only other secondary works mentioned are: Andreas' *History of Kansas*, Robinson's *History of Miami County*, JB Grinnell's *Men and Events of Forty Years* and Harvey's *History of the Shawnees*.¹⁴⁹ Even in these, her points of reference were minor details of the narrative and it was GW Martin who, as editor of the *KSHS Transactions*, provided short, biographical footnotes of the important white *dramatis personae* of Abel's narrative. Although she would provide extensive bibliographies

for her later published works, the privileging of official sources—a bias she was to develop further as a doctoral student—was to be another hallmark of Abel's historical scholarship.

In both papers Abel made special mention of the great tribes formerly of the south-east, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole, who later constituted the so-called Five Civilised Tribes.¹⁵⁰ Yet it was only the first of these who were to have reserves established in what would become Kansas, and then only on its margins: a narrow strip that ran along the southern border plus the Cherokee Neutral Lands which were established in the south-eastern corner. No Indian was mentioned by name in the first variant of the paper and, apart from the occasional mention of characters like Mohokoko and Black Bob, neither did any individual Indians appear in the published text. Indeed, despite the emphasis on the broken 'sacred' promises—the illegal squatting and speculative scandals that robbed them of their land and their money—in both accounts the Indians themselves remained very much in the background, more as objects of the white man's greed rather than subjects of an historian's scholarship.

Most of Abel's later works would contain the word 'Indian' in the title and yet, with one or two exceptions, most of her Indians would remain hidden most of the time. This perspective, in which Indians as autonomous agents simply disappear, was an element of the nineteenth-century perception of Indians as an indistinguishable part of the wild landscape of the Great American Desert: Indians were not really humans, they were just another danger for brave frontiersmen to face along with the storms and grizzly bears. Once in a while, as she did in this first paper, Abel would express outrage at white perfidy or Indian atrocities, but any sense of the actuality of Indian life was largely lacking. Indeed, having kept 'the Indian' in the shadows, she then bid him a romantic farewell as he disappeared—like the Hollywood cliché he was to become—into a westering sunset.¹⁵¹ The conclusions to both works are romantic, both succumbing to the popular 'disappearing Indian' thesis; yet the romanticisation of history was something about which Abel herself would become highly critical.

Never in all history, so it would appear, has the insatiable land-hunger of the white man been better illustrated than in the case of the beginnings of the sunflower state.¹⁵²

Abel would come to write these words in the third volume of her great history of the Civil War in the Indian Territory, *Slaveholding Indians*, published in 1925. Thirty years later, Paul W Gates used these very lines to open the introduction to his seminal history of Kansas land policy, *Fifty Million Acres*.¹⁵³ Although resiling from her hyperbolic ‘never in all history’, Gates considered Abel’s words, nevertheless, to be an accurate summation of the reason ‘that drew the bulk of the 100,000 people that rushed across the Missouri line in the period from 1854 to 1860’ and that nowhere else ‘was the impact of immigration so explosive in local and national affairs’.¹⁵⁴

Insatiable land hunger may indeed have been the spur, but in the Kansas land-grab this hunger manifest as a hugely complex web that intertwined the interests of all levels of government and population from the president of the United States down to the disenfranchised Indians. In a betrayal similar to that suffered by the Scots at the hands of their own lairds during the Highland clearances of the eighteenth century, the Indians were often sold out by their own people, so-called ‘government chiefs’ who were chosen by United States agents to represent the tribe. Although she failed to mention their involvement, they and the agents were just as complicit in the infamous ‘Indian Ring’ that Abel had implied was restricted to the higher echelons in Washington.¹⁵⁵ The Kansas land-grab involved not only politicians, but also the army—both as an institution and as individual officers and men—speculators both great and small, numerous railroad interests, and squatters—both genuine homesteaders and those who only sought to make a quick return on their investment and move on. These conflicting interests were set against a backdrop of fraudulent or simply bad land surveying practices, and inconsistencies between legal jurisdictions over land ownership and its availability for settlers and/or the railroads. Within this complexity of greed, the numerous treaties with the Indians ultimately served not to preserve their land but to rob them of it.

