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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN RURAL KANSAS, 1860-1905

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN RURAL KANSAS, 1860-1905

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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One of the important lessons learned while working on this study was that research in history is possible because many others have paved the way. Therefore, I am indebted to Merle Curti and Stephen Thernstrom, whose writings in the area of quantitative history served as guides to the use of manuscript census materials. I am grateful to Robert W. Richmond, Kansas State Archivist, who suggested comparing three counties across the state, and to the librarians and staff of the Kansas Historical Society for assistance in locating materials. The Graduate College of the University of Oklahoma relieved some of the financial burden with a grant for research materials and travel. Thanks are also due Josephine Soukup for her advice concerning the format. To Gilbert C. Fite, who directed this dissertation, a special word of appreciation for his patience and advice. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to my wife.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN RURAL KANSAS, 1860-1905

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The farmer and his efforts to conquer the last agricultural frontier have not been the subject of extensive historical writing. In fact, historians have almost neglected this field. James C. Malin published several studies on farm population turnover in Kansas but did not make a thorough attempt to determine the cause or causes of success or failure in pioneer farming.[1] Ray Allen Billington, in his well-known textbook, Westward Expansion,[2] discussed the contributions of the industrial revolution to the conquest of the frontier, as did Walter Prescott Webb in The Great Plains.[3] Webb stressed the importance of barbed wire fencing, wind-mills and mechanical agricultural equipment in adapting to the Great Plains environment, but he had little to say about individual

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[1] James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV (November, 1935), 339-72.

[2] Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (3rd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967). Chapters 34 and 35 relate to Great Plains farming conditions. The author does refer to "the relative ease with which individuals could better themselves in the West" (p. 751).

[3] Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (New York: Grosett and Dunlap, originally published by Ginn and Co. in 1931.

success on a pioneer farm. Webb was interested in "what happened in American civilization when in its westward progress it emerged from the woods and essayed life on the Plains. . . ."[4] Merle Curti, whose The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County analyzed all the people in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, including the farmers, attempted to prove Frederick Jackson Turner's hypothesis concerning the effect of the frontier in promoting American democracy rather than to determine the causes of success in farming.[5] Even though many historians of the West since Frederick Jackson Turner have stressed the individualism of the pioneer, little consideration of the pioneer as an individual is found in most of the historical writing on the West.

Gilbert C. Fite wrote the first history of agriculture during the pioneering period in the trans-Mississippi West. He described his work as "a history of agriculture . . . a study of settlement and subsequent

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[4]Ibid., from the Preface.

[5]Merle E. Curti, The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959). Curti's new methods of quantitative historical research secure an important position in American historiography for his study. He succinctly summarizes them: "In addition to the well-accepted and generally used methods of historical research, this study is based on quantitative methods wherever these seemed appropriate and feasible. Here we have ventured on ground unfamiliar to many historians. . . . We have analyzed the entire gainfully employed population of the county. Using codes, we have recorded on cards, for each householder and each gainfully employed person listed in the unpublished manuscript censuses of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880, data on place of origin, marital status, occupation, personal and real property holdings, school attendance of children, and other matters. This has made it possible to base generalizations on comprehensive and inclusive data, rather than on samples or on impressions resulting from fragmentary records. In a sense, all the people of Trempealeau have become for us definite individuals, not abstractions" (p. 5). All historians who use quantitative methods are indebted to Curti.

working out of agricultural patterns. . . ."[6] Although the emphasis is on agricultural development, Fite's The Farmers' Frontier is about the farmers who brought civilization to the West. In this work Fite commented:

> Pioneering on the last agricultural frontier was characterized by a mixture of high hopes and bitter disappointment; successes, and failures. Beginning with little more than determination and a piece of land, thousands of western settlers established successful farms on which they were able to make a satisfactory living for themselves and their families. Time and place of settlement, hard work, careful management, temporary sacrifices in their standard of living, and a degree of luck all played a part in these successes. On the other hand, many western farmers were unable to meet the natural and man-made handicaps in the West and failed miserably. These settlers did not conquer the frontier, they were conquered by it. The western agricultural frontier was a powerful winnower and sifter.[7]

The present study will attempt to evaluate by quantitative methods the reasons for success or failure of some western settlers.

What is meant by success? Although pioneer farmers faced a difficult task, there exists in the United States an agrarian myth concerning the stalwart yeoman and his idyllic life.[8] Because of this myth, success on the farm might be viewed in spiritual terms; however, in this paper

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[6]Gilbert C. Fite, The Farmers' Frontier: 1865-1900 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. x.

[7]Ibid., p. 221.

[8]According to Henry Nash Smith, "The Western farmer had been told that he was not a peasant but a peer of the realm; that his contribution to society was basic, all others derivative and even parasitic in comparison; that the cities were sores on the body politic, and the merchants and bankers and factory owners who lived in them, together with their unfortunate employees wicked and decadent. He had been told that he was compensated for any austerity in his mode of life by being sheltered against the ups and downs of the market. His outstanding characteristic, according to the conventional notion, was his independence, which was understood to be at once economic self-sufficiency and integrity of character" (Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth [New York: Vintage Books, originally published by Harvard University Press in 1950], p. 224.

success will be defined materialistically. The nineteenth century has long been considered an era with untold possibilities for the vertical economic mobility of industrious Americans.[9] The Horatio Alger stories of poor boys who became successful reached a wide audience in the nineteenth century, and the popularity of these books reflected the widespread acceptance of the "American Dream" by the public.[10] This was an era in which if a man said, "I am a success," he usually meant that he had acquired a certain amount of wealth. Since wealth can be measured, quantitative methods can be used to determine the amount of vertical mobility enjoyed by large numbers of individuals over a period of years.[11]

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[9]A leading scholar on the settlement of the American West wrote, "Acceptance of the rags-to-riches myth was almost universal in the United States long before it found literary expression in the pious stories of Horatio Alger and Oliver Optic. Thanks to an abundance of cheap land, limitless natural resources, and a benevolent political system that assured freedom of the individual, people believed, no one needed to stay poor. Any man with a go-ahead spirit could climb to the pinacle of society. This was not a dream, but a sober fact" (Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage [New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1966], p. 113. At least two other recent works in American history have taken success in nineteenth century America as their theme: Moses Rischin (ed.), The American Gospel of Success: Individualism and Beyond (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1965), and John G. Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[10]By 1899, the year of Alger's death, the Horatio Alger books had sold about 800,000 copies (Luther Mott, Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States [New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947], p. 158). Ralph Henry Gabriel discusses the success literature of the late nineteenth century in The Course of American Democratic Thought (2nd ed.; New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), pp. 164-65. See also Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America (New York: David McKay Co., 1952), pp. 352-53, and Robert E. Spiller and others, Literary History of the United States (3rd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 801.

[11]Henry Steele Commager, in describing the American in the late nineteenth century, stated: "He liked solid evidence of wealth. . . . Whatever promised to increase wealth was automatically regarded as good. . . . All this tended to give a quantitative valuation upon everything. When

Stephen Thernstrom made a quantitative study of vertical mobility in an urban setting and describes the difficulties: "The task of the historian who takes as his subjects the common citizens of a nineteenth century community seems at times to resemble that of an archaeologist, who seeks to breathe life into scattered artifacts from a long-dead civilization."[12] Thernstrom traced the movement from unskilled to semi-skilled to white collar employment, using property ownership and bank accounts to quantify upward mobility. He found that:

> The social structure of Newburyport [Massachusetts] in these years 1850-1880 , if less fluid than middle class propagandists believed, did offer men at the bottom of the social ladder substantial opportunities to improve their lot. Only a small minority of these laborers and their children had attained middle class occupational status by 1880, but somewhat larger numbers had risen into more attractive manual positions, and the great majority had accumulated some property stake in the community.[13]

In his comments on geographic mobility Thernstrom stated that people left the community because they could not succeed economically; he assumed that they also failed to prosper wherever they resettled.[14]

The present study is not concerned with the urban worker, but rather it is involved with the possibility of upward mobility in a rural environment. No attempt will be made to study Frederick Jackson Turner's

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he asked what a man was worth, he meant material worth, and he was impatient of any but the normal yardstick" (The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950], pp. 6-7).

[12]Stephen Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 7. This volume represents a pioneering effort in the field of quantitative historical analysis and must be read by any person seeking to work in this area.

[13]Ibid., pp. 166-67.

[14]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

"safety valve" theory, which suggests that the availability of free land in the west brought benefits to the eastern laborer.[15] Instead, this study is interested in the actual farmers in selected townships of Anderson, McPherson and Thomas Counties, Kansas. These farmers will be traced through the manuscript censuses over the forty-five year period from 1860 to 1905. From the census data on size of farm, value of land and equipment, amount of fencing, livestock and crop production, generalizations can be made on the possible causes of economic and social mobility in a rural setting.[16] Success in economic terms was possible on Kansas

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[15]This "safety valve" theory has been studied by several historians, including the following: Fred A. Shannon, "A Post-Mortem on the Labor Safety Value Theory," Agricultural History, XIX (January, 1945), 31-37; Carter Goodrich and Sol Davison, "The Wage Earner in the Western Movement," Political Science Quarterly, L (June, 1935), pp. 161-85 and LI (March, 1936), 61-110; Murray Kane, "Some Considerations on the Safety Valve Doctrine," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIII (September, 1936). See also Ray Allen Billington's discussion in America's Frontier Heritage, pp. 30-38, and his bibliographic notes in the same work, pp. 292-93.

[16]The unpublished manuscript census reports are available at the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. These reports include a schedule of population, which lists the entire population of a township by households. Additional information is also listed. The second schedule is the more useful to this study as it lists the farmers and gives data on acreage, cash value of farm and implements, crops and livestock. The census of agriculture was taken every five years in Kansas alternately by the United States Bureau of the Census and by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. The latter are the more complete and exist decennially from 1865 to 1905. The federal manuscript census of agriculture exists (and is open to scholars) only for 1860 and 1870. The 1900 and following censuses are classified as "confidential" by U. S. statute, the 1890 census was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and the 1880 census of agriculture was apparently not preserved. Richard S. Maxwell, Assistant Director of the Social and Economic Records Division of the National Archives, in a letter to the author, stated that the original non-population schedules of the federal census of 1880 "are in the custody of the Kansas State Historical Society. . . ." Librarians at the Historical Society stated that the society held only the microfilmed copy which did not include the schedule of agriculture.

Available to the historian, then, are the agricultural censuses of

homesteads in the nineteenth century. Both early settlers and later arrivals in the three counties accumulated property and social standing in their communities. Just as was the case with the unskilled laborers in Thernstrom's study, the farmers did not enjoy the success of an Andrew Carnegie or one of Horatio Alger's heroes, but the opportunity to become a successful farmer did exist for many.

Before describing social and economic mobility, some definitions of terms will be useful. What is economic mobility? Upward economic mobility is simply a matter of increased value of property holdings and income, taking price changes into consideration.

Social mobility, usually an accompaniment to economic mobility, refers to one's changing status in the community. Upward social mobility might cause a different way of life; for example, one might have increased leisure time. The frontier farmer had little leisure time because his efforts were needed to defeat the various elements of climate and nature arrayed against him. But as he gained upward economic mobility, less time was needed to provide the essentials for survival and more time could be devoted to either leisure or, more commonly, to improving farm holdings. As Fite points out, fencing was not necessary to the success of the pioneer farmer.[17] Yet many of the farmers on the plains did construct fences after the first or second crop year. This would suggest both that the farmers had the money to purchase fencing materials and that they were no longer concerned only with surviving but

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1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1885, 1895 and 1905. These produce ample data for quantitative analysis.

[17]Fite, The Farmers' Frontier, pp. 43-44.

instead were trying to improve their property.

The educational status of children in the family might be used to determine social mobility. Under frontier conditions, the farm child had to work as soon as he was able, whereas the more prosperous families might free their children for schooling. Also, the family that is concerned with education probably is a family that understands social mobility.

Apparently the settlers in Kansas turned their attention to the education of their children as early as possible. "The pioneers brought with them a desire for education," according to William D. Street, who settled in northwestern Kansas. He stated that "the building of the sod schoolhouse was an event from which occurrences were reckoned, as happening before the schoolhouse was built or after."[18] The rural school in the post Civil War period is described by Fred A. Shannon: "The school term was adjusted to fit the needs of youthful labor on the farm. There might be a few weeks in the summer, for children too small to be of any use in the fields, and from six weeks to three months in the winter. The length of the term was largely determined on the basis of how much money was available to pay the teacher."[19] Not until after the turn of the century did graded schools arrive on the rural scene. Imagine the one room schoolhouse, with pupils of all ages, each progressing according to his own ability. Shannon noted that, "in the winter months, young

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[18]William D. Street, "The Victory of the Plow," Kansas Historical Collections, IX (1906), 38.

[19]Fred A. Shannon, The Farmers's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860-1897 (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945), p. 373.

men and women up to twenty years of age and beyond often attended, opportunities of courtship on the way to school and returning not being overlooked."[20]

Although William Street hoped "that great men will rise up whose rudimentary education was secured in one of these humble placed of learning,"[21] the rural school offered only a meager education. Since the schools were ungraded, it would be difficult to measure the amount of education received by the farm youth. The manuscript census yields information only on attendance within the preceding twelve months. Therefore, education, which in an urban setting might provide a gauge of social mobility, is not a subject that lends itself to quantification in these rural areas.

Other determinants of social mobility might include election to county or state offices, church membership and participation in the local Grange and other farm organizations. But these activities, like education of children, are not readily quantifiable and will not be included in this study. Instead, social and economic mobility will be assumed to go hand in hand. Although one might enjoy upward economic mobility without improved social status, it was not very probable.

The chief means used to measure upward economic mobility is longevity on the land. Something can be said for the farmer who is able to retain his farm even if he does not increase its size. This is true especially in periods of extreme conditions such as the grasshopper plague of 1874 or the severe winter of 1886-87.

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[20]Ibid.

[21]Street, "Victory of the Plow," p. 39.

A general treatment of longevity, or persistence, which also made use of the manuscript census reports, is available. James C. Malin in "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas" studied the persistence of farm operators in Kansas from 1860 to 1935. He found that in Linn County, which lies between the state of Missouri and Anderson County, there were irregular population movements, with the 1875 base year being "the first high point of stability." In 1880, 51 percent of the farm operators listed in 1875 were still in the county, and 49 percent remained in 1885. In the area of McPherson County the 1875 base also represented a high point of persistence. Fifty-seven percent of the farm operators were still on the land in 1880, 47 percent in 1885, 37 percent in 1895, 21 percent in 1905 and 11 percent in 1920. For the Thomas County area the base year used was 1895. After ten years this area retained 33 percent of its farm operators. Malin concluded that "the general pattern presented by the curves of persistence is very nearly the same for the five rainfall belts . . ." and that "the persistence of farm operators was a relatively constant factor, except for the immediate settlement period."[22]

Malin's findings suggest some generalizations concerning success or failure. He quoted two views on the subject which were presented at a conference in 1935. S. L. Miller of the University of Iowa stressed the importance of adequate rainfall, but E. E. Sparks of the University of South Dakota suggested that "good farmers succeed almost anywhere you put them and poor farmers will fail on the best land in Iowa." Malin, on the basis of his data, agreed with Sparks' position, which emphasized

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[22]Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population," pp. 345-52.

farm management as the important factor in the success of farmers.[23]

No attempt will be made in this study to use the three counties selected to test Malin's results. The purpose of the study is to illustrate social and economic mobility.

One hazard in using longevity as a barometer of success is that the pioneer may have had sufficient resources to survive for several years before exhausting them and leaving the county. In Thomas County, for example, some farmers remained almost ten years before disappearing from the census rolls.

Land acquisition reflected in the total acreage of the farm can also be used to measure success.[24] Information on the total acreage of each farm can be found in the manuscript census of agriculture. The cash value of the farm can also be used; however, this information may not be as meaningful. Little economic mobility may be reflected in the change of valuation of a farm over a five or ten year period as the value found on the census reports was given or estimated by the farmer himself and may not be too accurate. One would assume that the total acreage figures would be more accurate. Also, the cash value reflects rising land values which bring profits only when the land is sold.

Economic mobility might also be measured by increased land under cultivation even if total farm acreage did not change. This can be measured by totalling the acreage of field crops. Livestock operations

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[23] Ibid., pp. 357-58.

[24] "For the average American," wrote Ray Allen Billington, "the move to the frontier meant a chance to acquire lands of his own and with them a higher rung on the social ladder" (America's Frontier Heritage, p. 108).

will be considered as an important part of the general farm picture, but an attempt will be made to exclude those individuals who were obviously involved in the range cattle industry rather than farming.

Measuring success in material wealth is quantifiable from the census information, but a question that also might be answered by statistical analysis is what factors brought success? How important was the time of arrival of the farmer? Was the pioneer, who might acquire the best virgin land, more likely to prosper than the late-comers to an area? Or did the later farmers, who bought out the first settlers after the agricultural patterns of an area were well established, do better? What effect did climatic conditions have on time of arrival?

Another factor in success was the size of the farm. Was there a lower limit on the size of farm at which success became improbable? Did the successful farmers start with larger holdings or did they build up their acreage after establishing their farms?

Many historians have noted that the pioneers who moved west did so with limited capital resources. What effect did the amount of capital have upon success? Could an individual build up his capital reserves while establishing a farm? How important was farm machinery to success?

Numerous questions come to mind concerning crops and livestock. Did the farmer who planted wheat prosper more readily than the one who emphasized corn? Was a balance necessary between these and other crops? Or was the necessary balance one between livestock and crops? Did crop experimentation and adaptation to the regional conditions help the farmer advance economically?

Did the federal land laws have any influence on success in frontier

farming? Did the homesteader have a better chance for success than the farmer who purchased land? Was the land available for homesteading or for timber claims as valuable as railroad or school lands?

Some of these questions cannot be answered with the data available on the counties selected for detailed analysis. For example, the specific time of arrival or location of farmers cannot be established from the census data.

What about non-quantifiable factors and success? What effect did sheer determination and drive have in enabling a farmer to prosper? Land speculators are examples of some who failed to establish farms because they lacked the desire to do so. Farm management, which is partially quantifiable from data on crops and livestock, may have contributed to success. Was the farmer's business ability as important as his farming skills? What effect did natural disasters of prairie and plains have on success or failure?

Instead of studying all of the settlers in a single county, as Curti did, three counties were used so that comparisons could be made. The three counties chosen for this study are, from east to west, Anderson, McPherson and Thomas. They represent variations in climate, soils and types of agriculture. Anderson County is in the corn-wheat area near the 95th meridian; McPherson is in the eastern portion of the wheat belt at about the 98th meridian; and Thomas County is on the western edge of the Kansas wheat belt, dissected by the 101st meridian. Anderson County represents an area of general agriculture where the pioneer farmer's favorite crop--corn--did well and where stock farming also became important. In McPherson County wheat did so well from the beginning that farmers

of that region, according to W. E. Grimes, "have not grown other crops or kept livestock on any extensive scale except when the weather has been unusually unfavorable to wheat growing, or when the prices of wheat have been exceptionally low."[25] Thomas County is located on the high, arid plains of northwest Kansas where adaptation to climatic conditions was necessary before farming could be successful. These three counties were settled at different times--there were nearly thirty years between the settlement of Anderson and Thomas Counties--as America's frontier moved westward. This, together with the geographic differences, should yield some profitable case studies for analyzing the problems of upward economic mobility among farmers.

Perhaps the most important question is, did a higher percentage succeed or fail in the arid west than in the central or eastern counties? In which area was success more probable and in which area was the highest percentage of obviously successful farmers found?

To find answers to some of these questions, the individual careers of various farmers will be traced, using the manuscript census reports. To facilitate this analysis, it is more convenient to list the new arrivals from each census year. Data on each farmer can be analyzed, and those farmers who remained on their farms for twenty, thirty, or thirty-five years can be compared to the farmers who remained for shorter periods, including those listed on only one census. Such an analysis should permit generalizations concerning reasons for success and failure in farming in Kansas in the late nineteenth century.

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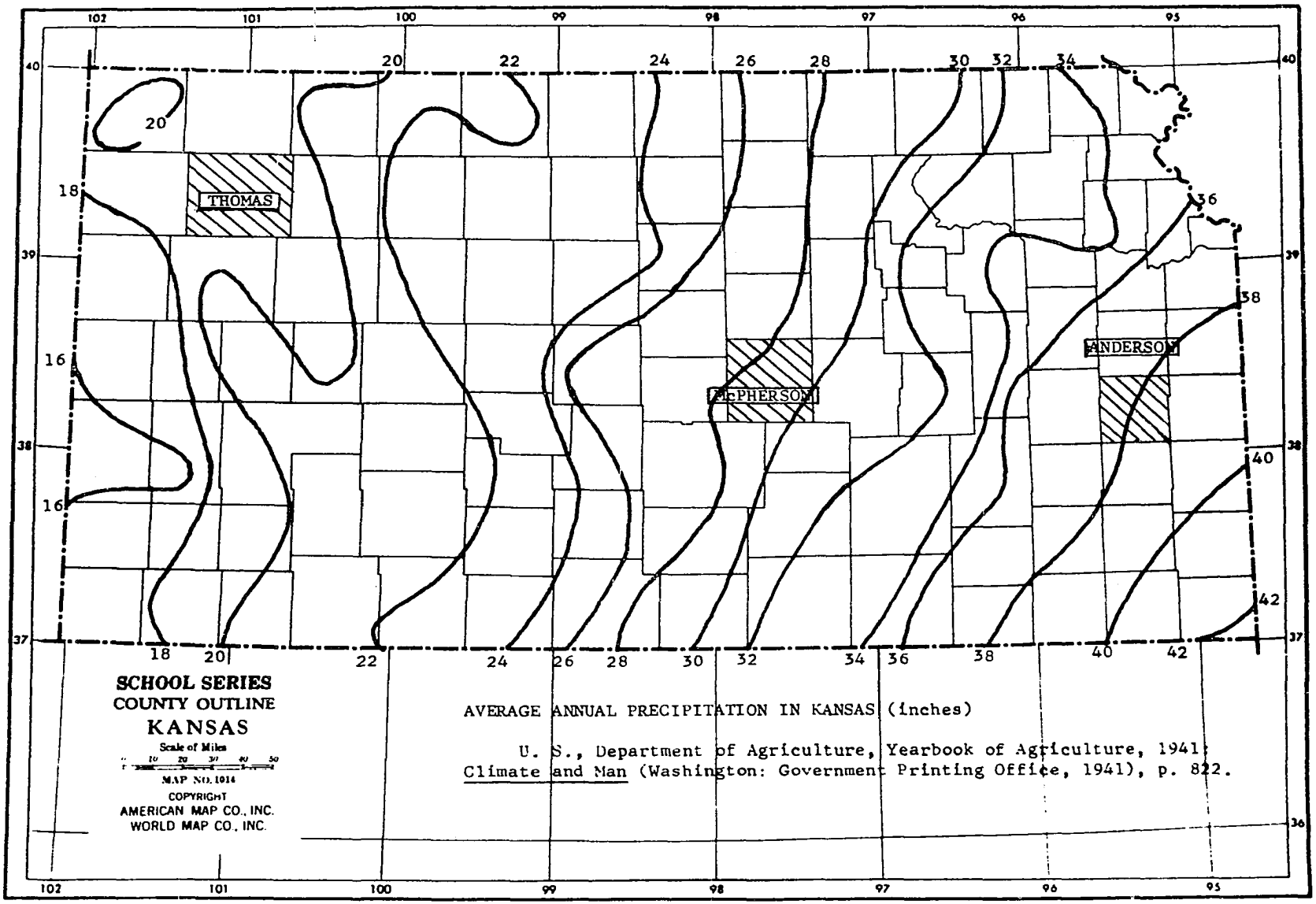
[25] W. E. Grimes and others, A Study of Farm Organization in Central Kansas, U. S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1296 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 1.



AVERAGE ANNUAL PRECIPITATION IN KANSAS (inches)

U. S., Department of Agriculture, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1941: Climate and Man (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 822.

CHAPTER II

ANDERSON COUNTY OF EASTERN KANSAS

Located in the heart of the Osage Cuestas,[1] Anderson County is the second county west of the Kansas-Missouri border and is the fourth county north of Oklahoma. It lies just west of the 95th meridian and north of the 38th parallel. The altitude of the county is generally about 1,050 feet.[2] There are about 363,640 acres in Anderson County, and the general surface is gently rolling. About 90 percent of the area is upland, with 10 percent bottom land along the various watercourses. Streams are abundant in the county. According to the State Board of Agriculture Report in 1878,

> The Pottawatomie is the principal stream; the north fork runs east and the south fork northeast through the county. The following are the smaller streams: Cedar Creek, running north; Sac Creek, southeast; Iantha, southeast; Kenoma, southeast; Thomas, northeast; Indian, southwest; Deer, southwest; Little Osage, southeast; Big Sugar, east; Little Sugar, east. There is also a moderate number of springs, and good well water is reached at from fifteen to twenty-five feet.[3]

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[1]According to Walter H. Schoewe, ". . . the Osage Cuestas consist of a series of northeast-southwest irregularly trending east facing escarpments between which are flat to gently rolling plains" ("The Geography of Kansas: Part II, Physical Geography: Geology," Kansas Academy of Science, Transactions, LII [September, 1949], 282).

[2]Ibid., p. 278.

[3]First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1877-78), VI, 97.

Settlers found the climate of Anderson County congenial to agricultural pursuits. The growing season averages about 185 frost free days, and the average annual precipitation is 36.83 inches, or more than twice that of western Kansas. The rainfall is nearly as much as in northern Missouri and parts of Indiana and Illinois. The climate, then, was not too unlike that which the settlers had known further east. Temperatures ranged from the January average of 32.7 degrees to about 78.3 degrees in July.[4]

Most of the soil of Anderson County is officially classified as Cherokee or Parsons. Both are alluvial and light brown in color. Neither soil is extremely fertile, and both are better suited for the production of hay and grass than for corn.[5] Other soils found in the county include Crawford and Summit, which "are quite productive and sustain a prosperous agricultural population with a good standard of living."[6] Unfortunately for Anderson County agriculture, these soils are found only in the extreme eastern edge of the county. Somewhat more abundant is the soil classified as Wabash, which is an alluvial soil found along the creeks and rivers.[7] All these soils are slightly acid and may be improved by lime,[8] yet it is apparent that the best farm management in

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[4]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1941: Climate and Man (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 873.

[5]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1938: Soils and Men (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 1103-1104.

[6]Ibid., p. 1056.

[7]Ibid., p. 1135.

[8]Ibid., p. 1104.

Anderson County would include an emphasis on livestock. This was, in fact, the case in the mid-twentieth century when the county contained many dairy cattle.

But the early settlers of the county did not have the advantage of soil surveys which were made in the twentieth century; therefore they, as might be expected, tried the same crops that had been successful in Illinois and Missouri. The early farmers did try to give one another advice concerning the potentials of the land, but it was not as scientific as that published by the Department of Agriculture. An early settler of the county, James Y. Campbell, gave his fellow farmers the following information:

> Another noted fact which has come under my observation is, that as the soil became rotted by an annual increase in the depth of plowing, the failures have been far less than on lands which are in a wild, or partial state of cultivation, and also, that the oldest farms in Anderson County on the same kind of land, are much surer for crops than new lands.[9]

Settlers moved to Kansas to acquire land. Land was available in Anderson County as early as July 22, 1854, when Congress extended the preemption privilege to unsurveyed lands in Kansas "to which all Indian rights had been surrendered."[10] Anderson County lay within the Pottawatomie Cession of 1846, which was part of the public domain.[11] Therefore, land could be obtained from the General Land Office. Although the

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[9]James Y. Campbell, History of Anderson County, from the Earliest Period of Settlement of the County to the Centennial Year of 1876 (Garnett, Kansas: Garnett Weekly Journal Printer, 1876), p. 36.

[10]Paul Wallace Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 21.

[11]Ibid.

Kansas tract books show that homesteads were taken as late as 1874 in the southwestern corner of the county,[12] most of the land in the county was purchased. In 1878 the Topeka Land District, which included Anderson County, reported: "There are no vacant lands in the district worthy of mention, all the best having long since been culled out."[13]

Not all the land in the county was acquired by settlers directly from the General Land Office, however. The Kansas Tract Books reflect that lands were selected in Anderson County by Kansas State University, the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad Company, as well as by individuals. The Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture also indicated that the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad Company held lands in the county but returned all of these to the government on March 3, 1877.[14] Therefore, settlers acquired land from the state of Kansas, the railroad companies and the General Land Office. But Anderson County pioneers were spared the additional confusion that prevailed in eastern Kansas where, according to Paul W. Gates, "the existence . . . of the Indian reserves, the trust lands, and varieties of allotments resulted in a heterogenous complex of land disposal policies and land administering agencies."[15]

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[12]The Kansas tract books of the General Land Office are available at the Kansas Historical Society in Topeka. These manuscripts give the name, date of entry, type of entry, final disposition of all property disposed of by the General Land Office.

[13]First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1877-78), VI, 604.

[14]Second Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1879-80), VII, 435.

[15]Gates, Fifty Million Acres, p. 22.

Settlement of the county began prior to the land survey which was conducted between the fall of 1855 and the spring of 1856. The result was land disputes. Some problems arose over the sale of preemption claims.

> Among the first settlers of the county came a class who had kept in advance of civilization and made their living in speculating in claims on Government lands. These men selected the finest timber and valley lands along the streams, and after having formed an actual settlement, they would select many other valuable tracts, drive stakes, and put up some fictitious names, as owners of the land. When a man desirous to settle would come to look for lands, he would generally be told by these speculators that these tracts marked by stakes had been selected by claimants, but that they could be bought of some man in the neighborhood who was an agent for the claimant. The stranger naturally supposing that the land had been honestly selected, would in most instances buy the claim rather than go farther west. The prices generally ranged all the way from one hundred to two thousand dollars. The settlers would many times after the purchase of these claims, erect cabins, and go East after their families, and on their return would find some one else occupying the cabin, the claim having been sold twice by the rascally speculator.[16]

In May of 1854, about a year before county organization, two Missourians, Valentine Gerth and Francis Myer, arrived and raised a good crop of corn in an old Indian field.[17] More settlers followed them to Anderson County during the territorial period. The residents experienced some difficulties during the tumultuous years prior to the Civil War, and growth of the county was slow in the early years. In 1859 a flow of immigration came to the county only to be reversed the following year because of a severe drought. During the Civil War the growth of population

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[16]Alfred Theodore Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 1322. It would be interesting to learn the names of some of these land speculators; however, according to Andreas (p. 1324), the early land records were destroyed in 1863 when William C. Quantrill raided Lawrence, Kansas.

[17]Ibid., p. 1322, and Helen G. Gill, "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, VIII (1904), 450.

was again slow, but a heavy influx of people began in 1865. After the first railroad, the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston, reached the county in 1870, population increased more rapidly for Anderson County, only to be stilled by the grasshopper in 1874.[18]

One can imagine the feelings of Anderson County residents in the early 1870's. First the Panic of 1873 depressed the economy, then drought in 1874 set the farmers back once more, and finally the grasshoppers in the same year stripped away the crops which the farmers had managed to grow.[19] The 1870 population of the county was 5,220.[20] The growth due to the railroads is reflected in the 7,470 residents of 1873, and the effect of the drought and possibly also of the hard times following the Panic of 1873 is seen in the population figures for 1874, which gave 6,213 persons for the county. The following year the population was down by an additional four hundred.

The census of 1875 made by the State of Kansas is the first to compile information concerning the composition of the county population. The population of 1875 was 5,809, with 5,366 native-born Americans. Of the 443 not born in the United States, 185 were from Germany, 115 from

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[18]Andreas, History of Kansas, p. 1325.

[19]According to Gilbert C. Fite, "Farmers on the upper mid-west prairie frontier undoubtedly suffered much more during the middle 1870's from natural disasters than they did from the Panic of 1873 and the subsequent hard times. Although the prices of farm commodities declined, this was not a life or death matter to the pioneer who provided much of his own living, including food" (The Farmers' Frontier, p. 73). The effect of the Panic of 1873 was lightened by the prices caused by scarcity of crops. "The trouble was that many farmers had nothing to sell because their crops were destroyed by drought or grasshoppers" (Ibid., p. 74).

[20]See Table 1, p. 22.

TABLE 1

POPULATION FIGURES FOR ANDERSON COUNTY AND INDIAN CREEK TOWNSHIP, 1860-1905[a]

Date	Anderson County	Indian Creek Township
1860	2,400	...
1870	5,220	...
1873	7,470	...
1874	6,213	...
1875	5,809	180
1876	.....	...
1877	.....	...
1878	6,000	208
1879	.....	...
1880	9,059	373
1881	9,541	472
1882	10,560	562
1883	10,756	487
1884	11,723	578
1885	13,192	663
1886	13,955	647
1887	13,273	652
1888	12,806	516
1889	13,235	644
1890	13,064	669
1891	13,092	700
1892	12,678	625
1893	12,172	590
1894	13,275	656
1895	13,457	669
1896	14,310	706
1897	14,100	725
1898	14,143	731
1899	14,227	677
1900	13,988	677
1901	13,913	649
1902	13,198	611
1903	13,630	615
1904	13,254	587
1905	13,152	541

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

Ireland, eighty-three from England and Wales and twenty-six from British America, with the remaining thirty-four from various other countries. Of the 92 percent native-born residents, 1,644 were born in Kansas. Almost 1,000 persons in the county in 1875 came from Illinois. Other states that contributed large numbers were Ohio with 747, Indiana with 564, Missouri with 511 and Iowa with 386. These states combined yielded 3,189 residents, or about 76 percent of the population not born in Kansas.[21] These statistics suggest that Anderson County was settled by people with agrarian backgrounds, for Anderson County settlers were from farming areas. Although minor adaptations may have been necessary, the basic farm techniques and crops of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and other midwestern states would suffice in eastern Kansas. The adaptations necessary in central and western Kansas were not necessary in Anderson County.

Prior to 1873 when the Kansas State Board of Agriculture began to publish annual statistics on crops and livestock in Kansas by counties, the progress of agriculture must be traced in the accounts given by early histories of the county. Some of the evidence appears to be contradictory. For example, according to James Y. Campbell, the year 1854 was known for the extreme drought,[22] whereas A. T. Andreas wrote that Gerth and Myers, the first settlers in the county, had a good crop of corn that year.[23] The following year conditions seemed better, but grasshoppers appeared in the fall of 1855. The next two years were dry

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[21]Fourth Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1875), IV, 189.

[22]Campbell, History of Anderson County, p. 37.

[23]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 1321.

and crops were not good, but Campbell reported the winter of 1858 to have been "extremely warm and wet."[24] Andreas did not disagree:

> The year 1859 was a prosperous one. There was a heavy immigration to the county, much greater than before, the population numbering about three thousand. During the spring there were heavy rains, so that travel was, at times, almost stopped. On June 1st, the rainfall had been so great that the Pottawatomie overflowed its banks, and the settlers along the valley were compelled to remove to the hills for safety. . . . After this extremely wet spring, the dry season commenced.[25]

The settlers who arrived in time to plant a few acres of sod corn in 1859 should have had enough provisions for the following winter, but those who came the following year would not be as fortunate.

The grasshoppers came again in 1860, but they found little to eat in Anderson County. The winter of 1859-60 had been dry, and the following spring was equally droughty. Campbell described it as "the great famine year. Wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and all vegetables failed; the grass was so short that scarcely hay was saved."[26] Neither grasshopper nor man feasted that year. The insects deposited their eggs in the county, and the young grasshoppers destroyed much of the 1861 crop also.[27]

Grasshoppers were only one pest which plagued Anderson County farmers. In 1862 the chinch bug destroyed much of the few crops raised in that droughty year. The mild winter coupled with a comparatively wet

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[24]Campbell, History of Anderson County, p. 37.

[25]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 1325.

[26]Campbell, History of Anderson County, p. 37, and Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 1325.

[27]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 1325.

spring suggested that 1863 would be a good year, but on August 27th there was an early frost which damaged the crops. Following another dry year, 1865 was a good season. The Civil War was over at last, and the settlers hoped for good weather and other favorable conditions that would permit them to produce a crop that would prove the agricultural potential of the region. Then on September 10, 1866, the grasshoppers returned. Although the locusts deposited their eggs, the wet condition in the winter and following spring prevented many of the eggs from hatching. In 1867 conditions were once again favorable to farming; then reverses struck, for in 1868 the farmers faced drought and the chinch bug.[28]

From the early histories it appears that during the county's formative period there was scarcely a time when a good year for crops was not followed by either drought, chinch bugs, or grasshoppers. In 1869 the farmers rejoiced once more, for it was a good year. By 1870 wheat was being produced in the county, but the hessian fly came to eat its share and more. A newcomer to the county in 1871 would have been in the enviable position of having three fairly good crop years before the August 22, 1874, invasion of grasshoppers.[29] The only unusual hardship that he might have faced before 1874 would have been the depression following the Panic of 1873.

But on that August day in 1874, national depression was forgotten

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[28]Campbell, History of Anderson County, p. 38.

[29]Ibid. Campbell gave the date as August 23, 1874, whereas the Third Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1874), III, 17, had August 22, 1874.

in western America, for the grasshopper invasion was so monumental that the year is still known as the "grasshopper year."[30] In Anderson County it had been dry as is usual before the locusts leave their natural habitat in the Rocky Mountains to ravage the plains in search of vegetation. When the insects came, they clouded the skies and covered the ground. The descriptions by people who observed the calamity are well-known. For example, a Union Pacific train was halted in Nebraska by the slick rails created by a multitude of crushed insects.[31]

The Third Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture gave the following information on insect damage in Anderson County:

> Grasshoppers.--Made their appearance August 22d. More than half the corn had been cut and saved, but the balance standing has been materially injured. Garden vegetables suffered largely. The fruit is reported as being entirely safe from their depredations. They are rapidly diminishing, and have deposited but few eggs--in some portions of the county none.
>
> Chinch Bugs.--Spring wheat, fall wheat, oats, corn and sorghum are somewhat injured.
>
> Condition of Crops.--Stock hogs are being as rapidly disposed of as possible. There will be enough feed for those remaining. The hay is very short, but more than the usual amount has been put up. An early rain will save the fall pasture. There will be an abundance of seed wheat for those who desire it. Not quite the usual breadth will be put in.
>
> Destitution.--The county is entirely competent to provide for its own poor.[32]

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[30]Everett Dick, The Sod House Frontier, 1854-1890; A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas and Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937), p. 203. According to Dick, "The great calamity of the year 1874 . . . surpassed anything before or since and caused such great damage that on the plains it is generally called the grasshopper year."

[31]Ibid., p. 204.

[32]Third Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1874), III, 17.

Although the Board of Agriculture attempted to minimize the extent of grasshopper damage claimed by the various counties, there is also the possibility that the county itself minimized its losses to keep up appearances. In the mid-1870's Kansas was trying to promote immigration, and promoters, politicians and land boomers feared the effect that requests for relief might have on prospective settlers.[33] The population of the county declined from 6,213 in 1874 to 5,809 in 1875, suggesting that some residents had been forced to leave the county. But Anderson County was well established by 1874, and it was the counties nearer to the frontier in which destitution was the most serious problem.

The progress of rural settlement in Anderson County can also be observed in the statistics on agriculture found in the published federal census reports. For Anderson County the Eighth through Twelfth censuses may be compared. In 1860 there were 271 farms listed in the county, averaging over 170 acres in size. By 1870, five years after the end of the Civil War, there were 745 farms, which averaged 153 acres. The 1870 figures reflect the immigration of farmers after the war. One explanation for the declining average size of farms is that in 1860 land was cheaper, it was easier to acquire, and no doubt more large landowners were holding acreage for speculative purposes than in 1870. A decade later the census reports showed 1,298 farms, and the average size had dropped to 134 acres. Less than half of the county's farms exceeded 100 acres. In the next two censuses there were increases in

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[33]Fite, The Farmers' Frontier, p. 65.

both the number of farms and the average size of farms. The increased size of the average farm by 1890 reflected the growth of established farms.[34]

Although average size of farm holdings does permit limited generalizations, an additional breakdown of farm sizes will yield even better conclusions. The published census reports for 1860 and 1870 give figures for the number of farms in various acreage classifications from under three acres to over 1,000 acres. Unfortunately, the census bureau's statisticians apparently used only improved acreage in this classification, for in 1860 the average size of an Anderson County farm was 171 acres while only twelve of the 271 farms were classified as over 100 acres in size.[35] The same problem exists for the 1870 census, but

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[34]See Table 2, p. 29.

[35]This might appear to be a high average created by a few farms of very large acreage, but the following table and analysis should establish that the census bureau was in error. Compiled from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Agriculture, III, 352.

Number of Farms		Classification by Acres
1860	1870	
17	152	3 but under 10
52	86	10 but under 20
138	279	20 but under 50
52	169	50 but under 100
12	58	100 but under 500
0	1	500 but under 1,000
0	0	1,000 and over
271	745	Total No. of Farms

If all the farms in the various classifications were the maximum, ie. the twelve largest farms in 1860 were 499 acres each, the total land in farms would be about 19,000 acres, compared to the total of 46,439 acres found on Table 2. In 1870 the results would be about 64,000 acres compared to 113,778 total from Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF FARMS, AVERAGE SIZE, IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED ACREAGE, VALUE OF FARM AND FARM IMPLEMENTS IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1860-1900[a]

Date	No. Farms	Av. Size Farms[b]	Improved Acreage	Unimproved Acreage	Value Farms	Av. Value Farms	Value Implements	Av. Value Implements
1860	271	171	9,894	36,545	$ 261,235	$ 964	$ 11,744	$ 43
1870	745	153	21,598	84,180	1,343,358	1,803	84,427	113
1880	1,298	134	93,409	80,909	2,423,885	1,867	151,100	116
1890	1,925	160	277,217	31,292	6,618,578	3,438	203,380	106
1900	2,112	170	265,732	92,641	7,016,660	3,322	268,990	127

[a]Compiled from the Eighth through Twelfth Censuses of Agriculture of the United States, 1860-1900.

[b]Total acreage, improved and unimproved, divided by the number of farms.

by 1880 the figures seem to reflect the total farm acreage. In Anderson County, where the average size of farms was 134 acres in 1880, some 715 farms had less than 100 acres, and 583 were over 100 acres in size. Of these 583 farms, only eight were large farms of more than 500 acres.[36]

By 1890 over half of the farms had over 100 acres, with sixty-three farms ranging over 500 acres.[37] Ten years later the data is more specific than in the preceding census years, and it is apparent that the quarter section was the most common agricultural unit, with 690 farms falling in the 100 to 175 acre category. This figure represented about one third of the county's farms. There were eighty-seven farms in the category of over 500 acres, representing only 4 percent of the farms in Anderson County.[38] Large farm holdings were still the exception in Anderson County forty-six years after the first settlement. It was an area of middle sized operators. The larger holdings probably belonged to stock and dairy farmers rather than to general grain farmers.

The size of a farm, however, is not always the most important consideration to a farmer. Therefore, the data on the average cash value of Anderson County farms is of interest. The average cash value of farms in the county increased by almost 100 percent from 1860 to 1870,

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[36]U. S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

[37]U. S., Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Agriculture, III, 142-45.

[38]U. S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

while the average cash value of farm implements increased by over 150 percent. This suggests that while farmers were enjoying rising farm values, they were also increasing their investment in machinery, although the figures on cash value of farm implements were often lowered by farmers to deceive the tax collector. There was only a slight increase in both average cash value of farms and farm machinery in 1880, but in the next decade land values rose while the average investment in machinery dropped slightly. By 1900 the average cash value of an Anderson County farm was about $3,300, and the average cash value of farm implements was $127. This represented a slight decline in value of farms from 1890 but an increase in the value of farm implements.[39] From Table 2 it is apparent that by 1880 the county was no longer experiencing the rapid increases in value of farm holdings characteristic of the first ten or fifteen years of settlement. It is also obvious that the amount of mechanization of Anderson County farms was not very high. This, furthermore, suggests that many of the farmers were perhaps engaging in stock and dairy farming, which required less capital equipment than grain farming.

Another consideration in the matter of economic mobility is the question of farm tenancy. By 1880 the Tenth Census reflected the nation's concern over the ever-growing farm tenancy. But in Anderson County, which was well beyond the frontier stage by 1880, tenancy was not yet a problem; most farms were operated by owners. Some 1,023 of the 1,298 farms fell in this category. One hundred and seven farms

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[39]See Table 2, p. 28.

were operated by tenants who paid a fixed money rental, and an additional 168 farms were operated on a share crop basis.[40] By 1890 tenancy had increased in the county as 572 of the 1,925 farms were operated on either a fixed money rental or shares of product.[41] The percentage of tenancy in 1890 was almost 30 percent, compared to about 21 percent in 1880. In 1900 over 37 percent of the farms were operated by tenants.[42] This figure reflected the growth of tenancy during the period of low prices and increasing indebtedness of many Kansas farmers during the late nineteenth century. Hundreds of farmers found it difficult to remain solvent during the nineties when faced with a combination of unfavorable factors following the flush 1880's.

Increased acreage, higher land values and additional funds invested in farm machinery give some indication of economic welfare, but another measure of the farmer's position was his holdings of livestock and his production of field crops. In 1870 the farmers of Anderson County owned a total of 15,627 head of livestock, an average of twenty-one head per farm. In 1900 the total figure was 73,580 and the average was thirty-five animals per farm. This represented a 67 percent increase in average number of animals on a farm during the thirty year period. The 1870 figures do not include the value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter, but in 1878 the amount was $110,408. By 1900 the county's

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[40] Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

[41] Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Agriculture, III, 142-45.

[42] Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

farmers were slaughtering or selling livestock valued at $531,920. This latter figure is about one-half the total value of field crops in that year.[43]

Annual crop statistics for the county begin in 1872. At that time field crop acreage totaled 36,163, and the value of the production was set at $338,398. Acreage was increased to 43,252 in 1873, but the data on value was not given by the State Board of Agriculture. In 1874 the value of production was $310,214 from the 47,776 acres planted.[44] With the absence of information in the year preceding 1874, the "grasshopper year," the devastation of that year cannot be properly weighed, but the value of the production had declined from the figure for 1872. Another indication of the effect of the insects might be the corn crop of 1874.[45] In that year 195,900 bushels of corn were produced from 19,590 acres, as compared to the 326,353 bushels harvested from the 15,350 sown acres in 1872. In 1872 the yield per acre was less than twenty-one bushels and in 1875 the yield was forty-one bushels, but in 1874 the yield averaged only ten bushels per acre. This indicates that the drought and grasshoppers had exacted a toll of at least half of the corn crop, as had been estimated by the State Board of Agriculture.

The total value of field crops increased in 1875 to $389,412 and again in 1876 to $430,967 before declining in 1877 to $363,144. Acreage had increased in all three years, with 45,789 acres in 1875, 56,467 the

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[43]See Table 21, p. 204.

[44]See Table 3, p. 34.

[45]See Table 17, p. 200.

