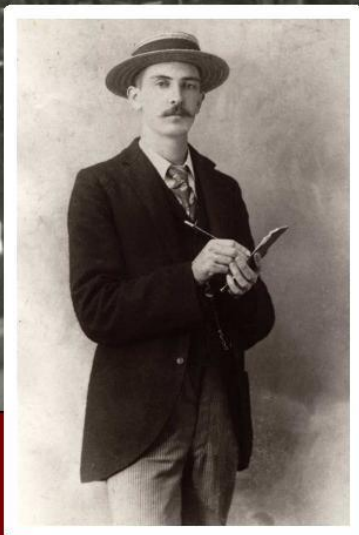
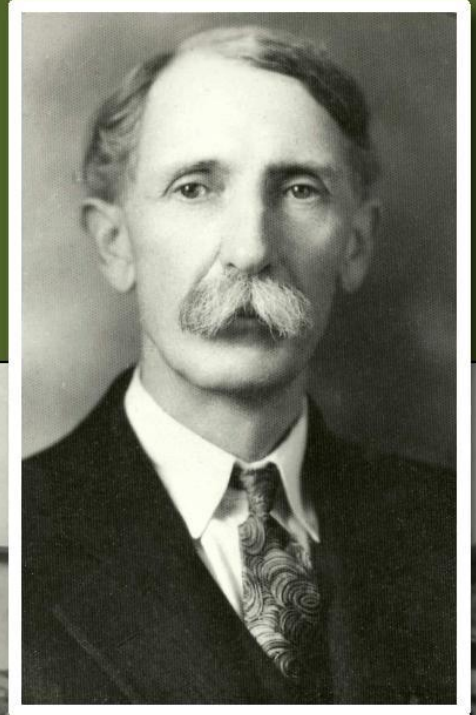


“Wy-La-Zac-XaNe-Ka-Zhin”

The Man of the Journal

The Life and Times of William Whites Graves



1871 — 1952

W.W. Graves attended schools under Father John Schoenmakers and the missionaries who served the Catholic Osage Mission and the town of Osage Mission. Then, he devoted much of his life to telling their story

Wy-La-Za-XaNe-Ka-Zhin

The Man of the Journal

The Life and Times of W.W. Graves

**Prepared for Graves Memorial Public Library,
St. Paul, Kansas**

2013

Prepared for Graves Memorial Public Library

By Ron Brogan

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(Originally titled “Who Was W.W. Graves”)

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Foreword

“We have organized a Neosho County Historical Society that is digging up a lot of data that was about to be lost. Neosho County is much richer in early history than even our own people realize” -- W. W. Graves, 1931¹

William Whites Graves wrote about history, and the captivating historical characters that brought commerce, Christianity, education and civilization to our region. He described the effect the Native Americans had on our community and made it very clear that St. Paul, Kansas, including many of our older families, would not exist without our Osage brothers and the generosity they showed as they left us. Graves wrote about politics, horse thieves, lynching's, shootings, courthouse wars, local business men, heroes and scoundrels. In the books he wrote he depicted a pretty clear picture of the earliest chapters of Kansas history which started in our own back yard nearly two hundred years ago. He had a passion for literature and history and in his own words: “....I have always written because I couldn't help doing it” ²

The purpose of this brief study of W. W. Graves's life is to assemble information for a graphic display that was designed for the St. Paul, Kansas library that bears his name. It has been more than sixty years since his death and it is clear that few people here know about the man who was described as “the community's most esteemed and honored citizen” at the time of his death³. The problem with studying Graves is that he wrote voraciously about others, but with only a few exceptions he said very little about himself. But he did leave many tracks in the form of newspaper articles, some of which he clipped in two of his books: “Annals of Osage Mission” and “Annals of St. Paul”. Many of these clips are traceable to newspaper articles he wrote and are available on microfilm. Also, the impact he left on Kansas history led others to write about him. For example, there are several short articles about Graves on the Kansas State Historical Society web site and in their archives.

Perhaps the best personal insight into the way W. W. Graves thought and conducted his life and business are included in two of his books about his newspaper business and another passion in his life, the Anti-Horse Thief Association (A.H.T.A.).

1. Graves' “Making Money with a Country Newspaper” (hereafter “Making Money” is a very straightforward account of how he did business. The Introduction starts with a litany of statements intended to tell the reader that he is not preaching about how business should be done, just how he ran his business. He does not claim to be an expert but he was, in fact, a pretty successful publisher and businessman. This book does, however, provide pretty good vision into factors that influenced him and the way he conducted himself in life.
2. His Origins and Principles of the Anti-Horse Thief Association might be described as a labor of love, as was his participation in the association itself. This book provides a lot of insight into his opinions on justice, law enforcement and morality.

¹ Quoted from a letter to Sister Lillian Owens - August 13, 1931

² Taken from an obituary published in “*St. Francis Cemetery, 1852 - 2008 - Gouvion*”.

³ St Paul Journal (Journal) front page obituary for W. W. Graves, July 24, 1952

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Another brief but personal source of information about his early life and his appetite for history is a series of letters he wrote to Sister Lillian Owens during the early through middle 1930's. During this period he responded to questions about his life in Kentucky and his family. His birthplace was also in the birthplace of the Sisters of Loretto and he had much in common with St. Paul native Sister Owens – she was also a historian.

He also left personal hints in another small book he published in 1938. “History of Neosho County Newspapers” provides brief accounts of several newspapers that were active in Neosho County during the late 19th century and early 20th century. While descriptions are generally brief and factual the book is sprinkled with a few comments that let the reader know what he thought about some of his predecessors or contemporaries. Some comments are complimentary – some not so much. But opinions are what kept some of these early editors going. Graves seldom pulled punches with regard to the political position of his own newspaper. The Journal was a democratic newspaper and if readers disagreed with the political opinions stated within it – there were other newspapers; But Graves would support an opposing candidate if he believed it was the right thing to do.

His most ambitious work, the two-volume “History of Neosho County” might be the most detailed study of a county's history in the state. Here, again, the work is factual, but it reflects the attention to detail that he used in his daily life. As he noted in a separate work, newspaper editing “....is no lazy man's job.” He certainly was not lazy. In fact his ambition and work ethic probably caused him to push himself beyond physical bounds on some occasions. There are several accounts of health issues, ulcers, and a need for rest mentioned in his work and Journal articles. In later years he contracted chronic health problems that undeniably caused frustration as his body wore down but his mind remained sharp. His Foreword to “History of Neosho County, Volume II” reflects unhappiness with having to delegate completion of the book others, and a bit of frustration with how they did it. He knew that his county was one of the most formative areas in Kansas history and he wanted it done right.

In studying a person's life you draw impressions. My early impression of W. W. Graves was that of a very intelligent, competitive and religious young man with a solid work ethic. He had strong and defining senses of morality, justice, ethics and of politics, both personal and public. He connected himself with the right people early on; and then let his personal attributes carry him through an exceptional life.

The Scope of this Document

As previously noted, the purpose of this document is to gather and present information that will be used to develop a graphic display. At the time of writing the plan is to present the display in five parts, or graphic panels:

- Part 1 - An Overview of Graves' Life
- Part 2 - Editor, Businessman, Citizen
- Part 3 - Historian, Author, Publisher
- Part 4 - Anti-Horse Thief Association
- Part 5 - Man of the Journal – His Last Days

This document is arranged with five chapters conforming to each of these parts. In final form, the “overview” panel of the display, and the Overview in this document, will include cross-ties with the other

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parts; and details will be presented in subsequent chapters (or graphic panels). Obviously, there is much more to the complex and interesting life of W. W. than can be presented on five 2' x 4' graphics. The details will be shown herein and then the hard work comes – distilling Mr. Graves into 40 square feet of graphic boards. Since some of the material covers more than one of the panels or chapters, some repetition was unavoidable.

Housekeeping

There are a few items that need to be clarified up front:

What was Mr. Graves called? I thought I would learn about his nickname or the name close friends called him. However, in the sources used to assemble this paper I ran across a few references to Will Graves, Young Will, Bill and even one use of Willie. Beginning sometime in the 1930's Graves even began to refer to himself, in editorials or Journal articles, as “the journal man”. But by and large W. W. Graves seems to have gone by the simple “W. W.” Unless I am referring to a specific use of another name he will usually be called “W. W.” or just “Graves” Herein.

There are some things, probably important, that I have not resolved. Either data does not exist or I simply have not found it yet. For example, the period of time between W. W.'s graduation from St. Francis Institute and the beginning of his newspaper internship presents several questions regarding his involvement with his father's store and the departure of his family for Joplin. In cases where facts are open ended I will point these out and I will not hypothesize without clearly saying so. I believe the information given herein at least meets the intent stated in the Scope above and further study is needed to close some gaps.

In an attempt to keep things flowing in the main body of the document I have moved many details to appendices. In some cases the appendix material goes well beyond the scope of this paper but if I found the information interesting maybe others will too.

Is this document exhaustive? No. After taking it this far it is beyond the point of being able to graphically tell Mr. Graves' story. But I cannot help but believe there is at least one more layer to his onion that can be peeled back. That can come later.

Distribution Note:

This document is copyrighted (effective 2013) and was prepared:

- For the purpose stated above – to develop a storyline for the Graves Library display
- For future expansion into a more complete publication about W.W. Graves and the other topics included herein.

As such, this document is the property of the writer—Ronald Brogan—and shall not be distributed to persons other than those who have received it directly from the writer. Persons who have received the document from the writer are welcome to use it as a research and reference source; and to borrow excerpts on a reasonable basis. However, printing or publication of the document, chapters or large sections of the document is not allowed without written permission.

Chapter 1 - An Overview of Grave's Life

W. W. Graves attended St. Francis Institution under Father John Schoenmakers and the Jesuits who founded Osage Mission and conducted missionary work across a broad region. Then, he devoted much of his life to telling their story.

To most people in St. Paul W. W. Graves is a name on the front of their public library, and the library card many carry in their purse or wallet. A few people, when asked, will venture an opinion that he was a newspaper man who once ran a now defunct small-town paper. A few years ago one person even told me he was an attorney – an opinion that got me thinking that Mr. Graves needed some honest recognition within his community. I believe that most people here have little idea of the fascinating and historic events that circulated around a tall, spindly man who not only recorded the stories about one of the most historically rich regions in Kansas; but also became history. Graves' story is one of the interesting and dramatic stories of frontier Kansas and his name has become a footnote in historic works written around the world.

If W. W. Graves had decided to be a newspaper man and printer, a historian, a publisher a civic leader, an entrepreneurial business man or a law enforcement official he probably would have been successful. But he did all of this and was successful. Not that his life didn't have some bumps and failures – men who take chances occasionally fail and he was the first to say he failed in some endeavors. But Graves left marks on his beloved community that endures even if his name had faded from those accomplishments.

The Scope of Chapter 1

In keeping with the goal of the Foreword, this chapter provides a very high level story of the life of W. W. Graves, with ties, where appropriate, to the remaining four chapters of this document. Chapter 1 is presented in three main parts:

- a) His first ten years in the Loretto Kentucky area and the impact the location and his upbringing might have had on his life.
- b) The family's move to Osage Mission in 1881 and his life up to the time of his Graduation from St. Francis Academy
- c) An overview of his adult life with links into the remaining four chapters of this paper. This included is overall appearance and demeanor, entry into journalism, marriages, civic participation, businesses, etc.

Loretto, Kentucky Roots

William Whites Graves was born on a farm in the moonshine district of central Kentucky on October 26, 1871. Much of his Kentucky life is traced to the three Kentucky counties of Nelson, Marion, and Washington (

Figure 3); and many of the prominent locations and events he discussed occurred within a short distance from Manton, Kentucky. Graves was baptized in Holy Rosary Catholic Church in Manton and his middle name “Whites” was the name of pastor Father Whites who baptized him⁴. In a letter to Sister Lilliana Owens he describes a location for his the Graves home place that seems to be southeast of Manton:

“It appears to me that on our way home from Loretto where dad did most of his trading, we followed the road towards Manton until after we crossed a toll bridge over the creek, then we turned to the right up a creek valley-tributary of the creek on which Manton is located. Just before we got to a school house we turned to the left, and our house was on the top a ridge back some distance from the road.”⁵

The “moonshine district” of Kentucky was in and east of the counties mentioned above. Graves later recalls awareness of several stills near his home including one that was raided within a mile of the Graves farm. The moonshine business in this region flourished and eventually evolved into several of the more prominent distilleries in the United States. Maker’s Mark premium bourbon is produced at Loretto. Jim Beam and several other well-known brands of spirits are distilled just east of Manton.

But distilled liquor would not be the spirit that would hold Grave’s attention for most of his life. W. W. would focus much of his attention on the courage and spirituality of a group of Loretto sisters who traveled from nearby Nerinx to Kansas twenty-four years before his birth. One of these missionary sisters was the subject of one of his books⁶.

The Graves Family

It is believed that the Graves family emigrated from England and originally settled in Maryland during the mid-1600s. A later generation of the family moved over the mountains into Kentucky. Details regarding the early history of the Graves family are limited.⁷

William Whites was the oldest of eight children of John Paul (J. P.) Graves and Minerva Ballard Graves⁸. W. W. was born at the home of his mother’s parents four miles north of Holy Cross, Kentucky on the

⁴ Some sources say that Graves was baptized in Blincoe, KY and this is also true. The town of Manton was founded as Blincoe in or before 1844 and the name was changed during the middle 1900’s. The Holy Rosary Catholic Church shown in

Figure 3 was also started in about 1844 (Source Wikipedia).

⁵ Letter dated January 20, 1985. Several letters written to Sister Lilliana Owens are included in “Appendix A – The Owens Letters”

⁶ Life and Times of Mother Bridget Hayden; Copyright 1938, W. W. Graves

⁷ The information regarding Graves’ family English ancestry was found in the Standard History of Kansas which is available from several internet sources.

⁸ Graves refers to himself as the oldest of eight children more than once, but it appears as though J. P and Minerva actually had eleven children, but only eight of which were alive as graves was growing up in Osage Mission. A brother Robert died in Kentucky

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Nelson County side of the Nelson-Marion County line. When he was four months old he and his parents moved to a farm in Marion County in the area east of Manton. He lived here until he was seven when his family moved to the old Graves family homestead near Bear Wallow, Kentucky. The family remained here until they moved to Kansas.

J.P. Graves was the son of Joseph Graves and Matilda Simpson. J. P. was born just eight miles from the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln and was also baptized in the Manton church. Joseph Graves was married twice, first to a Miss Harlow and then to Matilda Simpson. J. P. was the youngest child of the second marriage. J. P. had two half-sisters from the first marriage who became sisters of Loretto. Neither W. W. nor his father knew much about these sisters except they were likely founding members of the Sisters of Loretto.

According to one source, J. P. was married twice⁹. The first marriage was to Elizabeth “Lizzie” Mudd. The date of this marriage is not known. A relative remembered visiting J. P. and Lizzie in Kentucky. The location is not noted but they lived in an old shack in the woods. She also recalls a suitcase containing what were probably medicines that he peddled. Another relative noted she had a copy of an advertisement (undated) that listed James Graves, Springfield, KY, as an agent for Morgan's Hygienic Vegetable Oil Soap. There are no children recorded from this marriage but the relative noted above was said to be a granddaughter of J. P. There is no information given on whether this marriage ended in divorce or the death of Lizzie.

The second marriage was to Minerva Ballard. Minerva was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Matson Ballard and her mother's family was named Scissel. They lived on the Nelson County side of the line on the farm where W. W. was born. Her father was Matson Ballard and she had one brother named Gonza. Minerva's sister married J. P. Graves' half-brother Richard and some of the sister's family lived near Bear Wallow. Family information about J. P. and Minerva's family is summarized in Figure 1 which begins on the following page.

W. W. says relatively little about his father or his profession. As suggested above J. P. might have been a salesman before or during his marriage to his Minerva. After they relocated to Osage Mission J. P. became a merchant, reported to have owned more than one business (more information in “Family Business” and “Time Between School and Entering the Newspaper Business”, below). After he and his family relocated to Indiana, he was employed as a coal miner.

before the move to Kansas. A second brother George Madison died, as an infant, at Osage Mission. A sister, Lillian, was born in 1897 after Graves' parents relocated to Indiana. With the two deaths and the later birth of his sister there were eight Graves siblings at Osage Mission / St. Paul.

⁹ The Graves Family Association website includes extensive information about the surname of Graves, Greaves, Grave, Grieve, Grieve, and all other variations of that name for all time periods, worldwide. Information about the Joseph and J. P. Graves family generally matches information from W. W. himself, local birth and death records and the Randy Dunavan database. Information regarding J. P. Graves earlier marriage to Lizzie Mudd and his profession as a salesman has not been found elsewhere. <http://www.gravesfa.org/>

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Figure 1 – Family of John Paul and Minerva Ballard Graves



James Paul (J. P.) Graves – Father

Born: April 12, 1850, in Loretto, KY

Married (1): Lizzie Mudd in Kentucky.

Married (2): November 15, 1870, in Kentucky / Divorced about 1904

Died: November 3, 1942, in Linton, IN

J. P. Graves was described as a common laborer by W. W. Graves and this might have pertained to his time in Kentucky. After moving to Kansas J. P. was a merchant who owed more than one local business during the family's 13 years in Osage Mission.



Minerva Ballard Graves – Mother

Born: March 24, 1852, in Kentucky

Married: James P. Graves, November 15, 1870/Divorced about 1904

Died: May 7, 1910, in Linton, IN

Little more is known about Minerva except that J. P. divorced her in about 1904 after their move to Indiana. At the time of the divorce four of her children were in the 7 - 18 age range.



William Whites "W. W." Graves, son

Born: October 26, 1871, near Manton, KY

Married: Emma C. Hopkins, April 30, 1897; deceased July 30, 1936

Married: Susie Gibbons, October 1941.

Died: July 24, 1952, in St. Paul, KS

The remainder of this document is dedicated to Mr. Graves.

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Addie L. Graves, Daughter

Born: July 12, 1872, near Manton, KY

Died: July 1960, believed to be at Linton, IN

Addie married George Haag but the date and location of the wedding are unknown. George Haag was a coal miner at Linton, In



Robert Graves, Son

Born: June 12, 1875, near Manton, KY

Died: March 4, 1879 (Age 3-1/2 years) near Manton, KY

According to W. W. Graves, Robert was buried at St. Rose. This might refer to St. Rose Priory Catholic Church cemetery which is near Springfield, KY, and about eight miles southeast of Manton. St. Rose was the site of one of the first Catholic educational facilities west of the Allegheny Mountains.



Alice T. Graves, Daughter

Born: April 11, 1877, near Manton, KY

Married to George Fitzpatrick, date of wedding unknown

Died: May 13, 1964, in Linton, IN



Thomas A. "Arthur" Graves, Son

Born: June 19, 1878, in Kentucky

Married: Rose Hubbard, date unknown

Died: May 13, 1964, in Linton, IN

Some sources say Arthur was born in St. Paul but his birth date is before the family moved to Kansas in 1881. He was a farmer and little else is known about him.

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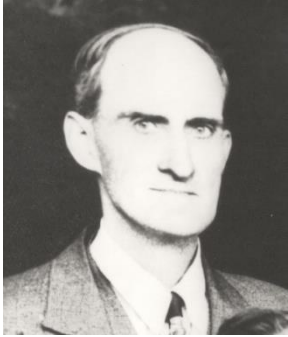


Mary Ida Graves, Daughter

Born: March 26, 1881, in Osage Mission (St. Paul), KS

Died: February 1935, in Kenosha, WI

There is no additional information available for Mary Ida.



Charles "Charlie" Richard Graves, Son

Born: March 5, 1886, in Osage Mission (St. Paul), KS

Married: September 25, 1924, to Edna Rader

Died: April 2, 1949, in Linton, IN

Charley was originally a miner and, after leaving mining, became a farmer. It is also noted in Standard History of Kansas that he also worked in a lumber yard.



James Edward "Ed" Graves, Son

Born: February 16, 1888, in Osage Mission (St. Paul), KS

Married October 21, 1916, to Genevieve Stebbins

Died: April 24, 1982, in Tampa, FL

James' occupation has been noted as both a chemist and a pharmacist. According to Standard History of Kansas Ed also lived in Columbus and/or Dayton, Ohio for a time.



George Madison Graves, Son

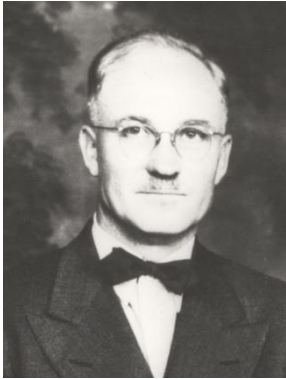
Born: March 7, 1890, in Osage Mission (St. Paul), KS

Died: January 4, 1891, in Osage Mission (St. Paul), KS

George died from pneumonia as an infant and is buried in the commons area of St. Francis Cemetery. Some sources have confused George Madison with Georgette Graves. After inspecting burial records at St. Francis Church, this was an error that could be made due to the way the "M" was written in the ledger (it looks like script "tt").

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Joseph Paul Graves, MD, Son

Born: 1894 in Osage Mission, (St. Paul), KS

Married to Valerie Brachman (date unknown)

Died: January 16, 1970, in Kenosha, WI

Joseph Graves was a medical doctor. According to Standard History of Kansas, he studied medicine in Valparaiso, Indiana.



Lillian M Graves, Daughter

Born: June 9, 1897, in Indiana

Died: 1973 in Zenia, IL

Addie Married R. L Street, presumably of Indiana

Lillian was born after the Graves family moved to Indiana. She is not counted among the eight or nine graves children.



Figure 2 - The Graves Brothers (From Left - Charlie, Arthur, Joe, W. W., James - Exact date is unknown but probably the early 1940's, possibly at the time of J. P. Graves' Funeral in 1942)

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Comparisons Between Kentucky and W. W.'s Future Kansas Life

There are some interesting comparisons between the Graves family location in Kentucky and young W. W.'s future in Kansas:

- The connection between the Sisters of Loretto's founding place and the current motherhouse has already been noted. The order was founded in Loretto and the Nerinx motherhouse is minutes away from Loretto. Both of these are, by current travel standards, only minutes from Manton.
- While he did not know them personally, having two step-aunts who were early members of the Loretto Order surely had an influence when he did his later work regarding the Loretto's, the Jesuits, and the Osage Mission.
- In addition to their home places; the Graves family also had close connections with the village and church of Holy Cross, Kentucky. Holy Cross is considered to be the birthplace of Catholicism in Kentucky. The town and church were formed in 1785 when a league of Catholic families pledged to relocate from Maryland to Kentucky to form a catholic community. They held services in private homes and chapels until 1792 when the first Catholic Church in Kentucky was built at Holy Cross. In 1823 the current brick structure was built. As graves began his historical study of his Kansas home some parallels would certainly be evident:
 - The Osage Catholic Mission has been called the cradle of Catholicism in southern Kansas.
 - The Mission was co-founded by the Sisters of Loretto from Nerinx.
 - During the post-Civil War westward expansion, Osage Mission attracted Catholic settlers because of its existing church and schools. Many of these settlers, including the Graves Family, came from Kentucky.
- Finally, Graves had the highest regard for Italian-born Father Paul Ponziglione who did wide-based missionary work from the Osage Mission. Graves knew Father Ponziglione and dedicated much of his historical writing to the legendary Jesuit circuit rider. One of Father Paul's first states-side assignments was at St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky. Bardstown is only ten miles from Manton¹⁰. Also, another of the Osage Mission Jesuit missionaries, Father Philip Colleton, served at Bardstown. It is not known exactly when Fr. Colleton was in Bardstown but it was likely in the middle 1850s. While not as well-known as Fr. Ponziglione, Fr. Colleton's missionary work was also widespread and prolific.

¹⁰ Father Ponziglione, an Italian nobleman by birth, arrived in the United States in August of 1848. After two brief assignments in Cincinnati, OH and Florissant, MO, he was appointed assistant to the pastor of St. Joseph's College Church in Bardstown in 1850. While at Bardstown, an old friend Bishop John Baptist Miege, S. J. requested him to accompany him to the Kansas missions. This invitation led to his missionary career in the land of the Osage. (Source: Beacon On the Plains, Chapter XI. Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Copyright 1939)

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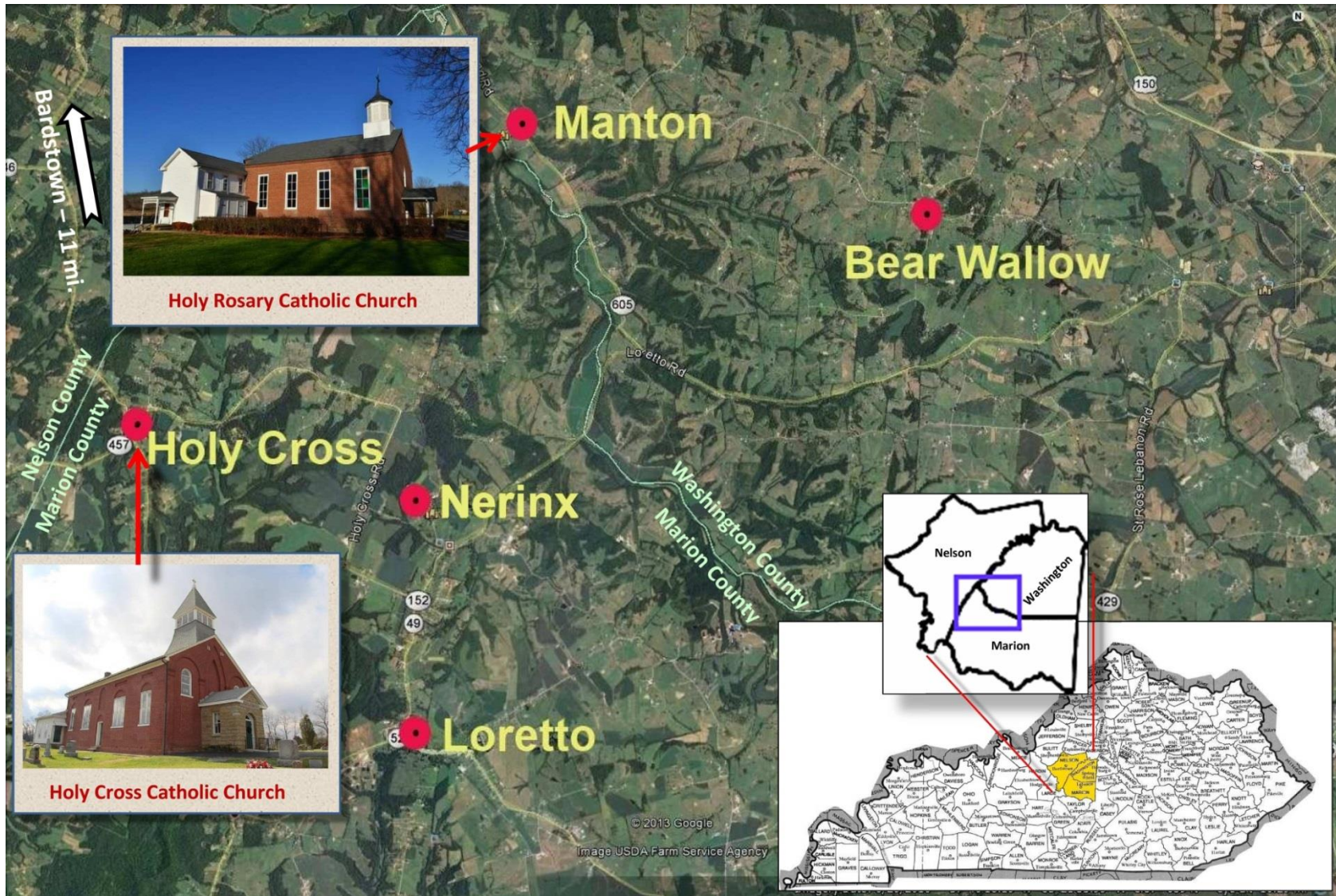


Figure 3 – Graves' Family Lived in the Central Kentucky Area Near the Birthplace of the Loretto Order.

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To Kansas in 1881

In February of 1881 J. P. and Minerva Graves took a leap of faith that thousands were taking in those days. They gathered up belongings and their five children, pulled up roots, and moved to the Kansas frontier. On a chilly winter night, they arrived at a relatively new and bustling community in the southeast corner of Kansas named Osage Mission. The things W. W. Graves would witness and learn here and the people he met during the next 10-15 years left a defining impression on his life. During the following seventy years, Graves would become a father of this new community; and a prominent literary figure.

Why Did They Come to Osage Mission?

The reason the Graves family came to Osage Mission requires some speculation. But based on the population trend of the period and the family background some assumptions seem logical.

First, after the Civil War, the Missouri/Kansas border region settled down after a 10 to 15-year period of unrest and violence. With peace stabilizing, and the removal of the Osage and other tribes to reserves, the floodgates opened for the multitudes of settlers. These families were looking for a new and better way of life and the security offered by the rapidly developing communities on the frontier. Many of these communities were founded by entrepreneurs who believed they could develop a new city around local resources and their personal business knowledge. The smartest of these businessmen knew that in order to attract settlers, many with strong immigrant faith, their community must offer two important features – a church steeple and a school bell. Towns like Humboldt were stabilized by local businessmen who were not necessarily of the Catholic faith, but invested in the startup of a church with the help of missionaries. In the specific cases of Humboldt, the missionary priests were from the Osage Mission. But Osage Mission was different. By the time the westward expansion started in the late 1860's the church and schools were well established and growing. By 1881 the original Osage Manual Labor schools had evolved into a system of well-known public schools supplemented by prestigious men's and women's colleges. The schools and the large, stone church being built on the east edge of town made Osage Mission a very attractive stop for young families like the Graves'.

Second, and requiring more conjecture, was J. P. and Minerva Graves's family background and faith. The Graves ancestors were among many Catholics who fled Maryland to Kentucky in search of religious freedom during the 17th century. As a result, W. W.'s parents were raised in an area that was not only predominantly Catholic but was the founding center of Catholicism in Kentucky. In addition to the Sisters of Loretto, whose convent was very close to their home, other religious orders were founded or located near them. Also, two of J. P.'s aunts were likely founding members of the Loretto Order.

The real reason for their move is not known. But the Kansas founding center of their faith, including the Loretto and Jesuit schools in Osage Mission, might have served as a beacon guiding them to their new frontier Kansas home. The beacon on the plains had that effect on hundreds of other settlers¹¹. Based on existing, local bloodlines, this was the reason several St. Paul families ended up here.

¹¹ Beacon on the Plains is the title of Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald's book about the founding and operation of the Osage Catholic Mission. The term "beacon" refers to the effect the mission had in initially providing support and comfort to the earliest Kansas settlers and Native Americans.

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Family Business

W. W. referred to his father as a common laborer who received an average pay of one dollar a day for his labor¹². This reference was to his childhood days and maybe their life in Kentucky. It is not known what J. P. did immediately after they arrived at Osage Mission, but within a couple of years, he was establishing himself as a merchant. An Osage Mission Journal article of March 4, 1883, mentions J. P. opening a sales and commission yard at the old Koenig's lumber yard location. In June of 1888, he opened a second-hand store on South Main Street¹³. Later accounts talk about a grocery store with a meat market but it is not known if J. P. operated all of the businesses at one time. In J. P. Graves' obituary, W. W. also mentioned that J. P. "helped erect the present bank building here."