In these essays Abel demonstrated not only the part that the Indian removals had played in the history of Kansas, but in the contribution this process made to the Civil War. This was quite a remarkable insight for a young scholar, because the removal dimension had become drowned out in the greater din of the sectarian discourse and the Kansas reservations paper—in both its extant variants—proved important to Abel’s academic career for three reasons. Firstly, it established her pre-eminent interest in Indian policy—a somewhat esoteric, well-documented but as yet under-researched, field of historic enquiry that was to provide her with an almost exclusive scholarly niche. Secondly, it revealed those trends in her thought and methodology that she was to develop throughout most of her writing career. Thirdly, because of its precocious insights, it helped her gain entry to Yale as the first woman to be awarded a Bulkley Fellowship. She was to carry elements of this work through to her doctoral dissertation: the Jeffersonian origin of removal policy, the failure of the schemes of Calhoun and others, and the location of removal policy within the nexus of the North–South confrontation. The history of the Five Civilised Tribes—removed in the 1830s directly to Indian Territory—was also to be a feature of Abel’s doctoral dissertation, and in the much later *Slaveholding Indians* she would extend that history further to encompass the Civil War and its aftermath.

The provenance of what are, essentially, two variants of the same work, remains somewhat problematical. Firstly, there is Martin’s curious omission of any mention of the oral presentation in his 1902 editorial; and secondly, the subtitle to the paper published in 1904 made categorical claims that it was a thesis ‘prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the University of Kansas for the degree of master of arts by Anna Heloise Abel, of Salina’ and that it was *this* paper that was read before the KSHS in 1902.¹⁵⁶

That the published paper was Abel’s actual master’s thesis is contradicted by the internal evidence of her inclusion, on page 100, of the final payment made to the Munsees on 5 November 1901, eighteen months *after* she received her master’s degree. This shows that it was a revision of the master’s thesis as well as an enhanced and revised version of the oral presentation. Abel herself had noted that she had ‘been collecting material for a thesis ... for four years’ and, furthermore, that she had received ‘the degree of A.M. in Philosophy, American History and English’, but

made no mention of any thesis titles.¹⁵⁷ To further complicate the issue, Martin's biographical annotation contradicts the claims made in the subtitle, although it appears on the same page:

While at college [Abel's] favorite studies were English (particularly Anglo-Saxon and argumentation), history, constitutional law and philosophy and it was in those subjects that she took her A.M. degree—her master's thesis being 'Pessimism in Modern Thought.' All her leisure time for the last four years has been devoted to research work on the political and legal status of the North American Indians. The present article is, in part, a result of that work.¹⁵⁸

In support of Abel's 1903 application for a fellowship to Yale University, the University of Kansas registrar included 'a complete transcript of her work since receiving the A.B. degree', which made mention of *two* theses, one in philosophy and another in American history but, again, no titles are given.¹⁵⁹

Annie Abel was now about to embark on a new phase of her career and to leave Kansas, almost forever.¹⁶⁰ Her character was forged in the bucolic, genteel security of a rich Victorian gentleman's estate near the heart of Empire; the move to frontier Kansas and all that entailed, in no way retarded her intellectual development despite a long hiatus in her education at the impressionable age of twelve. That she chose to spend most of her time in the archives, suggests that she may have been shy or reserved by nature, but her mind was sharp and, like her siblings, she was not lacking in ambition. She would have experienced the uncertainties of the semi-rural life of Kansas in the latter years of the century; uncertainties that the remarkable Abel family seem not only to have survived, but in which they thrived. During the Populist struggles Annie Abel would have experienced close-up what she was later to call the 'very evil of speculation' and she would have been aware of the prominence of women in those struggles.

Although her mother had not liked Indians, it is doubtful that Annie Abel had any direct contact with them since most Indians had left Kansas by the time she arrived.¹⁶¹ Her interest probably derived from Frank Hodder's emphasis on local history; for in this early work it was the Indian presence *vis-à-vis* Kansas, rather than Indian history for its own intrinsic value, that intrigued her. That intrigue led her to discover a rich, unmined seam of archives, the raw data of the scientific history then in vogue. Indians remained—as they would continue to in all Abel's subsequent work—half-hidden in the background of her narrative, not as historical players in

their own right, but as unfortunate pawns of white historical process. What should have been a cry of indignation was ultimately a platitude of matter-of-fact resignation. All of these traits of character and ideas she would take to Yale, to be honed in one of the very best universities in America and prepare her for academic life in a new century.