TABLE 3

TOTAL FIELD CROPS IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Value Product
1872	36,163	$ 338,398.00
1873	43,252	.....
1874	47,776	310,214.00
1875	45,789	389,412.03
1876	56,467	430,967.21
1877	61,981	363,144.20
1878	60,883	348,076.43
1879	63,853	515,268.01
1880	72,849	518,672.25
1881	100,541	1,122,204.90
1882	131,324	1,228,753.55
1883	158,181	1,310,085.25
1884	187,614	1,270,702.67
1885	186,251	946,648.90
1886	188,044	1,035,342.60
1887	194,053	1,009,256.15
1888	187,775	2,232,277.25
1889	205,369	869,534.34
1890	166,796	734,892.00
1891	177,742	687,856.78
1892	184,679	843,101.05
1893	208,006	928,256.05
1894	200,425	952,318.48
1895	203,853	1,039,309.90
1896	190,526	527,999.92
1897	187,718	664,341.09
1898	203,687	878,057.42
1899	214,217	930,877.26
1900	217,606	1,134,694.23
1901	228,757	872,108.70
1902	214,354	1,640,479.44
1903	221,713	1,151,413.19
1904	239,123	778,570.17
1905	246,579	1,213,789.83

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

following year and 61,981 acres in 1877. In 1878 both acreage and value of the field crops declined. The corn harvest of 1877 was about 250,000 bushels higher than in 1876 when 1,100,960 bushels were harvested, yet the value of the corn had gone down from $253,221 in 1876 to $243,111 in 1877, reflecting the drop in corn prices that year. In 1878 farmers planted less corn than in the previous year and harvested 326,462 bushels less. The smaller harvest, accompanied by another drop in the market price of corn, resulted in a crop valued at only $37,462 more than the meager 1874 crop.

In 1879 the corn crop was better than in the preceding year, and the price per bushel increased by seven cents. The total value of field crops showed a sizeable increase from $348,076 in 1878 to $515,268 in 1879. This indicates that the depression period of the 1870's was coming to an end. Corn, the most important crop for Anderson County farmers, did not do as well in 1880 as before, but the winter wheat harvest was improved and, therefore, the value of the 1880 field crops increased slightly to $518,672.

These two years, 1879 and 1880, had been better than the preceding period, but in the next eight years the farmers of Anderson County enjoyed good harvests, culminating in the crop of 1888, valued at $2,232,277, the highest in the period covered in this study. The reason for this high figure was the corn harvest of that year. Some 3,497,445 bushels of corn were produced on 77,721 acres and were valued at $1,573,850. But the boom crop of 1888 did not bring prosperity to the corn producers. This bumper crop helped push the price of corn down to eighteen cents per bushels and below in the following year. Therefore,

the harvest of 2,752,032 bushels in 1889 was valued at only $467,845, and the total value of field crops was almost $1,400,000 less than the preceding year. There followed five more years before the total value of field crops exceeded one million dollars.

After a partial recovery in 1895 the county once again experienced declining fortunes when four more years passed before the million dollar production was again reached. Many of the county's farmers did not share in the state's general recovery in the period from 1897 to the early years of the twentieth century.

Over a period of nearly a half century Anderson County developed into a general, diversified farming area. Most farms were moderate in size and were operated by middle class farmers, with relatively few very poor residents and not many who might be considered extremely wealthy.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN INDIAN CREEK TOWNSHIP, ANDERSON COUNTY

In order to deal with the problem of economic and social mobility of farmers in the three counties of Kansas, it is necessary to narrow the geographic area of analysis to get a closer view of the changing conditions of individual operators. The procedure developed for this study was to select a township in each of the three counties and, using the manuscript census of agriculture, follow in so far as possible the welfare of the farmers there from 1860 to 1905. By this means it should be possible to tell which farmers succeeded and, hopefully, why they were successful. In other words, the basic question is not only to determine who made a success on the Kansas agricultural frontier, but to determine what factors were responsible for success or failure. Moreover, the question of whether a farmer was more likely to move upward economically in humid Anderson County, in sub-humid McPherson County, or in arid Thomas County can be answered.

The manuscript census reports can be used to determine changes in a farmer's economic position. Several things can be learned about the individual by using two or more censuses. The first consideration when using information from the second or later census is whether or not the

farmer remained on the land. If not, then we can learn very little about him. He was either gone from the land by migration or death, or the census taker erred. The absence of the farmer from subsequent censuses does not imply failure; indeed, he may have found success on a farm in another community or left the farm for a better job. The second consideration concerns the farmers who appear on two or more censuses and who are termed "repeaters" in this study. Obviously, a farmer might repeat in one census year or in several; therefore, the operators who remained on the farm over a longer period of time can be compared with those who stayed for shorter periods. Longevity on the land represents a form of economic success when rising land values occur as they did in the late nineteenth century. The census data on quantity of land, production of crops and livestock operations can also be compared to determine changes in economic welfare. In other words, a farmer who was successful was one who remained in the township and on the farm for at least ten years and measurably improved his property holdings. One might leave the farm and become economically and socially successful, but this paper is concerned only with improvement of economic position on the farm.

The area selected for detailed study in Anderson County is first Ozark Township and later Indian Creek Township, created in 1874 by the division of Ozark Township, in the southwestern corner of the county. The geography and soil conditions in this area are fairly typical of the county, as the terrain is rolling prairie interspersed with a few watercourses. Settlement occurred as early as 1857,[1] only three years

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[1]According to W. A. Johnson, "The first settlement in the township

after the first settlers arrived in Anderson County, so the area presents an opportunity to study the economic progress of individual farmers from the census of 1860 to the end of the century.

In the first census year Ozark Township, which included the southern third of the county, contained ten farmers. By the end of the Civil War the number of farmers had increased to thirty-eight. Then the next five years saw the rapid peopling of the county, and by 1870 the farmers totaled 139. Settlements had been made through the southern portion of the county, and due to the arrival of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad, a thriving town, Colony, was laid out near the middle of Ozark Township. When population pressures mounted, the township was divided into thirds, and the central section retained the old name. The eastern third became Rich Township and included the town of Kincaid. The western third became the township of Indian Creek, in which no significant town developed. A complication emerges when the size of the area studied is reduced after the first fifteen years. Because of the division, farmers who were in Ozark Township in 1870 might be located in the same township in 1875 or they might live in the new townships of Rich or Indian Creek. If only one township were used for the study, it is possible that these farmers could be missed in tabulating longevity on the farm. However, if all the farmers in all three townships were used, the number would be unwieldy. Therefore, a choice of the three townships had to be made. The existence of towns in the midst of rural

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Indian Creek was made on Indian Creek, in 1857, by Mrs. Margaret Wiggins and family" (The History of Anderson County, Kansas From Its First Settlements to the Fourth of July, 1876 [Garnett, Kansas: Kauffman and Iler, 1877], p. 289).

areas makes absentee farming possible. A farmer or stockman might live in the town and have an agent operate the farm. The owner's name would appear on the population schedule, but only his agent's name would be on the agricultural rolls. Thus, a successful farmer who retained his farm would appear to have left. Indian Creek appeared to be entirely rural in its population, making it a logical choice in which to follow the progress of farmers. To avoid losing any repeating farmers because of the 1874 division of the old Ozark Township, a search was made in Rich and Ozark Townships in the 1875 census for farmers from the earlier years who did not appear on the Indian Creek census that year.

Data on the 203 individual farmers who were listed on the censuses for Ozark or Indian Creek Townships from 1860 to 1875 were used in this study.[2] If longevity is used as one criterion of success, then it is necessary to establish how long individual farmers appeared on the censuses. Five farmers remained for thirty-five years, from 1870 to 1905, and another five endured for thirty years. Those who remained for

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[2]The method used in reading the manuscript census of agriculture was to use a mimeographed form onto which the census information on individual farmers was transferred. This was done for the primary township (Ozark from 1860 to 1870, then Indian Creek from 1875 to 1905) in each census year. The forms, which had information on one farmer each, could then be alphabetized, making it possible to compile a list of farmers and their data for each census year, according to the census on which they first appeared and including all the years that they remained in the township. In other words, the first entry on Table 37 is the farmer who was listed on more censuses than any other farmer first appearing on the schedules in 1860, in alphabetical order. In this way, all pertinent data on a farmer are listed chronologically before the next farmer is listed. Some errors in using the manuscript census are inevitable. The census takers were not well-trained, their handwriting was not always legible, and in 1895 the census taker did not keep the data on the correct lines.

See Tables 37-40 for data on farmers in Anderson County, pp. 221-252.

twenty-five years and twenty years numbered four and two, respectively. Seventeen farmers repeated for fifteen years, nine for ten years, and sixteen for five years, leaving the vast bulk of the farmers, 145, as non-repeaters, or farmers found in only one census year.

By comparing the ten farmers who remained the longest in the county, some of the reasons for their longevity on the farm can be ascertained. From their property holdings some observations concerning their success as farmers can also be made.

All five of the farmers who stayed on their farms for thirty-five years were first found in the census of 1870. One successful farmer, Cyrus C. Cochran, farmed 160 acres worth $480 in 1870, but, probably as a result of the hard times following the Panic of 1873 coupled with the grasshopper invasion, he lost eighty acres by 1875. Still, he placed a valuation of $1,000 on his farm. He owned 320 acres worth $8,000 in 1885, but by 1895 his half section was worth only $4,000. Ten years later his farm contained less acreage, 240 acres, but was valued at $7,000, reflecting the rising land values after the turn of the century. The increasing value of Cochran's land was also due to improvements which he made. In 1870 he had eighteen improved acres, but by 1875, when acres fenced replaced improved acres on the census, his entire eighty acres were fenced. Obviously, Cochran believed in fences, as he also had his entire holdings fenced in 1885, 1895 and 1905.

Although he led the other four farmers in total acreage and value of farm, Cochran was not a leader in either grain or livestock production. In 1870 he had 109 bushels of wheat as his entire grain production. During the following census year, 1875, he farmed thirty acres

of corn.[3] In 1895 he did not list any acreage under the major grain crops, but in 1905 he once again cultivated corn, this time forty-five acres. His livestock activities were also modest. In 1870 he owned five horses, five cows and two swine, a respectable number among farmers in their first census year, but in 1875 he had only six horses, two cows, three other cattle and six swine. By 1895 he had six horses and five cows and had slaughtered or sold $500 worth of livestock. Then in 1905 he owned six horses, four cows, five other cattle, eleven swine and showed $250 from livestock operations. Throughout the thirty-five years, butter production was important on Cochran's farm. He produced thirty-five pounds in 1870 and 400, 600 and 200 in 1875, 1895 and 1905, respectively. Although the cash value of machinery reported by farmers was often undervalued for tax purposes, the figures probably reflect relative amounts of farm implements. Cochran did not steadily add to the value of implements, as he listed $115 in 1870, only $50 in both 1875 and 1895 and $100 in 1905. In sum, Cyrus Cochran appeared to have had about average capitalization in livestock and implements when he was first listed on the census of 1870. In 1905 he enjoyed success, having increased his farm's size and value and having had income from poultry and livestock products.

Next to Cochran in value of farm in 1905 was Adrian L. Rodgers, who also had 240 acres, worth $6,000. Rodgers started in 1870 with only eighty acres, worth $400. He did not lose acreage in 1875, but his farm was worth $100 less than five years earlier. By 1885 this Indian Creek

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[3]The data on grain crops in the censuses of 1860 to 1870 is in bushels and from 1870 to 1905 is in acres.

farmer owned 240 acres worth $3,000. In 1895 his acreage had increased to 320 acres, but in the next decade he, like Cochran, transferred eighty acres. Rodgers had homesteaded eighty acres in June, 1869;[4] therefore he had had time to make improvements on six acres by the following March when the census was taken. Yet he listed no grain crops that year. He had half of his eighty acres fenced in 1875, and all of his 240 acres were enclosed by 1885. The census showed only 100 fenced acres in 1895, which may have been an error, but in 1905 he listed only eighty fenced acres on his 240 acre farm.

Although Rodgers did not show any grain production in 1870, he had twenty-five acres under cultivation in 1875, fifty in 1885 and forty in 1905. His corn acreage increased from fifteen in 1875 to thirty in both 1885 and 1905. Surprisingly, his oats acreage was not the highest in 1905 when he owned ten horses; instead, he cultivated ten acres in 1875 and 1905 and twice that acreage in 1885. Livestock was important to the pioneer farmer, especially cows, which provided milk, butter and cheese for the family or for sale. Rodgers owned two cows, two horses and one pig in 1870. Clearly he was not a leading cattleman in that year. But he built up his herd, and by 1875 he owned five horses, eight cows and twenty other cattle. In the following census he had greater acreage but many fewer livestock as he owned only four horses, two cows and two swine in 1885. By 1905 he owned ten horses, seven cows, thirty-five other cattle and nine swine.

In both 1875 and 1885 Rodgers sold or slaughtered $50 worth of

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[4]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

livestock, and he increased the amount to $300 in 1905. Rodgers listed 200 pounds of butter produced in each census year except 1885 when he had only fifty pounds. So far as the value of farm machinery, Rodgers listed a higher figure, $100, in 1905 than in 1870 when he had $80, but in 1875 and 1885 he had $75 and $50, respectively. Therefore, the data do not indicate that he gradually added to his capital in machinery. Rodgers owned a larger farm than the average Anderson County farmer in 1905 and produced both grain crops and livestock. His standard of living was probably above average for farmers in Indian Creek Township in 1905, but his success should be considered modest.

Jacob Donica had also achieved limited success by 1905 when his farm of 200 acres was valued at $5,000. Like Cochran, he started with a quarter section farm in 1870, but he placed a much higher value on it, $1,280. He also had only eighty acres in 1875, worth $1,300, but by 1895 he owned 190 acres valued at $3,500. In 1870 he had thirty-two improved acres, and by 1875 all his farm was fenced. Donica produced more grain than any of the other four farmers in 1870, when he had 200 bushels of corn and 270 bushels of oats. He continued to cultivate both crops, planting eighteen acres of corn in 1875 and seventy acres in 1895 and 1905. His oats acreage for 1875, 1895 and 1905 was ten acres, fifteen acres and ten acres, respectively. Although Rodgers was to surpass him in number of cattle in 1905, Donica led in number of cattle in 1870. He owned two horses, three cows, five other cattle and eight swine. Five years later he had doubled the number of cows and owned fourteen other cattle. But by 1905 his holdings of six horses, three cows, six other cattle and eleven swine were about the same as Cochran's. Donica

increased butter production from 200 pounds in 1870 to 300 in 1875 and 500 in 1895 and 1905, which probably gave him more cash to spend. The high valuation of farm implements in 1870 causes one to wonder what machinery this farmer owned in his first census year in the township. He listed $250 value of farm machinery in 1870 but only $75 in 1875. What caused this decline, of course, cannot be learned from the census data, but a good guess is that he probably had to sell some land and equipment to remain on his farm in the mid-1870's. By 1895 he showed only $50 in machinery but had doubled that by 1905. His success had not been as pronounced as Cochran's and Rodgers', but he was probably more comfortable than the average Anderson County farmer in 1905.

Charles Drury had even less success, as his eighty acre farm, worth $1,500 in 1870, had been increased by only forty acres by 1905 and was worth $4,000. He never lost acreage as had Cochran, Rodgers and Donica, but his eighty acres in 1875 were worth only $1,000. The addition of forty acres in 1895 brought the value of his farm to $2,000. Like Donica, he had all his acreage fenced after 1875 and had half of it improved in 1870. He produced 100 bushels of the cash crop, wheat, in 1870 but cultivated only corn in subsequent years. His corn production in 1870 was high, 500 bushels, and he continued to plant from forty to fifty acres in each subsequent census year. Drury's livestock operations in 1870 were second only to Donica's as he owned two horses, two cows, four other cattle and four swine. In 1875 he owned one additional horse and cow and three times as many other cattle. In 1905 he owned five horses and seven swine but had slaughtered or sold $500 worth of livestock. He did not produce butter in 1870 or 1905 but did in 1875 and

1895, with 200 and 400 pounds produced during those two years. He sold poultry and eggs in three census years. The valuation of his farm implements followed the pattern set by Cochran. Drury listed $100 worth of machinery in 1870 and 1905 but only $35 in 1875 and $25 in 1895. The average Anderson County farm in 1900 was about 160 acres, worth $3,438, so Drury's property holdings do not indicate that he held a high position among the county farmers in 1905. He had remained on the farm, had added to his acreage and increased the value of his farm by 1905, so is considered to have met with modest success.

The last of the five farmers was able to stay on the farm for thirty-five years, but his economic worth by 1905 was lower than the average county farmer's. Mark R. Day owned thirty-eight acres worth $1,500 at that time. In 1870 he had forty acres worth $800, and although in the following five years the value of his farm declined to $300, the lower price of land permitted him to own sixty acres. He continued to add to his land in 1885 when his 112 acres worth $2,500 represented the peak of his prosperity in the thirty-five years, but in 1895 this Ozark Township farmer owned but thirty-eight acres worth $300. Most of his farm was improved or fenced, and he was involved in both corn and oats production. In 1870 he produced 120 bushels of corn and 240 of oats. The following census year he had thirty-one acres of corn and only two of oats. Then in both 1885 and 1895 he cultivated twenty-five acres of corn with only one less acres in 1905. However, 1885 was the last year in which he listed oats on the census reports. His livestock operations were always limited, with two horses in 1870. His best year for livestock was 1885 when he had three horses, one cow, two other cattle and

fourteen swine. The next decade saw him with two horses and three cows, and in 1905 he did not list a single head of livestock.

What patterns emerge when these five farmers are compared? The size of their initial holdings varied from forty to 160 acres, with the most successful in terms of acreage and valuation owning a quarter section. But the second most successful farmer had begun with eighty acres and was able to increase his acreage to the same total as the most successful. The farmer with forty acres did not achieve economic success unless we consider mere longevity on the farm. If a farmer had less than eighty acres in 1870, his chance for success was probably limited. So far as improved acreage was concerned, the three who by 1905 were to be the most successful farmers had the least amounts of improved acreage in 1870, as even Mark R. Day, whose entire forty acres were improved, led Cochran, who had sixteen, Rodgers with six, Donica with thirty-two and was equal to Drury's forty improved acres. It was apparently not necessary to put fences up right away; in fact, by 1905 Rodgers had only one-third of his land fenced.

The grain operations of the five farmers also give little clue to the means of success. Cochran and Drury harvested wheat in 1870, but that was the only year that any of the five listed this cash crop. Corn was more popular, but being third in production of this crop did not insure success for Mark Day. On the other hand, Cochran and the successful Rodgers did not even harvest corn in 1870.

The four successful farmers included livestock in their operations, although Rodgers had only a couple of cows and one swine more than Day in 1870. It should be remembered that Day's best census year was 1885,

when his grain crop acreage was only eight more than in 1875 but when he had his greatest number of livestock. The three most successful farmers, Cochran, Rodgers and Donica, produced butter in every census year, compared to Drury and Day who listed butter production in only three and two censuses, respectively. Since farmers handled relatively little cash in their early years on the farm, the income from this source was important.

As mentioned before, cash value of machinery probably reflected the farmer's fear that this information would be used for tax purposes, but general trends in the accumulation of implements might be noted by comparing these figures. The four successful farmers ranged from $80 to $250 in this category in 1870, while Day made no entry. All the farmers had as high or higher valuation for equipment in 1870 as in 1905, with some drastic declines in the intervening years. Some farm implements were necessary for farming, but they could probably be borrowed from friends or relatives.

If there was a pattern for the more successful farmers in 1870, it was a farm of eighty acres or more on which grain farming was supplemented by livestock operations, including butter production. Obviously, non-quantifiable factors such as personal skill, good health, fortitude and an enormous amount of luck must have been part of the cause of these men's success.

The next group of five farmers came from two census years--those first appearing in 1865 who remained through 1895 and those first appearing on the census of 1875 who stayed until 1905.

E. T. Hosley arrived in Ozark Township prior to 1865 and remained

on his farm until after the census of 1895. Hosley's farm of 160 acres, worth $600 in 1865, was listed as 150 acres and $3,000 in 1870. Just as was the case with the five farmers who were first listed in 1870, Hosley experienced a decline in farm value to $2,500, but he listed total acreage at 160 in 1875. By 1895 his farm of 200 acres (located in Rich Township) was worth $4,000, indicating that he had enjoyed both longevity and improved economic condition on his farm. In 1865 he had made improvements on twenty-three acres, and by 1870 one-third of his land was improved. The 1875 and 1895 censuses showed all his land fenced.

Hosley was engaged in cash crop production in 1865 when he harvested eighty bushels of wheat, and he continued to plant wheat, with twenty-five bushels in 1870 and five acres in 1875. In addition to wheat he grew sixty bushels of corn and twenty-five of oats in 1865, and by 1895 he cultivated 130 acres of corn and forty of oats. Grain crops figured predominantly in Hosley's farm operations, but he also raised livestock. In 1865 he owned three horses, five cows, eight other cattle and three swine. The next two censuses saw increases in his cattle holdings so that in 1875 he had two horses, sixteen cows and forty-one other cattle. By 1895 he no longer had many cattle--eight cows and seven other cattle--but he owned twenty-one horses. He did sell or slaughter $300 worth of livestock that year. Butter production was a source of cash, as Hosley produced 200 pounds in 1865 and 800 pounds in both 1870 and 1875. In 1895 he did not list butter production but sold $30 worth of milk. Among the successful farmers discussed thus far, Hosley was the first to increase the value of farm machinery in

each census year, except 1895. Starting with $50 in 1865, he added enough implements to bring the listed valuation to $175 in 1870. Unlike the four successful farmers who started in 1870, Hosley increased the value of his implements in 1875. Perhaps having resided in the county for a longer period had enabled him to build up his reserves enough to make it through this difficult period. In 1895 his farm machinery was valued at $100, a 50 percent drop from 1875. Hosley, who combined grain and livestock operations, was a successful farmer by 1895.

The other farmer who first appeared on the census of 1865 had 240 acres worth $4,400 by 1905. This was both larger and more valuable than Hosley's farm. But the success of A. G. West in Anderson County may have been due to land speculations as well as farming because he disposed of numerous acres in his first decade on the census. In 1865 he owned 950 acres worth $4,000. Then five years later he had disposed of almost half, leaving a farm of 500 acres, worth $12,000. The passage of another five years brought more than a 50 percent decrease in the size of his holdings. In 1875 he owned 240 acres worth $3,500. To suggest that West may have been a land speculator should not imply that he did not make improvements on his land. He had 150 improved acres in 1865 and 200 in 1870. By 1875 his entire 240 acre farm was fenced.

West, like Hosley, also grew a cash crop, wheat, in 1865, when he produced 200 bushels. In addition, he harvested fifty bushels of rye, 500 of corn and 100 of oats. He continued planting these crops, with the exception of rye, through 1875. In 1895 his grain acreage was in corn alone. Combined with his impressive grain operations were livestock holdings of equal note. In 1870 he owned twelve horses, nine cows,

fourteen cattle, four swine and a flock of 120 sheep. In the next decade he expanded his livestock operations, but by 1895 he had reduced his holdings to three horses, one cow and twenty-eight swine. He had increased his herd of cattle from fourteen in 1865 to forty-three in 1875 and had added fifty sheep to his flock by the latter date. Although West did not list any butter production in 1865, he had 1,800 pounds in 1870, 900 in 1875 and 300 in 1895, showing that he was not neglecting this source of revenue. He also sold $25 worth of poultry products in 1895.

When reading the census data on value of farm machinery listed by West, one ponders what kind of equipment he owned and also whether he overvalued this item. In 1865 he listed $150 as the value of machinery, but five years later he had increased the amount to $1,250.[5] By 1875 he showed $200, and in 1895 he recorded a low of $25 for his farm implements. Apparently West had fairly sufficient operating capital in 1865 as his livestock holdings and value of implements were higher than most other farmers' who first appeared in the 1865 census. His success appeared to have been due to his initial holdings rather than to farm activities in Anderson County. As the data indicated, his farm was valued at little more in 1895 than it had been in 1865.

The other three farmers who remained for thirty years resided in Indian Creek Township and first appeared on the census of 1875. All three farmers, W. Highland Whetsel, Daniel Sherwood and Robert West, had larger farms in 1905 than in 1875. Whetsel filed on an eighty acre

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[5]There is the possibility that the amount was erroneously reported by the census taker.

homestead on June 18, 1872,[6] but the census of 1875 listed his total acreage at sixty acres worth $500. In the decade before the next census he more than doubled his acreage to 160 and quadrupled its value to $2,000. Data are lacking from the 1895 census due to clerical errors made by the Indian Creek census taker, but the acreage figures reflect no change in the size of Whetsel's farm. By 1905, however, he had a farm of 240 acres worth $5,000. After only three years Whetsel had fenced the sixty acres he owned in 1870, and he had his quarter section fenced in 1885.

He had increased his corn acreage from twelve acres in 1875 to forty in both 1885 and 1905 and also planted ten acres of oats in 1885. His livestock operations were limited, as he owned only one horse in 1875 and added two cows and twelve swine in 1885. By 1905 he was apparently engaged in general agriculture on a diversified basis, as he had $25 income from poultry and eggs, produced 200 pounds of butter, and owned livestock, including five horses, six cows, three other cattle and ten swine.

Although he did not increase his thirty acres in the period from 1875 to 1885, Daniel C. Sherwood did increase the size of his farm by 1895 when it was seventy acres and again in 1905 when he owned a total of 110 acres. Here was a farmer who was able to make some economic progress even though his initial acreage was comparatively small. His farm was worth $200 in 1875 and $2,500 in 1905. Perhaps Sherwood should not be classified as a farmer in 1875 since his only entry other than acreage

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[6]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

and value of farm and farm implements was his three horses. A decade later he cultivated thirty acres of corn and slaughtered or sold $80 worth of livestock. Then in 1905 he had thirty acres of wheat, forty of corn, twenty-five of oats and had increased his livestock holdings to seven horses, four cows, twenty-seven other cattle and six swine. He was definitely engaged in diversified farming by 1905 and was enjoying limited success.

Robert West, who filed a homestead claim on eighty acres of land on December 2, 1874,[7] had very little property or production in 1875. He still had eighty acres in 1885 but began to add acreage by 1895 when he owned 200 acres. In the next decade he added another eighty acres to his farm. West was able to increase the cash value of his farm from $300 in 1875 to $2,000 in 1885 and $7,000 in 1905. The West family were early settlers in the county, and Robert West was just starting as an independent farmer in 1875. His operations included only two horses and one cow, although he had slaughtered or sold $140 worth of livestock in 1875. In 1885 he cultivated ten acres of wheat, the same amount of corn, and five acres of oats, while selling poultry and eggs valued at $10. Under livestock West listed only one item--$50 for the slaughter of animals. But in 1905 he raised fifty acres of corn and twenty of oats. In addition, he had income of $200 from poultry and $300 from livestock. He owned two horses, twenty cows, sixty other cattle and fifteen swine. West was taking advantage of the grasslands of southwestern Anderson County.

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[7] Ibid.

Four of the five farmers who remained thirty years in the county had moderate economic prosperity by the last census in which they were listed. In each case they started with farms of eighty acres or more. Only Daniel C. Sherwood, who began farming with thirty acres in 1875, had a farm which was worth about $1,000 less in 1905 than the average farm near the turn of the century. He, like Day, had apparently owned too small a farm to build up operating capital over the years. But the successful farmers did not all start with massive acreages as A. G. West had in 1865. The eighty or 160 acre farm was the most common among these farmers. Unlike the successful farmers from 1870, these five farmers had improved their farms by the first census year.

Hosley and A. G. West had considerable grain production in 1865, but only Whetsel had any grain acreage among the three who first appeared in 1875. All five engaged in grain farming as they sought to improve their economic situations. Although not all the farmers had livestock in their first census year, the four successful farmers did in subsequent years. Sherwood, on the other hand, did not have many cattle until 1905. Butter production was prominent among the successful farmers, but conspicuous by its absence from Sherwood's farm.

Again, a general pattern of combined grain and livestock production seemed to yield the best results, whether the farmer started with eighty acres or with more. Management of their resources enabled these farmers to build up holdings of livestock and to acquire more acreage. With hard work and good fortune they apparently made the most of their situations.

If this combination of factors did have a causal effect on success,

then the farmers who arrived in each successive census year can be analyzed and their farm operations compared to those of the successful farmers.

Not very much can be learned from the census of Ozark Township in 1860. The Ozark Township schedule of population listed only ten farm families. The census did not include a schedule of agricultural products for the township. Five of the ten families, however, were on the agricultural census for Walker Township. The other five could not be located on any agricultural schedules. One of the ten farmers recorded in 1860 could be traced to the census of 1885, another remained until the 1870 census, four were found only on the 1860 and 1865 censuses, while the remaining four were on the rolls only in the 1860 census.

By the criteria established to determine success, only James P. Buford and John P. Pitchford remained on their Ozark Township farms long enough to be considered.[8] Buford's property holdings as reflected in census data from 1860 to 1885 were substantial enough to merit his inclusion as a successful farmer. In 1860 Buford had a farm of 200 acres that he valued at $1,500. He suffered a loss in acreage to 163 acres and in value to $500 during the five years prior to the census of 1865. The following five years were better for Buford as he once again held a farm of 200 acres valued at $2,500. Then in 1875 his fortunes declined once again and his 200 acre farm was worth $2,000, probably as a result

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[8]James P. Buford, although he was from Illinois, was one of the two slave owners in Kansas in 1860. The other was George Sater, who also resided in Ozark Township. The slave, Mary Agnes, who was only eight years old, probably belonged to Mrs. Buford, who had been born in Kentucky. By 1865 Mary Agnes was no longer in the Buford household.

of the grasshopper invasion in 1874. But Buford remained on the farm, and in 1885 he had a half section of land valued at $5,000.

Pitchford remained on his Anderson County farm through three census years, 1860, 1865 and 1870. He did not add acreage to his 120 acre farm during the decade from 1860 to 1870, but the value increased from $500 to $2,500. Of the four farmers who remained until after the census of 1865, only one, Hiram Cabel, was listed on the agricultural schedule for 1860. His quarter section farm did not increase in size or value from the $1,600 during the five years. Joseph Price and B. B. Rockwood both had considerable acreage in 1865, with the former on a farm of 280 acres and the latter occupying 475 acres. Yet neither of these men appeared in subsequent census schedules. Bazil Perkins, a farmer in the censuses of 1860 and 1865, listed no data on farm acreage in 1865 when he had three horses and five head of cattle.

The four farmers who did not reappear on the 1865 census included two, George Sater and H. P. Swan, not found on the agricultural schedule in 1860. The other two, John Horn and J. N. Minton, had farms of 160 and eighty acres, respectively, in 1860.

Buford, like the eight farmers who succeeded for thirty to thirty-five years, was engaged in both crop and livestock production in 1860, as were Hiram Cabel, Horn and Minton. All three men had more bushels of corn than Buford, and Cabel's livestock operations were certainly comparable. But in 1865 Buford maintained his corn production, whereas Cabel's ceased. Yet Cable, unlike Buford, had cultivated winter wheat, a cash crop, in both census years, and Cable had surpassed Buford in livestock in 1865. The age differential of the two men was considerable, as Buford

was thirty in 1860 compared to Cable, who was forty-seven. Pitchford remained on the Anderson County farm five years longer than Cable, but his operations in 1860 were minimal. In fact, of the five farmers who were listed on the agricultural schedule in 1860, Pitchford appeared least likely to succeed. He reported no crop production and had only one horse and no other livestock. Having started out with raw land and one horse in 1860, Pitchford in 1865 harvested 300 bushels of corn from his farm. He also owned three horses, eight cows, nine other cattle, twenty sheep and four swine, which indicated that he was taking advantage of the grasses that thrived in the soil of Anderson County. By 1870 he had six horses, only four cows, no other cattle or sheep, and seven swine. In that same year he harvested forty bushels of wheat, 600 of corn and 150 of oats. This seemed to reflect a shift to greater emphasis upon grain crops and less interest in livestock. But by 1875 he was no longer on the census rolls. However, the general economic gains that Pitchford made during only about a decade of farming would indicate that he died or decided to leave for reasons other than failure.

Only James Buford, who increased his grain crop activities, remained after 1870. In that year he harvested 175 bushels of wheat and 500 of corn while at the same time his livestock operations remained nearly the same. He now had five horses, or one more than in 1860 and 1865, six cows (double the 1865 figure), three other cattle, four swine and fifty-three sheep. This combination of grain crops and livestock probably was responsible for his economic success. By 1885 his farm was worth twice its value in 1870. He had been able to remain on the farm through the hard years of the 1870's with no loss in acreage due to his combination

of grain and livestock operations.

Economic success was possible for farmers who arrived in Ozark Township of Anderson County by 1860, as is obvious in the case of Buford, but the nine other pioneers who arrived at approximately the same time either found their success elsewhere or failed to convert their frontier holdings into established farms.

The forces that caused the passing of the agricultural frontier enable the historian to observe a larger number of farmers in 1865. The census of 1865 listed thirty-two additional farmers in Ozark Township, indicating the rapid growth of settlement in five years. Two farmers who had arrived by 1865 remained on the farm for thirty years, one stayed twenty years, two remained for at least ten years, three stayed only through 1870, while the remaining twenty-four were found only in 1865.

Hosley and A. G. West have already been discussed as they were among the farmers who remained on their farms for thirty years. S. T. West remained on his farm through the census of 1885. Starting with 193 acres worth $300 in 1865, he owned 400 acres worth $8,000 in 1885. He cultivated winter wheat in only 1865 and 1870 but planted corn in every year to support his livestock operations. In 1865 he owned three horses, two cows, seven other cattle and three sheep. In 1870 he still raised horses and cattle and owned fifty-two sheep. Five years later he had only two sheep but owned fourteen cows and twenty-three other cattle. West definitely operated his farm in the pattern of the farmers who stayed over thirty years.

Travis Farmer and Margaret Wiggins were able to remain on their

farms through the census of 1875. Wiggins preempted 160 acres on December 7, 1858.[9] Both farmers had their largest acreage in 1865 with their greatest value coming in 1870, followed by a drastic decline in value by 1875. In 1865 Farmer owned 323 acres valued at only $400, in 1870 his 240 acres were worth $4,000, and by 1875 his 160 acres were valued at $800. Wiggins had 160 acres in 1865 valued at $1,000, over twice the Farmer holdings. Then in 1870 those same 160 acres were worth $8,240. But 1875 saw a farm reduced to sixty acres valued at $1,200.

Farmer probably arrived somewhat later than Wiggins because he did not list improved acreage or crop production in 1865, whereas she had improved thirty-five acres and harvested fifty bushels of wheat, sixty of corn and 170 of oats. Farmer also had less livestock, owning only three horses and three cows compared to Wiggins' seven horses, four cows, twelve other cattle and two swine.

The three farmers who remained only until 1870 may have gone elsewhere to find success. John Hall had 570 acres in 1865 and 160 in 1870, which suggests that he may have held land for speculative purposes. But he did engage in wheat and corn production as well as in livestock farming in both census years. On the other hand, Buck Henderson listed information only under livestock in 1865 and very little more in 1870. In the former year he had two horses, two cows and two other cattle, and five years later he showed no change in horses but listed four cows, seventeen other cattle and four swine in addition to 250 bushels of oats, his only production. Caleb Dalong engaged in crop production accompanied

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[9]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

by minor livestock activity. His absence from the 1875 census was probably due to his death, as Jemima Dalong, his wife, was listed as a farm operator on that census.

The largest group on the census of 1865 was the twenty-four farmers (75 percent) who were not found in the census of 1870. The largest farm listed by one of these non-repeating farmers was the 340 acres of William Hopkins, which was valued at $1,500. Two other farmers had farms of more than 200 acres. They were Robert Armstrong, 260 acres, and Ruth R. Hopkins, 210 acres. These farmers were engaged in both grain and livestock production in 1865 yet had obviously gone elsewhere seeking success in 1870. William Hopkins harvested wheat, rye, corn and oats in 1865, and Ruth Hopkins had the same crops except rye. Armstrong harvested corn but no other grain crop in 1865. His livestock operations exceeded those of seven of the eight farmers who were listed on the 1870 census. But two other non-repeating farmers had even larger livestock operations. W. P. Clark owned seventy-five head of cattle, seven cows, eight horses and ninety sheep and cultivated only one grain crop, oats. This settler was obviously a stockman and not a farmer, and his absence from the 1870 census suggests that as a stockman he followed the frontier westward. Frederick P. Whicher also fit this pattern. He harvested fifteen bushels of oats and owned three horses and forty-two cattle.

The data indicates that the repeating farmers were fairly well diversified in 1865 and that their operations included both crop production and the raising of livestock. But some of the non-repeating farmers operated in similar fashion. Therefore, the data on farm size, production, diversification and other census criteria of repeating and non-

repeating farmers does not indicate why some operators remained on their farms and others left, or why some succeeded and others failed. The causes of success or failure in 1865 lie elsewhere and are not quantifiable with the evidence available. Only three of the thirty-two farmers were able to remain on the farm over a long period, and only two were able to show economic success in terms of size and value of farm. Several of the farmers who remained only about a decade and some of the nonrepeating farmers had combinations of grain and livestock operations approximately the same as, or better than, Hosley's. Yet Hosley and S. T. West improved their economic situations in Ozark Township and others did not.

By 1870 Ozark Township had grown considerably in population and contained 139 farmers. Only nine had been in previous censuses, leaving 130 farmers who arrived by 1870. These farmers in the township between 1870 and 1875 faced some economic problems caused by the Panic of 1873, and they also suffered from destruction of crops by grasshoppers in 1874. Five farmers, or about 4 percent, remained through the census of 1905. Three more, or about 2 percent, were able to stay twenty-five years, and another seventeen, or 13 percent, remained until 1885. Those who remained through 1875 numbered nine, about 7 percent, with the largest number, ninety-six, or 74 percent, found on their farms only in 1870.

Some of those farmers who held their farms twenty-five years also enjoyed economic success. Alf W. Fox had ninety acres worth $800 in 1870 and 450 acres valued at $5,000 in 1885.[10] The other two farmers

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[10]Fox held 450 acres in 1895 also, but census data were too jumbled to determine the value of his holdings in that year.

who remained to 1895 enjoyed somewhat less economic prosperity. Both James Harvey and Emerson W. Pomeroy showed farms valued at less than half that of Fox. Harvey owned a quarter section worth $1,200 in 1870 but only eighty acres valued at $1,600 in 1895. His 1870 farm represented the largest acreage in his twenty-five years, in contrast to Pomeroy who had eighty acres in 1870 and again in 1895, but owned 240 acres in 1875.

The successful farmers who remained thirty to thirty-five years combined grain and livestock operations; as in 1860 and 1865, comparisons of the three who remained twenty-five years should help establish whether these activities were typical of the successful farmers. Fox produced 200 bushels of corn and 250 bushels of oats in 1870 and owned two horses, six cows, twenty-two other cattle and two swine. In 1875 and 1885 he continued to divide his efforts between grain crops and livestock and in the latter year he cultivated ten acres of wheat, thirty-five of corn and fifteen of oats and was a prospering stock farmer with six horses, twenty cows, forty-eight other cattle and fourteen swine. The other two farmers, Harvey and Pomeroy, listed no crop production and only minor livestock holdings in 1870. Harvey increased his livestock by 1875 and began cultivation of corn. Pomeroy cultivated both corn and oats, but his livestock still consisted of six horses, one cow, and three swine. By 1885, however, Pomeroy did engage in both grain farming and livestock raising. He cultivated thirteen acres of wheat, twenty-eight of corn and twenty-three of oats. Livestock on Pomeroy's farm included six horses, fifteen cows, eighteen other cattle and nine swine. That these two farmers, who did not enjoy the economic success of either Fox or of the

eight farmers who remained more than thirty years suggests that livestock holdings in the early years of settlement were important.

Three of the seventeen farmers who remained only fifteen years might also serve as examples of the importance of combined grain and livestock production. Sam Fullerwander, Hugh Price and George V. West all were last found on the 1885 census. Fullerwander owned 168 acres worth $4,200 in 1870 and 178 acres worth $4,000 in 1885. The other two men had smaller farms, with West farming 160 acres in 1870 and Price thirty-five acres. In 1885 West had only fifty acres and Price had increased his farm to eighty acres. The cash value of their farms also indicated that they had met with little success, as West's farm was valued at $1,200 in 1885 and Price's at $2,000.

Even though Fullerwander's farm had declined slightly in value in the fifteen year period, he could be considered a successful man. He owned five horses, five cows, seven swine and 170 sheep in 1870, establishing him as a leading livestock raiser. In addition, he harvested 260 bushels of wheat, 120 of rye, 800 of corn, and 300 of oats that same year. By 1875 he had added three horses, five cows, eighty-five cattle, fourteen swine and 130 sheep to his livestock operations and continued to plant corn and oats. A decade later he no longer raised sheep but had a herd of 180 cattle and cultivated corn and rye. Certainly this represented success even if his lands had depreciated. Then after ten more years he was no longer on the census. One can only speculate as to his condition after 1885 when he either died or moved to other pursuits. He apparently had the ingredients for success in Ozark Township.

George V. West, on the other hand, increased the value of his farm,

but not significantly. His operations in 1870 included corn and oats production as well as livestock. He owned more livestock in 1870 than in either 1875 or 1885, so he did not find prosperity by increasing his herd. Hugh Price engaged in grain farming in 1870 but owned only three horses and two swine. In the next fifteen years he failed to add measurably to his livestock holdings and his limited success was due primarily to his diversified crop production which in 1885 included wheat, corn and oats.

The nine farmers who remained only to 1875 and the nine-six who were not in the census of 1875 must have lost enthusiasm for farming in Kansas when the grasshoppers arrived in 1874. Unfortunately, the data did not indicate the exact years of departure, and farmers appearing on the 1875 census could have remained almost ten additional years before quitting their farms. But the county had a declining population in 1874 and 1875 when 22 percent of the population left the county, suggesting that many of those farmers listed in 1870 but missing by 1875 or 1885 were probably victims of the grasshoppers. Four of the nine farmers who remained only until 1875 had smaller farms in the latter year, and three farms had decreased in value in the same period. Less than half of these farmers were involved in grain operations and their livestock operations were also small. For example, T. J. Day and Caleb Frazier listed no grain crops and both owned only two horses and one cow. Although both had added to their livestock and had started cultivating some grain crops by 1875, their resources were apparently exhausted, leading to their absence from the census of 1885. Their lack of grain operations gives added weight to the importance of a combination of livestock and

grain for the early farmer, but they also may have arrived later than the twenty-five farmers who outlasted them in the county and not have had time to build up their resources before disaster struck.

Most of the ninety-six non-repeaters on the census of 1870 listed relatively little data on crop production and livestock operations. For example, only thirty-eight, or 40 percent, produced any corn; twenty-four, or 25 percent, oats; and twenty-one, or 22 percent, wheat. Much of the grain produced by the non-repeaters was grown by fifteen farmers who had some production in all three crops listed above. These fifteen farmers also included livestock in their operations, yet were not in the census of 1875. This suggests that their time of arrival in the county was unfortunate and prevented them from remaining long enough to achieve economic success.

By 1875 the frontier was part of Anderson County's history, but new farmers continued to arrive to replace those who had left in the trying times of the pioneering period. Those farmers on the census of 1875 probably included some who weathered the disasters of the early 1870's. The thirty-one new farmers for this census year were taken from Indian Creek Township. Three farmers, discussed earlier, were to remain for the next thirty years, one stayed for twenty years, six for ten years, and twenty-one appeared only on the one census.

C. C. Leech, who farmed a quarter section valued at $2,000 in 1875, fit the pattern of the successful farm operators. By 1885 he had not increased his acreage but his farm was worth $3,500, and in the following decade he increased the size of his farm by eighty acres. In 1875 Leech cultivated twenty acres of corn and three of oats while owning six

horses, sixteen cows and thirty-nine other cattle. A decade later he owned two less horses, half as many cows and seventeen other cattle. Unfortunately, data for 1895 are unavailable, so the trends on Leech's farm cannot be adequately followed. He had farmed in the township for twenty years and had increased his property holdings by cultivating field crops and raising livestock.

Robert Bradley, one of the six farmers who remained only until the census of 1885, rented the 160 acre farm on which he cultivated forty acres of corn in 1875 and kept two horses, four cows, and five other cattle. He increased his corn acreage to forty-five the next decade and owned nine horses, sixteen cows and twenty-two other cattle. His absence from the census in 1895 probably reflects his success rather than the opposite. As a renter he had increased the valuation of the 160 acre farm from $1,200 to $3,000. By 1895 he had probably moved from the township and possibly had even become a farm owner.

How many of the twenty-one farmers who appeared only in the 1875 census were also renters who may have acquired their own farms elsewhere? Indeed, how many of the 145 from all four census years were renters? Unfortunately, the data are not available prior to 1880, when tenancy was about 21 percent for Anderson County.

Actually, little can be known about the reasons for a farmer's leaving the township after appearing on only one census. A search through Tables 37 through 40 shows that most of the farmers, including those who were on two or more census years, listed about the same amount of property, crops and livestock for the year that they first appeared on the census. Patterns emerged for the successful farmers because they could

be followed in several censuses. Why then did some farmers not reappear in later censuses? Some undoubtedly were failures due to their own farm management or lack of resources, others may have experienced misfortune from prairie fires, tornadoes, farm accidents or poor health. Still others may have moved into villages and towns where they may have found success as blacksmiths, carpenters, bakers or proprietors of one of the fifty-two businesses established in Garnett by 1874.[11]

Some historians suggest that the time of arrival was of key importance to the settler. What effect did the year of arrival have on longevity and success in Ozark and Indian Creek Townships? There are two possible means of analyzing the available data to determine the importance of the arrival date. The first method is to determine the percentage of non-repeaters among the newly arrived farmers. In 1860, during the early pioneering period of the county, 40 percent of the farmers listed failed to be included on the 1865 census, but 80 percent were not on the 1870 census. This was the lowest percentage of the four census years studied. The census taken in 1865 included more farmers and saw 75 percent non-repeaters. In 1865 pioneering conditions still existed in the county and the first arrivals in 1860 had probably taken the better lands. Although the number of new farmers had quadrupled five years later, the percentage of non-repeaters remained nearly the same at 74 percent. In 1875 the new arrivals came at a time when grasshoppers had just devastated much of the county, which caused farm land to decline, making land acquisition easier for the farmers who first appeared in that year. The non-repeaters represented 68 percent of the new arrivals. Thus, it would appear that those farmers who arrived twenty years after

the first settlements were able to establish their farms with somewhat greater ease than in either 1865 or 1870. Also, many of the first arrivals in the county probably came as exploiters of the land. They got what they could through land speculation, a few crops and some livestock and then left. Others came in later, bought the land with whatever improvements had been made, and began farming.

However, the above analysis does not provide specific information on time of arrival. For instance, of the farmers who repeated in a given census year, how many came to the county in especially good climatic years as compared with the non-repeaters? A farmer listed on the 1860 census may have been established in the county as much as six years prior to the census, or he may have arrived the week prior to the enumeration. A source of information does exist which, in many instances, gives more accurate dating of arrivals. Some of the farmers in Indian Creek Township acquired their lands directly from the federal government and their names appear in the Kansas tract books of the General Land Offices.