The Graves family business, as it affected W. W. when he got older, is described later in this Chapter. But for now, it is fair to say that young William's career as a shopkeeper was limited.

Graves' Education

W. W. Graves began his education in the Kentucky public schools and continued in the Osage Mission public schools. When he was big enough to work he had to help as much as he could to support his family. By the time he was fourteen, he began to think about the future and thought he might want to be a druggist. It was then that he experienced a revelation that seems advanced for a fourteen-year-old.

A friend helped him secure a job in a Parson drug store. There, for several months, he washed bottles, hauled dirt, cleaned the premises, and did the family chores for a mere pittance and his board. Then he quit so he could go back to school. According to Graves, the most important thing he learned at the drug store was that he did not know very much. Since he had very little education he had no foundation on which to build. He looked at this experience as one of the most important lessons of his life.¹⁴ It spurred ambition that allowed him to finish public school one year early - and by then he no longer wanted to be a druggist.

When he finished the public school his father told him he would have to bear his own expenses, but he could continue to board at home if he helped with the garden and woodpile. And then one of the opportunities that seem to have graced his life from time-to-time came to him. The vice-president of the local Jesuit College recognized some promise in Graves and offered him free tuition if he wanted to finish his education. He knew this opportunity to attend St. Francis Institution would be his only chance to gain an advanced education and he seized it.

Graves was a good student at the college but he worked hard for his education. The school observed an 8:00 am to 4:00 pm class schedule with a standard one-hour lunch break, and unlike present-day colleges, these were classroom hours. In his off-hours, his family's home-boarding rules still applied. He came home from school, did his home chores until dark, and then his mother cleared a spot on the kitchen table for him to spread out his books. He then studied until 10:00 or so seven days a week.

¹² Source; Making Money With a Country Newspaper, pg. 2.

¹³ Neosho County Journal, March 14, 1883

¹⁴ Source; Making Money With a Country Newspaper, pg., 2.

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W. W. Did well at the college and graduated with honors. The grade cards in Figure 4 suggest that he did better as he progressed and he did graduate with honors. He graduated in the spring of 1891 and was in the last class before the college was closed by the Jesuits. An article in the June 25, 1891 issue of the Osage Mission Journal notes that *“Will Graves got away with seven premiums and a gold medal at the commencement of St. Francis College, Tuesday.”*

While Graves excelled scholastically at St. Francis, the school also taught him about how he would live his life. In this passage from his book *Making Money With a Country Newspaper* he talks about the rivalry and sense of competitiveness that influenced him:

“There were students in the college from several states and some of them were very bright. A rivalry soon sprang up as to which would make the best grades in the classwork and monthly examinations. Those who lived here were called “day dodgers” because they attended the school by day only. The outsiders boarded at the college and we dubbed the “night hawks” as a come-back for the name they gave us. Naturally, this formed two factions, and the rivalry was often very keen.

“What has this to do with making money in a country printing office?” is perhaps a question you are prompted to ask here. It has lots to do with my case. The rivalry fired our ambition and the way we did work to get ahead of each other was the source of much amusement and satisfaction to the faculty and college officials, as well as of great benefit to us. We did not carry our rivalry into nightshirt parades, or hazing parties, as some schools have done since then. High points on the grade card was the goal. In my class the day dodger’s were in the minority, hence we did not have an even chance, but we were game and the final score showed a student from Omaha and the writer as the leaders in the two factions. The grades were so near a tie there was no room for rejoicing on either side.

As I now look back upon that period I can see how great an influence that rivalry has had upon the years that have followed. I put “pep” in me, gave me confidence in myself and convinced me I could win if I tried hard enough. I formed habits that have remained with me and have been potent factors in making the subject of this book possible.”

As will be seen later, Graves’ accomplishments at St. Francis Institute must have been noticed by a few prominent St. Paul citizens – a fact that served him well later in life.

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Figure 4 - Graves' Report Card, Awards and an Illustration of St. Francis Institution (1888 - 1891 Time Frame)

An Overview of his Adult Life in Osage Mission / St. Paul

His Appearance, Demeanor and Health

W. W. Graves was a big man. This was a fact that escaped me until we started collecting photographs. Many of the most familiar pictures of him were portraits or newspaper photos taken at the time of his award banquet in 1952. By then he was old, his health was failing him and he was often confined to a wheelchair. It wasn't until I found a photo of him standing with his colleague and nephew Fielding (Hoppy) Hopkins that I realized he was well over six feet tall (

Figure 3). I personally knew Hoppy and recall he was in the 5' 6" to 5' 9" range and Graves towered more than ½ head above him. During his early days with Abe Steinberger Graves described himself and Abe as “tall and hungry looking” and apparently W. W. stayed that way.

It is hard to describe the overall personality and demeanor of a person you did not know; and who has been dead for more than ½ century. Based on some research and a couple of informal interviews, three S-words stuck in my mind – “stoic”, “serious” and “scary” (but not too scary).

His writing is to the point and no-nonsense, and with a bit of the flourish that seemed common at the time. But he did inject some dry humor from time to time. On occasion he was funny. Also, given the success of his business and other endeavors he must have been a pretty effective communicator. His writing also supports this assumption.

I had the opportunity to talk to two of Fielding Hopkins's adult children in recent years.¹⁵ While the conversations were unrelated and more than two years apart the first words were nearly the same: ‘He was kind of scary or intimidating. Both people qualified their remark by saying he really was not “scary” but both were young when they knew him and his tall, lanky frame and stoic demeanor put them on edge at first. Karen Steinbacher said that Graves and his second wife Susie were good with them but they just had to warm up to him to be comfortable. Also, they were young enough that they didn't remember him when he was in good health. Karen was about twelve at the time of W. W.'s death.

I also spoke with Francis Grosdidier who also remembered W. W. from his own youth. He remembered a very tall man who was friendly in nature. Francis said the main thing he remembered about Graves was he was interested in history and he seemed very intelligent.



Figure 5 - W. W. Graves (left) and Fielding Hopkins (1938) – He Was a Tall Fellow.

¹⁵ I spoke with Fielding's daughter Karen Steinbacher in June of 2013; and her brother Jim Hopkins shortly before his death in March of 2011

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Regarding health, his early years must have been robust considering the workload he would have likely held in his younger years. But by middle age, he might have succumbed to one of the maladies of hard work and stress – ulcers. A November 1913 Journal article reported he was using the starvation treatment to ease ulcer the problem. He was 42 at the time. By the middle 1920's he appears to have been backing away from some of his business commitments because of health, or because he needed a rest.

In May of 1936, he fell seriously ill at a Democratic Party convention in Wichita. He was hospitalized in Parsons and underwent a “serious glandular operation”, the effects of which put him in the hospital for a month and laid him up for some time.

By the time he entered his early 70's he had taken a few extended absences from the paper and was seriously trying to find a buyer. By the time he was 77 he was on a cruel decline – his body was playing out but, from research evidence, he was still very sharp and this must have been frustrating. His later health will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

Time Between School and Entering the Newspaper Business

The time frame between Graves' graduation from college in June of 1891 and August of 1894 is vague, but several significant events are noted:

- In July of 1891, a Journal article noted that Will Graves had purchased the interest of J. P. Graves in the general store at Country and Main.¹⁶
- The J. P. Graves family, less W. W. moved to Joplin for a while during September of 1892.¹⁷
- In December of 1892 J. P. moved his store to the Renck Building.¹⁸
- In May of 1893 W. W. Graves departed Osage Mission looking for an opportunity to get into the printing and newspaper business.¹⁹
- In August of 1894 the J. P. Graves family moved to Montgomery, Indiana.²⁰

Also, during this period Graves tried teaching school. In Graves's own words:

“Then I tried teaching school. As a school teacher, I considered myself a dismal failure. I did not have the faculty of getting along well with the pupils. One year was enough for me. It was then that I decided I wanted to be a printer and newspaperman.”

¹⁶ Osage Mission Journal, July 23, 1891. A separate article also stated that “All persons indebted to J. P. Graves will please call at Will Graves store and settle.”

¹⁷ Osage Mission Journal, September 10, 1891. The article reads “J. P. Graves sends word to have the Journal sent to this home in Joplin”. Another article notes that the Graves family visited town for a while.

¹⁸ Osage Mission Journal, December 8, 1892.

¹⁹ Osage Mission Journal, May 11, 1893. This article notes that Wm. Graves had gone to Fort Scott in search of work.

²⁰ Osage Mission Journal, August 16, 1894

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His description and the timing of his departure for Fort Scott in search of a printing job suggests he might have taught the 1892 - 1893 school term and this is supported by a brief entry in a personal notepad that says “*Commenced teaching school Sept. 5, 1892*.”²¹

Since W. W. describes his reason for leaving teaching as a failure it pretty much explains why he decided to quit the profession. But, despite the article that said he purchased the store in July of 1891; comments written by him and articles written about him downplay and confuse his time with the J. P. Graves store. For example:

- In a section of *Making Money*, he starts a chapter called “Some Early Failures” with: “*I clerked in a small store for a few months after quitting school but did not get along very well.*”²²
- Some articles written about him, including obituaries, mention his time with the store in terms of “worked in his father’s store” or “clerked in a store” ... for a time.
- The previously mentioned personal notepad includes a single entry “*April 6 - 93 began clerking for my father.*” Either the date is inaccurate or there is some hidden meaning because the next entry in the notebook is: “*May 7 (1893) went to Fort Scott Ks.*” This was his attempt to gain employment with the Fort Scott newspaper. He then went to work for the Pittsburg World in both Pittsburg and Girard and did not return to St. Paul, other than to visit, until January of 1896.

To confuse matters more, an article written about Graves in 1902 says: “*His business career started with a clerkship in his father’s store in St. Paul in which position he had management of the affairs of the firm for one year.*”²³ Given the above pinpointing that year, if it was a year, is a little nebulous.

While the above is confusing, one thing seems clear to the writer. W. W. did not look at his time with the Graves grocery store as being one of the best times in his life. Perhaps he did not want to assume the family business and had other things in mind, or maybe the store didn’t do well under his management. But he doesn’t seem to be shy about calling some of his other less successful undertakings a failure²⁴.

His Newspaper Career

“Chapter 2 - Editor and Businessman” describes Graves’ work as an editor and businessman, as well as an overview of the newspaper business of the time and his first boss in the business. Chapter 2 and subsequent parts of his document will show that the Journal was just one of his endeavors, but the following quotations from one of his books shows that he was proud of his newspaper:

²¹ The Osage Mission - Neosho County Museum has a small, leather covered, reporter’s notepad that belonged to Graves. One part of the notepad seems to record the main events in his life between September of 1892 and February of 1898. The entries are cryptic one or two line entries. Another part of the pad records short sayings that must have made an impression with him. Photos and some of the content of the pad are in “Appendix E - The Notepad”.

²² Then he describes his experience as a teacher. His term “quitting school” must have meant “completed” since he did graduate from St. Francis with honors.

²³ Taken from “History of Neosho County” by L. Wallace Duncan, Fort Scott, Ks, Monitor Printing Company, 1902

²⁴ For example and article in the October 23, 1890 notes the J.P. Graves added a meat market to his store and Arthur Newton was the meat cutter. It later years Graves kept a cabinet of note cards in his Journal Office related to stories or items that appeared in the Journal, his books or other sources. After the date of the above meat-market article appears the word “Failure”. This notation was probably added by Graves but did it relate to his experience with the store? Refer to “Appendix G - His Desk and Card Catalogue” for photos and Mr. Graves’ desk, typewriter and the card catalogue cabinet.

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“Seventy Years”²⁵. – Three score and ten – the allotted span of human life. That is a long time. The Journal is seventy years old this week, the first issue having been brought forth on August 6, 1868.

Seventy years of service. That is the record of the Journal in this community. It came here before most of the people now here were born. In it are recorded not only their births, but also the births of their parents, in many cases of the grandparents, and in a few cases of great grandparents. It has recorded the events of their lives, their marriages, their successes, and sometimes their misfortunes. In fact, the Journal affords the best historical record available of this locality, and of Neosho County. Writers come from all parts of the United States to consult the Journal files on historical subjects.

Seventy Years! Yes, that is a long time. And what wonderful changes have taken place here since the Journal came! There were then no railroads, no highways, no telegraphs, no telephones, no electric lights or power, no self propelling vehicles, not many fences, no trees, except along the streams. The road between two towns was the shortest and most convenient route, there being no bridges. Mails came in by stage coach, at first occasionally, then daily when the roads would permit. Merchandise was freighted here by wagons from Kansas City or Leavenworth. There were yet many Osages living around the Mission, and daily, delegations came back to visit their old friends and to swap. A hut was then called home, a pair of oxen were called a team, and the farm wagon was also used as a carriage.

The Journal has observed the passing of all the inconvenience of pioneer life. It has witnessed the gradual coming of modern conveniences, of modern education, of modern inventions, of modern homes supplied with modern equipment.

The Journal has also had its ups and downs. During its early days proper support was often lacking, and as the credit system was not then well established, the Journal was often obliged to miss one or more issues because of lack of funds. John Scott was two or three times on the verge of throwing up his hands and quitting the fight²⁶. But he kept on, and the others who followed have held the Journal to an honorable course, until it is what you see today.

Forty-three years is not a short time in itself. The present editor took charge of the Journal nearly forty-three years ago, and he has witnessed many of the changes mentioned above. He has had a hand in the making of a lot of changes that have been for the better. The Journal plant, under his management, has more than kept pace with the progress of the community. Forty-three years ago it was equipped with hand machinery, all contained in the front room over the drug store, Increased business called for greater space, and for power equipment which has been added from time to time until there were few, if any country printing offices in Kansas with more modern machinery and up-to-date equipment. The Journal for many years has enjoyed a business from far beyond its ordinary domain. It continues so today, enjoying a business that can be classed as more than local, even as inter-state.

On the other hand, this community has stood loyally by the Journal and helped to push along its business. In fact, the Journal and this community are inseparable.

²⁵ This quotation served as the introduction to his book History of Neosho County Newspapers, August 4, 1938; published by the St. Paul Journal, St. Paul Kansas

²⁶ This is one of several references Graves made to John Scott over the years. It is apparent that W. W. held a lot of respect for the Journal's founding editor.

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Here is hoping the community and the Journal may continue to progress and grow together, and that we may celebrate our centennial in 1968.”

The Journal didn't quite make its 100-year point. It closed in 1961. W. W. chronicled the history of Osage Mission and St. Paul with his two books that record the history and news of the area between the 1600's and 1936²⁷. Most of the content of these books is extracted from Journal articles. David O'Bryan then took the ball with his continuation of the Annals of St. Paul – 1936 – 1961²⁸, which also excerpts Journal issues during the period. These books, and the Graves note cards, provide an

invaluable source for research of events in St. Paul and our area because they provide a direct link to the library of Journal microfilm that has been recorded by the Kansas State Historical Society. How will tomorrow's researchers know what we have done since 1961?

As previously noted, the details of W. W. Graves's newspaper and business career are described in Chapter 2, beginning on page 29.

Marriage

Mr. Graves was married twice. His first marriage was with Emma Hopkins while he was employed by the Girard World. A few years after Emma's death he married Susie Gibbons of St. Paul. There were no children.

Emma Hopkins Graves.

Emma C. Hopkins was the daughter of Joshua and Cherrille (Peck) Hopkins and she was born in Allegany County, New York on July 5, 1870. She and her parents moved to Crawford County, KS in 1874 and they settled near Pittsburg. She attended school in Pittsburg and in 1893 she went to work for the Pittsburg World. When the paper relocated to Girard, she continued with the paper. At about the same time W. W. also went to work in the World's Pittsburg office and in December of 1893, he became the paper's Girard Correspondent. He also remained with the paper after it moved.

W. W. and Emma Hopkins were married on April 30, 1895. The marriage was performed in St. Michael's Catholic Church in Girard, KS by Father, F. M. Verdan. As noted above, the wedding occurred during the period when both Emma and W. W. Graves were employed by Abe Steinberger²⁹ at the Girard World.



Figure 6 - Emma and W. W. Graves (about 1896)

²⁷ The two books are: Annals of Osage Mission, W. W. Graves, Copyright 1934; and Annals of St. Paul, W. W. Graves, The Journal Press, Copyright 1942.

²⁸ Annals of St. Paul: The Swan Song for the St. Paul Journal; July 2 1936 – November 16, 1961, Compiled by David W. Obrien, Copyright 2009. This book is available for sale from the Osage Mission – Neosho County Historical Society and proceeds from its sale go to the St. Paul Schools Alumni and Friends Association.

²⁹ More information about Grave's first and only boss is included in Part 2 and in Appendix C – Notes and Clips about Abe Steinberger.

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Steinberger must have thought highly of both Emma and W. W. because he dedicated nearly the entire front page of the May 1, 1895 issue of the *World* to their wedding announcement. The article included a glowing account of their virtues and a detailed description of the wedding party and ceremony. Steinberger even inserted a few passages about law and patriotism that he probably just could not help doing. He was known for exuberance in his writing.

After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Graves established residence in Pittsburg and they remained there during their employment with the Pittsburg, then Girard *World*. After the *World* folded in November of 1895 the Graves's found that they were unemployed and without prospects. This issue was resolved pretty quickly because in January of 1896 Graves took over as editor of the Neosho County (future St. Paul) *Journal*³⁰ and they moved their household to St. Paul in February of that year³¹.

Mr. and Mrs. Graves approached their new business as a team. Graves initially hired a local, experienced printer to help him get started. Then he let the printer go and he, Emma, and a local boy took over. Emma did some of the reporting work and she set type. Sometimes she would work at the office and other times from home. W. W. bought a pair of print half cases and hired a carpenter to make a rack to fit them. This was set up in the kitchen of their home, and during the first four years with the *Journal* much of the type was set by Emma Graves.

As the *Journal* and other business interests grew, Emma Graves became a visible and prominent member of the St. Paul community and Neosho County. She and her husband were founding members of the Neosho County Historical Society and W. W. was its first president. She worked hand-to-hand with Graves in his historical research and continued to support the *Journal* office.

In July of 1932, Emma and W. W. were involved in an auto accident near El Dorado, KS. Emma was seriously injured but did recover. In July of 1936, Emma suffered a heart attack but her condition was not considered serious. But on July 30 she died suddenly at their home. Her obituary, which appeared in the August 6, 1936, *Journal* must have been painful to write:

“How much harder it is to write of those in a general way who are connected with us most closely.”

Susie Gibbons Graves.

Susie Gibbons was born on July 16, 1873, in Chicago, IL, and later relocated, with her parents, to Parsons. Susie's father J. M. Gibbons worked his way up with the Katy Railroad and was the General Storekeeper, in the Parsons Offices for several years.

At age 19 Susie also went to work for the Parsons Katy offices. In 1915 she, with her parents, moved to a farm near the Island schoolhouse on Big Island. The family had been working on the farm for about two years before the move and it was considered to be one of the richest farms in the area. The home was described as a fine, tile bungalow including an elegant finish with stained glass windows.

J. M. barely enjoyed his new Island home for two years. On October 9, 1917, he died in Parson, Mercy Hospital after a brief illness. While there is no mention of his wife's status, his obituary noted Susie as his only surviving relative. After J. M.'s death, Susie remained on the Island farm for about ten years.

³⁰ *Journal*, January 2, 1896

³¹ *Journal*, February 20, 1896

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After her father's death Susie gradually assumed a more prominent position in the St. Paul Community. Her interests in the community, writing, and history paralleled Emma and W. W.'s interests. In 1923 the National Federation of Women's Clubs, of New York, presented her an award for an article she wrote entitled "Why I am a Farmer"³². In 1924 she received a postmaster appointment in St. Paul, a position she would hold for the next 12 years³³. In June of 1930, she would join the W. W. and Emma Graves at the founding meeting of the Neosho County Historical Society.

By December of 1924, she had decided to move into St. Paul and purchased a property in the city limits³⁴. She subsequently held a public auction at her Big Island home and moved to her new residence. Money from the sale of the Gibbons estate probably provided her with a comfortable living for the remainder of her life.

After the death of Emma Graves, in 1936, friendship and common interests might have blossomed. On October 9, 1942, Emma and W. W. Graves were married at St. Francis Church in St. Paul. Mrs. Graves became active with W. W.'s historical projects, worked at the Journal, and opened a card business in the front office of the Journal Office³⁵.

As Susie and W. W. aged, Laura Hopkins³⁶ was a constant and faithful companion to the Graves'. Laura's relationship began as an employee to Susie and her father but evolved into a friend and supporter as age took its toll on the aging couple. In October of 1949, Mrs. Graves fractured a hip while working at the Journal Office but recovered. On Saturday, November 7 she suffered a heart attack in her home. She gradually grew weaker and on the evening of December 10, Susie Gibbons Graves died less than seventeen months after the death of her husband.

A Politician

W. W. Graves never sought a high political position, but there is no doubt that he was a political person. This is true from both the public and personal or business perspectives. W. W. ran a Democratic newspaper for nearly 60 years but he was not afraid to support an opposing candidate if he believed it was best for his country or community³⁷. From a personal standpoint, he was able to develop business relationships, when he was younger, which allowed him to start important initiatives³⁸. Then he allowed his own attributes to propel him through an exceptional life.

³² Journal, March 1, 1923

³³ Journal, June 5, 1924 and June 16, 1932

³⁴ Journal, December 11, 1924.

³⁵ Journal May 31, 1945

³⁶ Laura Hopkins was not related to Graves' first wife Emma or Fielding Hopkins who worked for and with Graves for many years.

³⁷ For example, on October 26, 1945 Graves wrote an introspective editorial about the successes of the Roosevelt administration in managing the war effort; but expressed concern that while we were fighting for liberty abroad, we were losing freedoms on the home front. "*In considering our patriotic duty, we find the war issues tugging us at one side, and these unfavorable domestic tendencies tugging at us from the other. A decision is not easy to reach, and it is up to each individual to reach his own decision*". Also, in a half-apologetic editorial to his Democratic customers he was "just sick of Truman." (Journal January 17 1952). Editorials such as these must have been painful to write, but he wrote what he believed.

³⁸ Granted, some of these opportunities appear to have been dropped in his lap. But he possessed the sense and business acumen to recognize an opportunity and work with it.

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Was W. W. a Democrat from the start? That is hard to say but he assumed the editor's position of a Democratic newspaper in 1896, from Democratic backers, and maintained a Democratic course from there.

During his early career, he allowed himself to run and be elected to the city council and the township board. But he decided it was very poor practice for a country newspaperman to be a candidate for public office of any kind. The duties of public office were important and considerable and would detract from his duties to his readers. He admitted that the salary for some county or higher offices was enticing, and people were encouraging him to run for public positions, but he steadfastly refused to run. Probably the main reason he would not involve himself with the elected position was that he knew there would eventually be a conflict between government positions and what he believed he would have to report.

“No editor should be an aspirant for personal preferment at the people's hands. He is a teacher and a leader. He is essentially a teller of truth, had he cannot be fair and free and fearless in these high lines if he is dependent upon popular opinion or an applicant for popular approval. He will inevitably truckle as the politician to the prejudices which as an editor it is his duty to dispel. He is greater in station and in influence than an office-holder. He does not need office to dignify him ...” - Graves³⁹

While he shunned elected office, he was very active with the Democratic Party. On many occasions, he served his party in delegate or clerk positions. He attended conventions and boosted the party line as much as he could.

I will discuss personal and business politics more in Chapters 2 and 4. But two of the most important opportunities in his professional life came from having developed relationships with prominent people that caused them to trust and recruit him for special projects. These ventures probably changed his life⁴⁰.

A Businessman

If W. W. Graves had chosen to be a journalist, a historian, a writer, a printer and publisher, or a businessman he would have probably done well with any of these careers. But he chose to do it all and wrapped it up with the skills of an accomplished entrepreneur and businessman. As previously noted he possessed the business sense to recognize opportunity and seize it. He was willing to take risks and most of his business ventures went well, and some were a little short-winded. Over the years between 1900 and 1950 Graves found himself in the livery business, automobile business, insurance business, and job-printing business. Some of these were start-up businesses that he stepped away from after they started. Others like printing and insurance were his mainstay occupations for most of his life. Not all businesses projects were for his personal profit. Some endeavors, like the city library project, were not intended to provide monetary gain to himself, but rather to improve his community (Civic and Church Leadership, below).

In addition to his personal business interests, he served on the board of directors for several local companies or branches of larger firms. The next chapter of this document, “Chapter 2 - Editor and Businessman” provides more information about his work as a journalist and businessman.

³⁹ Graves, Making Money with a Country Newspaper, pg. 82.

⁴⁰ These opportunities were his assumption of the editors' job at the Journal; and his opportunity to bid and win the A.H.T.A. weekly contract.

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His Driving Passion – History and Writing

His business and civic projects left a lasting impression on his community. The 93-year span of the Journal, under the leadership of him and his predecessors left a lasting legacy of the birth and growth of one of Kansas's oldest and most historically fascinating frontier communities. But the historical research, writing, and publishing that came from W. W. Graves' work extend well beyond St. Paul Kansas. He has chronicled the growth of civilization, commerce, education, and religion across a multi-state region and he has done it with the same degree of meticulousness as his other projects. The most fitting legacy to his historical works, and the volumes of books he published, is the fact that HE is now a footnote in countless books and papers prepared by his followers.

Refer to "Chapter 3 - Historian – Author – Publisher" for more discussion of his historical accomplishments.

Civic and Church Leadership

W. W. was a true father of his community and a civic booster. If you didn't understand, he would print the following poem from the Detroit Free press, which he did from time to time:

"Boost! Boost!
"Boost your city, boost your friend,
Boost the lodge that you attend.
Boost the street on which you're dwelling,
Boost the goods that you are selling.
Boost the people 'round about you,
They can get along without you,
But success will quicker find them,
If they know that you're behind them.
Boost for every forward movement,
Boost for every new improvement,
Boost the man for whom you labor
Boost the stranger and the neighbor.
Cease to be a chronic knocker,
Cease to be a progress blocker.
If you make your city better,
Boost it to the final letter."

* * * *

There can be no doubt that Mr. Graves was an avid community booster. Not only did he campaign for city improvements, he occasionally put his money where his mouth was. He started no less than three moving picture theaters in St. Paul and all of these were before there was even electricity here. He used his own power-generating plant. He served on the board of the old settlers' committee and several other

organizations or lodges that provided a sense of community cohesion or promoted activities. He served on the school board and, through his business, provided materials and administrative tools for the schools.

Some will say that some of the things he did were related to business interests. He probably would not deny this. But Graves looked at his primary business, his newspaper, as a means to keep the ball rolling, the horn tooting and people's eyes open to needs or opportunities for public improvement. In 1926 he wrote:

“Civic Pride

I always took an active interest in those things that build up a community. The need for new public improvements in the city park or streets and municipal enterprises were pointed out and urged in a friendly business-like way. I tried to lead in such thing, but I always advanced good reasons, or kept still. I often held a private conference with the officers first to get their attitude. Usually, they were pleased to make the improvement as soon as the paper had paved the way for creating a demand.

I was very careful about booster propositions promoted by strangers, Most of the propositions are designed to boost the stranger. In a few cases however, I found the stranger's proposition reasonable and I helped him to put it over, for the good of the community.

The local paper should lead in all things for community betterment. It makes the paper a force in the community and places the editor in an enviable position among his followers. If good judgment is used, very few will take exception, and even this few will not long hold a grouch.” - Graves⁴¹

Graves realized that successful newspaper editors were the ones that made their paper, and themselves, an essential part of the community. And W. W. was a smart editor.

The Graves were devout Catholics who supported their church. In 1932, as part of a church renovation, they donated the entire public address system. It was barely installed before Emma passed away. Graves assisted the church and church offices by printing songsters, recitation booklets, and other materials that helped the church function. Again, this was part of his business but he didn't have to do it. He stayed pretty busy without this supporting work.

In April of 1903 Knights of Columbus Council was organized and Graves was a charter officer. He remained active with the Knights and advanced to a Fourth Degree Knight position. This was in the days when the Catholic Church was under direct attack by several organizations including the Ku Klux Klan. Knighthood was taken seriously and many churches experienced heavy participation by parish men. As Figure 7 suggests, St. Paul was not an exception.

⁴¹ This is part of a chapter on Civic Pride in his book Making Money with a Country Newspaper. It begins on page 79.

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Figure 7 - Knights of Columbus Council 760, St. Francis Church - June 10, 1910

As fortune would have it, Graves was able to find business in his association with the K of C. In December of 1921 Graves was awarded the contract to publish the *Kansas Knight*, which was the official monthly newspaper of the Knight of Columbus in Kansas⁴². More information about this contract and W. W.'s other publishing business is included in Chapter 2 - Editor and Businessman.

A Prominent Law Enforcement Figure – By Accident?

Graves recognized that success often came from opportunities and opportunity was not a permanent commodity. He sized up an opportunity, decided if he could work with it; and if it looked viable he seized it – and then he figured out how to tackle it. The *A.H.T.A. Weekly* newspaper was an opportunity that came his way in a similar manner as the *Journal*. However, in this case, he knew his current plant capacity was nowhere near adequate to take on the job. Nevertheless, he drew confidence from the local businessmen who had faith in him and bid for the contract and won it.

There is no proof that Graves was active with the Anti-Horse Thief Association before he won their weekly newspaper contract in 1902. The *A.H.T.A.* was very active in southeast Kansas and St. Paul, and local businessman Fielding Scott was a past national vice president, and in 1900 he was elected to the first of several terms as national president. It appears as though Graves bid on the contract purely as a business opportunity.

But the Association contract turned out to be a life-changer for W. W. Graves. Not only would he publish the national paper for more than thirty years, but his *Journal* publishing company would also realize a great deal of additional work related to the organization. More importantly, the *A.H.T.A.* would become an important part of his life; and he in turn would end up reshaping the organization as he, like Scott, would take a prominent position in the national order. Refer to “Chapter 4 - Anti-Horse Thief Association” for additional information about the Association and Graves’ role in managing their paper and the organization itself.

⁴² *Journal*, December 30, 1921.

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His Final Passion – The City Library

His final, large project was a city library. In June of 1950, he started the library project under the headline “A Modern City”. He uses the opportunity to address the need for a library and offers to donate \$500 worth of books from his collection and a case that will hold a large part of them. He closes by saying “Now is the time. Now, not next year! The Journal man may not be on earth then, hence do not delay too long.”

The urgent tone of his encouragement undoubtedly reflected the stark fact that he knew his health was failing and he wanted to at least see the project get underway. To make sure it would get a start he pulled in the heavy-hitting go-doers from his community – the women’s Home Demonstration units. He knew that when these teams got their teeth into a project it would get done, and it did get done. Refer to “Chapter 5 - Man of the Journal – His Final Months” for additional information about the library project.

Lasting Relationships Led to Enduring Honors

As Graves led his life and initiated innumerable projects he made contacts and he made lasting impressions with the people with whom he worked. He started as a frontier newspaperman and earned respect from a wide-ranging diversity of businessmen, Native Americans, historians, and religious figures. Local publishers who didn’t give the young whipper-snapper much chance of success with the Journal, and especially the A.H.T.A. news, grew to not only respect him but look at him as an authority. They came to realize that this aging man from a small southeast Kansas community was a treasure that deserved recognition.

