AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Jennifer Leigh Marek for the Master of Arts in American History presented on May 10, 2002
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Abstract approved: [Signature]

Women in 1870s Kansas lived in a time and land long regarded as wild and isolated. It is usually concluded, therefore, that Kansas lagged behind the rest of the nation, particularly in clothing fashions. It is generalized that women did not wear fancy clothes. Instead, women were said to have worn calico or gingham dresses, sunbonnets, and aprons and to have gone barefoot due to the amount of work and lack of money. By the 1870s, though, Kansas boasted enough towns to provide the necessary items to make or even buy clothing. Women also had access to current fashion trends through newspapers, catalogs, and magazines. As fashions changed during the decade, Kansas women had the ability to follow along. Living in the west had some impact on women's clothing but not to the extreme extent that is commonly thought.
CLOTHING FOR NORTHEAST KANSAS WOMEN IN THE 1870S

A Thesis
Presented to
the Division of Social Sciences
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jennifer L. Marek
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INTRODUCTION

Over the years, interest in the history of women's clothing has increased. Studies have been done in several time frames and geographical areas, but in many ways they have been limited.

In researching for this thesis, twenty-two dissertations and theses written between the years 1932 and the present throughout the country were noted. Others may have been written, of course.

Among the twenty-two, only three limited themselves to a decade. The others covered a time period of fourteen years on up to an entire century. Covering so many years like that tends to lead to generalizations and misconceptions. It becomes hard to stay in a chronological order while exploring the various topics. Authors regularly jump from one decade to another, leading the reader to conclude that there were no differences between the years. For example, Sally Helvenston of Kansas State University constantly went from one decade to another and then back to another one, with no thought of the years in between.

The geographics do not fare much better. Only three specified a portion such as southwest Missouri, the Oregon Trail, or the Aurora Colony in Oregon. The rest covered an entire state or several states. Others even went as far as
putting the whole West together or the northwest United States together.

Treating an entire state or region as a whole can lead to some erroneous conclusions. Not all areas were settled at the same time or in the same pattern. Not all areas had the same conditions. Not all areas responded in the same way to events. Ignoring the differences can be misleading. Barbara Fargo of Kansas State University restricted her thesis to the years 1854-1870 but covered the entire state of Kansas. She made no distinction between eastern Kansas and western Kansas when in fact there were major differences. Eastern Kansas was settled years earlier; had more trees and more abundant water; and was able to weather disasters better. These differences would, and should, affect the conclusions about women's clothing.

Previous papers also neglected to utilize certain valuable sources - state reports, store records, catalogs, fashion magazines, and artifacts. State reports are important because they give a background into the area and its people in order for the clothing information be understood better. Store records show what was actually purchased, how often, the cost, and method of payment. Catalogs also show items that were for sale with the added benefit of pictures. Fashion magazines have only been used to the extent of acknowledging their presence. They hold much more information, though. The pictures and advice can provide a general view of
idealized fashions where the styles, fabrics, and items can be seen. Artifacts are scarce, granted, but those that have a provenance linking them to the time and area can bring in another dimension. All together, the sources can be compared to other information to reach a well-rounded conclusion.

A few sources were not included in this thesis. Geneology was one. Knowing the background of the people would have provided additional insight to the women's lives and how it influenced their response to clothing. Information could have been obtained on how many people were in the family, their ages, what they owned, etc. Tracing their history back to their previous home would have shown the similarities and differences to their situation in Kansas.

The other source was family pictures. Several were located at the Kansas State Research Center but were not included in this paper. The backgrounds of these pictures were so limited that they were virtually useless. They had names, but no location or definite dates. Further research would be needed to locate the town and a specific year in which the picture was taken. Only then could the pictures be used. Unfortunately, as in all research, time is limited and a stopping point must be placed. Perhaps these angles will be explored by a future person interested in the topic.

The focal point for the thesis is on the decade of 1870 in northeast Kansas. (See Table 1) The 1870s was chosen because it was an exciting time in Kansas as people had
recovered from the Civil War; the northeastern counties had progressed through the early pioneer times; and the technology had been changing people's lives. Northeast Kansas was chosen in part because those counties, except Clay (1866), were established around 1855. They also shared similar landscape characteristics of trees, water, and hills. Limiting the area allowed more extensive research into the area and to reach conclusions in relation to the conditions in the one region.

This topic was also chosen for personal reasons. Previous work at an 1870s farm (Norlands Living History Center) in Maine and at Fort Laramie in Wyoming provided a unique experience of wearing the clothing in question. Where others have written about "old-fashioned" clothing, I have worn the garments in the respective environments.

Norlands, located near Livermore Falls, Maine, is a 500+ acre living history farm with a mansion connected to a farmer's cottage and large barn. There is a carriage house and church in front and a library in back. An 1850s schoolhouse sit across the road. Part of my duties involved being an 1870s wife to a hired hand and teaching visitors how to cook, clean, sew, garden, and gather eggs. I drew the line at killing chickens. I did help milk the cows, feed the livestock, do the haying, and catch horses when needed.

Fort Laramie is a partially restored fort and is part of the National Park Service in Wyoming. As a living history interpreter, I portrayed a laundress and an officer's wife.
The laundress had similar duties to those at Norlands but also included hauling water, chopping wood, and living in a tent. Being an officer's wife was a more genteel occupation that was not overly strenuous. Hired help did the work so time was spent reading books, playing croquet, embroidering, and visiting with the other ladies.

The clothes worn as a working woman at both places were similar. A dress and apron of sturdy material and unladylike boots survived the daily attacks of work. Underclothes were simple - a chemise, stockings and garters, drawers, and a petticoat or two.

Protection from the sun was not a problem in Maine. The majority of the work took place inside. On the few occasions of working outside, a garden hat was suitable. In Wyoming, on the other hand, all of the work was outside. A sunbonnet was the only answer to preventing a sunburn and keeping the article from blowing away.

Wearing a sunbonnet presented its own problems, though. It was like wearing blinders. Nothing could be seen from the side or above. The only possible view was a narrow path straight ahead. The brim also acted as a noise funnel. Any loud noise (like a cannon or your own voice) echoed inside the bonnet. It could muffle any sound from behind, too. The sunbonnet did its job of keeping the sun off the face (with the brim) and off the neck (with the skirt).
Clothing for the "ladies" in the West were also similar to those in the East. Although I personally did not wear the fashionable garments in Maine, I saw the portraits and the clothing of the Washburn family to reach the conclusion. An officer's wife required the donning of fashionable attire to maintain one's place in society. "Would not want to be mistaken for one of those laundresses." The dress was made of silk with flounces and fringes. Pretty gloves and a dainty hat with hat pins were a matter of course. Narrow boots were worn with elegant stockings and garters. A multitude of underclothes completed the ensemble - chemise, corset, corset cover, drawers, petticoat, bustle, and two more petticoats. Once dressed, a woman was well padded.

The nature of the clothing restricted a lady to the most demure activities. The extra poundage helped women to move slowly while the corset prevented eating, breathing, and bending. It made it very easy to sit properly. The bustle helped too. Luckily, no physical work was required because it would have been nearly impossible. The simple act of using the outhouse necessitated ingenuity to maneuver - never mind being able to raise the arms high enough in the tight bodice to chop wood. The women were more suited to taking strolls under their parasols.

This experience and knowledge led me to wonder about affects of women living in Kansas during this same time period. Questions emerged on the feasibility of fashion in
the "wild west," and researching to answer them was the obvious solution.

To obtain a better idea on how living in Kansas affected women's clothing, the area and dates were restricted to northeast Kansas and to the 1870s. Several different sources were utilized in researching, some previously not used in the other theses on Kansas women and clothing. Selected sources included newspapers, magazines, reminiscences, theses and dissertations, diaries, journals, and books. The other sources, rarely included by others, were mercantile records, state reports, and catalogs.
TABLE 1: MAP OF NORTHEAST KANSAS

A Map showing the Superficial Strata of Kansas. Compiled from data furnished by Prof. D. F. Mudge.

Pliocene
Cretaceous
Upper Carboniferous
Coal Measure
The first image of the Kansas frontier that comes to mind usually is of a wild and uncivilized land populated with Indians. Is this a true image? Is this a true image for several decades or only for a brief period of time? How did the women respond to pioneering life in terms of fashion?

The Indians were among the first to settle permanently in the area. They came involuntarily in the 1830s and 40s, mostly from the East. Missionaries, traders, government agents, and the army also came into this uncivilized area at the same time but only in connection to the Indians. White residents probably numbered around 150.²

It was not until the 1850s that white settlers really started to arrive with their families. The year 1855 saw a population of 8,601 in the territory, mostly around forts, trading posts, and missions.³ These people came for a variety of reasons - to influence pro- or anti-slavery, to practice their religion, to farm land, to have adventure, or to get rich.

The conditions they faced were daunting. They had left family and friends and the civilized lifestyle they were used to behind. It became a struggle to survive in this new frontier. There were no stores, schools, churches, or neighbors nearby. They had to bring everything they needed - clothes, tools, food. Women brought clothes planned to last
two years although the rough conditions could shorten the
time. The rich and the poor dressed similarly in homespun
clothes once their original clothes wore out.‘

By 1860, the population had grown to an amazing 107,206
people.‘ This first pioneering period centered in the Eastern
part of the state where the area was similar to regions from
which the pioneers came with its woods and soil. People were
able to build log cabins and begin farming.

The Civil War slowed the settlement and growth when men
left to enter the military or to work in the war manufacturing
plants. Immigrants stayed in the East for better wages.‘ The
women of Kansas remained at home and tended the fields and
businesses’ in addition to their routine chores. The progress
on railroads came to a halt.‘

The 1860s in general, though, saw the improvement of
living conditions - better houses, furniture - even a shopping
trip to Kansas City or Topeka for some.‘ More towns during
this time also meant more stores with clothing supplies.
Women tried to follow the Eastern fashions, but lack of money
and opportunity limited the success.‘

After the Civil War, settlement resumed. Men came to
Kansas looking for a better life. Many brought their families
and settled in the eastern part. The population in Kansas
would expand to 364,399 by 1870.‘

Kansas came a long way from the 8,601 settlers in 1855 to
the 364,399 in 1870. Kansas was beginning to step out of the
wild and rough conditions into a more civilized state. What would the next decade bring?
The year 1870 was the beginning of a new era. Kansas had previously been a wild and undeveloped country. Now it started to have everything a person could want - railroads, towns, and neighbors!

In 1865, there was only one railroad line in Kansas, that being from Kansas City to Lawrence. By 1873, two transcontinental lines and many shorter lines were in existence, making it possible to transport people and goods at a more reasonable rate. The map on Table 1 shows one or more railroad lines in almost every county.

The amazing growth in the northeastern counties can be seen in the state's agriculture report of 1879 in Table 2. In general, the counties experienced a greater influx of settlers in the 1870s than in the 1860s. Of the 24 counties, only seven had a slower growth, and only one (Leavenworth) actually had less people by 1880 than in 1870.

Settlers did not have to rely solely on themselves anymore. Whereas before they had to make their own material or pay the outrageous sum of 40 cents per yard for calico, settlers could now buy an assortment of material and notions at a decent price.

The towns were also populated enough to attract businesses. A glance through newspaper ads and state reports
showed an abundance of general stores featuring material and
notions. Seamstress and milliner ads were also common.

An 1872 letter from Netawaka, Kansas (north of Holton) in
the Holton Express reported the following businesses: boarding
houses, one restaurant, three grocery stores, one drug store,
one tin and hardware store, two hotels, one furniture store,
harness shop, one milliner and dress maker, wagon yard,
machinery depot, one warehouse, two land offices, livery
stable, justice of the peace, preachers, four physicians, and
a lawyer. They were obviously promoting their town, but it
clearly demonstrates the establishment of businesses - even in
a small town like Netawaka.

The settlers could buy their material and hire someone to
make clothes or they could make them themselves. They could
keep current with the many fashion magazines advertised in the
newspapers.

The majority of the northeastern population was involved
in agriculture. They were farmers or part of a farm family.
Others worked in a variety of occupations. (See Table 3)

During the 1870s decade, the settlers faced trial after
trial. The Panic of 1873 occurred when the Eastern banks
failed, causing the Kansas banks to close and Kansans to lose
their savings. The Drought of 1874 destroyed crops. The
grasshoppers were a constant source of fear. They could come
and eat everything one year, lay eggs, and start the
destruction the next spring.
State reports showed that the older counties of the northeast had better resources equipped to deal with the disasters. They were even able to provide assistance to the recently formed western Kansas "frontier" counties which mostly contained newly arrived immigrants who were not prepared for disasters. The only northeast county to ask for assistance was Wabaunsee in the Severe Winter of 1873.

The northeastern part of Kansas had progressed into another stage beyond the true pioneer one of simple survival by 1870. Would that mean women could finally follow fashions? Or did they even want to?
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<th>Nemaha</th>
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<td>15,507</td>
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<td>3,043</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>16,800</td>
<td>9,266</td>
<td>19,151</td>
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TABLE 3: COUNTY AGRICULTURE LEVELS

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<td>Morris</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Wyandotte</td>
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Other occupations with wage ranges included:

- Laborers in cities: $1.00 - $1.50 per day
- Carpenters: $1.50 - $3.00 per day
- Bricklayers: $1.50 - $3.00 per day
- House painters: $1.50 - $3.00 per day
- Wagon makers: $1.50 - $2.00 per day
- Blacksmiths: $1.50 - $2.50 per day
- Shoemakers: $1.50 - $2.50 per day
- Harness makers: $1.50 - $3.00 per day
- Printers: $1.75 - $2.00 per day
- Clerks: $25.00 - $100.00 per month
- Tinners: $1.50 - $2.50 per day
- Milliners: $0.75 - $1.00 per day
- Seamstress: $0.50 - $1.00 per day
- Washerwomen: $0.50 - $1.00 per day
- Domestic servants: $1.50 - $3.00 per week
NATIONAL FASHIONS

In order to answer the questions, one must know the fashion ideals of the 1870s. An excellent source was the fashion magazines available to the women. In these magazines, the broad trends in the fashion world can be seen.

According to the Kansas newspaper advertisements, several monthly magazines were available to Kansas women. They included Harper's Bazar, Demorest's Monthly, and Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine. Peterson's Magazine was not seen advertised in any of the newspapers sampled but a copy was located in northeast Kansas.

Harper's Bazar from New York was widely advertised as being "A Repository of Fashion, Instruction, and Pleasure." It claimed to be the organ of the fashionable world, and the expounder of that world's laws; and it is the authority in all matters of manners, etiquette, costume, and its social habits. -Boston Traveller

The Bazar commends itself to every member of the household - to the children by droll and pretty pictures, to the young ladies by its fashion-plates in endless variety, to the provident matron by its patterns for the children's clothes, to paterfamilias by its tasteful designs for embroidered slippers and luxurious dressing-gowns. But the reading-matter of the Bazar is uniformly of great excellence. The paper has acquired a wide popularity for the fireside enjoyment it affords, and has become an established authority with the ladies of America. -N.Y. Evening Post.

A year's subscription cost $4.00 and allowed women to follow the fashion leaders of the world.
Harper's Bazar had just been established in 1867 and remained a major fashion journal in America until 1898. It was one of several American fashion magazines - the major one's being Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, Peterson's Magazine, and Frank Leslie's Gazette of Fashion. There were also several minor magazines available.

Godey's was the earliest American fashion journal, dating back to 1830. For a sum of $3.00 a year sent to Philadelphia, women could keep abreast of the times. A note in Godey's stated "This magazine is the standard fashion monthly of America, and is always on time. -Bulletin, Leavenworth, Kansas."

Established in 1861, Demorest's Illustrated Monthly touted itself as being

The Largest, Cheapest and Best!
Comprising entertaining Literature, Fine Steel Engravings and Illustrations, Music, Floriculture, Architecture, Household Matters, Reliable Fashions, and Full-size patterns, with other rare and beautiful novelties calculated to elevate and make our homes attractive and happy.

A yearly subscription of $3.00 sent to New York would ensure the receipt of such a marvelous magazine.

Peterson's wrote in its chit-chat column that it is both better and cheaper than any magazine of its kind, and therefore the one, above all others, for the times. That the public at large admits the justice of the claim, is proved by the fact, that "Peterson' has now, and has had for years, the largest circulation of any lady's book in the world."
Among the major ladies' journals, a smaller one appeared in a newspaper ad for the Ehrichs' Fashion Quarterly (50 cents a year) from New York.

Ladies ought to know how to dress economically and yet tastefully. No matter what your station in life may be, whether you are the wife or daughter of a millionaire or of a woodcutter, it is your duty to see to it that money you expend for Dress brings you the best possible quality at the price, and, also, that your garments are made up in good taste, perfectly shaped and prettily trimmed....It differs from every other magazine published. It contains nothing extravagant, nothing indefinite. It tells you what to wear....