Only twenty-three farmers listed on censuses from 1860 to 1875 were also listed on the Kansas tract books. They had acquired at least part of their land from the General Land Office under the various land laws. The data on one of the twenty-three farmers was illegible and the date he acquired the land could not be read, leaving a total of ten farmers who repeated and twelve who did not. This small number of farmers can be used to illustrate the errors possible in using the manuscript census reports as a guide to time of arrival. For example, Margaret Wiggins preempted land in what became Indian Creek Township in 1858 but was not

on the census of 1860. An even more striking example is Lewis Clucky, who preempted a quarter section in 1860 yet did not appear on the agricultural census until 1875. Obviously, the manuscript census does not always tell how many farmers arrived between two census dates.

TABLE 4

DATE OF ENTRY ON GOVERNMENT LANDS OF FARMERS IN INDIAN CREEK TOWNSHIP (ANDERSON COUNTY), REPEATERS AND NON-REPEATERS[a]

Date of Entry	Repeaters		Non-repeaters	
	Name	Censuses	Name	Census
1858	Margaret Wiggins	1865-1875		
1860	Lewis Clucky	1875-1885	F. Whicher	1865
1864			J. M. Fisk	1870
1867			Amos Hartman	1870
1868	Alf W. Fox	1870-1895	Daniel Hershey	1870
1869	R. B. Howell	1875-1885	W. Swinger	1870
	A. L. Rodgers	1870-1905		
1870			W. Princehouse	1870
1871	George Howard	1870-1875	Milton Boyd	1875
	M. L. Hutchins	1875-1905		
1872	W. H. Whetsel	1875-1905	L. B. Curtis	1875
			G. W. McDaniel	1875
1873			B. Shoup	1875
			W. Shoup	1875
1874	Robert West	1875-1905	J. M. Wandel	1870
1875	E. W. Pomeroy	1870-1895		

[a]Compiled from the Kansas tract books of the General Land Office, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Only farmers who appear in the manuscript agricultural census are included. Repeaters appear in two or more censuses; non-repeaters appear in only one.

The period from 1870 to 1875, with the intervening disastrous years, provides a period in which to compare the importance of the time of arrival. Ten of the twenty-two farmers on the Kansas tract books first appeared on the census of 1870. Joseph Fisk located on his farm in 1864 so was in the county six years before being listed on the census. If Fisk was in the county in 1866, he might have encountered the grasshoppers in that year. Amos Hartman, who came in 1867, may have arrived at a more fortunate time, since conditions were good in that year. Both Fisk and Hartman appeared only on the 1870 census. Both Alf W. Fox and Daniel Hershey arrived in 1868 and settled in the same section. Hershey arrived in February and may have had time to get in some crops, whereas Fox arrived in June, a little late for farming. Yet it was Fox who remained on the farm. In 1870 Fox produced 200 bushels of corn and 250 of oats and Hershey did not list any grain crops.

Since 1869 was apparently a good crop year, Adrian L. Rodgers and Washington Swiger, who arrived in that year, could have commenced farming at a fortunate time. However, neither Rodgers nor Swiger listed crops in 1870. Of the non-repeaters found in the Kansas tract books, William Princehouse, who homesteaded eighty acres in December, 1870, had the most grain production, but he had apparently been in the county prior to filing on a homestead as the census of 1870 shows him with improved acres and fifty-eight bushels of wheat, 350 of corn and 200 of oats.

George Howard and Emerson W. Pomeroy were shown to have filed on their lands in 1871 and 1875, respectively. In other words, the property listed for them in the Kansas tract books was probably not the same

land they held in 1870, and their dates of arrival in the county cannot be determined.

Ten farmers found in the tract books first appeared on the census of 1875. Five repeated to 1885 and five did not. Lewis Clucky acquired 160 acres by preemption in June, 1860, but first appeared on the census fifteen years later. On the other hand, all five of the non-repeaters acquired land between 1871 and 1873, which incidentally were good crop years in Anderson County. Of the repeaters Roswell B. Howell homesteaded in 1869, whereas Mary L. Hutchins, William H. Whetsel and Robert West acquired land in 1871, 1872 and 1874, respectively. Of the ten farmers Robert West homesteaded during the worst year (December, 1874), following the grasshopper invasion. But the West family was well represented in the area and probably was able to help him if he experienced any hard times. Robert West remained on the census lists through 1905. Just as with the farmers from the tract books who first appeared on the 1870 census, there does not seem to be any meaningful correlation between time of arrival of these individuals and longevity on the farm.

Five of the seven Indian Creek farmers who stayed on their farms in the township twenty years or more acquired land from the federal government under the Homestead or Timber Culture Acts. It is probable that this free land aided them in achieving success on the farm.

What effect did the initial size of farm holdings have on success or failure in Ozark and Indian Creek Townships? Of the ten farmers who remained at least thirty years, only A. G. West with 950 acres had a larger than average size farm in his first census year. The two who started with forty or less acres, however, did not achieve economic

success, although they remained on the farm for many years.

Sixteen farmers remained on their Anderson County farms in the same township for at least twenty years and therefore are considered at least moderately successful. Twenty farmers who stayed ten or fifteen years also might be considered successful as they increased the value of their farms, cultivated more acreage and owned more livestock after ten or fifteen years of farming. Therefore, thirty-six, or 18 percent, of the 203 farmers might be considered modestly successful. One farmer, John West, who was on only the censuses of 1875 and 1885, increased his 180 acre farm worth $4,000 to 580 acres worth $10,000 in the ten year period. His farm was larger and worth more in 1885 than any of the farms belonging to the ten individuals who stayed on the farm for over thirty years. He also more than doubled his crop acreage and added considerable numbers of livestock.

The most conspicuous information gained from studying the initial census year of the successful farmers is that they were near average in data reported. Their success was caused in part by good management, which included grain and livestock operations. Many other factors must have also contributed to their success, such as the production of butter and their strong desire to increase the size of their farms and the number of livestock. Also, it may be that they were fortunate in not succombing to severe illness or to any of the numerous calamities that befell prairie farmers.

CHAPTER IV

McPHERSON COUNTY, HEART OF THE KANSAS WHEAT BELT

McPherson County, the second of the three counties in this analysis, occupies a central position in Kansas, about 120 miles west of Anderson County. Positioned between the 97th and 98th meridians, McPherson County has the Sixth Principal Meridian established by the government survey for its eastern border. The county's altitude is 1,480 feet, about 400 feet higher than Anderson County. Geographically, it lies in the McPherson Lowland between the Flint Hills to the east, the Smoky Hills to the northwest and the Great Bend Lowland to the south and southwest.[2]

In area McPherson County is about 900 square miles, or 576,000 acres, more than 200,000 acres larger than Anderson County but over 100,000 acres smaller than Thomas County. This is prairie land, with the original government surveys revealing about 1 percent forest and 99 percent prairie. It can be described as gently rolling.[3] Several

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[1]Schoewe, "The Geography of Kansas: Part II," p. 278.

[2]Schoewe describes the McPherson Lowland as follows: "The lowland is confined primarily to McPherson County extending southward however to Little Arkansas River. . . . It is a flat plain underlain by unconsolidated clays, silts, sand and gravels from 10 to 250 feet thick" (Ibid., pp. 296-97).

[3]Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), X, 355.

streams are found in the county as described in the Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

> The Smoky Hill river enters the county at its northwestern corner, flows southeast for a distance of about ten miles, then turns to the northeast, crossing the northern boundary about its center. Its tributaries from the west and south are: Wolf, Gee, Sharps, Paint, and Kentucky creeks. Gypsum creek has its source in the northwestern portion, and flows north out of the county. The North Fork of the Cottonwood has its source in the east-central portion, and flows northeast over the eastern border. The little Arkansas river, with a southeastern course, crosses the extreme southwestern corner. Blaze Fork, Turkey, Crooked and Emma creeks, in the southern portion, all flow south over the southern line. The first-named stream passes through a series of small lakes in the southwestern portion. Turkey creek is formed by the junction of Dry, Turkey and Running Turkey creeks. Spring Turkey creek flows south into Running Turkey.[4]

Although the climate is variable, the average annual precipitation of 28.54 inches, or some six inches less than in Anderson County, is usually sufficient for agricultural pursuits. The early settlers would not have to make as many changes in their farming methods as would be necessary in Thomas County. The growing season is also congenial to grain crops, since there are 177 frost free days in an average year. The climate is temperate, with the January average temperature at 30 degrees and that of July averaging about 81 degrees.[5] With favorable weather conditions usually assured, the farmer needed only good soil to produce his crops.

The soil of McPherson County is of the Planosols type and more specifically includes the Crete, Hastings and Idana groups.[6] Due to the clay in the subsoil these soils are called claypan soils. The Hastings

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[4]Ibid., pp. 355-56.

[5]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Climate and Man, p. 873.

[6]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Soils and Men, p. 1102.

soils have less clay content than the Crete soils, but both are characterized as having "a dark grayish-brown silt loam or silty clay loam" on the surface.[7] There is lime in the clay subsoil, making it suitable for agriculture. The Idana soils have a somewhat heavier texture and have a calcareous shale underlaying them.[8] These soils do not hold water well in dry weather, and therefore wheat and other small grains which mature earlier do better than corn. Farmers who settled this area, therefore, needed to shift their emphasis from the traditional pioneer crop of corn to wheat if they wished to enjoy the best results.

Since McPherson County was settled twelve years later than Anderson County, land acquisition in the county was available under the Homestead and other public land laws. In Battle Hill Township on the eastern border of the county all the lands except the school lands were taken under the various land acts.[9] But not all the lands in the county were available as part of the public domain. For example, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company received some 103,019 acres of land in the county and the Kansas Pacific Railway Company had a grant of 55,067 acres.[10] In other words, land grant railroad companies held rights to about 27.4 percent of the land in the county. These lands were offered for sale, and by 1880 the Santa Fe had sold 95,942 acres and the Kansas

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See the Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

[10] First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1877-78), VI, 607-608.

Pacific had disposed of 39,736 acres.[11] Among the purchasers of Kansas Pacific lands was a Swedish Colony which purchased 13,000 acres in the northwestern corner of the county in 1868. In the south the Mennonites purchased land from the Santa Fe in 1873.[12]

McPherson County lies in the path of the old Santa Fe Trail which had been established in the early 1820's. Along such trails ranches were often found to accommodate travelers. One such ranch was located in the Turkey Creek area as early as 1855.[13] During the winter of 1859-1860 Isaac Sharp settled on the creek which bears his name, but he did not stay long in the area because of Indian difficulties. Other men came to the area to hunt, trap and trade, with some of them undertaking some cultivation of the soil, but not until 1866 did real settlement begin.[14]

Even the early settlers in the late 1860's faced an occasional Indian visit to add to the problems of pioneering.[15] But the development of the county continued, and in 1870 formal organization took place with Sweddal, a community located near the present town of Lindsborg, as the county seat. In 1873 the county seat was moved to McPherson, near the center of the county, after an election to determine the location.[16]

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[11] Second Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1879-80), VII, 433-34.

[12] Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 811.

[13] Ibid., p. 810.

[14] Ibid., p. 811.

[15] For example, Osage Indians raided near Sharp's Creek in September, 1868. The county settlers organized a military company in 1870 to provide protection against a repetition of such a visit (Ibid.).

[16] Ibid., p. 812.

The 1870 population was only 738, but by 1874 there were 4,837 people in the county.[17] This represented an increase of 2,016 over the 1873 population, which indicates that the Panic of 1873 did not interrupt the settlement of this frontier area. The settlers of McPherson County were probably little affected by the vagaries of the national economy because they were still subsistence farmers rather than commercial operators. Unlike many Kansas counties which lost population after the grasshopper invasion of 1874, McPherson County had an increase of 28 percent. The county experienced consistent growth in population until about 1888 when a peak of 24,103 was reached. The following year the population fell to 21,358 and remained near that figure for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The census of 1875 provides information from which certain assumptions can be made. The census listed a population of 6,205 for the county, with 4,254, or about 69 percent, native-born Americans. The Scandinavian countries accounted for 1,045, or 54 percent of the foreign-born in the county. Only 738 people on the census rolls had been born in Kansas. Illinois contributed 1,385 and Iowa 975 of the native population. Some 3,363 people, or about 62 percent of the population not born in Kansas, originated in the five states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio and Missouri.[18] These states were agrarian regions, and therefore many of those leaving them to go to McPherson County, like those who had previously moved to Anderson County, must have had agricultural pasts.

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[17] See Table 5, p. 78.

[18] Fifth Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1876), V, 181.

TABLE 5

POPULATION FIGURES FOR McPHERSON COUNTY AND BATTLE HILL TOWNSHIP, 1870-1905[a]

Date	McPherson County	Battle Hill Township
1870	738	...
1871	.....	...
1872	.....	...
1873	2,821	...
1874	4,837	...
1875	6,205	...
1876	9,417	...
1877	.....	...
1878	11,291	354
1879	.....	...
1880	17,143	501
1881	16,092	474
1882	15,556	383
1883	16,026	356
1884	18,443	405
1885	20,248	468
1886	21,775	534
1887	23,208	422
1888	24,103	448
1889	21,358	448
1890	21,295	418
1891	21,113	367
1892	21,383	352
1893	21,533	395
1894	21,359	403
1895	20,317	351
1896	20,295	350
1897	20,760	379
1898	20,785	367
1899	21,301	353
1900	21,240	362
1901	21,434	368
1902	21,121	358
1903	20,772	361
1904	20,676	366
1905	21,205	346

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

In other words, it may be presumed that the immigrants who settled this frontier had the necessary skills to engage in farm activity.

Since McPherson County was on the edge of the Great Plains, farmers there faced the various hazards and problems of a plains environment. Trees were scarce and, as Everett Dick noted, the sod house replaced the log cabin on this frontier.

> Three types of sod houses were in vogue in McPherson County, Kansas during the seventies. Some were laid up rough, others plastered, and still others hewed off smooth. These structures were of various sizes but a rather pretentious sod house followed a common building plan of sixteen feet wide and twenty feet long. The sod bricks were made by turning over furrows on about half an acre of ground where the sod was thickest and strongest. Care was taken to make the furrows of even width and depth so that the walls of the cabin would rise with regularity and evenness.[19]

The absence of wood also meant that the farm family found it necessary to improvise new fuels such as "buffalo chips" or twisted straw.

Another problem for McPherson County residents was the extremes in weather. The summers were often very hot while blizzards frequently swept the area in winter. One early pioneer, George Harrouff, recorded in his diary that he stayed inside on several occasions due to severe snowstorms.[20] Windstorms, such as tornadoes, were another weather problem which sometimes exacted a tremendous toll in life and property. But damage from such storms was less in McPherson County than in some other parts of Kansas. Possibly more irritating and costly to agriculturalists were the dust storms which often struck the general area. These dust storms, along with dry weather, combined to damage crops and to reduce

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[19]Dick, Sod-House Frontier, pp. 112-13.

[20]George Harrouff papers, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

the fertility of the soil as the topsoil was blown away.[21] Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts in People of Kansas have suggested that hailstorms were more costly to Kansas farmers than either tornadoes or dust storms.[22] Destruction of crops by hail was common from the beginning of settlement in McPherson County. H. B. Kelly, editor of the McPherson Independent, wrote that on June 16, 1870, "the county is visited by a heavy hailstorm which destroys all the wheat and oats and a portion of the corn."[23]

Droughts also were crippling to early agricultural activities, but when accompanied by grasshoppers the damage was often almost total. George Harrouff made no mention of grasshoppers in his diary for 1874, but he had returned to Decatur, Illinois during that summer so he missed seeing the pests. One still wonders that he did not mention them at a later date because the insect's visitation made a profound impression on most Kansans.

The Edward Swanders family endured the grasshopper invasion of 1874 and left a record of their impressions. They had moved from Decatur, Illinois and had settled near King City south of McPherson City in 1872. The following is an account of the disaster of 1874, probably written by

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[21]James C. Malin discussed these storms in a series of articles: "Dust Storms, Part One, 1850-1860; Part Two, 1861-1880; Part Three, 1881-1900," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XIV (May, August and November, 1945), 129-44; 265-96; 391-413.

[22]Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study (Topeka: Kansas State Planning Board, 1936), p. 12.

[23]H. B. Kelly, "History of McPherson County to 1878," McPherson Independent (McPherson, Kansas), January 24, 1878.

one of the children of the family.

> In August 1874 came the grasshoppers. Ed Swanders had planted quite a large garden. He had prepared the ground carefully by tearing the sod to pieces and mellowing the rich earth to aid the seeds in growth. Potatoes, onions, tomatoes and everything disappeared in a short time. The children were in school when the grasshoppers commenced to fall to earth something like a heavy snow and the ground and everything was soon heavily covered with these terrible pests. The children on their way home thought it was great fun to plow through this living mass with their feet but when they were told by their parents the grasshoppers had eaten everything in their garden and even a large patch of corn that had commenced to mature had disappeared and what it meant for them for the coming winter season--the young folks soon understood the serious situation.[24]

The official report in the Kansas State Board of Agriculture Report gives additional data on the severity of the invasion.

> Grasshoppers.--Appeared from the middle to the last of July. Nearly a total destruction of corn and vegetables. Fruit and forest trees and hedges badly damaged. No eggs deposited.
>
> Chinch Bugs.--Wheat and oats damaged; corn slightly.
>
> Condition of Crops, etc.--Very little feed for hogs. Hay crop light but enough. Pasturage short, but improving. Probably one-half of the farmers unable to procure wheat for seed. But for the dry weather, the usual breadth would have been sown. Doubtless late rains have improved the prospect.
>
> Destitution.--No definite estimate. The northern half of the county said to have enough and to spare; southern half nearly all destitute.[25]

The grasshoppers had caused great hardship for many settlers. In November, 1874, the county reported that "from 400 to 600 persons are reported that will require assistance more or less" but the proposition to issue the authorized $5,000 in bonds for that purpose was defeated by

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[24]"The Edward Swanders Family," unpublished manuscript, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

[25]Third Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1874), III, 26.

the county voters.[26] Nevertheless, the agricultural potential of the area continued to attract farmers.

Despite the natural hazards of prairie farming and life on the plains, the county became an excellent farming area. As early as 1870, the year that the county was organized, there were 239 farms averaging 199 acres each.[27] When this first census was taken, McPherson County lay in the path of the Texas cattle trails. Indeed, the manuscript census lists numerous "herders" or cowboys on the schedule of agriculture.[28] The large size of the average farm clearly reflected the ranching interests as well as the traditional quarter section farms. This was new country and land could be obtained with relative ease, yet in Gypsum Creek Township only one of the twenty-six farms listed on the manuscript census reports was over 160 acres is size, and it was 166 acres. The larger land holdings were located elsewhere in the county.

By 1880, as the area settled into a fixed agricultural pattern, the 2,949 farms in the county averaged 162 acres in size. This was the peak year for the number of farms in the county, for the following decade saw the number reduced to 2,849. The average holdings of each farmer was up to 179 acres, or 17 acres larger than in the preceding decade. By the turn of the century there were 2,820 farms in the county, with an average of 214 acres. The pioneering stage was past, and the established farmers who engaged in commercial operations moved to enlarging their holdings.

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[26] Ibid., p. 43.

[27] See Table 6, p. 83.

[28] Manuscript census of agriculture, McPherson County, Kansas, 1870, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF FARMS, AVERAGE SIZE, IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED ACREAGE, VALUE OF FARM AND FARM IMPLEMENTS IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1870-1900[a]

Date	No. Farms	Av. Size Farms[b]	Improved Acreage	Unimproved Acreage	Value Farms	Av. Value Farms	Value Implements	Av. Value Implements
1870	329	192	3,608	42,294	$ 270,770	$1,133	$ 12,121	$ 51
1880	2,949	162	287,703	188,913	5,325,550	1,806	407,720	138
1890	2,849	179	454,818	55,022	10,787,280	3,786	386,940	136
1900	2,820	214	506,148	96,472	12,146,500	4,307	650,320	231

[a]Compiled from the Ninth through the Twelfth Censuses of Agriculture of the United States, 1870-1900.

[b]Total acreage, improved and unimproved, divided by the number of farms.

But the averages give an incomplete picture of farm size because of the considerable variations; therefore, a further analysis of census information on sizes of farms is useful. The 1880 census substantiates the generalization that the quarter section farm was the most common farm unit in the county. Some 2,220 farms, or 75 percent, fell into the 100 to 500 acre category, with only 28 farms larger and 701 smaller.[29] While the published census did not state that the farms between 100 and 500 acres had 160 acres, we know from the manuscript census that most of them did. In the selected township in 1875 the quarter section farm represented 79 percent of the 119 farms, but in 1885 the 160 acre farm was only 51 percent of the total.[30] In 1900 there were only 577 farms in the total of 2,820 that were less than 100 acres in size. The vast majority of the farms were in excess of 100 acres, and 617 were over 260 acres.[31] Most of the McPherson County farms in this study had 160 acres or more during this period.

The cash value of farm holdings gives another indication of a farmer's economic position. The value of the average farm in McPherson County in 1870 was $1,133. By 1880 this figure had increased to $1,806 even though the acreage of the average farm was less than in 1870. The greatest increase in the cash value of the farms came in the decade from 1880 to 1890. In 1890 the value stood at $3,786, with the average acreage still below the 1870 figure. Unlike Anderson County farms, the farms

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[29]Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

[30]See Tables 42-43, pp. 259-86.

[31]Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

of McPherson County continued to increase in value in the last decade of the century. By 1900 in both Anderson and McPherson Counties the average size of the farms had increased, but in McPherson the average cash value was up to $4,307, almost $1000 more than in Anderson County. Part of the reason was that McPherson County farms were larger in size, but that was not the only reason. In 1890 the average Anderson County farm of 160 acres was worth about $21.50 per acre compared to McPherson farms worth $21.00 per acre. The next decade farms in both counties declined in price per acre, but Anderson County farms declined by $2, while those in McPherson declined by $1 per acre. The value of farm property meant the most when the farm was sold or when it was assessed for taxes and therefore may not be an accurate reflection of prosperity since to enjoy the profits of increased valuation the farmer would have to sell some of the land.

The cash value of farm machinery can be used as a gauge of farm capitalization. In McPherson County the pioneers of 1870 held equipment valued at only $51 on the average. By 1880 the more established farmers had more than doubled this figure to $138. The average cash value of machinery per farm remained relatively stable until 1900 when it rose to $231. More and more labor saving machinery was being used on the commercial farms of McPherson County. However, this equipment was probably owned by the more recent arrivals in the county if Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Townships are representative. In these two townships twenty-one repeating farmers from the censuses of 1870, 1875 and 1885 were listed on the 1905 census. Eighteen had $150 or less in value of farm implements, two had $200 and one had $250 in 1905.

As might be expected of an area first settled after the Civil War, tenancy in McPherson County was not so pronounced as in Anderson County in 1880. Only twenty-one of the 2,949 farms in the county were rented for a fixed monetary figure and an additional 296 were rented for a share of the crop.[32] Total tenancy in the county was less than 11 percent, compared to the 21 percent in Anderson County. By 1890, however, McPherson County was well past the frontier stage and tenancy had increased. Seventy-two farmers rented for cash and 786 rented on shares.[33] The percentage of tenancy had increased drastically over that of 1880 as it was now slightly above 30 percent, or almost identical to the tenancy rate in Anderson County in 1890. Following the depression years of the next decade, the rate of tenancy in McPherson County was up to 34 percent.[34]

Described by A. T. Andreas as "the banner wheat and broom corn county of the State of Kansas,"[35] McPherson led the state in value of agricultural products in 1877,[36] about a decade after settlement. As mentioned earlier, the Texas cattle had been driven through the county

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[32]Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

[33]Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Agriculture, III, 142-45.

[34]Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

[35]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 812.

[36]Frank W. Blackmar (ed.), Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), II, 208. The total value of field crops produced in McPherson County was higher than that of any of the ten counties with the highest acreage of winter wheat and of any of the ten counties with the highest acreage of corn in 1877. For a list of the counties with high wheat acreage, see First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1877-78), VI, 490. For counties with high corn acreage, see Ibid., p. 498. For total value of field crops, see Ibid., pp. 118-432.

as late as 1871 on their way to the railroad at Abilene. Since many of the cattle were rather gaunt after the long trek, they were permitted to graze in Kansas prior to shipment to market. McPherson was one of the counties in which these cattle pastured. But by 1872, the date that annual crop and livestock data first became available, the cattle drives had moved further west and the county was developing into a general farming area. Total livestock in the county was only 3,498 in 1872, well below the peak figures of 103,486 head in 1898. By 1900 the farmers of McPherson County were slaughtering or selling for slaughter animals valued at $789,316, but this was less than one-third the amount obtained from their field crops.[37] The figure for slaughter of livestock, however, was a quarter of a million dollars more than the corresponding figure for Anderson County, while the value of field crops was almost one and a half million dollars more. Even though Anderson County is about two-thirds the size of McPherson, these figures demonstrate the superiority of the latter as a producer of agricultural wealth.

Although it is as a winter wheat and grain producing area that McPherson County excels, the first settlers planted the traditional pioneer crop--corn. Some 14,022 acres of field crops were cultivated in 1872, with wheat acreage of 1,025 well below the corn acreage of 2,953.[38] This was also the case in 1873 when corn acreage was 25 percent of the total acreage planted in the county, but spring and winter wheat combined were planted on 3,524 acres, or 19 percent of the total. The corn crop of 1874 failed due to the grasshoppers whereas the 9,566 acres of wheat

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[37]See Table 28, p. 211.

[38]See Table 7, p. 88 and Tables 15-17, pp. 198-200.

TABLE 7

TOTAL FIELD CROPS IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Value Product
1872	14,022	$.....
1873	18,370	133,776.00
1874	32,285	186,037.00
1875	75,420	785,201.54
1876	80,885	829,158.15
1877	124,106	1,631,840.89
1878	170,680	1,970,528.61
1879	199,038	1,796,786.27
1880	220,803	1,901,643.75
1881	275,516	2,924,529.80
1882	303,722	3,454,070.81
1883	277,298	3,623,609.06
1884	320,271	2,425,117.25
1885	279,062	1,884,041.10
1886	277,695	1,876,080.75
1887	244,252	1,616,334.15
1888	257,711	1,411,751.49
1889	378,365	2,547,888.81
1890	268,858	1,989,572.00
1891	375,146	2,742,346.99
1892	363,801	2,923,045.95
1893	388,716	1,489,231.64
1894	384,531	1,049,541.16
1895	409,256	1,268,836.29
1896	400,504	1,651,144.50
1897	425,029	2,616,126.48
1898	423,182	2,264,409.85
1899	436,837	2,165,030.08
1900	409,313	2,525,198.96
1901	416,256	2,890,034.33
1902	441,235	2,334,646.93
1903	432,177	2,192,213.80
1904	434,459	2,534,249.30
1905	471,619	3,219,772.09

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

yielded 109,798 bushels valued at $76,851, or 41 percent of the total value of field crops in that disastrous year. The following year, 1875, McPherson County farmers planted 18,658 acres of wheat, primarily winter wheat, and 17,738 acres of corn. The county was on its way to becoming a commercial wheat farming center.

McPherson County emerged as a leader in field crops in 1877. With 80,885 acres sown in 1876, the farmers of the county produced a yield valued at $829,158. Winter wheat acreage of 36,902, or 46 percent of the total, yielded $442,824 in that year. The following year an additional 23,000 acres were brought under the plow, with most of it in winter wheat, which increased the amount to 58,844 acres. The result was a harvest valued at double the 1876 figure.

James C. Malin suggested some of the reasons for the success of agriculture in the central portion of Kansas in which McPherson County is located.

> In the advance of the frontier westward from the seaboard to the Missouri river, corn had been the first food crop, but in combination with livestock and some small grains--wheat, buckwheat, oats, rye and barley. The settler on the Kansas frontier had come primarily from the corn regions of the middle East, and tended to follow the natural course--that of planting the accustomed staples until local conditions of climate, soil and marketing directed otherwise. In the northernmost parts of the United States, when wheat was planted the varieties were of the soft spring types until the eighteen sixties and seventies, when hard spring varieties slowly took the lead in Minnesota and the Dakotas. In the more temperate middle region, both the soft spring and soft winter wheats were sown, and if winter wheat did not survive, spring wheat or some other spring crop might take its place, with the obvious advantage of two rather than only one trial for a crop on the same land.[39]

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[39]James C. Malin, "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys: A Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment," Kansas Historical Quarterly, X (August, 1941), 229-30.

Although 1874 marked a beginning of a period of expansion of wheat acreage, corn production in the county remained important and on occasion led wheat in acreage and value product. From 1885 to 1887 corn led in value of product and acreage, and in 1895 and 1902 it led in value of product. Perhaps some explanation can be given to account for these five years in which corn predominated in this wheat growing county.

As Malin suggested, the wheat crop might be winter-killed, which would cause the farmers to plant different crops on the same land in the spring. In 1884 the farmers of the county planted 128,825 acres of winter wheat, yet only 63,009 acres were actually harvested the following summer.[40] The winter of 1884-85 may have been severe enough to kill the wheat crop. Statistics on temperatures are not available for McPherson County prior to 1891, but neighboring Saline County had average temperatures of 23.2, 20.7 and 26.2 degrees for December through February of that year.[41] The entire state of Kansas harvested considerably less wheat in 1885 than in 1884, with the yield per acre in the entire state being only 10.5 bushels.[42] Corn acreage in 1885 (93,671) was only twenty-three thousand acres above the 1884 figure, and from the decline of about forty thousand acres in total field crop acreage in 1885, it would appear that the county's farmers did not attempt to offset the poor winter by planting spring crops.

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[40]Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), X, Part II, 8.

[41]S. D. Flora, "Climate of Kansas," Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, LXVII, No. 285 (Topeka: 1948), 209.

[42]Kansas Agriculture: Forty-ninth Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka: 1966), p. 155.

In 1886 the harvest came from less than half of the 94,302 acres sown the preceding fall.[43] The average yield per acre for Kansas wheat growers was 11.5 bushels.[44] Apparently the winter accounted for the low yield, as January temperatures averaged 20.9 degrees.[45] George Harrouff wrote in his diary for January 6, 1886: "Stayed in the house and kept up fires during the big blizzard and snow storm."[46] The harvest of 1887 following the severe cold of the blizzard that affected so much of the West came from 27,897 acres although 69,744 had been planted in the fall of 1886.[47] Thus wheat had enjoyed expanded acreage from 1874 to 1884 before climatic conditions proved so unfavorable that corn acreage and production exceeded that of wheat so far as value of product was concerned.

Some farmers left the county during the depression of the mid-eighties as wheat prices were also declining during this period. Beginning in 1889 wheat production in the county began another period of expansion followed by low yields due to drought from 1893 to 1895. To compound the wheat farmer's woes, from 1890 to 1894 the world price of wheat was very low. Starting in 1896, the fortunes of McPherson wheat producers began to improve, and unlike the residents of Anderson County,

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[43] Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), X, Part II, 10.

[44] Kansas Agriculture: Forty-ninth Report, p. 155.

[45] Flora, "Climate of Kansas," p. 209.

[46] George Harrouff papers.

[47] Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1887-88), XI, Part II, 8.

who did not have much wheat to sell, they shared in the improved conditions of American agriculture.

McPherson County farmers were the beneficiaries of the introduction of winter wheat in an area where soil conditions were favorable for the production of small grains. The shift in emphasis to wheat from corn made McPherson County a predominantly cash grain farming area. Although grain production was supplemented with livestock raising, the preponderance of grain operations can be seen in the employment of 30 percent of the total land in the county for wheat production in 1905. Capital requirements were growing with the increasing size of farms. The farmers soon found that the best use for the land required only minor adjustments in the methods of farming which they had known farther east.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN BATTLE HILL TOWNSHIP McPHERSON COUNTY

McPherson County has been described as "one of the best wheat producing counties of the state."[1] Since wheat is the Midwest's cash crop, economic mobility should have been possible, with production of wheat linked to success. However, the statistics dealt with here may be misleading because two of the five census years happened to be extremely poor years for wheat.[2] The 1885 wheat crop had been winter-killed, causing wheat acreage to be low. When wheat was winter-killed, the farmers could plant other crops such as corn on the acreage in the spring, and corn acreage was up in 1885. The 1895 crop was also poor. Although 148,432 acres were sown in the county, the product was 445,296 bushels, about three bushels per acre. Yet most years the county farmers enjoyed success with winter wheat. Because the two census years had poor wheat yields, when the farmers' production during those years is studied wheat will undoubtedly appear less significant in the township than it actually was. At the same time, the fact that wheat sometimes did fail made corn and livestock operations important to farmers seeking economic success.

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[1]Blackmar, Kansas, A Cyclopedia, II, p. 206.

[2]See Table 22, p. 205.

For detailed analysis of economic mobility in McPherson County, it was necessary to limit the number of farmers by choosing one township--Battle Hill--just as was done in Anderson County. Battle Hill Township was created in 1874 when Gypsum Creek Township was divided into six smaller townships.[3] Therefore, Gypsum Creek Township was used in 1870 and 1875 because the census did not yet reflect the change in township boundaries. For the 1885 census Battle Hill was selected because it was on the eastern border of the county and because it contained no significant towns.

Data were compiled on 208 individual farmers, of whom five remained thirty-five years, twelve remained thirty years, four stayed twenty-five years, twenty-five stayed twenty years, two lasted fifteen years, thirty-five remained ten years, eleven remained only five years, and 114, or 55 percent, were found in only one census, or were the non-repeaters.[4]

Before examining each census year separately, we can compare the seventeen who stayed thirty or thirty-five years to establish whether success was possible in the county and to find any common characteristics that brought success. Five farmers who were first found in Gypsum Creek in the 1870 census, taken four years after the first settlement in the county, were included in the Gypsum Creek or Bonaville Township censuses of 1905. Two were not on the agricultural census in the latter year although listed on the population schedule as farmers. These men were wheat farmers who also grew other grains and maintained livestock.

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[3]Battle Hill, Bonaville, Canton, Delmore, Empire, and Gypsum Creek.

[4]See Tables 41-43, pp. 253-86 for data on McPherson County farmers.

John P. Hoadstrum enjoyed the most success in terms of acreage and farm value in 1905. In 1870 he owned 160 acres valued at $600. He did not increase his acreage until 1895, when he had 320 acres worth $5,000. The following census year his 440 acres were worth $8,000. In 1870 he listed ten improved acres but did not have any fenced land until 1885, when he had 120 acres fenced. The next two censuses found all his property fenced. Although he was later a producer of grain crops, in 1870 Hoadstrum did not produce any, and his only entry beyond the value of farm implements was $225 for the sale or slaughter of livestock. Five years later he had a twenty-five acre wheat field and cultivated nine acres of corn and two each of barley and oats. His livestock in 1875 consisted of one cow, two other cattle and two swine, and he had slaughtered only $10 worth of animals. The next census year, 1885, in which corn led wheat in acreage within McPherson County, found Hoadstrum with thirteen acres of wheat, forty-four of corn and five of oats. In 1895 he did not plant wheat and had reduced his corn acreage to thirty acres while also planting four of oats. Then in 1905 he had fifteen acres of wheat and eighty of corn. In both 1885 and 1895 Hoadstrum had considerable numbers of livestock. He had four horses the first year and six in 1895. He also increased his herd from three cows to eight and from fourteen to fifty other cattle. He owned eighty-five swine in 1885 and fifty in 1895. By 1905 his only livestock entry was $300 for animals sold or slaughtered.

Unlike many early settlers, Hoadstrum ignored butter production until 1885, when he produced 300 pounds. In 1895 he listed 100 pounds and in 1905 only seventy-five pounds. In both 1895 and 1905 he sold

poultry products, which also increased the amount of cash available to his family.

The cash value of Hoadstrum's farm machinery falls into a pattern showing the development of his farm. In 1870 when he did not produce grain crops, he had $30 in implements. Five years later he depreciated these implements to $26, although he had begun wheat production. By 1885 grain farming was important to Hoadstrum, so he increased his machinery and listed its value at $200. In the next ten years the implements depreciated to $150 before falling to $55 in 1905. After thirty-five years on the farm Hoadstrum was no longer adding to his farm machinery. He was a successful farmer who owed his increased acreage to the production of a cash crop, wheat, but also to his important corn and livestock operations.

The farmer who was almost as successful as Hoadstrum was Solomon E. Miller. Miller was last listed on the agricultural schedule in 1895 but was still in Gypsum Creek Township in 1905 when he was listed as a sixty-six year old farmer. He started with 154 acres worth $400 in 1870. By 1895 he had increased his acreage to 320 worth $5,500. He did not list improved or fenced land until 1885, when his entire 160 acres were fenced.

However, he was engaged in farming. In 1870 he, like Hoadstrum, did not have any crop production, owned one horse and sold or slaughtered $130 worth of livestock. In 1875 he planted ten acres of wheat, twenty of corn, four of barley and five of oats. The next census he cultivated fifteen acres of wheat and eighty of corn, and in 1895 his only grain crop was sixteen acres of wheat. Although he had incomes of $280, $325 and $250 from 1885 to 1905 from the sale or slaughter of livestock, his

holdings in this area surpassed Hoadstrum's only in 1875. Miller owned four horses, two cows, thirty-five other cattle and eight swine in that census year. In 1885 he had fewer cattle than in 1875 but owned a flock of sheep numbering 375. By 1875 when he owned two cows, Miller started producing butter and continued to do so until his retirement. Unlike Hoadstrum, Miller did not list any farm implements in 1870. He had $25 worth in 1875 and 1885 and $100 worth in 1895. He met with success in his farming in Gypsum Creek Township due to wheat, corn and livestock.

There is more background information on Thomas J. Nichols, who by 1893 had been successful enough economically and socially to be included in a collective biography of prominent citizens.[5] Nichols was born in Kentucky in 1844 and had been reared on a farm. He remained in Kentucky until about 1870 when he went to McPherson County. There he acquired a quarter section farm under the provisions of the Homestead Act and engaged in farming. He married a Kentuckian, Lucinda J. Tolle, whose family had also moved to McPherson County.

Nichols was able to remain on the farm for thirty-five years, but the cash value of his farm was below the average for McPherson County at the turn of the century. He started with 150 acres worth $650 in 1870, but unlike Hoadstrum and Miller did not increase his acreage by 1905. He did enjoy an increased value of his farm after 1875 when it was $480. It was worth $4,000 in the next three census years. He had seven improved acres in 1870, eighty fenced acres in 1885 and his entire farm was fenced by 1895. Nichols was one of few Gypsum Creek farmers who

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Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas (Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1893), p. 391.

produced wheat in 1870 and indeed none of the other four farmers who remained thirty-five years produced any major crops that year. He produced seventy-five bushels of wheat, 250 of corn and 240 of oats. He continued as a wheat farmer with twenty acres in 1875, thirty-two in 1885, an impressive seventy in 1895 and twenty in 1905. He also increased his corn and oats acreage. In 1875 he planted fifteen acres of corn, tripled his acreage by 1885, added another five acres in 1895 and by 1905 was cultivating eighty acres of corn. He had ten, twelve and twenty-five acres of oats in 1875, 1885 and 1895, respectively, with no acreage listed for 1905.

Nichols did not achieve the same amount of success as Hoadstrum and Miller probably because his livestock operations were more limited. His best year was 1895 when he owned fourteen horses, two cows, twenty-seven other cattle and eleven swine. Because he lacked capital or was not as interested in livestock, Nichols usually passed up the opportunity to graze numerous cattle on his winter wheat. He did produce butter--200 pounds in 1875, 1895 and 1905 and 500 pounds in 1885. Also, Nichols was able to increase his available cash by selling poultry products from 1875 through 1905.

John Mammel, like Miller, was in the county in 1905 but was not on the agricultural schedule. In that year he was sixty-seven years of age. He could not be found on either the population or agricultural census of 1895. But success had come to Mammel by 1885 when his 160 acre farm was worth $4,000. He had started with a quarter section in 1870 worth $425, on which he had improved ten acres. By 1875 his farm had increased in value to $480. He did not list any field crop production in 1870 and

his livestock holdings, one horse and one cow, were also limited. In 1875 he cultivated nineteen acres of wheat, three of rye, eighteen of corn and nine of oats. At the same time he had increased his livestock to two each of horses, cows and swine and to six other cattle. In 1885 he enjoyed his best census year, with seventy-five acres of wheat, seven of rye and twenty-five of corn. He also owned seven horses, six cows, twenty-one other cattle and twenty-five swine. He produced butter in 1875 and 1885, with 800 pounds in the latter year. He also had attained success with wheat production combined with corn and livestock operations.

Mark M. Collier was on the agricultural census continuously from 1870 through 1905. He had started farming with a quarter section worth $450 and one cow, and by 1905 his farm was worth $3,500. In 1875 he owned 520 acres worth $1,000, but by 1885 had only the quarter section worth $3,000. In 1895 he suffered a decline in farm value that undoubtedly reflected the depression of the period. He had improvements on twenty-five acres in 1870 and had the entire 160 acres fenced in 1885 and 1895. In 1905, however, he listed only ninety acres fenced.

Like most of the other farmers who stayed thirty-five years, Collier did not list any field crops in 1870. Five years later he planted forty acres of wheat, twenty of corn and four of oats. But his grain operations were inconsistent, for in 1885 he cultivated only seven acres of rye and twelve of oats. Then in 1895 his thirty acres of wheat and sixteen acres of oats represented the last field crops he listed on the census.

Collier's livestock operations also fluctuated widely during his

thirty-five years on the farm. In 1875 he owned two horses, four cows and four other cattle. A decade later he owned two horses, four cows, twenty-five other cattle and nineteen swine. His livestock holdings declined slightly the next decade as he had four horses, one cow, twenty-six other cattle and fourteen swine. Then in 1905 he owned only two head of livestock.

All five farmers started farming with approximately one quarter section, as Nichols' 150 acre farm was the smallest. Two men, Hoadstrum and Miller, had added to their acreage by 1905 and one, Collier, had owned 520 acres in 1875 but held only a quarter section in 1905. Starting with about the same size farms, these men achieved differing degrees of success in Gypsum Creek Township.

So far as fenced acreage is concerned, none of the five men constructed fences immediately after settlement. In fact, they did not show any fencing until 1885. A correlation between success and fencing of land cannot be established from the available data.

Although farm machinery listed probably was undervalued, the data can be used to determine trends in acquisition of equipment. Only two of the farmers listed any implements in 1870, and one of these did not list any data in this category in 1875 when four farmers had some equipment. In the three instances where value of implements was shown in 1905, the figure was lower than on earlier dates. Again, as with fenced acreage, no significant correlation between success and the listed cash value of farm machinery existed.

Winter wheat was the most important cash crop in McPherson County, and therefore its cultivation must have had some relationship to success.

All five of the farmers grew wheat in at least two census years, but the farmers who were the most successful in terms of value of farm had the least acreage. One must conclude that wheat alone would not bring success, but grown in combination with feed crops and livestock it was an important part of the general farm operation. Corn was grown by all the successful farmers and in almost all the census years. Farmers often planted more corn than wheat, but its main use was as a feed crop. It is significant that all five farmers listed animals sold or slaughtered on every agricultural census.

Another livestock product that figured prominantly in t' ? farm operations of these farmers was butter. Collier, who failed to list any butter production until 1905, was also the farmer with the lowest value farm in that year. He did have an income from poultry products for four of the five census years, however.

Of the twelve farmers who first appeared in 1875 and stayed on their farms for thirty years, two will be considered separately as the best examples of success. One of the men, Siver Johnson, appeared on more censuses than any other Battle Hill Township farmer. He was born May 8, 1846, at Trondhjen, Norway, and was reared on a farm. He came to America in 1866 and settled in Wisconsin near some of his countrymen. In Wisconsin he worked as a farm laborer for four years, gaining experience that would prove useful later.[6] Then he moved west to McPherson County, Kansas, where he homesteaded one of the first tracts in Battle Hill Township. He filed on the 160 acres on May 8, 1871, receiving his final certificate

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[6]Portrait and Biographical Record, p. 368.

on April 30, 1878.[7]

In 1875 Johnson had a 160 acre farm worth $400. In ten years he increased his farm to 200 acres worth $5,000, or more than ten times the value listed in 1875. But the next ten years were not so kind, for they included the depression period of the early nineties. Johnson's farm of 200 acres was worth $3,000 in 1895. But Siver Johnson was an established farmer who could keep his farm intact during two major depressions. In fact, by 1905 Johnson was enjoying the rising land values that had made his 240 acre farm worth $6,500. Fencing was not an early concern for Johnson, who had only fifty acres fenced in 1885 and 160 in 1895.

In 1875 Johnson was engaged in general farming, with fifteen acres of wheat, four of rye, seventeen of corn and four of oats. Wheat continued to be one of Johnson's primary crops as he planted sixty acres in 1885, forty in both 1895 and 1905. He also continued to grow corn and oats in each census year. In 1885 he cultivated twenty acres of corn and tripled his acreage by 1895. In 1905 he had again increased corn acreage to eighty acres. His livestock in 1885 numbered five horses, five cows, nine other cattle and eighteen swine, and he sold or slaughtered $165 worth of animals. He increased his livestock operations over the next score of years with sale or slaughter of animals bringing $450 in both 1895 and 1905. In the latter year he owned five horses, eight cows, thirty-eight other cattle and twenty-four swine. He also engaged in butter production in each census year, with 200 pounds in 1875, three times as much in 1885 and 300 pounds in both 1895 and 1905.

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[7]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

Johnson valued his farm machinery at only $15 in 1875, but by 1885 he had increased his equipment to $200, reflecting the mechanization necessary to operate a farm with sixty acres of wheat. The depression in the 1890's must have prevented him from properly maintaining his equipment, as the cash value was $79 in 1895. Then in 1905 he was able to place a $200 valuation on farm machinery.

There is every indication that Johnson had a fairly comfortable living by the standards of the time. As a Republican in politics, he had held minor offices in the township for almost a decade. "Mr. Johnson began life in Kansas with scarcely any means," wrote his biographer. "He has now [1893] a good home, fine implements and a thoroughly valuable farm. He is a public spirited, intelligent citizen of whom his townsmen may well be proud."[8] Johnson's success was due to the combination of general crop farming and stock raising. In 1905 he could enjoy a cash income from wheat, livestock, butter and the sale of poultry products.

One farmer was able to double the size of his 160 acre farm in the thirty year period while increasing the cash value from $300 to $8,000. August Bartz was the most successful in terms of farm value of the twelve farmers who remained thirty years. He had doubled his acreage by 1885 when he had a 320 acre farm. He had fenced only twenty-five acres in 1885 but had his entire half section fenced by the next census year.