On May 31, 1952, less than two months before his death, he got his recognition when representatives from the State of Kansas, the publishing community, the Osage Nation, the Roman Catholic Church, and his beloved community gathered to honor him in a banquet. The banquet was held in the St. Francis school gymnasium. In addition to speeches and congratulations, Graves received two honors that evening that, when combined; few people have received – either before or since then. Refer to “Chapter 5 - Man of the Journal – His Final Months” for additional information about the banquet and Mr. Graves’ final time in St. Paul.

Chapter 2 - Editor and Businessman

After graduating from St. Francis Institute Graves worked in his father's store for a while and tried a brief teaching assignment. It was then that he decided he wanted to be a printer and newspaperman⁴³. He did quite well with both trades, and if you are also destined to become a noted author and publisher it doesn't hurt to own your own printing business.

As stated earlier, W. W. Graves is remembered as the man whose name appears on the local library and as a newspaperman. While researching W. W. Graves' approach to running the Journal Press, his other business interests, and his participation in local businesses; I began to think of him much differently. Graves was an entrepreneur at heart whose varied business interests not only made him successful but also shaped the business, law enforcement, and cultural profile of our community during the first half of the 20th century. Not all of his endeavors were successful. Some came and went rather quickly but this is common with entrepreneurs who are willing to innovate and take risks. W. W. Graves was a successful journalist and publisher because he was a very good businessman.

The Scope of Chapter 2

Chapter 2 is presented in five main sections:

- a) A brief description of the Journal he would run before he purchases the paper; and the journalistic setting in frontier Kansas.
- b) Details of his early internship as a newspaperman and the man who probably shaped him, rather quickly, into a Journalist (Reporter Graves).
- c) His long and distinguished career as a publisher of the Journal and other larger-circulation newspapers (Editor Graves).
- d) Discussion of his other business interests (Businessman).
- e) The long, difficult process related to finding a suitable editor for his paper (Wanted to Retire ...).

Brief History of the Journal - Before Graves⁴⁴

To understand W. W. Graves and the newspaper business he ran, it is important to know something about the newspaper he took over in 1896 and the newspaper business of the period. The Journal had a 93-year run before it closed in 1961, nine years after Graves' death. During its life the Journal had four names (one used twice) all traceable to the same, continuous business lineage:

⁴³ It is important to note a distinction between "newspaperman" and "printer". Newspaper man can be compared with the editor of the Kansas City Star. Printer can be compared with today's Kinko's FedEx. There is no doubt that W. W. did well as a newspaper editor, but he made much of his livelihood as a printer and publisher.

⁴⁴ Sources: History of Neosho County Newspapers, W. W. Graves, 1938 and History of Neosho County, Volume II, pages 640-649.

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- The paper was founded as the Osage Mission Journal on August 5 1868 by John H. Scott. This was in the year after Father John Schoenmakers and his town company started laying out the new town of Osage Mission; and eight months before the first town council meeting. Before this Osage Catholic Mission was operated by the Jesuits and Sisters of Loretto as a government-supported school for Osage Indian children
- In 1871 the name was changed to the Neosho County Journal, the name it carried for nineteen years. This change was brought about by a change of business but John Scott maintained interest.
- In 1890, the then-current editor, John R. Brunt changed it back to the Osage Mission Journal.
- The name was changed back to the Neosho County Journal with the July 4, 1895 issue. This was three days after the name of Osage Mission was legally changed to St. Paul as the result of a local election.⁴⁵
- Graves changed the name to St. Paul Journal on April 1, 1901, and it remained under that name for sixty years.

The closing of the St. Paul Journal was sad for the city but for a small newspaper to survive for that long was a remarkable feat. This is particularly true considering many small 19th-century newspaper life spans were at the mercy of politics and the personalities of the editors and prominent citizens. Many newspapers came and went, or changed management, in a matter of months or weeks. Some papers closed soon after key elections.

Politics

Newspaper editors of the 19th century and well into the 20th made no pretensions of being fair and unbiased concerning politics. They clearly stated their position and if prospective readers didn't agree, there were other newspapers. Successful editors had enough sense to adopt viable political parties or had the skill and personal political wisdom to play both sides. A successful editor could be a successful politician and never run for office.

Personalities (Boys Being Boys)

One of the editor's responsibilities was to occasionally speak his piece – in print. This was called editorializing and it could bring mixed results. Editors could be very militant, especially towards one another, and being outspoken in print could bring a variety of results ranging from praise to verbal duels to fistfights and even the occasional bombing of a newspaper office. Folks were pretty serious about giving and responding to opinions in those days.

Graves' "History of Neosho County Newspapers" includes a brief chapter called "Fighting Editors". Here, he discusses an event he experienced between his boss, Pittsburg World editor Abe Steinberger⁴⁶, and a competing Pittsburg editor:

⁴⁵ Journal Editor E. B. Clark vigorously opposed the change of the town's name and this might be the reason he didn't change the name of his paper to St. Paul Journal. Clark considered the name change to be an insult to Father John Schoenmakers and the Missionaries who founded the mission and the town. Refer to "Appendix B - Journal Editorial Comments - Name Change" for editorial comments prior to and after the name change.

⁴⁶ Steinberger was a colorful figure among Kansas frontier newspapermen. Appendix C - Notes and Clips about Abe Steinberger provides some background and news clips about Grave's first and only boss as a newspaperman.

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“Abe Steinberger, under whom we started to learn the “art preservative,” could put a bit of vitriol in his editorials when he felt disposed, and the editor of the other daily paper in Pittsburg was often his target. In 1893 we were accompanying Mr. Steinberger home to supper one evening when a large man jumped onto Steinberger as we passed a corner and soon had him down and was landing knockout punches on his face. Steinberger, like the writer, was tall, and hungry looking and no match for the 225 pound assailant. We grabbed the big fellow by the collar and yanked him off, but soon had to do some good sprinting to keep out of his reach.”

In another account from the Neosho County Journal, May 12, 1871:

“J.B. Lamb, Dr. Brogan, and J. C. Lillie, of Osage Mission, were arrested on Saturday last at the suit of Perry D. Martin, charged with libel, in publishing and circulating papers and circulars, in which they denounced the said Parry D. as a thief, a wolf in sheep’s clothing, etc.”

And finally, a situation that seemed more serious was reported in the St. Paul Journal on April 8, 1909:

“Dynamite for a Newspaper - Girard, Kansas, April 5. - An attempt was made to blow up the building occupied by the Independent News, a weekly paper here. An infernal machine and three sticks of dynamite were discovered by Editor Ben R. Beezley at 11 o’clock. The explosion, had it been successful, would have blown the rear end of the building out, besides damaging the linotype and printing materials. It is supposed to be the work of incendiaries, who were scared away before the trap was completed. An unsigned note was found about 10 o’clock today reading as follows: “Beezley- Before you wake you and yours will be blown harder than the blow you tried to give others.”

As it turns out the bomb was a fake planted by Beezley in an attempt to gain sympathy for his current fight against a competitor. The local lawmen were not sympathetic.

Stated again, successful editors had the moxie to speak out firmly while shaking a verbal fist; but scratching backs with the other hand. Successful, *long-term* editors were smart and industrious enough to make their newspaper, and themselves, essential to a community.

Some of the Journal Editors – Before Graves

John H. Scott (Figure 8) was a long-time newspaperman when he came to Osage Mission in 1868. He entered the news business in 1838 with the Morning Herald of Utica, New York at age thirteen. During the next thirty years, he worked for papers in Buffalo, Syracuse, Chicago, and St. Louis. When the Osage Mission Journal was established in 1868, John Scott founded what would be a republican newspaper. Despite his experience, Scott encountered several difficulties that would have stopped a less determined man. The office was set up in the family home and Mrs. Scott set much of the type while Scott served as a reporter and did everything else⁴⁷. In the early days, they often missed one or more issues because of transportation or supply problems.

⁴⁷ This first Journal “home office” was in Gilmore Town about one mile west of the church and mission schools. Gilmore town included the site of the original trading post operated by James Monroe Linn. Mr. Linn, a licensed trader, arrived in the area in 1841 and he set up business here at about the same time the mission was founded. When Linn departed in the middle 1850’s, an employee, Samuel Gilmore, took over the business. Over a period of ten years the original settlement in this area grew around the trading post. It became known as Gilmore Town because Gilmore assumed postmaster duties from Father Schoenmakers in 1857. This area was later laid out as the Catholic Mission addition of Osage Mission/St. Paul, but Gilmore Street serves as a reminder of the area’s past. (Source: History of Neosho County Volumes I & II, W.W. Graves; and “Historical Sketch of Mission Township” a typed manuscript retrieved from the Graves Collection at University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library.)

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In April of 1869, Scott moved the paper to Girard and published one issue before moving back to Osage Mission. Later that year the paper was suspended for two months but then revived by Charles H. Howard as associate editor. Thus was the early day history of the Journal with several changes in ownership or editor but J. H. Scott seems to have maintained an interest or control until 1883. The paper continued to support the Republican ticket but did, on occasion, support candidates from other parties. In 1871 the name of the paper became the Neosho County Journal.

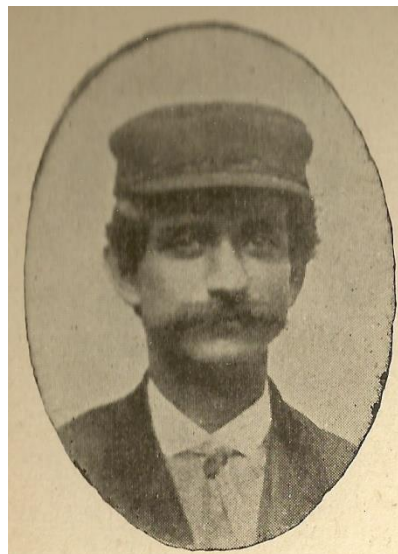
On September 19, 1883, John Scott's only son Frank was shot down in the street near the corner of County (now Central) and Main Streets. This caused Mr. Scott to pursue the purchase of the Fredonia Times the following January when he sold his house and moved to Fredonia. In August of 1885, Mr. Scott sold the Fredonia Times and moved to Cherryville where he died on the 21st of the next month.

Charles H. Howard was still John Scott's partner at the time of Frank Scott's death. Howard purchased the paper from Scott. Howard was also a conspicuous figure in the early newspaper history of Neosho County. In 1864 he was a war correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, specially assigned to Grant's army. He came to Osage Mission in 1867 and entered into the drug business with S. S. Warner. He served as postmaster from October 1868 until 1883. He sold his interest in the Journal to R.D. Kirkpatrick in 1884.

Between 1884 and 1896 the Journal went through several changes in ownership and editor, and some appear to be related to politics. In 1887, when Kirkpatrick sold the paper to John R. Brunt, the political alignment changed from Republican to Democrat. In 1890, one of the name changes mentioned previously occurred and the paper became the Osage Mission Journal. In October of 1892 Brunt sold his interest to E.B. Park and the politics of the paper changed back to Democrat. In July of 1895, the name changed back to Scott's Neosho County Journal. On January 2, 1896, E. B. Park announced the sale of the Journal to the Journal Publishing Company: W. W. Graves as editor. Under Graves' leadership, the new Journal Publishing venture would enter 55 years of prosperity and relative stability.

Reporter Graves

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Graves graduated from St. Francis Institute in June of 1891. During the next two years, he tried teaching for a year and tried clerking or managing his father's store in Osage Mission for a time. Neither job suited him. Sometime during this period, he decided he wanted to be a printer and newspaperman; but he did not apply at the local paper because he thought he could learn more in a larger office. He sought employment with printers in Fort Scott, including the Fort Scott World, but was unsuccessful⁴⁸. Then he traveled south and secured a newspaper position.



**Figure 8 - Journal Founding Editor
John H. Scott**

⁴⁸ There are varying accounts of his success and time in Fort Scott. The May 11, 1893 Osage Mission Journal reports that Wm. Graves had "gone to Ft. Scott in search of work". At least one obituary said he set type for the Fort Scott Lantern. Even his own personal notepad entry for May 9, 1893 says "Set type at the lantern Office, F.S.". But the next notepad entry says "May 10 Leave

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A Precarious Internship

W. W.'s start in Pittsburg, in May of 1893, was shaky but eventually advantageous both professionally and personally. He went to work for Abe Steinberger who was then the editor for the Pittsburg World. Steinberger ran a good printing plant, had modern equipment, and employed several experienced printers, but he was short on cash. W. W. on the other hand had a burning desire to learn the trade and held some cash savings from his time as a school teacher. Graves accepted an internship under the terms that he would work the first month for nothing, after which his salary was \$1.50 per week with small increases at intervals. Some accounts say this internship also included some provision for boarding at Steinberger's home.

Graves' first assignment was setting type for the newspaper. Typesetting machines had not yet become common so each page was still set up by hand by a group of women. W. W. reports that "*The girls treated me nicely and taught me to 'stick type.'* This was my introduction to the printing business." Young Graves had attained an initial step in his chosen profession.

The next step wasn't as encouraging. Shortly after he went to work for Steinberger the reporter went on a drinking binge and was fired. When Steinberger realized W. W. had a good education, and was a fairly good writer, he sent him to the streets to gather news for the daily editions. Graves considered his time as a Pittsburg reporter to be a failure. Pittsburg had a population nearly fifteen times larger than his home town and it was growing in strides. The primary economy was coal mining which was completely different than the agricultural economy he was used to. The town was huge and he simply could not relate to the business and news opportunities that he was supposed to be seeking out. Besides, the newspaper work was new to him and with failure staring him in the face he became discouraged. Steinberger's next move with his young intern probably didn't work as expected but it proved advantageous to both of them - he moved Graves out of town.

Reporter / Correspondent

At the time the Daily World was developing some business in Girard. Girard was also the county seat. Graves says there was no doubt that Abe "...thought he was unloading me by sending me to Girard as his county seat correspondent." His compensation was to be a percentage of the income from the business that Graves could obtain there. Steinberger was probably expecting W. W. to fail again and he would be ripe for discharge.

But Graves succeeded. Girard had a population of about 2,000 at the time and it had an agriculture-based economy. In many respects, it was similar to Graves' hometown but slightly larger. He quickly fit in, made contacts, and had little trouble finding news. The Girard page of the Pittsburg Daily News quickly became more "newsy"⁴⁹ than the Pittsburg

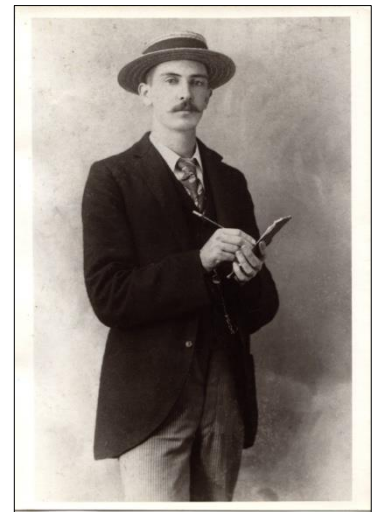


Figure 9 - Graves as a Girard World Reporter 1894

F. Scott. Change cars at Arcadia, get to Pittsburgh, KS" (Reference: Appendix E - The Notepad). However, in his book *Making Money with a Country Newspaper* - (pg. 4) Graves says he found no openings in Fort Scott.

⁴⁹ Graves word - "Newsy". Much of the information in this section is taken from Graves book "Making Money With a Country Newspaper.

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local page. Business picked up and the Girard assignment assumed a much more positive aspect. In December of 1893, the Osage Mission Journal reported that “*W. W. Graves is stationed in Girard as a correspondent for the Pittsburg World. From that place, he is making the world interesting for Girard people.*”⁵⁰

At the time Girard had two weekly newspapers, both were well established. But the town was ambitious and wanted a daily newspaper. Graves’ news page was attracting the attention and support of the Girard people and they soon made offers to Steinberger to move the World to Girard and give the county seat a daily paper. The city raised a bonus and the paper was moved to Girard in 1894 or early 1895⁵¹, Graves became the city correspondent and his salary was raised to a “magnificent” \$3 per week with board.

By this time his assignment with the World had taken on another positive aspect. A young woman named Emma Hopkins also worked for Steinberger as a bookkeeper. A romance developed and on May 1, 1895, Emma and William Whites were married in St. Michael’s Catholic Church in Girard. Information about their wedding and life together is provided in Chapter 1, but apparently, Abe Steinberger thought highly of both of his young employees. Their wedding announcement covered most of the front page of the May 1, 1895 issue of the Girard World and Graves’ salary was raised to \$8 a week. W. W. had a promising job, the newlyweds were settling and life was looking up for a few months.

But as noted earlier in this Chapter, the frontier newspaper business could be volatile. In November of 1895, the election went wrong, the paper lost a county printing arrangement, the World folded and the Graves’s found themselves unemployed and without prospects of employment.

Editor Graves

Graves admits that many of his successes have come from opportunity and some of his opportunities were probably just luck. Newspaper politics that caused Emma and him to become unemployed might have led to the luckiest opportunity of his life.

The Neosho County Journal and Saint Paul Journal

In October of 1892, E. B. Clark⁵² and E. L. Conklin purchased the Osage Mission Journal from H. C. Brunt. The editor was Clark and they changed the politics of the paper to Republican. In January of 1894, Conklin sold his interest in the paper to E. B. Clark and John Shepard became the editor for a few months and then left the paper. In July of 1895, the name was changed from Osage Mission Journal to Neosho County Journal. Even given the fact that Clark was a part-time newspaperman, had seen frequent personnel turnover, and was running a Republican paper in a Democratic town he was pretty successful. Clark had become the postmaster of Osage Mission in 1889 and his employment terminated in July of 1893, at which time he moved to Chanute.

⁵⁰ Osage Mission Journal, December 28, 1893.

⁵¹ It is also noted that beginning in 1893 Steinberger had enflamed the emotions of the Pittsburg area miners because of a stand he took regarding some labor issues. He also kept himself at odds with other local editors which, on one occasion, turned violent. It might have been time for Abe to move anyway. Refer to “Personalities (Boys Being Boys)” above and “Appendix C – Notes and Clips about Abe Steinberger”.

⁵² E. B. Clark is among many Osage Mission residents who settled from afar. He was born in Maine in October of 1839 and served in the Civil War. He studied dentistry and came to Osage Mission in 1877 to practice.

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After leaving the Osage Mission post office E. B. Clark began to think about selling the paper. On September 30, 1895, two Erie newspaper representatives approach Clark with plans to purchase the Journal. It was then that B. B. Fitzsimmons, who was a Democratic nominee for county clerk, heard of the plan and approached Clark and told him he would buy the paper, and he contracted to take it over on January 1. His father J. F. Fitzsimmons had furnished some of the money that started the Journal and he did not want to see it die. Politics was also an issue because they intended to return the focus of the Journal to a fusion of populist-democrat.

It was about this time that W. W. Graves returned to his hometown for a visit. B. B. Fitzsimmons was a farmer with no newspaper knowledge; he was buying a newspaper and was in a quandary. Realizing that Graves was experienced but unemployed; and that he had a good record at the local college, he offered a proposal to help W. W. get into a newspaper office as editor. On January 1, 1896, The Journal Publishing Company, W. W. Graves as Editor, was formed. The company was comprised of Graves, B. B. Fitzsimmons, and J. F. Fitzsimmons. The Fitzsimmons' paid the \$800 purchase price for the Journal and Graves bought a 1/3 interest in the plant for \$276, with terms that he would be paid \$8 per week and would pay Fitzsimmons \$3 (or more) a week to apply to the full purchase of the business. According to Graves, he paid the remaining 2/3 of his obligation ahead of time and in about four years he had paid off the entire \$800 purchase price. He was twenty-nine years old and he owned his own newspaper business.

The newspaper office that Graves bought was on the north side of County Street above a drug store. It was equipped with a Washington hand press, a 7x11 Gordon, a small cutter, and an assortment of well-worn and somewhat antiquated type. It required one full day just to do the press work for the weekly newspaper. The second-floor location required Graves to tote all materials and finished printing up and down a flight of stairs. As previously noted, Graves hired an experienced printer to help him get familiar with the equipment and processes⁵³; and then he, Emma, and a local boy took over the work. According to Graves:

"I was young and strong in those days and I tackled the job with all the enthusiasm of youth. I did not hesitate to do the manual labor that the present day printer whose salary is four or five what mine was then, would refuse to do now."

It is believed that this office arrangement served Graves for the first six years of his time with the Journal. Also, as the business stabilized they had an opportunity in February of 1898 to buy a home from neighbors who were planning to move out of the state. Graves told the couple, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Dunn, that he was in no position to buy a home at the time. However, according to Graves, they offered the house at a ridiculously low price and with a no-interest loan and the Graves ended up buying a home⁵⁴.

Outside Contracts Allow Improvements and Expansion

Over time Graves expanded and updated the equipment in his shop, allowing him to take on more job printing and production work. Part of the expansion was made possible by lucrative publishing jobs with circulations that far exceeded that of the Journal.

⁵³ During his limited time with the Pittsburg / Girard World most of Graves work was related to reporting and advertising. He had relatively little experience in the print shop.

⁵⁴ Making Money with a Country Newspaper, pg. 9.

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A.H.T.A. Weekly

Graves received a contract in 1902 to start and publish a weekly paper for the Anti-Horse Thief Association. In a similar manner to the Journal, this was an opportunity that was brought to him for consideration and he decided to accept it. Unlike the Journal acquisition, he was required to participate in a bidding competition with other more experienced editors but local influence might have made a difference for Graves. There is little doubt that opportunity changed his business and his life. His influence with the A.H.T.A. also changed the association. Further details about Graves and the A.H.T.A. are provided in “Chapter 4 - Anti-Horse Thief Association” but business highlights are summarized here.

There is no evidence that W.W. was active with the A.H.T.A. before 1902. However, southeast Kansas, including Neosho County, had become very active during the late 19th century and early 20th. Several Neosho County and St. Paul residents reached national prominence with the association. Among these were John W. Wall of Ladore, and Fielding Scott, and B. B. Fitzsimmons of St. Paul (Figure 10).

John W. Wall had served in several local and state positions before 1902, and secretary of the Kansas State Order in 1897, a position he held for five years. He also served terms as state and national president between 1902 and 1914. He also served, continuously, as a trustee from 1905 to 1927.

Fielding Scott also served multiple offices at the state and national levels and was instrumental in bringing the national convention to Chanute 1900, where he was elected as president. He was also a key figure in consolidating the Independent Order of the Horse of Arkansas into the A.H.T.A. in 1902. Fitzsimmons was also active in the association and was elected to the state executive committee in 1903. It should also be noted that Dr. E. B. Clark, who was the previous editor of the Journal had also served as Kansas State Secretary in 1887.

Considering the four names above, Graves had good backing in winning the Weekly contract. John Wall chaired the committee that authorized the committee to establish a paper in January of 1902. Fielding Scott was a local businessman who knew W. W. well. Fitzsimmons and Clark were both involved with the Journal sale to Graves and knew he was a bright ambitious and hardworking young businessman. However, to say the deck was stacked in Graves’ favor is probably an overstatement. Graves was competing with four other editors all of whom had more experience and one was from a large city. Moreover, none of the four A.H.T.A. selection committee members had any publishing experience. When Graves was asked to present his proposal he suggested a four-page four-column weekly at fifty cents per week; subscriptions were volunteered and solicited by individual lodge officers and sent to Graves in groups. It is not known what else the Graves presentation included but after a couple of hours of deliberation, W. W. got the job.

Perhaps one reason Graves was able to present the winning proposal is he competed knowing he was an underdog. When he was approached by Fitzsimmons and Scott he knew his existing plant was woefully short of equipment and capacity for a large volume of paper that would be distributed across several states.

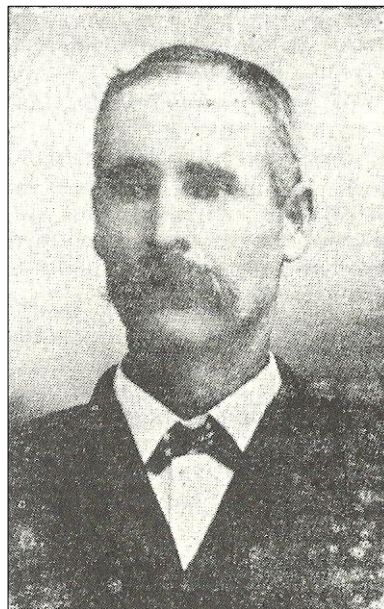


Figure 10 - B. B Fitzsimmons Played an Important Part in Helping Graves Buy the Journal, and Also Win the A.H.T.A. Weekly Contract

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In his own words, when Fitzsimmons approached him with the prospect: *“I looked at the old Washington hand press and my small supply of type and pondered a minute. The outlook was not encouraging, but while I had been acquiring the confidence of the people, I had also acquired considerable confidence in myself. I told him I could do the work.”*

Before going to the selection committee Graves formulated a plan including the equipment he would need. At the center of his equipment requirement was acquiring the largest Gordon jobber he could get. He analyzed the project costs and decided with limited available cash and a desire not to endanger his credit; he would have to purchase equipment after he got the contract and ramp up very quickly. That is what he did.

While many publishers gave Graves little chance at success, he did. The A.H.T.A. paper met with favor from the start and *“I threw my force into it, studied the field I was expected to cover and did my best to cover it”*. The circulation rapidly grew to 7,000, and it looked like it would continue to grow. However, Graves was stricken with a severe sick spell and the paper suffered as a result of his absence⁵⁵. When he returned his circulation list had dwindled, then World War 1 started. While circulation never returned to its highest numbers it still served as a power for the order.

In 1925 Graves leased the Journal to A. J. Hopkins of St. Paul and this included the A.H.T.A. news. After Hopkins died suddenly in December 1931, Graves reassumed editorship of the paper in January 1932.

The A.H.T.A. and its newspaper saw some name changes as Graves and the association modified its operations in an attempt to keep it current with changing times. The organization became the “Anti-Thief Association in October of 1928. The paper briefly changed its name to “The Rural Digest” about 1925 and then back to A.H.T.A. News. In May of 1932 Hugh Gresham of Cheney, KS bought the subscription list and goodwill of the paper and moved it to Cheney and it suspended operations within a few months.

A.H.T.A Job Required Expansion

Within a year of getting the A.H.T.A. contract, his business had outgrown the original upstairs Journal office. Then, opportunity knocked again. A friend offered a large, good but rather run-down brick building for a fourth of its cost on easy terms. Graves jumped at the opportunity and the building served as the Journal Publishing office for the remainder of his time with the paper.

Again, more information about Graves and the A.H.T.A is included in Chapter 4.

The Kansas Knight

In 1921 the Knights of Columbus of Kansas wanted to start a monthly newspaper. Some of the members knew of Graves’ newspaper work and they asked him for a proposition. He submitted a proposal and was selected to publish the paper.

This was another large job for Journal Publishing. The Kansas Knight was a tabloid-sized magazine, sometimes with forty or more pages. While circulation is unknown, the paper’s advertising base came from all across the state. The job carried many opportunities and it changed the way he operated somewhat. Instead of taking the entire job on himself, he hired some of the mechanical workers because he did not

⁵⁵ This might have been the bought he had with ulcers in 1913.

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want to dump the job into his shop too abruptly. Graves published the paper until 1938 when he sold it to Clayton Walton of Wichita⁵⁶.

Kansas Degree of Honor Messenger

To begin, W. W. was not the editor of the Kansas Degree of Honor Messenger, but it was printed in and distributed from the Journal Publishing office under his oversight.

The Degree of Honor Protective Association was founded in 1886 as the Ladies Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW). Membership was originally comprised of wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters of the AOUW. Their purpose was to provide fellowship for the women and also support the AOUW. If a husband died, contributions were collected from members to help support the widow and her children. Eventually, the Ladies Auxiliary separated from the AOUW and began issuing "benefit certificates" in \$500, \$1000, and \$2000 amounts, payable upon the death of a spouse.⁵⁷

In September of 1915 Journal Publishing assumed publication of the association's monthly newspaper, The Kansas Degree of Honor Messenger. Mrs. Gertrude Thielen was the editor. The paper was published by Journal Publishing from 1915 through June 1919. Mrs. Thielen served as a local lodge leader and also held high-level positions at the state level. The circulation numbers for the paper are unknown.

Other Publications

While the time frame is unknown, Graves also published a state-wide veterinary medicine magazine for a local veterinarian doctor. The publication had a short publication run and failed after the farm economy slumped for a time. There might be other small periodicals because Graves speaks of this job as though it was an example of small publications (*Making Money*).

Journal Operations and Main Characters

As previously mentioned the A.H.T.A. Weekly contract was Graves' first significant opportunity for him to expand his business and this included both floors space and equipment. After moving into his new ground-floor facility he was able to acquire more modern equipment. In fact, his equipment was more modern than the local, St. Paul, utilities could accommodate. In September of 1908 Graves installed his own electrical power plant powered by a gasoline engine⁵⁸. This allowed him to buy and install a Babcock newspaper press, a newspaper folder, a Dexter book folder, a Monitor stitcher and to upgrade his type

⁵⁶ Journal, May 1, 1938

⁵⁷ Degree of Honor Protective Association Information: The Degree of Honor Protective Association began in 1886 as the Ladies Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. Membership was originally comprised of wives, daughters, mothers and sisters of the AOUW. Their purpose was to provide fellowship for the women, and also support the AOUW. In the early days, if a husband died, contributions were collected from members to help support the widow and her children. Eventually the Ladies Auxiliary separated from the AOUW, and began issuing "benefit certificates" in \$500, \$1000 and \$2000 amounts, payable upon the death of a spouse. The organization had tremendous appeal, offering friendship, mutual help and insurance. The association kept up with the times and today it is operated as a foundation managed by a group of women executives. In addition to insurance products they also provide scholarships and other benefits to members. <http://degreeofhonor.com/index.html>

⁵⁸ Graves also notes that the initial gasoline engine was problematic leading him to later upgrade to a steam engine. In addition to powering the shop equipment, the steam electrical system ran lights and fans for his shop and supported his picture shows. The steam from the engine was also used to heat the shop and adjacent theater.

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fonts. At the time his Babcock machine was one of the best in the locality. Later he installed the first Linotype machine in southeast Kansas⁵⁹. These upgrades were very significant for two reasons.