They all claimed to be the best and cheapest, but in reality they were fairly similar. Harper's was the most expensive at $4 a year. Demorest's and Godey's were only $3 a year. All were monthly publications mailed from the East; reported to have the latest fashions; and included diagrams and patterns. An examination and comparison of Harper's, Godey's, and Peterson's further concluded that they had similar pictures and gave similar fashion advice directed generally to the well-off and occasionally to the average woman. The focus of the information for this thesis will be on Godey's since there was little difference between the magazines and it was the most accessible for research.

Throughout the decade, Godey's presented fashions for all the dresses in its fashion-plates, extension sheets, engravings, and advice. All were minutely described for the reader's benefit. There were dresses to be worn for every occasion. Godey's clearly differentiated between the intended
use of each dress. House dresses were to be worn in the house and not out in public; morning dresses to be worn in the house in the morning; afternoon dresses to be worn in the house in the afternoon; and so on.

Women could spend their day changing dresses in order to be presentable for each activity. This would have required a considerable amount of time and some assistance. Upper-class women would have had the resources needed to accomplish it while other women would probably have been occupied with household duties. They would not have had the time or the assistance of a personal maid.

Morning dresses and house dresses were the simplest. A little more elaborate were the walking dresses, visiting dresses, and carriage dresses. The most elaborate were the dinner dresses and evening dresses. Also mentioned were riding dresses, traveling dresses, and sea-bathing dresses. (See examples at the end of the chapter.)

Designed to be worn in the house only, morning dresses were made of plainer fabric and had fewer trimmings. They frequently had one skirt as opposed to two skirts and usually did not have trains. Also available were morning wrappers, which appeared looser-fitting than morning dresses. To accompany the dresses were morning caps and morning slippers and at times morning oversleeves. The oversleeves were designed to protect the dress while working around the house.
House dresses were also designed to remain in the house but could include the afternoon and morning hours. They were simple, but not to the extent of the morning dresses. House dresses appeared in Godey's with two skirts (an upper skirt arranged on a lower skirt) or with just one skirt. A train could accompany either type of skirt.

Walking dresses, visiting dresses, and carriage dresses were made to be worn outside in public. They generally included an underskirt and overskirt, with or without a train. Dinner dresses and evening dresses were very elaborate.

Other dresses included traveling, bathing, and riding. They were simpler; designed for the active wear.

Certain materials used for certain dresses appeared repeatedly throughout the sampling of Godey's fashion pictures. Many times during this period, the fabrics were mixed - a silk underskirt with a velvet bodice. Materials described in the fashion pictures included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Walking</th>
<th>Visiting</th>
<th>Carriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>poplin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nainsook</td>
<td>cashmere</td>
<td>cashmere</td>
<td>velvet</td>
<td>velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cashmere</td>
<td>poplin</td>
<td>grenadine</td>
<td>satin</td>
<td>silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawn</td>
<td>velvet</td>
<td>poplin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percale</td>
<td>damask</td>
<td>velvet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pique</td>
<td></td>
<td>linen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alpaca</td>
<td></td>
<td>serge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dinner</th>
<th>Evening</th>
<th>Traveling</th>
<th>Bathing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>silk</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>cashmere</td>
<td>flannel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satin</td>
<td>tarlatan</td>
<td>delaine</td>
<td>serge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grenadine</td>
<td></td>
<td>tweed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The "Chitchat" column featured more fabrics. Some specifically for Traveling silk poplin linen de bege beige Others were generally mentioned as being fashionable: chintz, satin jean, sateen, camel's hair, cambric muslin, wool, foulard, and organdy. (See Table 1)

Calico and prints were infrequently mentioned in Godey's. When they did appear, they were only mentioned in the "Chitchat" column. They tended to be listed as "common" materials relegated to house dresses and wrappers and the lower class. Calico and prints were not a fashionable choice as seen below by Godey's treatment in their 1871 report.

Ordinary calicoes have reached their old time price of twelve and a half cents per yard; and an endless variety of white grounds, with small black figures over them, are seen. They wash well, and make a neat, serviceable morning dress for a lady, with the addition of a colored necktie at the throat.\textsuperscript{31} English prints, so well known for service, are no longer confined to double purples, and browns dashed with white, but are shown in dainty colors and designs, that will make pretty, neat, and serviceable morning dresses for housekeepers.\textsuperscript{32}

A year earlier, Godey's described a garment that further put calico in its proper place. The calico wrapper was intended to be an all purpose dress for a housekeeper and was to be worn in the morning. It was to fit a little snug and to have buttons fastening the front. The skirt bearly touched the floor. A separate belt was made of the same calico. The
dress was unlined, except for the arm-holes and seams with muslin."

Gingham fared only a little better. It was often designated for croquet and country dresses. "Only gingham" was how it was treated, although it could be elaborately made into a nice dress."

Godey's also described the latest fashions in undergarments for they were just as important as the dresses. They included stockings, drawers, chemise, corset, corset cover, crinoline/bustle, and petticoats. (See examples at the end of the chapter) Materials in the fashion pictures appeared as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stockings</th>
<th>drawers</th>
<th>chemise</th>
<th>corset</th>
<th>corset cover</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>silk</td>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>jean</td>
<td>linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linen</td>
<td>longcloth</td>
<td>linen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bustle</th>
<th>petticoat</th>
<th>combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flannel</td>
<td>horsehair</td>
<td>muslin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horsehair</td>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>foulard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>longcloth</td>
<td>linen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other undergarment fabrics in the "Chitchat" column were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>drawers</th>
<th>corset</th>
<th>bustle</th>
<th>petticoat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>percale</td>
<td>twill</td>
<td>wool</td>
<td>cambric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Godey's portrayed the outline of the figure in clothes as very sensual even while championing the image of a dainty, innocent female who was usually covered from neck to toe in material. Layers of clothes covered the body but showed and emphasized the exact curvaceous temptations that clothes were supposed to conceal. The corset pushed the bosom up and narrowed the waist while the bustle extended the rear -
features desired by fashion. These undergarments combined with tight-fitting bodices to hint at what was hidden. It makes one wonder if this was a conscious effort by women who wanted to be daring in a respectable way or by men who knew what they wanted to see but could only see it in a socially acceptable way.

Dresses and undergarments worked together to form the proper silhouette. The shape evolved as the decade progressed and influenced the development in women's dress.

At the start of 1870, women still wore a crinoline (hoop skirt) in order to achieve a uniformly round shape just as they had in the previous decade. One year later, crinolines started to appear with a tournure (bustle) so the upper back of the skirt extended out. The silhouette then started to move to a flatter front skirt with extra fabric being drawn towards the back and up. This could be better achieved with a half crinoline, where the front part was omitted, and worn with a tournure. The year 1873 saw the emergence of a large bustle, a much needed device to hold up the mass of material in back. The bustle extended out such that a tray could sit upon it and stay parallel to the floor.

In 1875, dresses started to slim down once again. The bustle was still worn but at a more gradual slope. By the end of 1875, Godey's was complaining of the difficulty of walking and sitting due to the narrow skirts. Bustles were longer and gently shaped to support the bottom of the dresses and not
the top. Dresses, by 1876, were completely flat in front. To accommodate the narrowness, corsets had become elongated and the chemise and drawers could be combined. The combination appeared in 1877 and rapidly became popular as it reduced the number of layers and allowed the dress to cling closer to the body.

At the end of 1879, dresses started to lose some of the clinging severity and moved to having puffs over the hips. The panier effect could result from plaits of material or from trimming.

In response to the narrow skirts, outside pockets were appearing on dresses because there was no room for inside pockets.

Handkerchiefs, and other important trifles which a lady is accustomed to carry about with her, are now deposited in the outside pocket. Fashions has provided for the difficulty by devising a variety of receptacles, which are usually made of the same material as the dress, and are gathered at the top with an elastic, which stretches as the hand is introduced into them. When pockets are worn on the front of plain, long basques, they are flat and square; but on the front of overskirts they are gathered like old-fashioned reticules, and have a bow for an ornament. 39

This description is also interesting in that it refers to elastic when elastic is commonly associated with the 20th century.

Fashions did not just include dresses and undergarments. There were shoes, hats, bonnets, parasols, gloves, aprons, and wraps. All could be designed to coordinate with the wearer's activity.
For shoes, each style coordinated with the dress. Slip on shoes tended to be worn in the house and for evening wear. Boots could be seen in the house but were more suited to outside activities, like walking and carriage rides. The boots could be laced or buttoned. Riding boots slipped on. All had high heels. The exception would have been shoes for swimming.

It would have been rare for women to be seen without a head covering. Hats and bonnets were the norm, not an exception. Hats would have had hat pins to secure them on the hair while bonnets would have had strings or ribbon to tie under the chin. Godey's said:

> we see little if any difference in the shape of bonnets and hats; the two are so similar in shape that a pair of strings transform a round hat in to a bonnet. An elastic band back of the chignon is necessary to bonnets with strings; to prevent them coming too far forward on the head."

Gloves were also a common sight in public. A fashion comment in 1877 said that

> kid gloves retain their long-wristed shape; gloves long enough to require four buttons are most worn in the street, while from six to twelve are usually worn for evening."

Parasols were used for protection against the sun. Some were plainer for everyday wear; others were fancy.

Parasols are in every conceivable style and size, and very beautiful are some of the designs. Linen can be purchased for common wear, but they soon soil and become defaced. Pongee are the best for ordinary use, lined with silk of a contrasting color. In silk, white lined with colored silk, and covered with lace covers, or of pale blue or rose
colored silk, covered with muslin and lace ruffles, are the most popular.  

Aprons had a designated role, too. Fancy aprons were for show while plain ones were for utilitarian purposes. In 1872, Godey's said that "black silk aprons, wrought around the edge and pockets with white or colored silk embroidery, are seen at our furnishing stores. Cheaper ones are of alpaca, braided or stitched with the sewing machine in colored silks."  

Wraps included mantles, shawls, and cloaks. They could be made of a variety of material. In 1872, cloaks could be made of waterproof cloth to "protect themselves as best they may from cold and damp."  

One must remember the hair, for it too was part of fashion. Many times it was necessary to supplement one's own hair with false hair in order to achieve the proper coiffure. Godey's reported in 1870 that "false hair is still very extensively worn, and there appears no probability at present of its going out of fashion."  

Of course, women were not supposed to blindly follow the latest fashions. Certain styles looked better on some than others so the Chitchat column offered advice on who should wear what. It helped women to decide if it would make them look too thin or too tall, and so on. This applied to styles, material, and colors. In 1879, Godey's gave the following advice. 

The full panier and the plain skirt are still rivals in the field, and ladies certainly show more taste and good sense in adopting the one or the
other, according to the requirements of their figure, than if they blindly followed one fashion because it was the latest out. Thus, a person gifted by nature with plentiful embonpoint would be quite wrong to ensconce herself between two full paniers, with a tablier pleated across in front and a round waistband. She will act prudently in leaving such models to her sisters of slight, tall proportions, and who, perhaps, need to have certain outlines softened and rounded off. One portly fair one will select, in preference, the plain dress, clinging without excess, sober ornaments, a material striped or pleated lengthways, and peaked bodice, open in the shape of a heart; everything, in short, best calculated to make her look slight and elegant.

Godey's recognized the fact that the fashions shown and described in their magazine were directed toward the upper-class who could afford the better materials and hire their sewing done. They would comment on this and then advise women on dressing within their means since Godey's desired women to follow fashions according to their ability. Directions were also provided for inexpensive, pretty dresses and hats. They did say that a sewing machine would help. In 1871, they said "for a young lady's evening dress, the following is inexpensive and pretty, and one that, by the aid of a sewing machine, may be readily made at home."

The language in the articles suggests that sewing machines were an asset to commoners - not the upper-class. Sewing machines were often mentioned in the same sentence as "cheap" and "inexpensive." They helped women who had to sew their own clothes to dress prettily. Women of the upper-class would have been less interested in saving money and would have hired their sewing done.
Three years later, *Godey's* made the comment that "as many are obliged now to practice economy, we will give some hints upon making over old dresses to look as well, or as we have often heard it asserted, better than new." This advice was in response to the Depression of 1873 when many had lost their savings to failed banks.

Less expensive substitutes were advocated for expensive material. Alpaca was suggested in place of silk because "with a pretty hat or bonnet neatly trimmed, nice gloves and boots, pretty necktie, a lady can always look neat and ladylike in an alpaca suit." Or a dress could be made over to look new by using two old dresses or by just replacing the trimming.

In designing a new dress, women could arrange it so as to economize.

In these days of reform and economy in dress, it is quite possible for a lady to be stylishly dressed at little expense. A number of walking costumes may be arranged with a single black skirt, in combination with a variety of Polonaises. Almost any color looks well with black, and it takes but a small quantity of time."

They even professed that doing your own millinery was not that difficult. They gave detailed instructions on trimming bonnets and hats: "For the benefit of our readers who do their own millinery, we will give a few hints of how to trim the straw bonnets now so much worn. It is not a difficult matter to trim these straw bonnets." Women could also trim their own parasols.
Godey's provided additional help to home sewing by including patterns and instructions. Some patterns were full-sized that could be pulled out; others were simple diagrams. The instructions assumed that the reader had a high level of sewing competence because they gave only the highlights of the project. (See end of chapter for example.)

Another option to dressmakers and homemaking was ready made clothing. Rarely mentioned in Godey's, ready made apparel was mass produced for women who could not afford a seamstress but still wanted something stylish. In 1874, Godey's recommended a firm in Philadelphia that mass produced "'elegant and stylish' ladies' coats and sacques, cut in the 'most artistic style and from the best materials'."

Other columns in Godey's gave recipes and instructions on cleaning articles. Everything from gloves to silk material was addressed.

Among all of the fashion advice, articles appeared concerning women's health and fashionable dress. A doctor in 1872 wrote a warning to women about the health hazards of wearing corsets too tight. He said it was not healthy to try to reduce a waist to eighteen inches because organs could not function properly in the restricted space allowed.

The Chitchat column in 1874 gave its support to items that helped women stay healthy while still wearing fashionable clothing. The Non-parell Skirt Supporter is very simple, having bands crossing the shoulders, and attachments for instantly attaching
to one or half a dozen skirts. The advantage of this skirt supporter is that it removes the weight of the skirts from the hips, which is so injurious. The price is trifling, being only sixty cents, and consequently within the reach of all. We can supply them, if desired, feeling assured that after once being used they will not be discarded."

The Stocking Supporter from the same company was also mentioned.

At the end of the magazine were advertisements for various products to improve one's health while still following fashions. Two items were a special bustle and a corset skirt supporter. They were manufactured in the East but said to have retailers nation wide where they could be purchased. The Standard Lotta Bustle promised to support the weight of skirts while not pressing into the body. The corset skirt supporter was designed to transfer the weight of the skirts to the shoulders therefore improving your health. (See Table 3)

The appearance of the health concerns shows a great discrepancy to the fashion ideal. The very warning on tight corsets was opposite to Godey's constant image of an ideal hour-glass figure that necessitated the wearing of such items. It could be viewed as an hypocrisy of the magazine in promoting fashions that were detrimental to one's health if followed or to one's self-image if not followed. On the other hand, the magazine's position could be construed to mean that the ideal fashion had been presented and it was up to the reader to use common sense on how to follow it.

32
Most likely it was a combination of the two views. The fashion magazines did present an extreme version of what women should wear. If followed verbatim, fashions could harm the wearer. But as Godey's said repeatedly, they reported the height of fashions; readers should interpret how to use the information best for themselves.