Notes

- ¹ AL Rowse, *The Tower of London in the History of the Nation*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1972, p. 9.
- ² Interestingly, among Annie Abel's papers are two pages of typewritten notes from Garrett Mattingly's *Catherine of Aragon* concerning one Thomas Abell, an agent of Cardinal Wolsey, who was imprisoned and executed in the Tower; Annie H Abel-Henderson Papers, Cage 246, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries (hereafter, WSU MASC), Box 5, Folder 23.
- ³ Robert Graves, *The White Goddess*, Faber & Faber, London, 1961, p. 87, fn. 1.
- ⁴ Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin, Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture*, Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 140.
- ⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, *BE33 Cumberland and Westmorland*, The Buildings of England, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 39. Included in Salvin's portfolio were: Brancepath Castle, Durham; Greystoke Castle, Cumbria; Dunster Castle, Somerset; Scotney Castle, Kent; and Harlaxton Hall, Lincolnshire. Salvin also worked on various other projects including Oxbridge colleges and many churches. See Allibone, op. cit., 'Catalogue Raisonné', pp. 154–97.
- ⁶ Allibone, op. cit., p. 148.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, p. 149.
- ⁸ Fernhurst has an ancient history and can still boast buildings dating from the fifteenth century. Salvin arrived in the village at a time of great gentrification as Victorian capitalism was reaching its apogee.
- ⁹ Ed & Janice Abel-Colby, 'The Amelia and George Abel Family History', unpublished MS, January 1991, p. 8. Courtesy of Bill & Jan Abel, California.
- ¹⁰ Jessica Gerard, *Country House Life: family and servants 1815–1914*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1994, p. 230. Although characteristic of the period, Salvin's renovations to the church were not entirely welcome because he 'left little of the original medieval structure when remodelling St Margaret's'; *Fernhurst Village History*, pamphlet of The Fernhurst Society, 2000.
- ¹¹ John D Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1961 (1931), p. 3.
- ¹² Thirty-seventh US Congress, Session 1, Chapter LXXV, An Act to Secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain, 20 May 1862, *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. XII, Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1863, pp. 392–3.
- ¹³ Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children, emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, Hambledon & London, London, 2004, p. 104. See also Oscar O Winther, 'The English in Kansas, 1865–1890', in John G Clark (ed.), *The Frontier Challenge, responses to the trans-Mississippi west*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 1971.
- ¹⁴ Maldwyn A Jones, 'The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century', *Perspectives in American History*, vol III, 1969, p. 54. Thomas NR Redman, 'Spatial Distribution of British Immigrants in Kansas and Missouri from 1870', unpublished BA thesis, University of Durham, UK, 1980, p. 18; collection of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library (hereafter KSRL), University of Kansas.
- ¹⁵ Edwin Van Syckle, *They Tried to Cut It All*, Pacific Search Press, Seattle, 1980, Note #15, p. 289.
- ¹⁶ George W Martin biographical annotation to Anna Heloise Abel, 'Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title', *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VIII 1904, p. 72, fn. *. Ed & Janice Abel-Colby, op. cit., p. 9. Perhaps Amelia's fears were justified because in 1872, an Englishman in Salina was reported being 'captured by Indians, horribly tortured' and tomahawked to death; Winther, op. cit., p. 238.
- ¹⁷ *Directory of Saline County, Kansas 1882*, JS Boughton, Book & Job Printer, Lawrence, 1882, p. 275.
- ¹⁸ Jill Allibone, op. cit., p. 150; *Last Will and Testament of Anthony Salvin*, collection of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Canada.
- ¹⁹ Gerard, op. cit., p. 204.