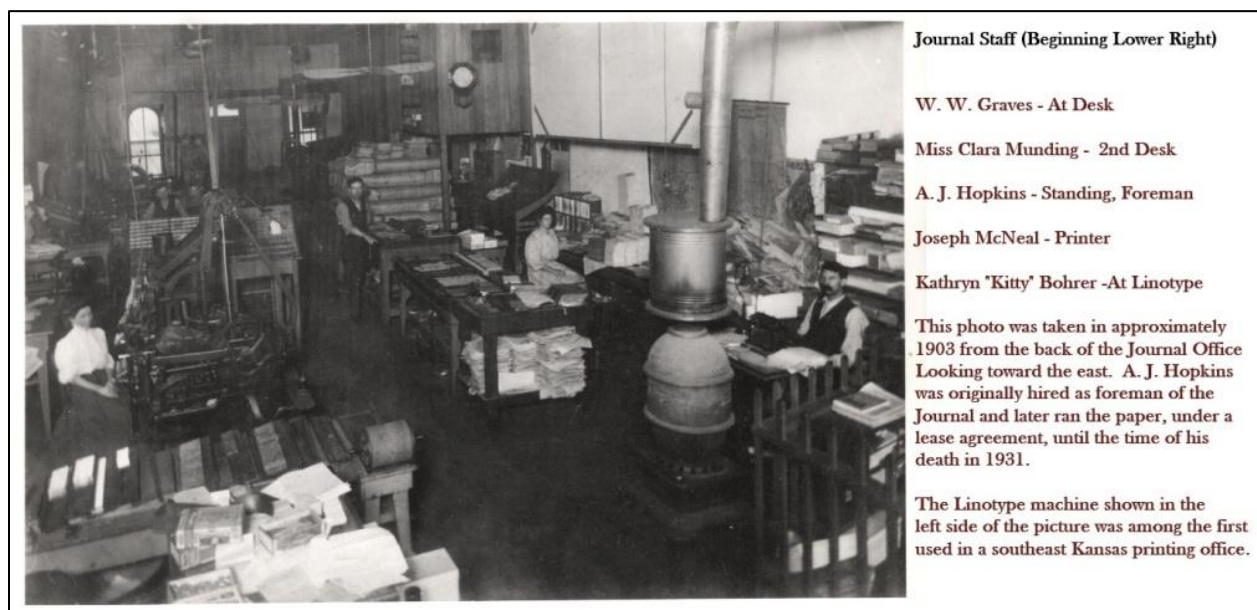


Figure 11 - St. Paul Journal Office - Approx. 1903

First, it moved Graves out of the status of a small-town newspaperman and into the realm of being a full-service print shop, bindery, and publishing operation. This allowed him to publish a much broader range of products, and it would serve him well as he began his historical writing. This will be discussed more in the following sections.

Second, W. W.'s power plant was installed about five years before St. Paul installed their municipal plant and about nine years before a local area electrical grid was established. He was a little ahead of local progress.

Business Staffing and Partnerships.

Along with capital improvements came a larger staff and the eventual need to turn parts of the business over to trusted employees. As noted earlier Graves started his Journal Publishing business with the help of his wife and a local boy. In *Making Money with a Country Newspaper* Graves notes he was able to secure the services of a very good printer for about fifteen years until a political appointment lured him away. He also trained three young men in the trade; one of which became a Methodist preacher, another went into business for himself and the third stayed with him. He also employed several young women who did everything from mail coordination to doing setup up work for printing jobs. He tried incentive plans to retain the services of good workers, including profit-sharing and some of the incentives worked well for him.

In or about 1899 W. W. Graves hired Emma's brother Arthur J. (A.J.) Hopkins. A. J. had some previous printing experience in Pittsburg. In July of 1902, he would become the Journal Office foreman⁶⁰. He

⁵⁹ It is not known exactly when the Linotype was installed, but a 1912 Sanborn fire insurance map notes its existence in the Journal office building.

⁶⁰ Journal, July 1, 1902

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remained with the Journal until 1918 when shortly after the start of World War I, he was appointed as a deputy U. S. Internal Revenue collector with headquarters in Wichita. Later he was transferred to Parsons. In about 1921 he went into a partnership with Joe Walker of Parson in an accounting firm.

In December of 1924 A. J. Hopkins returned to St. Paul. On January 1 of 1925, he assumed control of the St. Paul Journal and the A.H.T.A. Weekly⁶¹ under a lease agreement with Graves. W. W. retained editorship of the Kansas Knight newspaper. The reason given for the change was to allow Graves to get some rest⁶². During his time with Graves, Hopkins was also active in the early theater operations.

Graves' relationship with A. J. came to an abrupt and tragic end on Tuesday, December 22 of 1931. Hopkins, who had been in poor health for some time, was walking uptown to get his morning shave at the Ewing barbershop. Just as he reached the Sork Harness Shop he fell striking his head on a gas pipe. He was carried into the barbershop where attempts were made to revive him. A Catholic priest, Father John Fox C. P., was also called to baptize him. Hopkins died within ½ hour of the fall and underlying coronary health problems plus the concussion from the fall were considered the causes of death.

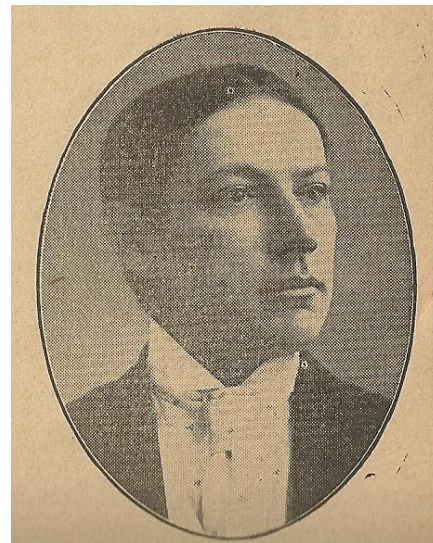


Figure 12 - A. J. Hopkins

On January 1, 1932, W. W. Graves reassumed control of the St. Paul Journal and on January 30 he again became editor of the A.H.T.A. Weekly. Graves was 61 years old and was, again, a full-time newspaper editor. During the next three years Graves would make two substantial changes that he hoped would allow him to slow down:

In May of 1933, he sold the subscription list for his A.H.T.A. newspaper to Hugh Gresham of Cheney, Kansas and it was moved to Cheney. The sale of the paper that he created, and that helped him get a firm start in his business, probably came with some regrets.

On January 13, 1935, the Journal reported that Fielding S. (F. S. "Hoppy") Hopkins, the son of A. J. Hopkins, would enter into a business arrangement with the Journal and would have duties in the mechanical department. On January 17, a second story related that Hopkins would become a partner in Journal Publishing, as soon as he could close his contract with the Erie Record. The resulting firm was called Graves & Hopkins. It should be noted that hiring F. S. was not a nepotistic appointment. Hopkins had learned the



Figure 13 - F. S. "Hoppy" Hopkins

⁶¹ One of the first things Hopkins did was return the name of the A.H.T.A. Weekly to that original name. Two years earlier the paper had changed its name to the Rural Digest, a move that apparently was not popular.

⁶² This is about eleven years after Graves had been treated for ulcers, and two years before he was operated on for a ruptured appendix.

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printing trade in the Journal office. He also had seven additional years of experience - one year in Kansas City and six with the Erie Record. He had a reputation as being one of the best printers in the region. He was an active Democrat which fit the paper's political alignment. He was also interested in the insurance business which fit into another of Grave's businesses. The January 17 Journal article said:

“Some radical changes in the business policies of the Journal are being planned and will be put into effect as soon as arrangements can be made. No changes will be made in the political policies.”

At this point, W. W. Graves was 63 years old and had a trusted, younger man in a good position to take charge of his Journal⁶³.

Businessman Graves

As noted earlier the main reason Graves was successful was that he was a businessman; an entrepreneur who would take risks and who prospered with several of his ventures. However, some of his businesses were short-lived, partially because they detracted from his main interests.

As a businessman, Graves was very attentive to business opportunities, cost management, labor relations, team dynamics, and risk management. While these are concepts taught in present-day business schools, you only have to read his “Making Money with a Country Newspaper” to realize he understood how to manage several projects or businesses at the same time. Some examples follow

Printing and Job Work

*“The active, thinking printer has the entire United States for his field, if he knows how to cultivate it. If I had been content with local business this book would not have been written. But even the local business can be increased by intelligent cultivation.”*⁶⁴

The Journal Press was much more than a newspaper office. Graves knew that the process of printing newspapers and other publications was permeated with idle time when his equipment and employees were also idle. “*Idle times eat up profits*” he said. He worked very hard at filling this down-time with job work including business forms, booklets, note-pads, yearbooks, and a variety of products that could be produced in his shop. While much of his business was by special order; he also printed and stocked items that could be purchased from his storefront. Stocked items included calendars, hymnals, general business forms, etc. In some cases, when he did custom forms for customers, he strived to understand the customer's needs so he could recommend process improvements requiring his specially designed forms or ledgers. He printed booklets, study guides, and yearbooks for the schools and fraternal groups. And while the schools did get some preferential treatment from Graves they still paid for his products. He also had no problem with going out-of-town or even out-of-state for his customers. Refer to Chapter 4 for further discussion, including Graves' own words, about how he grew a substantial job printing and mail-order business from his A.H.T.A. Weekly newspaper contract (A Young Businessman's Perspective of the Vigilance Group).

⁶³ Hoppy Hopkins was 35 years old when he assumed partnership with Graves.

⁶⁴ Opening Quote by W. W. Graves in his chapter on “Creating Job Printing Business” in “Making Money”.



Figure 14 - Sork Harness and Livery Shop

Livery and Harness Shop

In 1908 W. W. Graves and a local harness maker named Jo Sork entered into a business partnership that continued for more than 37 years. Joe Sork was born in German in 1870. He and his family arrived in the United States when he was three years old. Between 1891 and 1904 he had two different harness shops in Osage Mission and St. Paul, and worked briefly, in the harness business, in Sedan, Kansas, and Elgin, Nebraska. It is not clear if he maintained his business interests here in his absences. On returning to St. Paul in 1904 Sork was employed by the Null Harness Shop. In 1908 a disastrous fire started in the Koenig's Hardware store and spread to the Null shop and another building. All three structures were destroyed⁶⁵. On May 18, 1908, two adjacent St. Paul Journal articles report the beginning of the Sork & Graves partnership:

- The first article describes Henry Null's visit to St. Paul to close the sale of the Null harness shop to Sork and Company. This article describes the Null family history in the business and Mr. Null's apparent plan to retire.
- A second article directly below the first is headlined "TO OUR FRIENDS AND PATRONS." In this article, the Nulls express thanks for their friends and patrons. They also encourage local customers to continue to support the new business:

⁶⁵ Journal - April 2, 1908

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*“The members of the new firm need no introduction to the people of St. Paul and vicinity, as they have for a long period been engaged in business, and their standing in this community is well known to all. They are men of honesty and integrity is unquestionable and their business ability is unsurpassed.”*⁶⁶

Following the acquisition of the Null business, W.W. Graves began the construction of a new “fireproof building” for the Sork & Company harness shop⁶⁷. The shop was completed and harness stock was moved into the new building in October of 1913. The Journal article of that date expresses their intent to “...carry a bigger and better of horse millinery than ever before.”

Sork and Company continued in business until August of 1935 when Jo Sork decided to retire. At that time he assigned his personal interest in the business to Graves who liquidated the business⁶⁸. This left St. Paul without a harness and shoe shop. After retirement, Jo Sork moved to Kansas City where he passed away in 1954⁶⁹.

Automobile Business

The January 21, 1915, St. Paul Journal ran the first of what was a series of advertisements for the Graves & George Auto Agency. The ads promoted the attributes of the Maxwell Touring car also called the “Wonder Car”. This business was a partnership between W. W. Graves and St. Paul businessman Ed. George. The Maxwell had refinements that allowed it to hold the road at speeds of fifty miles per hour. This was pretty remarkable considering the condition of roads at that time.

This venture might be an example of Graves’ tendency toward innovation. At one time, during the early 1900s, Maxwell was one of the top three manufacturers of automobiles. They introduced several advances including shaft drive instead of chain drive used on most other cars of the time; and suspension and steering features that made them popular with race drivers. In 1916, a Maxwell touring car set a coast-to-coast record, speeding from New Jersey to California in just ten days and sixteen hours. Before achieving ace fighter pilot status during World War I, Eddie Rickenbacker led his Presto-lite



Figure 15 - Graves & George Maxwell Auto Advertisement from the January 31, 1915 St. Paul Journal

⁶⁶ Journal - May 14, 1908

⁶⁷ The Annals of St. Paul for September 11, 1913 says: “The new fire proof building being erected by W. W. Graves for the Sork & Co. harness shop, is about completed.” The corresponding Journal article just says: “The plasterers have almost completed their work in the Graves building.”

⁶⁸ Journal - August 22, 1935

⁶⁹ Journal - January 9, 1954

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racing team to several victories in Maxwell race cars. Maxwell later merged into the Chrysler Corporation and the brand name disappeared.

The August 17, 1916, Journal reports that W. W. Graves and Ed George dissolved their partnership in the auto business. Mr. George continued with the business. It was an amicable separation caused by the pressure of other businesses which required Graves' time. The same article describes Mr. George's new contract with the Maxwell Company and what appears to be a growing business. George and Graves also operated a real estate partnership for a time⁷⁰.

Theater / Convention Halls

From 1909 through 1912 Graves built two gathering halls in downtown St. Paul. The first was first called "Summer Theater or Convention Hall"; the second was named "Graves Hall". Why two halls were built so closely spaced in time? The details of this and the exact location of the first building are not clear. What is clear is that Graves built the buildings because of his perception of need and a sense of pride in his community. The construction and operation of the buildings are also interesting because Graves installed electrical lighting in the first structure at least five years before St. Paul had its own electrical power grid and about 18 years before the town connected to a regional electrical distribution system. The construction and use of these two buildings are interesting and complicated enough to deserve a separate appendix (Appendix D - Pictures Shows, Meeting Halls, and Confusion).

Insurance

While W.W. kept several business interests going during his life, the insurance trade was his mainstay as a second profession. As early as 1900 (age 29) he purchased the local Insurance Company of J.J. Thompson, representing The American Central, Hanover, Phoenix and Springfield Fire Insurance Co. This started a life-long interest, starting with fire insurance, which evolved into a full-service insurance agency.

In June of 1932, Frank A. Munding purchased the insurance business of M. J. Kelley of St. Paul and consolidated it with the Graves agency as the Graves - Munding Insurance Agency. The business office was in the Journal office and the company reported they represented sixteen of the biggest and best insurance companies in America. Graves ran part of the business from the office and Munding did much of the outside work.⁷¹ This partnership remained in place until Frank Munding's death on January 3, 1946, and at that time W. W. Graves continued the business alone for a short time.⁷²

In February of 1946 Graves took on a partner Fielding S. Hopkins (F.S. Hopkins or "Hoppy") with the formation of the Graves-Hopkins Insurance Agency⁷³. This relationship continued until his death and Hoppy Hopkins continued the business in both St. Paul and Coffeyville until he died in 1969.

⁷⁰ Journal - March 26, 1908

⁷¹ Journal - June 9, 1932

⁷² Journal - January 3, 1946 and Journal January 10, 1946

⁷³ Journal - January 24, 1946

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Other Business Notes:

In addition to the above businesses, Graves' name also appears in news articles, over a broad period, related to other businesses:

- Graves is identified as the organizing treasurer of the St. Paul Medicine Company which was organized and chartered to develop a fever remedy discovered by a member of the Passionist order. (Later disbanded because of distribution problems. – (1897))⁷⁴
- Graves is identified as a director on the local board of the Aetna Loan Association, of Lawrence (1898)⁷⁵
- Appointed as a Correspondent for the St. Paul Board of Trade – (1899)⁷⁶
- Appointed as a liquidating agent for a local Farmer's Bank (1925)⁷⁷
- Identified as a Director for St. Paul Building & Loan (1926)⁷⁸
- He held an interest or ownership of a home appliance store that was liquidated in 1940⁷⁹

Wanted to Retire, Needed to Retire, Couldn't

As previously mentioned, by early 1935 W. W. appeared to have his Journal in the capable hands of Fielding Hopkins. He was probably looking forward to winding down and devoting more time to his historical research and writing. In August of 1935, his long-time business associate Joe Sork decided to retire and consigned their business to W. W. to close it. Sork retired to Kansas City and Graves had one less business to concern himself with. In December of the same year, he published his first attempt at a historically based novel "The Broken Treaty." In January of 1936, he started publishing installments of the book in the Journal to promote interest. For the moment, things were going well.

But 1936 was not going to be a good year. In May he fell seriously ill while attending the Democratic Party convention in Wichita. He was brought home and then to Mount Carmel Hospital in Pittsburg where he underwent surgery for a glandular condition. After a month-long hospitalization, he was released to recover at home. Then, on the 30th of July Emma died unexpectedly after what had seemed to be a minor heart attack. The woman he had met at a newspaper office; that had set type for their newspaper in the kitchen of their home; and who helped him establish the Neosho County Historical Society was suddenly gone after 41 years of marriage.

After Emma's death, Graves seems to have remained active in local events and remaining business interests; but he continued divesting some of them. Graves Hall continued to be used for basketball games, farm expositions, dances, and local and area meetings as well as for theater and movies. In April of 1938, he sold

⁷⁴ Journal – September 16, 1897

⁷⁵ Neosho County Journal – January 13, 1898

⁷⁶ Neosho County Journal – December 14, 1899

⁷⁷ Journal – February 18, 1925

⁷⁸ Journal – February 24, 1926

⁷⁹ Closure of the store is discussed in an article in the September 26, 1940 issue of the Journal. Earlier information regarding his interest in the store has been elusive.

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his business interest and subscription list to the Kansas Knight Newspaper to Clayton Walton who moved it to Wichita⁸⁰. The following September he published his “Life and Times of Mother Bridget Hayden” which might have been one of his favorite works. In April of 1939, he was elected as a director of the local school, and the following year he sold out and closed his home appliance store⁸¹. By this time he had turned much of the day-to-day Journal operations over to Fielding Hopkins. He still served in an advisory position and occasionally wrote one of his “Journal Man” editorials.

The early 1940s brought two significant events into Graves’ life. One was good and the other was unexpected and very discouraging for a man in his 70s who thought he had successfully bowed out of the day-to-day operation of a newspaper.

First, in October of 1941 W. W. Graves married longtime friend Susie Gibbons. It appears as though Susie had known W. W. and Emma Graves for some time before Emma’s death. She had also assisted the Graves with founding the Neosho County Historical Society more than ten years earlier. Susie had built her own reputation as a writer and poet and she had some works published both locally and nationally. She seemed well matched to help W. W. with his historical research and writing.

The second event had to be a shocking let-down for a man who was getting his later life back together and was living his late-life ambitions. During Late December of 1941, Fielding Hopkins was abruptly called to Parsons and informed his services were needed at the shell loading plant in support of the war effort. In other words, Hopkins was drafted into a civilian position. In the January 1, 1942 issue of the Journal Graves wrote:

“F. S. Hopkins, who has been in charge of the Journal for some time was called to Parsons last week without notice and was informed his services were needed in an executive position at the new shell loading plant. He reported to work there Monday and is now being trained to be ready for the duties of his new position as soon as the equipment and building are ready. We had considered him a fixture in the Journal office, but the government needs him more than we do and he promptly answered the call. He is a mighty good man and will do his very best in any position in which they put him. The boys at the front must have material with which to fight, and he is one of the men who will do his bit to see that they get it. He will continue to reside in St. Paul.”

This seems to reflect the political and patriotic nature of Graves, and the pride that his friend and business associate had received an important war appointment. But a separate article, in the same issue, reflects some frustration and perhaps a bit of fear:

“Two years ago I sought to retire to the sideline in this newspaper business. Health and advancing years were pressing incentives. A younger man could better fill my place. But the exigencies of war necessitate many changes whether we like them or not.”

He was seventy years old, his health was beginning to fail him and he was back in the editor’s chair with no immediate prospects for quitting. At this point, he was probably pretty active in trying to find another person interested in another lease or even a purchase arrangement. The July 20 1944 issue of the Journal ran the following brief article:

⁸⁰ Journal – May 1, 1938

⁸¹ There is little information on the appliance store other than a September 26, 1940 Journal announcement that the was selling inventory and closing it down.

Wy-La-Za-XaNe-Ka-Zhin – The Man of the Journal

The Life and Times of William Whites Graves

“Owing to ill health I would like to lease the Journal on most liberal terms for a short time, which might be permanent. Might sell to reliable party on desirable terms. W. W. Graves.”

At this point, he wanted out from under the business, but he still wanted his child to have a good parent.

False Starts

Less than a year after the above article Graves appeared to have found an experienced and competent buyer for his newspaper. Mr. and Mrs. James S. Welch, from Wichita, took over the Journal in May of 1945. The following article which appeared in the Chanute Tribune in Late May could have almost been written by Graves himself. It seems to express the pride and optimism that W. W. might have felt with the sale:

“So W. W. Graves has sold his 77-year-old St. Paul Journal and on next Friday will take his name from the mast where it has been for approximately a half-century. What memories of those five decades as a newspaper publisher he must have! Historian at heart that he is, with a volume of his own Neosho County History to be completed by Dec. 31 of this year if his health permits, what a story of Kansas weekly newspaper publishing he could write!

The retiring St. Paul publisher has witnessed the greatest change in printing from type since Lourens Gutenberg invented the process in Strasbourg in 1438. When he entered the little newspaper shop to take over back there in 1895, Osage Mission, which later became St. Paul, was an outpost. His paper was started 12 years before the Fort Scott Monitor and a year before what is now known as Chanute found a place on the County Map. He published through that period when the tramp printer, now all but extinct, had to be sobered in time to make the publication deadline. And the office towel, never considered to have reached its ripened age until it became so ink-clogged it would stand alone – doubtless, he could write a chapter on that. He was active through an era when he could ride free on a railroad pass with a string attached or he could exchange a column write-up on his front page publicizing a forthcoming school play for which he was entitled to free admission. The early part of the 50 years covers a period when the publisher must have regarded his paper of little value; it was at a time when the editor was content to exchange his subscription for cordwood and his advertising space for merchandise at the store. Fortunately, Mr. Graves has remained to see advertising space become a thing of value – a commodity he has for sale that merchants have learned is essential for the growth of their business and for which they are willing to pay money, the same as they employ clerks to wait on trade or purchase fuel to keep their place comfortable.

So the Journal will pass on to new hands Friday when Mr. and Mrs. James S. Welch, experienced newspaper people from Wichita will take over the name and equipment of one of the older weeklies of Kansas. But the memories of those 50 years cannot be a part of the Transaction – that is a possession of Mr. Graves will retain as his own to the end.”

This Tribune article was reprinted in the Journal on May 31, 1945. Another article in the same issue reassures residents that Susie Graves' card shop would continue to operate in the Journal building. The permanent transition of ownership of the Journal seemed to be firm until October of the same year. That is when James and Maurine Welch turned the operation of the paper over to Engelbert J. Meyers. While the October 25, 1945, Journal announcement spoke highly of Meyers he, and perhaps the Welch's, didn't live up to the hype.

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The March 28, 1946 issue of the Journal announced that Graves was again the editor, and in a rather harshly worded article he explains that Meyers breached his contract with Graves; disclaimed all responsibilities for bills contracted by Meyers; and asked that local customers continue to support the newspaper.

Graves name was again added to the Journal's mast as the editor where it would remain for about two years. The Journal was again sold to George L. Hodges, another Wichita newspaperman who took possession on April 16, 1948. The statement of ownership, published in the October 7 1948 Journal said that W. W. Graves was a security holder in the paper; and George L Hodges was publisher, editor, and business manager. It also reported that the average circulation for the past 12 months was 600. Another 1948 newspaper article suggests that Hodges was trying to blend into the community. He, Eddie George, Father Miles, and others headed a committee to install lighting and improvements in the local baseball field.

It was also at about this time that W. W. Graves' health began to seriously deteriorate. In December of 1948, he was hospitalized at the Mayo Clinic for an ailment that was slowly crippling him. In the December 16, 1948, Journal Graves reported from the Clinic:

".. that he is suffering from the same ailment as King George, the chief difference being "... The world is being told of his case while few know of mine."

The worsening health was compounded by other problems. The May 26, 1949 issue of the Journal announced that, because of failing health, George Hodges was stepping away from the St. Paul Journal and, again turning operations over to W. W. Graves. Graves' response to Hodge's departure was much more gracious and understanding than Meyer's departure – possibly out of empathy:

"Takes over Paper - Because of circumstances stated last week, I am again in control of the Journal as its owner. This is not to my liking, but cannot be avoided just now. An effort has been made to sell the paper, but so far those who have come to see were either short of cash or did not seem to fit the situation. We have been striving to find a man who gave evidence that he could make good here. The paper is still for sale to the right man."

I am too old and not physically fit to hold the Journal up to the high standard it deserves, and want to give way to a younger man. But in the meantime, we will do the best we can.

All accounts due to the Journal for job printing and advertising, to date, are payable to Mr. Hodges but may be paid at the Journal office. Subscriptions are paid to me.



Figure 16 - By the late 1940's W. W. Graves was in poor health and eventually had a foot amputated, but, lacking a suitable buyer he was still struggling to keep his newspaper alive.

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*We are sorry that circumstances have been as they are and that Mr. Hodges is physically unable to continue in the newspaper business. His relations with me have been those of a gentleman. He will seek higher work than he can do and we wish him luck.*⁸²

In the same issue as the above, he told his readers that he was partially crippled in his feet and asked customers to please bring or phone their news items to the Journal Office.

To heap difficulty onto difficulty Susie's health was on a decline and she was showing signs of memory problems. In early October of 1949⁸³, Susie Graves took a serious fall at the Journal office and broke her hip. Consistent with hip injuries of that time, she was confined to the Parsons Mercy Hospital for about six weeks. When she came back home in early December, both of the Graves's were crippled – and it would get worse.

By 1950 the health issues with W. W.'s feet and legs deteriorated to a point where amputation of a foot was necessary. On July 18 his right foot was amputated in Kenosha, Wisconsin. But by December he reported that he was back on the job and would have Volume II of his History of Neosho County finished soon.

But the Journal was operating on borrowed time. Graves was physically unable to keep up with the intensity of setting up and publishing a newspaper. Fielding Hopkins was, as described by Graves, “*master of ceremonies*” at the Journal Office while also trying to run his insurance business. However, Fielding was not familiar with the newer typesetting equipment and much of the typesetting had to be jobbed out to other printers and printing assistance was getting harder to come by. By early 1951 Graves and Hopkins were seriously considering suspending the paper.

Finally, a Break

On July 12, 1951, a front-page Journal announcement titled “A Swan Song” let it be known that the newspaper's ownership odyssey had ended. Kerm Powers, a well known southeast Kansas newspaperman and editor of the Thayer News agreed to assume control of the Journal. He was the last owner of the paper and would run it for a little over ten years until it finally closed in November of 1961 (“The End of The Journal” - below).

The terms of the sale included moving printing operations to Power's facility in Thayer. The paper retained its name, would have a St. Paul date line, and would be mailed from St. Paul. A business office was maintained in the St. Paul Journal Office building and W. W. Graves and Fielding Hopkins would staff that office, which was also Hopkins' insurance office. Subscriptions were paid at the St. Paul Journal office and that office also accepted some job printing work for some time.

The following month Irma Haverly, of St. Paul, assumed the role of editor, with Kerm Powers as publisher. A Journal article of August 2 announced she would be working from the Journal office two afternoons a week but would also be available at her home for Journal Business. Graves and Hopkins were also on reserve to take care of business when Mrs. Haverly could not. This arrangement seems to have worked for several years. In later years another well-known St. Paul person, Lucy Klein, assumed the role of advertising representative.

⁸² Journal – June 2, 1949.

⁸³ Journal – October 6, 1949

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A Silent Hero

With the previously described difficulty, it is logical to wonder how Graves kept the business going before he finally sold it. Why didn't the Journal just fold up like many other small-town papers? Part of the reason is probably just plain tough, stubbornness on Grave's part. But even so, he was in too poor of health to keep it going. What he did have was a guardian angel named Fielding Hopkins. After Hopkins completed his war assignment at the Parsons ammunition plant, he and Graves were still associates in the Insurance business. As Graves' health deteriorated, Hoppy stepped in and managed the business, kept presses rolling, and did whatever it took to keep the weekly issues on time. In the July 12, 1951 issue of the Journal that announced the sale of the paper to Powers, Graves expressed his thanks eloquently:

"Words do not afford me a means of expressing my gratitude to F. S. Hopkins for his hearty cooperation during a trying time. During weeks of suffering from a foot ailment, followed by the amputation of the foot one year ago, he carried on the work of issuing the Journal, even to the neglect of his own business, otherwise, we would have had to close the shop and quit months ago. For this, the community also owes him its gratitude. He was indeed a friend in time of need."

The End of The Journal

In November of 1961, the 93-year life span of the pioneer newspaper of Kanas came to a sudden and undignified end. The November 16 issue was released as normal with no announcements or signs of trouble. It even included a reminder of how you could tell when your subscription payment was due by looking at the postal label of that issue (Figure 17). That was the last St. Paul Journal.

The only announcement of the demise of the Journal came in the November 30, 1961 issue of the Parsons News that carried the following story on page 7.

"A Long Life and a Good One

This week seems to be the "Swan Song" for the St. Paul Journal, as an individual weekly newspaper publication. The Journal was the aftermath of the once-famous Osage Mission Journal, probably one of the oldest publications in the state of Kansas. No question, that Osage Mission, now St. Paul is one of the pioneer settlements in the state.

It was in 1938 that the St. Paul Journal, under of guidance of the late W. W. Graves and F. S. Hopkins (a present St. Paul resident), celebrated its 70th anniversary. The late W. W. Graves published the journal for some 65 (sic)⁸⁴ years.

This last week Kerm Powers of Thayer, who has been publisher of the paper for the past 10 years, from July 1951, turned the subscription list of the Journal to the Parsons News, David Tippet, owner.

Mr. Tippet has indicated that it will be impossible to continue the Journal as a separate publication and further indicates that it will become a section of his picturesque weekly Parsons News.

Dave Tippet is no stranger to the people of the St. Paul community, and his picture appears in the History of Neosho County newspapers, as an Intertype operator for the Journal when the history was published in St. Paul in 1938."

⁸⁴ Note: To the best of our knowledge W. W. Graves published the paper from January 1896 through July 1951, or more than 55 years. (Correction noted in David O'Bryan's "Annals of St. Paul, The Swan Song for the St. Paul Journal - Copyright 2009)

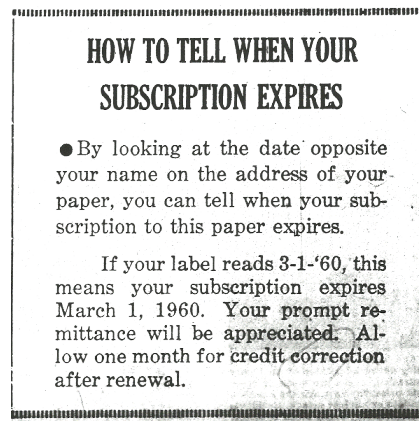


Figure 17 - Subscription Reminder From the Last Issue of the St. Paul Journal.

Chapter 3 - Historian – Author – Publisher

“I have never put out a book for which I entertained any prospects of monetary reward. I have always written because I couldn’t help doing it; it has been the accolade of earthly happiness to be engaged in assembling data for another book. History has held first place in my heart. To read of the early days is like opening a door that leads to an avenue of time and there seeing the passing show, the travel by ox teams with covered wagons, the fording of the streams, the resting at night beneath the stars, listening to wild geese over the tree tops – all brings to mind how the world has changed in just a few generations” – W. W. Graves

Outside of St. Paul, W. W. Graves is best known as a historian and writer. The man who toiled over missionary manuscripts, newspaper records, and minute articles written before him, is now recognized as one of the most important historical sources for Neosho and surrounding counties. Why is that important? Because Graves knew that the area immediately above the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) borderline and between the Missouri state line and the Verdigris River, was the starting point for frontier history in southern Kansas. He also knew that Neosho County, with a focus on the area near the confluence of the Flat Rock Creek with the Neosho, was the point from which commerce, civilization, Christianity, and education would emanate during the early and mid-19th century. Maybe the driving sentiment behind his historical work was that he wanted others to know what he had learned.