All of the advice offered by Godey's and the other fashion magazines showed the fashion changes and how to achieve being fashionable. The national opinion was certainly available to Kansas women as advertisements were frequent in the Kansas newspapers. A look at fashion material originating in Kansas will reveal just how close they coincided.
TABLE 1: FABRICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alpaca</td>
<td>long hair of the Peruvian alpaca...the cloth woven of hair alone or combined with wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brocade</td>
<td>a luxurious fabric woven...in an all over pattern of flowers and figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calico</td>
<td>a cotton textile printed on one side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cambric</td>
<td>of linen but also a fine white cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cashmere</td>
<td>a soft wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chintz</td>
<td>cotton cloth printed with...bird motifs and flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damask</td>
<td>woven of silk or linen...The flat-woven pattern combines satiny and flat surfaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delaine</td>
<td>a sheer woolen and cotton dress fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flannel</td>
<td>a soft woolen fabric of plain and twill weave in a wide range of textures and weights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foulard</td>
<td>a twill-woven lightweight silk, plain or printed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gingham</td>
<td>a popular cotton fabric of predyed yarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grenadine</td>
<td>a silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horsehair</td>
<td>hairs of a horse used to make...cloth (or) stiffening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jean</td>
<td>a stout, twilled cotton cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawn</td>
<td>a delicate, sheer white cloth of linen or cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linen</td>
<td>fine or course...a durable fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long cloth</td>
<td>a closely woven, plain weave cotton cloth made of fine combed yarns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muslin</td>
<td>a staple, plain-woven cotton...It comprises weaves from sheerest batiste and soft nainsook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nainsook</td>
<td>a soft, fine cotton striped, barred or plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organdy</td>
<td>a fine muslin in plain weave, slightly stiffened, in white and colors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percale</td>
<td>similar to cambric; plain-woven cotton fabric with a firm, smooth finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pique</td>
<td>a stout, ribbed cotton fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poplin</td>
<td>a lightweight ribbed fabric woven like grosgrain. Of linen or cotton warp with wool or nylon filling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satin</td>
<td>a silk...of thick, close texture with smooth, glossy surface and dull back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satin jean</td>
<td>a twilled-backed silk fabric, soft-finished and smooth-faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sateen</td>
<td>an imitation of satin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serge</td>
<td>a fabric of worsted yarn with a diagonal twill on both sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swiss muslin</td>
<td>a crisp, sheer cotton fabric ornamented with small dots of matching or contrasting color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tweed</td>
<td>a coarse or soft woolen fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twill</td>
<td>the strongest of all weaves...wool twills include serge and gabardine; cotton twills, denim and coutil or ticking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velvet</td>
<td>a fabric of great luxury...thick-bodied, close-napped, soft type of cloth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2: GARMENTS

basque - a shaped, jacket-like bodice, fitting close to the body and often ending below the waist in short...skirt

mantle - a loose garment, wrap or cape, usually without sleeves

panier - a portion of a skirt arranged to provide fullness at the sides

polonaise - a coat-gown with the fronts of the skirts pulled back over an underskirt

redingote - a coat-dress worn over a skirt, sometimes of three-quarter length and buttoned down the front, often full-length and opened down the center of the front

sacque - an unfitted or semi-fitted bodice, jacket

tournure - a bustle

waist - the upper portion of a garment; the bodice
TABLE 3: ADVERTISEMENTS

Standard Lotta Bustle.

The Standard Lotta Bustle has outsold every other Bustle in the market several times over. Diplomas have been awarded them each year by the American Institute. The new form adopted No. 1 of the Standard Lotta Bustle, in a fixed back for narrow dresses, specially containing the same merits in weight supporting, falling upon sitting, etc., and found in any other, finishless and perfect, filling every requirement. For narrow dresses it is perfection, all the Lottas are perfection. They are made in various styles, short, long, deep, and shallow, with a smooth finish, of any required shape, style, or size, containing no injury by pressing, and far cheaper than any other Bustle in the market. These are requirements that all other Bustles generally fail to meet. A, B, C, best selling; also 13, 16, 18, and 21.

A. W. THOMAS,
Patentee and Wholesale Manufacturer, 81 White St., N. Y., and 601 Race St., St. Louis.

Madame FOY'S
CORSET BUST SUPPORTER
Announced to Popularity every Year,
and for BEAUTY, COMFORT, and STYIE
Manufacturer of BEST ARTICLES of the
Kind ever made.
Patented for Wearing juellers and untis.
A. W. THOMAS, Patentee and Manufacturer.

Manufactured Solely by
FOY & HARMON,
New Haven, Conn.

1876
TABLE 4: FASHIONS

January 1871
Morning dress of crimson Cashmere, made gored, the waist being covered with a small cape; the trimming consists of fancy velvet ribbon.57

July 1873
Ladies' morning wrapper, made of striped white and blue percale, with a band of plain blue percale stitched down the sides and around the back, cuffs on sleeves, buttons, and pocket flaps of the same.58
March 1879
Morning dress for lady, made of blue cashmere trimmed with pleatings of silk; the back is formed of gores bound with silk, deep round collar trimmed with a pleating.

January 1871
House dress. The underskirt is of black silk, trimmed with three ruffles; the upper skirt is of black Cashmere, embroidered in gay colors, with a heavy silk fringe to match. Short sacque, edged with embroidery and fringe to match skirt. Hair arranged in braids, with small black velvet bow at one side.
April 1873
Front...view of house dress of lilac silk, the underskirt is made of lilac and white strip, the overskirt and basque of plain lilac; the dress is trimmed with a quilling of silk and lilac fringe; bows and sash ends of ribbon are fastened on each side body as the waist.  

September 1877
House dress of myrtle green silk and striped camel's hair; the underskirt and basque waist are of the silk, trimmed with the striped goods; the overskirt of the striped, trimmed with a plaited ruffle to match those on underskirt. Silk cuffs and buttons on the sleeves.
July 1872
Walking dress of gray grenadine, made with two skirts; the lower one trimmed with a ruffle, headed by a band of blue silk and narrow ruffles. The upper skirt has reverse of silk, and is trimmed to correspond; basque waist; surplice, with reverse of silk; open sleeves. Hat of white chip, trimmed with blue ribbon and feathers.  

March 1878
Walking dress; the underskirt is of black silk, trimmed with narrow ruffles, headed with an embroidered band. The overskirt and basque are of cashmere, trimmed with fringe and embroidered band. Velvet bonnet, trimmed with silk and flowers.
March 1874
Front and back view of visiting dress, made of cuir-colored silk. The front breadth is plain, the back ones trimmed with narrow ruffles. The sides of the front breadths are finished with a band of velvet. The polonaise is trimmed with lace of the same color, with velvet bows on the back and up the front. Bonnet of silk of the same shade, trimmed with darker, and flowers.

October 1872
Carriage dress, made of black silk, the skirt trimmed with a plaited ruffle, headed by puffs, divided by ruches. Black velvet polonaise with basque in front, trimmed up the front with handsome buttons. Black velvet bonnet, trimmed with black lace, feathers, and pink roses.
March 1876
Carriage dress of black silk. The underskirt trimmed with puffs and a plaiting. The overskirt with a plaiting and a band of velvet embroidered; sash to correspond in the back. Velvet cuirass basque cut double-breasted, with embroidered edge around it; silk sleeves with velvet cuff embroidered. Black chip bonnet, trimmed with ecru color and black lace and feathers.67

June 1879
Carriage dress of sapphire blue crepon and damassee. The upper part of over skirt in front is laid in folds of the crepon, the lower part, back breadth, and jacket bodice are of the damassee. Bonnet of chip of the same color trimmed with flowers and feathers of bright colors, and old gold.68
May 1875
Dress for travelling, of gray tweed, made with long straight overskirt perfectly plain. Basque jacket, open in the back of the skirt, with buttons and buttonholes down the sides. It is trimmed with black braid, as are the seams of the back. Gray straw hat, trimmed with bird and feather and silk.  

February 1878
Travelling dress and cloak. The dress is of black Cashmere, trimmed with knife plaitings; the cloak is made of checked, dark-gray cloth, half fitting, and trimmed with passementerie buttons. Gray felt bonnet, trimmed with velvet feathers, and wing, lace veil fastened under the chin...
September 1877
Dinner dress of tilleul silk, it is made in the Princess shape, with a plaiting around the skirt; it is laced up the back, scarf drapery across the front, trimmed with several rows of fringe, fastened with a bow in the back; elbow sleeves, trimmed with ruffles.71

March 1870
Evening dress of pink and white striped silk, with a bias ruffle on edge of skirt. Overdress of white spotted lace; the front breadth is trimmed with rows of Valenciennes lace, and looped at the sides with pink flowers. Low corsage, trimmed with white lace and pink satin, with small basques and sash of satin. Hair arranged in puffs and curls, with pink flowers twined in.72
July 1876
Evening dress of white grenadine. The underskirt made with knife plaitings of white and one of rose-colored silk, with puffs of grenadine above them. The overdress is trimmed with two rows of fringe, with rose-colored ribbon bows fastening it up the back. Basque bodice; elbow sleeves trimmed with silk.  

July 1879
Lady's evening dress, made of cream colored bunting; the back of skirt is plain, laid in large box pleats. The front is pleated also, with pleats coming down from sides fastened in front. The side paniers are also pleated. Basque bodice cut surplice, elbow sleeves.
**May 1874**

Habit of navy blue cloth, made with a basque waist scalloped, and bound with a button in each scallop. Silk hat, with blue gauze veil would around it.  

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**April 1878**

Riding habit of myrtle-green cloth, trimmed up the back of skirt, which is gored with bands of cloth bound with silk and buttons. Felt hat, with grenadine scarf around it fastened with a rosette in the back.
July 1872
Bathing dress for lady, of blue and white striped serge, trimmed with a band of blue flannel. Cap of oil silk, bound with blue braid. 77

September 1879
Bathing costume in pale blue flannel, consisting of drawers with trimming of embroidery of several different shades of wall-flowers. Blouse with pleated plastron in front, fastened by a band and buckle; long sleeves, both the upper and lower part of which, as well as the edges of the blouse, being embroidered in the same manner as the drawers. 78
January 1872
Morning cap for lady of white muslin, edged with lace, and pink ribbon going around it, with bow in front and back.79

January 1877
Ladies' morning slipper, made of blue velvet, with trimming of lace and ribbon.80

December 1877
Black satin boot for the house, laced upon the side, and fastened up the front with straps to show the fancy stocking underneath.81

December 1877
Kid walking boot laced at the side, the front ornamented with colored embroidery.82
December 1877
Carriage boot of kid and quilted satin; the upper part is of the satin.\textsuperscript{83}

December 1877
Ladies' riding boot with spur; cord and tassels ornament it.\textsuperscript{85}

January 1876
Shoe for evening wear. This shoe is intended to be made of same material as the dress with which it is worn. It has three velvet straps across the front, and the rosette is white lace and a satin bow. A lace ruche encircles the top of the shoe.\textsuperscript{84}

September 1879
Bathing shoe of canvass, with sole of cord; rosette and sandals of red braid; either plain ecru or colored stockings are worn with this shoe when bathing.\textsuperscript{86}
October 1870
Ladies' drawers, with narrow waistband in front, and drawing strings in back; they are trimmed with embroidered ruffling and tucks.

March 1871
Low muslin chemisette, to wear with an evening dress, made of Valensiennes lace, fastened with velvet bows of the color of the dress.

May 1870
Ladies chemise. The yoke is formed of squares stitched, with embroidery on the two edges. The sleeves are very short, and are trimmed to correspond.

August 1879
Drawers...made of Lonsdale cambric muslin, and trimmed with tucks, and torchon lace and insertion.
April 1878
White silk, with open work in front.⁹¹

December 1873
Ladies' corset, trimmed with embroidery.⁹³

January 1870
Fashionable shaped corset, made of fine French clotilde, trimmed with embroidered edging.⁹²

January 1870
Corset cover, cut square in the neck, a yoke being formed of small puffs. Puffed sleeve, edged with a narrow embroidered trimming.⁹⁴
July 1873
Ladies' corset cover, made of fine linen, and trimmed with rows of insertion and lace.95

October 1870
This crinoline is made of flannel. The straps which join the upper and lower parts together are fastened with buckle, and can be shortened or lengthened at pleasure, so that the crinoline may be worn with either a short costume or a train-shaped dress. There are four steel circles round the lower part of the crinoline.96

March 1871
The panier tournure now worn in Paris over the crinoline. It is made of horsehair, bound with braid, and stiffened with steel bands.97

January 1873
Different styles of bustles, made of horsehair with steel springs.98
January 1876
Long bustle, made of muslin, and intended to hold out the bottom of the dress skirt in the back, by a few whalebones placed in it." 

June 1878
Longcloth petticoat, cut with tightly gored front, with yoke at top, which goes down deep in the back; the skirt is fulfilled on to this, and is trimmed with a single ruffle and insertion all around--the insertion finishing a second ruffle in the back.100
June 1878

Ladies' New Fourreau underdress. This garment, which is specially designed for the tight-fitting dresses now so fashionable, is of longcloth, trimmed with tucks and embroider or torehon lace, according to taste.¹⁰¹

February 1879

Combination undergarment... (chemise and skirt); for full-sized pattern for lady see extra diagram. Combination undergarments are very popular...underskirt and chemise, to be worn under the corsets. It can be made in muslin, foulard, or fine linen, and may be trimmed with either lace, embroidery, or with ruffles edged with Valenciennes.¹⁰²
November 1871
Kitchen apron, with bib trimmed with ruches; the apron extends all around the back, and is fastened at the sides with strings of muslin.¹⁹³

February 1878
Fancy apron made of white muslin, trimmed with muslin ruffles embroidered down the sides and across the bottom; it has lapels fastening on the shoulders.¹⁹⁴
July 1874
White silk parasol, covered with six rows of black thread lace; coral handle and end; black ribbon bow.105

January 1871
Bonnet of lavender-colored silk, trimmed with a darker shade of velvet and white flowers; the strings and tabs in back are of velvet, edged with fringe.107

September 1877
The mantle is of black brocaded silk, trimmed with kiltins of plain silk, seperated by a band of embroidery; the mantle is finished with a deep silk fringe, with a netted heading, and is lined with a sarcenet.106

July 1879
White chip hat for lady, trimmed with figured gauze, and small and large pink flowers.108
January 1871

Blue Cashmere dress. The trimming, which is somewhat novel in effect, consists principally of velvet ribbons of a rather darker tint than the dress. This ribbon is placed round the skirt in four rows, crossed at intervals by bows of satin ribbon of the tint of the dress. The trimming of the open tunic corresponds with that of the skirt. The bodice is high, and cut waistcoat fashion. The sleeves, which become more open towards the wrist have, like the bodice, trimming corresponding with that of the skirt. The undersleeves are of net and narrow Valenciennes, a fluted edging of which serves as a finish round the throat. With this Cashmere dress no collar is worn. The toque is of blue satin, with richly-polished steel ornaments; the veil is carried round the head, and falls behind; it is adorned with blue silk fringe. We have given a pattern of this jacket, body and waistcoat, on page 32. It is worn out of doors without anything else; it is trimmed the same as the skirt; the sleeves are loose, caught up at the elbow with a bow of satin ribbon.
In addition to national magazines, local publications provided sources to follow the fashion changes. Newspapers, catalogs, and books that originated in Kansas demonstrated the availability of locally published materials.

Kansas newspapers frequently published advertisements of catalogs. In one ad, Montgomery Ward from Chicago promised to send a free catalog. Another common ad was for Smith's Illustrated Pattern Bazar, only $1 a year.

One catalog from 1875 showed the latest spring and summer styles. (See Table 2) The Catalogue of the Domestic Paper Fashions was published by the Domestic Sewing Machine Company in New York but had a Kansas agent - Bosworth and Robbins at 203 Kansas Ave in Topeka. The only agent in Topeka for the Domestic patterns, Bosworth promised to "keep a full line and receive new designs weekly of the celebrated Domestic paper fashions, elegant in design and faultless in fit." Their store also offered dress goods and trimmings. An ad for the catalog appeared in the 1876 Emporia Ledger. Five cents sent to New York would procure a copy.

Women could send off for any of their patterns, costing between 10 cents to 30 cents each. Dozens of choices allowed women to design their own dresses by combining different bodices with different skirts. Patterns abounded for basques, sacques, waists, polonaises, redingotes, overskirts, and
skirts. Or women could choose a complete simple dress - walking dresses, wrappers, riding dresses, house dresses. Even an opera cloak was offered in addition to other wraps such as capes, mantillas, traveling cloaks, dusters, and waterproofs. A bathing suit and various aprons (fancy and kitchen) were also offered. Not to be excluded, an array of undergarments were present - drawers, chemises, corset covers, and petticoats. The choice of fancy or plain was left to the buyer.

An aid to the women was the sewing machine which could ease the burden of sewing by hand. One 1874 article urged every family to get a sewing machine because it saved time and labor, freeing women to do less drudging work. It reasoned that men obtained improvements, like a cultivator, so the wives should too.\textsuperscript{115}

It did not take far to find a source where sewing machines were sold. Almost every edition of the newspapers had advertisements featuring the latest improved sewing machine. (See Table 4)

A. Sumner & Co. (94 Delaware St., Leavenworth) was a dealer for the Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine. Their 1870 ad claimed that 500,000 were in use. "No family need be without a sewing machine."\textsuperscript{116} Other choices in the Leavenworth paper were the Davis Sewing Machine from Chicago,\textsuperscript{117} New American Sewing Machine from Missouri in 1874,\textsuperscript{118} and the Sovereign Witney Sewing Machine in 1874.\textsuperscript{119}
The same advertisements appeared in Topeka in addition to many others. In 1877, the Singer Sewing Machine was sold at 235 Kansas Av. The store also repaired all sewing machines and sold needles for 50 cents a dozen. S. Barnum & Co. at 197 Kansas Av. was an "agent for all kinds of sewing machine needles, oils and attachments." J.R. Dutton (200 Kansas Av.) advertised a Domestic for $50 cash and a Singer for $45 cash. He also repaired old machines and sold needles (50 cents a dozen), tuckers ($1 each), and rufflers ($1.50 each).