-
- ²⁰ The Abels had sailed to New York and thence travelled by train to Kansas. WH Abel later told his grandchildren of the ‘long train ride from New York and how hard the wooden seats were’; unpublished transcript of a family history presentation given by Anne Russell (WH Abel’s grand-daughter) at Abel House, Montesano, Washington, 2 March 1995. Courtesy of Bill & Jan Abel, California.
- ²¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, ‘The Significance of the Frontier in American History’, *Annual Report, 1893*, American Historical Association (AHA), 1894, pp. 199–227.
- ²² The Siouan word KaNze means the ‘Wind People’; John Rydjord, *Indian Place-Names: their origin, evolution and meanings collected in Kansas from the Siouan, Algonquian, Shosonian, Caddoan, Iroquoian and other tongues*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968, p. 19. For alternative derivations see Walter H Schoewe, ‘Political Geographical Aspect of Territorial Kansas’, *Territorial Kansas Studies Commemorating the Centennial*, Social Science Studies, University of Kansas Publications, Lawrence, 1954, p. 15.
- ²³ Alvin Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1992, p. 6.
- ²⁴ The alternatives were a perilous voyage of eighteen thousand nautical miles via Cape Horn or the shorter, but equally perilous, route by sea to Panama, overland to the Pacific and thence by sea to California.
- ²⁵ Sixteenth US Congress, Session 1, Chapter XV, An Act to authorize the people of the Missouri territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories, 6 March 1820, *United States Statutes at Large*, vol III, Little Brown Co., Boston, 1853, p. 545.
- ²⁶ G Wolff, ‘Party and Section: The Senate and the Kansas–Nebraska Bill’, *Civil War History*, XVIII, 4, December 1972, p. 295.
- ²⁷ Thirty-third US Congress, Session 1, Chapter LIX, An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, 30 May 1854, *United States Statutes at Large*, vol X, Little Brown Co., Boston, 1855, pp. 277–90.
- ²⁸ See Frank Heywood Hodder, ‘The Railroad Background to the Kansas–Nebraska Act’, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review (MVHR)*, XXII, 1, June 1925, pp. 3–22.
- ²⁹ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 177.
- ³⁰ Cited in Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- ³¹ This view was first expressed in 1912 by Frank H Hodder, Annie Abel’s professor at the University of Kansas (1898–1902), and continued by his student, James C Malin. For an historiographical overview of Kansas’ origins see Gunja SenGupta, ‘Bleeding Kansas’, *Kansas History*, Winter 2001, pp. 318–41.
- ³² Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854–1865*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1984 (1955), p. 36.
- ³³ Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: conflicts over Kansas land policy, 1854–1890*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1954, p. 3.
- ³⁴ Anna Heloise Abel, ‘The Indian Reservation in its Relation to the Settlement of Kansas’, unpublished MS, 1902, WSU MASC, 12/67, p. 6.
- ³⁵ William G Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, at *Kansas Book Collections, Saline County, Part 4; Salina, Part 1*, 1895, Kansas University on-line transcript, viewed 11 November 2002, <<http://www.ku.edu/carrie/kancoll/cutler/saline/saline-co-p4>>.
- ³⁶ Thomas Goodrich, *Black Flag, guerrilla warfare on the western border 1861–1865*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1995, pp. 48–9.
- ³⁷ Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- ³⁸ William G Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, at *Kansas Book Collections, Saline County, Part 5; Salina, Part 2*, 1895, Kansas University on-line transcript, viewed 11 November 2002, <<http://www.ku.edu/carrie/kancoll/cutler/saline/saline-co-p5>>.
- ³⁹ Edgar Jend Weis (ed.), ‘The Story of Salina 1830 to 1926’, typed MS, Campbell Room of Kansas Research, Salina Public Library, Salina, Kansas, 1989, p. 11. The cover of this manuscript proclaims: ‘The information contained in this book was condensed from: the book *Salina on the Move* by Ruby Phillips Branwell; the book *Before I Close my Eyes*, by Edgar Jend Weis ... and from the pages of the *Saline County Journal*, a weekly newspaper, in the Kansas Room, Salina