Bartz was a wheat farmer. In 1875 he planted twenty-three acres of winter wheat. A decade later his wheat acreage was 120; after a decline of twenty acres in 1895, he again cultivated 120 acres of winter wheat

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[8]Portrait and Biographical Record, p. 369.

in 1905. Bartz stressed wheat production, but he did not ignore the other grain crops. In 1875 he grew ten acres of corn and eleven of oats. He continued planting these two crops during the next thirty years, with corn acreage at forty in 1885, eighty in 1895 and forty in 1905. Oats acreage remained at twenty acres from 1885 through 1905. Livestock production was important to Bartz's success although he had only four horses and one cow in 1875. By 1885 he had started a herd of cattle, although it numbered only eight head. He had sold $300 worth of livestock. Bartz's best year as a stock raiser was 1895 when he owned sixteen horses, twelve cows, thirty-two other cattle and twenty swine. He also slaughtered or sold $700 worth of animals that year. The Bartz family also received income from butter production in each of the four census years.

From 1875 through 1895 the cash value of farm machinery owned by Bartz increased by $100 each census. He began farming with farm implements listed at $100, and by 1895 had $300 worth of implements. By 1905 his farm equipment was once again valued at $100.

Winter wheat was Bartz's favorite crop, but he did not neglect the other grains or livestock in his farm operation. With this combination of cash and feed crops, accompanied by livestock raising, Bartz was able to increase his total acreage and the value of his farm significantly in the thirty year period.

These two farmers, Johnson and Bartz, illustrate the importance of wheat, a cash crop, and corn, a feed crop, to the central Kansas farmer. Both men had significant livestock operations that were of major importance to their success on the farm.

The twelve farmers who remained on their farms for thirty years had

more variance in the initial size of farm than the five who stayed thirty-five years. Two had 320 acres, one had 240 acres and one had eighty acres, with the rest having 160 acres. But 160 acres was an adequate start if the farmer could add acreage. Four of the eight farmers who started with 160 acres were able to increase their acreage, although one, W. H. Chastain, had much more acreage in 1885 than he did in 1905. On the other hand, both farmers who started with half sections had less acreage in 1905 than in 1875. Elisha Banks probably transferred a quarter section to his son, Benson L. Banks, by 1885 as the latter showed 160 acres in that census, and it is entirely possible that George S. Bishop transferred land to his two sons by 1895 and 1905 when his acreage decreased. In other words, the loss of acreage by Bishop, who was sixty-four years old in 1905, does not imply that he was a failure. An eighty acre farm, which was a sufficient beginning in eastern Kansas, was not large enough in McPherson County. John Moody was able to increase his farm to a quarter section by 1895, but its value was only $1,500. Only one other farmer in Gypsum Creek Township had an eighty acre farm in 1875. Rebecca Hall, widow of Jefferson Hall who appeared on the 1870 census, still had eighty acres. But she was not found on the census of 1885.

None of the twelve farmers had fences in 1875, but all except John Moody had fencing in 1885 and three had their entire holdings fenced. August Bartz, whose farm was worth $8,000 in 1905, had only twenty-five of his 320 acres fenced in 1885. Only half of the farmers had their entire farm fenced by 1895. Fencing was apparently no more important to the twelve farmers who remained thirty years than to the five who stayed

thirty-five years. The importance of fencing discussed by historians Walter P. Webb[9] and Ray Allen Billington[10] does not hold up in Gypsum Creek Township of McPherson County, Kansas.

What farm implements did central Kansas farmers employ? How important to success was mechanization? The first question cannot be answered from the manuscript censuses for Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Townships. Five of the twelve farmers did not list any value of implements in 1875. The highest value was $100, listed by three farmers. The two farmers who failed to list value of implements in both 1875 and 1895 were Moody and J. M. Marston. Both men found only limited economic improvement in the county, with Moody farming a 160 acre farm worth $1,500 in 1895 and Marston a 160 acre farm worth $3,500 in 1905. The more successful farmers apparently owned more equipment than Moody and Marston. However, the amount of equipment held when starting the farm may not have been important. Some of the farmers, like Jacob Chisholm, started with no entry under value of implements in 1875 but had added considerable equipment by 1885.

In 1875 all twelve farmers cultivated winter wheat. Nine of the twelve planted wheat in every census year, including 1885 and 1895 when the wheat production in the county was poor. In 1885 J. P. Holm was not engaged in wheat production; however, in 1895 he planted forty-five acres and in 1905 forty acres. Holm was emphasizing corn, with seventy-five acres, and livestock in 1885. He owned four horses, seven cows, fifteen

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[9] Webb, The Great Plains, p. 318.

[10] Billington, Westward Expansion, pp. 691-92.

other cattle and twenty-eight swine. In the subsequent census years his wheat operations were of more importance than corn and livestock. Marston and Moody did not plant wheat in 1895. Wheat did not do well in McPherson County in 1895, and those farmers who planted other crops in that year were fortunate. But Marston, whose crop acreage was down 79 percent from 1885 apparently had restricted his entire farm operation that year. His total acreage in field crops was only ten acres of corn, or half as much as in 1885. Also, his livestock numbered two less cows and nine less swine than in 1885. The depression of the 1890's had caused him to curtail much of his activity. Moody did not list any data other than fenced and total acreage and cash value of his farm in 1895, and in 1905 he was on only the population schedule.

Eleven of the twelve farmers planted corn in 1875 and nine planted corn in every census year. Marston failed to plant corn in 1875 and Elisha Banks and Moody were not corn growers in 1895. The cultivation of corn was related to livestock operations in Gypsum Creek Township, with much of the corn consumed on the farm. Livestock were important to these farmers even though they had a good cash crop, wheat. Seven of the twelve farmers listed animals sold or slaughtered in each census year from 1875 to 1905. Three farmers listed data in this category from 1885 to 1905. Again, the two farmers who most conspicuously break the pattern are Moody and Marston. Another livestock product that was important as a source of cash was butter. Seven farmers produced some butter in each census year they remained in the township. Poultry products brought cash to all twelve farmers in at least one census year.

The general pattern that emerges from the data on the twelve farmers

is similar to that of the five who remained thirty-five years. Fencing was not important in the early years on the farm, but some investment in farm machinery was. Wheat, the cash crop, was grown by all the farmers. Livestock operations supported by the cultivation of corn and oats provided income for the farmer and often made the difference between the various levels of success. The successful farmers produced butter, another source of income, and also sold poultry products. Thus, a general pattern of mixed farm activities which included grain crops, livestock and poultry production seemed to be necessary for success.

This general pattern can be used to analyze the farmers who arrived in each successive census year from 1870 to 1885. By comparing the farm operations on the individual farmers, the importance of different factors to success might be ascertained.

In 1870 there were twenty-six farmers on the agricultural census for Gypsum Creek Township.[11] Twenty-two of the farmers appeared in at least one subsequent census and four did not repeat. Five of the twenty-two have already been discussed, as they were the farmers who remained for thirty-five years. Four farmers remained twenty-five years, two were in the township until after the census of 1885 and eleven only until the census of 1875.

Two of the twenty-six farmers began their farming with about eighty acres of land. One of these, Isaac Haggatt, was found on the census of 1875 but on no subsequent censuses, although he was only thirty-one years

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[11]The census rolls contained more than twenty-six farmers; however, many of them were listed on the population schedules as "drovers" or stockmen, indicating that in 1870 this was still cattle country. They were omitted in this discussion.

old in 1875. The other, Jefferson Hall, age sixty, was not on the following census but his widow, Rebecca Hall, was. The three other farmers who did not repeat in 1875 had farms ranging in size from 154 to 160 acres.

Eleven farmers showed no value for farm machinery in 1870. Three of them remained on the census until 1905, two until 1895, one until 1885, three until 1875 and two did not repeat. Although several farmers who did not list value of farm implements their first census year met with success on the farm, it is significant that two of the three non-repeaters failed to list data in this category.

Wheat was grown by only eleven farmers in 1870, only one of whom remained for thirty-five years. Two wheat farmers in 1870 stayed on their farms for twenty-five years, while one remained fifteen years, seven stayed for ten and one did not repeat. Although there is no indication that the farmers who began cultivation of wheat earlier were more prosperous, the repeating farmers did begin planting wheat by 1875. The pioneer farmer needed to produce crops that could be used by the family; therefore corn was an important crop because it was used for food for the family and as feed for livestock. But only thirteen farmers grew corn in 1870, and the same farmer who planted wheat often planted corn. Indeed, eight of the eleven wheat farmers also cultivated corn. All of the farmers who repeated cultivated both of these crops in 1875.

Although livestock raising was important to the pioneer farmer and probably represented a major portion of his capital investment, only fourteen of the twenty-six farmers owned horses, thirteen owned cows, five owned other cattle and eight owned swine in 1870. Those who were

to become successful began to add to their livestock holdings, and in 1875 all but one owned horses, only five did not have cows or swine and only four failed to include cattle in their farm operations. Hoadstrum, the most successful of the twenty-two farmers who repeated, did not own a horse in 1875. One of the non-repeaters from 1870 owned no livestock, but the other two owned more than any of the farmers who stayed thirty-five years. In other words, a man's holdings in the first census year were not as important as what he did with them. The successful farmers built up herds of livestock after arriving. The production of butter was found on only nine farms, including two of the non-repeaters', in 1870. None of the five who remained thirty-five years had any in that year.

The most striking fact to emerge from the consideration of the farmers who arrived by the census of 1870 was the lack of basic differences in their holdings in that year, yet twenty-two appeared in later censuses and four did not. One non-repeater who seemed to have the elements of success did not repeat in 1875. Frederick Thompson had eight of his 160 acres improved and owned equipment valued at $100. His farm holdings were listed at $700, which was near the median for the township as fifteen farms were lower in value. Thompson harvested 100 bushels of spring wheat, 200 bushels of corn and 100 bushels of oats. He also sold or slaughtered livestock worth $350. The data available do not yield any clues to the reasons he did not repeat in 1875.

By 1875 there were 119 farmers in Gypsum Creek Township. Twenty-one had been on the census of 1870, leaving ninety-eight new arrivals. The twelve who stayed thirty years have already been discussed. Since these

farmers were in the county in early March, 1875, many must have experienced the grasshopper invasion of the previous year, which could account for the high number of farmers, forty-eight, who did not repeat the following census. Fourteen stayed twenty years and twenty-four appeared again on the 1885 census. Almost all the ninety-eight farmers had at least a quarter section farm, with sixteen farms that were larger and two smaller. As has already been noted, fencing was not important to the Gypsum Creek farmers in 1875. In fact, only one of the ninety-eight farmers had any property fenced. Fifty-nine farmers failed to list value of farm machinery, and lack of equipment may have been one of the problems faced by the thirty-three non-repeaters who did not list value of farm machinery.

Wheat acreage was reported by an overwhelming majority of the farmers, with only seven, including four non-repeaters, who did not plant this cash crop. Most farmers also planted corn and some included oats and other grains. Livestock raising was important, and the lack of income from this source probably brought failure. Twenty-four of the non-repeaters did not have any income from the sale or slaughter of animals compared to seventeen farmers who stayed at least until 1885. Butter production was nearly the same, with fifteen of the twenty-six who did not produce butter in 1875 being non-repeaters.

Many farmers must have failed in Gypsum Creek Township between 1875 and 1885 due to the continued depressed conditions and also because many who appeared on the 1875 census were probably hurt by the grasshopper damage in 1874. But the county did not lose population in this period, so farmers came to replace those who left.

In 1885 eighty-four new farmers were listed on the census for Battle Hill Township, one of five townships split off from Gypsum Creek Township in 1874. Twenty-two were still on their farms in 1895, which leaves sixty-two who were on only the census of 1885. This was a very difficult period for central Kansas farmers. Periodic droughts and low prices following the Panic of 1893 tested the staying power of many farmers. For the first time there were considerably more non-repeaters than farmers who stayed until 1895. Half of the farmers who were able to remain on their farms until 1895 continued to 1905.

About half of the eighty-four farms were 160 acres, with twelve smaller and twenty-three larger. Of the farmers who stayed twenty years, only C. A. Franz had started with an eighty acre farm. In 1905 he still owned only eighty acres.

One farmer who stayed ten years, E. A. Huff, had 120 acres in 1885 but only eighty acres in 1895, suggesting that a farm of less than a quarter section was not sufficient to enable the owner to achieve success. On the other hand, John W. Thompson started with forty acres in 1885 and doubled it by 1895. He was not on the census in 1905, so probably had failed in his attempt at farming. Nine non-repeaters had less than quarter section farms in 1885. But thirteen of the non-repeaters owned a half section or more land and did not remain in 1895.

All of the repeaters had some equipment on which they placed a cash value, but thirteen of the non-repeaters did not. And twelve repeaters, or 55 percent, had some of their holdings fenced, while only twenty-six non-repeaters, or 42 percent, had fencing. These data indicate that many of the repeaters had been in the township longer than the non-repeaters

and therefore had longer to build up reserves to carry them through the hard times.

Another indication that the repeaters had been in the township longer is the relative numbers planting wheat. Whereas 86 percent of the farmers who stayed through 1895 planted wheat, only 65 percent of the non-repeaters did. Also, 91 percent of those who remained planted corn, compared to 85 percent of the non-repeaters. Corn as a feed crop was often grown by stock raisers, and in Battle Hill Township 95 percent of the repeating farmers listed income from the sale or slaughter of livestock while 79 percent of the non-repeaters did. A pattern of wheat, corn and livestock production was present in the farm organization of most of the farmers who remained for thirty or thirty-five years, and in 1885 in Battle Hill Township 82 percent of the farmers who stayed until 1895 planted wheat and corn while raising livestock. On the other hand, only 52 percent of the non-repeaters fit the pattern.

The reasons farmers did not appear on subsequent censuses can only be surmised, by the 1885 manuscript census does give some clues. There were twenty renters and one agent among the sixty-two non-repeating farmers in that year. This included fourteen farmers who cultivated wheat and corn and also raised livestock. These farmers may have acquired land elsewhere and become quite successful. There were failures in Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Townships, but they cannot be identified from census data. The causes of failure could include poor management, natural disasters and many other non-quantifiable factors.

The time of arrival in the county may have affected the farmers' prospects for success. In 1870, the year that the county was organized,

85 percent of the farmers stayed on their farms until 1875 and 46 percent stayed until 1885. The percentage who stayed at least ten years increased in 1875 when 51 percent remained to 1885 and plummeted in 1885 when only 26 percent remained to 1895. Many of those in the 1870 census had arrived early enough to acquire good land and to build up their reserves to face the grasshoppers in 1874. Those farmers who arrived before the 1875 census may well have been affected by the insect in the previous year. Possibly many were able to stay a year or two before their meager reserves were gone, and then they left their farms. Those who arrived before the 1885 census included many renters who may have found other land before the 1895 census. But many others probably failed during the dry years of the late 1880's and the depression years of the mid-1890's. McPherson County was no longer on the frontier and the commercial wheat farmers there would be affected by the vagaries of the national and international economy.

The data in the Kansas tract books for Battle Hill Township are helpful in establishing the arrival time of the farmers. Sixty-six Battle Hill Township farmers who acquired land from the General Land Office were listed on at least one census. Sixteen of these farmers entered the public lands in the township after their first census appearance, so their date of arrival cannot be established from the tract books. Twenty-one of the remaining fifty farmers were on at least two censuses. One aspect of time of arrival as a possible determinant of success is the time of year that the pioneer settled. If he arrived early enough to sow a few acres of crops, then he would not use as much of his capital reserves the first year as a later arrival might. The

thirty-two farmers who settled by June of the arrival year were evenly divided between repeaters and non-repeaters. Thirteen, or 72 percent, of the eighteen who arrived too late to plant crops were non-repeaters. These data indicate that some correlation between success and the season of arrival may exist.

TABLE 8

DATE OF ENTRY ON GOVERNMENT LANDS OF FARMERS IN BATTLE HILL TOWNSHIP (McPHERSON COUNTY), REPEATERS AND NON-REPEATERS[a]

Date of Entry	Repeaters		Non-repeaters	
	Name	Censuses	Name	Census
1870	W. Benell	1875-1885		
1871	David Bishop	1875-1905	L. D. Patten	1875
	J. W. Darling	1885-1905		
	Siver Johnson	1875-1905		
	Henry Poole	1870-1895		
1872	A. H. Brooking	1875-1895	F. A. LeSound	1875
	B. F. Patten	1870-1875	Daniel McComb	1875
1873	F. C. Barnes	1875-1895	L. P. Mettz	1875
	R. R. Blanchet	1875-1885	H. M. Morris	1875
	Luveous Morris	1875-1885	Jones Morris	1875
	B. F. Pattie	1870-1875	Marshall Morris	1875
	Jeremiah Young	1875-1885		
1874	Elisha Banks	1875-1905	Henry Burnett	1885
	M. M. Collier	1870-1905	Alice Pattie	1885
	B. B. Gates	1875-1885	John Thompson	1885
	W. T. Green	1870-1875		
	Isaac Oakes	1875-1895		
	L. W. Waln	1885-1895		
	St. Clair Watts	1875-1895		
1875	L. W. Kennedy	1885-1905	John P. Dole	1885
	M. L. Banks	1875-1885	P. N. Curtis	1875
	Isaac Hoggatt	1870-1875	J. B. Haywood	1875
	Adolph Lenk	1885-1895	R. Leitenberger	1885
	M. McCarty	1870-1895	Charles Wilcox	1885

TABLE 8--Continued

Date of Entry	Repeaters		Non-repeaters	
	Name	Censuses	Name	Census
1877	William Dole	1885-1905		
	Abraham Oakes	1885-1895		
1878	G. W. Hagar	1875-1895	James Atherton	1885
	James A. Shultz	1885-1895	John E. Campbell	1875
			Albert L. Foster	1885
			Israel Koplin	1885
			Charles H. Owen	1885
			John M. Snider	1885
1879	James E. Clark	1885-1905	John N. Beers	1885
			Andrew T. Filkins	1885
			D. D. Gibbs	1875
			Chester Martin	1885
1880	B. A. Fortner	1885-1905	A. J. Myers	1885
1881			Wilhelm Marwinsky	1885
			H. M. Metcalf	1885
1882			John Ingram	1885
1884			Lyndon A. George	1885
			J. W. Metcalf	1885
			D. F. Swank	1885
			W. Thomas	1885
1885			J. A. Spencer	1885
1886			W. M. Maddox	1885
1891	C. G. Batten	1885-1895		

[a]Compiled from the Kansas tract books of the General Land Office. Only farmers who appear in the manuscript agricultural census are included. Repeaters appear in two or more censuses; non-repeaters appear in only one.

Another aspect of time of arrival and success or failure in farming is that the first settlers had the chance to select from the best lands in the area, whereas later comers chose lands already picked over. Fifteen, or 58 percent, of the twenty-six farmers who arrived by 1875 were repeaters, compared to six repeaters, or 25 percent, of the twenty-four late-comers. None of the repeating farmers acquired land later than 1880, compared to seven of the non-repeaters. Again, time of arrival appears to have influenced success.

A third factor in time of arrival concerns the agricultural conditions during the arrival year. Farmers who settled in periods of rising prices and good weather should have succeeded more readily than those who arrived when prices were low or when nature was unkind. The year 1874, in which the grasshoppers devastated so much cropland, would appear to be the best year to test the above conclusion, but as noted earlier, the northern half of the county, which included Battle Hill, was not affected as much as the southern portion. But the grasshoppers had been preceded by drought. Yet eight of the twelve farmers who acquired land in 1873 or 1874 and first appeared on the 1875 census were also on the 1885 census. The prices farmers received for their crops influenced their ability to build up operating capital. In McPherson County the years from 1871 to 1873 saw low corn prices but good wheat prices. Eight repeaters and seven non-repeaters arrived during that period. The price of wheat was low in 1874, and although corn prices were good, the grasshoppers had destroyed corn in McPherson County. Yet five repeaters and three non-repeaters arrived that year. If a farmer survived the 1874 season, he could look forward to rising wheat prices the next few years

until 1877. Nine repeaters and five non-repeaters arrived between 1874 and 1877 to enjoy the rising prices. Wheat and corn prices were extremely low in 1878, and in that year one repeater and five non-repeaters established their farms. The prices of the cash crop at the time of arrival affected the settlers' chances of success.

In Battle Hill Township of McPherson County settlers who arrived early enough to plant crops the first year and to select the best lands had a better chance for success than the late-comers. Also, those farmers who arrived during periods of rising prices were able to remain on their farms more readily than those who arrived during periods of low prices.

Success was possible in Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Townships in the period from 1870 to 1905. Thirty-five farmers were successful enough to remain on the farm in the township for twenty years or more. In addition, twenty of the farmers who stayed in either of the two townships for ten or fifteen years could also be considered successful. They increased the value of their farms considerably and also increased cultivated acreage and number of livestock. Yet many farmers remained on their farms less than five years, and some of these undoubtedly had failed. In summary, fifty-five, or 26 percent, of the 208 farmers were successful.

The successful farmers started with about the same amount of land as the non-repeating farmers, and indeed, the data in the various census categories were not strikingly different in the first census year. But those farmers who became successful by adding to their acreage and by improving their farms were those whose farm operations later included

wheat, corn and livestock. Wheat was the cash grain crop, but most of the successful farmers supplemented their wheat farming with corn and livestock operations. The successful farmer and his family also worked hard earning income from livestock, butter and poultry products. They probably were lucky that none of the various prairie disasters struck them or their farms.

CHAPTER VI

THOMAS COUNTY ON THE HIGH PLAINS

Approximately 300 miles northwest of Anderson County and some 200 miles northwest of McPherson County is Thomas County. Situated on the high plains of northwest Kansas, Thomas County is the second county east of Colorado's eastern boundary and about the same distance south of the Nebraska line. The 101st meridian runs through its center. The altitude of Thomas County is 3,141 feet.[1] The county covers an area of 1,080 square miles and contains 691,200 acres of mostly prairie land.[2] The land is watered by several streams and rivers that flow through the county, but unlike those of Anderson and McPherson Counties, they are dry much of the year. The climate of the region also contrasts sharply with that found in either of the other two counties, a fact that early settlers soon came to realize. The average annual rainfall in Thomas County is only 17.86 inches,[3] or about half as much as in Anderson County. The scarcity of moisture was reflected in the lack of trees, which existed only along the creeks and rivers, and in the prevalence of short grasses

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[1]Schoewe, "The Geography of Kansas: Part II," p. 277.

[2]Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), 557.

[3]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Climate and Man, p. 875.

typical of subhumid regions. Moreover, the growing season is considerably shorter, with only about 160 frost free days a year. The average temperatures vary from a low of 29.0 degrees in January to a high of 77.1 in July.[4] However, averages are deceiving because extremes of both heat and cold are common. Unusually high temperatures of more than 100 degrees in the summer months can destroy crops in a few days. Cold weather with accompanying snow and blizzards proves a frequent hazard to both man and livestock. These climatic conditions were not suitable for the types and methods of farming followed in the more humid areas of the Midwest.

Fortunately, the high plains region has an adequate supply of ground water, but it averages more than 100 feet below the surface throughout Thomas County. In Barrett Township, located in the northwest corner of the county, the average depth to water is 127 feet.[5] However, water at such depths did not aid the farmer. Wells could be drilled to provide water for man and animals, but irrigation was not used in the late nineteenth century in Thomas County.

The soil of Thomas County, classified officially as Chestnut, is a silt loam of dark grayish-brown color. The topsoil usually extends to a depth of three or four feet and in places is a sandy calcareous texture. When sufficient water is available, the soil is suitable for most

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[4] Ibid.

[5] See Plate No. 2, "Map of Thomas County, Kansas, Showing the Depths to Water Level and the Location of Wells for which Records are given, 1943," in John C. Frye and Howard Stoltenberg, "Geology and Ground Water Resources of Thomas County Kansas," State Geological Survey of Kansas Bulletin 59 (Topeka, December, 1945).

grasses and grain crops. In time, farmers found that winter wheat would do especially well in that area. Since the surface of the county is generally level, with only some bluffs along the creeks and rivers, it lent itself to large scale operations and the employment of the latest labor saving machinery.[6]

As had been true with most other areas of the agricultural frontier, it was land which attracted people to Thomas County. Of the 691,200 acres in the county, about half, or 353,360 acres, were subject to public entry under the Homestead, Timber Culture and Preemption laws.[7] Compared to the counties of eastern Kansas, this was a high proportion of public land, especially in the area of Barrett Township where, with the exception of the sections set aside for the common schools, all the land was open to entry under the various land laws.[8] The railroads, especially the Union Pacific, also had thousands of acres in the county, which they offered for sale in the 1880's.[9]

Although Thomas County was established as an unorganized county in 1873[10] and some settlers located there as early as 1879,[11] population

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[6]U. S., Department of Agriculture, Soils and Men, p. 1082.

[7]Fourth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1883-84), IX, 513-14.

[8]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

[9]Fourth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1883-84), IX, 521.

[10]Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia, II, 806.

[11]Mrs. E. T. Smith, the county historian for the Old Settlers Association, stated that "a man named Williams established a homestead early in 1879 but returned East. Other settlers who arrived in 1879 were Nathan Byars, Mr. Jardine, William Colby, John Irwin, Wallace Miller, the Spaeth

grew very slowly before 1885. There was still plenty of land farther east in the 1870's, so it was not until the middle of the next decade that farmers began to venture out onto the high plains in substantial numbers. Thomas County might have been settled in the early eighties had not crop failures occurred in 1879 and 1880.[12] By 1883 and 1884 increased rainfall was bringing better crops, and the stage was set for another boom in Kansas settlement.[13] In January, 1885, only 161 people lived in the county. During that year the county received hundreds of immigrants, and in November, 1885, the first election was held to complete the county's organization.[14] The "grand rush for the county," as pioneer newspaperman Eugene P. Worcester called it, continued into 1887 when the population reached about 5,000.[15]

By September, 1887, the county had railroad service and by early 1888 was served by three lines of two different railway companies. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific line crossed the county north of the county seat, Colby, and two branches of the Union Pacific served that city from the east and southeast.[16]

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brothers, and Pete Huddleston along with his brother and nephew. Also in 1879 or 1880 Judge Lacey and Mr. Heming moved into the northwest corner of the county" ("Thomas County History: Some Early Incidents of Life in Thomas County," Golden Jubilee Anniversary of Thomas County and Its Neighbors: 1885-1935, comp. George H. Kinkel and Charles A. Jones [Rexford, Kansas: The Rexford News, 1935], pp. 169-70).

[12]Fite, The Farmers' Frontier, p. 115.

[13]Ibid., p. 117.

[14]Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia, II, 807.

[15]Eugene Worcester, A Brief Sketch of Thomas County, Kansas, and the City of Colby (Colby, Kansas: Thomas County Cat, 1887), p. 15.

[16]Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia, II, 807.

Hoping for a profit, the Union Pacific Railway Company first offered its lands for sale in 1887 after all government lands in the county had been taken.[17] An advertisement for the Union Pacific lands appeared as follows in Worcester's Brief Sketch of Thomas County:

> The U. P. Lands are now on the market for actual settlement. Terms for sale: Ten years' credit. One tenth of the purchase money is paid at the time of sale. At the end of the first year no part of the principal is due, but interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum is paid on the defined principal. At the end of the second year, thereafter, one-tenth of the principal is due, together with interest on the defined amount, at the rate of seven percent per annum. No discounts for cash.[18]

The price of these lands was not given in the advertisement, but the State Board of Agriculture showed that the Union Pacific offered the land at a average price of $5 per acre.[19]

With the coming of the railroad population growth might have been expected, but the railroad reached Thomas County at the end of its short boom. The population figures for 1888 reflect an increase of 545 over 1887, hardly as significant as the increase of 2,218 during the preceding year.[20] One can imagine the consternation of the responsible personnel in the railway company's offices, since land profits would undoubtedly been much greater in a period of high immigration. The company did sell about 40 percent of its land in the county between 1887 and 1888, but sales dropped rapidly the following years, even though all

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[17]Worcester, A Brief Sketch of Thomas County, p. 4.

[18]Ibid., advertisement inserted between pp. 56-57.

[19]Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1887-88), XI, Part II, 211.

[20]See Table 9, p. 131.

government lands in the county had been taken.[21]

The railroad also had other influences on the land, for its existence in the southern portion of the county raised the cost of public lands there to $2.50 per acre. Therefore, in the March 12, 1885, issue of the Thomas County Cat, the editors expressed the view that the northern half of the county would be settled first, probably because government lands could be had for the minimum price of $1.25 per acre.[22] Also, many of the settlers were coming by way of Nebraska. The next issue of the paper on the 19th of March noted that "a number of settlements are being made in the vicinity of Quickville, on the North Sappa, in the northwest part of the county. These parties come from Neb. mostly. Fine smooth land in that vicinity."[23]

One family who acquired land by homesteading and who entered the Quickville area by way of Nebraska was written about by a daughter, Mrs. C. E. Moore. She provides some accounts of early experiences in the county. In 1885 her father filed a claim on a homestead located in section 28, Township 6, Range 36 west of the Sixth Principal Meridian. He built a sod house, "14 by 20, without a floor and a brush roof." In the spring of 1886 he moved his family from Seward, Nebraska, after selling the corn crop for eleven cents per bushel. In Oberlin, Kansas, they met

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[21]In 1888 the railway company still held 120,305 acres of its original 202,655 and in 1890 it had 115,780 unsold acres (Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture [1887-88], XI, Part II, 211; and Seventh Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture [1889-90], XII, 218).

[22]Thomas County Cat (Colby, Kansas), March 12, 1885.

[23]Ibid., March 19, 1885.

M. P. Claypoole, an acquaintance from Iowa. This pioneer family had moved to a location where others from Nebraska had already settled; thus the loneliness of frontier life so often mentioned would be lessened. "The first things to be done were to haul a barrel of water and pick up cow chips for fuel," but later water from the family's own well would be available. Water could be reached at a depth of one hundred and fifty feet on the claim, but quite often caving sand and difficult-to-penetrate rock made the work of digging a well difficult. "But when a well was finished it was a never failing one," according to Mrs. Moore.[24]

Another aspect of settlement was finding land available to claim. Settlers were often assisted by land locators such as R. T. Heming. Mrs. Moore's family met Heming in Thomas County in 1886, but her father had probably met this long-time resident of the county the preceding year.[25] As the March 25, 1885, issue of the Thomas County Cat noted, "R. T. Heming, Quickville, is a practical surveyor and locator, and invites patronage through a card in this issue.[26] As a long-time resident of the county, Heming knew the land. Although he operated as a farmer, he

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[24]Mrs. C. E. Moore, "Experiences of the Early Settlers," The Golden Jubilee Anniversary of Thomas County, pp. 78-82.

[25]Ibid., p. 80.

[26]Thomas County Cat, March 25, 1885. A land locator was a person who knew the country and was paid to help families find suitable land to claim. George L. Anderson stated that "the notion that a settler reached the frontier and 'gazing upon almost endless stretches of rich agricultural land' made his selection does not fit the facts. More often than not he located his claim under the watchful eye of a land locator who may have located some other person on the same tract at an earlier date ("The Administration of Federal Land Laws in Western Kansas, 1880-1890: A Factor in Adjustment to a New Environment," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XX [November, 1952], 241.

probably owed much of his later prosperity to fees collected for locating claims and also to the knowledge of the land potentials gained from his travels about the area.

Although land was available in western Kansas and people in other areas desired land, ways had to be found to bring the two together. Worcester and D. M. Dunn, the publishers of the Thomas County Cat, issued a descriptive issue of the paper on May 7, 1885, which was designed to be mailed to easterners to urge settlement in the county. The editors wrote, "Wheat and rye are sure crops in Thomas County, while corn at present is not sure. The county is too new for corn as yet, but only requires age to be a magnificent corn country."[27] In the following weeks the editors boasted that "there is no county in Kansas that can boast of the number of smooth acres that Thomas County can." Continuing their praise of the county, they wrote, "In the matter of Agriculture, there has not been one failure in five years. Good farming here produces the same results that it does in the Eastern States."[28] The January 28, 1886, edition of the paper perhaps went too far in praising Kansas. An item from the Leavenworth Times was quoted as follows: "A gentleman who claims to know, and who, by the way is a scholar and a Christian, says the only difference between Kansas and Paradise is that Kansas is receiving much the heavier immigration and has the best roads."[29]

Even the Kansas State Board of Agriculture provided optimistic

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[27]Thomas County Cat, May 7, 1885.

[28]Ibid., May 14, 1885.

[29]Ibid., January 28, 1886.

reports on Thomas County, describing the county as

> well watered, having an abundance of watercourses. The South Fork of the Saline river and the South and North Forks of the Solomon river have their sources in the southwestern portion and flow east and northeast across the eastern border. Prairie Dog creek has its headwaters in the west-central portion and flows northeast across the county, crossing the eastern boundary four miles south of the northeastern corner. The South and North Forks of the Sappa creek flow northwest crossing the northern boundary of the county.[30]

These watercourses do exist, but they are dry much of the year.

By the late 1880's the boom-bust cycle that had just taken place in western Kansas brought about a shift in policy by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, which in 1888 stressed proper farming methods to avoid failure.

> The study and investigation of methods of agriculture in Kansas are the more necessary because the soil and climate of the State differ materially from that of the Eastern States. Much of the failure in farming in the State is justly attributed to a want of knowledge in regard to proper methods, and the kinds of crops to be grown.[31]

The agency had tried to lure settlers to the farmlands of the West and had been successful, but despite the optimism many farmers had failed.

Even in 1885 not all the residents had been optimistic about the growth of the county. A resident of the Quickville vicinity who signed his name "cactus" opposed county organization during the boom period. He cited the example of Rawlings and Sheridan Counties, which were quickly organized in prosperous times only to have a great loss of population when conditions changed. As "cactus" stated,

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[30]Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), X, 557.

[31]Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1887-88), XI, Part I, 5.

> Then came on two or three dry seasons and about four fifths of their population went back to see their wives' relations, leaving the expensive machinery of a organized county to be supported by the few who had sand enough or faith enough in the future prosperity of Northwestern Kansas to remain, or else were too poor to get away.[32]

And certainly optimists and pessimists alike suffered great hardships. One pioneer, William Street, wrote in almost poetic terms of the difficulties of prairie life. "What privation, what suffering, what sorrows," he wrote,

> those old-timers endured in their contest against wildmen, wild beasts, unfavorable social, financial and climatic conditions; what fortitude, what heroism in every degree, those people displayed to win the victory of the plow! The story cannot be told as it should be told. The soldier suffers alone, while his deeds of valor are told in picture and story; but with the men who conquered the prairies came the women and little children, who suffered privations and dangers as heroically as the strongest men. What a victory they have won! Yet their praise has not been sung in song or told in prose. No monuments have been reared to tell of their glory; no eulogies have been pronounced for them; no niche in the temple of fame has been reserved for those who won the victory of the plow.[33]

It is difficult to think in heroic terms when the sod-house residents of Thomas County are being considered, but it must have been a terrific ordeal to settle in northwestern Kansas in the late nineteenth century. In addition to the many other frontier hardships, scarcity of water plagued the settlers, for this was a land that lacked the necessary twenty inches annual precipitation for normal farm management. But land was available, and the settlers, though ill-prepared, came, creating a boom that lasted until the late 1880's.

The boom was encouraged by unusual climatic conditions. Apparently, the settlers who went to Thomas County believed that the climate on the

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[32]Thomas County Cat, August 20, 1885.

[33]Street, "The Victory of the Plow," p. 33.

Great Plains was becoming more suitable for farming and that there was little danger of drought in the area. But when Worcester's average annual rainfall for the years 1881 to 1887, 21.61 inches, is compared to the average for Thomas County compiled by the United States Department of Agriculture, 17.86 inches, it becomes clear that these were years of exceptional precipitation.[34]

Other conditions favored the extension of the farmers' frontier beyond the 100th meridian at this time. The price of wheat in 1881 was $1.05 per bushel, which was a peak year for this crop.[35] This was the second highest price in the period from 1870 to 1900. In the same year the price of corn stood at a high of 58 cents a bushel, that price having been equaled or exceeded in only five years between 1870 and 1900.[36]

The boom was not built solely on agriculture, however, The Kansas enthusiasts hoped that if agriculture became a thriving industry in western Kansas manufacturing and urban development would follow. Indeed, the speculative craze was much more pronounced in the non-farm sectors of the economy.[37] Towns and businesses were established by speculators, but when the poor climatic conditions of 1889 and 1890 hit, the speculative bubble burst.

Population figures reflect the general growth of the county, showing 150 in 1884, 981 in 1885 and 3,411 in 1886. After reaching a high

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[34]Worcester, A Brief Sketch of Thomas County, p. 27.

[35]Kansas Agriculture: Forty-ninth Report, p. 155.

[36]Ibid., p. 157.

[37]James C. Malin, "The Kinsley Boom of the Late Eighties," Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV (May, 1935), 164.

of 6,174 in 1888, the county began an unsteady decline, reaching 3,371 in 1897, lowest since 1885. Then in 1898 the population began to increase, reaching 4,506 in 1905 with only one year of population decline, 1903.

TABLE 9

POPULATION FIGURES FOR THOMAS COUNTY AND BARRETT TOWNSHIP, 1880-1905[a]

Date	Thomas County	Barrett Township
1880	161	...
1881	.....	...
1882	.....	...
1883	.....	...
1884	150	...
1885	981	...
1886	3,411	491
1887	5,629	635
1888	6,174	743
1889	5,445	564
1890	5,471	440
1891	4,069	309
1892	4,467	316
1893	5,032	350
1894	4,415	342
1895	3,512	217
1896	3,456	178
1897	3,371	172
1898	3,616	178
1899	3,864	214
1900	3,945	219
1901	4,064	217
1902	4,180	248
1903	3,916	244
1904	4,229	245
1905	4,506	271

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

Where did the people come from? In 1885 the state census showed that 904 residents of Thomas County were native-born citizens and an additional seventy-seven were foreign born. Germany and the Scandinavian countries provided fifty-two of the foreign-born element. Of the native-born, the largest number were born in Iowa, with Illinois, Indiana, and Nebraska following close behind. More significant data are found in the census material relating to "Where from to Kansas." Only sixteen settlers had come directly to Kansas from foreign countries in 1885. Of the 965 who came to Kansas from other places in the United States, 445 came by way of Nebraska, 130 from Iowa and seventy-three from Illinois.[38]

In 1885, 90 percent of the 923 county residents who came from outside Kansas came from seven states that were important agriculturally. Like the pioneers who had settled Anderson and McPherson Counties, these settlers probably had a knowledge of agricultural techniques before their arrival in the county. Some of those arriving from Nebraska may even have been familiar with farming in a sub-humid area. Those who were not familiar with farming on the high plains would either learn quickly to adapt or would fail in the attempt to establish a farm.

The census of 1895 shows a continuation of the trend established a decade earlier. Of the 3,443 residents of other states who moved to Kansas, 1,186 were from Nebraska. The next highest numbers were from other parts of Kansas, with Iowa and Illinois third and fourth.[39]

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[38]"The Decennial Census of 1885," Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1885-86), X, 17 ff.

[39]"The Decennial Census of 1895," Tenth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (1895-96), IV, 513 ff.

Thus the settlement of western Kansas began during good years both for crop production and for the marketing of farm produce. But the boom did not last. The crash began with the drought of 1887. This drought followed hard on the heels of an extremely severe winter which had ruined many cattlemen in the West. Dry weather continued intermittently for about ten years before conditions once again turned favorable. But now the western farmer was no longer convinced that the climate was changing; instead he took the more reasonable approach and learned to adapt to the existing environmental conditions.

The fluctuations in the total number of farms in Thomas County from 1880 to 1900 reflect the settlement of the area and also demonstrate one form of adaptation: that is, fewer farms but greater acreage. In 1880, only one year after settlement began in the county, there were sixty-two farms, which averaged 266 acres each.[40] The size of the average Thomas County farm probably reflects the availability of lands under the Homestead, Timber Culture and Preemption acts. Thomas County farmers held larger acreages in 1880 than the average farmers in either Anderson or McPherson Counties. Since the range cattle industry was still in its heyday in 1880, it might be assumed that the average farm in Thomas County was much smaller than the 266 acres indicates, with the large holdings of cattlemen bringing the average up. Yet the table of farms classified according to size listed all sixty-two farms in the 100 but less than 500 acre classification.[41] Apparently the cattlemen either resided in adjoining counties or ran their cattle on the public domain.

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[40] See Table 10, p. 134.

[41] Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF FARMS, AVERAGE SIZE, IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED ACREAGE, VALUE OF FARM AND FARM IMPLEMENTS IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1880-1900[a]

Date	No. Farms	Av. Size Farms	Improved Acreage	Unimproved Acreage	Value Farms	Av. Value Farms	Value Implements	Av. Value Implements
1880	62	266	764	15,751	$ 24,860	$ 401	$ 2,214	$ 36
1890	1,246	219	112,427	160,085	1,513,600	1,215	92,690	74
1900	711	450	157,161	162,955	1,119,060	1,574	131,610	185

[a]Compiled from the Tenth through Twelfth Censuses of Agriculture of the United States, 1880-1900.

Ten years later, following the period of rapid population growth which began in 1884-85, there were 1,246 farms in the county, averaging 219 acres. The decrease in acreage of the average farm was due to the tremendous migration into the county prior to 1890. The rapidity of settlement probably prevented many farmers from acquiring a half section as had many of those who arrived before the boom. Ninety-seven percent of the 1,246 farms were in the 100 but less than 500 acres range in 1890. Six farms were smaller and thirty-three were larger, including four farms which exceeded 1,000 acres.[42]

The traditional quarter section farm, which most settlers had initially, was too small in Thomas County because the area lacked adequate precipitation. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that in 1900 the total number of farms had decreased to 711 and the average size had more than doubled, a rather spectacular rise. Statistics show that farmers were able to get more than the traditional 160 acres very soon after settlement, either by purchase or under the various land laws. By the turn of the century the average farm in Thomas County was 450 acres, or nearly three-fourths of a section. These statistics indicate that for successful operation the Thomas County farmer needed hundreds of acres of land. In 1900 the majority of the farms still fell in the 100 to 500 acres class, but the 473 farms represented about 67 percent of the total compared to the 97 percent in 1890.[43] The farmers of Thomas County were

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[42]Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Agriculture, III, 142-45.

[43]Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

consolidating their holdings as the less fortunate farmers found it necessary to leave the county. There were 215 farms over 500 acres in size and forty-three that exceeded 1,000 acres, ten times as many as in 1890. To compare, in Anderson County eighty-seven out of 2,112 farms were over 500 acres in 1900, and in McPherson 120 of 2,820 fell into this classification. The two counties had twelve and fourteen farms of more than 1,000 acres, respectively, compared to forty-three in Thomas County.

The typical farm organization in Thomas County was the owner-operated unit. In 1880 all of the sixty-two farms in the county were operated by owners.[44] In 1890, even after the end of the boom and the beginning of hard times, the vast majority of the farms, 96.7 percent, were still operated by owners. The remainder, 3.3 percent, were rented on shares or for cash.[45] Tenancy, however, grew in the 1890's, and by 1900 tenants made up about 16 percent of the farmers in the county.[46] These figures indicate that farmers in Thomas County who survived the hard times after 1887 were able to maintain the position of owners. The percentage of farmers who owned their land in this Great Plains county was higher than that in either Anderson or McPherson Counties where conditions seemed much more favorable.

These western Kansas farmers found the cash value of their farm

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[44] Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Agriculture, V, 86-89.

[45] Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Agriculture, III, 142-45.

[46] Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture, V, Part I, 80-85.

holdings increasing in each census year. The cash value of the average farm was $401 in 1880, and by 1890 it had tripled to $1,215. In the next decade the increase was not so great, but the value of the farms did rise 27.5 percent to $1,574 due to the increased size.

The cash value of farm machinery increased in the period from 1880 to 1900. In 1880 Thomas County farmers had an average of $36 of farm machinery, according to census data, and ten years later the average was $74. In 1900 the farmers employed machinery valued at $185 on their 450 acres. This can be contrasted with McPherson County farmers, who in 1900 employed an average of $231 of machinery on a 214 acre farm. Despite its broad expanses of smooth acreage, ideally suited for implements such as seed drills and harvesters, Thomas County was apparently not mechanized to the extent that McPherson was in 1900. The reason probably lies in the comparative prosperity of the two counties. The McPherson farmers enjoyed better yields per acre and their farms were worth nearly three times the larger Thomas County farms. The McPherson farmers could therefore invest more in machinery. It was a simple case of "Them as has, gits."

Also, although the average cash value of farm implements was low in Thomas County, many successful farmers had more equipment. In Barrett Township of Thomas County twenty-two farmers from the censuses of 1885 and 1895 were listed on the 1905 census. Their average value of farm machinery was $176, but five had $200, one had $250, three had $300 and one had $500 in implements.[47]

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[47]See Tables 44-45, pp. 287-302.

Because the first Thomas County settlers arrived in unusually wet years, they believed that the traditional quarter section farm and the traditional crops of corn and some spring wheat would prosper. But climatic conditions returned to normal in the late 1880's and early 1890's, which caused changes in the farm techniques and crops. The sparse precipitation dictated the use of irrigation if small farms were to be maintained, or large farms to compensate for the low yields per acre. On large farms dry farming techniques could be used to conserve moisture. These techniques included fallowing fields between crops and cultivating after rainfall to prevent surface evaporation. In about 1890 the farmers of Thomas County began to shift their emphasis from an almost complete reliance upon spring wheat as a cash grain crop and corn as a feed crop, which were common in the east, to winter wheat and other crops. Winter wheat, on which livestock could graze in the winter months, surpassed spring wheat in acreage in 1891. And corn was partially replaced by barley, which matured early, sorghums and drought resistent feed crops at about the same time. Although livestock were important in the east, farmers there devoted most of their attention to cash grain farming. In Thomas County much of the grain produced was for feed because livestock operations were so important.

The changes in livestock holdings per farm in Thomas County also show the trend toward combined livestock and grain operations. The earliest data available are for 1885 when the fifty-four county farmers owned 2,465 animals, an average of forty-five per farm. However, most of the livestock belonged to cattlemen and sheepmen who did not engage in grain production. As farmers began to arrive in the county, the

average number of livestock per farm declined because of the stress on grain crops. But by 1900 livestock and grain operations were combined on the larger Thomas County farms. The 711 farms had 21,621 animals, an average of thirty per farm. The manuscript census confirms the difference in farm operations. In 1885 only one of the ten stockmen who owned 72 percent of the livestock grew any field crops, but by 1905 Barrett Township farmers in Thomas County who had many more than the average number of livestock also had large acreages of grain crops. In summary, adaptation to the region's environment meant changes in techniques of cultivation, different crops and a stronger emphasis on livestock raising.

Corn had been the first major grain to be raised in quantity in Thomas County, but wheat replaced corn as the primary grain crop in the 1890's. Corn led all major grain crops in 1886 with 16,388 acres under cultivation out of a total of 24,218 acres of field crops. Grain sorghum led the other crops with 1,371 acres, and wheat, oats and rye combined were planted on 1,929 acres.[48] The total value of field crops in 1886 was $264,091. In 1887 the value of field crops increased only 0.6 percent although total acreage had increased 15 percent to 27,851 acres. Since crop prices were relatively stable in this period, lower yields accounted for the rather small increase in the value of field crops. Corn, for example, yielded 409,700 bushels in 1886, or about twenty-five bushels per acre, compared to 121,308 bushels from 10,109 acres planted, or twelve bushels per acre in 1887. The extremely hot temperatures in Thomas County during the growing season caused the poor yield.[49]

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[48]See Table 11, p. 140, and Tables 29-36, pp. 212-219.