Other sewing machines included Howe, Blees, Grover and Baker, Florence, Wilcox and Gibbs, Wilson Shuttle, Victor, Remington, Aetna Manhattan, Elliptic, St. John, White, and Dauntless. In 1872 Troy, the price for a Wilson was $45.

The Kansas State Agricultural College Sewing Department favored the Wheeler & Wilson, Wilcox & Gibbs, Secor, and American Compound Button-hole machines. Their 1874 report said they were used constantly as were patterns from Harper's, Demorest's, and Butterick's. "The latest style are artistically reproduced, yet without extravagance."

Having a sewing machine was a great help, but some worried about the effects if it was abused. The Christian Union in 1876 warned women to not use the sewing machine to be extravagant with ruffles and such. Time was better spent with simple dresses and happy homes than in following fashions.
Some people saw the sewing machine as being intended to reduce the amount of time spent sewing and not to enable women to sew elaborate dresses that would require more expense and time. Articles, like the ones from the Christian Union made an attempt to influence women in channeling their energies into their homes and not their clothes.

If a woman did not want to make her own dress, she could employ one of the many dressmakers advertised in the newspapers. The dressmakers always purported to have the latest styles and would provide all services to outfit a lady. Many offered a combination of dressmaking and millinery. Mrs. Bell of Holton opened a millinery and ladies' goods store in May of 1872. Each month, she would change the advertising in the Holton Express for new arrivals. She had hoop skirts, corsets, hose, corset steels, chignons, hair braids, velveteens, velvets, silks, ribbons, hats, bonnets, and more.

Mrs. J.M. Creen from 1874 Emporia had a similar store but also sold Butterick patterns and white linen ready made summer suit. Mrs. Metcalf in 1876 Topeka offered just millinery but promised to have the latest styles in hats and bonnets. Orders through mail were welcomed. Her prices for trimmed hats were $1.50 to $15 and untrimmed 50 cents to $4.

There was another ad for a millinery store in the 1870 Troy newspaper. It offered flowers, hats, parasols, corsets, hose, nets, corgnens, switches, veils, beads, jet jewelry,
elastics, gloves, bonnet and hat frames, and patterns in the latest styles. They claimed to be good, but inexpensive.\textsuperscript{128}

As seen in the advertisements, many dressmakers and milliners offered a variety of items to the female customers. There were enough establishments to suggest a strong competition for dry goods stores. Women may have preferred a "gentle" atmosphere and staff and perhaps had a wider selection with the dressmakers and milliners.

A lady could also order a ready made dress from any of the companies advertising in the newspapers. J.B. Gaylord & Co. from Chicago offered a brown or black linen suit in 1878. Their ad claimed to have large quantities of this fashionable suit so it was less expensive than those made by dressmakers. Pictured was a two piece suit for $2.00 and a three piece suit for $2.50, prepaid of course.\textsuperscript{129} (See Table 3)

Closer to home was S. Barnum and Co at 197 Kansas Av. in Topeka. In 1876, skirts were 50 cents to $1.50.\textsuperscript{130} They later advertised a "large line of ladies' linen suits."\textsuperscript{131}

Other stores offered products necessary for the fashionable dress- hoops in 1871\textsuperscript{132} and bustles in 1874.\textsuperscript{133} In the ads, corsets cost 30-75 cents;\textsuperscript{134} shoes $1.00; button shoes $1.75; and side lace shoes $1.50.\textsuperscript{135}

Advertisements for other products helped project the current acceptable dress. They would feature products and then use pictures of women for enhancement. An 1876 picture showed a lady in her elegant morning dress and her maid
wearing a simple work dress. In the 1878 Allen's Anti-Fat advertisement, women wore the fashionable narrow skirts. (See Table 3)

To keep up with the latest in fashions only required a look at the newspapers' articles. The Kansas Farmer from Topeka had a regular column edited by Mrs. M.W. Hudson, called the "Literary and Domestic." She addressed a variety of topics regarding how to dress.

In 1875, Mrs. Hudson extolled the virtues of white dresses and advised ladies to include at least one in their summer wardrobe. Underskirts were best made of colored silk, percale, grenadine, lawn, or organdy. She also suggested that the material and trimming depended on one's economy and purpose.

Other regular fashion columns kept women current. They ran under such names as "For the Ladies," "Fashions," "Society and Fashion," "Fashion Gossip," and "Fashion Notes." The majority of them were from Eastern newspapers. They carefully reported the latest changes in fashion as it appeared in New York, Chicago, and Paris. They told what was and was not worn, how it was worn, and who should wear it.

The Kansas Farmer from Leavenworth ran the column "The Fashions." In 1873, they wrote on traveling suits that should be composed of "a polonaise and skirt or basque, overskirt and skirt." Another week brought the advice that "dresses are
all made to hang very narrow and close in the front and at the sides, being very full at the back."\[140\]

The Kansas Farmer from Topeka had "Fashion Notes." The column included such advice on wearing the latest style in sleeves, cuffs, buttons, and waists. In 1878, it said that "white muslin dresses for afternoon wear are made with long princess polonaises, with embroideries down every seam, and trimmed with satin faced moire ribbons in several tones of color."\[141\]

Many more fashion articles appeared throughout the newspapers on a more irregular schedule. Some were from the East, but most were credited to Kansas editors. The Kansas State Record of Topeka wrote in 1872 that "no hoop skirts are to be seen in the streets of Paris."\[142\] The Holton Express had an 1873 article "Hints of Styles." The editor noted the changes from last year - such as walking suits were plainer; or no changes - the fullness of the skirt was still drawn back.\[143\] An 1873 article said false hair was worn more than ever.\[144\] In 1876, The Emporia Ledger reported "not only were dress skirts so narrow and fastened so tightly that a lady in full dress could get into a carriage with difficulty."\[145\] In 1879, they wrote "the panier is an established fact."\[146\]

In a rare mentioning of underclothing, an 1870 article on the Jefferson County Fair described the needlework projects.

In plain and fancy needlework, there was a very fine display, upon garments of which men are not

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presumed to know the names; but there was no
discount upon the elegance of the work. A pair of
s---- "lady's hose" attracted a good deal of
attention.\textsuperscript{147}

Authors gave their own advice as to what women should
wear to enhance what features women had. An 1877 article said
stout ladies should only wear black and thin ladies should use
padding. Short women should not wear overskirts. Ladies with
little hair should lift it high on the head. Large feet
should never wear kid slippers.\textsuperscript{148}

Fashion articles also reported on how women dressed at
specific places or events. They could be very detailed in
their descriptions since in most likelihood local women
readers were interested in knowing what others wore.

In 1871, "What She Had On" reported on a banquet in
Chicago and described the material and style of the dress
along with hair arrangement and jewelry worn by Mlle.
Nilson.\textsuperscript{149} Also from Chicago were the dresses worn at a
President's reception.\textsuperscript{150} "How the Belles Dress in Texas," in
1874 wrote of one woman wearing a black silk dress with
flowers, black beads on the bodice, a stiff white standing
collar with points turned down, and a blue silk scarf in a
front bow.\textsuperscript{151}

The Kansas Farmer included an 1876 description from
Philadelphia where centennial mania was occurring. Everyone
wanted to celebrate the centennial so they were wearing
centennial cuffs, centennial heels, and centennial
everything.\textsuperscript{152}
Closer to home was the 1872 report on a calico ball in Topeka.

The calico ball last week, given by and for the benefit of the firemen, was an enjoyable affair. It is a wonder how so many different styles, and all of the comely and tasteful, were got up out of common prints. If our ladies could, like Mrs. A.T. Stewart, afford to wear calico more generally than is done, no damaging effects to good taste would result.153

The calico ball was apparently a costume ball where the ladies dressed in calico. They were not in the habit of wearing "common calico." The tone of the article suggests that calico could be cut into pretty dresses and should not be looked down upon.

Fashion articles addressed more than just on what is in fashion. They would tell women how to achieve being fashionable without spending a fortune.

"Talking and Knitting" from The Kansas Farmer in 1872 gave detailed instructions on remodeling an alpaca dress, which had been worn some time with a long, full overskirt. From the old overskirt I made six ruffles, and from a piece of new, which was left at the first making, I made a short apron front overskirt, with no back, and a long basque. Now I have a stylish dress, which, I fondly flatter myself, no one will recognize as my old last winter dress.154

The next year, she suggested turning or dying an old dress since the economy made money tight.155

The 1874 article "Economical Fashions" offered guidance in altering and improving articles on hand. "Old fashioned
cloaks can be cut over into pretty basques for house wear" was the advise in the lengthy article. 156

According to an 1876 article, no wardrobe was complete without a black dress, whether made of alpaca, cashmere, grenadine, lawn, silk, poplin, or serge. When the dress started to show the wear and tear of constant use, a lady could take it apart, remove the trimming, wash it, and put it back together with new trimming.157

In addition to renovating clothing, readers were admonished to use a less expensive material in order to live within one's means. Calico was the choice material in the articles.

Holton Express in 1873 wrote "Better to wear a calico dress, without trimming, if it be paid for, than to owe the shop-keeper for the most elegant silk, cut and trimmed in the most be-witching manner.158

Mrs. Hudson advocated being dressed as one desired and in what looked best. A woman should be dressed well and within her means, whether it be cheap or expensive. Calico was quite acceptable if that was all that could be afforded.159

In 1875, she suggested that

poor people cannot afford to wear ruffles and knife pleatings on dresses that have to be washed and starched and ironed, and as long as the wife of the poor minister, the poor merchant, the poor mechanic or the poor farmer, makes her eight cent calico in the same style that the bankers wife makes her organdie and her fine cambric that long will she show her folly in toiling over the ironing board and cheating her brains to no purpose, for a cheap dress can be both plainly and tastefully made, and
will nearly always look better than if profusely trimmed. 160

Mrs. Hudson was a strong proponent for women to dress according to her station in life. It was well that upper-class women dressed extravagantly. They had the means to buy the necessary fabric and hire someone to take care of the clothes. The lower classes did not have this luxury. Any extra refinery on their dresses only added to their already heavy work load. According to Mrs. Hudson, women were supposed to use their common sense in dressing.

"Morning Dress" in the 1877 Kansas Farmer agreed when saying

The ideal morning dress for women who do their own work is of calico, not so dark as to be gloomy in its suggestions, nor so light as to show every sport that may happen to soil it. It is simply but tastefully made, so that laundering it will not be difficult or tedious, and so that it will not be too nice to wear every day....For kitchen wear nothing is so unsuitable as woolen goods. They absorb and retain odors; and as they cannot easily be cleansed they are unhealthful for the wearer, and untidy. With calico at six and ten cents a yard, there are few women who cannot afford to dress neatly and tastefully, even while they are about their work. 161

And calico and prints were the cheapest. In the early 1870s, the Topeka financial market reported prints retailing at 12 1/2 cents a yard while cashmere was 45 cents a yard, 162 delaine - 20 cents and gingham - 15 cents. By 1874, prints were down to 10 cents a yard 163 and 7 cents by 1876. Cashmere was then up to 75 cents a yard. 164 In 1877, lawn was 20 cents
a yard, muslin - 8 cents, nainsook - 20 cents, percale - 10 cents, and swiss - 20 cents.\textsuperscript{165}

Alpaca, especially black, was also advocated as being serviceable. The 1877 "Spring Styles" said it was an excellent choice for business suits for women who worked in schools or offices because it resisted dust the best.\textsuperscript{166}

Even if only calico was worn, editors warned that it was no excuse to look slovenly. A lady could look neat in the morning and the dress up for the afternoon, even only with a ribbon or flower.\textsuperscript{167}

Mrs. Boullard (1874) agreed that women should be properly attired and offered her advice on "a very comfortable dress which can be put on quickly." The dress was made from a soft wool fashioned loose in front and tighter in back, cut to walking length, and worn with a belt or overskirt.

A lady who always keeps her hair in good order and her feet nicely dressed, can enjoy a loose wrapper of calico or chintz while attending to her children, or the house work, and when she has unexpected company she can put on this dress, button it, fasten it at the throat, and belt, and be becomingly dressed in about three minutes. Do not think I suppose you ever will be careless of your looks at home, for we all know, if a mother is neat and tidy in her dress and her social habits, her children will unconsciously imitate her, and the heart of her husband will more closely cleave unto her.\textsuperscript{168}

Another editor in 1876 warned wives to continue looking their best out of respect for husbands. "A clean calico dress and linen collar" at home in the morning and "evening toilets of silks and ribbons and flowers" would keep their husbands
affection.169 This attitude was in response to the belief that women were the cornerstones of the home and would therefore affect the well-being of the others.

Not everyone was in favor of being fashionable. Numerous articles railed against being a slave to fashion and urged women to break free. Their reasons varied.

One reason was to reduce the amount spent on clothing. "Finding a Wife" in 1873 said a wife would not try to be fashionable. She would wear simple dresses, patching when necessary.170 A year later, The Emporia Ledger ran a similar article. The girl to find was "not fashionable...She'll wear simple dresses, and turn them when necessary, with no vulgar magnificate to frown upon her economy."171 "The true woman...needs to be sought. She does not parade herself as show goods."172

A lady from 1874 Whiting wanted to simplify dresses because hard earned money was being spent on getting the latest styles and women would worry about wearing an old-fashioned dress or bonnet and neglect any intellectual and religious pursuits. If one dressed in a neat, simple dress, more time could be spent on developing good qualities.173

"Dressing for Church" agreed with her. The writer complained that women dressed for church as if they were attending a fair, competing to be the most fashionable. Women were supposed to wear their plainest clothes to church
and concentrate on the services - not on what the women were wearing.\textsuperscript{174}

An 1878 gentleman further said

Who so free from the evils of fashionable dressing as she who can usually be happy at home in a pretty print? It is said that the over-worked wives of farmers help to fill our insane asylums, but I should like to know what could be more mind-destroying than the bondage which the slaves of fashion in all its details have to endure?\textsuperscript{175}

The writer of "Odd Moments" in 1877 admonished women in small towns for blindly following the latest fashion.

It has often occurred to us that the residents of a small town follow fashions more blindly and persistently than those of a large city, and we were particularly struck with this idea recently when making a short sojourn in a Kansas village; everybody's overskirt was made just like every other one in the place; the chambermaid at the primitive hotel wore a very much starched and puffed and tied back calico suit exactly in the same style as the Doctor's wife's new spring suit of cashmere and silk, and so on through all the grades of material and styles of women. Somebody had brought that pattern from "the East" and everybody supposed it was the latest and made one just like it. When patterns are so cheap and styles so numerous, this is not sensible; there are fashions now-a-days to suit every figure, and if one must be in the fashion why not take a little pains to make something becoming? And why put as much work on a ten cent calico as on a dress that will last five times as long? It is not the trimming of a much-trimmed calico dress that is so extravagant, as the laundry work that has to be done on it in the course of the short season of its life, the work of doing up such a dress would pay for several more just as good if plainly made, and we cannot see why a more frequent change and less style would not be preferable in working dresses.\textsuperscript{176}

The Kansas women seemed to be eager to wear the latest styles, regardless of the appropriateness, and latched on to any source that came from the East. They did not heed the
other articles' advice on choosing a style or pattern to fit their lifestyle.

An even more important issue was comfort and health. "Modern Females Dress" said in 1875:

Take a man and pin three or four large tablecloths about him, fastened back with elastic and looped up with ribbons; drag all his own hair to the middle of his head and tie it tight, and hairpin on about five pounds of other hair and a big bow of ribbon. Keep the front locks on pins all night and let them tickle his eyes all day; pinch his waist into a corset; give him gloves a size too small, shoes ditto, and a hat that will not stay on without a torturing elastic, and a frill to tickle his chin, a little lace veil to blind his eyes when he goes out for a walk, and he will know what woman's dress is. 177

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps of 1873 New York wanted "the thinking women of America... make it fashionable to dress like rational beings." She advocated shortening skirts and removing the corset. 178 Elizabeth was very active in social reform during the 1870s, speaking on women's rights and temperance. 179 Prominent figure she was in women's history, Elizabeth was not at the forefront of dress reform.

