

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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(A succinct summary of the thesis not to exceed 300 words in length.)

The first settlers in Kansas faced nearly insurmountable obstacles in establishing civilization on the Great Plains. They arrived to find the only available shelter was the vast open prairie with the sky for a roof. They lived in the most primitive shelters during winters of extreme cold. Hardship was an everyday occurrence to them.

To add to their problems border ruffians, from Missouri, made raids into the territory, burning towns, cabins and crops, plundering, and stealing livestock. For a time the Missouri River was closed to northern emigration and shipping adding further difficulty. The Panic of 1857 and high interest rates added to their hard times. The pioneers were finally forced to accept money and relief goods from the East to survive.

Gold was discovered in western Kansas which gave hope briefly but proved to be a "humbug" for most. Hard times returned with the Drouth of 1860. Rags again were in fashion and food was scarce. The East again generously responded to appeals for help.

Kansas became the thirty-fourth state on January 29, 1861, which

brought great rejoicing. This was soon overshadowed by the outbreak of the Civil War. Men left to fight and women were home alone. Bushwhackers and guerrilla bands made raids into Kansas bringing destruction and deprivation. Jayhawkers made raids into Missouri freeing slaves, stealing horses and other plunder. In retaliation for the attack on Osceola, Missouri, Quantrill and bands of guerrillas descended on Lawrence which left most of the town in flames and 150 male residents dead. General Ewing's Order No. Eleven reduced guerrilla activity on the border. Troops under General Sterling Price fought Union troops and Kansas militia near the border. This brought an end to military activity in the West. The war soon drew to a close and men came home. The settlers hoped for quieter, peaceful times ahead.

FRONTIER LIFE IN NORTHEAST KANSAS DURING THE
TERRITORIAL AND CIVIL WAR YEARS

A Thesis

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PREFACE

"What will our life be like in this place called Kansas? It's not even a state, it's still a territory. When it is admitted to statehood, will it be a free state or a slave state? If it is a slave state, will we have slaves? Indians live close by. What will it be like to have Indians for neighbors? Will they be hostile or friendly? Will they speak English or how will we communicate with them?" These and many other questions must have crossed the minds of early pioneers en route to Kansas during its frontier period. After their arrival, what was their life really like in this place called Kansas? This thesis will examine and attempt to answer that question.

Kansas was a political hotbed during the territorial and the Civil War periods. The free-state and proslavery problems in Kansas paralleled the abolitionist movement in the North and the "peculiar institution" of slavery issues in the South. The Kansas question was on the list of causes that culminated in the attack on Fort Sumter, the spark that ignited the Civil War. Since a wealth of material has been written on the political and military aspects of these periods, this thesis does not dwell on these subjects in depth. It focuses on how these factors influenced the daily lives of the early settlers.

The source materials primarily used are letters, diaries, recollections, and other kinds of personal accounts. These reveal personal opinions, fears, joys, disappointments, and inner feelings of the first Kansas pioneers. They saw the vast open prairie become an ever changing panorama that included Indians, border ruffians, new settlers, log cabins, towns, steamboats on the Kaw, roads, schools, churches, animals (both wild and tame), and the many ongoing signs of a developing

civilization.

The prime emphasis is on how these early settlers lived and coped with their many hardships and problems. This was a difficult time and many sacrifices had to be made in order to survive. There were also times for rest and relaxation.

The institution of slavery was a heated issue throughout the country prior to the Civil War and the possible expansion of slavery into the new territories was extremely controversial. However, relatively few of the early settlers in Kansas came to crusade for the cause of slavery or freedom. They came for the land, for speculation, for adventure, and to start a new life.

On May 30, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law with an amendment which gave the people the right to determine the status of slavery in their territory by popular vote and to "form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."¹ This was the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, which is also known as Squatter Sovereignty. Immediately after the U.S. Senate passed the bill at 1:15 a.m., May 26, "a salute of 100 guns was fired from Capitol Hill. Intoxication and anger made memorable the night scenes in the Senate and House. . . ."² Four days later it was signed into law by President Franklin Pierce.

On April 21, 1854, Agent Daniel Vanderslice with delegates from the Iowa, Sac and Fox (of the Missouri) and the Kickapoo tribes left for Washington to make land cession treaties. This sparked an invasion by Missouri residents who staked their claims on Kansas soil by laying the foundation for a cabin and writing their names on the closest tree. A local resident wrote on May 27th that ". . .there is not a grease spot left unclaimed within my knowledge; and still claim hunters are passing daily. After thus locating their claims most of them go back and are now awaiting the results of the treaty."³

¹James C. Malin, "The Motives of Stephen A. Douglas in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XIX, 1951, 329.

²Louise Barry, "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Twenty-three, 1854," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXIII, 197.

³Ibid., p. 183.

In April in present-day Doniphan County, three meetings were held regarding squatters' land claims, claim jumping, registration of claims, mutual protection, and other related business.

In early May, a group of Missourians, whose original destination was California, apparently found the countryside of Shawnee County more to their liking and located in present-day Tecumseh Township.

At about the same time the Rev. Jotham Meeker of the Ottawa Baptist Mission wrote, "Learn that many White families are breaking over the rules of the Government, and are actually settling and opening farms within from 12 to 15 and 25 miles from us."⁴

Meeker continued to write about more emigrants squatting on nearby land and reports of many others en route to the area. By June 18th, he learned that the inevitable had happened. White settlers near the Ottawa line had opened whiskey shops and were selling liquor to the Indians.