[49]Flora, "Climate of Kansas," p. 183.

TABLE 11

TOTAL FIELD CROPS IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Value Product
1886	24,218	$ 264,091.00
1887	27,851	265,651.40
1888	36,142	228,489.47
1889	84,278	450,411.09
1890	67,428	233,430.30
1891	92,538	853,333.60
1892	122,662	760,042.91
1893	170,946	257,230.14
1894	151,404	63,884.37
1895	112,807	380,875.74
1896	122,257	161,432.08
1897	133,696	632,174.67
1898	158,438	623,211.43
1899	174,845	465,983.48
1900	160,461	544,556.68
1901	213,346	599,251.36
1902	281,827	592,477.17
1903	254,277	1,076,070.82
1904	246,880	565,721.54
1905	345,350	1,331,278.99

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

Western Kansas, taken as a whole, showed a rise in total value of field crops in 1888, but Thomas County had a decrease to $228,489, although once again acreage was expanded to 36,142 acres. Corn production continued to decline as the 11,937 acres yielded only 95,496 bushels. Acreage of sorghum, wheat, oats and rye continued to increase. Local climatic conditions in Thomas County were apparently not typical of the regional average, and again yields were low.[50]

[50]The average annual precipitation in the Western Division of Kansas from 1887 to 1945 was 19.01 inches, according to S. D. Flora ("Climate of Kansas," p. 29). Gerald K. Aistrup, "An Investigation of the Rela-

Even though in 1888 the population of Thomas County reached its peak and then began to decline, the value of the crops of 1889 was almost double that of the preceding year. The 84,278 acres brought a product worth $450,411. Corn acreage had been tremendously expanded to 41,944 acres, with a product of 838,880 bushels at the same time that wheat acreage of 11,761 acres yielded 166,657 bushels. Sorghum and oats acreage was also increased, but not as significantly as rye, which was 9,714 acres, quite an expansion over the 3,577 acres of 1888. The reason for the population decline in what appears to have been a satisfactory crop year lay in the nature of the region's settlement. The boom of the eighties in western Kansas was not merely an agricultural boom, as Malin noted. It had, in fact, neglected agriculture, and little discussion of field crops can be found in the writings of the "boomers." Instead, the promoters talked of railroads, town lots and manufacturing, but, according to Malin, "industries failed to come . . . and the more faint-hearted began to leave the country."[51]

Rainfall in 1888 and 1889 was near normal, and the temperature was conducive to agriculture, but conditions changed for the worse in 1890. The annual precipitation was down to an average of 13.19 inches for western Kansas. In this drought year the acreage of field crops dropped to 67,428, and the value declined to $233,430, little more than half the 1889 figure and the lowest recorded for the county to that date. The

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tionship Between Climatic Conditions and Population Changes in Western Kansas, 1885-1900," an unpublished Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College (1956), was an invaluable source for the consideration of agricultural pursuits and population movements in the region which includes Thomas County.

[51]Malin, "The Kinsley Boom," p. 164.

corn crop of only 789 acres yielded 2,367 bushels, lowest recorded for the county. Wheat acreage had increased to 24,663 acres, but production was down to 73,989, less than half the 1889 production.

In 1891 abundant precipitation brought a product valued at $853,334 from the 92,538 acres of field crops. Once again corn production was good, with 21,823 acres producing 501,929 bushels. But wheat accounted for the spectacular increase in total value of product as the output of 42,571 acres was 773,380 bushels valued at $520,223. Thomas County was becoming a wheat producing area.

Although precipitation was slightly below average in 1892, drought conditions did not exist and the harvest was good: 122,662 acres of field crops yielded a crop valued at $760,043. Wheat again led corn in acreage and value of product. Then in 1893 disaster hit and endured through May of 1895 when the long drought was broken. The average rainfall for 1893 was 11.93 inches and in 1894 only 12.19 inches for the western third of Kansas. The value of field crops in 1893 was $257,230, about one-third the value of the 1892 crop and the second lowest in the county's history to that date. Acreage of field crops was up to 170,946, a figure not reached again until 1899. Corn acreage was higher than in 1892, but the yield was extremely poor as it averaged about five bushels per acre. Wheat suffered even more as there was no yield from the 17,652 acres of spring wheat and the winter wheat crop produced 8,676 bushels on 72,313 acres under cultivation.

The panic year of 1893 was disastrous, but conditions were actually worse in 1894 when 151,404 acres of Thomas County crop land produced a harvest worth a mere $63,884. The yield of 13,445 bushels of corn was

harvested from 26,911 acres of land, and 93,310 acres of wheat saw a production of only 10,927 bushels. Thomas County farmers were experiencing the worst times that they had faced since settlement. They not only suffered from drought, but from the extremely low prices as well.

Although the drought ended in 1895, the 112,807 acres cultivated brought a product worth only $380,876. The corn harvest was good, with 591,824 bushels produced on 36,989 acres, and wheat yield was 286,086 bushels from 45,266 acres. The semi-arid West needed more than one wet season to offset a drought.

Climatic conditions in western Kansas for the period from 1896 to 1900 were better than those of the preceding four years. Precipitation remained above average from 1896 to 1898 and fell only slightly below average in 1899 and 1900. Thomas County did not enjoy a good crop year in 1896, receiving only $161,432 total value of field crops from the 122,257 acres cultivated. Prices were low, and the fall of 1895 had been dry, which caused the winter wheat crop of 44,636 acres harvested in 1896 to be poor, yielding just over three bushels per acre. An increase of almost 300 percent in value of field crops in 1897 must have encouraged the residents. The wheat crop was responsible for the increase. The 68,920 acres produced 706,088 bushels worth $468,303. In 1898 farmers expanded total crop acreage to 158,438 and wheat acreage to 90,258 but received a lower value than in 1897, partially because the price of wheat had dropped from seventy-four cents in 1897 to fifty cents in 1898. The farmers responded to the lower price per bushel by trying to produce more. Wheat acreage in 1899 was 94,765 acres, but the yield per acre was not as bountiful as the preceding two years and the total

value of field crops declined to $465,893. Total acreage was down to 160,461 acres in 1900, but the wheat yield was good, 642,087 bushels from the 76,254 acres. Therefore, the total value of field crops climbed to $544,556

"Contrary to much popular opinion," Gilbert C. Fite noted, "grain farming expanded on the Central Great Plains despite the discouraging conditions between 1889 and 1897."[52] Statistics for Thomas County support this statement. In 1889 some 84,278 acres of field crops were sown, and in 1897 the acreage had increased to 133,696. Corn, which had led all other crops in acreage until 1889 gave way to wheat. By 1891 the farmers of Thomas County were switching to winter wheat and the following year they started increasing their cultivation of barley. Grain sorghum was a popular crop as early as 1886, while oats and rye were also grown throughout the period from 1886 to the turn of the century. At the same time, livestock numbers increased from 1885 to 1890 and again from 1896 into the twentieth century.

The settlers of Thomas County suffered long and hard before they understood the region's environment and developed a type of agriculture suitable to the climate. To succeed on the high plains, Thomas County farmers increased the size of their farms. With vast expanses of land they could permit summer fallowing and employ mechanized grain farming to supplement their livestock operations.

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[52]Fite, The Farmers' Frontier, p. 132.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN BARRETT TOWNSHIP, THOMAS COUNTY

The part of Thomas County chosen for detailed analysis is Barrett Township, which lies in the northwestern corner of the county. This area was available for entry under the various federal land laws; therefore, most of the farms in the early period of the county's history were 160 acres or larger. Many farmers claimed land under both the Homestead and Timber Culture Acts. This township was selected because it lay in the northern half of the county, which was settled earliest, and also because it contained no towns or villages.

Unlike Anderson and McPherson Counties in which several censuses were used, only the new arrivals of 1885 and 1895 were analyzed in Thomas County. In 1885, the year the first census was taken, the county was not yet organized and therefore no township lines were established. In that census year the fifty-four farmers of the entire county compose the list. The list taken in 1895 will include only the new arrivals in Barrett Township. Data were compiled on 117 individual farmers, of whom seven remained in the county for twenty years, twenty-seven stayed ten, and eighty-three appeared on only one census or were the non-repeaters.[1]

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[1]See Tables 44-45, pp. 287-302, for data on farmers in Thomas County.

The ten most successful farmers in Barrett Township--those who had increased their holdings by at least 400 percent by 1905--will be examined to establish patterns for success. Only farmers from Barrett Township will be included in this group, although others in nearby townships were also successful. Unlike the farmers chosen to establish a pattern in Anderson and McPherson Counties, these men were selected for the amount of property they accumulated rather than for their longevity, because only three men remained on the farm for twenty years or more.

The most successful farmer in Barrett Township in 1905 was Richard T. Heming, the land locator, who farmed nine sections, 5,760 acres worth $28,800 in 1905. He had entered a quarter section under the Timber Culture Act on October 9, 1879, fully six years before county organization.[2] He did not receive a final patent on this land as he canceled on September 17, 1887. In 1885 Heming was more of a cattleman than a farmer. The census report of that year contained only two entries in addition to the data on total acreage and farm valuation. Those entries showed that he had two horses and twenty head of cattle. In 1895, however, Heming had become a grain farmer with 150 acres planted in the various crops. His 320 acre farm was worth $500, an increase of 160 acres and $150 in the decade. He had fifty-five acres of spring wheat, fifty acres of corn, ten of barley, ten of oats and twenty-six of other crops. As far as livestock was concerned, he owned eight horses, six milk cows, sixteen other cattle and three swine and had slaughtered or sold $460 worth of animals. He also began to produce butter, and in 1895 his output was

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[2]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

200 pounds, the same amount that he produced in 1905. Heming did not fence any of his property until after the 1895 census. He owned $65 worth of implements in 1885 and $20 less in 1895, but showed an increase to $200 by 1905 when he was farming on a large scale.

On April 22, 1886, the Thomas County Cat reported that Heming was contemplating a move west "pioneer style" as he "can not stand being crowded by immigration, wants more room. . . ."[3] But on January 13, 1888, he preempted another 160 acres and homesteaded a quarter section on December 2, 1889, on which he received the final patent August 28, 1897.[4] Hence, he had given up the land shown on the census of 1885 but by 1895 had obtained another half section in Barrett Township. The Kansas tract books did not explain his acquisition of another 5,440 acres in the next ten years. Heming, who had gone to Kansas from his birth place in Ohio, by way of Illinois where he met his wife and where his eldest child was born, lost his first 160 acres, but there can be no doubt that he enjoyed success as a Thomas County farmer. He combined grain and livestock production. By 1905 he planted 100 acres of winter wheat, thirty of spring wheat, sixty of corn, fifty-six of barley and forty of oats. He also owned numerous livestock, with twenty horses, seventy cows, sixty-five other cattle and two swine.

A farmer who arrived almost a decade later than Heming achieved almost as much success by 1905. W. O. Bear preempted 152 acres on September 13, 1888.[5] Thus, he arrived in the county at the end of the boom

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[3] Thomas County Cat, April 22, 1886.

[4] Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

[5] Ibid.

period. His quarter section farm was worth $500 in 1895, the first year he appeared on the census. In the next decade he increased his acreage to 4,500 valued at $22,500. Bear was a cattleman. In 1895 he owned 100 head of cattle and ten years later had almost doubled his herd to 190 head. He did not ignore the cash crops, for in 1895 he planted thirty acres of wheat, and in 1905 he had 195 acres of wheat under cultivation. Although he had not planted any of the other major grain crops in 1895, he began cultivation of 100 acres of corn and 125 acres of barley by 1905. His operations were on a fairly broad scale, and his land holdings were sufficient for the type of farm management necessary for success in northwest Kansas.

Another late comer to the county, Franc Carl Goellert, also enjoyed remarkable success. He owned a quarter section worth $500 in 1895. Goellert entered a Timber Claim on 160 acres on April 1, 1887, but later canceled this claim after filing homestead papers on the same property.[6] Perhaps he had been unable to get the required number of trees planted. If so, that was probably his only failure, for by 1905 he owned more than four sections, or 2,720 acres, worth $20,000. He had not fenced his land by 1895, but the next decade saw his entire holdings surrounded by barbed wire. He also increased the value of implements from $80 in 1895 to $250 in 1905, suggesting that he was using labor saving machinery to farm his land.

Goellert was a farmer. In 1895 he planted seventy acres of spring wheat, thirty-five of corn, three of barley, fifteen of oats and sixteen

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[6]Ibid.

in other crops. This German family must have enjoyed potato dumplings, for Goellert planted five acres of Irish potatoes in 1905. He did not neglect livestock, as he owned six horses, ten cows, twenty-one other cattle and two swine in 1895. The next decade saw his livestock holdings increased to seventeen horses, twenty-five cows, 145 other cattle and ten swine. In both census years Goellert earned income from butter production, poultry and eggs and from the sale or slaughter of livestock. As a forty-six year old farmer in 1905, Goellert had become successful on his high plains farm. He had adapted to the semi-arid environment by growing wheat and also by shifting emphasis to barley, oats and sorghum. He owned enough land to prosper in an area with low yield per acre, and he was also able to pasture and feed considerable numbers of livestock, which added to his success.

Charles Cole homesteaded on June 6, 1885, proved up, and received his final certificate April 13, 1892.[7] In 1895 his quarter section was worth $450 and by 1905 Cole owned 2,720 acres worth $20,000. Like Goellert, he had increased his quarter section farm to include more than four sections of land in a decade of high plains farming.

Cole had eighty of his 160 acres fenced in 1895 and 2,560 fenced acres in 1905. He increased his value of implements very little in the decade, as he owned $45 worth in 1895 and $50 worth in 1905. Such a low valuation suggests either that he was extremely worried about the tax collector or that he borrowed equipment to farm his land, for in 1905 his extensive acreage required mechanization. He cultivated most of his

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[7] Ibid.

quarter section in 1895 when he planted 150 acres of spring wheat and four of oats. By 1905 he had added to his total acreage tremendously. He also increased his area under cultivation, growing 150 acres of winter wheat, twenty of spring wheat, twenty of corn, 150 of barley and twenty-three of other crops. He owned seven horses in 1895 and had no income from the sale or slaughter of livestock. However, he had built up a herd of twenty horses, thirty cows, fifty other cattle and fifteen swine by 1905. He earned income from sale and slaughter of livestock, poultry and eggs, and butter production in 1905. Cole was successful in 1905 because he cultivated wheat and feed crops and because he also engaged in livestock production.

A case can be made for the assistance given by the farmer's family in producing butter and doing other chores, but M. L. Cotherman did not receive any such help. He lived alone in both 1895 and 1905. He acquired 160 acres by filing on a timber claim on May 14, 1886, and added the adjoining quarter section by homesteading on November 17, 1887.[8] On the census of 1895 his 320 acre farm was worth $500, and in 1905 his 1,750 acres were valued at $11,000. He did not fence his land until after 1895, but he had 1,370 acres fenced in 1905. To farm extensive acreage mechanization was necessary, and Cotherman increased the cash value of his farm implements from $45 to $200 by 1905.

Cotherman was an active wheat farmer, planting forty acres of spring wheat in 1895 and seventy in 1905 when he also cultivated thirty-five acres of winter wheat. He grew forty acres of corn and eleven acres of

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[8] Ibid.

other crops in 1895, compared to sixty acres of corn, twenty of barley and fifty of sorghum in 1905. His livestock holdings in 1895 consisted of four horses and two swine, but by 1905 he owned eight horses and 118 cattle. Like the other successful farmers, he combined grain and livestock. He did not produce any butter but did sell poultry products in both census years.

A. H. Fink was a farmer who arrived in Barrett Township less than a year after the census of 1885. He homesteaded 160 acres on December 3, 1885.[9] His quarter section farm was worth $400 in 1895, but Fink was not doing well that year as he received $3.25 in public welfare.[10] There is no information on why this aid was necessary, but he did not have much crop land in that year. His field crops consisted of twenty-five acres of sorghum. He owned some livestock, including six horses, three cows, four other cattle and one swine in 1895. By 1905 he cultivated seventy acres of sinter wheat, fifty of spring wheat, twenty of barley and twenty of sorghum. He also had increased his herd of cattle to forty-six. In both years he had income from livestock and from poultry production. His family also produced butter in both census years. In twenty years in Thomas County, this farmer, who had experienced misfortune in 1895, had succeeded in establishing a prosperous farm based on wheat and early maturing grains as well as livestock by 1905.

Benjamin W. Baird had not been in Barrett Township long prior to

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Manuscript census of Thomas County, Kansas, 1895, "Schedule of Pauperism and Crime."

the census of 1895. He homesteaded 160 acres on November 25, 1890,[11] and in 1895 this quarter section was worth $500. He soon added to his property, however, and by 1905 he owned 1,360 acres worth $7,000. Baird did not construct fences early, for in 1895 he had not fenced any land and by 1905 he had only 240 acres fenced. He increased the value of his farm implements from $100 in 1895 to $300 in 1905. He needed more farm implements to provide the greater mechanical power necessary to farm broad expanses of prairie.

Baird planted a variety of crops in both census years, with thirty acres of winter wheat, twelve of spring wheat, sixty of corn, ten of barley and fifteen of oats in 1895. The next decade saw him planting the same crops but with forty acres of sorghum added to the list. He planted 140 acres of winter wheat and twenty-five of spring wheat, making him a leading wheat farmer. He decreased his corn acreage by one-third. He owned six horses, eight milk cows, twenty cattle and two swine in 1895, and sold or slaughtered $50 worth of animals. In 1895 he sold $10 worth of poultry products and produced 250 pounds of butter. Ten years later he owned eight horses, twenty-four cows, fifty-two other cattle, three swine, and sold $800 worth of animals. By 1905 Benjamin Baird had increased his farm acreage and other property with a farm operation which had wheat as the primary crop but also included other crops that did well in the semi-arid region. To supplement his grain operations, Baird raised livestock.

Peter Eicher homesteaded a quarter section on October 14, 1891, when

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[11]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

he was twenty-three years old, but probably had resided in the township longer as several Eichers were listed on the tract books as early as 1886.[12] In 1895 he had a quarter section worth $500 that he added to and improved until in 1905 he owned two sections, or 1,280 acres, worth $6,400. In both census years he had half his land fenced. The value of his farm implements declined from $225 in 1895 to $150 in 1905.

Like the other farmers who met with success in Barrett Township, Eicher grew wheat. In 1895 he planted forty acres of spring wheat and in 1905 his winter wheat acreage was 160 acres. He cultivated a variety of crops during both census years, indicating that he was willing to experiment with different crops. In addition to spring wheat, in 1895 he grew corn, barley, oats, sorghum and broom corn, and in 1905 he cultivated winter wheat, rye, corn, barley, sorghum and Kafir corn.

In addition to his 406 acres of field crops in 1905, Eicher raised livestock. He owned only three horses, a cow and one other animal in 1895, but by 1905 he had eight horses, twelve cows, forty-eight other cattle and eight swine. He produced butter in 1895 and sold or slaughtered livestock in both census years. His pattern of farm organization was similar to that of other successful farmers.

Like many high plains farmers, H. A. Smith benefited from the public land laws. On June 14, 1886, he entered one quarter section under the Homestead Act and another under the Timber Culture Act.[13] Although he

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[12]Ibid. Peter Eicher was one of the patrons for the Standard Atlas of Thomas County (Chicago: George A. Ogle and Company, 1907). This source gave 1887 as the date he arrived in the county.

[13]His timber claim was 159.38 acres, according to the Kansas tract books. Apparently he commuted his homestead of 160 acres in order to sell it.

had proved up on the timber claim and commuted the homestead to cash entry, by 1895 he listed only 159 acres worth $400. In the next decade he increased his holdings to 1,040 acres worth $7,800.

Smith and Fink were the only two of the ten most successful farmers who did not cultivate wheat in 1895. But in 1905 Smith planted thirty acres of winter wheat. In 1895 he planted sixty acres of corn and an additional sixteen acres divided among barley, oats, sorghum and Jerusalem corn. Then in 1905 he continued to plant forty acres of corn, fifty of barley and twenty-five of sorghum.

He owned six horses, four cows, three other cattle and two swine in 1895 and increased his livestock holdings to thirteen horses, twenty-two cows, thirty other cattle and three swine in 1905. In 1895 he had income from poultry, livestock and butter, and n 1905 he added milk to the list. Smith, like Fink, was a recipient of $13 welfare in 1894.[14] But he achieved success with the same pattern of farm management as the farmers already considered.

The last of the ten farmers who met with substantial success was W. O. Watson. He entered a timber claim on April 2, 1888,[15] and by 1895 valued his quarter section at $400. The next decade saw his farm grow to 800 acres worth $6,000. He had half his land fenced in 1895 and most of it, 640 acres, fenced in 1905. His machinery increased in value from $70 in 1895 to $100 in 1905.

Watson, like the other successful settlers in Thomas County, was a

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[14]Manuscript census for Thomas County, Kansas, 1895, "Schedule of Pauperism and Crime."

[15]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office.

wheat farmer. In 1895 he planted fifty-five acres of winter wheat but supplemented his wheat operations with many other crops, including fifty acres of corn, eight of rye, five of barley, ten of oats, fifteen of sorghum and fifteen of broom corn. He was equally diversified in 1905 when he planted seventy acres of winter wheat, thirty of spring wheat, thirty each of rye and corn, eighty-five of barley, five of oats, twenty of sorghum and ten of Hungarian millet.

In addition to grain operations, he owned ten horses, three cows and a pig in 1895, and fifteen horses, fourteen cows, eighteen other cattle and four swine ten years later. He sold or slaughtered $40 worth of animals in 1895 and $300 worth in 1905. In addition, he earned cash by producing butter and selling poultry in both census years. In 1905 he sold $300 worth of milk from his fourteen cows. By the standards of the time, he was successful in 1905.

All ten of these Barrett Township farmers got their start on free government land under the various land laws, but they also purchased land, buying out unsuccessful farmers and others who had apparently homesteaded just to sell out. They were able to increase their initial holdings in the county 400 percent by 1905. They were also successful in adapting to the climatic problems of the semi-arid high plains. Eight of the ten farmers grew wheat in 1895, and the two exceptions were experiencing hard times in that year. However, only two of the eight farmers planted winter wheat and seven cultivated spring wheat. All of these farmers had extensive winter wheat operations by 1905, although one planted more spring than winter wheat. In addition, they grew other crops such as barley and sorghum for feed. They averaged seventy-six head of

cattle in 1905, which showed that they were making use of the abundant prairie grasses. Their poultry and milk sales added to butter production indicated that the farmers' families assisted them. The pattern that led to success was winter wheat and feed crops to supplement the livestock operations.

Using these ten farmers as examples of successful adaptation to the high plains environment, we can analyze the farmers who had arrived in Thomas County by 1885 and those who had arrived in Barrett Township by 1895 to determine the causes of success or failure.

The 1885 census listed fifty-four farmers in Thomas County. Only three of these farmers remained in the county and on the agricultural schedules until 1905. An additional three men remained on the agriculturan schedules until 1895 and were listed on the population schedule of 1905. One man who farmed in 1885 was in the restaurant business in the county in 1895 and 1905. Four farmers remained until 1895, although one of them was listed only on the population schedule. Forty-three farmers were not found on any subsequent censuses.

Richard T. Heming, one of the three to remain on the agricultural schedules through three censuses, has already been discussed. Henry T. Knudsen farmed in the area that became Wendell Township in the northeastern corner of the county. He began farming with a quarter section in 1885, worth $400. By 1895 he had 360 acres valued at $5,000 and in ten years owned 600 acres worth $15,000. Unlike Heming, who had no fences until the 1905 census, Knudsen had 240 acres fenced in 1895. He also was consistent in increasing the value of his farm machinery. In 1885 he had $20 worth of equipment, in 1895 $100, and by 1905 he had

implements with a listed value of $300. He had some crops planted in 1885 but owned only two cows. His eight acres of wheat and twenty of corn were expanded to 120 of wheat, eighty of corn and twenty of oats in 1895. In 1905 he did not list any grain crops. He differed from Heming on livestock operations, as in 1895 he owned only eight horses and in 1905 only six. In none of the three census years did he have any income from the sale or slaughter of livestock. Indeed, it is difficult to determine why Knudsen valued his farm at about $25 per acre when the ten most successful farmers valued theirs at from $5 to $7.50 per acre.

F. S. See stayed on his farm for twenty years but may not have been too successful. He increased his 160 acre farm worth $300 to 240 acres worth $2,000 in 1895 but did not give any data on farm size or value in 1905. He did not cultivate any field crops in 1885 and owned only two horses and five cows. In 1895 he planted thirty acres of corn, seven of barley and twelve of oats. He also owned twelve horses, two cows, two other cattle and five swine. A decade later he owned one cow and two each of horses, other cattle and swine. Lack of data for 1905 makes additional analysis meaningless as See failed to list any information on size or value of farm, or on field crops. Although See had been in the county ten years in 1895, he still did not cultivate wheat. Since he was not a cattleman, the lack of wheat acreage might account for his apparent lack of success as a farmer by 1905.

W. W. Armstrong, Nathan Byars and C. D. Hubbard appeared on two agricultural censuses and then were listed on the population schedule of 1905. Armstrong and Byars listed farming as their occupation, but at the ages of sixty-five and fifty-eight perhaps they had already retired

as farmers. Hubbard was a mail carrier in Colby, Kansas, in 1905. Byars and Hubbard had half section farms in 1885 and lost acreage by 1895, while Armstrong started with 160 acres and increased his holdings to 320 by 1895. All three farms were higher in value in 1895 than in the preceding census. Hubbard, who cultivated twelve acres of corn, was the only one who planted any grain in 1885. All three men planted corn in 1895, and in addition Armstrong planted oats and Byars cultivated winter wheat and barley. Hubbard was the only one who owned many cattle (thirty-four head) in 1885. His livestock holdings the next decade were considerably less, however. All three produced butter by 1895 but not in 1885. The three men showed a decline in the value of implements from 1885 to 1895, and none had fenced any land by 1885, although all three had fences up by 1895. These men did not follow the pattern of the more successful operators of Barrett Township in growing wheat, early maturing grain crops, and raising livestock by 1895. This prevented them from enjoying the success that came to the farmers who increased their property from 1895 to 1905.

Four other farmers remained on only two censuses, one of whom planted wheat. R. S. Woodcock planted wheat and corn in 1895 but owned only three horses and no other livestock. He had started farming with a quarter section in 1885 but owned only eighty acres in 1895. None of the four farmers planted grain crops in 1885, and the three who appeared on the 1895 agricultural schedule planted corn. In addition, one farmer planted oats. The only one of the four farmers who owned much livestock was Z. T. Bulger, who owned five horses and twenty-nine head of cattle in 1885, and seven horses, five cows, thirty-two other cattle and two

swine in 1895. But in the latter year he planted only twenty acres of corn. Like the three farmers who appeared only in the population schedule by 1905, these four men failed to operate their farms with the proper combination of wheat, grains and livestock.

The last of the eleven farmers on the 1885 census who repeated in later censuses was actually off his farm by 1895. C. H. Hoover owned 160 acres worth $450 in 1885. He also owned two horses but did not plant any field crops. By 1895 he was listed as a baker and restaurant operator and had left the farm.

The forty-three farmers found only on the 1885 census represented the numerous settlers who arrived on the high plains during the atypical years of the early 1880's and were unprepared to adapt when the dry weather characteristic of the area returned. The most noticeable characteristic of these forty-three men is the number of census items that they left blank. This means that practically all of them were just getting started by 1885. Twenty-seven of the forty-three farmers had 160 acre farms in 1885, and the other sixteen had 320 acres. The cash value of their farms ranged from $200 to $1,200, with over half, twenty-two, worth from $400 to $600. Five of the eleven repeating farmers had farms in this latter range. The value of farm machinery listed was from $7 to $100, with twenty-eight farmers listing implements in the range from $40 to $80, which would also include seven of the eleven repeaters.

Only four of the forty-three non-repeaters planted field crops, compared to two of the eleven repeaters. Most of these farmers owned some livestock, but less than half owned as many as ten head of horses, cattle, swine and sheep combined, whereas six of the eleven repeaters owned at

least ten head of livestock. Most of the fifty-four farmers who were on the 1885 census had limited holdings in that year. What they had, they brought with them, for they had not been in the county long enough to build up a herd of livestock or to plant many crops. Some repeated and at least two became successful on the farm by 1905.

Five of the non-repeaters had herds of more than 100 head of cattle. Possibly these cattlemen moved farther west as the country became settled, for only one of them grew any grain crops in 1885. Five other non-repeaters owned flocks of 160 to 265 sheep. None of these men cultivated field crops in 1885 and may have gone elsewhere to find grazing land for their animals.

George W. Wiley illustrates the problem of determining criteria for success from their first census year. Like R. T. Heming, he owned 160 acres in 1885. He valued his land at $50 more than Heming and owned $40 less implements. Whereas Heming did not plant any crops in 1885, Wiley had five acres of winter wheat, five of rye and twelve of corn. Both men owned two horses, but Wiley owned 125 cattle compared to Heming's twenty. Wiley's property and livestock exceeded Heming's in value, and the former was an early planter of grain crops. Yet by 1905 Heming's farm was worth $28,800 and Wiley had moved elsewhere. Although Heming had the same amount of land and livestock as many non-repeaters, he stayed through 1905. Many of those who left were probably small scale land speculators or people who found opportunity elsewhere. Others simply did not like the life on the high plains or failed to adapt to the climatic conditions. Given the options, Heming stayed and succeeded whereas Wiley and many others left to succeed elsewhere, or failed.

The farmers who arrived by 1895 came after the county was organized, and many had almost ten years of residence in the county before appearing on the census. Therefore, they had time to establish their farms by the time they first appeared on a census, which contrasts to the situation in 1885. The census for Barrett Township in 1895 contained sixty-three new arrivals and one farmer, R. T. Heming, who was on the 1885 census. Twenty-four of the new arrivals were on the census of 1905 and thirty-nine were non-repeaters.

Seventeen of the twenty-four farmers who were to appear on the census of 1905 had increased their total farm acreage, four stayed the same and one lost acreage. Two men were included on the 1905 census but did not give any data on acreage. All twenty-four farms increased in value, including that of the farmer who lost acreage by 1905. All but nine of the twenty-four farms had some fences up by 1895, but those nine who did not included five of the ten most successful farmers in the township. Even R. T. Heming, who had been in Barrett Township since 1879, had not fenced any land by 1895. A correlation between fencing and success does not exist in Barrett Township. All twenty-four farmers listed some farm implements, ranging from $3 to $255 in 1895. There does not seem to be any correlation between value of implements in 1895 and value of farm in 1905. The farmer who listed $3 in implements in 1895 listed $300 in 1905, and his farm was the thirteenth most valuable of the twenty-four. On the other hand, one farmer owned $120 worth of implements in 1895 but had a farm valued at only $1,600 in 1905.

Twenty of the twenty-four farmers planted wheat in 1895. As has already been noted, two of the four who did not plant wheat in 1895 were

experiencing hard times but were able to prosper in the next decade. The farmer with 150 acres, the largest wheat acreage in 1895, had a farm worth $20,000 in 1905. Another farmer who planted 140 acres owned a $2,000 farm in 1905. Wheat cultivation, therefore, was not the only determinent of success. Eighteen farmers planted corn, ten planted barley and thirteen planted oats. Six farmers planted all of these crops in 1895 and four of the six were farmers who had increased their total farm acreage by at least 400 percent by 1905. The successful farmers also raised livestock in Barrett Township. Fifteen of the twenty-four farmers owned ten head of livestock or more in 1895, and six of them were among the most successful farmers in the area. Fifteen farmers produced butter and fourteen sold poultry products in 1895. Seven of the most successful farmers produced butter and sold poultry. These data suggest that the right combination of crops and livestock aided in bringing success.

Although a pattern of successful farming which included wheat, other grain crops, livestock, butter and poultry operations existed in Barrett Township, a farmer might engage in all these activities, as R. B. Rawson did, and still meet with very limited success. Rawson did not increase his farm acreage from 1895 to 1905, and the increase in value was only from $900 to $1,500.

Again, not much can be said about the thirty-nine farmers who appeared only on the 1895 census. Many had arrived as early as the farmers who remained to 1905. They had had the same opportunity for acquiring government land. Twenty-two of the thirty-nine non-repeaters had quarter section farms in 1895, thirteen had farms from 311 to 320 acres, and four had farms of from 130 to 152 acres. The size of their farms in

1895 was not significantly different from that of the farmers who remained to 1905. So the initial size of farm was not so important in Barrett Township.

Ten of the thirty-nine farmers operated their farms with a combination of wheat, feed grains and livestock in 1895. Butter production and poultry sales were also listed by nine of these ten farmers in 1895. These farmers appeared to have pursued success by the same path as the farmers who remained until 1905, yet they were off the census in that year. Some had probably moved elsewhere, either as successful farmers or as failures, while others may have died or encountered one of the many disasters possible on the high plains.

Many individuals who filed on government land in Barrett Township did not stay long enough to appear on a census. Indeed, the most striking information yielded by the tract books is the large number of entries and cancellations on the land. In one government survey township with 136 quarter sections available, there had been 244 separate entries, indicating that 108 relinquishments or cancellations had been made.[16] Although some of the 244 entries may have been made by land speculators or other non-settlers, most of those who canceled or relinquished their claims were probably farmers who had been conquered by the frontier.

Barrett Township included three government survey townships, or 408

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[16]Kansas tract books of the General Land Office. The government survey township, which was in the northeast part of Barrett Township, was Township 6 North, Range 35 West of the Sixth Principal Meridian. The 244 entries and 108 relinquishments include individuals who filed under more than one land law. For example, in the area that became Barrett Township, twenty-seven entries were made in 1879 by a total of nineteen men. Eight men acquired 320 acres each, while eleven acquired 160.

quarter sections for possible entry, but by 1895 there were only sixty-four farmers listed on the agricultural census. Some analysis of the importance of the time of settlement is possible since fifty-seven of the farmers found on the census were also listed in the tract books. Success or failure could be decided in the first year or two. Historians of agriculture in the Great Plains area note the limited resources of the settlers, and most authorities agree that the newly arrived farmer needed several good crops to succeed. Also, several bad years in succession usually meant failure. Climatic conditions were not typical in the years preceding the rush into Thomas County, and precipitation remained sufficient for agriculture through 1888. These unusually wet years encouraged settlement, but they also gave a false picture of the region's environment. When weather conditions returned to normal, the farmer would be forced to adapt or to leave.

Twenty-four of the fifty-seven farmers were on both the 1895 and 1905 censuses while thirty-three were listed only on the 1895 schedule. Forty-four farmers arrived between 1879 and 1888. Twenty-one, or 48 percent, were on both the 1895 and 1905 censuses. In every year that any farmers arrived from 1879 to 1888, half were in the group that stayed through two censuses and the other half were on only the census of 1895, except in 1886 when five farmers appeared on both censuses and seven did not. Farmers who arrived in 1886 may have planted a crop the first year, but probably not very many acres. Then in 1887 high temperatures in the growing season caused a reduced yield in their second year on the farm. This could have used up much of the farmers' resources. Still, all twelve stayed for the next nine years. From 1892 to 1895 more problems

beset the high plains farmers, which probably used up their remaining resources.

TABLE 12

DATE OF ENTRY ON GOVERNMENT LANDS OF FARMERS IN BARRETT TOWNSHIP (THOMAS COUNTY), REPEATERS AND NON-REPEATERS[a]

Date of Entry	Repeaters		Non-repeaters	
	Name	Censuses	Name	Census
1879	R. T. Heming	1885-1905	M. L. Lacey	1895
1885	C. A. Cole	1895-1905	J. W. Denney	1895
	A. H. Fink	1895-1905	W. H. Hull	1895
	C. H. Kramer	1895-1905	John Johnson	1895
	J. Parker	1895-1905	S. Miller	1895
	C. G. Thompson	1895-1905	W. F. Starcher	1895
	P. D. Tubbs	1895-1905	H. Stolting	1895
1886			H. E. Fuller	1895
	M. L. Cotherman	1895-1905	F. T. Garrison	1895
	D. Hazen, Sr.	1895-1905	J. H. Gillispie	1895
	D. Hazen, Jr.	1895-1905	F. A. Grimm	1895
	R. B. Rawson	1895-1905	J. H. Harmon	1895
	H. A. Smith	1895-1905	H. F. Massman	1895
			D. F. Shipe	1895
1888	W. H. Cole	1895-1905	W. Brumwell	1895
	J. Dorland	1895-1905	M. Clark	1895
	P. Eicher	1895-1905	W. A. Crabtree	1895
	G. T. Fry	1895-1905	F. E. Drummond	1895
	F. C. Goellert	1895-1905	C. H. James	1895
	D. Johnston	1895-1905	O. Sommers	1895
	W. O. Bear	1895-1905	L. D. Bundy	1895
	W. E. Musser	1895-1905	K. Eicher	1895
	W. O. Watson	1895-1905	C. H. Ost	1895
1889			C. F. Chadwick	1895
1890	B. W. Baird	1895-1905	D. N. Bitner	1895
1891			J. T. Shackelford	1895
1892	Fred Roupetz	1895-1905	C. A. Gilbert	1895
			J. W. Hoyt	1895
			I. Rawson	1895

TABLE 12--Continued

Date of Entry	Repeaters		Non-repeaters	
	Name	Censuses	Name	Census
1893	J. O. Magruder	1895-1905	A. C. Bundy	1895
			W. Schwarz	1895
1894			B. F. Heikes	1895
1897			R. A. Hoyt	1895

[a]Compiled from the Kansas tract books of the General Land Office. Only farmers who appear in the manuscript agricultural census are included. Repeaters appear in two or more censuses; non-repeaters appear in only one.

In the period after 1888 only twelve farmers arrived who were on the census of 1895. Three, or 25 percent, were also on the census of 1905. The weather was normal in 1889 but dry in 1890, with improved conditions in 1891 followed by a drought that lasted well into the growing season of 1895. These farmers arriving from 1889 to 1894 had only one good crop year, 1891, which was followed by four bad years. The farmers who arrived in 1889 or 1890 with limited resources probably used up much of their capital before 1891 and were not able to get good production in that year. Then they faced four drought years before the census of 1895. Not much needs to be said of the farmers who arrived during the extremely poor weather conditions from 1891 to 1894. The three men who were able to stay on their farms through 1905 apparently had more resources than the other nine.

In summary, those farmers who arrived in Barrett Township by 1888 had a much better chance to remain on their farms than those who arrived

from 1889 to 1894. Thus, time of arrival in the county was a factor in influencing success on the farm.

Only three farmers in Thomas County remained on the farm for twenty years. These men and fourteen farmers who were on the 1895 and 1905 censuses had met with some success in terms of farm size and value, acreage under cultivation and number of livestock. In summary, seventeen, or 15 percent of the 117 Thomas County and Barrett Township farmers studied established successful farms in this semi-arid county.

Economic and social mobility was possible in Barrett Township in the late nineteenth century, although many farmers failed in their attempts to establish commercial farms on the high plains. Despite the theories, the plains environment was not changing during this period; therefore, the farmers had to change. They had to adapt their farming skills to a new environment if they wanted to be successful. Some were able to brave the hardships of a sod-house existence and at the same time plant wheat, early maturing grain crops, and raise cattle, which brought them economic success. By building up their land holdings so that they could allow fields to lie fallow and by increasing their livestock, they were able to overcome the low yields per acre common in the semi-arid high plains.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to provide more reliable information on success or failure on the farm by tracing the careers of individual farmers. The approach is statistical, unlike John Ise's Sod and Stubble,[1] Howard Ruede's Sod House Days,[2] or Kenneth Porter's "'Holding Down' a Northwest Kansas Claim, 1885-1888,"[3] in which one farm family's experiences are chronicled. The basic source has been the manuscript census of agriculture from which economic biographies of individual farmers have been reconstructed. In the context of all Kansas farmers this is a sample study, but for the limited geographic area chosen it is complete. On the basis of detailed information on individual farmers in an entire township, efforts have been made to show the main elements necessary for economic success and upward social mobility.

The two main standards used to determine success on Kansas farms in the late nineteenth century have been longevity and the accumulation of

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[1]John Ise, Sod and Stubble, the Story of a Kansas Homestead (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936).

[2]Howard Ruede, Sod House Days, Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877-1878, ed. by John Ise (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

[3]Kenneth W. Porter, "'Holding Down' a Northwest Kansas Claim, 1885-1888," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII (Autumn, 1956), 220-235.

land and other property. The length of time an operator resided on his farm is not the best criterion for determining success because is is known that some near subsistence farmers held on for many years. However, length of stay on the farm is one important factor in success, and when combined with property accumulation, provides an example of economic progress. The census information permits detailed consideration of land holdings by individual farmers, the amount of fencing, machinery, and the production of crops and livestock in census years.

But there are questions which the census data simply cannot answer. Why did some farmers leave their farms when they seemed to be doing about as well as their neighbors who remained? What roles did management and the strong desire to live and work on a farm play? Did some farm wives tire of the hard work and urge their husbands to pursue other occupations? Did some settlers have more access to capital, possibly from relatives, than others? Which so-called farmers were actually speculators who acquired land for resale profit? How did illness or other personal problems affect a farmer's success? These and many other questions cannot be answered with the extant data. Therefore, the part which such matters had in success or failure must be inferred.

Three primary questions concerning social and economic mobility emerge: what percentage of the farmers listed on the censuses could be considered successful? in which geographic area was success more probable? and can the cause or causes of success or failure be determined by quantitative analysis?

In this study a farmer was considered to have enjoyed some success if he stayed on the farm for at least twenty years whether he accumulated

more land and increased his other property or not. In addition, those farmers who remained for ten years and materially increased their production of crops and livestock or accumulated more land were also listed as successful. Only 108, or 20 percent, of the 528 farmers studied met with success according to the above standards. An additional seventy-seven, or 15 percent, remained on their farms for five years or more and therefore could conceivably be considered to have had limited success. Many of the 343 farmers who appeared on only one census may also have enjoyed a good living, but there must also have been numerous failures among the 65 percent non-repeaters.

In all three areas studied, economic progress was made by some of the farmers. But was economic success more certain in humid Anderson County with its similarities to the regions from which the settlers had come, in McPherson County where sod-houses were used and precipitation was not always plentiful, or in semi-arid Thomas County where an eastern Kansas drought year would be considered a wet year? Comparisons of success in the three counties are difficult to make because of the variation in time of settlement, but some observations and conclusions are in order.

A settler who arrived as a pioneer in one of the three areas studied had a better chance of remaining on his farm in McPherson County than in the other two counties. In Gypsum Creek Township of McPherson County, 85 percent of the twenty-six farmers who arrived by 1870 remained until the 1875 census, and 46 percent stayed until 1885. In Ozark Township of Anderson County, 60 percent of the ten pioneers on the first census, 1860, stayed until 1865, and 20 percent remained on their farms for at

least a decade, appearing on the census of 1870. The first census for Thomas County was taken in 1885 before county organization but some six years after the first settlers arrived. Only 17 percent of the fifty-four farmers appearing on the census of 1885 in Thomas County remained at least until the 1895 census. This figure, representing a ten year period, is comparable to the 46 percent and 20 percent for McPherson and Anderson Counties during the first decade of settlement. In summary, a higher percentage of the pioneers of McPherson County remained on their farms for fifteen years than Anderson or Thomas County settlers did for ten. Thomas County, with its unusual climatic conditions, was the area in which the highest percentage of early settlers stayed one or two years and then left. But Anderson County did not offer significantly better prospects for longevity than Thomas County in the pioneering period. The small number of farmers in Ozark Township of Anderson County may be misleading as a few unrepresentative farmers could throw off the true percentages for the area. However, only 16 percent of the thirty-two farmers who arrived in 1865 stayed until 1875.

The trends of persistence changed somewhat as the three areas developed well-established agricultural patterns. According to James C. Malin, the area around Anderson and McPherson Counties had a highly stable population by 1875, as did the Thomas County region by 1895. Indeed, in the three counties the population either remained fairly constant or increased in the decade following these dates. Therefore, census data from these years, 1875 for Anderson and McPherson Counties and 1895 for Thomas County, were taken to compare the persistence of farmers who first arrived in the counties after the pioneering stage had passed.

Again, a higher percentage of farmers from Gypsum Creek Township of McPherson County remained on the farm through a subsequent census. Some 51 percent of the ninety-eight farmers who appeared on the 1875 census remained at least until 1885. In Indian Creek Township of Anderson County, 32 percent of the thirty-one new arrivals in 1875 stayed on the farm until 1885. In Barrett Township of Thomas County, 38 percent of the sixty-three farmers who arrived prior to the census of 1895 were still on their farms in 1905. Hence, as the patterns of commercial farming became established, a greater percentage of McPherson County farmers in the heart of the winter wheat belt were able to remain on the farms than in either Anderson or Thomas Counties.

The surprising information is that semi-arid Thomas County offered a higher rate of persistence during the stable period than humid Anderson County. One might assume the opposite to be true because the high plains environment held so many obstacles to the farmers' success.

Enough Thomas County farmers overcame the environmental conditions to lead Anderson County farmers in the rate of persistence for the entire period covered, but McPherson County remained the area in which a farmer enjoyed the best percentage chances of staying on his land. Ninety-four, or 45 percent, of the 208 Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Township farmers appeared on at least two censuses. However, eleven of those who repeated stayed only five years. Therefore, eighty-three, or 40 percent, of the McPherson settlers remained in the township for over ten years. Thirty-three, or 28 percent, of the 117 Barrett Township and Thomas County farmers remained for at least ten years. The farmers of Ozark and Indian Creek Townships of Anderson County had the lowest rate of persistence.

Although fifty-eight farmers, or 29 percent, of the 203 farmers repeated, almost one-third of these remained only five years. Only forty-two, or 21 percent, of the farmers stayed ten years or longer. In other words, a McPherson County farmer had twice as good a chance to remain ten years as a Anderson County farmer. And contrary to what one might assume, a Thomas County farmer had a better percentage chance of remaining than an Anderson County farmer.

Why would settlers in the semi-arid region have a higher degree of persistence than those in the humid east? At first thought the question poses an insoluble problem, but when the time of settlement is considered, a possible explanation appears. Anderson County settlement started a quarter century before the first pioneers reached Thomas County. At that time much good land was available in the east and central portions of Kansas. If a farmer met reverses in Anderson County, he could move farther west to try again. On the other hand, if a Thomas County settler suffered reverses, he would be more likely to admit defeat since most of the other lands available for settlement were quite often as inhospitable as those in Thomas County. These differences in time of settlement, which caused a tremendous variation in the farmers' options, probably caused the high plains farmers to take a more determined attitude toward the business of establishing a farm. Perhaps also, those farmers who arrived in Thomas County after the true nature of the environment was known did so with a dedication to farming that some eastern Kansans did not have. One might enter farming more casually in the humid east, but farther west a more serious attitude would probably prevail.