Gerrit Smith, back in 1855, wrote an open letter to Elizabeth Cady Stanton addressing the need for dress reform. He felt that the very nature of women's dress prohibited women from obtaining political and social equality with men. The fashions kept women helpless and fragile and in need of men's chivalrous assistance. If women would stop wearing restrictive clothing and adopt a comfortable dress, men would then have no choice but to see women as a person deserving
equal rights. Gerrit conceded that the bloomer dress was an improvement over the conventional dress. It just was not enough.\textsuperscript{180}

The bloomer outfit that Gerrit Smith mentioned was new in the 1850s. Popularized by Amelia Bloomer, the outfit consisted of a knee-length dress with loose trousers and eliminated the need for tight corsets, heavy petticoats, and awkward hoops. Feminists adopted bloomers—shocking men and women with the immodest display of the ankles and the wearing of "men's" clothing. After facing intense ridicule most women returned to their former clothes by 1855.\textsuperscript{181}

Frances Gage, advocate for women's rights, responded to Gerrit Smith's letter. She argued that women's dress had no relation on women's rights. More important was economic and political equality. Women could work just as effectively for rights in a hoop skirt as in a reformed dress. Frances agreed the current mode of dress was annoying, but it in no way prevented women from seeking equality. The laws against women needed to be changed; not the way women dress.\textsuperscript{182}

Professor Platt took an opposite position of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. In his lecture at the Agricultural College at Manhattan in 1870, Platt said that "dressing in the most fashionable style (if she be so fortunate as to have parents or friends who are able to furnish her the means)" was a woman's duty. She was to also spend her time reading, doing fancy work, and receiving callers. Her only occupation was to
be her home and family. If she had to do something, fruit-growing was an acceptable, healthy occupation for a lady. Platt's lecture was in response to the "recent" issues of woman's rights and woman's sphere. 183

Along with social reform and dress, there was dress reform in relation to health concerns. Dr. Mary Thomas wrote an editorial in 1852. She lamented the ill effects of tight corsets and heavy skirts. Corsets restricted the air capacity in the lungs and rendered the bones unused to support without them. The weight of skirts were detrimental to the muscles. Dr. Thomas advised women to use their common sense and reform their dress. 184

Twenty-three years later, Mrs. Hudson continued the move for sensible dress and wrote strongly against the wearing of corsets. She said the lower half "did as much harm by displacing the organs of the abdomen, as the upper half did by compressing the lungs and stomach." 185

Other writers agreed. One urged women in 1872 to "throw off their corsets and wear comfortably fitting clothes." 186 Another commented in 1874 that "the more a woman's waist is shaped like an hour-glass, the quicker the sands of her life run out." 187

One company in 1876 offered a product to improve health in its Corset Skirt Supporter. Two straps over the shoulder supposedly transferred the weight of the skirts from the hips to the shoulders. 188
A female writer in 1874 defended the wearing of corsets. She said that "corsets are no more injurious than men's waistcoats." According to the writer, corsets were rational because "we hang our skirts on hips, and not on our shoulders, because our hips are made for the purpose, and because the plan of wearing skirts suspended by braces from the shoulders is impracticable."¹⁹⁹

Garters and shoes received their share of attention in health reform. In 1874, No French or English woman of cultivation nowadays wears her garters below her knees. The principal vein of the leg sinks there beneath the muscles; and varicose veins, cold feet, and even palpitation of the heart may be brought on by a tight garter in the wrong place. When it is fastened above the knee all this pain and deformity may be avoided.¹⁹⁰

Modern shoes were the bane in another article (1878). Doctors and shoemakers reported seeing deformed feet and weakness of the body due to high heeled shoes and tight boots necessitated by current fashions.¹⁹¹

The contradicting viewpoints could be quite confusing to the women. Newspapers reported the latest fashions while at the same time urged women to be frugal in following the fashions. Others blatantly railed against the slightest attempt to be fashionable, assuming that in doing so would entrap the woman's energy and attention, or more important, sacrifice the woman's health. It was apparently left to the reader to sort through the abundance of information and sort the mixed messages out for themselves.
As many editors pointed out, keeping clothing articles clean was just as important, or more, as being fashionable. "Home Interests" in 1877 said to use a little sweet milk and soft white flannel to gently clean white kid gloves. Patient rubbing with chloroform will remove paint from black silk or any other material" was the recommendation in 1878.

More advice was on hand from the book Facts and Hints for Every-Day Life by James Hall. Published in 1873 Burlington, Kansas, Mr. Hall addresses a wide variety of issues that included those that related to clothing - health, cleaning, and sewing. He wrote with authority on cleaning wool, velvet, colored dresses, silk, and flannel. He also gave hints and directions on making dresses and knitting stockings. General remarks on staying healthy with clothing mainly urged the wearing of flannel next to the skin.

If a woman could afford the $12 price, she could use a washing machine to help clean the clothes. The Acme Washing Machine in 1877 Topeka boasted to be "the best and cheapest yet invented." It was supposed to wash the smallest collar to the largest sheet. It could be a great time-saver as it replaced a washboard, but washing still involved much physical work. A previous ad in 1873 offered a washing machine that reduced laundry time to two hours, kept a constant temperature, and would not tear off buttons or hurt lace. A less expensive washer was advertised in 1879 for $6. It was a Calkins Novelty Clothes Washer.
In 1870, the Wabaunsee County Fair offered a personal view of washing machines in the exhibition. The 1870 County Fair in Topeka also had washing machines. The vehicles, furniture, and household implements category included washboards and washing machines manufactured in Kansas and washing, wringing, and starching machines.

Unlike the sewing machine, there were no controversial articles appearing against the use of washing machines. Their absence could have been due to their lack of any real time saving achievements, to the limited number in use, or to their connection in only keeping clothes clean. They could also have not influenced an increase in ornamentation on dresses as the use of the sewing machine did.

Both machines were available to Kansans, as ads appeared frequently in Kansas newspapers. The likelihood of sewing machines being in greater use can be linked to a greater number of advertisements with more detail and the appearance of numerous articles extolling the virtues or warning of the dangers.

Likewise, advertisements for dressmakers and ready-made clothing "designed in the latest styles" point to the availability of fashionable garments. Catalogs, newspaper articles, advertisement pictures, and books helped to keep Kansas women up-to-date on any fashion changes. The information was often contradictory but still revealed that fashion existed in Kansas. Otherwise, writers would not have
reported the latest fashions or would not have warned women about the dangers of being a slave to fashion.

Kansas women, therefore, could keep current with the fashions through the availability of newspapers, catalogs, patterns and books published and sold in Kansas. The newspapers and books carried the fashions; the stores and catalogs provided the goods. A comparison of local sources to those portrayed nationally will demonstrate how closely they coincided.
TABLE 1: KANSAS NEWSPAPERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doniphan County Republican</td>
<td>Troy</td>
<td>1870-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emporia Ledger</td>
<td>Emporia</td>
<td>1870-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holton Express</td>
<td>Holton</td>
<td>1872-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas Farmer</td>
<td>Leavenworth</td>
<td>1870-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas Farmer</td>
<td>Topeka</td>
<td>1871-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas State Record</td>
<td>Topeka</td>
<td>1871-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osage County Chronicle</td>
<td>Burlingame</td>
<td>1872-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>808</td>
<td>Ladies' Basque</td>
<td>12 sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>773</td>
<td>Ladies' Basque</td>
<td>8 sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Ladies' Waistcoat</td>
<td>12 sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Ladies' Riding coat</td>
<td>9 sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Ladies' Trench coat</td>
<td>12 sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Ladies' Mantle</td>
<td>9 sizes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
36 Ladies' Frumt-Cover. 12 Sizes.
20 to 24 in., Waist Measure.
Price, 35 cents.

203 Ladies' Petticoat. 1 Skirt.
20 to 22 in., Waist Measure.
Price, 55 cents.

537 Ladies' Bathing Suit. 1 Skirt.
24 to 26 in., Bust Measure.
Price, 35 cents.

538 Ladies' Smock. 1 Skirt.
Price, 15 cents.
TABLE 3: ADVERTISEMENTS

ATTENTION, LADIES.

READY MADE GRASS LINEN SUITS at Wholesale Prices.

Bust measures range from 28 to 42 inches, and larger sizes are made to order when desired, without extra charge. Owing to the enormous charges made by dressmakers, the economy in buying suits ready made at such low figures is readily seen. To ladies acting as agents and sending orders for ten suits, we will give one suit free.

Address all orders to
J. B. GAYLORD & CO., 92 Wells St., Chicago, Ill.

Madame FOY'S
Corset Skirt Supporter
Increases in Popularity every year, and
For health, comfort and style is acknowledged the best article of its kind ever made.
For sale by all leading boot and sellers. Beware of imitations and imitations.

Manufactured solely by
FOY & HARMON,
New Haven, Conn.
A GREAT DISCOVER

By the use of which every family may
1. Linen that will wash clean and yet last
2. Save time and labor in ironing the entire coat. Warranted. Ask for
3. Sold everywhere.

JUBINS, BROS. & CO., 11 N. Fourth

1876

LADIES

1878

ought to know how to dress one's

1. Stylistically and yet tastefully. No matter what your
2. Station in life may be, whether you are the wife or daughter of a
3. Millionaire or of a commoner, it is your
4. Duty to use in it that the money you spend for
5. Linen brings you the best possible quality at the price, and, also, that your garments are made
6. Up in good taste, perfectly shaped and properly

The great center of Fashion is the United States
1. In celebration of New Year's Day and it is an historic
2. Fact that a lady who makes her own clothes in New
3. York can dress twice as beautifully, although
4. She pays only ONE HALF as much as a lady
5. Who lives far away in the country.
6. It is impossible, of course, that all should make a
7. Trip to New York in order to make their purchase,
8. But, therefore, we respectfully call your attention to
9. The next best thing: Send the insignificant sum of
10. 16 CENTS and become a subscriber to our Spring

1878

ANTI-FAT

1878

84
TABLE 4: SEWING MACHINES

Possesses all the desirable qualities of the Standard Machine in the market. In its capacity—being the largest machine made—in its simplicity—being composed of only thirteen working parts, in its adaptability to a wide range of work, in its ease of operation—running light and quiet, and being easily comprehended.

Superior construction, and beauty of style and finish.

But its principal feature is its vertical feed!!

Which is the most practical and desirable device for the purpose possessed by any machine, giving the Davis the preference, and which the manufacturers claim makes it superior to all other machines.

The Davis has been before the public nearly ten years, and, unlike other machines, has not been puffed into notoriety, but in a quiet way has earned a great reputation on account of its many desirable qualities.

1877
NATIONAL VS KANSAS

Did Kansas publications mirror the national fashions? If they did, it would indicate that Kansas women were exposed to the same fashion advice as women elsewhere. Living in Kansas could have had little affect than on keeping current with fashions.

A comparison of Godey's and The Catalogue of the Domestic Paper Fashions revealed similarities. They mirrored each other in the fashionable pictures that were shown. The Catalogue, though, included one item that Godey's omitted - the sunbonnet. Not once in the ten years of Godey's did they so much as mention the word "sunbonnet," indicating that it was not a fashionable item.

Sewing machines were a great invention to aid women in being fashionable by eliminating much of the hard work in home sewing. It took less time to sew a dress on a machine than painstakingly using a needle to sew every stitch. Newspaper articles and Godey's were whole-heartily in favor of the sewing machines. The only problem, both indicated, was that many women took the extra time saved and created more elaborate costumes than they would have otherwise. They warned women of the dangers and advised them to dress according to their station in life. Their warning seemed to have been directed to the working class who might have used sewing machines more.
Both treated sewing machines with a certain amount of disdaine. Their attitude was that sewing machines were a wonderful machine — for the working class. Women who could afford to hire out their sewing would have had no use for one.

Dressmakers and milliners were an option to home sewing. Godey's and newspaper advertisements presented evidence that women quite often hired someone to make their dresses and hats. Godey's automatically assumed that readers employed dressmakers and milliners because they would occasionally make comments on how to make an item for those who did choose to do their own sewing. Usually, those women were sewing because economics deemed it necessary. Newspaper advertisements provided a constant source in contacting dressmakers and millers who boasted in having the latest fashion styles and advice.

Limited in Godey's was any reference to ready-made clothing, another option to home sewing. Newspaper advertisements showed a number of companies and dressmakers who supplied ready-made fashionable suits. These ladies' suits may have received limited acknowledgement by Godey's because they were deemed unworthy of their notice. Fashion favored seamstresses; not the cheaper mass-produced imitations of the lower class.

Keeping up with the latest fashion was made easier with the advice from Godey's and newspaper articles. Providing similar advice, they noted the many changes. The major ones
being hoop skirts disappearing in 1872/73, large bustles
replacing them, narrow skirts by 1875/76, and panniers in
1879. They also described the various dresses and materials,
which coincided.

The exception would be bathing suits. The only Kansas
source that referred to them was the catalog. Either bathing
suits were not widely worn in Kansas or it was not proper to
mention them in the publications.

Neither mentioned the bloomer dress. Previous research
by others had suggested that bloomers were a good choice for
Kansas and were not an infrequent sight. Bloomers, of course,
would not have been in the fashionable Godey's. The Kansas
newspapers, who surely would have reported the reformed dress,
wrote nothing of it either. It could be assumed, than, that
bloomers were not part of the attire for women in Kansas, just
as it was not for women back East.

Godey's and newspapers differed in their treatment of
underclothing. Godey's provided an abundance of material, but
the lack of articles on underclothes was noticeable in the
newspapers. It could be attributed to a general decorum of
not publicly printing such things as underclothes, but they
had no problem having articles on stockings, corsets, and
garters - detailed ones too. Perhaps stockings, corsets, and
garters were more acceptable subjects to be read by the
general public. Godey's primary audience of women may also
have allowed the additional topics.
The same products appeared in advertisements in the newspapers and Godey's. The Standard Lotta Bustle was in an 1874 Kansas newspaper and in the 1876 Godey's. Madame Foy's Corset Skirt Supporter was advertised in 1876 in both places. These indicate that products available on a national level were also available to Kansans.

Newspaper advertisements on other products presented additional evidence in Kansas following trends in fashions. The women in the pictures shown were dressed in the same style as their time dictated, suggesting that the accepted national ideals were being presented as acceptable to Kansas women.

Both sources acknowledged that women should be fashionably dressed within their means. They provided advice and instructions on renovating clothing to appear new and in the latest style. They also assured readers that a less expensive material was quite acceptable. Calico, print, and alpaca tended to be the choice for the working class.

Remaking a dress was a popular theme throughout the decade. Articles addressing this appeared more heavily in the years 1872 and 1873, perhaps due to the economic hardship experienced through the Panic of 1873.

The newspapers took it one step further in instructing women that no matter what material used a lady should always be neat and tidy. The affection of the husband and happiness in the home depended on the wife to be presentable. This was
a common assumption of the time that the wife and her actions influenced the home.

Later termed as the "Cult of True Womanhood," the ideal was for women to be the moral cornerstone of the family. All would be lost if the wife did not have the attributes prescribed for true womanhood. She was supposed to be pure, religious, domestic, and submissive.

The true womanhood ideal was also present in Godey's, but it was in a more subtle approach. Editors used images as well as stories and advice to guide women into the proper behavior. Whether women actually internalized and acted upon the ideal is still being debated. Gentile ladies of the upper-class would have had better ability to put the ideal into practice.

The newspapers admonished the women who went beyond being neat and warned them not to be slaves to fashion. Time and money was better spent on improving the character than worrying about wearing old-fashioned clothing. Godey's, who's success depended on women buying the magazine to follow the fashions, did not say that as bluntly. They merely conceded that women should use their common sense in selecting what was best for them. Godey's believed that women would be able to exercise restraint if financial means or station in life dictated a modified version of the reported fashions.

Women were also supposed to use their discretion in selecting what to wear. Godey's and newspaper articles provided advice on who would look best in various items and
when to wear them. Neither approved of women wearing the exact same pattern. It may have been more prevalent in Kansas because of comments in articles. Women in one town (but different social classes) seized upon the notion that the one pattern brought from the East was "it." From the lowest class to the highest class, they each copied the pattern in different materials.

_Godey's_ and Kansas newspapers were in agreement on health issues. Concern for the tight lacing of corsets appeared in both. While _Godey's_ preferred to loosen the corset, newspaper articles advocated abolishing the corset altogether. Not wearing a corset would have drastically changed fashions. A radical, _Godey's_ was not. _Godey's_ preferred to stay safe in the prescribed norms. Local newspapers, on the other hand, tended to pose more challenges to the fashion standards. They were a better outlet for ideas on social reform.

Both sources presented a subtle aura of sensuality. Pictures along with fashion reports suggested a feminine outline that left little to the imagination. The possibility of intentions by the originator and the wearer is intriguing.

Articles were not the only source to compare fashions, newspaper advertisements for products often had pictures of women that documented the progression of fashions. These advertisement pictures reflect the fashion changes in the same continuum as _Godey's_.