The Scope of Chapter 3:

Chapter 3 is presented in three sections:

- a) Spirit of a Historian – Where did he get his interest in history
- b) His historical works
- c) How the roles of Author and publisher meshed with Graves

The Spirit of a Historian

Graves was a religious man. At some point in his later life, he must have believed that God had put him on earth at exactly the right time, and in exactly the right spot – with a reason.

William Graves was ten years old in 1881 when his family moved to Osage Mission, Kansas. He attended public school and was given an opportunity to attend the local Jesuit College, St. Francis Institute. He graduated from the institute in June of 1891 and the school was closed that spring⁸⁵. The Osage Mission Journal noted that Will Graves “got away with” seven premiums and a gold medal at the spring college commencement⁸⁶. The following October he would turn twenty. During his adolescent and young adult

⁸⁵ He notes he graduated from St. Francis Institute the year it closed. *Making Money with a Country Newspaper - W. W. Graves, 1926, pg. 3*

⁸⁶ Annals of Osage Mission – pg. 433

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years he would witness the transformation of a humble Indian school into a thriving and historical community:

He witnessed the late stages of the explosive growth of the town of Osage Mission. This was a building boom that inflated the population of the city, with highly skilled masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, for more than a decade. These tradesmen were building the large, well-finished stone structures on the east edge of town, while others built homes and businesses. Many communities sprung up during the period of the westward expansion, but few did it with the fervor of his town. While many communities had to establish churches and schools to become viable, Osage Mission was founded on religion and education more than three decades before his arrival.

He watched the walls of a stone church that was started eight years before his arrival slowly rise into one of the most recognizable structures in eastern Kansas. Then, in 1888 the iconic Osage Mission log church was razed.

He attended the St. Francis Institute, the college that was built by the Jesuit missionaries who founded the Osage Catholic Mission. He knew the Jesuit missionaries who saw Kansas grow from barren grassland to a landscape of bustling communities. These men also helped spread seeds of civilization and Christianity among those communities. He was there when mission founder Father John Schoenmakers passed; and when Father Paul Ponziglione, the famed “Jesuit Trail Rider”, would sadly depart for Chicago.

St. Ann’s academy, across the street from his school, would expand with the additions of a music hall and a beautiful new chapel during his time. He saw throngs of young women arrive from across the country for the school’s exceptional arts programs. He knew and admired St. Ann’s Founder Mother Bridget Hayden. In 1938 he would describe Mother Hayden as “.....one of the most remarkable women that have ever set foot on the soil of Kansas.” In 1890 he attended her funeral and in 1895 he saw the burned ruins of her academy. In 1895 he also witnessed controversy related to changing the name of Osage Mission to St. Paul, and he wondered if it was the right thing to do.

As he watched one of Kansas’ earliest settlements grow into a modern community. He watched the town establish its electrical power grid; then connect to a regional grid and eventually to a major utility company. He built his own business grid years before the others got started.

He helped a vigilance group, established before the Civil War; grow into a respected rural detective association. He would publish their newspaper, and supply their officers with management material, he became a national officer and tried to keep it relevant in a modern, changing world. Then he watched it fade away.

He would manage the “frontier newspaper of Kansas” for more than fifty years and he would die a few years before it died.

As W. W. Graves learned about the history of his hometown and county he almost certainly compared it with his Kentucky roots. Both areas were founding centers of his Catholic faith. The connection with the Sisters of Loretto was unmistakable and some of the Jesuit Missionaries who served Osage Mission also served Bardstown, which was down the road from his Kentucky birthplace. For a religious man and historian, pieces were there. All he had to do was sort them out and put them together.

His Historical Works

For nearly ½ century Graves published a series of books related to local history, historical figures, and other subjects. His historical works are listed and described below in the order of copyright or published date. In addition to the work listed here, he also published a series of books and pamphlets for the Anti-Horse Thief Association. Generally speaking, much of his A.H.T.A. publications were instructional but they do provide insight into how the frontier vigilance group grew and changed during the early 20th century. The A.H.T.A. books are described in Chapter 4, “Shaping the Organization”.

- 1) **Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers, and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission; Sketch of St. Francis Church; Life of Mother Bridget. (Copyright 1916)** – Graves’ first historical book tells the story of events leading to, and the founding of, the Osage Catholic Mission. Much of the early emphasis is on the Osage and Fathers Paul Mary Ponziglione and John Schoenmakers. However, the book also includes biographical information on several of the religious characters who were involved with the founding and serving of the mission. The book is out of print and a very limited number of hard copies are known to exist. However, it is available through Goggle Books.
- 2) **Making Money with a Country Newspaper (Copyright 1926)** – This book is referred to in several places herein. At the point in time that Graves wrote it he had been in the newspaper business, for himself, for about thirty years, he felt he had been successful, and decided to share some of his secrets with other newspaper publishers. The book provides quite a bit of insight into Graves’ early life, the effect of his St. Francis Institution education on his later life; and the impact that the A.H.T.A. contract had on his business growth. It probably was not intended to be a historical work but it certainly ended up being one. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 3) **Life and Letters of Rev. Father John Schoenmakers S. J., Apostle to the Osages (Copyright 1928)** – The book covers the life of Osage Mission founder Father John Schoenmakers from the time of his birth in Holland, through his education and arrival in the United States. Most of the book is centered on his work at Osage Mission. Much of the content is taken from Schoenmaker’s writing taken from reports, letters, and other documents collected by Graves and others. While out of print for some time, this book was recently digitized by Osage Mission – Neosho County Historical Society staff. Otherwise very few copies are known to exist.
- 4) **Annals of Osage Mission (Copyright 1934)** – Most of the 490+ page book is a compilation of articles from the Osage Mission Journal⁸⁷ after it was established in 1865 and up to the name change to St. Paul, in 1895. However, the first 60 or so pages were taken from a variety of sources and included information related to events leading up to, or having a bearing on, the establishment of the mission. The book is out of print but the Osage Mission – Neosho County Historical Society does have several copies available for sale.

⁸⁷ Clarification – The term “Osage Mission Journal” includes both the Osage Mission Journal established by John Scott in 1868 and the Neosho County Journal, which was the name the paper carried from 1871 to 1890. In 1890 it changed back to Osage Mission Journal until 1895 when the name of the town of Osage Mission was changed to St. Paul. References to these names, and the name St. Paul Journal all refer to the same paper with a continuous business lineage. Refer to Chapter 2 for more information regarding the history of the Journal.

- 5) **The Broken Treaty: A Story of Osage Country (Copyright 1935)** – This is W. W. Graves’ only known novel. The book is a romantic story based on historic facts related to the Osage Mission between 1849 and the end of the Civil War. Graves advertised it with the terms “romance”, “adventure”, “thrilling experiences”, and “intensely interesting”. It measures up to its billing. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 6) **The Legend of Greenbush: The Story of a Pioneer Country Church (Copyright 1937)** – Described by Graves as “The story of how a hail storm catching a missionary priest alone on the prairie caused him to make a vow that if his life was spared, he would erect a church on the spot, and also how that became the beginning of one of the best country churches in Kansas. The missionary priest is Father Philip Colleton who also established missions at several locations in southeast Kansas, and as far west as Forts Dodge and Larned. The describes book the history of St. Aloysius Catholic Church and also contains brief biographical sketches of its earliest priests. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 7) **Life and Times of Mother Bridget Hayden (Copyright 1938)** – In this book, Graves described Sister Bridget Hayden: “*She was one of the most remarkable women that have ever set foot on the soil of Kansas.*” The book tells her story from childhood through her death at Osage Mission in January of 1890. It also includes information about her two sisters, also Loretines, Sisters Madeline, and Margaret Hayden. These three women had a noteworthy impact on frontier America. The book is out of print and few copies are known to exist.
- 8) **History of Neosho County Newspapers (Copyright 1938)** – This 47-page book was released by Graves in August of 1938 in recognition of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Osage Mission Journal, which had then become the St. Paul Journal. While he proudly describes the complex lineage of his own newspaper up to the point of writing, the book also provides a pretty detailed description of the history and lineage of other county newspapers. While brief, it is factual and would be a good research source for anyone trying to piece together the early history of Neosho County journalism. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 9) **The Poet Priest of Kansas (Copyright unknown but before 1938)** – A biography and a collection of the poems of Rev. T. A. McKernan. The book is out of print and very few copies are known to exist.
- 10) **History of the Kickapoo Mission and Parish: The First Catholic Church in Kansas – (Jointly published by W. W. Graves, Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J. and Rev. George Towle – Copyright 1938)** – This 151-page book is believed to be a collaboration of work from Graves and the two priests named above. It describes the history of the Kickapoo Mission and parish which was the first Catholic Church in Kansas. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 11) **Annals of St. Paul: A Third of a Century. From the Change of Name in 1895 to January 1929 (Copyright 1942)** – The book is a 628-page compilation of articles from the St. Paul Journal (Including Neosho County Journal) from the time the name of the town of Osage Mission was changed to St. Paul in 1895 through December of 1928. It provides a direct link to Journal newspaper articles of this period. The book, combined with The Annals of Osage Mission, provides a reader or researcher with a detailed pathway through events that transformed one of Kansas’ oldest frontier settlements into a modern 20th-century town. The book is out of print and few copies are known to exist⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ There are probably many copies of The Annals of St. Paul owned by residents of St. Paul or their families. However no attempt has been made to reproduce the book for several years.

- 12) **Autobiography of Rev. Eugene Bonancini, D. D.: Early Kansas Missionary; Additions and Notes by W. W. Graves (Copyright 1942)**
- 13) **The First Protestant Osage Missions 1820-1837 (Copyright 1949)⁸⁹** – Osage Catholic Mission was not the first of the Osage Indian missions. There were several others strung along the Neosho and Verdigris Rivers from northern Oklahoma up through Allen and Wilson Counties, Kansas. This book begins with descriptions of the earliest history of the Osages and the earliest missionary contacts with the tribe. Then it describes the most prominent Osage missions including Union Mission, Harmony Mission, Mission Neosho (the first school in Kansas, near Shaw), and Boudinot Mission with comments and descriptions of other missionary efforts. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies are known to exist.
- 14) **History of Neosho County, Volumes I and II (Copyright 1949 and 1951)** – The two volumes of this set were published about 1-1/2 years apart and are certainly his most ambitious effort. The total page count for the two books equals 1,141 pages, and Volume II includes a very detailed index for both volumes that equals more than 70 pages in itself⁹⁰. It is not known how long it took Graves to compile the information. While some parts of the set include information from his previous works, History of Neosho County was newly written, with no apparent copying from his other material. The level of detail is impressive and much of the information describes fairly specific information regarding politics, elections, disasters, and other events from the earliest days of Neosho County history. This in itself is impressive because he has, from necessity, taken on some of the earliest days of Kansas history. More impressive is the fact that both books were completed at a time when his health was rapidly declining. During the period between the releases of the two books, his foot was amputated and he had to call for help to get Volume II released, and he was not happy having to do that. He died five months after the release of Volume II.
- 15) **Annals of St Paul: Supplement, January 1929 to June 1936⁹¹** - This 120-page document was the start of Volume II of the original Annals of St. Paul. It was never completed but was bound with some later copies of the Original Annals of St. Paul book.
- 16) **Antecedents of Osage Mission Kansas by Rev. Paul M. Ponziglione.** This small booklet was published by Graves sometime after 1912 and is part of. It contains an article about the beginning and growth of the Osage Catholic Mission; the transition of the mission schools into the Osage Mission colleges and the death of Father Schoenmakers. Graves has added annotations regarding the article itself and succeeding events up to the construction of the Passionist Monastery in 1912. The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies exist.

While the list above is impressive in itself, it is by no means inclusive of historical work. A simple Google search of “Kansas State Historical Society” + his name returns several screens of documents, interviews, presentations, and other material that were provided by Mr. Graves. Moreover, three years ago volunteers

⁸⁹ This book was written by W. W. Graves, but it was published by the Carpenter Press of Oswego, Kansas.

⁹⁰ Volume I, at 544 pages, was released in June of 1949. Volume II picked up page numbering from Volume I has 579 pages and was released in February of 1952. The page counts described above include text and index pages and do not include inside title & copyright pages, a county map or foreword pages.

⁹¹ This 120 page document was the start on a Volume II of the original Annals of St. Paul. It was never completed but was bound with some later copies of the Original Annals of St. Paul book. David O'Bryan of St. Paul picked up from 1936 and compiled “*Annals of St. Paul, The Swan Song of the St. Paul Journal, 1936 - 1961*” which was copyrighted in 2009

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from the Osage Mission – Neosho County Historical Society found seven boxes of W. W. Graves material at the Spencer Research Library at Kansas State University.

It is also known that Graves kept a library of binder notebooks that he used to assemble historical articles, photos, and other material. From glimpses of his notebook numbering system, this collection must have been large but the books have been lost. In addition to his Annals books, which lead directly to Journal articles, another valuable references source is his personal card catalog that provides leads on Journal articles on several subjects – Refer to “Appendix G – His Desk and Card Catalogue”.

Other Small Works by Graves

In addition to the above historical books, and the A.H.T.A. books described in Chapter 4, Graves produced several small books and pamphlets for local lodges, the Catholic Church, and others. Examples of these are:

- 1) Select Recitations – Suitable for Lodge, Church, or School and Private Entertainment
- 2) The Weekly News Songster – Sacred Songs, Old Favorite Songs.

These are probably examples of publications that were published by Journal Publishing over the years. There are no copyright dates and the nature of the songster itself suggests there might have been many such booklets. A few of these are on file or on display at the Osage Mission – Neosho County Museum, but they are the only know copies that exist.

A Serious Note:

As you read through the above descriptions of Graves’ books I hope one common thread has come to your attention. “The book is out of print and a very limited number of copies exist.” One of the most precious collections of history, regarding the birthplace of Kansas civilization, is fading away. And more seriously, very few of St. Paul’s residents are aware of the history that lies beneath their feet. Hopefully, soon, people will realize the wealth of un-replaceable knowledge that exists in this collection and begin an effort to digitize or reprint from what is left of this library of work – and reclaim their place as caretakers of the original frontier town of Kansas.

Writing

Graves wrote for a living. He was a newspaperman by trade. But when you consider the fact that he wrote much of the material that went into his weekly newspaper; and consider the number and frequency of books that he published it’s pretty clear the loved to write.

Organizing

W. W. Graves was not only a writer. He, Emma, and Suzie were active with, or organized members of other historical groups:

Neosho County Historical Society

On June 18 of 1930 W. W. and Emma Graves and Suzie Gibbons were present at the first meeting of the Neosho County Historical Society which was held in Chanute. A Journal article of June 19 of that year noted that Graves was the president and Ester Clark Hill was the secretary. In a later letter to Sister Lillian Owens Mr. Graves relates:

Wy-La-Za-XaNe-Ka-Zhin – The Man of the Journal

The Life and Times of William Whites Graves

“We have organized a Neosho County Historical Society that is digging up a lot of data that was about to be lost. Neosho County is much richer in early history than even our own people realize – W. W. Graves, 1931”

Kansas Catholic Historical Society

The Kansas Catholic Historical Society was founded In 1930 at St. Benedicts (now Benedictine) College in Atchison, KS. W. W. Graves was a founding officer of the society. He served as Secretary, then later as vice-president until 1937 when he became president.

Worked with Kansas State Historical Society

Mr. Graves was not an officer of the Kansas State Historical Society but he was a recognized member and frequent contributor of information. Several of his books were submitted directly to the society, and Graves submitted numerous papers from interviews he did with Kansas pioneers. Graves also made several contributions of A.H.T.A. papers and other material related to the association. In 1952 the Kansas State Historical Society was one of the co-organizers of the Banquet held for him (Chapter 5).

Author Meets Publisher – In This Case, the Same Man

When one looks at the volume of written historical material Graves produced, including numerous books you can wonder how he got it all published. For this man, it was easy because he had grown his Journal Publishing business into a fully-equipped publishing company. As noted in Chapters 2 and 4 his A.H.T.A. contract allowed him to begin capital improvements including upgraded printing machines, font sets, paper trimmers, and bookbinding equipment. As a result, Graves was able to self-publish most of his own books and papers.

Chapter 4 - Anti-Horse Thief Association

***“The A.H.T.A. was founded in northern Missouri by David McKeef. But it seems as though all of my research resources led me to St. Paul and W. W. Graves” --
John Burchill, Kansas Wesleyan University.***

In mid-2011 the Osage Mission - Neosho County Museum received an email from John Burchill of Kansas Wesleyan University. John is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice and the Chair of the Division of Social Sciences for the university. At the time he was writing a book about vigilance groups in the United States during the 15th through the 20th centuries and was researching a chapter about the Anti-Horse Thief Association. He had a dilemma. He knew the association was founded in northeast Missouri in the 1850s but many of his research sources sent him to St. Paul, Kansas, and W. W. Graves.

During the fall of 2011, John spent a day in Graves Research Room at the museum and left with a pile of information; and high regard for the work Mr. Graves did for the organization during the early 20th century. He was so impressed with the Graves story that he planned to add a chapter about him to his book. He also drafted an annotated version of Graves’ “The Anti-Horse Thief Association Its Origin and Principles” for possible future publication. What John learned was that while David McKee founded the organization in 1853, Graves helped to keep it vibrant and relevant to a rapidly changing 20th-century society.

The Scope of Chapter 4:

Chapter 4 is presented in the following sections:

- a) A brief history of the origins and operation of the Anti-Horse Thief Association
- b) The A.H.T.A. in southeast Kansas with emphasis on the events and people who made Neosho County an association hot spot.
- c) Discussion of Graves’ contract to print the A.H.T.A. Weekly News. While some of this is covered in Chapter 2, this chapter expands on the role the paper had in his life.
- d) Graves' perspective of the A.H.T.A. from a business and personal viewpoint
- e) His role in shaping the organization by providing publications and management tools to members and officials
- f) The leadership and influence of Graves and others in a time with the association was needing direction just to survive.
- g) A summary description of the history of the A.H.T.A. Weekly newspaper with credit to Graves’ co-laborer, Anthony Hopkins.

A Brief History of the A. H. T. A.⁹²

During the middle of the 19th-century horse theft was a serious problem. Settlers and small farmers did not have insurance and the loss of horses or farm stock could impose serious financial stress. In rural areas law enforcement officers were scarce and they were hampered by local judiciary boundaries like county or state lines. Add to this the increasing tension and lawlessness during the period leading to the Civil War and the theft of individual or herds of horses reached critical proportions. All things considered, horse theft was relatively easy and lucrative.

Horse theft was a particular problem in Clark County and some of the adjoining counties in northwest Missouri. Clark County is located in the extreme northeast corner of the state and on the border of Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois. A horse could be stolen and quickly taken across the Mississippi or Des Moines Rivers and out of state jurisdiction within hours, and local officials had to deal with three different jurisdictions. The cost for local authorities to chase down a thief was high and extradition was difficult so horses were seldom recovered. Theft occasionally caused local posses to be gathered and matters were often settled with a rope or a gunfight.

The situation in Clark County caused Major David McKee and a group of his friends to form the first Anti-Horse Thief Association in 1854. The first meeting was held in the Highland School House near the Missouri, Illinois state line. While loosely formed chapters were established, some groups had problems with the “secret” nature of the association. Then, the plan to organize a viable vigilance network was



Figure 18 - Clark County Missouri. Luray and Athens Highlighted (Red)

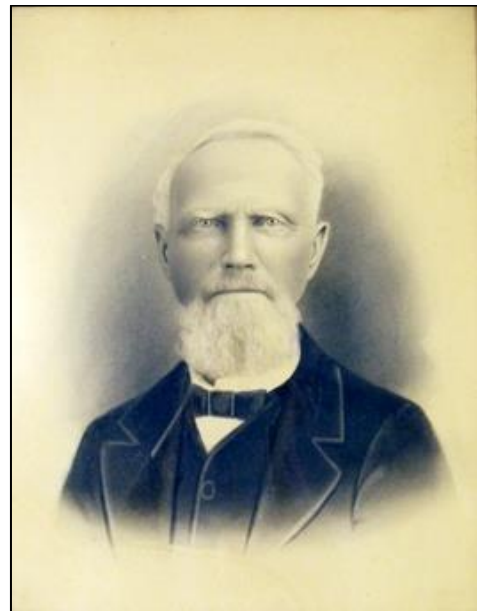


Figure 19 - A.H.T.A. Founder Major. David McKee.

⁹² Information about the association is widespread on the internet but some is clearly inaccurate. The following printed and internet sources were used for the compiling the national history and Graves' work was used to compile local events. Graves' work is used as a tie-breaker with disputed information:

- The Anti-Horse Thief Association, its Origins and Principles, W. W. Graves, 1914
- The Long Riders Guild Academic Foundation, The Anti-Horse Thief Association, <http://www.lrgaf.org/articles/ahta.htm>
- Oklahoma Outlaws Lawmen History Association (OKOLHA), Origin of the A.H.T.A. http://www.okolha.net/ahta_index.htm
- National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, David McKee page <http://www.nationalcowboymuseum.org/research/findingaids/collections/mckee.aspx>

thwarted by the outbreak of the Civil War; when many of the members were called to service. Thus the formal founding of the association was delayed by about ten years. During this period problems intensified with the proliferation of lawlessness during the chaos of war. Rogue militants became more reckless and desperate, especially with stealing horses and livestock.

After McKee's return from service, the national order of the A.H.T.A. was created on October 23, 1863. There is some disagreement as to whether the founding meeting was in Luray or Athens, Missouri, but W. W. Graves credits Athens⁹³ with this meeting and Luray with a pre-war formative gathering. The October 1863 date is usually considered to be the founding date of the association.

After the second start, the A.H.T.A. began a steady growth that extended well beyond Missouri. The growth was caused not only by need but by sound planning and execution of a new organization. A foremost principle of the new association was it was not a vigilante group that was, by definition, usually outlaw in itself. The A.H.T.A. was formed to supplement the existing resources of law enforcement with groups of armed, trained men that could be dispatched quickly. Perhaps the most important aspect of the group was that a group of "Antis" was not encumbered by legal jurisdiction. They would 'chase a thief to hell' if their horses could hold up to the challenge, and deliver a criminal back to the hands of the local sheriff. Also, in the post-war era, many of the members were recent Civil War veterans which made them a more formidable force against prospective criminals.

Operation and Principles

As the A.H.T.A. grew, its organizers required that certain standards and principles be applied to all chapters. Chapters in individual regions were given the freedom to tailor some practices to local conditions. Also, each chapter determined its operating practices so they were following local law or law enforcement practices. In general, the following operation standards and principles were in effect for all locations:

1. Membership – Any reputable citizen over eighteen years of age was eligible to join. A woman could apply as a Protective Member meaning she would have her property protected by paying a membership fee and lodge dues. However, women were not expected or allowed, to participate in posse pursuits. Widows of deceased members would be given the same protection as if their husbands had lived.
2. They worked with the local law enforcement. In addition to pursuing criminals, they collected evidence and appeared in court when needed.
3. There were no salaried positions in the A.H.T.A. Everything was done voluntarily and expenses were paid. This kept costs down.
4. If a member had a horse or other property stolen, a set of standard procedures would be followed:
 - a. Telegraph and eventually telephone would be used to alert law enforcement and local and other chapters of the A.H.T.A. Information including a description of the stolen horse or property, and the thief's name (if available) would be provided as well as the direction of travel.

⁹³ The Anti-Horse Thief Association, Its Origins and Principles – W. W. Graves, 1914

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- b. The president would assign ten or more members of the A.H.T.A. to hunt for the trail of the thief. Once the trail was discovered, at least two members and the owner of the horse would then be assigned to pursue the thief for as long as there was a trail to be followed—regardless of time or expense.
 - c. Once the thief was caught, he was turned over to the Vigilance Committee. It consisted of six men who would determine if there was sufficient cause for prosecution. At that point, they would turn him over to the authorities and personally assist in prosecution.
 - d. If you were picked to pursue the thief and refused without a reasonable excuse, you had to pay a fine of \$5.00. If you did agree to join the chase, all of your expenses would be paid. I
 - e. If you weren't a member, and you needed help to recover a horse, the AHTA would still help you, but you had to pay them for the services.
 - f. Any member who reported that a horse was stolen, and later found out that he just wandered off would have to pay for the expenses incurred in the search for his horse.
5. One reason the association was successful was they were not impeded by jurisdictional boundaries. They would chase a thief until they caught him or until the trail went cold. As the association took hold, dues-paying members were given metal A.H.T.A. shields that could be attached to gate posts or barns to advise potential scoundrels that the property was protected by the Antis.

In its earlier days, the association was not universally accepted by all law enforcement officials or agencies. However as the chapters spread across the central frontier; and their procedures became well defined, they were embraced by most local officials. By the early 1900s, many law enforcement agencies worked hand-in-hand with A.H.T.A. members to collect evidence, identify and return stolen goods, conduct investigations, make court appearances, etc. The association reached the status of a recognized detective agency in many jurisdictions. W. W. Graves would later play a key role in developing some of the standard procedures used by the association and this will be discussed below.

Influence and Importance

After its second birth, the association grew quickly, especially in rural areas. By 1916 the AHTA had over forty thousand members in

Four County Fair
Chanute, Kansas,
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday
October 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1915.

Great Live Stock and Farm Product Show
The 4-County Fair Will Have 100 Good Shows
Band Concerts Afternoons and Evenings

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4. Entrance Day.	WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6. A. H. T. A. Day. Barbecue and a Great Program. Every Anti-Horse Thief should go to A. H. T. A. day at the Four-County Fair.	FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8. AMUSEMENT DAY. Racing, Parade, Everything.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5. Convention Day. W. C. T. U. and National Prohibition Day. Speakers of National Reputation.	THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7. GREAT HARNESS EVENTS. Pacing and Trotting Races.	SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9. HIGH SCHOOL DAY. Great Olympic Games. Contests, Teams, etc. The greatest day in Kansas. Don't miss it. Over \$200.00 worth of medals given away.

Air Ships and Military Stunts
To End With a Blowing Up of a Fort Each Day.

Figure 20 – This Fair Advertisement from September 13, 1915 St. Paul Journal Helps to Illustrate the Prominence the Association had in Local Affairs

Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Arkansas, New Mexico, Colorado, and South Dakota⁹⁴. There are also records of active groups as far northeast as Pennsylvania. By 1933 AHTA members noted that thieves were stealing fewer horses and other stock but observed that many other types of petty thefts were being committed with greater regularity. Therefore the association tailored its objectives to pursue new threats as they emerged⁹⁵. For example, early newspaper stories from St. Paul and other southeast Kansas areas provide accounts of stolen automobile pursuits, investigating farm and residential burglaries, and assault cases. The following sums up the role local groups assumed in assisting law enforcement:

*“In addition to pursuing committees, AHTA developed vigilance committees whose members kept suspicious persons under surveillance by watching their homes and sometimes following them. To obtain evidence, members would occasionally spend days watching the home of a certain thief, as well as a trail or river crossing suspected of being used by criminals.”*⁹⁶

The A.H.T.A. chapters also made themselves visible and important parts of the communities they served. Local fairs and celebrations often included A.H.T.A. days where the association provided food, music, and speakers as part of the entertainment (Figure 20). Women’s auxiliaries became the social and benevolent arm of the association. While the association wound down during the late 1930s, it was not unusual to see men in A.H.T.A. towns still wearing the blue and pewter belt fobs as late as the early 1960s.

A.H.T.A. In Southeast Kansas and Neosho County

The Association was started in Missouri, but by 1900 southeast Kansas and northeast Oklahoma had become strongholds in terms of membership and activity. Also, Fort Scott⁹⁷ and Paola are known for having large memberships and high civic visibility.

When one looks at the number of suborders and the influence that came from Neosho County and St. Paul, the term “stronghold” is certainly appropriate. Some examples of key events in; and of prominent A.H.T.A. members from the Neosho County area follow⁹⁸:

- First known A.H.T.A. activity in Neosho County – about 1880
- Suborder⁹⁹ No. 177 was established in Ladore township – in about 1880 or 1881¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ According to some sources Kansas accounted for about ½ of the 40,000 members during the early 1900’s.

⁹⁵ W.W. Graves’ role in tailoring and keeping the association relevant will be discussed in the next section “A.H.T.A. in Southeast Kansas and Neosho County”.

⁹⁶ Source: Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, The Anti-Horse Thief Association.
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/A/AN012.html>

⁹⁷ There are several articles on the internet, including Wikipedia, that credit Fort Scott as being the founding site for the association and this is incorrect. Fort Scott did start a group with a similar name in 1859 to provide protection for stock owners during the tumultuous days of the Kansas-Missouri border war. This group had no official sanctions and falls into the category of a vigilante group.

⁹⁸ This is only a sample listing of activity. Refer to Graves’ History of Neosho County, Volume II, pages 545 – 551.

⁹⁹ The A.H.T.A. sub-order is described by Graves as the watchdog of the locality and it never sleeps. A Sub-order is composed of individual members within a relatively small location. It makes the laws for its local government, elects its officers and delegates to the State Order meeting annually in September. It meets monthly, or more often, and holds special meetings if it is necessary. The Sub-orders have direct charge over the work of the order in their respective localities, but may call and receive assistance from other Sub-orders when needed.

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- Ed Maher represented Sub order No. 177 at the first state convention in Humboldt in 1882.
- Suborder No. 19, Galesburg established - 1884
- Suborder No. 28, Thayer established - 1884
- Suborder No. 29, Osage Mission established - 1884
- Ed Corson of No. 177 was elected national vice-president in Bushnell, IL. - Sept. 22, 1886
- National Convention held in Galesburg - 1887
- George Coffman of No. 177 was elected national vice-president in Bushnell, IL - Sept. 24, 1890
- National Convention held in Chanute - 1891
- George Coffman of No. 177 was elected national president in Chanute Ks - 1891 (served two terms)
- T. M. Baxter of Osage Mission elected state treasurer - 1893
- George Coffman of No. 177 elected national treasurer - 1894
- Fielding Scott of St. Paul was elected national Vice president - 1899
- Fielding Scott of St. Paul was elected national president - 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903
- A.H.T.A. News established in St. Paul - 1902 (more information below)
- Fielding Scott, with assistance from W. W. Graves, effected the consolidation of the A.H.T.A. with the Arkansas Independent Order of the Knights of the Horse - 1902
- Fielding Scott, with assistance from W. W. Graves, effected the consolidation of the A.H.T.A. with the Southwest Protective Association of Joplin district - 1903
- Fielding Scott granted the charter for the Indian Territory Division - 1903
- B. B. Fitzsimmons, St. Paul elected as a member of state executive committee - 1903 (served three terms)
- National Convention held in St. Paul - 1904
- Twenty-three new suborders were established in Neosho County including three more in or near St. Paul - 1904.¹⁰¹
- W. W. Graves was a signer of the charter under the laws of Kansas in 1905 and held the position of trustee of the National Order from then to 1932.
- John W. Wall was elected national president in 1912. Also served as a national trustee continuously from 1905 to 1927. Also chaired a committee that authorized the establishment of the A.H.T.A. Weekly News in 1902.
- W. W. Graves was elected vice-president of the national order at Fayetteville, AR in 1922 and re-elected in Neosho MO in 1923.