Another possible explanation for the persistence patterns in the

three counties could be the presence of speculators. In McPherson County, where the highest percentage of farmers remained on their farms, the federal land legislation encouraged settlers to acquire quarter section farms from the government rather than to purchase them from private individuals. Land speculation was not as common as in the areas farther east or farther west. In Anderson County there were many individuals who went into the newly opened areas, got what they could by planting a few crops and grazing some livestock, and then sold at a profit and left. These settlers were not devoted to farming either as a business or as a way of life. Other farmers acquired large acreages at first and sold some of the land at a profit while remaining on the farm. For instance, in Ozark Township three farmers who arrived in 1865 disposed of over half of their total acreage in five or ten years. Many of the other early farmers who stayed five years or less were probably small scale speculators too. The result of land speculation could be felt for years as other farmers followed in the area, bought the land at higher prices, thus depleting their capital, and began farming.

Thomas County also had its land speculators, but some of them must have been using the then outdated federal land laws to acquire operating capital. Many homesteads were commuted to cash entry, probably to be sold to provide capital for a new start. One Barrett Township farmer, R. T. Heming, for example, filed on free land from the government but later canceled the claim. Although the available data does not give any reason for this cancelation, a good guess is that he sold his claim to acquire operating capital. Heming acquired another quarter section in the township from the government and continued farming. Others probably

sold their claims for whatever cash they could and then left. But the effect of speculation was different in Thomas County than in Anderson County. In Anderson County the new farmer had to buy land, giving the speculator a chance to sell at a profit, whereas in Thomas County he acquired land from the government and purchased additional land later.

As mentioned earlier, persistence on the farm did not in itself mean success. And, indeed, not to be included on more than one census did not mean that a farmer was a failure, although many non-repeaters must have failed. A more meaningful comparison of the three counties can be made if size and value of farms are considered.

Some farmers have always pursued the policy summed up in the pioneer farmer's answer when questioned about how much land he needed: "I ain't greedy for land, all I want is jist what jines mine!"[4] Land acquisition is one measure of economic progress on the farm. Seventy-one, or 38 percent, of the 185 farmers in all three townships who appeared on more than one census added land to their farms by the last census in which they were considered. On the other hand, forty-six farmers, 25 percent, had less land than when they first appeared on the census. A large number of farmers, sixty-one, or 33 percent, had no change in the size of farm, and seven farmers, or 4 percent, did not give any data on size of farm. Thus, of those who might be considered successful, 132, or 71 percent, either added to their land holdings or at least retained what they had originally obtained.

In Anderson County, 43 percent of the farmers who appeared in more

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[4]Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 3.

than one census increased their acreage, compared to 27 percent in McPherson County. Since most of the land in Anderson County was not acquired under the Homestead Act as it was in McPherson and Thomas Counties, many farmers had to buy land to start their farms. Often they bought less than 160 acres, and it was necessary to buy more land after building up their capital or by mortgaging the original farm. In McPherson County, on the other hand, many farmers were able to acquire a quarter section of land from the government, and apparently a farm of this size could be operated at a profit. The farmers of McPherson County would not have been under the same pressure to acquire land as those in Anderson County. But the highest percentage of farmers to increase their land holdings was in Thomas County, not Anderson in the east. Here 64 percent of the farmers had **greater** acreage by the last census under consideration. Whereas many Anderson County farmers wanted to add to their acreage in order to prosper, in Thomas County with its low yields per acre, it was vital. The successful farmers of Thomas County had farms of thousands of acres because dry farming techniques and livestock raising required large scale operations. Another factor that led to larger farms in Thomas County was the lower cost of farm land.

The data on farms that decreased in size by the last census give added support to the above observations. Only 15 percent of the Thomas County farms lost acreage and still appeared in more than one census. Most of the farmers who lost acreage were on the censuses of 1885 and 1895 and not 1905, which indicates that a farmer could lose acreage during the pioneering period of Thomas County's history and remain on the farm for ten years more often than in the period of commercial farming.

TABLE 13

CHANGES IN SIZE OF FARMS FROM FIRST TO LAST APPEARANCE IN CENSUS[a]

County	First Census	Increased by Last Census[b]	Decreased by Last Census[b]	Remained Same[b]	No Data[b]	Total[b]
Anderson	1860	1	0	2	3	6
	1865	1	5	1	1	8
	1870	12	17	3	2	34
	1875	6	1	3	0	10
	Total	20	23	9	6	58
	Percentage	34	40	16	10	100
McPherson	1870	9	2	11	0	22
	1875	10	15	25	0	50
	1885	6	7	9	0	22
	Total	25	24	45	0	94
	Percentage	27	26	47	0	100
Thomas	1885	4	4	1	0	9
	1895	17	1	4	2	24
	Total	21	5	5	2	33
	Percentage	64	15	15	6	100
	Total of All Counties	66	52	60	8	185
	Percentage	36	28	32	4	100

[a]Compiled from Tables 37-45.

[b]Entries represent number of individual farmers who appear on at least ten censuses.

Some 29 percent of Anderson County's repeating farmers had less acreage in the last census than the first. A few farmers, probably speculators, initially had very large land holdings, but their acreage rapidly

declined as the area was settled and they sold off their surplus land. Other farmers lost property and then later disappeared from the county. For example, 65 percent of the farmers who lost land in Anderson County first appeared on the census of 1870. Nine of the eleven farmers who first appeared in 1870 and had a decrease in total acreage last appeared on either the census of 1875 or 1885.

As has already been mentioned, there was probably less large scale speculation in Gypsum Creek and Battle Hill Townships of McPherson County than in Anderson as most farmers started with a quarter section homestead. In addition, success was more probable in McPherson County, and therefore the percentage of farmers losing acreage was smaller than in Anderson County. Some 26 percent of the repeating farmers lost acreage. Whereas 1870 was the peak year for Anderson County arrivals who later lost land, in McPherson County 1875 was the peak. Fifteen farmers, 63 percent of those who later lost land, arrived in that year. Just as in Anderson County, there was a pattern of disappearing from the census after losing acreage. Nine of those farmers remained through 1885 and three more were on their farms through 1895, while three others stayed through 1905. The three who were last on the census of 1895 had lost acreage during the preceding decade. Since no data were used after 1905, the status of three of the farmers who lost land is unknown, but twelve of the fifteen farmers were not on the census following the loss of property.

McPherson County pioneers settled in the right place at the right time. The county was settled late enough for land to be acquired under the Homestead and Timber Culture Acts, and the climate was hospitable to

the quarter section farm. Therefore, it is not too surprising to note that 48 percent of the repeating farmers in McPherson County had the same acreage in both the first and last census years. In contrast, 16 percent of Anderson County repeaters and 15 percent of Thomas County repeaters fall into this category.

The general pattern, then, is that Anderson County farmers, as purchasers of land, included speculators who later disposed of excess land and others who often had to add to their initial holdings if they expected to stay on the farm. McPherson County farmers enjoyed land legislation that was adaptable to the settlers' needs. And Thomas County farmers had to increase the size of their farms drastically if they expected to succeed.

The dollar and cents value of anything, or anyone, is an important measure of success to Americans. Therefore, data on the cash value of farms can be used to determine economic and in many cases social success. Most of the 185 repeaters in the three counties were able to increase the value of their farms. McPherson County had the highest percentage, 82 percent, of the repeaters to increase the value of their farms, with Anderson and Thomas Counties both with 79 percent. It is surprising that Anderson County should have the lowest percentage, 10 percent, compared to McPherson's 13 percent and Thomas' 12 percent, of its repeating farms showing a decline in cash value, because Anderson County had the highest percentage of farmers losing acreage.

Using the criteria established to define success, thirty-six or 18 percent, of the 203 Anderson County farmers studied achieved success. McPherson County led with fifty-five, or 26 percent of the 208 farmers

being successful, while seventeen, or 15 percent, of the 117 Thomas County farmers succeeded.[4]

TABLE 14

CHANGES IN CASH VALUE OF FARMS FROM FIRST TO LAST APPEARANCE IN CENSUS[a]

County	First Census	Increased by Last Census[b]	Decreased by Last Census[b]	Remained Same[b]	No Data[b]	Total[b]
Anderson	1860	2	0	1	3	6
	1865	7	0	0	1	8
	1870	27	6	0	1	34
	1875	10	0	0	0	10
	Total	46	6	1	5	58
	Percentage	79	10	2	9	100
McPherson	1870	15	6	0	1	22
	1875	49	0	0	1	50
	1885	13	6	3	0	22
	Total	77	12	3	2	94
	Percentage	82	13	3	2	100
Thomas	1885	4	4	1	0	9
	1895	22	0	0	2	24
	Total	26	4	1	2	33
	Percentage	79	12	3	6	100
	Total of All Counties	149	22	5	9	185
	Percentage	80	12	3	5	100

[a]Compiled from Tables 37-45.

[b]Entries represent number of individual farmers who appear on at least two censuses.

[4]As has been previously mentioned, 28 percent of the Thomas County

Considering the data on persistence, land accumulation and rising value of farms, McPherson County stands out as the best choice for settlement for economic reasons. But Thomas County had something to offer. Although a higher percentage of repeating farmers increased their farms' value in McPherson County than in Thomas, the latter seems to have offered the possibility of greater rewards to the few. The range in cash value of farms of the repeaters in Battle Hill Township of McPherson County in 1905 was $1,500 to $10,000, compared to $700 to $28,000 in Barrett Township of Thomas County. Six Thomas County farmers had farms worth more than $11,000. The range in Indian Creek Township of Anderson County was from $1,500 to $7,000. Although the odds against success were higher in Barrett Township, a few farmers were able to do quite well by 1905.

What caused the success or failure of farmers in the three areas studied? Census materials permit some analysis of the size of farm and the production of crops and livestock.

Although many pioneer farmers began by cultivating only a few acres, the initial size of the farm could influence success. Yet in each of the

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farmers remained in the county for over ten years compared to 21 percent of the Anderson County farmers. Yet the figures on success show Anderson County with a slightly higher percentage. One explanation for this may lie in the definition of success, in which twenty years on the farm is equated with success. For Anderson and McPherson Counties, all the farmers studied appeared before 1885 and therefore could possibly have been followed for twenty years. On the other hand, over half of the Thomas County farmers first appeared on the census of 1895 and therefore were traced for only ten years. Thus, they were considered successful only if they materially increased their land and production. If the period studied had extended to 1915, perhaps some of the ten farmers who remained from 1895 to 1905 would have been found to have stayed for twenty years. Had all of the farmers remained, the amount of success in Thomas County would have been increased to 23 percent.

three counties studied, most repeating and non-repeating farmers had approximately the same size farms when they started. An eighty acre farm was an adequate start in Anderson County. Several of the more successful farmers began with this amount. Only eleven of the 203 farmers started with less than eighty acres, and two stayed for thirty years and another remained for fifteen. However, none of these three was able to enlarge his farm to over 112 acres in size.

In McPherson and Thomas Counties the initial size of the farm was not a problem because most farmers started with a quarter section or more. In McPherson County only eleven farmers of the 208 studied had less than 100 acres when they started farming. Only five of the 117 farmers studied in Thomas County started with less than a quarter section, the smallest farm being 130 acres. However, none of the farmers who started with less than a quarter section achieved success in Thomas County. One of the two repeating farmers who started with 139 acres did not increase the size of his farm from 1895 to 1905. The other more than doubled his acreage from 138 acres in 1895 to 320 acres in 1905, but by the latter date a half section farm was well below the average size. Although in all three counties there was a lower limit of initial acreage for successful settlement, the overwhelming majority of the farmers had more than that minimum. Yet some succeeded and others did not.

The successful farmers in any region are those whose crop and livestock operations are productive. In all three areas studied the data on successful farmers in their first census year were not significantly different from less successful farmers or even from non-repeaters. For example, in Anderson County Cyrus C. Cochran, the most successful of the

farmers who stayed for thirty-five years, produced 109 bushels of wheat and owned five horses, five cows and two swine in 1870. Seven non-repeaters produced more wheat and twenty-three had more livestock. Cochran began cultivating corn in 1875 and still had about the same amount of livestock, but other county farmers increased their crops and their livestock holdings that year but were gone by 1885. Since many farmers did not remain on their farms until the 1875 census, we cannot know if they had increased their grain and livestock operations or not. The successful farmers in Anderson County increased grain and livestock production, yet many farmers who did the same failed to remain on their farms.

In McPherson County in 1885 some 82 percent of the twenty-two repeating farmers planted wheat and corn while raising livestock, compared to only 52 percent of the sixty-two non-repeaters. These data indicate that almost half of the non-repeaters might have failed to establish their farms because they had not adapted to the region's agricultural pattern. On the other hand, what happened to the thirty-two non-repeaters who farmed in the pattern established by the successful farmers?

The most successful farmers in Barrett Township had higher acreage in winter wheat, spring wheat, corn and barley and had more cattle than either the average repeater or non-repeater in 1895. Since the ten most successful farmers had larger farms in 1905, it is not surprising that they continued to lead the other repeaters in grain acreage and livestock production.

In all three areas a combination of grain crops and livestock was necessary for successful farm operation. In Anderson County the pattern

was corn-livestock production; McPherson farmers combined wheat as a cash crop with corn-livestock production; and in Thomas County the cash crop was wheat, but barley and sorghum were used for feed along with corn. Livestock production supplemented grain operations in Anderson and McPherson Counties, but grain operations supplemented livestock production in Thomas County.

Experimentation with different crops and methods also influenced success in McPherson and Thomas Counties. In the former area the necessary adaptation was a shift from corn production to winter wheat. In Thomas County, farmers first cultivated corn, the traditional pioneer crop, and spring wheat, a crop grown in parts of Nebraska from which many of them had come, but they later changed to winter wheat, barley, sorghum and other grains that either matured early or were drought resistant. They also learned to conserve water by summer fallowing and subsoiling. In all three areas the successful farm families produced butter and sold milk or poultry products to supplement the grain and livestock operations.

Farmers in all three areas studied had to own a minimum acreage to achieve success, and those who succeeded increased their production of grains and livestock. But what of the many farmers who owned the same amount of land or more and who seemed to grow the crops best suited to the environment and still failed to prosper? Other factors were also involved in the success or failure of Kansas farmers.

Some of the farmers who were listed on the census were also on the Kansas tract books of the General Land Office, so the approximate time of their arrival could be established. These limited data imply the

importance of the conditions at the time a farmer started his farm. Unfortunately, the arrival time of all farmers could not be estimated and the conclusions are therefore limited.

If a farmer settled early enough to plant a few acres of sod corn and some vegetables, his chance of succeeding must have been greater than that of those who arrived near the end of the growing season. Another aspect of time of arrival and success or failure on the farm involves the year of arrival. For example, farmers arriving when prices were low and crop yields were bad suffered more than those arriving in better times.

In Anderson County there is some indication that the earliest arrivals got better land, but there was also land speculation which caused early arrivals to be off later censuses. The grasshopper invasion of 1874 caused many of the farmers who arrived by 1870 to lose their farms, but it also reduced land prices and enabled newcomers to take their places. Very little land in Indian Creek Township of Anderson County was available to settlers under the federal land laws. Therefore, the time of arrival in the county could not be established for the vast majority of the township's farmers. For the few farmers, eighteen of the 203, for whom these data were available, the time of arrival did not appear to be a significant factor in success or failure.

The importance of time of arrival in Battle Hill Township of McPherson County can be seen in the settlers who arrived early enough to select the best locations and to plant crops in their first year, although many farmers must have selected their claims and then returned to their parents' homes in the east like George Harrouff, because four farmers who

arrived in 1874 were not on the census until 1885. The farmers who arrived early in periods of rising wheat prices remained on their farms more often than those who came during periods of low prices.

The importance of the time of settlement to success in farming can best be seen in Thomas County because more data are available on time of arrival. The settlers who arrived in the mid-1880's had a much better chance of remaining on the farm than those who came after 1889 because climatic conditions became too unfavorable for farmers in the early 1890's. Farmers arriving after 1889 might stay on the farm for a few years, but the long drought of the early 1890's, accompanied by the low wheat prices, spelled disaster for many. Unfortunately, not enough data are available on time of arrival of the 528 farmers to establish the importance of this factor by quantitative analysis.

There has been much discussion of the effects of the Homestead Act on settlement of the West. In this study some limited observations concerning this subject are possible. Some of the Indian Creek farmers who remained on their farms for at least twenty years had acquired homesteads in the 1870's. The land they acquired had been filed on previously; therefore, these successful farmers may have purchased the relinquishments. It is doubtful that homesteading had much causal relationship with success for those farmers who arrived over fifteen years after settlement began in the county. In Battle Hill Township of McPherson County free lands were acquired by numerous farmers, and the Homestead and Timber Culture Acts probably assisted many farmers to establish successful farms. Most Barrett Township farmers acquired some of their lands from the federal government. As in Anderson County, some of this land was

available because of cancelations and relinquishments. Since extremely large farms were necessary due to the low yield per acre, some modification in the land laws should have been made by 1880. In both Battle Hill and Barrett Townships all the land was available to private entry under the land laws. Therefore, no comparisons of the value of homestead land and railroad lands can be made. In Indian Creek Township very little acreage was available to the homesteader, and it was probably inferior to the other land in the area because the state, railroads and the other settlers had picked over the land by the time it was homesteaded.

Those farmers who sought to establish profitable commercial farms needed capital for housing, a well, farm implements, fencing and livestock. But not all of the capital was necessary at the time of settlement. The farmer could build up his capital after a few good crop years and then put up fences, add to his farm machinery and buy livestock.

Fences were not necessary for the pioneer farmer and could be built several years after settlement. Some of the successful farmers in all three areas were slow to enclose their farms with fences. Adrian L. Rodgers of Indian Creek, Anderson County, arrived by 1869 and had only one-third of his farm fenced in 1905 when it was worth $6,000. Yet other Ozark and Indian Creek farmers had fenced all their property in five or ten years. In McPherson County the most successful of the farmers who stayed thirty-five years did not fence any of his land until 1885. This was typical of the farmers who arrived in 1870 and 1875. In Thomas County the most successful farmer in Barrett Township settled in 1879 but did not fence any property until after 1895. Although 48 percent of

the sixty-four farmers in Barrett Township of Thomas County had fences in 1895, only 40 percent of the ten most successful did. The farmers who experienced upward economic mobility did not fence their land earlier than those who did not repeat or who did not add materially to their property and its value.

Capital was necessary to purchase machinery, especially as the farmer began commercial operations, but little equipment was necessary in the pioneering stage. The census data included cash value of farm implements, but the figures may not be too accurate because farmers may have undervalued this item.

In Anderson County the farmers who stayed thirty-five years averaged $115 worth of machinery in 1870 and only $44 worth in 1885. Those who remained thirty years were found in two census years. The two who started farming in 1865 had $50 and $150 in equipment then, and in 1875 both owned $200 worth of implements. On the other hand, only one of the three who began their farms in 1875 listed machinery. He owned $25 worth in 1875 and $20 worth a decade later. The other two had $10 and $50 in 1885.

Only two of the five farmers in Gypsum Creek Township of McPherson County who stayed thirty-five years listed farm implements in 1870. One had $30 and the other $50. In 1885 the former had increased the value of his machinery to $200 and the latter to $100, and two more of the five farmers listed $25 and $150 in that year. Seven of the twelve farmers who remained from 1875 to 1905 listed an average of $63 for farm machinery in their initial year, and the twelve farmers averaged $129 in 1885. In other words, the successful farmers studied in McPherson County

acquired their machinery in the first ten or fifteen years on the farm, if census records are to be believed.

In Barrett Township of Thomas County the ten most successful farmers increased the value of farm machinery from an average of $77 in 1895 to $156 in 1905. The average for all the repeaters in 1895 was $68 and in 1905 was $170.

Although the successful farmers in McPherson and Thomas Counties built up their capital in the years following settlement, their initial machinery was probably about the same as many of the non-repeaters. This indicates that the equipment held by a farmer did not in itself determine his eventual success. But many farmers who succeeded in staying on the farm did increase their investment in farm machinery.

The census data do not reveal many basic economic differences between the farmers who continued to live on their farms and those who left for one reason or another. There was a minimum land holding below which success could not be expected. Most of those who remained on their farms for very long either retained their original acreage or added to it. The most successful farmers also increased their production of crops and livestock. The available data indicate that 20 to 35 percent of the 528 farmers studied made economic progress but do not fully answer the basic question of causation.

Therefore, on the basis of extant data, we must conclude that economic success on late nineteenth century farms in all sections of Kansas was due to non-quantifiable factors. The energetic, resourceful farmer who was a good manager and who was devoted to farm business as a way of life could find success in Kansas farming. His grit and determination

probably influenced his farm achievements as much as things such as the initial size of his farm (providing he had a minimum acreage). Capital was important to the farmer, and those who received financial assistance from relatives must have had a better chance for success. How many farmers failed because of insects, hail, tornadoes, prairie fires, blizzards, illness and other mishaps cannot be established. Many individuals, like those who filed on homesteads only to sell a relinquishment, never intended to farm, thus lowering the percentage of successful operators.

In conclusion, 26 percent of the McPherson County farmers studied succeeded, along with 18 percent of the Anderson County and 15 percent of the Thomas County farmers. Economic and social mobility was possible in rural Kansas in the nineteenth century, but economic progress was due to a large number of complex factors, some of which the farmer could control and others which he could not.

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APPENDIX I

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN ANDERSON, McPHERSON AND THOMAS COUNTIES

TABLE 15

WINTER WHEAT IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	2,311	37,688	$.....
1873	4,685	.....	.....
1874	5,868	58,680	58,680.00
1875	1,015	16,240	15,752.80
1876	1,193	17,895	16,105.50
1877	874	13,110	13,110.00
1878	2,903	49,351	32,078.15
1879	5,035	90,630	86,090.50
1880	7,726	115,890	109,995.50
1881	8,162	73,458	80,803.80
1882	3,895	89,585	67,188.75
1883	3,220	54,740	49,266.00
1884	5,039	105,819	58,200.45
1885	2,378	23,780	17,835.00
1886	1,836	25,704	17,993.00
1887	1,556	18,672	13,070.40
1888	962	19,240	15,392.00
1889	1,510	34,730	22,574.50
1890	1,535	18,420	15,573.00
1891	4,143	74,574	59,659.20
1892	1,732	15,588	8,573.40
1893	6,915	78,000	35,100.00
1894	3,906	42,644	17,910.48
1895	3,209	35,299	22,944.35
1896	993	11,916	7,149.60
1897	2,059	32,944	25,696.32
1898	2,398	38,368	23,020.80
1899	3,694	55,410	32,691.90
1900	1,796	30,532	19,235.16
1901	2,367	47,340	30,771.00
1902	4,083	89,826	54,793.56
1903	2,293	36,688	23,113.44
1904	5,186	62,232	49,163.28
1905	7,357	125,069	92,551.06

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 16

SPRING WHEAT IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1873-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1873	239	.....	$.....
1874	215	1,075	860.00
1875	116	1,047	774.78
1876	124	868	694.40
1877	105	1,050	892.50
1878	197	2,364	1,182.00
1879	100	900	765.00
1880	71	639	543.15
1881	43	215	204.25
1882	45	450	292.50
1883	5	50	39.00
1884	...	.....	.....
1885	2	20	15.00
1886	...	.....	.....
1887	...	.....	.....
1888	2	30	18.00
1889	5	90	54.00
1890	21	210	168.00
1891	...	.....	.....
1892	66	660	330.00
1893	188	1,316	526.40
1894	41	287	114.80
1895	88	880	440.00
1896	13	.....	.....
1897	5	50	36.50
1898	...	.....	.....
1899	...	.....	.....
1900	...	.....	.....
1901	...	.....	.....
1902	...	.....	.....
1903	...	.....	.....
1904	...	.....	.....
1905	...	.....	.....

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 17

CORN IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	15,350	326,353	$.....
1873	18,777	.....	.....
1874	19,590	195,900	146,925.00
1875	22,887	938,387	234,596.75
1876	27,524	1,100,960	253,220.80
1877	38,589	1,350,615	243,110.70
1878	29,265	1,024,375	184,387.50
1879	29,138	1,165,520	291,380.00
1880	34,080	1,022,400	255,600.00
1881	44,614	1,115,350	669,210.00
1882	48,505	2,037,210	651,907.20
1883	56,505	2,260,200	632,856.00
1884	58,026	2,321,040	510,628.80
1885	67,579	1,679,475	470,253.00
1886	67,998	1,495,956	524,584.60
1887	68,752	1,375,040	481,264.00
1888	77,721	3,497,445	1,573,850.25
1889	86,001	2,752,032	467,845.44
1890	52,963	847,408	338,963.00
1891	56,345	845,175	338,070.00
1892	77,915	1,558,300	467,490.00
1893	72,778	2,183,340	545,835.00
1894	78,384	1,489,296	536,146.56
1895	89,790	3,322,230	664,446.00
1896	91,996	1,655,928	281,507.76
1897	86,195	1,379,120	344,780.00
1898	86,084	1,979,932	494,983.00
1899	97,274	2,140,028	535,007.00
1900	92,062	2,025,364	587,355.56
1901	90,254	541,524	297,838.20
1902	85,888	3,091,968	989,429.76
1903	90,920	2,000,240	700,084.00
1904	84,925	829,250	356,685.00
1905	71,234	1,944,552	737,984.24

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 18

OATS IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	3,296	82,330	$.....
1873	7,086	.....	.....
1874	5,622	67,464	33,732.00
1875	3,215	90,008	22,502.00
1876	5,124	169,092	33,918.40
1877	2,744	93,296	13,994.40
1878	4,952	148,560	22,284.00
1879	6,283	144,509	36,127.25
1880	4,185	117,180	29,295.00
1881	3,669	110,070	44,028.00
1882	7,181	287,240	71,810.00
1883	7,009	280,360	61,769.20
1884	8,407	285,838	57,167.60
1885	9,269	370,760	92,690.00
1886	10,362	310,860	77,715.00
1887	16,443	493,290	123,322.50
1888	11,425	457,000	159,950.00
1889	6,637	152,651	22,897.65
1890	7,083	162,909	48,873.00
1891	9,446	188,920	66,122.00
1892	14,113	324,599	81,149.75
1893	23,138	578,450	115,690.00
1894	14,635	269,284	72,706.68
1895	14,261	427,830	64,174.50
1896	13,378	160,536	17,658.96
1897	8,887	195,514	33,237.38
1898	6,156	92,340	19,391.40
1899	3,271	65,420	13,738.20
1900	5,538	155,664	37,215.36
1901	6,894	75,834	26,541.90
1902	4,321	142,593	38,500.11
1903	8,281	182,182	54,654.60
1904	14,159	240,703	79,431.99
1905	8,349	250,470	70,131.60

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 19

BARLEY IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1875-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1875	36	782	$ 985.32
1876	...	.....	.....
1877	18	350	109.60
1878	17	272	108.80
1879	86	1,548	774.00
1880	30	570	285.00
1881	1	7	5.60
1882	42	1,176	529.20
1883	4	80	41.60
1884	...	.....	.....
1885	...	.....	.....
1886	4	80	28.00
1887	858	17,160	6,864.00
1888	...	.....	.....
1889	...	.....	.....
1890	2	32	16.00
1891	2	40	20.00
1892	160	1,600	720.00
1893	135	1,215	546.75
1894	51	612	244.80
1895	4	120	36.00
1896	41	.....	.....
1897	1	16	3.84
1898	2	44	12.32
1899	...	.....	.....
1900	...	.....	.....
1901	50	800	360.00
1902	...	.....	.....
1903	...	.....	.....
1904	18	270	108.00
1905	64	1,600	560.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 20

RYE IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1873-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1873	294	.....	$.....
1874	301	2,107	1,580.00
1875	85	1,537	999.05
1876	235	4,230	1,903.50
1877	106	1,802	540.60
1878	390	5,460	1,638.00
1879	208	3,120	1,248.00
1880	108	1,404	561.60
1881	121	847	719.95
1882	136	2,312	1,387.20
1883	276	1,665	1,048.95
1884	328	5,576	2,230.40
1885	274	2,740	1,370.00
1886	181	2,192	1,096.00
1887	163	2,445	1,100.25
1888	157	3,140	1,570.00
1889	206	4,120	1,236.00
1890	51	663	365.00
1891	381	5,334	4,160.52
1892	120	1,200	540.00
1893	241	1,928	771.20
1894	259	3,108	1,460.76
1895	294	2,940	1,029.00
1896	94	1,316	394.80
1897	213	2,769	1,107.60
1898	249	4,482	2,016.90
1899	237	4,977	2,140.11
1900	74	1,480	740.00
1901	198	2,970	1,782.00
1902	1,054	20,026	9,011.70
1903	172	2,236	1,229.80
1904	220	2,200	1,430.00
1905	406	7,714	4,688.40

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 21

LIVESTOCK IN ANDERSON COUNTY, 1870-1905[a]

Date	Total Livestock	Value Livestock	Value Slaughter Animals
1870	15,627	$.....	$.....
1871	.....	.....	.....
1872	12,622	.....	.....
1873	22,757	.....	.....
1874	26,025	.....	.....
1875	19,874	.....	.....
1876	23,585	.....	.....
1877	24,338	.....	.....
1878	37,472	.....	110,408.20
1879	35,054	.....	111,678.00
1880	42,334	.....	191,608.00
1881	48,939	.....	242,685.00
1882	49,379	.....	264,828.00
1883	53,163	.....	348,523.00
1884	63,776	.....	415,998.00
1885	63,187	1,438,973.00	504.719.00
1886	54,947	1,546,664.00	363,011.00
1887	55,002	1,450,143.00	391,900.00
1888	56,183	1,547,564.00	393,189.00
1889	64,069	1,382,756.50	539,649.00
1890	57,115	1,162,470.00	428,566.00
1891	60,264	1,253,483.50	467,953.00
1892	50,802	1,245,129.00	444,194.00
1893	48,077	1,054,591.50	695,699.00
1894	56,783	940,441.00	559,865.00
1895	56,404	827,340.50	519,625.00
1896	67,103	974,939.15	585,009.00
1897	66,475	1,102,242.00	544,501.00
1898	66,410	1,139,602.25	596,093.00
1899	68,836	1,408,357.00	449,310.00
1900	73,580	1,556,347.00	531,920.00
1901	79,981	1,716,383.50	841,301.00
1902	57,881	1,538,035.75	645,585.00
1903	68,751	1,721,519.00	644,730.00
1904	65,488	1,608,471.00	613,068.00
1905	61,363	1,654,383.40	475,791.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 22

WINTER WHEAT IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	1,026	13,698	$.....
1873	1,819	.....	.....
1874	4,572	54,864	43,891.00
1875	16,435	361,559	314,556.33
1876	36,902	553,530	442,824.00
1877	58,844	1,000,348	950,330.60
1878	83,729	2,093,225	1,130,341.50
1879	82,234	986,808	858,522.96
1880	116,995	1,403,940	1,221,427.80
1881	130,456	1,337,174	1,404,032.00
1882	105,362	2,739,412	1,780,617.80
1883	104,456	2,715,856	1,955,416.32
1884	157,591	3,151,820	1,134,655.20
1885	63,009	567,081	238,541.00
1886	37,720	452,640	248,952.00
1887	27,897	334,764	217,596.60
1888	41,547	664,752	498,564.00
1889	84,834	2,036,016	1,119,808.80
1890	86,624	1,299,360	1,039,488.00
1891	145,048	2,030,672	1,462,083.84
1892	139,522	2,929,962	1,611,479.10
1893	150,170	1,231,390	544,125.50
1894	145,381	1,046,736	418,694.40
1895	148,432	445,296	164,759.52
1896	115,116	1,611,624	757,463.28
1897	132,941	2,525,879	1,717,597.72
1898	163,569	2,453,535	1,373,979.60
1899	174,180	1,741,800	940,572.00
1900	172,905	2,939,385	1,587,267.90
1901	187,823	3,568,637	2,034,123.09
1902	194,467	1,555,736	777,868.00
1903	183,435	1,650,915	941,021.55
1904	173,337	1,733,370	1,317,361.20
1905	171,728	2,232,464	1,562,724.80

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 23

SPRING WHEAT IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1873-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1873	1,705	.....	$.....
1874	4,994	54,934	32,960.00
1875	2,225	31,149	24,919.20
1876	1,097	16,455	11,518.50
1877	1,370	21,920	18,632.00
1878	4,256	72,352	34,005.44
1879	4,986	44,874	34,552.98
1880	2,348	21,132	16,271.64
1881	2,967	20,769	19,730.55
1882	1,492	23,872	13,845.76
1883	281	5,620	3,653.00
1884	96	1,824	547.20
1885	99	792	396.00
1886	25	250	125.00
1887	91	1,092	709.80
1888	20	240	156.00
1889	198	3,564	1,782.00
1890	15	180	135.00
1891	.....	.....	.....
1892	.....	.....	.....
1893	5	.....	.....
1894	.....	.....	.....
1895	5	.....	.....
1896	.....	.....	.....
1897	.....	.....	.....
1898	5	45	22.50
1899	.....	.....	.....
1900	.....	.....	.....
1901	2	24	12.00
1902	.....	.....	.....
1903	2	28	14.00
1904	7	56	40.88
1905	35	420	285.60

Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 24

CORN IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	2,953	70,740	$.....
1873	4,454	.....	.....
1874	15,872	.....	.....
1875	17,738	762,734	167,801.48
1876	16,403	656,120	131,224.00
1877	32,801	1,476,045	250,927.65
1878	36,552	1,571,736	314,347.20
1879	54,646	2,185,840	524,601.60
1880	57,435	1,321,005	317,041.20
1881	67,861	1,492,942	821,118.10
1882	87,643	2,191,975	767,191.25
1883	89,865	2,875,680	718,920.00
1884	70,664	3,038,552	546,939.36
1885	93,671	4,683,550	889,874.50
1886	111,823	2,795,575	698,893.75
1887	63,148	947,220	331,527.00
1888	50,720	659,360	184,620.80
1889	122,375	4,895,000	832,150.00
1890	40,265	402,650	161,060.00
1891	84,867	2,546,010	763,803.00
1892	88,970	1,957,340	587,202.00
1893	89,649	1,344,735	403,420.50
1894	89,095	712,760	249,466.00
1895	105,707	3,594,038	646,926.84
1896	116,684	3,033,784	455,067.60
1897	125,024	1,875,360	375,072.00
1898	92,129	1,566,193	407,210.18
1899	108,712	2,935,224	675,101.52
1900	87,372	960,092	307,229.44
1901	77,060	154,120	87,848.40
1902	97,544	2,438,600	912,282.00
1903	81,243	1,949,832	623,946.24
1904	75,837	1,516,740	591,528.60
1905	94,984	2,659,552	930,843.20

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 25

OATS IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	379	10,112	$.....
1873	989	.....	.....
1874	2,211	77,385	58,039.00
1875	6,083	243,320	48,664.00
1876	9,680	290,400	58,080.00
1877	12,173	547,785	82,167.75
1878	16,696	801,408	128,225.28
1879	26,357	527,140	131,785.00
1880	17,049	340,980	85,245.00
1881	12,101	350,929	140,371.60
1882	20,178	908,010	254,242.80
1883	25,510	1,428,560	271,426.40
1884	24,888	1,244,400	199,104.00
1885	30,277	1,211,080	217,994.40
1886	45,558	1,366,740	314,685.00
1887	53,569	2,142,760	535,690.00
1888	71,142	1,422,840	284,568.00
1889	47,176	1,792,688	233,049.44
1890	35,260	1,022,540	306,762.00
1891	34,530	1,035,900	248,616.00
1892	39,816	1,393,560	348,390.00
1893	39,537	632,592	164,473.92
1894	33,824	236,768	63,927.30
1895	35,666	1,176,978	188,316.48
1896	42,331	423,310	76,195.80
1897	26,010	624,240	106,120.80
1898	25,129	552,838	105,039.22
1899	22,101	618,828	117,577.32
1900	22,793	729,376	160,462.72
1901	26,239	524,780	178,425.20
1902	28,991	1,072,778	321,833.40
1903	33,861	778,803	210,276.81
1904	34,878	558,048	172,994.88
1905	28,581	685,944	185,204.88

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 26

BARLEY IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	10	211	$.....
1873	64	.....	.....
1874	142	2,556	2,045.00
1875	610	15,853	18,706.54
1876	1,098	21,960	8,784.00
1877	2,673	66,825	20,047.50
1878	2,762	96,670	27,067.60
1879	1,558	20,254	10,127.00
1880	307	5,526	2,763.00
1881	111	1,554	1,243.20
1882	240	6,720	3,024.00
1883	203	4,060	1,218.00
1884	201	5,025	1,155.75
1885	160	2,080	624.00
1886	95	1,900	570.00
1887	21	420	168.00
1888	.....	.....	.....
1889	29	725	181.25
1890	98	1,470	735.00
1891	322	8,372	3,348.80
1892	324	9,750	3,900.00
1893	394	3,940	1,576.00
1894	456	1,824	729.60
1895	295	5,900	2,065.00
1896	241	2,410	554.30
1897	40	640	153.60
1898	73	2,190	643.20
1899	114	2,052	513.00
1900	127	3,810	1,295.40
1901	41	697	334.56
1902	51	1,530	535.50
1903	190	3,800	1,064.00
1904	1,738	27,808	11,123.20
1905	3,448	75,856	25,032.48

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 27

RYE IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1872	55	708	$.....
1873	404	.....	.....
1874	600	6,000	4,800.00
1875	2,211	50,851	27,968.05
1876	2,571	51,420	25,710.00
1877	1,165	25,630	8,201.60
1878	1,044	22,968	6,890.40
1879	114	1,368	547.20
1880	286	3,718	1,487.20
1881	674	12,132	8,492.40
1882	2,018	44,396	19,978.20
1883	4,001	68,816	26,838.24
1884	3,949	78,800	15,760.00
1885	2,276	27,312	10,924.80
1886	1,912	28,680	11,472.00
1887	2,266	22,660	11,330.00
1888	3,338	53,408	25,635.84
1889	5,659	130,157	33,840.82
1890	2,810	42,150	21,075.00
1891	4,193	62,895	38,994.90
1892	3,958	79,160	35,622.00
1893	2,882	23,056	7,377.92
1894	2,697	24,273	9,709.20
1895	6,513	65,130	26,052.00
1896	3,413	40,956	13,105.92
1897	3,492	59,364	18,996.48
1898	3,967	59,505	20,826.75
1899	2,773	33,276	13,310.40
1900	1,928	30,848	12,339.20
1901	3,196	41,548	19,112.08
1902	5,954	65,494	27,507.48
1903	4,665	46,650	18,660.00
1904	4,694	51,634	27,366.02
1905	3,144	44,016	24,648.96

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 28

LIVESTOCK IN McPHERSON COUNTY, 1872-1905[a]

Date	Total Livestock	Value Livestock	Value Slaughter Animals
1872	3,498	$.....	$.....
1873	5,567	.....	.....
1874	11,356	.....	.....
1875	11,719	.....	.....
1876	15,396	.....	.....
1877	20,914	.....	.....
1878	27,260	.....	.....
1879	34,583	.....	76,679.00
1880	37,650	.....	133,904.00
1881	40,659	.....	180,714.00
1882	46,224	.....	218,828.00
1883	58,782	.....	302,015.00
1884	70,334	.....	391,440.00
1885	84,504	1,867,736.00	428,677.00
1886	83,847	2,156,832.00	400,265.00
1887	92,223	2,208,653.00	539,707.00
1888	90,135	2,456,082.00	663,450.00
1889	82,156	2,086,178.50	678,656.00
1890	95,615	2,057,736.00	484,154.00
1891	95,641	2,099,926.25	646,009.00
1892	86,943	1,924,217.00	706,822.00
1893	69,762	1,353,776.50	679,244.00
1894	71,080	1,304,099.50	651,008.00
1895	71,168	1,222,960.80	628,903.00
1896	83,256	1,226,692.25	619,362.00
1897	91,032	1,499,259.50	617,820.00
1898	103,486	1,863,032.50	684,078.00
1899	90,431	2,185,930.00	677,527.00
1900	92,000	2,207,961.00	789,316.00
1901	92,962	2,361,849.50	733,276.00
1902	84,026	2,388,776.75	654,551.00
1903	87,440	2,389,116.00	772,357.00
1904	91,351	2,344,370.00	690,712.00
1905	95,577	2,585,865.90	768,953.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the First through Fifth Annual Reports (1872-1876) and the First through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1877-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 29

WINTER WHEAT IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	303	4,545	$ 2,727.00
1887	1,419	17,028	10,216.80
1888	1,826	32,868	16,434.00
1889	7,173	93,249	43,827.03
1890	7,699	23,097	18,940.00
1891	30,748	584,212	397,264.16
1892	48,140	625,820	312,910.00
1893	72,313	8,676	3,904.20
1894	79,047	2,371	1,114.37
1895	35,363	159,153	70,027.32
1896	44,636	133,908	60,258.60
1897	55,912	615,032	418,221.76
1898	77,202	694,818	375,201.72
1899	73,998	369,990	181,295.10
1900	61,521	553,689	276,844.50
1901	85,718	514,308	262,297.08
1902	84,007	504,042	272,182.68
1903	50,058	951,102	542,128.24
1904	59,639	178,917	128,820.24
1905	55,346	940,882	639,799.76

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 30

SPRING WHEAT IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	396	5,940	$ 2,970.00
1887	843	10,116	6,069.60
1888	829	12,435	5,595.75
1889	4,588	73,408	34,501.76
1890	16,964	50,892	33,080.00
1891	11,823	189,168	122,959.20
1892	26,217	314,604	141,571.80
1893	17,652	.....	.....
1894	14,263	8,556	3,593.52
1895	9,903	108,933	46,841.19
1896	22,647	67,941	28,535.22
1897	13,008	91,056	50,080.80
1898	13,056	91,392	42,040.32
1899	20,767	124,602	56,070.90
1900	14,733	88,398	44,199.00
1901	6,295	37,570	16,906.50
1902	4,871	34,097	17,048.50
1903	5,229	62,748	31,374.00
1904	3,288	26,304	17,623.68
1905	7,220	108,300	60,648.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 31

CORN IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	16,388	409,700	$143,395.00
1887	10,109	121,308	48,523.20
1888	11,937	95,496	42,973.20
1889	41,944	838,880	125,832.00
1890	789	2,367	1,302.00
1891	21,823	501,929	150,578.70
1892	19,824	436,128	122,115.84
1893	35,692	178,460	53,538.00
1894	26,911	13,445	5,382.00
1895	36,989	591,824	153,874.24
1896	21,304	149,128	25,351.76
1897	22,476	382,092	76,418.40
1898	22,666	384,322	92,477.28
1899	25,612	384,180	96,045.00
1900	31,555	126,220	44,177.00
1901	18,589	130,123	59,856.58
1902	19,810	158,480	76,070.40
1903	18,560	352,640	134,003.20
1904	18,891	245,583	93,321.54
1905	21,755	456,855	159,899.25

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 32

OATS IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	616	15,400	$ 4,620.00
1887	2,198	43,960	13,188.00
1888	4,013	72,234	25,281.90
1889	5,096	137,592	27,518.40
1890	9,889	98,890	39,556.00
1891	2,435	73,050	21,915.00
1892	7,124	206,596	45,451.12
1893	10,504	126,048	31,512.00
1894	5,698	3,416	1,127.28
1895	4,076	61,140	11,005.20
1896	9,083	45,415	6,348.10
1897	4,900	78,400	13,328.00
1898	4,317	103,608	18,649.44
1899	6,641	79,692	16,735.32
1900	4,710	56,520	15,260.40
1901	4,429	66,435	23,916.60
1902	2,642	42,272	13,527.04
1903	1,973	55,244	18,230.52
1904	2,276	45,520	13,200.80
1905	3,624	112,344	30,332.88

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 33

BARLEY IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	17	340	$ 136.00
1887	53	1,060	424.00
1888	37	185	55.50
1889	145	4,350	1,087.50
1890	617	1,851	925.50
1891	244	7,320	2,928.00
1892	2,789	75,303	26,356.05
1893	7,457	44,742	14,317.44
1894	3,363	13,452	6,053.40
1895	4,320	56,160	14,040.00
1896	8,499	16,998	3,399.60
1897	6,626	106,016	16,962.56
1898	6,196	185,880	37,176.00
1899	11,655	139,860	29,370.60
1900	10,473	167,568	51,946.08
1901	15,310	244,960	88,185.60
1902	14,796	325,512	110,674.08
1903	16,286	553,724	171,654.44
1904	21,539	560,014	151,203.73
1905	34,994	1,049,820	272,953.20

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 34

RYE IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Product in Bu.	Value Product
1886	614	12,280	$ 4,912.00
1887	2,257	27,084	12,187.80
1888	3,577	42,924	16,311.12
1889	9,714	126,282	25,256.40
1890	7,941	39,705	15,882.00
1891	6,175	111,150	77,805.00
1892	6,616	92,624	37,049.60
1893	6,400	51,200	19,456.00
1894	3,140	6,280	3,140.00
1895	1,216	9,728	3,696.64
1896	2,241	6,723	2,016.90
1897	4,448	44,480	14,233.60
1898	2,854	31,394	10,360.00
1899	1,907	17,163	6,693.57
1900	1,816	12,712	4,449.20
1901	3,555	31,995	14,717.70
1902	3,881	34,929	15,019.47
1903	4,565	73,040	29,946.40
1904	3,138	25,104	12,552.00
1905	1,850	24,050	11,063.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 35

LIVESTOCK IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1885-1905[a]

Date	Total Livestock	Value Livestock	Value Slaughter Animals
1885	2,465	$ 50,354.00	$.....
1886	4,628	218,584.00	154.00
1887	10,377	398,129.00	3,479.00
1888	13,036	471,314.00	14,213.00
1889	14,974	439,392.00	46,841.00
1890	21,106	496,040.00	41,984.00
1891	12,482	369,416.25	38,094.00
1892	15,136	408,529.00	29,088.00
1893	15,718	416,452.50	68,516.00
1894	12,645	288,309.00	57,459.00
1895	9,708	218,840.00	35,572.00
1896	11,368	228,723.15	18,575.00
1897	15,385	269,013.75	24,336.00
1898	18,127	389,638.75	46,624.00
1899	21,745	472,731.00	56,236.00
1900	21,621	619,605.00	71,551.00
1901	24,428	737,957.50	57,408.00
1902	29,487	896,973.75	59,791.00
1903	29,752	937,101.00	67,558.00
1904	32,166	958,013.00	58,112.00
1905	37,243	1,132,115.90	94,764.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

TABLE 36

SORGHUM IN THOMAS COUNTY, 1886-1905[a]

Date	Acres	Value Product
1886	1,371	$ 27,681.00
1887	3,112	40,450.00
1888	8,116	31,660.00
1889	8,139	126,160.00
1890	5,919	82,848.00
1891	5,720	39,468.00
1892	3,233	22,602.00
1893	3,782	23,440.00
1894	4,095	21,075.00
1895[b]	4,652	28,092.00
1896	2,886	4,216.00
1897	3,735	17,210.50
1898	3,592	11,762.00
1899	3,464	24,986.00
1900	5,221	26,445.00
1901	6,578	59,062.00
1902	10,342	41,908.00
1903	13,010	80,197.00
1904	9,810	59,158.00
1905	8,544	42,720.00

[a]Compiled from data contained in the Fifth through Fifteenth Biennial Reports (1885-1906) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka.