-
- Public Library ... also, from the book *Wagons to Wings, the Salina Centennial, 1958*, author unknown’.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 11.
- ⁴¹ Kirke Mechem (ed.), *The Annals of Kansas, 1886–1925*, Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS), Topeka, 1954, vol. I, p. 1.
- ⁴² Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- ⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 13–14.
- ⁴⁴ Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- ⁴⁵ William Allen White, ‘What’s the Matter with Kansas’, *Emporia Gazette*, Kansas, 15 August 1896; reprinted in George B Tindall (ed.), *A Populist Reader*, Harper & Row, New York, 1966, pp. 192–9.
- ⁴⁶ Cited in Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- ⁴⁷ Annie Abel was later to become involved with the College Equal Suffrage League in Baltimore.
- ⁴⁸ *The Annals of Kansas*, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
- ⁴⁹ NE quarter section 19 Twp 14 Range 2, *Kansas Plat Book*, 1900.
- ⁵⁰ Winther, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–9.
- ⁵¹ *Kansas Territorial Statutes 1855*, Chapter 144, Article 2, Section 1. cited in Cutler, *History of Kansas*, at *Kansas Book Collections, Era of Peace, Part 19; Schools of Kansas*, Kansas University on-line transcript, viewed 23 October 2002, <<http://www.ku.edu/carrie/kancoll/cutler/eraop/era-of-peace-p19>>.
- ⁵² *ibid.*
- ⁵³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream, the ‘objectivity question’ and the American historical profession*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 189.
- ⁵⁴ Upon his death, six thousand of Will Abel’s law books went to Gonzaga University Law School, Spokane, Washington. For details of his involvement in the Centralia Massacre trial see David Chapman, ‘Grays Harbor County Courthouse: a crown for “The Maid of Wynooche”’, *Columbia, Journal of the Washington State Historical Society*, XV, 3, Fall 2001. This massacre should not be confused with the event of the same name that took place at Centralia, Kansas, towards the end of the Civil War.
- ⁵⁵ Salina Public Schools, *Commencement Exercises*, pamphlet, 19 May 1892, collection of the Smoky River Museum, Salina, Kansas.
- ⁵⁶ *Catalogue of Phi Beta Kappa*, Alpha of Kansas at the University of Kansas 1890–1925, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1925, p. 19.
- ⁵⁷ *Kansas State Census, 1905*, Greeley Township, Saline County, schedule 2, KSHS collections. Only thirteen acres—those under cereal crops and potatoes—are listed on the schedule. The other forty-seven acres are not listed and throughout the census no fruit or vegetables (apart from potatoes) are listed.
- ⁵⁸ *Catalogue of the University of Kansas 1898–99*, KSRL.
- ⁵⁹ George W Martin, *op. cit.* Martin also stated that Annie Abel ‘entered Kansas State University’ but this institution was, in 1900, the Kansas State Agricultural College and, according to the archives of Kansas State University, Annie Heloise Abel never attended that establishment. Kansas State University archivist Cindy Von Elling suggested that since the University of Kansas has always been ‘Kansas’ state University’, this has given rise to the confusion in nomenclature. Correspondence from University Archives & Manuscripts, Kansas State University, May 2002.
- ⁶⁰ Handwritten autobiographical note, *Miscellaneous: Abel, Annie*, 1902, KSHS collections; Yale University *Graduate School Information Blank*, 22 February 1904, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
- ⁶¹ *Kansas University Weekly*, 27 September 1895, KSRL.
- ⁶² University Archives, KSRL.
- ⁶³ The same day, incidentally, that the *USS Maine* was sunk, the first action of the Spanish–American War which set the United States upon its extra-continental expansion. Three weeks later, Annie’s eldest brother George joined the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry.
- ⁶⁴ *Catalogue of Phi Beta Kappa*, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Rosa, Lena and Lucy Abel were subsequently each elected to the fraternity, p. 19.