¹⁰⁰ Ladore Township suborder 177 was formed before the Kansas state order was formed in 1881

¹⁰¹ No.5, four miles west of Stark; 19, Galesburg; 23, Earlton; 29 St. Paul; 33, five miles south of St. Paul; 38 two miles north of Erie; 43, nine miles southeast of St. Paul; 38, two miles north of Erie; 49 South Mound; 101, near Thayer; 111, five miles south of Thayer; 143, Kimball; 147 Ogeese; 188, Shaw; 191, Chanute, 244, near Trent; 288, five miles southwest of Erie; 245, eight miles northwest of Erie; 263, near Thayer; 286, eight miles southeast of Thayer; 288 east of Chanute; 326, west of Chanute; 335, Thayer.

- W. W. Graves was elected president of the national order at Parsons in 1924 and reelected at Wagoner, OK in 1925.

From the amount of activity summarized above, it should be clear that Neosho County would have been recognized as a prominent part of the national association. W. W. Graves increased the prominence and effectiveness of the association after he received a contract to both develop and print their weekly newspaper.

Contract to Print the A.H.T.A. News

There is no evidence that W. W. Graves was active in, or even belonged to, the A.H.T.A. before 1902. It was in January of 1902 that Graves secured a contract to develop and publish the new A.H.T.A. weekly newspaper and this was a defining event in Graves' life and in the history of the association itself. Details regarding the acquisition of this contract are discussed in Chapter 2, and there is little doubt that he had help from a handful of local citizens who were active in the organization. Among these were B. B. Fitzsimmons, Fielding Scott, and possibly John Wall.

Fitzsimmons (Chapter 2, Figure 10) was a St. Paul area farmer and businessman. He was a friend of Graves and he was primarily instrumental in helping Graves acquire the St. Paul Journal in 1896. Fielding Scott (**Error! Reference source not found.**), also a local businessman, was involved with banking, local railroad usiness, the local Board of Trade and he served at least two terms as mayor¹⁰². Scott was also very active in the association and by 1902 he had already served two terms as national president. John Wall, as noted above was also influential with the association having served several officer positions and was chairman of the national committee that authorized establishing the paper.

However, as also noted in Chapter 2, the deck was not necessarily stacked in Graves' favor. He was competing with four editors, all of whom had more experience than he had; and one was from a large city. Also, none of the members of the A.H.T.A. selection committee had any publishing experience. This last factor might have played in his favor because as he discussed in "Making Money" he knew he was an underdog, but he had also acquired a good deal of self-confidence during his first six years as a publisher. He went to the committee with a well-conceived plan that included how the paper would be laid out and what he would have to do to equip and staff his office. He won the contract and took advantage of another one of the "opportunities" he credits during his life.

Acquiring the "Weekly" contract allowed Graves to begin a transition from being a small-town newspaper office into a very well-equipped and

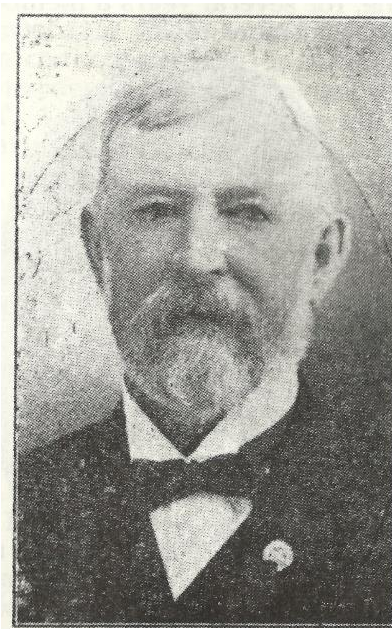


Figure 21 - Fielding Scott of St. Paul was a prominent A.H.T.A. member and officer and became W. W. Graves mentor with the organization.

¹⁰² Scott was a prominent name in news articles related to Osage Mission and St. Paul from the early 1890 through 1915. He appears to have been instrumental in locally funded railroad improvements around 1900. But Scott and his wife moved to Los Angeles in 1914 but were back in less than one year. One of the last Annals of St. Paul entries regarding the Scott's is his wife's suicide, in L. A. during 1917.

capable printing and publishing operation. In the fall of 1902, he moved from the small, second-story newspaper office on County Street to a larger Journal office near County and 5th street. As noted previously, he installed his own electrical plant to provide electrical power for equipment, lights, and fans until St. Paul got its own municipal power grid several years later. The Journal Publishing business that had been providing a weekly newspaper for about 600 local customers was now producing a “national” weekly to as many as 7,000 customers. More outside publishing opportunities would follow (Chapter 2).

Another “opportunity” was that he immediately entered, or was pushed into, the national A.H.T.A. limelight. Not only was he the publisher of their paper, but he was also now attached directly to one of the organization’s most visible and powerful figures – Fielding Scott (Figure 21Figure 22). Scott would be elected to two more terms as national president, and during these terms, Scott and Graves implemented two important consolidations with neighboring vigilance organizations:

- 1) In August of 1902, Scott and Graves traveled to Siloam Springs, Arkansas to meet with local members of the Independent Order of the Knights of the Horse. The I.O.K.H., which had been established in about 1884, was similar to the A.H.T.A. and Scott had been in correspondence with local leaders for some time. By the time of the Siloam Springs meeting, the local leaders had become familiar with the A.H.T.A. and had read several copies of the new Weekly newspaper. They were so favorably impressed with the Scott-Graves presentation that it took little effort to convince the Arkansas organization to join their ranks and two sub-orders were established during the meeting.
- 2) One year later, in August of 1903, Scott and Graves traveled to Joplin to promote the transfer of the Southwest Missouri Protective Association into the A.H.T.A. The S.M.P.A., Which was chartered in May of 1890, was also similar to the Anti-Horse Thief Association. The consolidation was successful.

At age 32 the small-town newspaperman was gaining some prominence with a well-known vigilance organization. He had a strong mentor in Scott and would work and travel with him for some time, but he also had some ideas of his own (Figure 22).

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Figure 22 - A.H.T.A. Convention Believed to be 1904¹⁰³

¹⁰³ This photo is from a collection in the Osage Mission – Neosho County Historical Society files in St. Paul. A version of the photo says it was taken at the 1901 national convention in St. Paul. This is probably incorrect because other sources show that the 1901 National convention was in Springfield, MO where Fielding Scott was re-elected as National President. However, the photo might have been taken at the National Convention that was held in St. Paul in 1904. Fielding Scott is shown in the shaded oval in the center of the photo. Others shown shaded are (from left): John W. Wall (left); B. B. Fitzsimmons (upper, left) and W. W. Graves (upper, right).

A Young Businessman's Perspective of the Vigilance Group

The A.H.T.A. paper met with favor from the start. Graves worked hard, studied the organization he was expected to cover in his publication and did his best to provide a paper that met the needs of his customer. In the process, he also learned about the association and how it operated internally. Newspaper circulation grew until it reached 7,000 and it appeared as though it could continue to grow. However, Graves experienced some health issues and had to turn publication over to others for a time. By the time he returned to health circulation had dropped to about 5,000 but the paper continued to be popular with the Anti's.

As Graves studied his new customer's needs he became familiar with some perceived shortcomings. While the rank-and-file A.H.T.A. member undoubtedly included some well-educated men, many of the members were ranchers, farmers, rural businessmen, and people who, in the frontier period, had little or no formal training in law enforcement or business management. Graves, in contrast, was relatively well-educated thanks to his time at St. Francis Institute of Osage Mission. He recognized opportunities to help the Association work more efficiently; as well as some business opportunities.

Rather than describe the measures he took to improve the A. H. T. A., and his own business, I'll let him speak for himself¹⁰⁴:

"Shortly after starting the A.H.T.A. News I found the literature of the association was very limited and without system. The officers of the A.H.T.A. began favoring me with their job printing contracts. With their help, I made several changes and additions that pleased them and soon began to show better results. This doubled their contracts. The association had only a limited supply department. The sub-orders needed many things they did not know how to get. I established a supply department in connection with the paper, listing those useful things not sold by the order. Some of the supplies I bot¹⁰⁵, some I made. A good mail order business resulted.

I arranged a set of handy record books for the local officers and sold several hundred.

There was no system of parliamentary procedure in the local lodges. I covered the subject in a pamphlet I called Graves' Manual and sold \$600 worth of them.

One of the duties of the members of the order was to help capture thieves and other criminals by they had no handy method of knowing their rights when engaged in such work. I compiled another pamphlet called Law for Criminal Catchers and sold many of them to peace officers as well as members of the order.

A systematic method for quick action when members were called to hunt stolen property or help catch criminals was lacking. Another pamphlet, On the Trail, filled that Want.

Tricks of Rascals was a breezy pamphlet that explained the methods employed by crooks to get other people's money. I sold 3,000 of these.

I designed a small, low-priced emblem pin for the members and have sold thousands. I designed and sold the thousands of horseshoe emblems that may be seen on the radiators of autos driven by members of the A. H. T. A.

¹⁰⁴ Excerpt from Making Money With a Country Newspaper, W. W. Graves, Copyright 1926 (pages 11 and 12)

¹⁰⁵ "Bot" was a period spelling for "Bought".

Pamphlets for advertising the Order were written and printed in my office. The need for additional blank forms brot¹⁰⁶ forth from my office something to fill the want.

The local lodges had no printed stationery. I prepared samples for use in soliciting this work and got much of it.

All of the above pamphlets and most of the forms were my own production. They filled new wants, or at least filled wants that had not been filled before. Each season added to the list and I was not long in building up a mail order business that surpassed my local business, and is being continued by my successor. The rituals, constitutions and forms used by the grand lodge officers have been printed in the News office these many years, The paper really carried with it bigger opportunities than I anticipated. Possibly I let some opportunities slip by, but I kept might busy grabbing at them as they passed.”

In reading the above excerpt it is pretty clear that the sales and marketing department of Journal Publishing (Graves himself) was pretty busy and effective. His A.H.T.A. publishing contract appears to have expanded into a significant mail order and production business. Also, the business of improving the association’s business helped him better understand and eventually manage the organization. Another excerpt from “Making Money” suggests that his business development skills didn’t just apply to the A.H.T.A. contract, or maybe he learned from that contract:

“Creating Job Printing Business

The active, thinking printer has the entire United States for his field. If he knows how to cultivate it. If I had been content with the local business this book would not have been written. But even the local business can be increased by intelligent cultivation.

The idle times eat up the profits in a country print shop. The printer who turns the idle times into busy times is the one who makes the money. The printer who creates orders generally has his shop running all the year, and gets the best profits.”¹⁰⁷

In another section of the same book, Graves said he was also able to build an ancillary business from his Knights of Columbus, Degree of Honor, and Veterinarian publishing contracts in a similar way he did with the A.H.T.A. contract. As said earlier, the A.H.T.A. contract was a game-changer for the Graves’ Journal Publishing Company.

Shaping the Organization

In the section above, Graves briefly described some of the A.H.T.A. business opportunities that came after his Weekly News contract was awarded. While the printing jobs and publications were undoubtedly lucrative business for Journal Publishing, Graves was also providing some policies and procedures to the organization with some of this work. The following documents, in particular, would not be classified as historical works in the same vein as those described in Chapter 3, but they do provide insight into the way the frontier organization grew and the way it was run. Some of these books he called pamphlets but they could also be referred to as field manuals for A.H.T.A. posse members:

¹⁰⁶ “Brot” was period spelling for “Brought”.

¹⁰⁷ These are the opening paragraphs of his chapter on the job printing business. The chapter that begins on 17 of “Making Money” goes into some detail about his views on marketing and keeping the job flow in his shop moving.

- 1) **Tricks of Rascals (Copyright 1905)** – Graves himself described “Tricks” as a “breezy” pamphlet that described some of the dishonest tactics used by criminals to steal from honest people. In his introduction, he says *“In my capacity as editor of the official paper of two great fraternal protective and detective organizations, The Anti-Horse Thief Association and The Central Protective Association, I have naturally given some particular attention to the wiles and mysterious ways of the criminal world. I found such a great number of tricks and decoys practiced on honest people I thought I might save at least a few good people from becoming victims of these rascals.”* However, the book does not limit itself to horse or livestock thievery. Graves covered a pretty broad scope of crime, swindles, and debauchery some of which seem pretty familiar even in today’s world of identity theft and internet fraud. The book also shows a lighthearted side of Graves’ writing not seen in other works. The book is out of print and very few copies are known to exist.

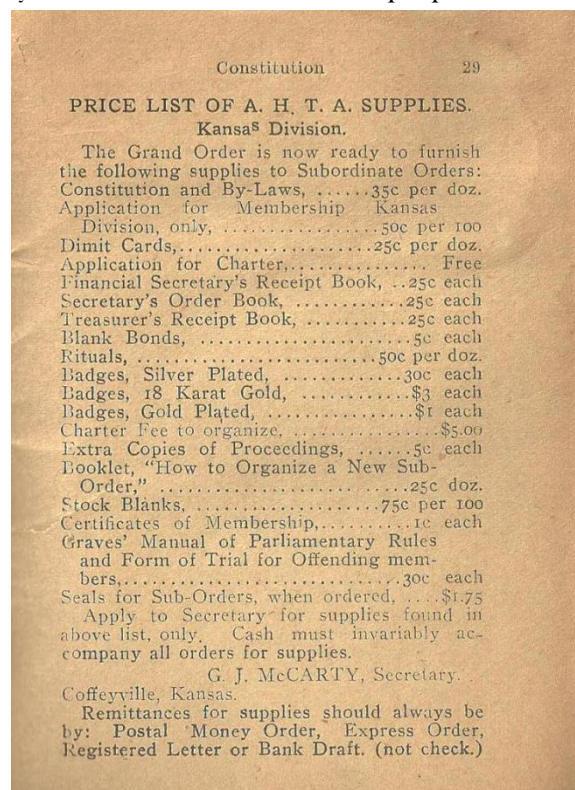


Figure 23 - Price List from Constitution Booklet.

- 2) **Law for Criminal Catchers (Copyright 1906)**– This is a 96-page handbook that was compiled by Graves and reviewed by C. A. McNeill who was a judge of the Cherokee County, KS District Court at the time. The book provides an overview of the law as it pertained to pursuits and arrests of criminals. It briefly covered many topics including; personal rights, arrests, warrants, arrests without a warrant by a law officer or private citizen, use of force, damaging property during arrests, extradition, etc. It also included brief extracts from Kansas and Missouri statute laws at the time related to crime; and stray animal laws¹⁰⁸ for Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. While 96 pages seem large for a summary handbook, Graves sized the book such that it could fit into a vest or jacket pocket. The book is out of print and very few hard copies are known to exist. However, it is available on Google Books.
- 3) **On The Trail (Copyright 1908)** – This manual was described by Graves as filling a need for a systematic method for quick action when members were called to hunt stolen property or help catch criminals. No known copies exist.
- 4) **A.H.T.A. Kansas Constitution (1910)** – This is a straightforward, 26 page compilation of the organization’s constitution and by-laws. It was also sized for easy carrying and the last page included a handy price list of A.H.T.A. supplies and publications (Figure 23).

¹⁰⁸ While stray animal law might seem strange, the business of the A.H.T.A. was to recover stolen horses or farm livestock that criminals might try to claim as recovered strays. It is also interesting that the copy of the book used for researching this paper was found on Goggle Books and their source for the scanned copy was the Harvard Law School Library.

- 5) **Graves Manual (Unknown Copyright - likely in the 1908-1915 range)** - The manual is supposed to provide a compilation of parliamentary rules for the A.H.T.A. No known copies exist.
- 6) **The Anti-Horse Thief Association - Its Origins and Principles (1914)** - This book is unique among the others discussed in this section because it is more of a historical work than instructional. The book is an assembly of articles that Graves wrote in the A.H.T.A. Weekly newspaper. In the preface, W. W. said he wrote it in response to numerous letters inquiring about information about the organization. It starts with an overview of the history of the association and ends with a series of appendices that describe lodge rituals, the economic effects of crime, etc. Some of the body of the document is interesting because it talks about changing times in the early 20th century and the effects that things like the automobile and telephone would have on their organization. There are a couple of discussions regarding morality and Graves pulled no punches in connecting God and religion into the role of the A.H.T.A. The association membership included several active ministers. When you read through the book it gives some glimpses into some of the ways he thought the association was going to have to bend in order to stay relevant; and some of his own beliefs about the moral duties of the organization.¹⁰⁹

These are examples of the publications that Graves produced for the association. All are out of publication and there are no known sources for the ones noted as such.

Leadership and Influence

Whether he was active before he received the A.H.T.A. weekly contract is uncertain, but his participation and influence grew steadily afterward. In addition to assisting Fielding Scott with the Arkansas and Missouri mergers in 1902 and 1903, he was a signer of the charter, when the order was chartered under the laws of Kansas in 1905, and he held the position of a trustee from then until 1932.

Graves was elected as vice-president of the National Order at Fayetteville, AR in 1922 and he was re-elected to the position in Neosho, MO in 1923. In 1924 he was elected as president of the National Order in Parsons; and he was re-elected to the position in Wagoner, OK the following year¹¹⁰. In September of 1926, he attended the National Meeting of the Order in Jacksonville, Illinois, and retired from national leadership positions at that meeting¹¹¹. According to Graves, he attended more conventions of the order than any other man in its history¹¹². When you consider the string of national offices and trusteeships that were held by Graves and Scott between 1899 and 1926, it is no surprise that Neosho County is well represented in the history of the A. H. T. A.

¹⁰⁹ In the fall of 2011 John Burchill, of Kansas Wesleyan University visited the Graves Research Center of the Osage Mission - Neosho County Museum. John is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice and The Chair of the Division of Social Sciences at that school. Mr. Burchill was writing a book about vigilance groups in the United States from the 17th century to date. He knew that the A.H.T.A. had its origins in northeastern Missouri, but much of his research led him to St. Paul and W. W. Graves. During his visit he decided to add a section to his book about Graves. He also drafted an annotated version of "The Anti-Horse Thief Association, Its Origins and Principles" to insert some historical information regarding events and changes since Graves wrote the book. It is not yet published.

¹¹⁰ Journal - October 2, 1924

¹¹¹ Journal - September 30, 1926

¹¹² History of Neosho County, Volume II, pg. 550.

Here in St. Paul, the association seems to have stayed active and prominent as times changed. Even with researching other topics in microfilm copies of the Journal, it is common, even normal, to catch a glimpse of an article related to the A.H.T.A. These include meetings, elections, association participation in, or even sponsoring special events like Bar-B-Q's, fair events and picnics. Several articles related to investigations, apprehensions, or, in at least one case, a failed apprehension. An article in the May 10, 1917, Journal recounts a story of a shootout in Crestline:

“Shot By Motor Bandits.

“Joplin (Mo.) Globe: Members of the Anti-Horse Thief Association, of Crestline, Kas., were here yesterday in pursuit of two men who shot and dangerously wounded Luis E. Harshman in an attempt to rob the S. H. Kline garage in Crestline Thursday night. Harshman was shot once in the abdomen and once in the right thigh. After a telephone girl gave the alarm that two men had broken into the garage, Harshman and others went to capture them. He was stationed at a motor car in which the burglars went to the scene and when they appeared he commanded them to halt. They opened fire.

The two men were followed to a point north of Webb City and their trail was lost there. No trace of them was found at Carthage.

Six tires and other motor accessories taken by the robbers were recovered.”

That articles about the association appeared with frequency in the Journal should be of no surprise. The association was very active here and Graves and Hopkins ran the local paper.

The Association, with Graves' participation, fought to stay relevant as times changed. In October of 1928, the National Order voted to change the name of the organization to the Anti-Thief Association. This decision would later be reversed. The name of the weekly newspaper was changed to Rural Digest in 1923 and it would be changed back to A.H.T.A. News in January 1925. While automobiles and telephones gave the organization new tools with which to work, they also diluted the original intent of the organization which had grown to more than 40,000 members at the beginning of the 20th century. Memberships and local orders began to decline.

By the late 1930s, the A.H.T.A. was running out of steam. Earnest attempts had been made to expand the scope and influence of the organization, but it was losing its importance in the face of other improvements in local, state, and federal law enforcement. By the middle 1940's the once-proud detective's organization that operated as local lodges had declined into a status of a few simple lodges. However, as late as the late 1950s and early 1960s there were still gentlemen in St. Paul and surrounding communities sporting the familiar pewter and blue A.H.T.A. belt fobs; and a few cars still displayed the plated horseshoe emblem (Figure 24).

Summary History of the Newspaper¹¹³

W. W. Graves acquired the A.H.T.A. Weekly News contract in January 1902 and it appears as though he published the first edition on February 6 of 1902. That seems impressive since he said he bid the contract

¹¹³ Some of this was described in Chapter 2, but summarized here.

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knowing he did not have the capacity in his existing shop and would have to build up capacity for the production of the weekly newspaper.

In 1902 A. J. Hopkins became foreman of the St. Paul Journal and also the A.H.T.A. newspaper. In about October of 1923, the name of the paper was changed to “The Rural Digest” possibly in an attempt to keep it relevant to changing times. In January of 1925, Hopkins assumed control of the St. Paul Journal and the A.H.T.A. Weekly under a lease agreement with Graves. One of the first things Hopkins did was return the name of the paper to “A.H.T.A. Weekly News”. Hopkins retained control of the paper until his sudden death in December of 1931, and at that time the Journal and the Weekly News returned to the control of W. W. Graves.

Graves managed the paper until May 12 of 1932 when he sold it to Hugh Gresham of Cheney KS, who moved the publication to Cheney.

While W. W. Graves is given the most credit for publishing the A.H.T.A. Weekly and much of the other work related to the association, A. J. Hopkins should share in some of the credit. By 1908 Hopkins was active in the association and was elected as a local vice-president that year¹¹⁴. He continued to be mentioned in Journal articles related to activities and local elections. How the workload was distributed between Graves and Hopkins cannot be determined but Hopkins was certainly a player in St. Paul’s prominent position in A.H.T.A. history.



Figure 24 - The A.H.T.A. Horseshoe shield was originally intended to mark a gate, barn or fencepost as a warning to thieves that the property was protected by the association. In later years they were used as grill ornaments on automobiles. The pewter and blue belt fobs let people know that the bearer was a proud member of the Anti-Horse Thief Association. It is believed that W. W. Graves had the horseshoe shields manufactured as a mail-order item. The origin of the belt fobs is unknown.

¹¹⁴ The September 10, 1908 issue of the Journal noted that Hopkins had been elected as Vice-President of the A.H.T.A. and Graves was elected as Financial Secretary. It is assumed that this was a local election.

Chapter 5 - Man of the Journal – His Final Months

“...no genius to it, but just plain long, hard work.” -- Graves

This chapter is presented in four brief, but important sections that describe the final months of Mr. Graves' life. He continued to struggle physically during this time but kept his focus on his community, and his community responded – but they were almost too late.

Sharp Mind vs. Failing Body

After nearly a decade of frustration and false starts in trying to find a suitable publisher for his beloved Journal, Graves was in his upper 70s and his health was failing rapidly. In late 1951 he completed the second volume of his “History of Neosho County” and publication and distribution of the book were announced in February of 1952¹¹⁵. The combined two volumes totaled 1,142 pages and Volume II included a complete index for both books. Graves very nearly didn't complete this work and had to call on the support of others to finish it. The first paragraph of the foreword of Volume II reflects the frustration he felt in not being able to finish what many regard as his finest work by himself; and perhaps his overall physical and mental state:

“This second volume of the History of Neosho County has been much delayed by the poor health of the writer, who underwent four serious surgical operations while the work of writing was in progress. During the past two years, I have been unable to do anything toward completing the work. In order to prevent greater delay I have had to call on outsiders for help. Even then, the last 100 pages are not up to the standard set for them. This I much regret.”

Graves must have considered this work to be the most important of his many books. He knew more than anyone that southeast Kansas, Neosho County, in particular, was the center of historical development for much of the southern Kansas region. He reflected this in a 1931 quote to Sister Lillian Owens: “*Neosho County is much richer in early history than even our own people realize.*” Within five months of the book's distribution, he would receive extraordinary recognition for his civic and literary contributions – and then he would be gone.

But before he left, he had one more important campaign to oversee.

Library Was a Priority

W. W.'s final passionate boost for his community was establishing a public library. Under a June 1950 headline “*A Modern City*” Graves wrote that St. Paul, with two exceptions, was the most modern city of its size in Kansas. We need better streets and a public library¹¹⁶. He used this article as an opportunity to kick off a library project and he pledged to donate \$500 worth of his personal books and a bookcase that would hold most of them. To inject some urgency into his project he said:

¹¹⁵ Journal – February 7, 1952

¹¹⁶ Journal – June 29, 1950.

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“Now is the time. Not next year. The Journal man may not be on earth then, hence do not delay too long.”¹¹⁷

This was the opening round for the development of what became the Graves Memorial Library in St. Paul.

The library project got a good start but probably took a little longer than expected. Graves didn’t see it to the end. However, in a January 11, 1951, Journal article he expressed confidence that the project was in the right hands:

“It is expected that some real progress will be forthcoming now concerning a new Public Library for St. Paul. The various Home Demonstration units in the community are checking into the matter and this sheet has always predicted that when the women start a project it goes over in a big way. Now let’s all boost for a Public Library for this community.”

A Home Demonstration¹¹⁸ team made up of five Home Demonstration units took on the project, divided responsibilities, and set out to make it happen. One of the most pressing elements of the project was to secure a location for the library; but other sub-tasks included securing books and other media, furnishings, city or township involvement, and overall funding. By November of 1951, the project had gained enough steam and recognition that the Pittsburg Public Library stepped up and pledged 200 books. With the Graves books, and others already pledged, the Pittsburg donation brought the total to 1,000 books¹¹⁹. And to sweeten the interest pot a little more, in March of 1952 Pittsburg added another 250 books to their total donation¹²⁰. Books were rolling in but fundraising was also a priority and all sorts of events were planned and carried out to pull together money for the project. Never lacking an opportunity to pull in cash, even the W. W. Graves banquet (below) was promoted as a fundraiser for his library project and it pulled in \$318.79 toward the cause.

By 1953 the original Home Demonstration team decided to form a Library Board. While the teams would stay engaged with the project, the Library Board would be the governing party with regard to guidance and decision making. At about the same time the city council resolved to erect a library building in the city park if the governing body saw fit and could provide funding to do so.

In June of 1954, the Library Board announced that the school board had approved a plan to open the library in the west side school building until another facility could be completed. A week later the entire team of Home Demonstration members and board members assembled and resolved that the library

¹¹⁷ Sometime in the mid-thirties Graves began to refer to himself with the third-person phrase “The Journal man”. By then he was the clear voice of the Journal and he would use this term to introduce an editorial or article; and it would be followed with opinion, advice or a little humor. “Appendix F - The Journal Man” is a small sample of “The Journal man” comments that were collected in David O’Byran’s book “Annals of St. Paul: The Swan Song for the St. Paul Journal”.

¹¹⁸ Home Demonstration was initiated by the Department of Agriculture in the early 1900’s and placed under the control of agriculture colleges and local agriculture (now extension) agents. The purpose was to distribute skills assistance and homemaking information to rural families by breaking regions and rural areas into several units. The reporting structure allowed local units to disseminate information from the colleges and Agriculture Department to households, through the units, and take some burden off of individual field offices. By the 1930’s the Home Demonstration movement was well established in rural America and the roles began to change. Communities realized that the organized units were also well equipped to take on non-agriculture and civic projects as well as rural education. The St. Paul library project is a good example of such a project.

¹¹⁹ Journal – November 22, 1951

¹²⁰ Journal – March 20, 1952

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would be named “The Graves Memorial Public Library.”¹²¹. For reasons unknown, the actual opening of the library was delayed until May 15, 1955.

The library remained in the west school for about two years until the school board decided it needed the space for school operations. In August of 1957, the library was moved to an abandoned Dick’s Studio building on the south side of St. Paul’s main street which provided a very accessible location¹²². Unrelated, but applicable to current library governance, the voters directed the Mission Township to assume responsibility for the Graves Memorial Library during the fall 1959 election. This transfer of responsibility, which remained under the direct governance of the Library Board of Directors, became effective during the spring of 1960¹²³. While it wasn’t completed until several years after his death, the library fitting for a “Modern City” was completed, settled, and received appropriate government support.

Honoring an “Esteemed Citizen”¹²⁴

By 1952 the regional community of editors, historians, religious, and citizens realized they had a very special person among them¹²⁵. They also knew that if they were going to honor him they needed to do it because the grand old scholar’s life was fading. And they probably didn’t realize how fast he would decline.

In the spring of 1952 the five local Home Demonstration Units, the same team he relied on to get his library project going, decided to organize a banquet in Graves’ honor. And, as though it was part of his mission, the proceeds from the banquet would benefit the library project. There are likely very few people in our area that have received the level of honor and recognition that was bestowed on Mr. W. W. Graves on the evening of May 31, 1952. For that matter, there might be few Americans who have received the combined respect from an Indian Nation and the Catholic Church that he received that evening.

The banquet was held in the St. Francis School gymnasium and was part of a meeting of the 3rd District Kansas Press Association. G. W. Blair of Oswego, president of the association, held a business meeting at 3:30 and the banquet began at 6:30. About 240 people attended. It is hard to imagine that a banquet in St. Paul could be attended by the diversity of interest groups that attended. The group included a bishop, Indian chiefs, farmers, businessmen, state officials, college presidents, Press Association executives, the president of the Kansas State Historical Society, pressmen from across southeast Kansas, and Graves’ friends from St. Paul. W. W.’s wife, Susie Gibbons Graves sat at his right side and was beaming with pride in most of the press photos that were taken that evening.

The evening program included an invocation and a series of addresses given by distinguished guests and clergy. He also received a letter from Kansas Governor Arn extending his greetings and recognition for the program held in his honor.

¹²¹ Journal – June 24, 1954

¹²² Journal – August 8, 1957

¹²³ Journal – March 3, 1950

¹²⁴ From Graves’ St. Paul Journal obituary of July 24, 1952: “Death took this communities’ most esteemed and honored citizen Tuesday evening. W. W. Graves, who for a lifetime delved into the mystery of the past, in addition to editing and publishing the St. Paul Journal, collapsed and died from a heart attack about 9:30 p. m. at his home in St. Paul.”

¹²⁵ The region, at the time, would have been defined as southern Kansas, northern Oklahoma and the Topeka area. Today, with the influence of Grave’s work, it is significantly larger.

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Bishop Mark K. Carroll delivered the evening's keynote speech. In talking about Grave's work to preserve the history of the region he said: *"Everyone of us is interested in history because it is a story of peoples. But too often it gives credit to the wrong people."* He mentioned Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Hitler, and Mussolini as men occupying prominent places in history, but termed them as "butchers" and said they would be at the top of the FBI's most-wanted list if they were alive today. In praising Mr. Graves the Bishop went on to say:

"But thank God there is another side to history - the story of people who really count. People who have sublimated and uplifted mankind."



Figure 25 - Parson Sun Photo of June 2, 1952 Showing the Presentation of an Honorary Osage Tribe Membership to Mr. Graves at his recognition banquet on May 31, 1952.