[b]From 1895 to 1905 the figures reflect combined acreage and value product for sorghums raised for syrup or sugar and for forage grain.

APPENDIX II

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF FARMERS IN SELECTED TOWNSHIPS OF ANDERSON, McPHERSON AND THOMAS COUNTIES

TABLE 37

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF OZARK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (ANDERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1860, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Buford, James	1860	15	200	$1,500	$ 75	...	...	...	150
	1865	23	163	500	75	...	...	...	150
	1870	65	200	2,500	140	175	...	...	500
	1875	185	200	2,000	30	15	...	...	60
	1885	320	320	5,000	100	...	...	...	100
Pitchford, J. P.	1860	40	120	500	...	...	...	...	...
	1865	40	120	1,000	75	...	...	...	300
	1870	45	120	2,500	100	40	...	...	600
Cabel, Hiram	1860	50	160	1,600	70	15	...	...	700
	1865	60	160	1,600	...	110	...	...	...
Perkins, Bazil[e]	1860	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1865	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Price, Joseph[e]	1860	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1865	60	280	1,000	...	20	...	16	300
Rockwood, B. B.[e]	1860	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1865	140	475	2,000	75	100	...	...	150
Horn, John	1860	30	160	1,000	75	...	...	...	450
Minton, J. N.	1860	15	80	500	40	...	...	...	200
Sater, George[e]	1860	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Swan, H. P.[e]	1860	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...

[a]Compiled from the 1860-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the U. S. Bureau of Census and the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in censuses of 1860-1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

[c]Data listed under crops in censuses of 1860-1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 37--Continued

Barley[f]	Oats[f]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	4	2	4	...	20	$325
...	...	...	200	4	3	3	10	2	75
...	...	...	300	5	6	3	53	4	220
...	2	...	200	15	10	...	17	9	164
...	8	...	200	5	3	4	...	10	250
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	100	3	8	9	20	4	120
...	150	...	...	6	4	...	...	7	110
...	...	...	100	3	4	5	...	29	250
...	...	...	100	9	2	10	6	4	80
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	3	2	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	75	...	150	8	6	1	...	1	200
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	80	...	100	15	7	6	...	2	75
...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	15	225
...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	6	125
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[d]Data listed under "Animals Slgt." in censuses of 1860-65 is value of livestock and from 1870-1905 is value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter.

[e]There is no schedule of agriculture for Ozark Township for 1860. Ten on the schedule of population gave farming as their occupation in 1860. Five were located on the schedule of agriculture for Walker Township; the remaining five could not be located on any of the agricultural schedules for Anderson County in 1860.

TABLE 38

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF OZARK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (ANDERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1865, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Hosley,									
E. T.	1865	23	160	$ 600	$ 50	80	...	...	.....
	1870	50	150	3,000	175	...	25	...	500
	1875	160	160	2,500	200	5	...	...	.....
	1885	320	320	8,000	75	...	...	...	.....
	1895	200	200	4,000	100	...	...	...	130
West,									
A. G.	1865	150	950	4,000	150	200	...	50	500
	1870	200	500	12,000	1,250	80	...	...	1,000
	1875	240	240	3,500	200	10	...	...	100
	1885	400	400	8,000	60	10	...	...	80
	1895	240	240	4,400	25	...	...	...	80
West,									
S. T.	1865	0	193	300	.....	60	...	...	150
	1870	40	240	600	40	60	...	...	300
	1875	160	160	2,500	100	...	...	...	25
	1885	400	400	8,000	40	...	...	...	60
Farmer,									
Travis	1865	...	323	400	.....	...	...	...	.....
	1870	100	240	4,000	140	...	40	...	400
	1875	160	160	800	25	...	...	...	75
Wiggins,									
Margaret	1865	35	160	1,000	100	50	...	...	60
	1870	65	160	8,200	100	...	...	...	175
	1875	60	60	1,200	.....	...	...	...	.....
Dalong,									
Caleb	1865	40	160	600	.....	...	...	...	100
	1870	40	160	4,000	70	...	18	...	500

[a] Compiled from the 1865-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the U. S. Bureau of Census and the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

[b] Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in censuses of 1865-1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 38--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.[d]
...	25	$...	200	3	5	8	...	3	$ 70
...	200	...	800	10	8	12	...	9	160
...	13	10	800	2	16	41	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	15	14	18	...	51	.....
...	40	50	.....	21	8	7	...	20	300
...	100	...	.....	12	9	14	120	4	200
...	400	...	1,800	30	13	48	138	14	1,200
...	20	...	900	6	16	43	170	4	1,600
...	5	30	.....	8	16	47	100	40	450
...	...	25	300	3	1	...	...	28	140
...	...	...	.....	3	2	7	3	...	20
...	100	...	600	11	6	4	52	1	60
...	20	5	1,000	4	14	23	2	2	40
...	...	15	100	9	15	9	...	23	300
...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	...	...	.....
...	260	...	.....	8	1	2	...	...	80
...	...	...	.....	4	1	1	...	4	.....
...	170	...	100	7	4	12	...	2	75
...	335	...	200	7	20	60	...	1	70
...	...	...	20	1	1	60	...	...	1,000
...	...	...	300	3	4	1	8	...	100
...	165	...	250	4	2	3	...	7	100

[c]Data listed under crops in censuses of 1865-1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

[d]Data listed under "Animals Slgt." in census of 1865 is value of livestock and from 1870-1905 is value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter.

TABLE 38--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Hall,									
John	1865	81	570	$ 1,000	$ 50	60	...	32	10
	1870	20	160	1,200	50	80	...	...	200
Henderson,									
Buck	1865	...	...	.....	.....	...	...	...	.....
	1870	20	160	1,000	.....	...	...	...	.....
Armstrong,									
Robert	1865	100	260	1,000	200	...	...	...	400
Broyle,									
J. T.	1865	7	120	300	100	...	...	...	.....
Clark,									
W. P.	1865	40	160	500	100	...	...	...	.....
Heusted,									
Merit	1865	...	...	.....	.....	...	...	...	.....
Hill,									
S. H.	1865	...	...	.....	.....	...	...	...	150
Hopkins,									
Ruth	1865	80	210	1,400	.....	20	...	...	500
Hopkins,									
William	1865	25	340	1,500	150	8	...	14	40
Hosley,									
R. T.	1865	3	160	800	100	...	...	...	200
Jordan,									
G. H.	1865	35	160	600	100	...	...	...	300
Lewis,									
O. B.	1865	60	160	1,000	100	...	...	...	.....
McManus,									
Daniel	1865	30	80	400	75	...	...	...	250
McManus,									
John	1865	30	120	200	75	...	...	...	30
Mills,									
Joseph	1865	26	160	500	75	80	...	...	80
Mitchell,									
Samuel	1865	...	...	.....	.....	...	...	...	.....

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in censuses of 1865-1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 38--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.[d]
...	...	$...	100	10	7	20	10	2	$ 70
...	...	...	.....	9	13	25	4	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	2	2	2	...	...	.....
...	250	...	.....	2	4	17	...	4	.....
...	...	...	100	6	14	19	...	5	150
...	...	...	.....	3	2	5	...	3	.....
...	120	...	.....	8	7	75	90	1	300
...	...	...	.....	4	3	2	...	...	.....
...	100	...	50	2	3	1	4	9	60
...	100	...	.....	1	...	...	92	...	.....
...	300	...	100	4	6	...	...	4	60
...	...	...	200	3	9	20	...	1	30
...	...	...	80	1	6	...	...	3	185
...	...	...	100	1	4	1	...	...	225
...	...	...	.....	2	2	2	...	3	10
...	...	...	300	5	13	7	...	4	50
...	...	...	.....	4	2	1	...	1	65
...	...	...	.....	1	2	...	...	...	.....

[c]Data listed under crops in censuses of 1865-1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

[d]Data listed under "Animals Slgt." in census of 1865 is value of livestock and from 1875-1905 is value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter.

TABLE 38--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Patter, Rebecca	1865	40	120	$ 300	$.....	...	...	...	.....
Payne, W. S.	1865	50	160	800	100	...	...	...	500
Quigley, Joseph	1865	80	160	600	100	...	...	...	.....
Sands, G. W.	1865	40	140	1,000	150	...	...	...	.....
Sater, Chas.	1865	...	...	.....	.....	...	...	...	200
Slazenwall, John	1865	80	162	800	50	84	...	...	150
Smith, John	1865	30	160	1,500	100	...	...	...	.....
Vancozer, W. R.	1865	25	90	800	75	...	...	...	100
Whicher, Frederick	1865	40	160	1,000	100	...	...	...	.....
Williams, M.	1865	30	80	1,000	75	165	...	...	50

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in censuses of 1865-1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 38--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.[d]
...	...	$...	.....	3	2	...	...	...	$.....
...	100	...	150	2	7	12	42	6	225
...	...	...	.....	4	3	8	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	10	5	2	...	2	.....
...	...	...	.....	6	9	5	65	...	.....
...	200	...	400	10	13	6	5	2	125
...	...	...	30	5	5	7	14	10	175
...	40	...	150	5	5	15	40	5	150
...	15	...	.....	3	...	42	...	...	100
...	30	...	50	2	4	7	...	8	120

[c]Data listed under crops in censuses of 1865-1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

[d]Data listed under "Animals Slgt." in census of 1865 is value of livestock and from 1875-1905 is value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter.

TABLE 39

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF OZARK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (ANDERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1870, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Cochran,									
Cyrus C.	1870	18	160	$ 480	$115	109	...	...	.....
	1875	80	80	1,600	50	...	...	...	30
	1885	320	320	8,000	50	...	...	...	.....
	1895	320	320	4,000	50	...	...	...	.....
	1905	240	240	7,000	100	...	...	...	45
Day,									
Mark R.	1870	40	40	800	...	...	...	...	120
	1875	58	60	350	6	...	...	...	31
	1885	112	112	2,500	50	...	...	...	25
	1895	38	38	300	...	...	...	...	25
	1905	38	38	1,500	...	...	...	...	24
Donica,									
Jacob	1870	32	160	1,280	250	...	...	...	200
	1875	80	80	1,300	75	...	...	...	18
	1885	200	200	4,000	50	...	...	...	50
	1895	190	190	3,500	50	...	...	...	70
	1905	200	200	5,000	100	...	...	...	70
Drury,									
Charles	1870	40	80	1,500	100	100	...	...	500
	1875	80	80	1,000	35	...	...	...	45
	1885	88	88	2,000	100	...	...	...	50
	1895	120	120	2,000	25	...	...	...	40
	1905	120	120	4,000	100	...	...	...	50
Rodgers,									
Adrian L.	1870	6	80	400	80	...	...	...	.....
	1875	40	80	300	75	...	...	...	15
	1885	240	240	3,000	50	...	...	...	30
	1895	100	320	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1905	80	240	6,000	100	...	...	...	30

[a]Compiled from the 1870-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the U. S. Bureau of Census and the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	35	5	5	...	...	2	$.....
...	...	...	400	6	2	3	...	6	.....
...	...	...	200	5	...	18	...	5	60
...	...	...	600	6	5	...	...	...	500
...	...	50	200	6	4	5	...	11	250
...	240	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	3	45
...	15	30	150	3	1	2	...	14	150
...	...	30	400	2	3	...	...	...	100
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	270	...	200	2	3	5	...	8	445
...	10	...	300	2	6	14	...	4	10
...	12	10	600	6	12	23	...	37	300
...	15	...	500	11	2	8	...	51	.....
...	10	75	500	6	3	6	...	11	200
...	...	...	...	2	2	4	...	4	40
...	...	5	200	3	3	12	...	...	.....
...	...	...	500	11	10	13	...	35	450
...	...	10	400	6	2	4	...	6	.....
...	...	50	...	5	...	...	...	7	500
...	...	...	200	2	2	...	...	1	.....
...	10	...	200	5	8	20	...	...	50
...	20	...	50	4	2	...	...	2	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	60	200	10	7	35	...	9	300

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[f]	Corn[f]
Fox,									
Alf W.	1870	40	90	$ 800	$150	...	...	...	200
	1875	80	80	800	50	...	...	...	30
	1885	450	450	5,000	25	10	...	...	35
	1895	140	450	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
Harvey,									
James	1870	20	160	1,200	125	...	...	...	.....
	1875	160	160	1,600	100	...	...	...	65
	1885	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1895	80	80	1,600	50	...	...	...	50
Pomeroy,									
Emerson	1870	30	80	1,000	88	...	...	...	.....
	1875	240	240	2,000	100	...	...	...	50
	1885	80	80	2,000	25	13	...	...	28
	1895	60	80	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
Barnett,									
A.	1870	15	160	800	50	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	22	600	25	...	...	...	20
	1885	160	160	3,000	50	...	...	...	25
Barton,									
David	1870	5	80	400	100	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	24	500	40	...	...	...	14
	1885	80	80	1,600	50	...	...	...	20
Duvall,									
Sylvester	1870	39	279	2,400	115	...	18	...	400
	1875	80	80	2,000	35	...	...	...	65
	1885	240	240	4,800	200	...	...	10	70
Drury,									
Henry	1870	20	80	1,000	55	...	...	...	.....
	1875	80	80	1,200	75	...	...	...	40
	1885	160	160	5,000	125	...	...	...	40
Fletcher,									
Alfred	1870	45	440	3,000	80	...	...	...	150
	1875	80	80	600	45	...	...	...	18
	1885	72	72	2,500	50	...	...	...	50
Fullerwander,									
Sam	1870	100	168	4,200	250	260	...	120	800
	1875	150	179	2,000	40	...	...	...	80
	1885	178	178	4,000	100	...	...	20	75

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	250	$...	200	2	6	22	...	2	$ 60
...	11	...	400	3	16	26	...	4	75
...	15	...	...	6	20	48	...	14	700
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	4	.....
...	...	...	200	4	4	16	...	...	400
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	15	...	600	9	4	7	...	20	.....
...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	.....
...	8	...	20	6	1	...	...	3	25
...	23	10	150	6	15	18	...	9	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	3	45
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	6	...	75	2	9	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	...	4	...	...	...	3	25
...	...	...	150	4	1	1	...	1	70
...	5	...	250	6	7	14	...	2	290
...	18	...	200	8	1	7	...	100	400
...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	.....
...	8	...	75	4	5	13	...	6	12
...	10	14	50	7	2	1	250	10	30
...	30	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	.....
...	7	...	125	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	10	300	5	5	4	...	54	10
...	300	...	300	5	5	...	170	7	735
...	14	24	555	7	10	85	300	28	2,000
...	...	...	300	6	4	180	...	3	250

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Hickman,									
Hardy H.	1870	2	85	$ 500	$ 80	...	...	...	.....
	1875	80	80	500	15	...	...	...	35
	1885	80	80	2,000	25	10	...	...	28
McNall,									
Philo	1870	20	80	600	125	...	...	...	300
	1875	22	22	500	10	...	...	...	20
	1885	80	80	2,000	75	...	...	...	24
McVey,									
William	1870	5	80	320	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	...	250	40	...	...	...	17
	1885	160	160	4,000	100	...	...	...	90
Plough,									
Robert	1870	10	80	400	125	...	...	...	.....
	1875	40	40	800	100	...	...	...	30
	1885	80	80	2,400	150	...	...	...	30
Portsmouth,									
Jno.	1870	5	80	300	...	...	...	...	50
	1875	...	80	1,000	25	...	...	...	14
	1885	80	80	1,600	...	...	...	...	50
Price,									
Hugh	1870	35	35	200	90	...	...	...	300
	1875	38	40	300	11	...	2	...	18
	1885	80	80	2,000	150	5	...	...	55
Powers,									
D. D.	1870	80	163	3,000	225	75	25	...	900
	1875	80	80	2,000	50	...	...	...	50
	1885	120	120	2,400	30	...	...	...	80
Scott,									
Eli	1870	8	160	700	20	...	...	...	300
	1875	80	80	1,000	125	7	...	...	25
	1885	180	180	3,600	70	...	...	...	30
Tate,									
James	1870	4	80	320	50	...	...	...	.....
	1875	20	20	500	...	...	...	...	12
	1885	120	120	2,400	60	...	...	...	30
Thompson,									
Hans	1870	5	17	300	30	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	40	400	...	...	...	...	30
	1885	77	77	1,600	25	...	...	...	35

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	2	1	...	...	...	$.....
...	...	20	200	5	4	...	...	3	.....
...	7	...	150	5	3	1	...	11	100
...	400	...	150	3	1	2	...	4	25
...	...	...	150	2	6	5	...	5	5
...	5	...	150	5	3	11	...	12	40
...	...	...	...	3	5	5	...	2	.....
...	...	...	400	3	7	13	...	1	.....
...	...	...	200	3	1	24	...	28	75
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	.....
...	3	2	300	2	1	...	...	4	.....
...	...	...	300	4	2	...	...	21	.....
...	...	...	20	1	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	200	2	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	.....
...	800	...	125	3	...	...	...	2	35
...	5	2	150	2	6	...	...	1	62
...	13	15	200	4	3	1	...	36	100
...	60	...	80	4	2	1	...	7	80
...	...	...	400	7	4	9	...	3	20
...	...	25	300	6	4	1	...	8	125
...	240	...	80	5	1	3	...	6	80
...	5	12	200	3	5	5	...	2	.....
...	...	30	100	6	14	15	...	24	150
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	40
...	...	...	200	2	4	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	150	3	5	10	...	15	250
...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	.....
...	7	10	300	3	3	3	...	1	100

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
West,									
Geo. V.	1870	50	160	$ 800	$...	...	...	...	300
	1875	50	50	500	50	...	...	...	30
	1885	50	50	1,200	10	8	...	...	30
Day,									
H.	1870	60	140	3,000	120	200	35	...	300
	1875	100	196	1,000	25	12	...	2	76
Day,									
T. J.	1870	115	241	8,000	300	...	...	...	.....
	1875	285	345	5,100	100	...	...	...	116
Doll,									
Daniel	1870	17	80	400	60	...	...	...	600
	1875	...	22	700	15	...	...	...	17
Doxie,									
Gabriel	1870	25	86	1,000	75	...	...	...	.....
	1875	65	80	400	20	...	...	...	25
Fabrei,									
Anthony	1870	10	80	400	...	...	...	...	50
	1875	...	17	.....	20	...	...	...	15
Frasier,									
Adam	1870	16	80	400	70	...	...	...	300
	1875	...	...	600	10	...	...	...	12
Frazier,									
Caleb	1870	6	80	400	25	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	30	500	...	...	...	...	20
Howard,									
George	1870	7	82	300	50	...	...	...	.....
	1875	80	160	500	15	...	...	...	20
Stahl,									
August	1870	3	40	400	135	...	...	...	300
	1875	48	48	1,000	40	...	...	...	45
Acklect,									
.....	1870	...	...	.....	80	...	12	...	825
Alexander,									
Robt.	1870	10	160	1,500	...	...	...	...	.....
Allen,									
Elizabeth	1870	...	...	4,000	100	129	...	...	125

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	120	$...	100	2	5	5	...	4	$ 600
...	...	...	10	2	1	...	...	2	140
...	8	...	200	3	2	...	...	7	.....
...	120	...	200	8	4	1	...	16	135
...	...	...	260	6	6	17	...	17	97
...	...	...	600	40	12	50	...	5	920
...	14	...	300	13	25	26	97	22	100
...	...	...	52	2	1	...	...	...	25
...	...	...	40	2	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	4	1	1	...	2	60
...	...	...	100	5	2	2	...	2	20
...	...	...	200	1	7	...	...	4	10
...	...	6	500	2	8	1	...	...	35
...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	2	.....
...	...	5	100	4	4	3	...	3	.....
...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	75	2	1	...	52	1	20
...	...	...	...	2	2	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	40	1	1	7	...	1	10
...	...	...	15	2	2	...	...	1	.....
...	...	2	75	3	3	2	...	1	42
...	240	...	160	3	2	...	2	2	30
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	500	...	200	4	6	8	...	4	75

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Allen Hannah	1870	35	80	$ 400	$ 55	...	...	...	200
Bell, James	1870	5	80	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Bovils, ...	1870	40	87	1,500	50	130	...	...	200
Bowdle, John D.	1870	12	80	400	150	...	...	...	.....
Bowdle, Vernon	1870	3	80	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Brown, Judge	1870	12	160	600	100	...	...	...	300
Brown, Silas R.	1870	50	100	1,350	200	...	...	...	.....
Buchanan, Joseph	1870	40	80	400	100	35	...	...	800
Calkins, M. J.	1870	15	75	620	30	...	...	...	.....
Carry, Isaac	1870	200	264	1,500	70	...	...	...	60
Cavis, Richard	1870	40	45	500	53	...	...	...	.....
Chance, Israel	1870	10	80	400	60	...	...	...	.....
Coleman, Wiley	1870	15	80	600	125	...	...	...	.....
Comay, Didema	1870	55	172	1,300	35	...	25	...	100
Corly, Samuel	1870	6	80	200	50	...	...	...	300
Corbus, Samuel B.	1870	15	80	600	40	...	...	...	100
Davis, ...	1870	...	...	.....	45	111	...	...	500
Dhrastina, ...	1870	60	118	500	150	400	...	100	400
Doll, Noah	1870	10	80	300	20	...	...	...	.....

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slg.
...	...	$...	150	...	1	2	...	5	$ 45
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	.....
...	200	...	200	5	2	2	...	5	.....
...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	6	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	75	2	1	2	...	1	55
...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	200	5	1	1	...	4	50
...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	.....
...	100	...	10	2	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	2	5	...	2	.....
...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	150	2	8	5	...	7	40
...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	200
...	...	...	150	2	1	...	...	7	.....
...	14	...	150	5	2	1	...	7	50
...	200	...	260	8	8	3	...	8	285
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Ellsworth, R. S.	1870	30	81	$1,000	$ 40	...	...	...	275
Fisk, Joseph	1870	30	90	1,500	50	...	...	...	160
Fox, Somers	1870	12	80	400	15	...	...	...	100
Freefran, George W.	1870	20	80	800	...	...	...	...	.....
French, Jacob	1870	85	152	550	...	20	...	...	100
French, S. P.	1870	5	80	200	25	...	...	...	.....
Furgeson, Jno. B.	1870	8	87	435	...	...	...	...	.....
Furgeson, Morgan	1870	38	102	320	...	...	...	...	.....
Furgeson, Wm. W.	1870	10	80	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Gailey, David	1870	10	90	200	...	...	...	...	.....
Gates, Bailey	1870	50	120	1,500	100	...	...	...	400
Gear, Bradford	1870	48	150	2,500	20	620	...	...	750
Gratton, ...	1870	80	720	4,850	145	...	...	...	.....
Hackman, Martin	1870	85	120	1,500	...	...	4	...	125
Hall, Wm. J.	1870	25	160	1,700	700	...	...	...	.....
Hartman, Amos	1870	30	90	800	200	...	5	...	60
Hershey, Daniel	1870	18	85	700	105	...	...	...	.....
Hesser, Herman	1870	8	80	480	40	...	...	...	.....
Hesser, Peter J.	1870	5	85	400	75	...	...	...	.....

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	20	$...	...	2	...	...	...	...	$ 15
...	200	...	100	4	3	6	...	1	40
...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	...	5	4	6	...	4	.....
...	75	...	...	3	2	2	...	2	15
...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
...	600	...	...	1	1	...	...	4	.....
...	...	...	60	2	1	...	...	3	10
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	187	...	150	4	5	5	...	1	50
...	...	...	150	2	2	1	...	3	25
...	...	...	300	4	3	4	...	2	51
...	...	...	...	3	3	2	...	1	20
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	20	3	1	...	...	2	7

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Hoster, David	1870	30	180	$2,500	$125	...	...	...	.....
House, ...	1870	18	160	1,000	100	...	...	...	.....
Johnson, Aaron	1870	35	60	300	165	...	...	...	.....
Johnson, Henry	1870	...	...	.....	...	140	...	...	1,200
Jones, Jno. W.	1870	100	194	1,400	200	200	...	...	.....
Knapp, Wm. J.	1870	15	80	400	250	...	...	...	.....
Lesine, Adam	1870	40	166	800	75	...	...	...	.....
Marsh, Benjamin	1870	45	205	2,000	100	...	...	...	200
Matthews, J. T.	1870	48	198	880	280	88	...	...	500
Matthews, ...	1870	65	125	1,000	50	...	...	...	.....
McCarty, Jno.	1870	12	82	300	75	...	...	...	150
McKay, James	1870	10	85	850	60	...	...	...	.....
Miller, Autery	1870	8	80	520	10	...	...	...	.....
Miller, Geo.	1870	4	80	300	50	...	...	...	.....
Miller, Hamilton	1870	6	80	400	30	...	...	...	.....
Mossel, Squire	1870	55	160	2,500	75	...	...	...	100
Musgrave, H. C.	1870	5	81	200	40	...	...	...	.....
Osbern, Parish	1870	5	80	320	25	...	...	...	.....
Paine, Coleman	1870	11	80	400	125	...	...	...	150

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	2	2	...	...	2	$.....
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	19
...	...	...	...	10	3	1	...	4	50
...	500	...	...	2	1	...	...	2	60
...	500	...	150	5	5	5	...	7	100
...	...	...	...	5	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	30
...	...	...	50	2	3	1	...	10	15
...	88	...	104	6	6	8	...	7	100
...	...	...	...	5	5	2	...	2	160
...	...	...	100	2	2	1	9	6	6
...	...	...	...	2	5	1	...	11	20
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	50	1	2	2	...	6	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	.....
...	200	...	100	2	2	1	...	8	76
...	...	...	...	4	2	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	.....
...	...	...	500	2	2	...	...	...	30

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Pile, James B.	1870	40	160	$ 800	$ 75	...	...	...	200
Piner, Ezra	1870	4	72	300	50	...	...	...	.....
Potter, Jno. B.	1870	12	80	400	100	...	24	...	300
Price, ...	1870	70	290	2,500	120	...	...	...	40
Prichard, Joseph	1870	...	160	800	125	...	...	...	.....
Princehouse, W. W.	1870	20	80	500	100	...	58	...	350
Quills, Isaac	1870	5	90	500	150	...	...	...	400
Quills, Joseph	1870	6	89	400	...	30	...	...	100
Reynolds, Charles	1870	40	80	900	100	...	15	...	250
Richard, Daniel C.	1870	6	30	750	...	...	...	...	.....
Richards, ...	1870	70	160	4,000	129	...	...	...	.....
Richner, Daniel	1870	15	80	400	130	...	...	...	.....
Rogers, H. C.	1870	50	50	110	175	...	...	...	.....
Roidshong, Washington	1870	20	80	400	75	...	...	...	.....
Rosebrough, James	1870	75	160	1,800	100	...	...	...	.....
Ruckurs, A. J.	1870	10	80	220	...	...	...	...	.....
Scisson, Vincent	1870	40	160	800	...	...	...	...	.....
Sear, Wm. A.	1870	75	150	1,000	360	350	...	...	200
Shawfer, James	1870	3	222	1,000	365	...	...	...	.....

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	200	3	4	4	...	1	$ 130
...	...	...	...	1	3	2	...	...	.....
...	...	...	200	3	1	...	...	2	.....
...	200	...	...	6	6	...	...	8	150
...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	.....
...	200	...	100	3	3	3	...	4	.....
...	...	...	...	7	1	10	...	3	108
...	...	...	300	5	2	...	...	3	50
...	100	...	365	4	8	15	10	6	56
...	...	...	500	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	9	.....
...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	20	3	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	3	.....
...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	90	7	3	...	...	7	75
...	200	...	700	3	3	6	...	6	220
...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	.....

[c]Data listed under crops in the census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 39--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Shellabarger, Abel	1870	55	663	$1,900	$100	...	...	...	.....
Shives, James M.	1870	65	320	1,600	125	...	...	...	.....
Skinner, J. A.	1870	3	44	250	40	...	...	...	.....
Spangle, Edd	1870	20	80	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Steel, Harriet A.	1870	57	182	2,500	75	...	...	...	.....
Swiger, Harrison	1870	10	80	500	15	...	...	...	.....
Swiger, Washington	1870	8	80	400	60	...	...	...	.....
Sykes, Wilford	1870	8	80	200	...	...	...	...	.....
Tuchmitt, Alex	1870	50	80	800	...	...	...	...	.....
Twishmore, David	1870	10	82	500	50	...	...	...	.....
Vincent, Thos. C.	1870	10	80	200	130	...	...	...	.....
Walker, Augustus	1870	43	120	1,200	75	...	20	...	400
Walker, Joseph	1870	4	74	700	...	...	...	...	.....
Walker, Thomas	1870	12	80	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Walker, Wm.	1870	105	202	5,000	30	20	...	...	320
Wandel, Jno.	1870	10	80	400	20	...	...	...	.....
Weatherman, Thos. J.	1870	60	160	4,000	200	50	...	...	500

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 39--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	5	1	...	...	1	$.....
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3	.....
...	...	...	50	4	1	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	4	3	5	...	...	60
...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	.....
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	7	5	11	...	3	.....
...	...	...	200	4	8	16	...	4	20
...	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	2	.....
...	200	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	750	3	7	6	...	3	65
...	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	.....
...	400	...	500	5	4	10	...	...	280
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	200	...	...	10	9	10	125	10	100

[c]Data listed under crops in the census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 40

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF INDIAN CREEK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (ANDERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1875 RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Sherwood,									
Daniel C.	1875	30	30	$ 200	$ 25	...	...	...	...
	1885	30	30	500	20	...	...	...	...
	1895	60	70	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1905	80	110	2,500	25	30	...	...	40
West,									
Robert O.	1875	80	80	300	...	...	...	...	...
	1885	80	80	2,000	50	10	...	...	10
	1895	120	200	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1905	120	280	7,000	100	...	...	...	50
Whetsel,									
W. H.	1875	60	60	500	...	...	...	...	12
	1885	160	160	2,000	10	...	...	...	40
	1895	80	160	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1905	160	240	5,000	25	...	...	...	40
Leech,									
C. C.	1875	160	160	2,000	150	...	...	...	20
	1885	160	160	3,500	25	...	...	...	30
	1895	100	240	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Bradley,									
Robert	1875	160	160	1,200	25	...	...	...	40
	1885	160	160	3,000	50	...	...	...	45
Clucky,									
Lewis	1875	80	160	1,200	20	...	...	...	26
	1885	160	160	3,000	10	...	...	...	30
Howell,									
R. B.	1875	80	120	600	100	...	...	...	28
	1885	160	240	2,000	10	...	...	...	20
Hutchins,									
Mary L.	1875	80	80	300	...	...	...	...	...
	1885	80	80	1,000	10	...	...	...	25
Lee,									
William	1875	240	240	3,000	150	...	...	...	80
	1885	160	160	3,500	50	25	...	2	65

[a]Compiled from the 1875-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

TABLE 40--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Sigt.
...	...	$...	...	3	...	...	...	...	$.....
...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	25	...	...	7	4	27	...	6	.....
...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	140
...	5	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	20	200	400	10	20	60	...	15	300
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	100	1	2	...	...	12	15
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	25	200	5	6	3	...	10	150
...	3	...	150	6	16	39	...	...	500
...	5	...	200	4	8	22	...	...	200
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	65	2	4	5	...	...	15
...	...	...	...	9	16	26	...	...	700
...	2	...	18	3	1	...	...	2	20
...	10	15	100	4	3	1	...	1	150
...	5	...	150	3	6	9	...	3	20
...	10	...	100	2	2	...	...	7	50
...	...	...	25	...	1	...	...	...	10
...	...	...	100	2	2	...	...	1	.....
...	40	...	150	6	4	3	...	8	50
...	...	...	200	9	4	3	...	40	10

[b]In acres.

TABLE 40--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
West,									
John	1875	180	180	$ 4,000	$100	...	...	...	30
	1885	580	580	10,000	50	...	...	...	60
Becker,									
William	1875	60	60	500	30	...	...	...	20
Boyd,									
Milton	1875	80	80	250	25	...	...	...	10
Brown,									
Francis	1875	80	80	1,000	25	...	...	...	40
Burton,									
Samuel	1875	40	160	1,000	10	...	...	...	15
Curtis,									
Lorenzo	1875	80	80	600	60	...	...	...	5
Dennis,									
William	1875	160	320	2,000	60	...	...	...	30
Fezler,									
William S.	1875	40	160	1,000	75	...	...	...	32
Grummond,									
E.	1875	80	80	200	20	...	...	...	...
Henning,									
A. H.	1875	98	98	1,000	50	...	...	...	35
Higgins,									
Thomas	1875	80	80	800	75	...	...	...	25
Keeles,									
Robert	1875	80	80	1,000	100	...	...	...	...
McDaniel,									
George W.	1875	10	160	500	150	...	...	...	...
Moore,									
James H.	1875	80	80	1,000	25	...	...	...	40
Rees,									
John	1875	4	80	400	75	...	...	...	...
Shoup,									
Benjamin	1875	160	160	600	25	...	...	...	...
Shoup,									
.....	1875	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Sinnott,									
M. N.	1875	240	240	3,000	75	...	...	...	30
Spencer,									
C. W.	1875	80	80	1,000	40	...	...	...	25

[b]In acres.

TABLE 40--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	8	$...	225	8	10	42	...	2	$ 40
...	15	5	400	11	20	60	...	40	1,500
...	...	...	30	2	2	1	...	...	15
...	...	...	75	2	2	1	...	2	15
...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	90	4	5	7	...	3	15
...	5	...	150	3	5	10	...	2	60
...	3	...	100	5	4	3	...	4	20
...	...	...	175	5	4	4	...	2	20
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	40	3	3	2	...	1	10
...	7	...	100	2	3	40	...	7	15
...	...	...	40	3	2	2	...	...	50
...	...	...	100	4	4	7	...	...	20
...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	100	4	4	7	...	2	25
...	...	...	50	2	2	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	100	2	3	5	...	...	20
...	...	...	250	2	33	30	...	4	75
...	4	...	140	10	8	27	...	4	350

TABLE 40--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Stigenwalt, Thomas	1875	80	80	$ 650	$ 2	...	...	...	1
Whetsel, Charles	1875	80	80	350	25	...	...	...	15
Wiley, Calvin	1875	80	80	300	15	...	...	...	18

[b]In acres.

TABLE 40--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	50	...	3	...	...	...	$ 15
...	6	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	15
...	...	...	175	2	2	2	...	...	.....

TABLE 41

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF GYPSUM CREEK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (McPHERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1870, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Collier,									
Mark M.	1870	25	160	$ 450	$...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	520	1,000	65	40	...	...	20
	1885	160	160	3,000	...	...	...	7	.....
	1895	160	160	2,000	...	30	...	...	.....
	1905	90	160	3,500	25	...	...	...	.....
Hoadstrum,									
John P.	1870	10	160	600	30	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	400	26	25	...	...	9
	1885	120	160	4,000	200	13	...	...	44
	1895	320	320	5,000	150	...	...	...	30
	1905	440	440	8,000	55	15	...	...	80
Mammel,									
John	1870	10	160	425	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	480	20	19	...	3	18
	1885	160	160	4,000	150	75	...	7	25
	1895[d]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1905[d]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
Miller,									
Solomon	1870	...	154	400	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	400	25	10	...	...	20
	1885	160	160	4,000	25	15	...	...	80
	1895	320	320	5,500	100	16	...	...	.....
	1905[e]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
Nichols,									
Thomas J.	1870	7	150	650	50	...	75	...	250
	1875	...	160	480	...	20	...	...	15
	1885	80	160	4,000	100	32	...	...	45
	1895	160	160	4,000	150	70	...	...	50
	1905	160	160	4,000	70	20	...	...	80

[a]Compiled from the 1870-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the U. S. Bureau of Census and the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced in the census of 1870 is improved acreage abd from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 41--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	...	1	...	...	...	$ 30
...	4	10	...	2	4	4	...	...	75
...	12	36	...	2	4	25	...	19	175
...	16	25	...	4	1	26	...	14	380
...	...	50	200	1	...	1	...	...	200
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	225
2	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	10
...	5	...	300	4	3	14	...	85	560
...	4	10	100	6	8	50	...	50	1,000
...	...	100	75	...	...	...	...	...	300
...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	150
...	9	...	100	2	2	6	...	2	25
...	...	10	800	7	6	21	...	25	100
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	130
4	5	...	200	4	2	35	...	8	280
...	...	...	300	4	2	3	375	5	325
...	...	20	300	4	1	2	...	9	250
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	240	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	125
...	10	20	200	2	2	1	...	1	20
...	12	18	500	9	3	4	...	31	100
...	25	50	200	14	2	27	...	11	135
...	...	50	200	5	2	2	...	21	250

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

[d]Not on the agricultural or population schedule in 1895; listed on the population schedule as a farmer in 1905 but not on agricultural schedule.

[e]Listed on population schedule but not on agricultural schedule.

TABLE 41--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Jones,									
Stephan	1870	15	160	$ 800	$ 29	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	80	200	20	20	...	...	25
	1885	80	160	2,500	50	68	...	4	40
	1895	35	130	3,000	100	35	...	...	50
McCarty,									
Napoleon	1870	6	160	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	480	...	32	...	9	15
	1885[f]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1895[f]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
Pool,									
Henry	1870	3	160	400	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875[g]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1885[g]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1895	160	160	2,500	90	85	...	...	80
Reese,									
Lowell	1870	20	160	1,600	10	...	...	...	300
	1875	30	160	560	75	12	...	...	16
	1885	160	160	4,000	100	10	...	...	40
	1895	160	160	4,000	125	10	...	...	60
Tolle,									
Joseph	1870	80	160	2,500	250	...	...	...	1,700
	1875	60	360	1,080	150	75	...	...	35
	1885	480	520	16,000	300	75	...	32	100
	1895	520	520	15,000	150	30	...	...	60
Snoddy,									
Virgel A.	1870[h]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	480	...	...	...	...	9
	1885	...	80	1,600	150	14	...	...	12
Tolle,									
Henry B.	1870	35	150	1,600	50	...	219	...	1,100
	1875	125	200	700	100	20	...	...	8
	1885	200	200	5,000	300	48	...	...	47

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

[c]Data listed under crops in census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

[f]Not on agricultural schedule in 1885 or 1895; listed on population schedule in 1895.

TABLE 41--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	...	1	...	...	1	$ 200
...	8	...	100	3	2	2	...	1	50
...	20	...	400	5	2	3	...	32	262
...	18	100	200	6	3	3	...	7	200
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	250
...	14	4	50	3	2	1	...	4	20
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	15
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	25	300	9	4	6	...	...	25
...	...	...	100	3	2	3	...	3	425
...	5	5	...	8	...	17	...	...	30
...	5	50	200	10	2	9	...	3	60
...	3	50	200	7	7	21	...	...	.....
...	...	...	200	4	3	4	...	9	1,078
...	18	8	250	10	5	5	...	10	100
...	47	7	365	49	3	2	...	13	55
...	...	10	200	3	1	...	...	...	6
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	16	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	.....
...	3	4	150	4	2	1	...	...	80
...	...	...	50	2	1	3	...	...	250
...	9	10	583	5	3	20	...	3	60
...	12	20	400	4	2	6	...	44	158

[f]Not on agricultural schedule in 1885 or 1895; listed on population schedule in 1895.

[g]Not on agricultural schedule.

[h]Found only on population schedule. Lived in the household of John J. Tolle.

TABLE 41--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced[b]	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[c]	Sp. Wheat[c]	Rye[c]	Corn[c]
Coats,									
Nathan	1870	18	166	$ 450	$ 60	...	33	...	.....
	1875	...	400	1,000	20	30	...	23	18
Frasiure,									
Francis M.	1870	14	160	500	...	...	45	...	150
	1875	...	160	400	15	23	...	...	28
Green,									
William T.	1870	8	150	1,000	125	79	...	...	250
	1875	...	320	600	...	7	...	...	40
Haggatt,									
Isaac	1870	40	80	1,600	68	20	100	...	575
	1875	20	160	560	50	30	2	3	10
Pattan,									
Benjamin	1870	7	160	300	...	...	...	...	.....
	1875	...	160	320	...	7	...	1	20
Reese,									
Sanford	1870	18	154	1,600	10	...	...	...	300
	1875	100	160	560	...	...	9	...	16
Tolle,									
Jewell L.	1870	20	160	700	25	...	60	...	100
	1875	...	320	600	...	17	...	...	22
Tolle,									
John J.	1870	16	160	640	25	...	82	...	100
	1875	...	160	520	20	16	...	...	30
Tolle,									
Samuel F.	1870	16	160	800	55	...	25	...	.....
	1875	...	160	480	...	24	...	5	15
Wickersham,									
Phil	1870	...	160	450	...	...	100	...	.....
	1875	...	160	480	...	26	...	4	13
Hall,									
Jefferson	1870	7	83	350	115	...	...	...	45
Simcox,									
Benjamin	1870	...	154	500	...	...	....	...	140
Slaughter,									
John	1870	3	160	400	...	...	...	...	.....
Thompson,									
Frederick	1870	8	160	700	100	...	100	...	200

[b]Data listed under "Acres Fenced" in the census of 1870 is improved acreage and from 1875-1905 is fenced acreage.

TABLE 41--Continued

Barley[c]	Oats[c]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	4	...	...	...	...	$ 600
...	7	...	150	2	2	6	...	...	80
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	4	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	24
...	...	...	75	2	1	...	...	...	350
...	9	...	...	2	1	...	...	2	50
...	...	...	250	2	2	3	...	5	400
...	3	...	200	3	2	6	...	3	50
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	75
...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	1	.....
...	...	...	100	2	...	...	...	3	180
...	...	...	...	4	...	19	...	1	.....
...	...	...	150	...	2	2	...	2	125
...	10	...	150	2	...	...	...	...	75
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70
...	4	3	50	2	4	11	...	1	100
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	130
...	4	10	150	3	2	...	...	4	30
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	300
...	5	...	150	4	3	1	...	3	50
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	60
...	...	...	85	2	1	...	...	...	300
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120
...	100	...	50	2	4	...	...	...	350

[c]Data listed under crops in the census of 1870 is in bushels and from 1875-1905 is in acres.

TABLE 42

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF GYPSUM CREEK TOWNSHIP FARMERS (McPHERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1875, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Banks,									
Elisha	1875	...	320	$ 600	$100	40	...	...	16
	1885	160	160	5,000	150	40	...	...	40
	1895	160	160	4,000	...	16	...	...	...
	1905	205	240	4,500	140	40	...	...	90
Bertz,									
August	1875	...	160	300	100	23	...	...	10
	1885	25	320	5,000	200	120	...	8	40
	1895	320	320	6,000	300	100	...	...	80
	1905	320	320	8,000	100	120	...	...	40
Bishop,									
G. S.	1875	...	320	800	80	25	1	13	16
	1885	160	400	5,000	250	55	...	...	128
	1895	250	250	6,000	200	45	...	...	70
	1905	160	160	4,000	70	20	...	...	80
Chastain,									
W. H.	1875	...	160	400	...	7	...	5	17
	1885	100	400	5,000	150	50	...	...	40
	1895	200	360	5,000	100	106	...	...	70
	1905	160	160	4,500	165	55	...	...	50
Chisholm,									
Jacob	1875	...	160	320	...	20	...	5	10
	1885	50	320	6,000	100	60	...	5	60
	1895	320	320	4,000	50	60	...	...	80
	1905	480	480	5,000	85	45	...	...	50
Hodges,									
S. B.	1875	...	160	400	...	10	...	4	11
	1885	20	160	3,000	60	40	...	...	70
	1895	160	160	3,000	100	65	...	6	90
	1905[c]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...

[a]Compiled from the 1875-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

[b]In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	2	$ 5	400	6	2	4	...	7	$ 25
...	6	60	500	6	3	9	...	60	600
...	5	...	200	5	2	2	...	23	120
...	10	60	300	5	3	16	...	20	650
...	11	...	100	4	1	...	...	...	.....
...	20	15	200	7	4	8	...	40	300
...	20	...	200	16	12	32	...	20	700
...	20	50	300	10	4	31	...	46	300
...	5	...	150	6	2	24	...	5	150
...	40	...	200	9	5	15	...	14	375
...	45	...	.....	9	12	25	...	20	600
...	...	50	200	5	2	2	...	21	250
...	...	...	125	2	1	4	...	2	12
...	8	25	1,000	8	4	21	...	17	45
...	20	25	300	9	4	3	...	22	365
...	...	125	750	7	5	5	...	36	300
5	8	...	100	2	2	3	...	3	30
...	32	10	1,000	5	7	46	...	28	250
...	25	...	.....	9	2	1	...	18	16
...	7	75	.....	11	3	73	...	36	500
...	10	...	150	2	2	6	...	3	15
...	25	40	500	6	4	3	...	3	125
...	14	10	200	8	4	...	...	8	55
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....

[c]Listed on the population schedule as a farmer.

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Holm,									
J. P.	1875	...	160	$ 320	$ 20	9	7	3	12
	1885	15	160	2,000	100	...	...	...	75
	1895	60	160	2,000	75	45	...	...	25
	1905	160	160	5,000	100	40	...	...	20
Johnson,									
Siver	1875	...	160	400	15	11	4	4	17
	1885	50	200	5,000	200	60	...	...	20
	1895	160	200	3,000	79	40	...	8	60
	1905	240	240	6,500	200	40	...	...	80
Marston,									
J. M.	1875	...	160	400	...	17	...	...	...
	1885	160	160	2,500	50	15	...	...	20
	1895	160	160	3,000	...	...	...	...	10
	1905	160	160	3,500	80	55	...	...	28
Moody,									
John	1875	...	80	200	...	20	...	...	15
	1885	...	80	1,200	75	30	...	...	20
	1895	20	160	1,500	...	...	...	...	...
	1905[d]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Neel,									
W. S.	1875	...	160	400	25	10	...	2	9
	1885	80	80	2,000	60	30	...	2	50
	1895	160	160	2,000	75	40	...	...	30
	1905	80	80	1,500	125	15	...	...	30
Rittgers,									
P. M.	1875	...	240	720	100	45	...	10	19
	1885	80	160	4,000	150	60	...	10	80
	1895	80	160	3,000	75	40	...	6	50
	1905	320	320	6,500	75	70	...	...	80
Anderson,									
Johanns	1875	...	160	320	20	10	5	2	5
	1885	20	160	2,500	50	15	...	...	55
	1895	60	160	3,000	75	...	...	...	40
Barns,									
Fernando	1875	...	160	350	...	7	...	...	4
	1885[e]	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1895	160	160	3,000	62	42	...	...	50

[b]In acres.