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Keeping clothes clean, in general, was a concern in national and local sources. Advice was forthcoming from both, whether it was on the tiniest of articles to the largest. They agreed it could be a chore but also necessary, no matter the social status. Advertisements showed the availability of washing machines.

All of the information presented in the publications may not have been processed or accepted by the public, just as modern women do not necessarily follow everything written in today's magazines. The ideal of true womanhood was more suited to urban women in the upper-class where spheres could more easily be separated. The realities of having to do manual labor prohibited most women from being solely a decorative member of society. The working class needed women to be a full participant.

Reserving judgement on how closely women followed the prescribed information, the following can be said about national and Kansas publications. They shared similar advice in the same chronological progression with no time lag between the two. National publications advertised in Kansas and Kansas publications advertised in Kansas coincided, with the exception of sunbonnets. Women in Kansas, therefore, had the opportunity through national and local sources to follow the fashion trends.
Kansas women had the opportunity to follow fashions, but did they do so? To find the answer, one must look at them women. Were they wives? Daughters? Rich? Poor? How did they live? What did they experience in Kansas? And ultimately how would their background affect their decision to be fashionable or not? Answers for these questions came from the people themselves in Kansas during the 1870s.

An excellent source for information was the Lilla Day Monroe Collection at the Kansas State Historical Society Research Center. Published in the 1920s in the Kansas Woman's Journal, the collection had gathered accounts of life in early Kansas. Fourteen of them could be determined to correspond with northeastern Kansas in the 1870s. (See Table 1)

To be included in this study, memoirs had to have the following - residence in a northeast county, definitive association to the 1870s decade, and comments on clothing. Many of them were ambiguous about the dates or did not mention clothing in their rendition of the past. If dates could not be pinpointed, reminiscences were eliminated to avoid confusion and potentially inaccurate information. It is realized that doing so favored the women who immigrated to Kansas in the 1870s and generally ignored those who came earlier. A longer residence in Kansas starting prior to 1870 could have affected the women's circumstances and shown
different data. The following shows the accounts selected and
the wide variety of women and circumstances that brought them
to Kansas.

The earliest account was Nancy White. Born in 1845
Missouri, she came with her family in 1855 and settled in
Doniphan County. In 1869, she married a farmer and stayed in
the area. "She and her family endured many privations and
hardships in those pioneer days. During the drought of 1874
the stock was sent away to where feed could be obtained." The
grasshoppers of 1875 made matters worse.207

Lillie Coffin also wrote of hard times. "Drought and
grasshoppers made life a stern reality in rural Kansas." Lillie
came to Leavenworth County in 1869 with her father and
mother and two sisters so her mother could regain physical
health. They built a four-room house with a picket fence in
a valley. Her father was doctor and was often gone for days,
leaving the hired man with the family.

After two droughts and the grasshoppers, Lillie's family
moved to a nearby town. Lillie saw the resulting poverty from
the hardships on her father's rounds. Some of those families
had relatives back east that could help. Others received
assistance from Eastern charities in the form of clothing,
food, and seeds. The next year, the grasshoppers appeared
again.208

Ann Anderson, born in 1847, married a farmer in 1866 and
started for Kansas in 1869 with a baby and daughter. They
came by railroad to Centralia, Nemaha County and then on a stage to Seneca. On their way to their home site seven miles east of Seneca, it was all open prairie - no roads and only one house to be seen. They had to get supplies from Atchison, sixty miles away, a three day journey. The family stayed in an existing log house until 1870 when a three-room house was built. In 1871, a prairie fire destroyed the outbuildings. They faced hardships and loneliness and moved to Seneca in 1872 where Ann's husband set up a business. More worries came with the money panic in 1873. After a long and weary road, their business and lives grew more stable.209

Fannie Holsinger, born in 1848, left Pennsylvania with her husband and baby girl in 1869. Her mother told her "she would rather lay me in my grave than see me go to live in so wild a country as Kansas." Fannie and her daughter stayed in Kansas City for a year while her husband cleared land and built a house three miles away. Their house was 14X28 with unhewn log beams and a loft. "For some years that dwelling was known as the 'big white house on the hill.' It was the only frame house in the valley west of the state line." They were called "the aristocrats of the neighborhood." Her nearest neighbor had a one-room log cabin and was envious of Fannie's few pieces of furniture and a rug (army blanket). The family had their share of problems with droughts and grasshoppers.210
Elizabeth Gordon, born 1843, came to Abilene area in 1870. She was reluctant to leave her home and family and live among strangers and hardships. A week after arriving, her husband died from a scaffolding accident while he was working as a building contractor. Elizabeth moved into the town of Abilene. Everything was expensive (25 cents for a quart of milk) so she worked for the hotel and kept boarders. In 1876, she married a jeweler.\textsuperscript{211}

Mrs. John Krebs came to Brown County in 1870 with her husband. They traveled here on their honeymoon, saying they wanted adventure in the land of Indians. Hiawatha sounded like a pretty place so that is where they settled. They lived with friends until they rented a piece of land and bought a log cabin. They had an abundance of corn one year, but the next season brought grasshoppers and cholera killed most of the chickens. In 1875, they moved into Hiawatha.\textsuperscript{212}

Mariah Anderson, born 1836, packed the family belongings and six children and set out to Kansas with her husband. The covered wagon journey took 45 days from Ohio to Wilson County. They stayed there a year experiencing chills and fevers and then moved to Dickinson county in 1872. Their claim was six and a half miles north of Chapman. While their stone house was being built, they camped in a tent and wagon box. The house was one room 14X40 with a dirt roof and floor. They had several neighbors nearby and a school that convened three
months a year. They felt fairly prosperous except when the grasshoppers came in 1874.\textsuperscript{213}

Emma Kreuter was four years old when her family left West Virginia in 1871. They came by railroad to Lawrence and rented a nearby farm, mostly timber land. Many of their neighbors lived in dugouts or sod houses. In 1873, they bought a farm and built a log cabin. They moved again in 1877 and then moved back to Douglas County in 1879. This time things were looking better - a three-room frame house and better schools and churches. They moved to Allen County in 1880.\textsuperscript{214}

Mrs. Alvin Smith traveled to Abilene with her husband due to her health in 1871. They came with a wagon filled with a cookstove, bed, and a few personal items. They bought a quarter section north of town and lived in the wagon until a two-room stone house was finished. The other settlers they saw had log cabins. When her husband was away, Mrs. Smith had to do all of the chores. They included hauling water in barrels from a nearby spring for the animals or from a pond three miles away for laundry. She would also have to catch the horses if they pulled up their pickets. The grasshoppers in 1874 discouraged Mr. Smith, but his wife enjoyed the restoration of her health so she encouraged him to stay by helping with the outside work. Mrs. Smith worked in the field during harvest, helped milk the cows, fed the hogs in addition
to her own chores - housework, raising children and chickens.\textsuperscript{215}

Margaret Wood, born 1834, came to Morris County in 1871 because her husband had heard about the new city, White City. They bought a little place outside of town. It was a new experience for Margaret as she had spent her life in large cities. In 1874, the grasshoppers destroyed all of the vegetation.\textsuperscript{216}

Florence Bingham and her husband had heard great things about Kansas so they made their way to Abilene in 1871. They decided it was inconvenient living in the country and bought a house in town. Grasshoppers were a nuisance in the garden and fruit trees. They left Kansas in 1875 to take care of elderly parents in New York. They missed Kansas and returned in 1883.\textsuperscript{217}

Alena Hamilton, born in 1854, came to Kansas with her sister's family in 1872. They settled in Dickinson County where she taught school for $25 a month. In 1876, she married and moved to a homestead in Clay County. Alena and her husband had a little stone house and weathered many hardships - illness, crop failures, stock loss, and more. Her husband would be gone often due to his work so she would fill in caring for the stock and fetching water from the well in addition to her regular duties. Alena missed the wooded areas of Wisconsin. Corn was often used for fuel since a bushel went as low as 10 cents or less.\textsuperscript{218}
Priscilla McCord, 1847, was brought to a claim near Clay Center in 1872 by her husband. She came by train to Manhattan and then by wagon 35 miles. They felt fortunate to live in a two-roomed frame house with a cellar and a good well. Most of her neighbors had sod houses. Their first crop ended with drought and grasshoppers but her husband taught school and did other work to earn money. In 1879, they sold their farm and moved to Clay Center.219

Ida Gillette traveled to Riley county in 1877 with her baby. Her brother had described Kansas favorably so she came to look while her husband was in California. She bought a farm and began to repair the neglect from the previous occupants. Ida bought a mare, cow, and chickens. Her husband sent money once in awhile to buy items and pay the mortgage. Even though she realized that Indians were no longer a menace, she was afraid of them and would still stay at neighbors if Indians camped nearby. It was a few years before her husband joined her. Farm produce prices were low - eggs 3 cents/dozen, potatoes 25-35 cents/bushel, corn 15-25 cents/bushel, hogs 2.5 cents/pound, steers 4 cents/pound, and milk cows $20-$30. Ida felt the hardships were balanced with the pleasant occasions though.220

Other reminiscence sources contributed to the background information. (See Table 2) One came from Anne Bingham in "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm: 1870-1886." Anne and her husband had heard about Kansas and decided that was the place
to be. They left New York and traveled by train to Junction City in 1870. Upon arriving, they rented a room until they purchased a nearby farm with a little one-room house. The house was made of cottonwood that warped, leaving spaces in the walls, roof, and floor. It was unplastered and heated only by the cookstove. They later put on new siding and flooring, wallpapered the walls, and got two carpets from New York. They experienced their share of miseries - illness, snakes, and grasshoppers in 1874.

The Binghams soon had plenty of produce to take to town. In the summer, Mr. Bingham took in extra vegetables, fruit, butter, eggs - usually $15-$30 worth. They had hired help at various times. Anne worked hard, even with occasional help. She skimmed twenty pans of milk everyday and churned every other day, making butter. She was thankful that she did not have to carry wood and water, do the milking, and take of the poultry as most other women did along with other housework. Her husband took care of all that.221

Flora Kennedy recorded her memories of life on a farm near Lawrence. She was born in 1872 to a fairly well-to-do family in which her father was a successful business man. The family had hired help living with them. She wrote of a happy childhood with no hardships. At the end of the decade, her mother wanted a modern home, complete with a bathroom and three cisterns. It was completed in 1880.222
Mrs. James Horton lived in Lawrence and kept a diary from January to December 1874. Her husband was a Senator. Mamie Erberle kept a diary in her teenage years, 1874-76. She lived on a farm in Troy where she did a tremendous amount of washing, cooking, cleaning, and sewing for her family. Her father died in 1875.

Etta Parkerson was born in 1853 and moved to Kansas in 1855. Upon her mother's death, the family moved back to Rhode Island. The father remarried, and they moved back to Manhattan. Etta was able to attend two years at Kansas State Agriculture College before having to drop out. She was 21 when she become a housekeeper and managed her uncle's house. She was paid $1 a week. In her diary, written January 1874-July 1875, she lamented the hard work in her uncle's household and longed for the day to be free. She married in 1875 and died in 1889.

The last source came from letters written to family. Peter Bryant returned to a farm in Holton with his wife, Kit, and their son in 1865. Their lives were hard, but they stayed with some financial assistance from family. After 1875, he began to prosper and become a leading citizen in the county. All of these women were chosen for a very specific reason - they lived in northeast Kansas counties during the 1870s. There were many more sources available, but unfortunately they predated or postdated the 1870s or were ambiguous about the
date. It is hoped that limiting the criteria will lead to a clearer understanding of Kansas women.

It was a mixture of women coming to northeast Kansas where it was populated but not as much as back East. Some Easterners still saw Kansas as uncivilized and were reluctant to see their daughters go live in such a wild place. Some of the women who did come only ventured to the area under protest. They left all of their support systems behind to build a home under hardships. Some women endured and established a home on the farm; others retreated with their families to the comforts of a nearby town. None (in this sample) left the state of Kansas due to the inability to cope with the environment.

Hardships were not "just" grasshoppers and droughts. They included everyday occurrences of the struggle that tested women's fortitude. Women had to cook and clean, garden, and raise children, maybe even haul water and fuel. The list does end there. Many times, women performed additional chores when the men left to earn cash elsewhere. These chores might have included plowing, planting, harvesting, taking care of the livestock. The women did what was necessary.

The crossover in division of labor leads to questioning the separation of spheres for men and women. The popular idea of separate spheres being rigid where men and women are restricted to certain roles no longer holds validation - to a certain extent. The restriction of women to domestic chores
would have condemned the farm to failure. Women were an intricate part in making the farm successful, thereby necessitating the women to perform "men's" duties on occasion.

Women probably followed the division in a general way - believing that a woman's place belonged in the home working for the family. This could include regular housework in addition to extra activities normally reserved for men. A woman's sphere had to be elastic because women were critical to the farming success whether in the traditional domain or outside.

The separation of spheres would more likely have stayed constant in the towns. There, the survival of the family would not have been so dependent on the necessity of women crossing over invisible lines into men's duties. The men would have had a job with steady pay and not requiring them to leave town. The women could then remain in her prescribed role of domesticity.

A minority saw the whole move to Kansas as a great adventure or as a way to restore their health. The adventurous were more likely to be young and newlywed. It would have been easier to see it that way if the energy (and ignorance) of youth was present and the extra responsibility of children were not. The seekers of better health were looking for a clean, wholesome environment with plenty of outdoor exercise and fresh food in order to restore health. There was plenty of that in Kansas!
For whatever reason they had for coming to Kansas, women saw themselves as average people. And for the most part, it was true. These women came as wives and settled on farms. The exceptions being the six who were born in Kansas or came to Kansas as a child. Only two of the twenty women originally settled in towns. Another six found the country not to their liking and moved to the nearest town. Two indicated living on a well-to-do farm with hired hands. Nine mentioned their housing. The most frequent was a frame house with three or four rooms, followed by log and then stone. Twice, a family started with a log cabin and then built a frame house. One said neighbors lived in dugouts and sod houses.

Most of the women were in their 20s and 30s with families. They usually came because of their husbands decision, but a few came looking for better health or just for adventure. With a few exceptions, women felt that they had endured hardships in Kansas. The women in town and on good farms tended to not mention any deprivations.

In general, then, these women were wives with families that settled on farms. They experienced drought, grasshoppers, and other hardships. Saying that, though, it must not be forgotten that there were women living in towns and women leading a comfortable lifestyle. There were also women living in poverty. The background of these women would affect their ability or willingness to follow fashion.
TABLE 1: LILLA DAY MONROE COLLECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>When</th>
<th>Born</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Doniphan</td>
<td>Misso.</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffen</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Leaven.</td>
<td>Penn.</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Nemaha</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
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<td>Holsinger</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>KC area</td>
<td>Penn.</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Married</td>
<td>Dickinson</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1843</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Married</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Dickinson</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kreuter</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>W.V.</td>
<td>1871</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Dickinson</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
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<td>Morris</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1834</td>
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<tr>
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<td>N.Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>Wisc.</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<tr>
<td>McCord</td>
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<td>Clay</td>
<td>Misso.</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillette</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Riley</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>1877</td>
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### TABLE 2: DIARIES AND LETTERS

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Bingham</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Junction City</td>
<td>New York 1870</td>
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<td>----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>----</td>
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<td>1872</td>
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<td>Horton</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>----</td>
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<td>----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eberle</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Troy</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parkerson</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryant</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Holton</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1865</td>
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KANSAS CLOTHING

The women arriving in Kansas had plenty to say about clothing. It was as much as part of their lives as everything else. The mercantile records and surviving apparel contribute their own opinions into clothing in Kansas.

Some of the women experienced hardship that directly affected their clothing. The grasshoppers of 1874 and various years of drought destroyed the very crops that they had depended on to earn money. As a result, women had to make do in various ways.

Nancy White made her own cloth. "She would shear the sheep, wash and card the wool, spin it into yarn and weave it into cloth, knit the yarn into socks, mittens, hoods and caps, and cut the cloth and make the garments by hand." Her family would also go barefoot and be careful with their clothes because they did not have any money.227

Mrs. Alvin Smith said people in her area wore "heavy homemade canton flannel or woolen underwear, homeknitted socks, hose, scarfs, hoods and mittens, flannel underskirts and dresses."228

Emma Kreuter remembered her mother carding and spinning her yarn to make stockings although they did not wear homespun clothing. "If we had a good calico dress and slat sunbonnet, we were dressed as well as the average."229

Alena Hamilton agreed when she said
For some years a new calico dress was good enough for best, also cotton hose and calf skin shoes (although) many grown people went barefoot in the summer time. Those who could afford a hat treasured it for the Fourth of July. No one thought of going anywhere bareheaded.²³⁰

Mariah Anderson remembered that "the women usually wore calico or linsey-woolsy." She made the clothes by hand at home.