The Bishop then commended Graves for doing a terrific job, something we can never thank him enough for doing. *"He has written a history of real people, the people around him who have contributed to welfare*

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and progress of community, state, and nation with their everyday acts. His name will always be held in benediction by us. We honor his as a gentleman, the personification of kindness and thoughtfulness.”

Among the accolades received by Graves, two stand out as remarkable – especially when both were received by one man on one evening:

1) A Vatican Knighthood of The Order of St. Gregory

After the speech, the Bishop, on behalf of Pope Pius XII, presented Graves with a scroll notifying him he had received the Vatican Knighthood of the Order of St. Gregory¹²⁶. This special honor is bestowed upon Roman Catholic men and women (and in rare cases to non-Catholics) in recognition of their service to the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Church, through their unusual labors, their support of the Holy See, and their excellent examples set forth in their communities and their countries. It is considered to be the highest honor possible for a Catholic layman.

In Graves’ case, the knighthood was awarded in recognition of his literary contributions to the church. This included recording the work of the Osage Mission missionaries in service of the Osage people; and the Jesuit missionary work across the Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri frontier. While there are four levels of St. Gregory, receiving this honor placed Mr. Graves in the company of Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Rupert Murdoch, and Ricardo Montalban.



Figure 26 - Eight-Pointed Cross Insignia of Knighthood of St. Gregory the Great

¹²⁶ Graves was presented with the scroll and a separate document acknowledging his appointment. Actual investiture, with a medal was to occur at a later date. Graves death just weeks after the banquet probably precluded formal investiture and receipt or whereabouts of the medal is unknown.

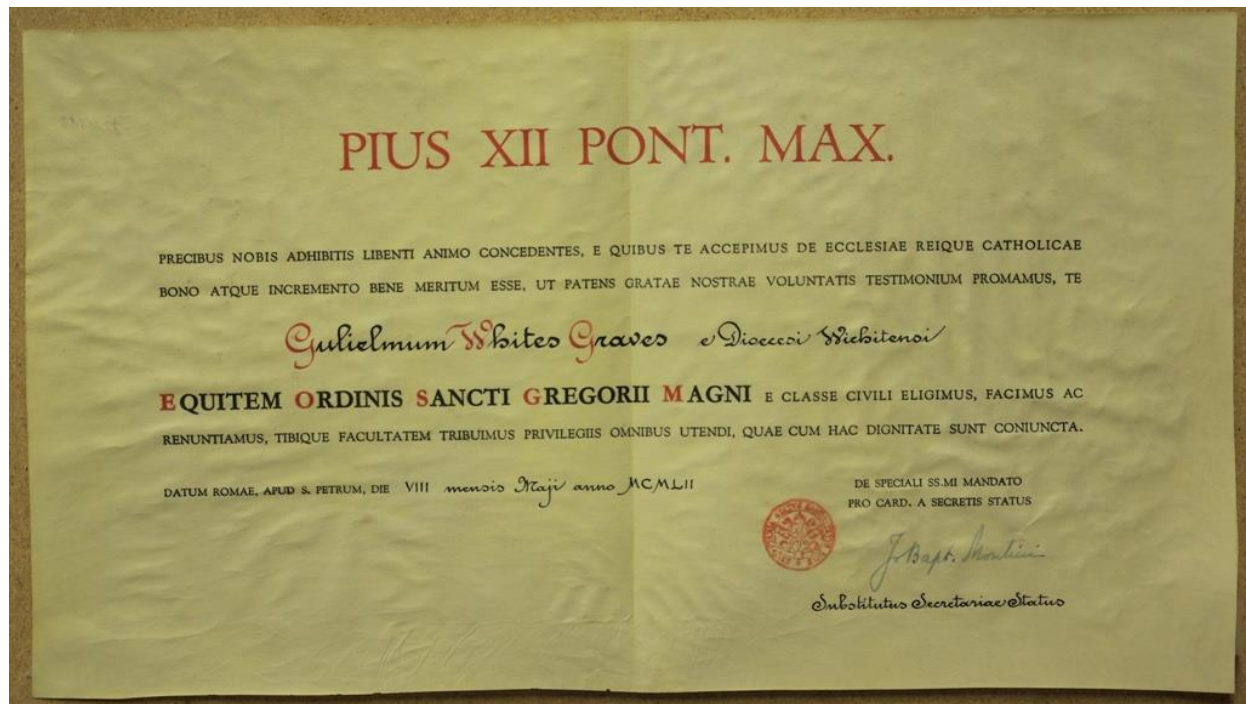


Figure 27 - Papal Scroll That Notified Graves of His Knighthood

2) An Honorary Membership of the Osage Tribe.

The other presentation was of a rare honorary Chief of the Osage Tribe. This included a beautiful Osage chief's headdress. The presentation was made by Fred Lookout Jr., son of the late, famous Osage Chief Fred Lookout, who was also a close, personal friend of Graves. Also present was Paul Pitts, then the principal chief of the Osage Nation, and Andrew Gray member of the Osage tribal council. All traveled from Pawhuska, OK to honor Graves. Honorary memberships of the Osage Tribe are, in themselves, rare but a Chief's honor was a special recognition.

The Osage presentation also proclaimed Graves as "Wy-La-Za-XaNe-Ka-Zhin" which was interpreted by his Osage brothers as "Mr. Man of the Journal". Both honors were in recognition of Graves' friendship with the tribe and his efforts to record and tell the story of the Osages during their time in Kansas.

It could be argued that the prestige of the Vatican knighthood carried more weight than any of the honors of the evening. But the writer has to believe that being recognized as the "Man of the Journal" by his, then, Osage brothers might have given him a special sense of pride and accomplishment. It was the story of the Osage and the mission to which he devoted much of his life, and the Journal would always be "his" newspaper. It is also noted that of all of the photos of Graves, that have been found, the ones taken during the presentation of the headdress are the only pictures showing a slight smile – a look of contentment.



Figure 28 - The Headdress That Was Presented to Graves is on Display at the Osage Mission - Neosho County Museum.

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When asked to speak, the man of a million words had few to offer. With characteristic modesty Graves minimized his accomplishments and said they just came from “*plodding*” rather than genius.

“I have just been willing to work hard and long and any success I may have had comes from that fact.”¹²⁷

But one quote from the evening left no doubt in the group’s minds as to the sincerity of his feelings and perhaps it was a premonition”

“I’m mighty glad to have you say that to my face. It wouldn’t do me any good to have it said over my tomb.”

Busy to the End

While his body was failing him his mind seems to have remained busy, and in 1952 he still had irons in the fire and he visited the Journal office almost every day. There can be little doubt that he kept his historical interests going – that was his passion. He had a city library mission underway and he appears to have been pleased with its progress even though it would take a few years to complete. His banquet must have been a rewarding, yet humbling, event for a man who always had projects and plans to get them done; but was often thinking about the community instead of himself.

On July 22, 1952, William Whites Graves collapsed and died of a heart attack at home in his beloved St. Paul. While many knew his time was coming, the suddenness of his death sent shockwaves through his immediate and extended communities¹²⁸. It had been less than two months since the banquet. It was then that the southeast Kansas community realized that they had almost missed the opportunity to recognize a life lived well.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ The source of this and the following quote from Graves is the June 1, 1952 issue of the Pittsburg Sun.

¹²⁸ Grave’s obituary appeared in many papers including the Kansas City, Wichita and Advanced Register papers. His funeral was attended by representatives of state and local government and newspapers across the region. The letter from Bishop Mark Carroll, bishop of the diocese of Wichita shown in is just one example of the condolences that flowed into St. Paul.

¹²⁹ In keeping with the respect he had earned from the eastern Kansas Journalists, the pallbearers at his funeral included six area editors: E. W. Johnson of Chanute, F. W. Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, Clyde M. Reed of Parsons, Kerm Powers of Thayer (and publisher of the St. Paul Journal), Guy Dyer of McCune and Paul Nelson of Erie.

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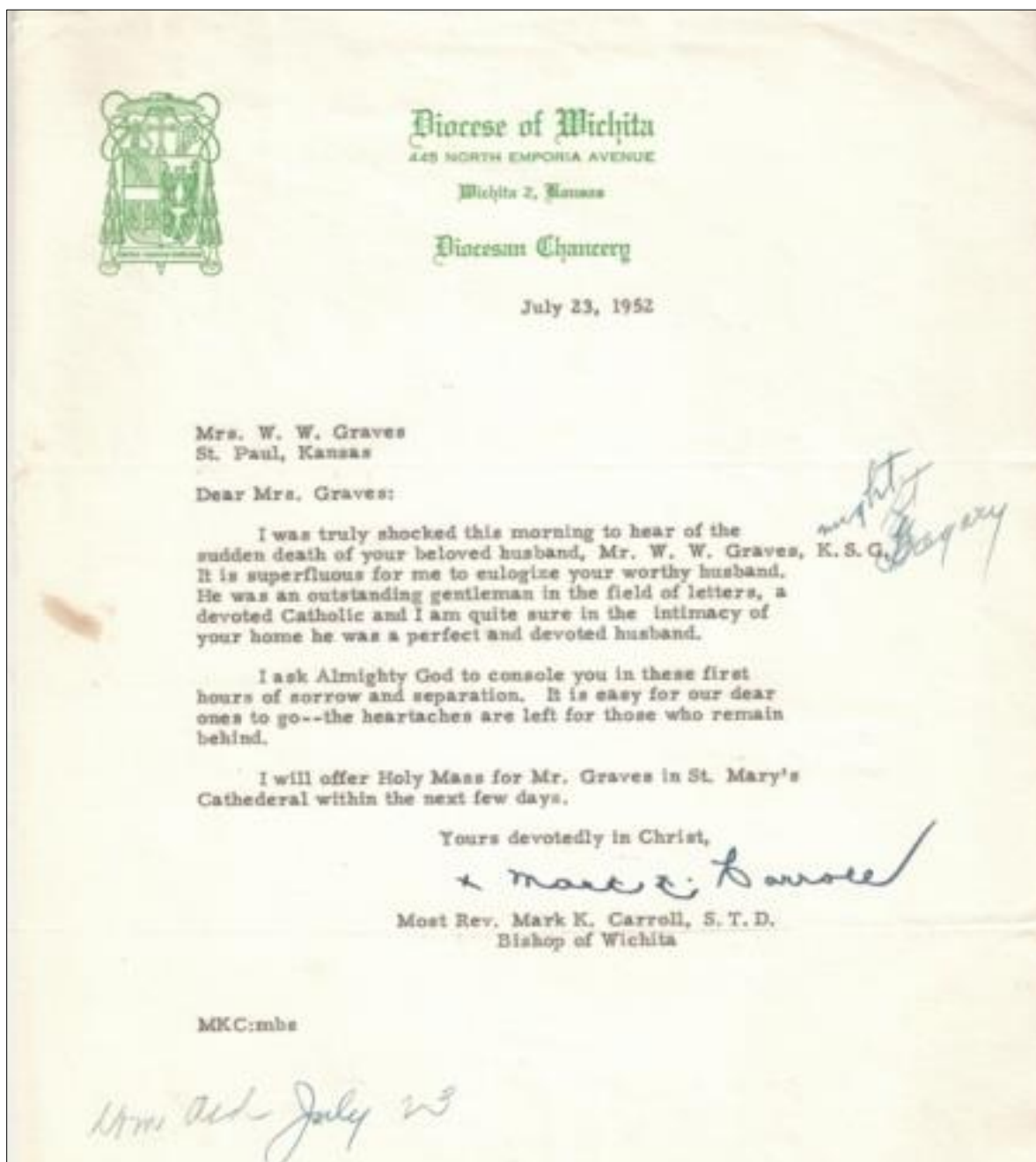


Figure 29 - This Letter of Condolence, From the Bishop of the Wichita Diocese, is Only One of the Messages That Flowed into St. Paul after W. W. Graves' Death

Appendix A – The Owens Letters

Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L. was a native of St. Paul and a Sister of Loretto. She was also a historian who wrote articles on the Loretines in southeast Kansas and the Osage Mission. Her articles appear in *Kansas Historical Quarterlies*; the Kansas Historical Society Web Site and are available at other locations.¹³⁰

Between 1930 and 1936 W. W. Graves wrote several letters to Sister Owens, some of which appear to be responses to letters or questions she had asked of Graves. Some of these letters provide biographical information about Mr. Graves. The content of the letters is transcribed below¹³¹:

November 6, 1930¹³²:

“Sister Lilliana:

I do not know the address of Mrs. Munding, but her son M. A. Munding Jr. is a well-known business man in Muskogee, and a letter addressed in his care would reach her.

Charley Beechwood is at 1821 Main, Joplin. It is quite probable that if you write a general letter for information you will not get much, but if you can make up a list of questions for them to answer, you will get an answer to each. That has been my experience in getting information from people not used to writing. Mrs. Greenwood lives in the same block with your mother here in St. Paul. The Wheat Girls who are members of your order, were pupils in the school prior to 1880 and they ought to be able to help you some.

The early official records of which I spoke are contained in “The Life and Letters of Fr. Schoenmakers” just as they were copied from the records at Washington by a young lady I employed through the N. C. W. C. They date back to 1847, and come up to the time after the Civil War.

I believe if you can arrange to come here for a few days so you can ask lots of questions and have access to the church records, private collections, etc. that you will have no great difficulty in getting plenty of information, for a splendid article.

As to myself: The best I have is contained in my two books. If you come here you can have access to my scrap books and the Journal files. I will answer any questions I can by mail, but to start out and attempt to write something new for you would be a big task and then might not be what you want.

Wishing you every success I am Yours Truly, W. W. Graves”

April 14, 1931

“Dear Sister: - I do not have the article you refer to, but you can probably get a copy direct from Rev. Urban de Hasque, Oklahoma City, Okla. I have only some clippings from his writings.

¹³⁰ Refer to <http://www.ksks.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-the-early-work-of-the-lorettines-in-southeastern-kansas/13065> for her article on The Early Work of the Loretines in Southeastern Kansas.

¹³¹ Several of these letters are on stationery of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society of Atchison, Ks. W. W. Graves was a founding officer of the society; served as its vice-president until 1937 when he became president.

¹³² This date could be 1936 but the type is partially obscured on the letter.

In so far as I know, no history of the town of Osage Mission by itself has ever been written. The antecedents and some references to its establishment are found in "Early Jesuits at of Osage Mission". A more extended history may be found in Rager's History of Neosho County, and Andrea's History of Kansas. The latter is a very large volume and rather old. You might find a copy in the St. Louis Library or the Mo. Historical Society of St. Louis. The copy I have is in very bad condition, and part of it is gone. I have a copy of Rager's work which I can send you.

I have been preparing the "Annals of Osage Mission", but have not enough of it in form yet to be of any value to you. If you need information or particular points we can(?) this for you.

I would like very much to get copies of these old letters of Fr. Pauls' you mention for our Kansas Catholic Historical Society, could you tell me what it would cost to get copies made on a typewriter?

Not having heard from you for quite a while, I supposed you had completed your work. Do not fail to send me a carbon copy of the final draft of your article.

With best wishes, I am Yours Truly, W. W. Graves."

August 13, 1931:

"Sister Lilliana, Webster Grove Mo.:

Dear Sister: -- Please do not think because I have been slow in answering your letter of April 15, that I have lost interest in your historical researches. I spoke to Bud about the Rager history and he told me they had one and would send it to you, which I presume he did. It is about the best history of Osage Mission in a general way that I know of at present. I have started "The Chronicles of Osage Mission" but do not know if I will ever complete them. Just now I am revision my other story. I do not have a lot of time to devote to these, hence I am very slow with them.

You wrote about finding the originals of some of Father Paul's letters. I am wondering if you aver ascertained on what terms or conditions we might obtain copies of them.

We have organized a Neosho County Historical Society that is digging up a lot of data that was about to be lost. Neosho County is much richer in early history than even our own people realize.

If I can help you in gathering data do not hesitate to write me. I may be a bit slow, but I like to do that kind of work, and in a way am helping myself in doing it.

Very Truly Yours, W. W. Graves"

January 20, 1935:

"Dear Sister Lilliana: --

Your letters came in due time. My only excuse for this delay in answering is that I have been very busy. I did much of the mechanical work in printing the Broken Treaty myself, and it was a bigger task than I anticipated, and even then I let some flaws get by me. I have received some nice newspaper notices about the book and am meeting with fair success in selling it. If, however, I should charge wages for the time I put into it, I fear I will be quite a while in collecting the full amount.

At your suggestion, I wrote to the St. Louis University and they sent me a copy of your dissertation. I have just completed the task of copying from it such parts as I thot might be useful to me, and will the week turn it over to your mother, for I am sure she will take pleasure in reading it. You have done a great work for future historical writers in assembling such a great amount of date from original sources and such as forms the very basis of history. I wish I could have had some of it when I wrote my first, second and third books. It shows a very great amount of time and labor spent in research and in sifting out discrepancies. I cannot praise it too highly.

As to the location of my old home, I fear I may have indefinite ideas. It is fifty-five years since I left there. It appears to me that on our way home from Loretto where dad did most of his trading, we followed the road towards Manton until after we crossed a toll bridge over the creek, then we turned to the right up a creek valley-tributary of the creek on which Manton is located. Just before we got to a school house we turned to the left, and our house was on the top a ridge back some distance from the road. It was a log house with a box addition. The barn was also logs. I was baptized at Manton and my middle name is that of Father Whites who was the pastor there. The same is true of the name of W. W. O'Bryan, but he was probably baptized at some other church as they live nearer Loretto or Holy Cross. Just before coming to Kansas, we lived for a short time on the original Graves farm over near "Bear Wallow" where a postoffice called McIntyre was later located. We then traded in Springfield but still attended church at Manton, and did some trading at the little store there. I visited a number of real moonshines as a boy and also the Lancaster distillery on Rolling Fork. One moonshine was raided within a mile of our house while we lived there. You can see where I got the background for the opening chapters of The Broken Treaty.

My mother's folks were names Ballard and Scissel. They lived in Nelson county. They attended church at Holy Cross and traded at least partly at Bardstown. His father was Matson Ballard. She had a brother named Gonza Ballard, who died a few years ago. Her sister married dad's brother Richard, and some of her sons live in the Bear Wallow district yet. I have a brother buried at St. Rose. Dr. Spaulding was our first doctor. Some of the older Sisters might remember me.

I have recently received some valuable help from Sister Mary Paul¹³³ on a point that was troubling me, hence you see the helping is not all one way. As in your case, I am getting back full measure and heaping over. And we are all better off I hope because of this cooperation. I assure you I am mighty well pleased with my share of the favors.

Not wishing to time you longer, I will close with the best of good wishes from Mrs. Graves and myself.

Yours Truly, W. W. Graves"

March 8, 1936:¹³⁴

"Dear Sister Lilliana: --

¹³³ This reference is probably to Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Author of "Beacon on the Plains".

¹³⁴ This, and the preceding, letter provide as much accurate information about Graves' birthplace and early life as any other source. There are varying opinions, in writing, about his birthplace but this is assumed to be accurate.

Since you say you are filing my other letter in your archives, in order to make sure about some things, I have obtained from my father who now lives in Linton, Indiana, more definite information. According to his report, I was born at the home of my mother's parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Matson Ballard four miles north of Holy Cross on the Nelson County side of the line. My mother's maiden name was Minerva Ballard. Her sister Amanda married my father's brother, Richard Graves who lived in the Graves settlement over near Bear Wallow, where afterward the postoffice of McIntyre was established. Her sister Helen married Wm. Greenwell, who later moved over near Bardstown. She had two brothers Marion and Gonza Ballard. I am reasonable sure my mother's name was Scissel. I was four months old when my parents moved to the farm up and arm of Harding's Creek as described in a former letter. When I was about seven years old the family moved to the old Graves homestead adjoining the Dick Graves place near Bear Wallow.

James Paul Graves was my father. He was a son of Joseph Graves and Matilda Simpson. Joseph Graves was married twice, first to a Miss Harlow, then to Matilda Simpson. James Graves was the youngest child of the second marriage. Two daughters of the first marriage became Sisters of Loretto. One of them was Sister Ligouri. He does not remember the name of the other. They were much older than father and were probably among the first members of your order. I do not recall having seen either of them, and it is my opinion they died about the time I was born. Grandmother Simpson had a brother with General Jackson in the battle of New Orleans. My father's brother Charley Graves was a captain in the Union army and died in a hospital in Nashville, Tenn., during the war. The Grave family came to Kentucky from Virginia.

James Paul Graves was born in Kentucky eight miles from the birthplace of Abe Lincoln, on April 12, 1850. He was married to Minerva Ballard in in the Manton church November 15, 1870. I was born October 26, 1871. We came to Osage Mission February 18, 1881. I was married in Greenbush. I took charge of the Journal January 1, 1896. Mrs. Graves Maiden name was Emma Hopkins. She came to Kansas from near Pike, New York around 1876.

I hope you will be interested in looking up the record of Sister Ligouri and her sister. Father would be interested in knowing more of his half-sisters. They were much older than he was. His father died before the Civil war. His mother lived to be almost 100 years old, and died after we came to Kansas.

Truly Yours, W. W. Graves"

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Kansas Catholic Historical Society
AFFILIATED WITH THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

KANSAS
for our Kansas Catholic Historical
Society. Could you tell me what it
would cost to get copies made on
typewriters?
Not having heard from you for
quite a while, I supposed you had
completed your work, so not
fail to send me a carbon copy of
the final draft of your article.
With best wishes I am
Yours Truly
W. W. Graves

Figure 30 – Part of a Handwritten Note on Kansas Historical Society Stationery Showing Graves' Name as Secretary (Upper Left Corner)

Appendix B – Journal Editorial Comments - Name Change

E. B. Clark was the editor of the Journal in 1895 when the name of the town was changed from Osage Mission to St. Paul. While he was not Catholic, he vigorously opposed the name change out of respect for Father John Schoenmakers and the Jesuit and Loretto missionaries who founded the mission and the town of Osage Mission: The content of two editorials; one before and one after the July 1, 1895 name change are shown below. It is also interesting that the final issue of the Osage Mission Journal on June 27, 1895, did not mention the change.

Editorial Comment of March 17, 1895.

This editorial was introduced with an article from the Girard World, and it appears as though they didn't approve of the change either:

"The Citizens of Osage Mission have petitioned the legislature to change the name of that city to St. Paul. What is the matter with the old name of Osage Mission? It was given to that place by its founder and ought to be good enough for present citizens – Girard World.

About fifty years ago Father Schoenmaker left civilization and the comforts and luxuries thereof and made his way through the wilderness and across the barren prairies, unknown to white habitation, and settled upon this spot, then in full possession of the red man, the Osage tribe of Indians, and established a mission here to educate and Christianize them and naturally called the place "Osage Mission." The government gave him land and assistance in this noble work. He was soon joined by others of his self-sacrificing band of Jesuits and their work was crowned with phenomenal success. But for the valor, courage and self-sacrifices we would not likely be enjoying the blessings of our present happy surroundings.

Is anyone ashamed of the work of the grand old missionary who dared to take his life in his hands and come out into this, at that time, uninhabited wilds of the far west, and labor for the civilizing, Christianizing and educating the red man? Would the good father, if it were possible for him to drop in on us give us his approval to wipe out of existence all of the memory of his forty years of hard work by changing the name of the town?

While we are no devotee to his church, yet we admire and honor his memory and noble work, as much perhaps as some who are of his church. We care not from whence a good thing comes; we admire it, we love it. We are not so bigoted that we cannot show it proper respect and homage. Take away the name of Osage Mission from this town, and you will obliterate its historic associations and the memory of one of the grandest men of the century. Do you want this?"

Editorial Comment of July 1, 1895:

"In conformity with the official change of the name of this town by order of the district court under the laws of the state of Kansas, and the change of the name of the post office to conform thereto by the order of the post office department to take effect this first day of July, we have changed the address of the Journal commencing with this issue, to St. Paul, Neosho County, Kansas, and have adopted the name it honorably bore for nineteen years. viz: The Neosho County Journal. The first issue, August 5, 1868, was under the name of the Osage Mission Journal. In 1871 it was changed to The Neosho County Journal. In 1890 it was changed back again, by John R. Brunt to its original name the Osage Mission

Journal. Now the name of the town has been changed and it seems most proper that its old name which it bore so many years should be restored to it.

It is the oldest paper in the county, and has had a continuous and uninterrupted existence for nearly twenty-seven years. It has always upheld and encouraged the interests of this town, and the county, and it will continue to do so without prejudice or fear of any kind. The Journal belongs to the people of the town and community and their interest will be served to the utmost extent by its present management.

As we close this twenty-seventh year we propose to give our readers an anniversary number, which will review the early history of the town and will contain many reminiscences of the early settlers by some of them, this will be most interesting to every old settler in the county."

Appendix C – Notes and Clips about Abe Steinberger

W. W. Graves only had one boss in the Newspaper business. During his 2-1/2 year internship¹³⁵ with the Pittsburg World / Girard World, he worked for Aaron Beaver “Abe” Steinberger. As luck would have it he ended up working for one of the more visible and colorful editors in this region at that time¹³⁶.

Abe Steinberger was born in Iowa County, Iowa in January of 1852. He died in Tulsa in April of 1935 and is buried in Grace Lawn Cemetery near Howard, Kansas. During his career, he rubbed elbows and butted heads with newspaper editors and politicians at several locations in Kansas. He was known for fiery editorials and taking unpopular positions at more than one location in Kansas. He gained some national notoriety for being the publisher of the Progressive Era publication “The Bull Moose”. Steinberger’s influence might have taught Graves to put a little vitriol in his own editorials from time to time.

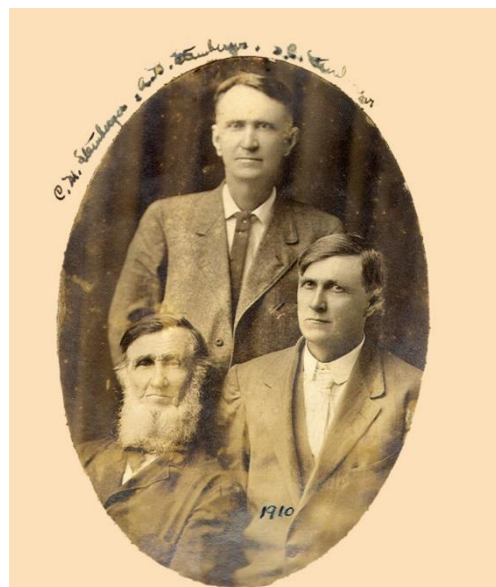


Figure 31 - Abe Steinberger (standing)

The following is just a collection of clips taken from Graves, the Crawford County Historical Society, and other internet sources that provide a little background on Steinberger. Most are in chronological order except for the last item. The ending clip from Grave’s “Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers, and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission” provides an interesting link between Abe Steinberger and a prominent Osage Mission missionary priest.

Three Clips from the Howard, Kansas Area¹³⁷:

Standard History of Kansas Article -

<http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1918ks/biot/thompste.html>

From the time he was eleven years of age Thomas E. Thompson continued his education in the public schools of Elk County. When thirteen he entered a printing office at Boston in Howard County and completed his apprenticeship by experience in several newspaper plants. He was barely twenty-one years of age when in 1881 he and his father bought the Howard Courant, and its business management and editorial control have been in his hands ever since. The Howard Courant was established in 1874 by Abe Steinberger, and it has always been a republican paper and is still the official organ of Elk County. Mr. Thompson is a very competent newspaperman, and is one of the few journalists in the State of Kansas who have been continuously identified with one

¹³⁵ Graves worked for Steinberger from May, 1893 through November, 1895.

¹³⁶ When Graves took over the Neosho County Journal in January of 1896 he received his initial financial backing from B. B. Fitzsimmons and J. F. Fitzsimmons. The Fitzsimmons’ were local businessmen, who undoubtedly provided W. W. with guidance but neither were newspapermen. In fact the backing of B. B. might have been politically motivated because he and his father did not want to see the local Democratic newspaper die.

¹³⁷ These three clips related to Steinberger in the Howard area are related to the last item in this appendix.

paper in one location for so many years. He is the owner of the entire plant, and his well-equipped plant is located on Wabash Avenue. The Courant has its circulation and influence all over Elk County and surrounding counties.

Elk County Citizen – 1906

In 1874 the Ledger was moved to Elk Falls and continued there until November 1876, when old Howard county became Elk and Chautauqua counties with the town of Howard made county seat of Elk. The Ledger then moved to Howard. Abe Steinberger was publishing the Courant at Howard and in a year or two the Courant and Ledger consolidated under the name of the Courant-Ledger. Steinberger sold to Mr. Reynolds his interest and retired. He was appointed postmaster at Howard in Nov. 1881 and served until Oct. 1, 1886 and that same year Mr. Reynolds sold the paper to Thompson & Son, the son being Tom Thompson, the present publisher.

ELK COUNTY - COURANT, Republican; Thomas E. Thompson, editor, and publisher, Howard.

Weekly. Mar. 17, 1875 + 41 vols.

This paper is a continuation of the following: The Howard County Ledger founded 1870 at Longton, by Adrian Reynolds; moved 1874 to Elk Falls; again moved 1876 to Howard; consolidated 1877 with the Courant under name of Courant-Ledger, Abe Steinberger, editor and publisher. Elk City Courant, founded 1874 by Abe Steinberger, at Elk City, Montgomery county; Moved same year to Longton, Elk county, where it was published for about a year; removed to Howard, and consolidated with the Ledger. The Elk County Herald, Howard, founded 1881 by Asa, Thomas E. and John A. Thompson; consolidated the same year with the Courant.

He Got Into a Little Trouble in Kansas City:

Winfield Courier, August 24, 1882.

Abe Steinberger was tried in Kansas City Tuesday for publishing an obscene paper and fined five hundred dollars.

Arkansas City Traveler, September 13, 1882. Editorial.

Abe Steinberger, publisher of the *Grip*, submitted his case to the judge yesterday without jury, trial, or argument, the question at issue being simply, "Were the paragraphs and articles obscene?" Judge Jones, after glancing over the two last issues for a space of fifteen minutes, fined Steinberger \$500, the full extent of the law.

He Sold His Paper, "The Grip":

Unknown Source - <http://www.ksgennet.org/ks/ek/newspaper/newsarticles13.html>

Abe Steinberger has sold the Grip to J.R. Hall, who will at once convert it into a Simon pure Democratic newspaper.

Winfield Courier, August 7, 1884.

Abe Steinberger has sold his *Howard Grip* to J. R. Hall, who will turn it into a Simon-pure, square-toed Democratic sheet. Abe says in his valedictory that he will remain in Howard. It will seem strange to think of Abe as anything but a newspaper man.