[d]Listed on population schedule as a farmer.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	3	$ 5	50	3	1	6	...	2	$ 10
...	20	5	500	4	7	15	...	28	225
...	6	10	100	5	3	...	...	1	75
...	...	40	200	3	2	5	...	...	100
...	4	...	200	2	3	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	600	5	5	9	...	18	165
...	28	25	300	12	9	18	...	16	450
...	16	100	300	5	8	38	...	24	450
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	12	10	500	2	4	6	...	9	55
...	...	25	100	2	2	6	...	...	.....
...	5	50	200	5	6	32	...	...	20
...	...	...	200	3	1	4	...	3	12
...	...	2	.....	2	...	...	...	3	150
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	3	...	50	2	2	...	...	2	.....
...	...	...	200	6	7	21	...	34	13
...	8	10	50	6	3	2	...	4	100
...	...	50	600	5	7	10	...	22	300
...	5	...	.....	9	...	...	...	12	65
...	10	...	400	6	3	3	...	175	170
...	12	15	200	21	5	10	...	20	200
...	5	...	200	7	...	60	...	20	300
...	1	3	25	...	1	2	...	2	.....
...	12	20	200	4	4	3	75	7	.....
...	5	5	.....	6	4	3	...	...	35
...	...	...	150	...	1	...	...	...	10
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	50	50	300	10	4	7	...	...	70

[e]Not on agricultural schedule.

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Bishop,									
David P.	1875	...	320	$ 800	$ 50	26	...	12	6
	1885	70	400	8,000	500	225	...	25	100
	1895	160	320	5,000	109	80	...	...	30
Boyce,									
P. H.	1875	...	160	320	...	10	...	5	11
	1885	50	160	3,500	100	15	...	...	50
	1895	60	160	2,500	80	...	...	...	30
Brookings,									
A. H.	1875	...	160	300	...	15	...	4	4
	1885	60	240	3,500	35	7	...	...	72
	1895	160	240	3,200	25	...	...	...	...
Farmstrom,									
G. P.	1875	...	160	400	...	10	5	3	12
	1885	40	320	5,000	75	30	...	...	50
	1895	240	480	5,000	100	50	...	...	60
Hager,									
G. W.	1875	...	160	320	...	9	...	...	10
	1885	...	80	900	...	18	...	...	30
	1895	85	320	6,000	25	65	...	...	25
Heald,									
E. C.	1875	...	160	320	...	5	...	...	9
	1885	50	160	2,500	40	28	...	...	25
	1895	90	160	2,500	...	...	...	...	...
Lowman,									
M. L.	1875	...	160	400	45	10	...	10	...
	1885	160	160	3,000	150	47	...	...	50
	1895	160	160	1,600	200	160	...	...	80
Neel,									
G. W.	1875	...	160	400	...	20	...	...	3
	1885	...	160	2,500	50	45	...	...	25
	1895	80	80	1,600	100	25	...	...	30
Oakes,									
Isaac	1875	...	320	640	10	20	...	...	30
	1885	70	320	5,000	150	75	...	...	30
	1895	320	320	5,000	84	62	...	...	30
Shultz,									
Walter F.	1875	...	160	400	...	24	...	...	22
	1885	...	200	2,500	43	75	...	...	15
	1895	60	120	1,500	24	30	...	...	30

[b] In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
7	12	$...	200	10	4	16	...	2	$ 100
...	45	...	200	17	18	34	5	80	384
...	...	10	.....	18	4	6	...	30	25
...	...	...	100	2	2	...	...	3	.....
...	15	65	550	6	7	15	...	16	140
...	15	15	.....	8	8	10	...	18	140
...	...	...	100	...	3	...	...	4	.....
...	15	...	200	9	3	2	...	57	240
...	...	75	740	2	4	14	...	9	100
...	2	...	100	2	...	6	...	2	15
...	...	5	200	5	4	16	...	13	400
...	10	5	100	11	5	35	...	50	200
...	...	...	.....	...	2	3	...	...	30
...	...	...	.....	3	2	3	...	30	231
...	15	5	100	7	1	1	...	40	50
...	...	...	100	2	2	...	...	1	.....
...	10	...	350	3	8	9	...	21	140
...	14	...	50	7	3	3	...	12	150
...	...	...	400	3	4	...	...	...	10
...	11	...	200	2	1	3	...	14	125
...	20	...	50	14	2	...	...	8	150
...	...	...	50	1	1	4	...	3	25
...	14	15	300	4	3	...	...	2	30
...	...	10	120	3	2	...	...	...	.....
...	7	...	400	3	4	16	...	3	25
...	15	5	700	8	8	20	...	19	222
...	24	30	500	11	5	5	...	7	250
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	40	10	200	3	3	5	...	17	115
...	20	4	25	5	3	3	...	...	.....

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Sorrenson,									
C. C.	1875	...	160	$ 400	$...	7	...	...	10
	1885	34	160	3,500	100	30	...	...	35
	1895	60	80	1,800	100	50	...	...	30
Tolle,									
J. P.	1875	...	160	400	20	28	...	...	...
	1885	160	160	3,000	40	40	...	...	38
	1895	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	40
Banks,									
Morgan	1875	...	160	400	...	9	...	3	6
	1885	2	160	2,500	...	50	...	...	35
Bartels,									
P. H.	1875	...	160	400	15	11	...	6	16
	1885	...	160	2,500	60	...	...	...	90
Beach,									
W. L.	1875	...	160	400	30	34	...	...	13
	1885	60	160	4,000	25	30	...	8	35
Beechwood,									
Fred	1875	...	160	300	...	12	2	...	2
	1885	...	80	1,200	50	25	...	3	10
Bennell,									
William	1875	...	160	480	50	45	...	4	18
	1885	...	160	3,000	100	...	...	6	35
Blanchet,									
Robert T.	1875	...	160	320	...	5	...	...	29
	1885	30	120	2,000	90	10	...	...	60
Burch,									
R. F.	1875	...	160	400	...	7	5	...	14
	1885	...	160	2,500	100	40	...	...	25
Chapman,									
W. B.	1875	...	160	400	15	31	...	...	10
	1885	10	160	2,500	100	32	...	...	35
Coryell,									
J. B.	1875	...	160	400	30	...	...	...	...
	1885	...	85	1,200	50	23	...	...	20
Drom,									
Griffin	1875	12	160	480	...	12	...	9	12
	1885	12	160	3,500	75	90	...	...	35
Gates,									
B. B.	1875	...	320	800	50	33	...	...	5
	1885	160	160	4,000	...	50	...	20	55

[b]In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	100	...	1	4	...	2	$ 10
...	...	5	200	4	2	3	...	19	225
...	...	10	150	7	1	...	...	18	.....
...	10	...	50	2	1	...	...	...	30
...	15	4	500	2	4	2	...	7	258
...	20	10	150	10	2	4	...	1	10
2	1	...	150	...	1	3	...	3	25
10	10	15	600	2	2	9	...	12	45
...	5	5	150	3	3	1	...	...	20
...	...	15	200	2	2	36	...	7	62
...	...	...	30	3	1	...	...	...	35
...	10	...	200	6	7	21	...	34	13
...	1	...	100	...	1	4	...	2	.....
...	6	3	400	2	2	1	...	9	12
10	8	...	400	4	3	3	...	4	80
...	10	4	600	3	6	6	...	37	165
...	...	...	50	...	1	...	...	...	20
3	...	10	700	4	4	14	...	35	2,700
...	3	...	75	...	2	2	...	1	25
...	6	35	200	3	2	1	...	27	56
...	10	...	400	3	2	7	...	1	60
...	7	...	300	2	2	...	...	23	75
...	...	...	200	2	2	8	...	6	.....
...	8	8	400	4	2	2	...	9	115
...	17	...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	50	6	150	5	2	...	...	6	.....
4	7	...	.....	6	...	5	...	...	.....
...	20	...	.....	20	10	224	...	49	180

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Hall,									
S. D.	1875	...	920	$2,000	$ 75	25	...	10	35
	1885	320	480	6,000	75	30	...	...	120
Hoggett,									
A. J.	1875	...	200	400	...	6	...	5	12
	1885	...	160	2,000	250	45	...	...	30
Johnson,									
Charly	1875	...	160	320	...	...	...	4	...
	1885	...	160	4,000	150	50	...	...	50
McVey,									
C. H.	1875	...	160	320	...	4	...	...	10
	1885	60	320	6,000	200	79	...	...	80
Morgan,									
L. G.	1875	...	160	350	10	12	...	...	2
	1885	...	160	3,500	50	45	...	...	30
Morris,									
Luvious	1875	...	160	320	...	6	3	...	10
	1885	160	160	.....	...	...	...	...	30
Nilson,									
Peter	1875	...	160	300	...	14	3	...	10
	1885	160	160	2,000	100	34	...	...	40
Spilman,									
A. C.	1875	...	320	1,100	45	32	...	12	16
	1885	50	240	5,000	300	50	...	...	70
Tolle,									
William	1875	...	160	480	50	36	...	...	16
	1885	160	160	4,000	50	50	...	...	40
Watkins,									
W. E.	1875	...	320	640	20	9	...	4	25
	1885	25	160	1,500	125	20	...	10	25
Watts,									
St. Clair	1875	...	160	320	...	7	...	...	7
	1885	...	160	2,500	100	75	...	...	30
Wickersham,									
B. C.	1875	...	160	300	...	2	...	...	4
	1885	40	120	1,500	20	30	...	...	35
Young,									
Jeremiah	1875	...	160	320	...	6	...	...	2
	1885	...	160	2,500	198	70	...	...	40

[b] In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	30	$...	200	6	3	1	...	50	$ 75
...	...	30	1,040	3	5	14	...	29	280
...	...	...	100	...	...	2	...	1	20
...	15	15	200	6	3	3	...	25	60
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
4	12	...	.....	6	1	...	...	5	200
...	...	...	.....	...	1	...	...	2	.....
...	12	75	500	5	5	28	...	13	70
...	14	...	150	2	1	...	...	...	6
...	11	15	350	3	4	3	...	10	20
...	...	...	.....	...	1	3	...	...	.....
...	14	...	300	5	2	10	...	1	.....
...	...	5	75	2	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	2	4	5	...	11	60
...	16	...	75	2	...	47	...	...	358
...	5	...	400	6	4	45	...	36	400
...	12	...	200	6	2	5	...	7	20
...	...	...	500	4	3	19	...	52	300
...	...	...	.....	3	1	4	...	...	20
...	...	...	50	5	4	5	...	15	200
...	3	...	100	2	1	...	...	...	25
...	25	...	400	4	2	2	...	8	4
...	...	8	.....	1	1	5	...	8	85
...	15	10	200	2	1	1	...	8	25
...	...	...	100	1	3	4	...	...	10
...	...	10	100	3	1	...	...	22	100

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Aten, H. H.	1875	...	160	$ 400	$ 50	14	...	...	10
Austin, W. H.	1875	...	160	400	20	24	...	3	21
Baird, A. J.	1875	...	160	400	...	35	...	...	5
Baker, A. M.	1875	...	160	300	...	7	...	...	3
Barbrick, John	1875	...	160	320	...	4	...	2	6
Bartels, J. N.	1875	...	160	400	...	13	2	6	20
Bates, O. O.	1875	...	160	320	...	18	...	26	5
Beechwood, A.	1875	...	160	300	...	25	...	1	10
Bigford, O. G.	1875	...	160	400	15	20	...	...	9
Brock, C. S.	1875	...	160	200	...	3	...	...	13
Campbell, John E.	1875	...	160	400	...	26	...	9	14
Cochrane, E. R.	1875	...	800	1,800	50	1	...	...	12
Cooper, J. M.	1875	...	160	320	...	10	...	1	3
Curtis, P. H.	1875	...	160	320	...	...	...	5	10
Dawson, James	1875	...	240	720	100	40	...	...	10
Fenton, G. W.	1875	...	160	400	10	17	...	...	7
Gibbs, Dwight D.	1875	...	160	320	...	16	...	4	2
Grokett, James	1875	...	160	300	...	11	...	...	2
Hall, Rebecca	1875	...	80	200	...	1	...	...	16
Haywood, J. B.	1875	...	160	400	...	8	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	8	$...	200	2	2	6	...	1	$ 20
...	7	...	100	2	1	2	...	7	20
...	5	...	.....	4	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	50	3	3	...	...	...	.....
...	6	...	150	1	2	7	...	2	20
2	4	...	100	2	1	2	...	7	20
...	...	...	36	...	...	...	...	3	.....
1	4	5	100	2	2	1	...	3	.....
...	...	...	.....	1	2	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	50	...	1	...	...	...	.....
...	5	10	250	3	2	6	...	2	100
...	10	...	.....	3	1	3	...	...	.....
...	...	...	100	...	1	4	...	2	.....
...	...	...	125	2	1	1	...	2	.....
...	16	...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	15
...	5	...	25	...	1	6	...	...	.....
...	...	...	100	...	1	4	...	...	25
...	3	...	.....	2	1	...	...	...	.....
...	4	80	150	2	1	1	...	2	40
...	...	...	100	...	2	...	...	1	25

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Herrold, J. M.	1875	...	160	$ 320	$...	7	...	5	9
Hoadstrum, Nats	1875	...	160	400	20	6	...	...	5
Jackson, A.	1875	...	160	320	...	10	...	...	...
Johnson, Fred	1875	...	160	400	75	20	2	8	6
Kester, M. J.	1875	...	160	400	10	26	...	...	7
Kinney, J. W.	1875	...	160	400	...	30	...	3	2
Lesoure, F. A.	1875	...	160	400	...	...	...	...	10
Lindberg, A. J.	1875	...	160	400	...	10	...	...	...
Livezey, Lewis	1875	...	160	400	10	20	...	...	...
Livezey, Sam	1875	...	240	600	12	...	...	5	20
Maxson, E. A.	1875	...	160	400	...	10	...	6	16
McArthur, A.	1875	...	160	400	85	16	...	...	7
McCombs, Daniel L.	1875	...	160	300	...	5	...	1	4
Mettz, L. P.	1875	...	320	640	80	20	...	5	12
Moon, F. J.	1875	...	160	320	...	12	...	4	33
Morden, J. L.	1875	...	160	400	...	19	...	5	14
Morris, H. M.	1875	...	160	320	...	9	...	...	...
Morris, Jones	1875	...	160	320	...	7	...	...	...
Morris, Marshall	1875	...	160	320	...	12	...	...	3
Morris, Pierce	1875	...	160	320	...	6	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley	Oats	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	.....	...	2	...	...	...	$.....
...	...	...	100	2	1	3	...	1	20
...	...	...	.....	1	1	2	...	...	.....
...	6	...	300	3	5	1	...	4	55
...	...	...	100	2	1	...	...	1	60
...	8	7	.....	1	1	4	...	8	.....
...	2	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	.....	...	...	4	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	2	...	5	...	2	.....
...	...	...	50	2	1	5	...	2	6
...	...	...	.....	2	...	...	...	1	25
...	2	...	100	3	1	4	...	3	75
...	...	...	100	...	2	...	...	...	.....
...	4	...	400	5	4	13	...	10	25
...	...	...	250	3	2	6	...	3	100
...	15	8	50	...	2	3	...	3	25
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	25	...	1	2	2	...	.....
...	...	2	25	...	...	...	3	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	...	1	...	2	...	.....

TABLE 42--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Neel, T. S.	1875	...	160	$ 320	$ 25	18	...	...	10
Patten, Lionel D.	1875	...	160	300	...	...	...	...	8
Patten, Ada M.	1875	...	320	700	15	25	...	4	25
Quins, Hiram	1875	...	320	600	50	34	...	...	...
Sandberg, N. O.	1875	...	160	400	...	17	...	5	2
Stockwell, G. S.	1875	...	160	200	...	10	...	...	4
Waln, H. N.	1875	...	160	320	10	2	...	...	10
Wiant, S. R.	1875	...	160	400	50	35	...	8	30

[b]In acres.

TABLE 42--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	2	$...	150	3	2	2	...	2	$ 50
...	...	...	75	...	1	1	...	3	10
...	...	...	100	...	1	5	...	2	18
...	3	...	600	3	7	15	...	2	.....
...	3	...	.....	4	4	...	...	5	10
...	...	5	100	2	2	...	...	...	15
...	...	...	75	2	1	...	...	...	.....
...	10	15	200	2	2	4	...	5	10

TABLE 43

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF BATTLE HILL TOWNSHIP FARMERS (McPHERSON COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1885, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Banks,									
Benson L.	1885	40	160	$ 2,500	$ 20	40	...	...	45
	1895	160	240	4,000	117	100	...	...	60
	1905	320	360	6,000	100	30	...	...	55
Clark,									
J. E.	1885	...	240	1,000	15	...	...	...	...
	1895	120	240	1,500	13	...	...	...	20
	1905	140	200	3,000	100	...	...	...	40
Darling,									
James W.	1885	40	400	5,000	160	80	...	5	90
	1895	160	320	5,000	100	100	...	4	35
	1905	80	280	6,000	125	100	...	...	95
Dole,									
William	1885	80	200	2,000	150	10	...	...	35
	1895	640	640	7,000	69	20	...	...	50
	1905	800	800	10,000	250	...	...	15	80
Fortner,									
Benjamin	1885	...	320	3,000	100	25	...	35	45
	1895	70	320	2,500	156	25	...	...	90
	1905	300	320	4,000	...	...	...	...	...
Frantz,									
C. A.	1885	25	80	1,000	60	...	...	...	34
	1895	80	80	1,500	32	10	...	...	25
	1905	80	80	1,800	...	...	17	...	...
Frisbie,									
George M.	1885	10	160	1,500	200	35	...	...	15
	1895	160	160	1,500	64	40	...	...	45
	1905	320	320	4,500	200	70	...	...	100
Kennedy,									
L. W.	1885	30	160	1,500	80	20	...	14	15
	1895	160	160	2,000	73	55	...	12	30
	1905	320	320	5,000	125	35	...	...	40

[a]Compiled from the 1885-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	8	$...	600	7	9	8	...	21	$ 220
...	55	25	300	17	3	6	...	13	300
...	20	30	...	6	12	25	...	16	600
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	10	100	3	11	8	...	4	40
...	7	100	...	5	8	14	...	13	50
...	17	...	500	4	10	9	...	20	450
...	80	5	300	18	4	31	...	3	40
...	22	20	150	6	13	14	...	25	800
...	10	...	100	8	2	12	...	8	40
...	25	15	300	7	3	37	...	6	700
...	20	25	200	12	4	80	35	31	2,000
...	20	30	400	6	5	20	...	7	233
...	...	35	400	20	4	6	...	3	40
...	...	20	150	4	4	4	...	...	.....
...	6	...	150	4	4	3	...	15	140
...	10	25	300	4	3	...	...	...	64
...	...	50	300	3	4	7	...	2	100
...	10	50	60	5	1	1	...	10	120
...	26	50	500	6	4	18	...	2	150
...	10	100	150	7	6	29	...	25	500
...	...	6	100	4	1	1	...	14	95
...	12	20	500	8	8	19	...	15	270
...	...	100	160	9	8	80	...	70	460

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Nichols,									
J. A.	1885	...	320	$ 5,500	$100	130	...	...	90
	1895	160	160	2,600	17	19	...	...	40
	1905	160	160	4,500	150	35	...	...	40
Stevens,									
T. M.	1885	40	160	2,000	50	60	...	...	35
	1895	80	80	1,000	25	...	...	...	25
	1905	80	80	1,300	...	...	...	...	15
White,									
Elbridge	1885	40	160	2,500	106	20	...	3	45
	1895	160	160	3,000	69	12	...	3	40
	1905	160	160	4,000	125	...	...	...	40
Batten,									
Charles C.	1885	...	160	2,000	86	80	...	...	...
	1895	160	160	2,000	75	...	...	...	20
Huff,									
E. A.	1885	...	120	1,000	15	20	...	...	15
	1895	35	80	500	71	25	...	...	65
Ingram,									
Alexander	1885	...	320	4,000	985	30	...	...	43
	1895	160	160	2,500	50	28	...	...	25
Lenk,									
Adolf	1885	...	160	1,500	100	27	...	10	17
	1895	60	160	800	50	...	...	...	40
McCord,									
B. W.	1885	...	160	2,500	15	18	...	...	5
	1895	40	160	3,000	119	40	...	...	43
Nichols,									
John	1885	160	160	2,200	250	15	...	...	30
	1895	205	320	6,000	60	50	...	10	90
Oakes,									
Abraham	1885	120	320	6,000	160	45	...	14	60
	1895	160	160	3,000	55	...	...	...	...
Rommel,									
Christopher	1885	...	160	1,500	5	15	...	...	30
	1895	160	160	1,500	30	...	...	...	40
Shultz,									
J. A.	1885	53	160	2,000	100	55	...	...	40
	1895	160	160	3,000	58	95	...	...	80

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	20	$...	...	2	...	1	...	27	$ 16
...	15	30	200	9	2	2	...	5	39
...	10	50	200	4	4	15	...	8	300
...	...	10	200	5	3	1	...	11	30
...	...	25	400	3	1	1	...	1	19
...	...	15	250	2	3	1	...	...	48
...	5	20	500	6	5	8	...	10	50
...	15	20	800	8	9	4	...	22	300
...	15	88	...	7	8	34	...	4	150
...	5	...	100	3	2	1	...	25	16
...	...	15	200	3	3	8	...	...	30
...	10	...	200	2	...	...	...	10	20
...	9	15	...	5	5	4	...	5	30
...	15	6	200	4	4	10	...	37	83
...	25	35	100	4	1	3	...	2	100
...	...	...	...	2	1	2	...	20	150
...	15	35	...	5	4	8	...	2	420
...	5	...	50	5	2	...	...	17	24
...	29	10	...	7	5	6	...	2	240
...	4	5	150	9	7	10	...	40	80
...	30	10	800	10	8	30	...	10	380
...	10	20	250	7	7	23	...	30	192
...	10	25	500	4	6	3	...	3	100
...	5	...	20	4	2	...	4	13	42
...	...	...	600	12	7	...	...	1	90
...	10	...	200	6	4	4	...	13	40
...	48	35	600	15	6	14	...	11	100

TABLE 43--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Thompson,									
John W.	1885	...	40	$ 800	$125	...	...	2	3
	1895	80	80	1,000	30	...	...	...	10
Waln,									
L. W.	1885	45	160	2,500	50	20	...	...	40
	1895	160	160	2,500	148	22	...	...	40
Atherton,									
James	1885	...	160	2,000	...	...	...	...	45
Aylor,									
.....	1885	...	160	1,000	25	...	...	...	20
Bartluff,									
A.	1885	...	160	1,500	...	22	...	...	20
Beers,									
J. M.	1885	...	160	1,500	5	...	...	...	25
Black,									
D. Y.	1885	400	640	6,000	200	20	...	30	24
Brown,									
N.	1885	40	160	2,000	50	25	...	...	40
Bruce,									
J. K.	1885	...	160	1,000	100	6	...	...	20
Burnett,									
E. E.	1885	...	160	1,800	...	50	...	...	30
Burnett,									
H. W.	1885	...	240	2,000	100	65	...	...	100
Clark,									
B. C.	1885	...	160	800	25	...	...	...	20
Cook,									
G. E.	1885	...	160	2,000	30	70	...	...	20
Coughenour,									
J. M.	1885	...	160	2,000	35	30	...	...	35
Craven,									
C. B.	1885	25	120	2,500	200	25	...	...	40
Cummins,									
J. R.	1885	...	400	5,000	245	100	...	...	100
Davis,									
J. P.	1885	...	160	600	10	...	...	...	10
Dillman,									
J. E.	1885	60	160	2,500	...	35	...	...	18

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$ 6	200	7	2	5	...	2	$ 108
...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	25
...	5	40	200	4	6	4	1	20	28
...	5	...	600	10	6	5	...	9	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	200
...	...	...	50	2	...	...	...	...	4
...	...	...	...	2	1	3	...	10	5
...	...	...	50	5	2	3	...	20	50
...	...	...	100	8	1	...	...	5	15
...	...	...	200	8	5	...	...	20	1,000
...	...	5	400	6	7	6	...	6	125
...	...	...	50	2	2	2	...	7	12
...	...	...	200	7	2	2	...	20	40
...	...	...	100	2	1	8	...	4	10
...	...	5	200	2	1	...	2	1	20
...	10	6	200	3	2	...	...	18	24
...	14	...	40	2	3	2	21	...	20
...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	50	200	3	5	1	...	3	25
...	5	...	...	2	1	...	...	3	12

TABLE 43--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Dole, J. P.	1885	320	320	$ 6,400	$...	45	...	...	75
Evans, J. D.	1885	...	40	1,000	100	15	...	...	12
Filkins, A.	1885	...	160	600	25	...	...	...	15
Fisher, Jacob	1885	70	160	2,000	100	49	...	...	35
Foster, A. L.	1885	40	160	2,500	150	30	...	3	23
George, L. A.	1885	160	240	1,500	141	...	...	...	7
Gilbert, G. W. V.	1885	...	480	4,000	15	...	...	5	30
Gray, J. K.	1885	30	320	3,800	200	50	...	...	40
Hagar, M. P.	1885	40	160	2,500	100	60	...	...	38
Hagar, Y. R.	1885	...	160	2,500	50	80	...	...	50
Hoffsommer, Mary	1885	4	160	3,000	200	50	...	13	22
Huilf, J. T.	1885	...	80	500	15	...	...	...	...
Ingrams, John	1885	100	160	1,500	5	...	...	...	15
Keyes, W. H.	1885	...	80	1,000	30	20	...	...	35
Knight, M. J.	1885	80	160	1,000	50	...	...	...	...
Knight, ...	1885	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Koplin, Israel	1885	61	160	2,500	200	35	...	6	24
Leard, S. F.	1885	...	160	2,500	25	12	...	...	40
Leitenberger, ...	1885	...	160	1,000	...	15	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	25	$...	...	1	...	...	...	...	$.....
...	...	5	150	8	3	5	...	66	240
...	...	20	100	4	5	4	...	3	20
...	...	...	...	10	1	...	...	4	10
...	3	...	600	4	7	10	...	1	186
...	...	...	200	4	6	3	...	14	209
...	...	15	200	3	2	...	...	12	10
...	25	...	100	3	1	60	...	9	120
...	5	...	100	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	5	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	.....
...	18	2	500	6	7	5	...	17	160
...	...	10	100	1	3	3	...	5	44
...	...	...	100	...	2	2	...	4	25
...	10	8	...	7	10	31	...	5	12
...	...	...	100	2	2	7	...	4	358
...	...	...	100	...	1	7	...	...	25
...	...	3	800	8	6	12	...	9	150
...	...	5	200	2	1	...	...	6	65
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....

TABLE 43--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Lipperd, J.	1885	...	80	$ 1,000	$100	20	...	...	40
Maddox, William	1885	160	320	1,500	150	...	...	...	6
Marskey, William	1885	...	120	500	5	...	...	...	12
Martin, Christen	1885	70	320	2,000	75	17	...	...	40
Martin, G. W.	1885	...	160	1,000	60	20	...	...	...
McCarty, L. P.	1885	20	160	2,000	20	10	...	...	20
Metcalf, M.	1885	...	320	1,000	100	...	...	...	6
Metcalf, J. W.	1885	...	80	1,000	100	20	...	5	...
Moon, A. E.	1885	...	160	2,500	100	50	...	...	40
Myers, A. J.	1885	...	400	4,000	300	137	...	6	100
Oakes, C. E.	1885	40	160	2,000	...	23	...	...	12
Owen, C. H.	1885	25	400	3,000	...	...	...	3	40
Pancer, Peter	1885	40	160	2,000	60	40	...	...	30
Patten, Y. B.	1885	30	160	2,500	10	35	...	...	20
Patten, Alice	1885	...	320	3,000	...	...	...	...	25
Peterson, Arnt	1885	70	200	2,000	15	48	...	...	27
Sample, W. B.	1885	...	160	480	40	...	...	...	16
Scott, G. H.	1885	...	160	1,000	25	2	...	...	40
Showl, Ira C.	1885	...	160	2,000	10	50	...	...	15

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	2	1	...	...	33	$ 6
...	...	5	100	4	2	12	...	5	20
...	...	10	100	1	1	1	...	5	25
...	10	15	500	4	6	11	...	4	12
...	6	30	...	2	...	...	...	14	70
...	...	2	300	3	3	4	...	4	6
...	6	30	...	4	11	1	...	6	.....
...	4	10	700	1	11	2	...	9	60
...	6	15	200	7	1	...	...	25	300
...	5	...	200	8	2	2	...	30	309
...	11	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	.....
...	12	...	200	4	4	3	...	39	170
...	10	5	100	3	3	...	...	3	50
...	20	4	200	6	5	4	...	1	37
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	1	8
...	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	4	20	2	1	...	...	...	16
...	...	2	50	1	1	...	...	7	5

TABLE 43--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Snider, J. M.	1885	...	160	$ 600	$...	...	...	...	6
Spencer, J. A.	1885	...	160	1,600	30	33	...	...	35
Swank, D. F.	1885	40	400	4,000	60	30	...	...	50
Tempel, Sylvia	1885	80	80	1,600	...	...	...	...	20
Thomas, William	1885	...	160	700	6	...	...	...	20
Warren, J. H.	1885	20	120	2,000	...	...	...	...	20
White, V. G.	1885	...	160	1,500	5	55	...	...	20
Willcox, C.	1885	55	320	3,000	200	11	...	15	27

[b]In acres.

TABLE 43--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$.....
...	...	...	150	2	5	7	...	1	10
...	...	...	...	2	16	35	...	140	.....
...	...	...	100	2	1	...	...	2	.....
...	...	10	50	3	1	1	...	...	.....
...	...	...	100	1	1	...	...	1	8
...	...	...	100	2	1	...	...	11	21
...	22	10	300	4	4	2	...	28	134

TABLE 44

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF BARRETT TOWNSHIP FARMERS (THOMAS COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1885, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Armstrong,									
W. W.	1885	.....	160	$ 500	$ 50	...	...	...	...
	1895	235	320	2,000	40	...	...	...	50
	1905[c]	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Byars,									
Nathan	1885	.....	320	700	85	...	...	...	...
	1895	140	240	1,000	50	150	...	...	35
	1905[d]	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Coover,									
C. H.	1885	.....	160	450	60	...	...	...	...
	1895[e]	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
	1905[e]	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Heming,									
R. T.	1885	.....	160	350	65	...	...	...	...
	1895	.....	320	500	45	...	55	...	50
	1905	5,120	5,760	28,800	200	100	30	...	60
Hubbard,									
C. D.	1885	.....	320	800	100	...	...	...	12
	1895	160	160	1,600	50	...	...	...	25
	1905[f]	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Knudsen,									
Henry T.	1885	.....	160	400	20	...	8	...	20
	1895	240	360	5,000	100	120	...	...	80
	1905	360	600	15,000	...	...	...	...	...
See,									
F. S.	1885	.....	160	300	30	...	...	...	...
	1895	160	240	2,000	40	...	...	...	30
	1905	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...

[a]Compiled from the 1885-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

[b]In acres.

[c]Listed only on population census; no occupation given.

TABLE 44--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	2	9	...	...	...	$...
...	20	...	100	5	1	2	...	1	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	...	8	...	...	...
8	...	...	100	17	5	4	...	...	30
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	20	...	...	...
10	10	50	200	8	6	16	...	3	460
56	40	200	200	20	70	65	...	2	600
...	...	...	...	2	...	34	...	...	...
...	...	...	150	4	2	...	...	...	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
20	...	10	...	8	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	20	200	6	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	5	...	...	...	...
7	12	...	100	12	2	2	...	5	40
...	...	20	80	2	1	2	...	2	40

[d]Listed as a farmer on population census.

[e]Listed on population census as baker and restaurant operator in 1895 and as restaurant operator in 1905.

[f]Listed on population census as a mail carrier in Colby, Kansas.

TABLE 44--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Bulger,									
Z. T.	1885	.....	160	$ 400	$ 75	...	...	...	...
	1895	.....	160	400	...	...	...	...	20
Clawson,									
John	1885	.....	320	1,000	50	...	...	...	...
	1895	85	160	1,000	25	...	...	...	75
Woodcock,									
R. S.	1885	.....	160	500	60	...	...	...	...
	1895	.....	80	250	...	28	...	...	25
Woodcock,									
William	1885	.....	160	200	55	...	...	...	...
	1895	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Archer,									
William	1885	.....	160	500	40	...	...	...	...
Atkins,									
Henry	1885	.....	160	600	60	...	...	...	...
Barber,									
Job	1885	.....	160	200	65	...	...	...	...
Bond,									
Frank	1885	.....	160	500	50	...	8	...	20
Campbell,									
John W.	1885	.....	160	500	100	...	...	...	...
Campbell,									
S. M.	1885	.....	160	500	55	...	...	...	...
Charney,									
William	1885	.....	160	500	7	...	...	...	...
Colby,									
J. R.	1885	.....	320	1,200	100	...	...	...	...
Ehnes,									
Leonard	1885	.....	160	600	30	...	...	...	...
Evans,									
C. W.	1885	.....	160	400	20	...	...	...	...
Frank,									
Frederick	1885	.....	160	400	30	...	...	...	18
Hay,									
Mary A.	1885	.....	320	1,000	30	...	...	...	...
Hazelton,									
Henry	1885	.....	160	450	50	...	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 44--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	5	...	29	...	...	$...
...	...	...	150	7	5	32	...	2	12
...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...
...	12	...	104	8	1	5	...	...	25
...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	4	4	7	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	120	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	...	204	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	4	...	7	250	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	8	...	38	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	...	22	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	9	3	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...

[g]Listed as a farmer on population census.

TABLE 44--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Irwin, John W.	1885	.....	320	$ 1,100	$ 80	...	...	...	...
Jardine, Andrew	1885	.....	320	1,000	75	...	...	...	...
Jardine, Robert	1885	.....	320	800	75	...	...	...	...
Johnson, Ayers E.	1885	.....	160	500	80	...	...	...	...
Kaler, Ezra	1885	.....	160	350	50	...	...	...	...
Lord, William	1885	.....	160	300	35	...	...	...	...
Master, Robert	1885	.....	320	1,000	9	...	...	...	20
Miller, H. W.	1885	.....	320	1,200	50	...	...	...	...
Miller, Roger	1885	.....	160	450	25	...	...	...	...
Miller, Stephen M.	1885	.....	160	350	65	...	...	...	...
Monroe, John	1885	.....	320	1,000	65	...	...	...	...
Morrisey, Charlie	1885	.....	160	300	45	...	...	...	...
Oberly, Fred	1885	.....	320	500	80	...	...	...	...
Peyton, G. W.	1885	.....	320	1,100	100	...	...	...	...
Reed, Andrew	1885	.....	320	900	70	...	...	...	...
Reed, Jennings	1885	.....	320	850	40	...	...	...	...
Reed, William H.	1885	.....	320	800	40	...	...	...	...
Smith, Henry	1885	.....	320	500	75	...	...	...	...
Smith, J. F.	1885	.....	160	400	60	...	...	...	...
Sopher, O. J.	1885	.....	160	200	25	...	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 44--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	4	...	...	265	...	$...
...	...	...	...	1	...	7	200	...	...
...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	129	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	5	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	11	...	78	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	16	...	12	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	3	...	160	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	3	...	20	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	4	...	39	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	5	...	43	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 44--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Stapleton, S. F.	1885	.....	160	$ 500	$ 35	...	...	...	...
Stewardson, John	1885	.....	160	400	45	...	...	...	...
Stobie, W. M.	1885	.....	160	400	45	...	...	...	...
Strayer, George	1885	.....	320	600	40	...	...	...	...
Turney, Morris	1885	.....	160	350	75	...	...	...	...
Turney, P. G.	1885	.....	160	200	50	...	...	...	...
Underdown, J. K.	1885	.....	320	1,000	50	...	...	...	...
Vincent, H. H.	1885	.....	160	500	25	...	...	...	...
Wiley, George	1885	.....	160	400	25	5	...	5	12
Woodcock, S. P.	1885	.....	160	400	70	...	...	...	...

[b]In acres.

TABLE 44--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	...	2	...	...	...	...	$...
...	...	...	...	8	...	31	200	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	5	4	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	11	...	116	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	2	...	125	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 45

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF BARRETT TOWNSHIP FARMERS (THOMAS COUNTY) WHO FIRST APPEARED ON THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS IN 1895, RANKED IN ORDER OF LONGEVITY ON THE FARM[a]

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Baird,									
B. W.	1895	.....	160	$ 500	$100	30	12	...	60
	1905	240	1,360	7,000	300	140	25	...	40
Bear,									
W. O.	1895	.....	160	500	60	...	30	...	...
	1905	4,500	4,500	22,500	200	120	75	...	100
Cole,									
Chas.	1895	80	160	450	45	...	150	...	...
	1905	2,560	2,720	20,000	50	150	20	...	20
Cole,									
W. H. and	1895	80	160	200	45	47	13	...	35
C. C.	1905	280	480	4,200	300	100	...	...	65
Cotherman,									
M. L.	1895	.....	320	500	45	...	40	...	40
	1905	1,370	1,750	11,000	200	35	70	...	60
Dorland,									
J. Frank	1895	85	160	600	60	...	11	...	30
	1905	230	480	2,400	100	50	...	...	12
Eicher,									
Peter	1895	80	160	500	255	...	40	...	60
	1905	640	1,280	6,400	150	160	...	25	120
Fink,									
A. H.	1895	130	160	400	20	...	...	...	...
	1905	960	1,400	8,000	60	70	50	...	...
Fry,									
Geo. T.	1895	.....	476	2,100	40	...	50	...	40
	1905	.....	960	3,000	100	100	...	...	...
Goellert,									
F. C.	1895	.....	160	500	80	...	70	...	35
	1905	2,720	2,720	20,000	250	200	...	...	...
Hazen,									
Daniel, Sr.	1895	.....	320	1,000	82	...	140	...	20
	1905	.....	320	2,000	50	25	...	...	70

[a]Compiled from the 1895-1905 manuscript censuses of agriculture taken by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

TABLE 45--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry	Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
10	15	$ 10		250	6	8	20	...	2	$ 50
45	4	95		200	8	24	52	...	3	800
...	...	3		50	4	3	100	...	1	.....
125	...	5		40	13	2	190	...	3	75
...	4	...		.....	7	...	...	...	...	.....
150	...	50		100	20	30	50	...	15	20
...	8	3		300	13	3	1	...	1	15
115	...	100		150	12	20	40	...	2	51
...	...	35		.....	4	...	...	...	2	90
20	...	10		.....	8	...	118	...	...	200
...	...	25		365	3	9	...	...	2	10
30	...	100		.....	6	8	15	...	5	150
2	5	2		50	3	1	1	...	...	50
80	...	10		.....	8	12	48	...	8	100
...	...	25		300	6	3	4	...	1	35
20	...	100		100	6	4	46	...	2	600
8	...	...		.....	2	...	...	...	5	200
...	...	...		.....	1	...	...	...	...	.....
3	15	15		350	6	10	21	...	2	170
50	40	120		1,200	18	25	145	...	10	200
...	...	...		.....	30	2	2	...	2	.....
180	...	...		.....	6	1	3	...	22	30

[b]In acres.

TABLE 45--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Hazen,									
Daniel, Jr.	1885	100	480	$ 1,000	$120	...	44	...	20
	1905	.....	320	1,600	100	...	75	...	40
Johnston,									
D.	1895	95	320	1,000	40	...	...	...	...
	1905	240	640	3,000	200	...	10	...	65
Kramer,									
C. H.	1895	370	480	1,000	150	25	30	...	...
	1905	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Magruder,									
J. O.	1895	80	160	400	45	...	50	...	40
	1905	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...
Musser,									
W. E.	1895	120	448	800	180	...	40	...	25
	1905	510	775	4,000	500	40	30	...	90
Parker,									
J.	1895	69	139	500	30	...	...	...	40
	1905	79	139	700	...	...	...	...	...
Rawson,									
R. B.	1895	320	480	900	90	40	20	...	70
	1905	240	480	1,500	50	...	33	...	40
Roupetz,									
Fred	1895	.....	160	400	3	...	5	...	12
	1905	315	320	3,500	300	50	...	...	30
Smith,									
H. A.	1895	.....	159	400	6	...	...	...	60
	1905	180	1,040	7,800	100	30	...	...	40
Swanson,									
Silas	1895	100	320	500	15	10	...	...	...
	1905	480	930	5,000	200	30	...	...	25
Thompson,									
C. G.	1895	.....	160	400	10	30	...	...	30
	1905	80	160	1,600	150	10	20	...	30
Tubbs,									
P. D.	1895	138	138	500	30	12	...	...	40
	1905	290	320	1,600	130	...	...	...	40
Watson,									
W. O.	1895	80	160	400	70	55	...	8	50
	1905	640	800	6,000	100	70	30	30	30

[b]In acres.

TABLE 45--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$...	400	9	6	7	...	...	$.....
25	...	15	200	5	3	47	...	...	40
...	...	...	.....	9	...	...	...	...	.....
75	...	25	100	8	15	15	...	4	15
...	...	...	.....	23	...	140	...	6	2,125
...	...	...	.....	60	1	320	...	9	100
6	12	...	100	4	2	1	...	1	30
...	...	...	62	9	15	44	...	3	60
...	8	10	.....	8	...	...	...	...	.....
70	...	30	.....	4	...	24	...	...	.....
...	5	...	.....	4	10	11	...	...	130
60	...	...	.....	2	8	14	...	...	.....
11	9	12	70	13	5	3	...	3	58
50	...	100	200	4	9	20	...	3	60
...	...	...	.....	2	...	7	...	...	30
25	20	20	.....	8	10	18	...	...	110
6	5	2	200	6	4	3	...	2	10
50	...	100	200	13	22	30	...	3	150
...	...	...	50	3	7	5	...	2	.....
40	...	...	.....	9	30	56	...	20	300
12	...	15	100	4	3	1	...	...	.....
...	...	120	200	...	20	26	...	3	200
...	5	10	100	5	2	6	...	2	.....
25	...	60	75	9	20	22	...	3	.....
5	10	45	330	10	3	...	...	1	40
85	5	100	100	15	14	18	...	4	300

TABLE 45--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Bitner, D. N.	1895	100	320	$ 800	$ 15	...	...	...	...
Brumwell, Wm.	1895	.....	160	300	30	...	...	...	...
Bundy, A. C.	1895	.....	160	200	...	...	...	...	20
Bundy, L. D.	1895	.....	130	200	25	...	...	...	30
Chadwick, C. F.	1895	65	320	800	50	10	65	...	25
Clark, M.	1895	160	160	500	120	40	15	...	80
Crabtree, W. A.	1895	90	160	500	120	...	30	...	30
Denne, J. R.	1895	120	320	1,000	50	...	...	...	50
Dewitt, D. M.	1895	.....	160	400	21	...	...	...	30
Drummond, F. E.	1895	.....	160	1,000	25	35	20	...	60
Eicher, Katy	1895	1	134	500	45	...	18	...	20
Foust, G. W.	1895	.....	320	800	120	160	...	...	...
Fuller, H. E.	1895	.....	160	400	25	...	25	...	18
Garrison, F. T.	1895	25	140	300	75	...	...	...	50
Gilbert, C. A.	1895	.....	160	500	...	...	...	...	10
Gillispie, J. H.	1895	90	320	800	75	...	110	...	30
Grimm, August	1895	30	160	500	120	...	40	...	60
Harmon, J. H.	1895	.....	160	1,000	6	...	...	...	...
Heikes, B. F.	1895	60	160	400	40	15	25	...	50
Hoyt, R. A.	1895	.....	160	400	10	...	...	...	40

[b]In acres.

TABLE 45--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
...	...	$ 25	200	5	2	7	...	...	$ 40
...	...	5	1,000	4	...	...	...	...	700
...	...	...	.....	4	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	150	...	1	1	...	...	10
20	20	30	600	4	3	1	...	2	35
...	6	23	150	12	2	7	...	4	70
...	25	25	50	7	4	11	...	8	60
15	10	...	100	3	4	...	...	...	100
7	7	...	150	14	2	...	...	2	40
11	...	...	50	10	3	...	...	1	15
3	2	5	250	9	1	...	...	1	25
...	...	...	.....	8	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	.....	3	...	...	...	...	.....
10	5	12	.....	2	...	...	...	2	15
...	...	...	.....	1	...	...	...	...	.....
6	15	15	500	5	4	3	...	...	16
...	15	10	300	18	3	3	...	...	25
...	...	...	.....	3	...	...	...	...	.....
10	40	...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	200	7	6	...	...	1	20

TABLE 45--Continued

Name	Date	Acres Fenced	Total Acres	Value Farm	Value Mach.	Win. Wheat[b]	Sp. Wheat[b]	Rye[b]	Corn[b]
Hoyt, W. G.	1895	.....	160	$ 300	$ 15	...	8	...	20
Hull, W. H.	1895	.....	160	500	60	...	30	...	40
Jacobs, H.	1895	.....	160	500	...	...	40	...	...
James, C. H.	1895	65	152	500	60	...	...	...	20
Johnson, John	1895	125	320	1,000	...	...	20	...	...
Lacey, M. L.	1895	260	320	1,500	150	...	...	...	25
Massman, H. F.	1895	.....	320	1,000	125	...	65	...	40
Miller, Simon	1895	.....	320	1,000	...	60	30	...	...
Ost, C. H.	1895	.....	320	600	...	25	30	...	150
Rawson, Ida	1895	.....	160	500	10	...	...	...	...
Reinholt, F.	1895	.....	160	500	...	...	...	...	...
Schwarz, Wm.	1895	.....	160	500	21	10	77	...	...
Seeley, N. M.	1895	.....	160	500	15	...	...	...	...
Shackelford, J. T.	1895	.....	160	400	30	20	30	5	10
Shipe, D. F.	1895	76	311	800	45	...	50	20	40
Shwarz, J. P.	1895	120	313	1,000	...	10	28	...	10
Somners, Oliver	1895	.....	160	500	3	...	...	...	12
Starcher, Wm. F.	1895	60	160	400	90	90	120	10	50
Stolting, H.	1895	.....	320	500	40	...	25	...	40

[b]In acres.

TABLE 45--Continued

Barley[b]	Oats[b]	Poultry Eggs	Pounds Butter	Horses Mules Asses	Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Animals Slgt.
10	2	$...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	$.....
7	14	2	500	2	5	...	...	1	15
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	50	5	2	1	...	1	25
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
20	9	10	800	7	6	17	...	2	15
...	6	10	.....	3	...	...	...	...	230
...	5	8	300	3	3	1	...	3	35
...	15	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	10	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	...	...	25
...	2	...	.....	4	...	...	...	1	5
...	...	2	.....	2	...	...	...	1	.....
...	5	...	40	1	2	...	...	...	10
7	10	50	200	6	2	9	...	2	25
3	...	...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	3	...	.....	2	...	...	...	...	.....
...	8	25	300	13	4	...	...	1	25
6	14	10	10	4	2	3	...	2	50