Ida Gillette was not fond of calico dresses, but she wore them and gingham dresses most of the time. Low prices for farm produce eliminated any chance for better apparel.²³¹

Some women were not as fortunate to provide their own clothing. Lillie Coffin remembered grasshoppers and drought forcing families to accept charity from organizations and relatives from back East.²³²

In the Bryant letters, Kit missed her chance to go to Chicago for a visit. The train tickets were cheap at $10 round trip, but they returned to the old prices before she finished getting ready. She had refused to go in her "old rags."²³³

Other women had better clothes but chose not to wear them. Lillie Coffin's mother brought a trunk and two boxes filled with beautiful silk and morena dresses and shawls. "A long, circular broadcloth cape line with changeable silk had a hood tied with a heavy black cord and tassels." Only the serviceable shawls were used because she "did not wish to dress better than her neighbors who usually wore calico and lindsey dresses, coarse and drab." After the grasshopper
invasion, the beautiful garments were made into other clothing - the cape became a suit for the father."

Mrs. John Krebs mistakenly wore her best "which was a bright green empress dress and a black velvet half length jacket, kid gloves, and a hat to match" to buy furniture in town. She felt uncomfortable when she saw the other women dressed in slat sunbonnets and barefeet.

Fannie Holsinger experienced censorship from her friends in an unusual way. She was once thrown by a cow while milking her. A New York yellow journal heard of it and illustrated it with a hero throwing a pretty girl over the fence to save her. Her friends saw it and commented, "Must have put on your Sunday clothing to go to milk."

Florence Bingham was the only one to mention wearing a type of dress. While she was out riding one evening, a prairie fire started from a match. She helped fight the fire with her riding skirt. Florence later used her gingham aprons to cover the fruit trees in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the grasshoppers.

Although not specifying what kind, Anne Bingham said her skirt got wet around the bottom while catching two colts that had gotten loose. She ruined her "pretty slippers I had brought from New York out by the rocks."

The women made most of their clothing. Mariah Anderson sewed for her family as a matter of course. Ann Anderson made "the cheapest material look well." Alena Hamilton
sewed for the neighbors in addition to her own family."

Margaret Wood "had the only sewing machine on the prairie and it was her experience to make the dresses for the buds and belles for many miles around." Elizabeth Gordon "had about the first, or one of the first sewing machines in Abilene and sewed...to raise her boys." Priscilla McCord did not have a sewing machine but one of her neighbors bought a new Wheeler Wilson. The neighbor could not make it sew and asked Priscilla to teach her how since her mother had sewed on one. She received a load of wood in return.

Anne Bingham did all of the sewing for her family, working on a sewing machine in the winter months. She recalled one unexpected visit from two ladies in the morning when she was caught in her morning work dress, baking bread. Anne was not used to callers at that time and said she would not had normally worn her work dress to receive them.

Flora Kennedy remembered her older sister's clothes being as beautiful as the pictures that she had seen in *Godey's*. "She wore a beautiful mantle, warm but stylish, about the only type of wrap that could be worn over a full dress." Her mother made the clothing by hand until her father bought one of the first sewing machines. Her mother and sisters spent a good deal of time embroidering on the clothes. They even designed their own embroidery patterns.

Not all of the clothing was sewn at home, though. Flora's father ordered a riding habit from Kansas City. It
was made of dark green broadcloth trimmed with gilt buttons. She also mentioned a dressmaker was available in Lawrence.

Flora recalled wash day was long and tedious but lessened somewhat with a washing machine. Laundry included ironing the petticoats with their yards of ruffles. The Douglas County Fair brought memories of girls wearing their poke bonnets, lace mitts, and long, full skirts.

The diaries provided more detailed accounts of clothing. Mamie Eberle made an entry every time she made or bought clothes. In 1875, she made two wrappers for her mother, six dresses (one of them calico) for herself, two aprons for herself, and a white shirt with 20 tucks. She also made over an old riding skirt, put ruffles on a dress, and trimmed a hat for her sister. Two dresses were bought from the store. For sewing, Mamie borrowed patterns twice and used her sewing machine. She had her share of problems with the machine as it did not always work well. It did sew better after the school teacher took it apart and cleaned it one time. She also did the wash, which included doing the stockings. In wearing clothing, she only mentioned a veil, putting it down in order to avoid seeing someone, and wearing her white overdress and a shawl.

Etta Parkerson kept a similar diary in which she noted her clothing. She bought a dress and gloves, a straw hat and trimming, and a pair of shoes. She made an overskirt and sacque, a white dress, and a calico dress. Her sewing also
included patching an old dress. She was conscientious about her apparel because twice she did not go out or to church because she nothing suitable to wear. Etta would also change her dress before going visiting in order to be presentable."

Etta devoted the last two pages of her diary to receipts and expenses. See Table 1 for entries concerning clothing.

Mrs. Horton's diary kept a smaller version of accounts. In her "Memoranda," she included a dress ($35), sacque ($4.65), boots ($7), dress ($25), sacque ($1.50), gloves ($2.50), dress ($25), dress ($5), dress ($25), dress ($25), dress ($25), dress ($25), and linen lawn ($4)."

Mrs. Horton did record a time of having a calico dress. She took the material to someone else to be cut and then made it herself." She also referred one time in July that she did not dress until the evening because it was so hot. Most likely she was referring to wearing a wrapper and was not presentable to receive callers.

From the twenty personal records, a summary can be made. Nancy White was the only one to make her own cloth. She was also the only one to live in Kansas in 1855 and grow up there. Etta Parkerson also came in 1855 but did not stay until she came back in the early 1860s. The rest of the women arrived later. An earlier residence in Kansas may have affected some families' economic condition, making it necessary to be self-sustaining. Making the material, than, was not very common and was probably done more by the poor.

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While making the material was uncommon, sewing the clothes was almost universal. Town, country, rich, poor - none mattered. Five (Wood, Gordon, Bingham, Kennedy, Eberle) reported having a sewing machine while McCord's neighbor had one. Two said their machine was one of the first in her area, suggesting there wasn't an abundance of them but neither were they nonexistent.

Eberle, Parkerson, Horton, Kennedy mentioned purchasing at least some of their dresses. Of the four, Eberle and Kennedy lived on a farm - Eberle on an average farm, and Kennedy on a well-to-do farm. Town living may have been more conducive to buying dresses due to a higher, steady income and a more sedate lifestyle.

Three (White, Smith, Kreuter) said the people near them wore homeknitted stockings. One (Hamilton) wore cotton stockings that would have been purchased at a store.

Six mentioned wearing or seeing calico, gingham, or linsey dresses. The women (Kreuter, Hamilton, Coffin, Gillette, Anderson, and Eberle) all lived on farms so those fabrics may have been more prevalent in the country. Etta and Mrs. Hudson, though, mentioned calico dresses in their diaries, indicating they were worn in town too. The times span (1869-77) of the women show that calico was not limited to the early 1870s but spanned through the entire decade.

Calico, gingham, and linsey were not the exclusive materials worn. Five women (Krebs, Kennedy, Eberle,
Parkerson, and Horton) reported wearing more stylish dresses in addition to calico dresses. Three of them lived in town or on a prosperous farm so the environment may have influenced the wearing of better fabric and styles. Coffin chose to pack away her fashionable dresses so she would not be better dressed than her farm neighbors.

Coffin told of neighbors who accepted clothing donations from people back East. They wore what was sent since none were in a position to object.

Hamilton and Krebs reported seeing barefeet although Hamilton herself wore calf skin shoes. Ann Bingham ruined her slippers on rocks. Etta bought five pairs of shoes in a fifteen month period. Mrs. Horton wrote of one pair of boots. The first reports were from farming women while the last two were from town dwellers. The difference of going barefoot and wearing shoes may have been the location - acceptable in the country but not in town.

Slat sunbonnets appeared in Kreuter and Krebs. They said the average person wore the slat sunbonnets and thought nothing of it. Eberle and Etta wrote of trimming their hats, Kennedy of bonnets. Most likely part of the population wore sunbonnets, and part wore hats and bonnets - or a combination. Sunbonnets were designed for protection from the sun. Hats and bonnets provided no protection so they would have been worn as decoration only when the women would not be out in the sun for any length of time.

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Only one addressed the issue of laundry - Flora in using a washing machine. It could be concluded that the others may have used a washboard and did not deem it worthy of notice since it was such a common sight.

Based on the women's statements, the majority of Kansas women bought their material and sewed their own clothes. Only the very poor made the cloth. A sewing machine was helpful but not overly common yet. If farm women brought better clothes to Kansas, they sometimes did not wear them out of deference to their country neighbors who often would be wearing calico and sunbonnets and going barefoot. Women in town or on prosperous farms were more likely to wear better clothes and accessories. The women proved to be a mixture, dependent on place of residence.

Personal documents were a valuable source but not the only type of document to look closely at what was worn in Kansas. Mercantile records also provided information on apparel.

Daniel Fogel operated a mercantile in Williamsburg (Franklin County), and his business records have survived to this day. Starting in 1872, they tell a story of what was purchased, the prices, and how payment occurred. (See Table 2) Item selection was based on reference to the word "ladies" or known usage by women.

Some fabrics were more common than others, but almost every kind of fabric was mentioned. Used for dresses, calico
and prints were the most often purchased materials. They were also the cheapest. The yardage was quite often in large quantities, up to 16 yards and more. Muslin was another common material listed since it was inexpensive and necessary for underclothes. The other materials were only purchased a few times a year or just once a year.

The repeated appearance of calico and prints suggest that they were the materials most worn. Fancier fabrics were certainly available in the store but were purchased only occasionally. Perhaps those fabrics were for special occasions.

No accessories were particularly outstanding. Women bought shoes, hose/stockings, corsets, skirts, hats and bonnets, parasols, and shawls. Fogle sold about four of each every year. Only once or twice was a dress or coat sold during the ten years. The listing indicates that women wore store bought articles but only in a limited amount.

In notions, almost every kind was represented. The most common ones were buttons and thread. The other notions only appeared in the books a few times a year. A surprise came in the form of zippers and elastic being mentioned. While only one zipper was sold in the ten years, elastic was a regular entry throughout the decade.

The elastic may have the same product that is seen today. Or it may have been a new word for garters. An 1876 story suggests the latter.
"You mean elastics," replied a Broadway clerk to an old lady who asked for garters. "I suppose some high-nosed people call 'em 'lasticks,'" she said, "but I git too stuck up to ask for garters, I'll not box my Susan's ears for saying hose when she means stockings." She got her garters."

Sewing machines did not appear on the records until 1877. At that time, Fogle started selling them at a rate of three or four a year. Sewing machines were in the area before 1877, though, because sewing machine oil and needles were listed a year before. Thus, the usage of sewing machines was in the area, but sewing machines were possibly not yet a common household item.

Payment for purchases could take the form of credit, cash, or "in kind." With few exceptions, people paid on "time," meaning "when they had the money." Some would come in at a later time and pay cash towards their account. Mostly they would pay in farm produce - butter, eggs, oats, bacon, wool, chickens, corn, lard, flour, peaches, pears, potatoes, millet, rags. These items would indicate that people living in the country were a large base of customers since farmers would usually have a larger supply with which to trade. Other people would pay with labor. Men would haul or chop wood. Women would sew, producing many of the ready-to-wear items in the store.

The J.H. Murphy General Store in Tecumseh (Shawnee County) provides another look into store records to see if the conclusions drawn from Fogle correspond. The records are
dated 1878-1886, from which entries concerning clothing were October 1, 1878 to April 18, 1879. (See Table 4)

The most frequently mentioned material was print, averaging eight yards and commonly twelve yards. Muslin was next. Calico, gingham, and flannel appeared six times each. Other materials were only mentioned once.

Accessories and notions were limited. Twenty-four pairs of hose were sold; one pair of drawers, and two pairs of pantaloons. Thread and buttons were frequently sold. Other notions appeared once or twice only. One washboard was sold in the six-month period.

Methods of payment were varied. Paying cash at the time of purchase was rare - it only happened once. A cash payment one month later was the most common. Others brought in farm produce to be put towards their bill. Eighteen eggs would reduce the bill 27 cents, beef - 111 lbs for $5, butter - 2.5 lbs for .25, and corn - 30 bushels for $4.83. Apples were also brought.

Records for Murphy's store cover only a short time span, but correspond with the finding from the Fogle records. In both places, prints and muslin were the most popular fabrics. Varying degrees of accessories and notions were at each store but they were certainly available and purchased. The absence of sewing machines in Murphy's could be due to none being sold during the six month time or perhaps none were stocked in the store.
The last piece of evidence comes from the clothes themselves. Articles surviving to this day provide a different look into 1870s clothing from the written word. (See Table 5)

One item of clothing was sent to Kansas in 1871/72 by Sarah Gatch. She had planned to move to Kansas from Ohio at that time but passed away before she was able to come. Her bonnet was made of straw decorated with flowers.

Another family did make it to Kansas. The Clinger family came to Topeka in the 1870s from Pennsylvania. One of the items that they brought was a shawl made of wool.

There was one pair of stockings. According to a label, the pair of stockings were knitted by Josephine Barada in 1878. They were found at the Highland Mission in Doniphan County.

The B.V.D. Duplex or Double Lined Tape bustle worn was described by its New York maker:

this skirt is made of patent Double or Line Tape, thus giving the under side of the tapes that comes nearest to the wearer a smooth and neat finish not be found in any other skirt. The springs are fastened to the tapes by small neat clasps or spangles and thus the inside of this skirt is free from rows of points or teeth, of clasps that wear and tear the garments by rubbing against them, which makes this Double or Lined Tape Skirt the best and most economical of any manufactured. The springs are made of the best quality watch spring steel and superior manufacture of every part will recommend them to every wearer."
The background of the bustle is unknown but the copyright on the label said 1876 and was found in Kansas.

Combining the clothing items with mercantile records and personal accounts allows a more accurate picture to emerge than if one source was used in isolation. Based on these three sources is the following summary.

Certain fabrics appeared more often than others. The majority of the country women reported calico and sunbonnets as normal for the average person, with shoes optional. Farm economics dictated what was worn for some.

Low income, often unpredictable, limited women's ability to purchase more expensive fabrics while daily farm living necessitated the wearing of durable fabrics and the protective sunbonnet. For others, though, it was a matter of choice. Public opinion held meaning for the women so pretty, fashionable clothing was packed away. These women were conscious of their neighbors feelings and inferior clothing and responded by wearing similar clothing in order to blend in. They also did so because of the censorship from neighbors who might see wearing fancy clothes as snobbery. In either case, women responded to the established practice of wearing the "typical" calico and sunbonnet.

Store records also indicate that calicos and prints were worn extensively. Along with muslin, they were the most purchased fabric. The popularity of paying with farm produce leads to the conclusion that farmers were the principal buyers
since townspeople most likely would not have much extra produce in a limited space in their lot. Thus, country women wore calico more often than any other fabric.

Calico was not exclusive to the country, though. It appeared in town along with more fashionable fabrics, although it might have not been the favored fabric. Calico was also not the only fabric in the country. The more expensive fabrics were just not seen as often, probably reserved for special occasions.

Both town and country women usually made their own clothes. Most of the women mentioned sewing; more by hand than by machine. Stores sold a large number of notions - thread, pins, needles, and thimbles. The records showed more buttons than hooks and eyes being sold for closures. Sewing machines were a wonderful aid in sewing, but not everybody had one yet.

Washing machines seemed to be rare. Only one woman wrote of owning one. Stores recorded sales of washboards, indicating washboards were still predominate over washing machines.

A few women reported buying at least some of their clothes already made. One women lived on an average farm, while the others were better off in town or on a good farm. They were more likely to mention their riding dresses, sacques, mantles and other fashionable styles. Stores listed a variety of items sold, including skirts, dresses, and coats.
Ready-made clothing in the stores may not have been the mass produced items from factories but rather clothes sewed by local women.

Some of the women were indeed concerned with being fashionable. Reading Godey's and swapping patterns helped two women. Others held to their standards by changing to a better dress for visiting or preferring to stay home if the appropriate clothing was unavailable. They wore wrappers but only in the privacy of their own home.

Other women had little choice in what they wore. They had to accept charity, even though official reports denied the need for any organized Eastern assistance during hardtimes. The reality of grasshopper damage, droughts, and economic depression forced many rural families to accept charity from Eastern organizations and family. It would seem reasonable to assume that the clothing sent was not going to be in the most recent styles. Like today, most people would have been willing to donate out-dated clothes while keeping the stylish ones for themselves.