Abe's Time in Crawford County:

The following items are taken from the History of Crawford County. There are hints, some not subtle, that Steinberger was not highly regarded in the area:

*"In 1890 Pittsburg experienced a boom, of the kind that paralyzed many Kansas towns in those days. With Pittsburg's boom came, among other things, W. C. L. Beard, a young man with but little money and no newspaper ability. He started the Pittsburg World upon the broad-gauge plan. His career was short, however, and the plant fell into the hands of Abe Steinberger and W. H. Doud. He originated the Pittsburg Daily World. Doud remained only a short time with the paper before he turned over his interest for a small consideration to Steinberger. The paper took a stand against the strike in '93 and after being hanged in effigy two or three times by enraged miners over his vitriolic writings he move the plant to Girard. His experience there is mentioned in another part of this history."*¹³⁸ (below)

*"The Girard World, daily and weekly, was started in 1895 by Abe Steinberger. Its existence was not over a year, however, when it was forced to suspend, and the material was sold to A. G. Lucas who started the Independent News."*¹³⁹

The following altercation was described by W. W. Graves and it occurred while he worked for Abe Steinberger:

"Abe Steinberger, under whom we started to learn the "art preservative," could put a bit of vitriol in his editorials when he felt disposed, and the editor of the other daily paper in Pittsburg was often his target. In 1893 we were accompanying Mr. Steinberger home to supper one evening when a large man jumped onto Steinberger as we passed a corner and soon had him down and was landing knockout punches on his face. Steinberger, like the writer, was tall, and hungry looking and no match for the 225 pound assailant. We grabbed the big fellow by the collar and yanked him off, but soon had to do some good sprinting to keep out of his reach."

¹³⁸ History of Crawford County, pages 134, 135

¹³⁹ History of Crawford County, page 132

Abe and Kansas Politics:

Kansas City Journal, July 12, 1897

ABE STEINBERGER IS SORE. Denounces Chief Justice Doster for His Decision In the Legislative Bribery Case.

Topeka. Kas , July 11 (Special.) Abe Steinberger, the acknowledged head of the middle-of-the-road Populists of Kansas, condemns Chief Justice Doster In severe terms for his decision in the legislative bribery case. Steinberger has always been a great admirer of Doster, and last fall when Breldenthal and the whole crowd of fusion Populists were doing what they could in a secret way to defeat Doster he was bending every effort to help him. Steinberger is also a warm friend of Associate Justice Allen, and It made him sore on Doster when the latter took occasion to give Justice Allen a back handed slap In the decision spoken of above Steinberger said that he had always taken Doster to be a bigger and fairer man than that He predicts that Judge Doster will live to see the day- that he will regret his actions. Steinberger says that anybody with a lick of sense knows that Justice Allen delivered a legal opinion, that he refused to drag his office into politics, and that Doster's opinion was nothing more than a disgraceful political stump speech

Link Between Abe Steinberger and Father Paul Ponziglione:

The following is taken from W. W. Grave's "Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers, and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission". It suggests that Abe Steinberger might have gotten Father Ponziglione out of a tight spot in the Howard, KS area.

"Father Ponziglione did not hesitate to go where duty called him regardless of the weather. On one occasion he came near losing his life in a Kansas blizzard on the prairie between Winfield and Howard. In those days there were few fences and roads between towns were merely trails across the country. The good Father was on his way home from a long trip in the "southwest country" when a northerner" came up, and with it came a driving snow which soon covered all traces of the trail. The broad prairie was one wide expanse of white. He was not very familiar with the country and lost his way. He kept driving but came in sight of no habitation. In due time his horses became so weary from the long trip in the storm that they could go no farther. They stopped in a valley with the back of the buggy to the wind that it might afford some protection from the storm. The Father was so cold he could do nothing for his horses. There he was out on the open prairie, he knew not where, with his horses exhausted, a storm raging and no aid in sight. Neither he nor his horses had had anything to eat since morning, and night was coming on. There he sat in his buggy, telling his beads when Abe Steinberger, now of Oklahoma, but at that time a Kansas newspaper man, came along on his way to Howard from Winfield, driving a team of big horses. Mr. Steinberger told the writer of seeing the buggy a short distance off the trail and going to it. "The good Lord will take care of me," was the reply the Father gave his inquiry as to how he came to be there, but he was so cold he could hardly speak this loud enough to be heard in the storm. Mr. Steinberger helped the Father into his own buggy, wrapped him in a buffalo robe, tied his horses behind his buggy and proceeded to Howard. Half pulling the horses behind, they made slow progress but reached Howard just after dark. Father Ponziglione was put to bed in a hotel and given "hot drinks," and altho no serious results followed his experience, he was not able to proceed homeward for nearly a week."

Appendix D - Pictures Shows, Meeting Halls, and Confusion

In August of 1908, the Journal reported that W. W. Graves and A. J. Hopkins were equipping the lot north of the Journal office for moving picture shows. The following month Graves installed an electric light plant to serve the Journal office and the picture show. This initial picture show theater was probably outdoors.

From 1909 through 1912 Graves built two gathering halls in downtown St. Paul. The first was first called “Summer Theater or Convention Hall” and the second was named “Graves Hall”. Graves Hall remained in the downtown area for about 60 years after it was built, but the details of how and why the two buildings were constructed in such a short time frame are sketchy. In fact, the location of the first structure is also confusing. One thing that does stand out is the second building was considerably larger than the first one, so rapid obsolescence might be a factor. I decided to dedicate a separate chapter to these buildings and their story might be worthy of a separate study in the future.

Convention Hall

The earliest newspaper articles refer to the first building as a “Summer Theater”. This name then changed to “Convention Hall”. An early description of the first building appears in the February 4, 1909 issue of the St. Paul Journal:

“The city has granted a lease on the seven feet of the lot south of the fire house, to W. W. Graves. This land added to his own lot makes a strip thirty-two feet wide and on it will be erected next month a “convention hall” or summer theater, the room to be 64 x 32 feet. An iron roof will be put over most of it, and the other part of the roof will be on rollers so it can be removed at pleasure in hot weather. A floor will be put in the room made especially for dancing. Electric lights will be used for lighting, and in hot weather, a number of electric fans will be used to keep the atmosphere cool for the dancers even on the hottest night of the summer.

Moving picture entertainments will be given on Saturday afternoons and one or two evenings in each week Lectures and other entertainments may be added from time to time.

There are not many towns of the size of St. Paul in which the people will have as many privileges for amusement and entertainment as will be found here during the coming summer. The hall will be ready for use about Easter.”

The description from this article seems to place the hall immediately north of his Journal Press Building; between it and the fire engine house (Figure 33). The reference to electrical lights and fans also seems to agree with this location because W. W. did install his own electrical plant at the Journal Office several years before St. Paul had its electrical service. In a separate source, Graves said his Journal Office electrical plant also provided “juice” for the local picture show¹⁴⁰. These descriptions seemed to work until I looked at more complete information about Graves’s second building (“Graves Hall”, below).

Regardless of location, this first building must have been built quickly because it was available, as promised, by Easter. The April 8, 1909 issue of the Journal advertises the opening of Convention Hall, “The Niftiest Nook in Neosho County”, on Easter Monday Night, 1909. During the next few years, the Journal ran frequent advertisements for picture shows, dances, and other entertainment in Convention Hall.

¹⁴⁰ Making Money, page 13

A vintage advertisement for the Convention Hall in St. Paul, Kansas. The text is enclosed in a decorative border of small circles. The main title "CONVENTION HALL" is at the top in large, bold, serif capital letters. Below it is a quote: "The Niftiest Nook In Neosho County." The location "ST. PAUL, KANSAS." is printed in bold, with three dashes between the city and state. A horizontal line separates the location from the details. The details include "1620 square feet of dancing floor space." and "Electric Lights." on the first line, and "Electric Fans.", "Excellent Music.", and "Fine Floor." on the second line. Below these is "OPENING BALL, Easter Monday Night." in bold. The admission information follows: "Admission: Gentlemen 50c, Ladies, who dance, Free, Spectators 10c." and "All are invited." at the bottom right.

CONVENTION HALL

"The Niftiest Nook In Neosho County."

ST. PAUL, - - - KANSAS.

1620 square feet of dancing floor space. Electric Lights.
Electric Fans. Excellent Music. Fine Floor.

OPENING BALL, Easter Monday Night.

Admission: Gentlemen 50c, Ladies, who dance, Free,
Spectators 10c. All are invited.

Figure 32 - Convention Hall Advertisement from April 8, 1909 Journal

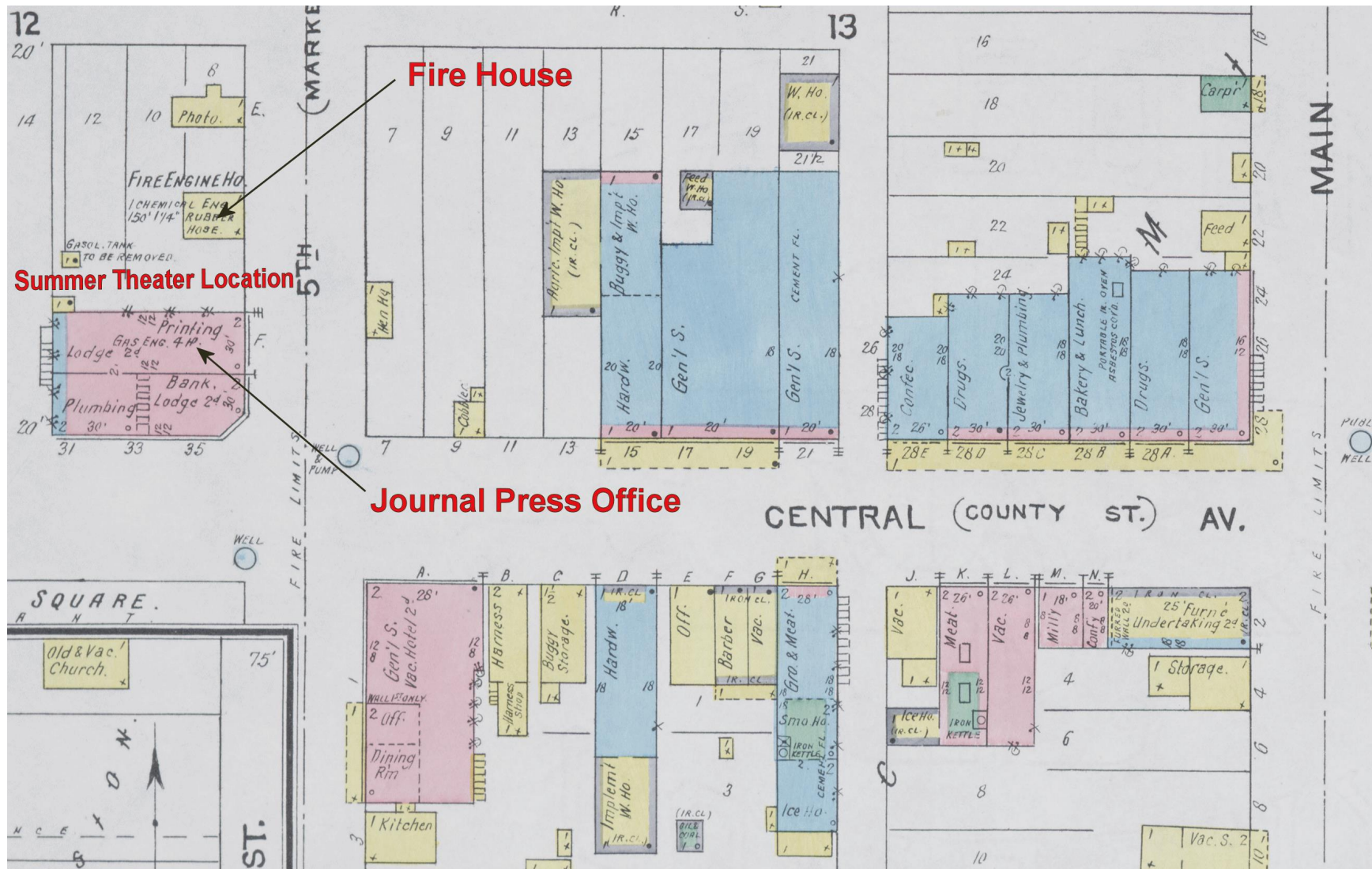


Figure 33 - Downtown St. Paul 1906 Showing the Location Described in February 4, 1909, Journal.

Graves Hall

Barely 2-1/2 years after the opening of the Convention Hall, have articles begun to appear about a larger structure that is called “Graves Hall”. An Annals of St. Paul entry of December 7, 1911, says”

“The foundation is being laid for the new opera house in St. Paul to succeed Convention Hall which will be torn down as soon as spring arrives.”

This entry is interesting because the corresponding St. Paul Journal article does not mention tearing down the existing Convention Hall:

“The workmen began Monday to get things ready for the foundation for St. Paul’s new opera house.”¹⁴¹

A follow-up article on March 21, 1912, says:

The masons began work on the new hall Monday but had to quit yesterday on account of weather. The weather has been so unfavorable that the hall will probably not be ready for use much before May 1.”

Finally, the June 6, 1912 issue of the Journal gave a fairly detailed description of the new and its benefits to St. Paul:

“Graves Hall

The above is the name selected for our new hall that replaced Convention Hall. This name was first suggested verbally by Mayor Scott, but first suggested in writing as required under the rules governing the name contest by Miss Kate Munding who will get the prize tickets. Nearly a hundred names were suggested. Some of them were very nice but more appropriate for a theater than a general purpose hall. The judge to whom the naming was given was much in favor of Electric Hall for the name and the old name received much consideration.

The building is not entirely completed yet but is far enough advanced that it can be used and the opening ball will be Wednesday Evening, June 12, and it is probably that the first picture show will be given on Saturday, June 15.

More than two months were required to construct this hall. It was a much bigger task than we anticipated and since it is done it is really a bigger building than we first planned to build. The building is 80 x 50 with the front 26 feet high. The main floor besides the stage department, vestibule and gallery contains more than 2,500 square feet of clear floor. The gallery contains 600 square feet of floor. All the partition walls in the building are made of ribbed-steel lath and plaster and the doors are covered with metal. The little room in which the picture machine will be operated is also built of metal and plaster with not a particle of wood about it. The new hall is therefore almost fireproof, at least very much nearer fireproof than any other building in St. Paul. There will be no occasion to become frightened if you should be in the building when an accidental fire is started.

New electric light equipment has been purchased and the lights will be much brighter than the old ones. Improvements have also been made in the electrical fan service.

Steam heating equipment will be installed before next winter.

¹⁴¹ Does getting things ready mean tearing down the original Convention Hall?

A new moving picture machine has been purchased and the picture shows will be resumed soon.

The stage is not yet equipped with necessary curtains and scenery, but we hope to have it ready before the fall season opens, and to get some good shows, and good shows will go anywhere they can get good patronage.

There is not a town the size of St. Paul in the state of Kansas that has as nice a public hall as Graves Hall will be when it is completed.”

An adjacent article in the same issue of the Journal announced the Opening Ball to be held on June 6 1912. A subsequent article on June 13 of 1912 described the opening ball attended by eighty couples and the hall was not crowded. The first stage show was shown on September 20.

An April 30 1931 Journal Article mentions the structure being modified as a garage, but many subsequent articles announce sporting events, including basketball games, until about 1945. The building was later converted into a grain processing building by Beachner Grain Company.

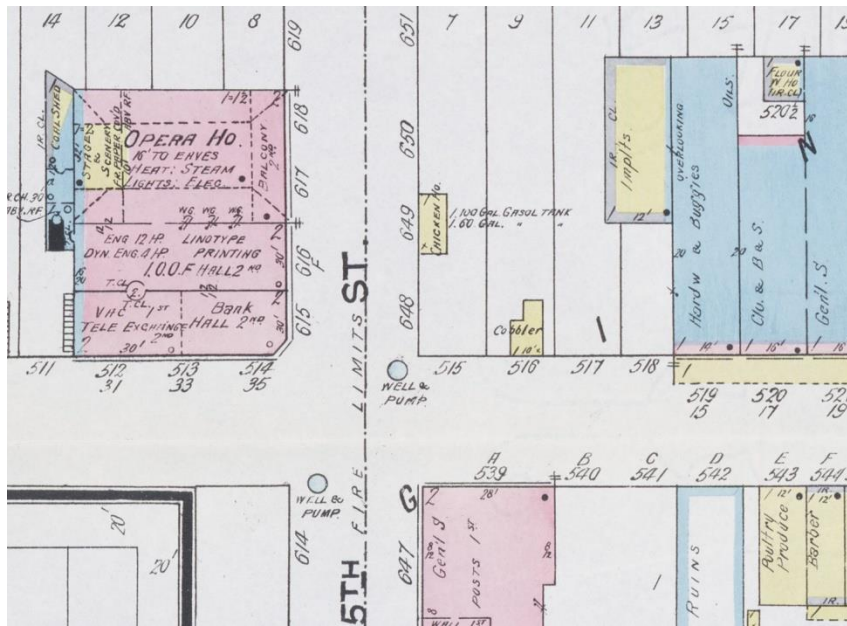
Two structures in one Place?

It appears as though Convention Hall and Graves Hall were both built on the same lot north of Graves' Journal Press Building. Also, since St. Paul didn't install its own electrical plant until 1913, it also appears as though the first electrical service, as well as heat, for Graves Hall also came from W. W.'s steam-powered generating system¹⁴².

Compare **Figure 34** on the following page with the map in Figure 33 for the position of Graves Hall and the removal of the Fire House that was just north of Convention Hall. The only logical way both buildings could have been built on the same lot is that Convention Hall was razed in the spring of 1912 to make room for the bigger theater.

Well, I think so.

¹⁴² Graves says his original gasoline powered electrical generating plant was replaced with a steam engine, using exhaust steam to heat the Journal Office and the picture show. According to him the interest generated from his electrical system encouraged the city to vote a bond issue for its own electrical plant.



- Left - Crop from 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing Graves Hall ("Opera House") just north of the Journal Office. Note, that compared to Figure 33, the Fire House is gone.
- Lower, Left - Street photo of corner bank and Journal office to the right. The Graves Hall building is out of the frame to the right.
- Lower, Right - Street photo of Graves Hall which later became the Beachner Grain building.



Figure 34 - Map and Photos of Graves Hall Located Just North of Journal Office

Appendix E - The Notepad

The Osage Mission - Neosho County Museum has one of Mr. Graves' leather-covered pocket notepads among their artifacts. The notepad has a small pocket inside of the front cover that contains his Kansas Editorial Association membership card for 1900. The book hasn't had much use and entries are started from each end of the book in two different categories:

- Personal notes from 1892 through 1898
- Short Quotes that must have caught his attention.

The personal notes are transcribed below pretty much as written and some of it is in the cryptic language of a budding reporter. The notes have been typed as written using his ditto marks ("") and abbreviations including O. M. = Osage Mission. Where question marks appear as (?) his writing is unclear or smudged. It appears as though some of these notes are fairly main events in his early life, while others seem rather mundane. It is not known when these notes were written. The separating dates with colons have been added.

The short quotes that he thought to write down might say something about how what he considered to be important. Considering that these were written more than 110 years ago many seem pretty applicable today. It is unfortunate that many of the notes, which are written in lead pencil, are smudged to the point of being unintelligible.



Figure 35 - Graves Notepad and Year 1900 Kansas Editorial Association Card.

Personal Notes 1892 – 1898:

1892:

- ❖ Commenced teaching school Sept. 5, 1892

1893

- ❖ April 5 - 93 Closed school
- ❖ “ 6 “ began clerking for my father
- ❖ May 7 went to Fort Scott Ks
- ❖ “ 9 Set type in the Lantern Office, F. S.
- ❖ May 10 Leave F. Scott. Change cars at Arcadia, get to Pittsburgh, Ks.
- ❖ May 11 Set type in the Daily World office, Pitts. Commence boarding at the Eagle house at supper time.
- ❖ May 12 Made a contract with the World. Am to work the first month free and get \$1 per week from the beginning of the second month. My wages to be increased as I advance.
- ❖ May 24 The “World” changes hands. I still keep my job.
- ❖ June 10 Go to Kansas City with first train (excursion) over the K.C.P (?) R.R. to report trip.
- ❖ July 3 Went home on a visit. Went back to Pittsburg July 5.
- ❖ Aug. 6 Met W. F. Thompson of Arkansas City and show him over Pitts.
- ❖ Oct. 25 Go home on a visit. Stay 4 days.
- ❖ Dec. 2 Go to Girard to take charge of Girard department of Daily World.
- ❖ Dec. 28 - 93 World moves to Gd. I take position as reporter.

1894:

- ❖ Mar. 1-94 Go home and visit until March 4th.
- ❖ Mar. 20 Wages raised \$1.
- ❖ Apr. 23 Visit Cherokee
- ❖ “ 28 Took mumps – laid up for six days.
- ❖ June 23, Go home to O. M. till 25
- ❖ July 14 Visit Pittsburg
- ❖ July 29. Visit O.M. till 30th
- ❖ Aug. 3 P8 (?) to collect
- ❖ Aug. 11 I am elected a delegate to Democrat Co. Convention but do not go.
- ❖ Aug. 17 Go to Osage Mission
- ❖ Aug. 19 Parents Leave for Montgomery, Indiana
- ❖ Aug. 20 Return to Girard
- ❖ Oct. 8 Visit Pittsburg

1895

- ❖ Mar. 17 Visit Osage Mission with Miss Hopkins
- ❖ April 14 Visit Pittsburg
- ❖ “ 23 “ “
- ❖ “ 28 “ “
- ❖ “ 30 Was married to Miss Emma Hopkins - Went to Pittsburg until May 2.
- ❖ May 4- Begin house keeping.
- ❖ May 6 drive to O. M. to get books and case.
- ❖ May 7 resume work in World office at \$7.50 per week.
- ❖ July 18, 1895 Moved into Simpson Property.
- ❖ Aug 25 - have boil on hip and lose 1 wk work.
- ❖ Nov 9. Quit work at World office. Daily is suspended. Spend a few days at St. Paul and Pittsburg.
- ❖ Nov 27 - Moved to Pittsburg.
- ❖ Dec 16. Go to St. Paul nee Osage Mission, Make contract to become editor of Neosho County Journal to take effect Jan 1, 1896.

1896:

- ❖ Jan 2 - Take charge of Journal Office
- ❖ Feb 8 - Go to Pg to move.
- ❖ “ 12 Move to Robbins place and following Monday begin housekeeping.
- ❖ Feb 14. Make a trip to Kansas City

1897:

- ❖ Aug 1, 1897, buy the Journal and office.

1898:

- ❖ Feb 1, 1898, buy (?) property of E. S. Dunn

Short Quotes:

“The master of superstition is the people. In all superstition wise men follow fools.”

“Action may not always bring happiness but there is no happiness without action.”

“A coward boasting of his courage may deceive strangers, but he is a laughing stock to those who know him.”

“Not everything legal is honorable”

“Cautious is the father of security.”

“Do not waste time in useless regrets over losses.”

“Be silent when fools talk.”

“That which people say to your face is no indication of what they are thinking.”

“Don’t talk your good deeds to death.”

“No flower is jealous of another.”

“A fool may pass for a wise man if he knows how to keep his mouth shut.”

“Give a lie the right of way and it will wreck the universe.”

“Women make home a heaven or turn it into hell.”

“Personal extravagance is often the parent of crime.”

Appendix F - The Journal Man

Sometime in the middle 1930s, W. W. Graves began to refer to himself, from time to time, with the third person phrase “The Journal man”. By then he was clearly the voice of the journal and the term would be used to start an editorial and was usually followed with an opinion, advice, or a suggestion for action.

Following are a few examples that were singled out by David O’Bryan in his book “Annals of St. Paul, The Swan Song of the St. Paul Journal. David has more than thirty examples in his book and I have sifted out a few of them. Some are humorous, some are pretty direct. They provide a little more perspective into how this seasoned journalist thought about life and the world in general:

Journal – March 9, 1939

“The Journal man offers this advice. Beware of the affable over friendly man. This has always been a policy of this writer. This is exactly contrary to the views of most people but perhaps the editor is a bit contrary. However, if you sit down and make a record of your dealing with the affable people and likewise with those who are classed as a bit distant, you will find that in close business connections, the latter are far more dependable and are far less apt to the tricky.”

Journal – January 1, 1942

“F. S. Hopkins, who has been in charge of the Journal for some time, was called to Parsons last week without notice and informed his services were needed in an executive position in the new shell loading plant. The Journal man says, “Two years ago I sought to retire to the sideline in this newspaper business. Health and advancing years were pressing incentives. A younger man could better fill my place. But the exigencies of war necessitate many changes whether we like them or not.”

Journal – May 13, 1943

“Fifty years ago this week the Journal man went into the office of the Pittsburg Daily World to learn the newspaper game and he is still trying to learn it. Twenty months later he returned to his old home town and took over the Journal which, with the exception of two vacations, he has held these many years.”

Journal – July 22, 1943

“In a longer editorial starting with “The Journal man” Graves reminisces about the unique delivery system used by the Shannon Owens and Simpson store here in the 1880s, and how it had recently become relevant again. Their deliveryman was Eddie Vest, who lived just north of the city school building. He had a large dog which he had trained to pull a wagon. Eddie and his dog and wagon would keep busy every day delivering goods from the store to its customers. The occasion for the fond memory was the news that gas rationing might soon curtail local deliveries.”

Journal – September 30, 1943

“Sixty years ago this autumn the Journal man spent several days in West Lincoln helping Jack Phillips to cut, spread and fan castor beans. There are a lot of youngsters now who do not even know what a castor bean stalk looks like.”¹⁴³

Journal – October 26, 1944

“The Journal man writes a most thought provoking editorial in this issue on the occasion of the upcoming presidential election. He being a lifelong Democrat it was surely a difficult column for him to write. He praises the administration for its administration of the war effort but worries that while we are fighting for liberty abroad the federal government is encroaching on our liberties at home. He ends by saying, “In considering our patriotic duty, we find the war issues tugging us at one side, and the unfavorable domestic tendencies tugging at us from the other. A decision is not easy to reach, and it is up to each individual to make his own decision.”

Journal – March 18, 1948

“The more money people accept as “federal aid” the more they become subservient to the government. That is the first step toward dictatorship – Stalinism. We ought to have enough sense to run our business.”

Journal – January 27, 1948

“Congress is considering the proposition of making a law so no man can work for less than seventy-five cents per hour. The Journal man opines that while that may be good for some, there are others who can not earn that much but are willing to work rather than go on relief. Apprentices, too, often work in exchange for learning their trade.”

Journal – March 16, 1950

“Under the headline, Too Too Attractive, the Journal man notes that some newspapers who had vowed not to advertise liquor were now doing so. Graves says that if people of Kansas buy it and drink it, why not advertise it?”

Journal – January 17, 1952

“W. W. Graves writes a front page editorial under the headline “I’m for Ike”. He says he is not deserting the Democratic party after half a century with a Democratic newspaper, but he is so utterly disgusted with Truman that he is willing to cross party lines. In another section, the editor of the Fredonia Herald, also an old line democrat endorses Ike.

¹⁴³ What would Graves think today?

Appendix G - His Desk and Card Catalogue

The W. W. Graves Research Room at the Osage Mission – Neosho County Museum is privileged to have Mr. Graves’ oak desk, Remington typewriter, and note card catalog from the Journal Office. The card catalog was his database of subjects and where the information appeared in the Journal. The four drawers are labeled “Family Names”, “Indians”, “General Info. & Places”, and “Organizations, Schools, Societies”. These notecards include dated cryptic notes on 3x5 index cards, and have proven to be a valuable tool to lead researchers to Journal articles.



Figure 36 - Desk, Remington Typewriter and Card Catalogue Box from the Journal Office

References and Abbreviations

References:

1. Annals of Osage Mission, Copyright 1934, W. W. Graves
2. Annals of St. Paul - 1895 - 1936, Copyright 1942, W. W. Graves
3. Annals of St. Paul: The Swan Song for the St. Paul Journal, Copyright 2009, David W. O'Bryan
4. Beacon on the Plains, Copyright 1939, Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald
5. Biography of W. W. Graves, Kenneth Spencer Research Library and Guide to the William Whites Graves Papers - University of Kansas - <http://etext.ku.edu/view?docId=ksrlead/ksrl.kc.gravesww.xml>
6. Dunavan Genealogical Data on Graves Family - OMNC Museum
7. Geni.com Link to James Paul Graves family - <http://www.geni.com/people/James-Graves/6000000000806058503#/tab/timeline>
8. Girard Daily World - May 1, 1895 (Front page wedding story Emma Hopkins and W. W. Graves)
9. History of Crawford County - 1905 and reprinted in 1976 by the Crawford County Genealogical Society of Pittsburg, KS.
10. History of Neosho County - Volume I, Copyright 1949, W. W. Graves (Journal Press)
11. History of Neosho County - Volume II, Copyright 1951, W. W. Graves (Journal Press)
12. Making Money With a Country Newspaper - Copyright 1926, W. W. Graves
13. Letter, Diocese of Wichita, Bishop Mark K. Carroll, July 23, 1952 (Condolence to Mrs. Graves)
14. Letters, Owens - This is a series of letters written to Sister Lilliana Owens between 1930 and 1936. These are transcribed in "Appendix A - The Owens Letters". The letters appear to be responses to questions asked by Sister Owens who was a Loretto historian.
15. Newspapers - The research for this project included numerous inquiries into Osage Mission/St. Paul newspapers including Graves' own Journal. These papers include The Osage Mission Journal, The Neosho County Journal, and the St. Paul Journal. Leads to articles in these newspapers came from the Annals series (1,2,3 above) and the Graves card catalog noted below. Microfilm for all of the Osage Mission and St. Paul Journal newspapers (Including the Neosho County Journal) are available at the Grave Research Center in the Osage Mission, Neosho County Museum in St. Paul Ks. Issues used to compile this document are footnoted.
 - a. Graves Card Catalogue from The Journal Press Office - The Museum in St. Paul has a one-of-a-kind Graves artifact that is also an often-used research resource. The Graves card catalog was W. W.'s database of names, places, and subjects that were covered in Journal articles during much of the life of the Journal. Grave's typewritten cards often fill gaps when Annals articles come up a little short.
16. Standard History of Kansas - Graves, William W. - accessible through several sources including: <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/scripts/data/database.cgi?file=Data&report=SingleArticle&ArticleID=0022139>
17. St. Francis Parish Cemetery: 1852 - 2008 - First Printing 2008, Viola Ann Gouvion
18. St. Paul Sesquicentennial Book - 1997

19. Anti-Horse Thief Association, Constitution for State and Subordinate Orders, October 1908, Press of the News, St. Paul, Kansas¹⁴⁴
20. The Anti-Horse Thief Association, Its Origin and Principles, - 1914, W. W. Graves
21. The Anti-Horse Thief Association, The Long Riders Guild Academic Foundation - <http://www.lrgaf.org/articles/ahta.htm>
22. Origin of the A.H.T.A, Oklahoma Outlaws Lawmen History Association - http://www.okolha.net/ahta_index.htm
23. W. W. Graves Reporters Notebook - “Appendix E - The Note”

Standard Abbreviations:

HNC-VI	History of Neosho County, Volume I, by W. W. Graves, 19441
HNC-VII	History of Neosho County, Volume II, by W. W. Graves, 1951
H-NCN	History of Neosho County Newspapers, by W. W. Graves, 1938
Journal	St. Paul Journal ¹⁴⁵
“Making Money”	Making Money with a County Newspaper, by W. W. Graves, 1926
O. M.	Osage Mission
OMNC Historical Society	Osage Mission - Neosho County Historical Society

¹⁴⁴ Predecessor of Journal Press

¹⁴⁵ References to previous versions of the St. Paul Journal will be spelled out as “Neosho County Journal” or “Osage Mission Journal”.