-
- ⁶⁵ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Commencement Exercises*, pamphlet, University of Kansas, KSRL, 1898.
- ⁶⁶ *The University that Kansas Built: a farewell by the class of '98*, pamphlet, KSRL, 1898.
- ⁶⁷ Alfred Lord Tennyson, 'The Palace of Art' (1832, 1834), lines 213–16, in Jerome H Buckley (ed.), *Poems of Tennyson*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1958, p. 45.
- ⁶⁸ It is possible each student chose their own verse but their self-serving timbre makes that unlikely.
- ⁶⁹ *Miscellaneous: Abel, Annie*, 1902, KSHS collections.
- ⁷⁰ *English Bulletin 1899–1901*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1899, p. 8, KSRL.
- ⁷¹ Graduate School Entry Card, KSRL.
- ⁷² *Kansas University Weekly*, 17 February 1900, p. 2; *The Oread*, March 1900, p. 4, KSRL.
- ⁷³ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Commencement Exercises*, pamphlet, University of Kansas, 1900, KSRL.
- ⁷⁴ James C Malin, 'Frank Heywood Hodder, 1860–1935', *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, V, 2, p. 115; Frank Heywood Hodder, *The Government of the People of Kansas*, Eldredge & Brother, Philadelphia, 1895.
- ⁷⁵ *Kansas University Weekly*, 22 November 1895, KSRL.
- ⁷⁶ Malin, op. cit., p. 116.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Harry Kelsey, 'A Dedication to the Memory of Annie Heloise Abel-Henderson', *Arizona and the West*, XV, 1, 1973, p. 1. Kelsey gives no source for this claim.
- ⁷⁹ *Kansas University Weekly*, 7 June 1898, KSRL.
- ⁸⁰ Cited in Bert James Loewenburg, *American History in American Thought: Christopher Columbus to Henry Adams*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1972, p. 393.
- ⁸¹ 'Miscellaneous; Abel, Annie', 1902; KSHS collections.
- ⁸² Annie Heloise Abel, 'The Indian Reservation in its Relation to the Settlement of Kansas', typewritten MS with handwritten corrections, 1902, WSU MASC 12/67.
- ⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 1.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 2.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 4.
- ⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 6.
- ⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 6–7. In her subsequent work, Abel was to repeat this phrase many times.
- ⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 7. At this point in her typed text Abel inserted a handwritten note that began: 'It is only fair to observe that a purely honorable motive independent of all sectional prejudice may have inspired the negotiations of those early treaties inasmuch as it ...'; hereafter the note is illegible.
- ⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 8. The Indian Territory later became the State of Oklahoma.
- ⁹¹ *ibid.*
- ⁹² *ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁹³ *ibid.* Somewhat enigmatically the manuscript ends here with a comma rather than a full stop.
- ⁹⁴ George W Martin, 'Editorial', *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VII, 1902, p. 22. Rosa Perdue graduated with an AB on the same occasion that Annie Abel was admitted to the AM.
- ⁹⁵ George W Martin, 'Preface', *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VIII, 1903–04, pp. viii–ix.
- ⁹⁶ Wilder was also implicated in the cattle thieving rackets that took place at the end of the Civil War; Monaghan, op. cit., p. 305. Abel was later to write an entire chapter on this particular cattle-rustling episode, but did not mention Wilder's name; see below, chapter four.
- ⁹⁷ Anna Heloise Abel, 'Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title', *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* VIII, 1903–04, p. 72.
- ⁹⁸ *ibid.*
- ⁹⁹ Seventh US Congress, Session 1, Chapter XIII, An Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers, 30 March 1802, *United States Statutes at Large*, vol II, Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1850. pp. 139–47. Emphasis added.
- ¹⁰⁰ Abel, 'Indian Reservations', op. cit., p. 73.

-
- ¹⁰¹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 75. The idea of Indian statehood was further explored in Abel, *Proposals for an Indian State*, 1908; see below, chapter three.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.* Nonetheless, as Abel went on to show, the United States did negotiate reservations for these tribes.
- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* Abel gave no source of this information and Hodges' definitive anthropological and historiographic study, *History of the Tribes of North America*, was yet three years away from publication. It is most likely that she drew the impression from Cutler's *History of Kansas* usually referenced in the literature, including by Abel herself, as *Andreas' History of Kansas*. In regards to the authorship, James Malin wrote: 'It is clear that Andreas as publisher determined the policies and wrote the prefaces to both the Nebraska and the Kansas histories, explaining his point of view. Cutler's role was that of managing editor and chief author in charge of the execution of the writing program. In spite of these essential functions, Cutler's name did not appear on either book'; KSHS Kansas collections, viewed July 2004, <<http://www.kancoll.org/articles/malin/writing-hok-p1.html>>.
- ¹⁰⁷ An editorial footnote gives a brief biography of Clark and quotes the exploration anthropologist Coues as saying that 'Clark had the respect and confidence of the Indians'; Abel, 'Indian Reservations', *op. cit.*, p.75, fn *.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 76.
- ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* Article 6 of the June 1825 treaty with the Kansa actually identified, by first name, the twenty-three children who each received a 'one mile square'. In most cases it also identified their French fathers by name; Charles J Kappler, *Indian Affairs: laws and treaties*, vol. II, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1904, p. 223.
- ¹¹⁰ *ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 78.
- ¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 80. Here, in an uncited reference, Abel is quoting the Ottawa agent, Mr Roby.
- ¹¹³ On 8 March 1782 at Gnadenhutzen, Pennsylvania, ninety christianised Indians—men, women and children—were massacred after being falsely accused of raiding American settlements. Two boys escaped to tell the story.
- ¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 86.
- ¹¹⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ For an outline of Manypenny's career, see Robert M Kvasnicka & Herman J Viola (eds), *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1979, pp. 57–65.
- ¹¹⁷ Abel, 'Indian Reservations', *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- ¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 90. The Indian Territory was now much reduced to the area south of Kansas, what would one day become the State of Oklahoma.
- ¹¹⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 91.
- ¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 92.
- ¹²² *ibid.*
- ¹²³ *ibid.*, p. 93.
- ¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 94.
- ¹²⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ *ibid.* p. 97.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.* Interestingly, unlike the prominent white men of Abel's history, William Walker does not rate an editorial biographical note.
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹²⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 98.
- ¹³¹ *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, 1897–98*, cited *ibid.*, p. 100.