Bonnets and hats were part of the fashionable ensemble. Two women in the country wore hats and did their own trimming, while one town dweller mentioned trimming her own hats. Store records show a number of hats, bonnets, trimming, and veils being sold at all prices. The bonnet from the Kansas Museum supports the wearing of items besides sunbonnets.
Sunbonnets did what hats and fashionable bonnets could not - protect the skin from sun. The most commonly mentioned sunbonnets were slat sunbonnets. These used pieces of rectangle cardboard or thin pieces of wood slid into slots in the brim. They could easily be removed when the sunbonnet was washed. Another type was available. It had buckrum sewed into the brim that could not be removed but could be washed. This stiff fabric was listed in the Fogle Mercantile records.

In place of sunbonnets than would be parasols. This more fashionable item was regularly sold in the store. Unfortunately for this study, none of the women mentioned parasols in their accounts. The evidence from selling parasols and hats and bonnets, though, still supports the regular use of parasols by some women.

On the other end were shoes. Many of the farm women may have gone barefoot, but not everyone did. The town women always reported wearing shoes or boots while four farm women mentioned wearing stockings and shoes. Store records show a steady retail of shoes.

Some women manufactured their own stockings and some bought them. The surviving stockings was handmade. Three farm women wore homeknitted stockings while another two mentioned wearing or washing stockings. Both stores sold a regular supply of wool and cotton stockings and some garters.

Other underclothing was lacking in the women's accounts. Only two women, from the country, listed additional items
besides stockings. The first one was a general "underwear" made at home. The other mentioned washing ruffled petticoats. The stores, though, sold a number of corsets and drawers and parts to make or repair corsets. The lone evidence of a bustle adds another dimension. Speculation about its absence from the other sources could lead to the thought that not many people wore them or that they bought them from a different source.

The combination of sources would show stockings, drawers, corsets, petticoats, and bustles being worn by at least some of the population since they appeared in personal accounts, store records, and surviving clothing.

Other accessories included gloves and shawls. Only one town and one farm woman mentioned wearing gloves - cotton and kid. One wrote of a shawl. Store records sold a supply of gloves and shawls. One surviving shawl provides additional support. Altogether, wearing gloves and shawls were not uncommon.

It is interesting to note the absence of bloomers and bathing suits. None of the sources mentioned either. Contrary to what one would think of the appropriateness of bloomers on the frontier, not one woman wrote of wearing them and not one newspaper or magazine reported seeing any. It would appear, than, that bloomers were not worn. Bathing suits were only mentioned in the Kansas catalog and not by
women or stores. They might not have been widely worn in Kansas.

Taking into consideration the evidence, a picture develops of the apparel for Kansas women. Most of the farm women wore calico and sunbonnets but were not limited to that attire. Other fancier fabrics and hats were worn. The town women and better off farm women were more likely to wear the more expensive fabrics but were not excluded from calico either.

Not everyone wore sunbonnets and went barefoot. Evidence of fancy bonnets and hats, shoes and stockings appear. It was more likely for farm women to have sunbonnets and barefeet due to their residence, but not necessarily all inclusive.

For some, both farm and town, staying with the fashions was part of their life. They looked at fashion magazines and traded patterns. They changed from wrappers and work dresses before visiting. Women were very much aware of what was "in" and what was "out." Others refrained from competing with neighbors and conformed to neighbors' opinions. They deliberately packed away their fashionable clothing to avoid conflict.

Few made their own clothing from scratch. Most bought the cloth at stores and sewed their clothes at home, some by hand and some by machine. A few bought their clothes from seamstresses and stores.
Underclothes in the form of drawers, corsets, and bustles were worn at least by some. Outer clothes, like gloves and shawls, were also seen.

The above conclusions can now be compared to the national trends, Kansas publications, and events in Kansas to obtain an even clearer idea of Kansas women and their clothing.
TABLE 1: ETTA'S RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received</th>
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<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Aug. 26</td>
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<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3</td>
<td>from Uncle William one pair of shoes</td>
<td>$1.75</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paid for repairing shoes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 spools of garned silk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 4</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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## Accessories:

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Notions:

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<td>.05</td>
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sewing machine ---     | ---     | $20-$40 |
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>check</td>
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<td>woolen...fabric</td>
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<tr>
<td>grass cloth</td>
<td>loosely woven of vegetable fibers</td>
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<tr>
<td>jacksonett</td>
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<td>linsy</td>
<td>coarse, woolen linen or cotton...cloth</td>
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<td>wool</td>
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<td>Item</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
1871/72 Bonnet from Sarah Gatch
Natural straw, tri-corner bonnet, single pink cotton flower at each ear and at top, under brim, surrounded by red velvet flower. Levers lace under brim, sprays of red cotton and red velvet flowers on each side near ear. Wide green silk ties extend from lower corner of each side, embroidered in multicolored floral design. Cap of bonnet lined with loose-weave cotton net.\textsuperscript{264}
Clinger Family shawl

Wool shawl. Black center section surrounded by a wide paisley border. Predominately red with green, blue, black, and orange woven into the paisley pattern. Fringe along two ends.265

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1878 Stockings by Josephine Barada
Knee high knitted white cotton stockings with open work down front and ribbing around top opening.
1876 Bustle
Using several vantage points for a comparison will assist in obtaining a well-balanced idea of women and clothing in 1870s Kansas. Viewpoints from national fashions, Kansas publications, Kansas women, local documents, and clothes themselves will all contribute to the understanding of whether Kansas women were the stereotypical backwoods women or fashion conscience ladies. They will answer the question as to what effect living in Kansas had on women's clothing.

Kansas sources came from a wide area. Out of twenty-four counties in northeast Kansas, over half yielded information regarding clothing. Fourteen counties had personal accounts, newspapers, mercantile records, and books. This range of sampling will enhance the conclusions drawn from them in connection with the national sources because the sources were not limited to one county. (See Table 1)

The majority of the population in northeast Kansas was agricultural. Except for three counties (Atchison, Leavenworth, and Shawnee), the counties averaged fifty to eighty percent of its population in agricultural occupations. Out of twenty personal accounts, twelve women lived on farms. Five others started out on a farm but moved to a nearby town. The other three lived in towns (Abilene, Lawrence, and Manhattan). Store records suggest that the majority of
customers were farmers since payment was most often in farm produce.

The women living on farms were, for the most part, average. They were not dirt poor but not wealthy either. They had their regular chores of housekeeping that took a great deal of time, but some were often called upon to perform extra chores when their husbands were gone. Washing, cooking, cleaning, sewing, milking in addition to helping with the stock and crops led to a very active lifestyle - one not conducive to being delicate ornaments.

The fashion world's dictation had relegated women to a role of relative nonproductivity. For who could perform any meaningful duties while dressed like a peacock. Layers of underclothes and outerclothes combined with restrictive corsets and bustles precluded women from anything but the simplest of maneuvers. They also added about twenty pounds of weight to a woman. If dressed like a "lady," one had no choice but to act like a lady.

The requirement for ladies to be appropriately dressed required time and assistance. It took time to put on all of the layers and to change dresses for each activity. Assistance in getting dressed was a great help for it could be awkward getting into the clothes.

Most of the women in the sample did not speak of an access amount of changing clothes throughout the day. Neither did they write of maids assisting them in dressing. They only
mentioned replacing a work dress with a better dress in order to receive visitors or to go visiting.

The material of the dresses was also restrictive. Cashmere, velvet, silk, and others were not conducive to chores as they would have gotten soiled easily doing chores. Some could not be washed. Others were hard to wash. All were very expensive to replace. Material alone for a dress with ten yards at $.50 a yard of material would cost $5.00 or 30 dozen eggs.

It could be concluded then that, in general, farm women in Kansas did not follow the fashion ideals. Their lifestyle and the cost of fancy materials eliminated any opportunity to do so.

That is not to say that farm women were poorly dressed. It was more of a median. They tended to wear calico dresses because such dresses washed easily and withstood the various activities, not because it was fashionable.

According to fashion advice, calico was relegated to house dresses and work dresses or dresses for those women who were unable to afford something better. There was nothing wrong with calico; it just had its place low down in society. Calico was for housekeepers and such.

Many of the farm women were not pleased with wearing calico dresses. They probably would have preferred better fabric. Times were hard, though, and the same women felt fortunate to have a new calico dress. They said the average
person around them felt the same. The wearing of old dresses proved to be sore point for others and caused a refusal to visit back East because of an apparent lack of decent clothing. They did not want to be seen wearing unfashionable dresses when they knew the Easterners would have the latest fashions.

It was a rough time for the farmers. Many had been doing well until the grasshoppers of 1874. Newspapers, as well as personal accounts, document well the devastation. Farmers had depended on the crops to sell for cash or to trade at the store. That source of income no longer existed, especially combined with other disasters—drought and the Panic of 1873. The only thing left was to make do and hope for a better crop next year, pursue other avenues for income, or to move to town.

National publications and Kansas publications responded to the hard times, too. In 1874, they tended to write more advice on renovating old dresses and choosing less expensive material.

One alternative some women chose concerned shoes. Going barefoot in the summer saved many a pair of shoes. Not everyone went barefoot, but enough did to make it a common sight. Other women continued to wear shoes, as stated in the personal accounts and evident in the number of shoes being sold and advertised year around.
Another way to save money was to raise your own sheep and spin the wool into yarn. Yarn could then be knitted into various garments or woven into cloth. Not many women took such extreme measures as most preferred to buy their material at the store.

Some women deliberately chose not to wear the better clothing that they had brought with them. They packed them away because they wanted to blend in with their neighbors who were wearing calico. If they did wear the clothes, they could feel out of place and uncomfortable. The neighbors might also view it as being uppity and therefore, not act as friendly. Someone dressed similarly would more likely be accepted and treated with friendship - very important to newly arrived people in a strange place.

Even if most farm women wore calico, they still wore the petticoats and drawers of the time and possibly other undergarments. A vast quantity of muslin was sold at stores, and muslin was a common material for undergarments. Therefore, those prescribed items had not been discarded just because they wore calico.

Not everyone dressed down. There were women who were interested in fashion and its customs. Women on better farms, and a few on average farms, followed the fashions just as they would elsewhere. Newspaper articles gave them advice as did Godey's and other fashion magazines. The women used these sources to make or buy their dresses. Evidence of women
reading the publications came from the reminiscences, the college report, and the numerous advertisements.

The fashion customs were important to these women. They wore their wrappers and work dresses in the privacy of their own home, becoming embarrassed if any one saw them. They would have preferred to change for company. Changing for activities, such as riding, was also preferred for some.

Many farm women wore sunbonnets, especially the slat sunbonnets. Unmentioned by fashion, sunbonnets provided ideal protection from the sun while leaving the hands free to work and not blowing away. Bonnets and hats and parasols did none of that.

Sunbonnets were not worn to the exclusion of everything else. Bonnets and hats were also worn but usually with "best" outfits. Women could have bought hats at the store or from one of the many milliners advertised in the newspapers. If they trimmed their own hats, they could have followed the bountiful advice of magazines and newspapers. To keep the sun off the face, parasols could have been purchased at the store.

The women in town tended to fare better than those on the farm. They were not dependant on the success of the crops so their standard of living could be different. Their lifestyle was more sedate, not requiring the physical movements used on the farm. Their support instead came from a professional husband or from earning their own money. They had the income, the time, and instant access to stores to purchase the more
expensive fabric and wear the latest styles. They could wear the corsets and bustles, cashmere and swiss, the dinner dresses and the afternoon dresses. They could read *Godey's* and the newspapers.

They could also wear calico in town. It was not forbidden fabric but more likely worn by the laboring class. The cut of the dress, perhaps, may have been a bit more stylish than the calico dresses in the country. Some townswomen even went to the extent of imitating what they considered to be in style from back East. They would then wear their calico in the same pattern as the upper class in their expensive fabric.

The majority of women, both farm and town, sewed their own clothes, many by hand. Others used sewing machines which were widely advertised in newspapers and available at the local store. Not everyone could afford a sewing machine, though. With machines selling for $20 to $50, it was a serious purchase for someone earning $1 to $3 a day. It would have taken about a month's wages for one. Paying with farm produce was even harder. It would have taken 300 bushels of corn or 300 dozen eggs for the $50 machine. A few women opted to purchase one or more articles of clothing from the store or dressmakers.

The better materials found in the Fogle records compared favorably with those found in *Godey's*. Material listed in Fogle were matched with known dresses in *Godey's*: cashmere -
common for various day dresses, grenadine - day and evening, lawn and percale - morning, poplin and velvet - day, tweed - traveling, flannel - bathing, and alpaca - alternative for silk. For underclothes were cambric, percale, linen, flannel, and muslin.

Additional support came from The Catalogue where numerous fashion patterns were for sale. This catalog, and others like it, provided a source to obtain fashionable clothing that was seen in the magazines and newspapers. Patterns for bodices, skirts, waterproof cloaks, and bathing suits, and wrappers indicated that women wore these items otherwise they would not have been for sale. Corsets were not included but items such as drawers, chemises, and corset covers suggested the wearing just as the style of their dresses suggested the usage of a bustles and corsets.

A wide variety of patterns were used. Women reported using and trading patterns. The Kansas State Agricultural college used patterns from Harper's, Demorest's, and Butterrick's. Patterns were included in issues of Godey's as well as being available from dress shops.

The Catalogue, combined with newspaper articles and fashion magazines, were sources of evidence that women followed fashions. Personal accounts of styles, advertisements of hoops and bustles, the sale of corsets, and the appearance of the patented bustle help support it since all were used in achieving the fashionable shape.
The newspapers would also not have had the numerous articles concerning the effects of fashion if few women followed the fashions. Women were admonished to wear material and style according to their station and not spend the money and time on trying keep up with the changes. Articles from both newspapers and magazines warned of the dangers that corsets, garters, and shoes could present.

Newspapers, books, and magazines provided additional evidence to clothing worn. The hints in them addressed methods on cleaning the fancy material and accessories, thereby indicating the women wore them. Combined with the advice, the sale of washboards and ads for washing machines indicate that hard working, rural women were not slovenly but were interested in keeping their clothes clean.

Living in Kansas did not result in any radical changes in dress. There was no mention of adopting bloomers or any extravagant attempts in acquiring fashionable clothing. Working class women probably wore calico before coming to Kansas since calico was not indigineous to Kansas. It was recommended by every publication, national and local, as being serviceable. Women in better circumstances back East would have been more affected by a move to the farm. Their new environment would have rendered fashionable dresses unsuitable for the active life on the farm. Those who moved to Kansas towns could have kept the same standards of living and dress.
Based on all of the sources, Kansas women were quite capable of following the general fashion trends. Magazines, newspapers, and books made current information available. Stores sold the fabrics and accessories. Dressmakers and milliners could sew for any lady not wishing to do so. The townswomen and above-average farm women were more likely to take advantage of the opportunity while the average farm women tended to dress simply in calico and sunbonnets due to their lifestyle. Many might have dressed better if they had the choice.
TABLE 1: LOCATION OF SOURCES
The popular image of Kansas as a backwoods, isolated area on the map was no longer true by the 1870s. Kansas had progressed to a populous state that enjoyed the benefits of neighbors and towns. The stereotypical pioneer woman in a calico dress and bare feet did exist there, but so did the fashionably dressed lady.

Fashions seen by the rest of the nation were available in Kansas. *Godey's* and many other fashion publications reported every change in the fashion world so the women everywhere could follow. The same trends mirrored in Kansas publications with no apparent time lag.

Warnings of fashionable attire appeared along with advice on the latest outerwear, undergarments, and accessories. The articles were often against the same apparel that were needed for fashion. They could also be against becoming a slave to fashion. The former might have been more directed to the upper-class who may have adhered to the true womanhood ideal while the latter might have been for the laboring class who may have strived towards it.

The sources reported the height of fashions. Kansas women tended to read these sources according to their income and status. Women in town were more likely to follow the fashions and buy the more expensive fabrics and accessories. Their situation assisted them in having the cash and
opportunity to purchase the needed items. Women on farms were more likely to wear the utilitarian calico dress and sunbonnet with or without shoes. Their active lifestyle and lack of steady income precluded many the option of better clothes.

That is not to say that all women in town or all women on farms could be easily placed in the appropriate category. Even women in town were seen wearing calico. And some of the more fortunate farm women had stylish garments.

Most of the women made their own clothes. They purchased the material and accessories at the store as opposed to being self-sufficient and making their own cloth, although few did. The majority sewed by hand using notions purchased from the store while a few utilized the time-saving sewing machine. Others also purchased ready-made garments from dressmakers, milliners, and stores.

Living in northeast Kansas in the 1870s affected some women. Their environment (farm or town) affected most women's ability and willingness to follow the fashions. Mostly those on farms saw a reduction in their clothing due to the hard lifestyle in Kansas while most women in town experienced little affect on their clothing. Therefore, living in Kansas affected the clothes women wore but not to such a degree as to exclude fashions for every lady.
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