-
- ¹³² *ibid.*, p. 101.
- ¹³³ *ibid.*
- ¹³⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹³⁵ *ibid.* fn †.
- ¹³⁶ *ibid.* fn ¶.
- ¹³⁷ *ibid.* Although it remains unclear how much of it was original and how much was hers, Abel sourced this story to Paul Jenness, *Kansas Home News*, 2 January 1880.
- ¹³⁸ *ibid.* p. 102. Abel cited a missionary source that gave the names of these groups as the Prairie, St Joseph and Wabash, fn †.
- ¹³⁹ *ibid.* This was a reference to the various monetary crises that in part gave rise to the Populist movement.
- ¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 104.
- ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 105, fn *.
- ¹⁴² *ibid.*, p. 104. Abel added that ‘the real purpose of Hutchinson and Kalloch was to obtain a town site ... where Ottawa now stands, and to speculate with both town lots and the Indian lands’, fn. *.
- ¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 105.
- ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ The Cherokee land holding in Kansas was relatively small, consisting of the aforementioned ‘Neutral Lands’ and a narrow strip of territory along the southern border. The vast majority of Cherokee land lay to the immediate south, in the Indian Territory.
- ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 107.
- ¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 109.
- ¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁹ Cutler’s nine-part section ‘Indians of Kansas’ in *History of Kansas*, gives a detailed history of the two indigenous tribes of Kansas, the Kansa and the Osage, followed by shorter histories of the migrant tribes that were reserved in Kansas. Cutler also appended long notes on the activity of missionaries among each tribe, but he avoided all detail regarding the extinguishment of the Kansas reservations and there is little hint in his account of the rampant corruption that attended the expansion of settlers into the West. His tome, although a wonderful mine of information, particularly about the Kansa and the Osage, is biased very much towards the settler account of history.
- ¹⁵⁰ This was because, in contradistinction to the ‘wild’ Indians of the Plains, these tribes did seek in varying degree to adopt a settled or ‘civilised’ existence. The term ‘Five Civilised Tribes’ seems to have been in use from about 1840 onwards; see Angie Debo, *History of the Indians of the United States*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1970, p. 184.
- ¹⁵¹ Sadly, the diary of the Society of Friends commissioner who toured the Kansas and Indian Territory reservations in 1870, only appeared on the public record a full thirty years after Abel’s work. This wonderfully rich document—part life drawing, part moral polemic—gave a sense of the reality of Indian reservation life, including the continuing corruption. It was published in two parts as: ‘A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870 by William Nicholson’, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, III, 3, August 1934, pp. 289–332; III, 4, November 1934, pp. 343–84.
- ¹⁵² Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction*, Arthur Clark Co., Cleveland, 1925, pp. 23–4; see below, chapter four.
- ¹⁵³ Paul Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: conflicts over Kansas land policy 1854–1890*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1954, p. 1.
- ¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁵ For a fuller explication of the Indian ring and its operations, see H Craig Miner & William E Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas, a study of cultural revolution, 1854–1871*, especially chapter four, ‘The Government Chief’, pp. 81–106.
- ¹⁵⁶ Abel, ‘Indian Reservations’, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
- ¹⁵⁷ ‘Miscellaneous; Abel, Annie’, 1902; KSHS collections.
- ¹⁵⁸ Abel, ‘Indian Reservations’, *op. cit.*, p. 72, fn *.
- ¹⁵⁹ Yale University records. The University of Kansas thesis list of 1949 gave ‘Indian Reservations’ as the title of her 1900 master’s work; University of Kansas Graduate School, *Theses 1888–1947*,

University of Kansas Publications, Lawrence, 1949, p. 5, KSRL. The only copy of *any* Annie Heloise Abel thesis currently held in the University of Kansas is the published version.

¹⁶⁰ She was to return briefly to the University of Kansas in 1926; see below, chapter five.

¹⁶¹ The last recorded 'Indian attack' in Kansas occurred in 1873; William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: a history of the jayhawk state*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957, p. 23.