In late May, Missourians were landing by steamboat at Fort Leavenworth and marking off their claims with hatchets even though the land was still Indian country.

Meetings were held at both Westport and Independence, Missouri, in June, to organize for the mutual protection of Jackson County proslavery citizens claiming and holding lands for actual settlement in the Kansas Territory. A number of resolutions were passed including one "that every white-livered abolitionist who dared to set foot in Kansas should be

⁴Ibid., p. 193.

hung. . . ." ⁵ Other border counties were also urged to organize to protect the settlement rights of Southern emigrants in the new territory.

Another squatters' association near Fort Leavenworth recognized that slavery already existed in the territory and they would afford no protection to any abolitionists who settled in the territory.

Meanwhile in Washington, more and more land became open for settlement in Kansas as delegates from the Delaware, Shawnee, Iowa, Sac & Fox (of the Missouri), Kickapoo, Miami, and the confederated Wea & Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia & Peoria nations signed land cession treaties leaving the tribes with diminished reserves. ⁶

In June, a visitor to Kansas wrote from St. Joseph, Missouri, ". . . you can scarcely imagine the state of things, not only in this city, but all along the frontier line. The rush to California was nothing to it. Camps are formed, and tents are dotting all the hills and valleys. Thousands are waiting "the permit" to cross. Large numbers have organized for mutual protection and defense, and have crossed the river, and are locating claims, and staking out farms. Trees are 'blazed' in every direction; and even now much of the choicest land is 'marked'. . . ." ⁷ Settlers continued to come in search of good land and to establish their claims, protection associations continued to be organized, and claim disputes and quarrels were beginning to occur.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 200-201.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 193-201.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 207-208.

The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated in April, 1854, for the purpose of "assisting emigrants to settle in the West."⁸ This company never functioned but was replaced by the New England Emigrant Aid Company in July, 1854, which was incorporated the next February. Prominent among the officers of the company were Amos A. Lawrence, Thomas H. Webb, and Eli Thayer.⁹ All were New England abolitionists.

The Emigrant Aid Company had high hopes of making Kansas a free state. They had high hopes, too, of making enough money through land speculation to repay the capital invested in the company with a considerable profit. Their plan of operation was much like a travel agency with publicity, advertising, and organized travel arrangements with reduced fares on railroads and steamboats for their conducted parties. They also hoped to earn enough profit and to sell enough company stock to invest in hotels, mills, and to make local improvements for the new Kansas settlers.¹⁰

In the early summer of 1854, a widely distributed document declared that \$5,000,000 was to be raised and that 20,000 settlers would be leaving for Kansas very soon.¹¹ There is no exact figure on the total number of emigrants who actually came to Kansas under the auspices

⁸ Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV, 1935, 238.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁰ Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, 1931-1932, 429-430.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

of the Aid Company. It is thought to be under 2,000 with probably a third of these returning to their homes in the East.¹² When the highly publicized amount of five million dollars became an impossible dream, the company finally agreed that the amount of \$200,000 would be adequate to begin its operation.¹³ Obviously the original document was a gross exaggeration.

The company was always in dire financial need. Although Amos A. Lawrence, the company's treasurer, invested thousands of dollars of his own money in the venture, there was always a shortage of funds.

The first company, only numbering twenty-nine men, arrived in Kansas City on July 29, 1854. They voted to go to a site on present Mount Oread which was chosen by Charles H. Branscomb, an agent for the company.¹⁴ This settlement was named Wakarusa, and it became the headquarters of the Free-State party in the Kansas Territory. Soon it was renamed Lawrence after Amos A. Lawrence. Homesickness, especially among the young single men, the extreme heat of Kansas summers, and the difficult primitive life on the frontier proved to be too much for the faint hearted and they either returned home or went elsewhere. Others went home to bring their families, to settle business affairs, or for other reasons, and then returned later.

Many emigrants coming to Kansas were ill prepared for life on the

¹²Ibid., p. 431.

¹³Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV, 1935, 244.

¹⁴Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII, 1943, 120-121.

frontier. [They were accustomed to living in a settled, orderly environment and were not ready for the primitive lifestyle of the Great Plains. Most of them lived in the villages or cities and had non-agricultural vocations. Few knew much about farming. The scarcity of timbers and mills for sawing lumber and grinding grain, drastically limited jobs for carpenters, mechanics, millers, etc. It also hindered settlement. Lumber was needed to build homes, business building, and for many other purposes. Many of these pioneers came with the misconception that they would find pretty New England villages ready and waiting for them with all the comforts and conveniences of home. They also expected to find fenced farms and comfortable living quarters. Instead a large number of the Fourth Party plus a group from Ohio who had joined them arrived in Lawrence to find that, "A part of this 200 only could have room to lay down in the big thatched tent called the meeting house, some had tents of their own, made of cotton cloth, while others were obliged to lay upon the ground with no shelter, with the thermometer at 30 degrees."¹⁵]

Supplies had to be obtained from the river towns which added to the price of food and other necessities of life. This often required a trip of several days depending on the weather and the distance from the river. Various foods and other items were not available in the early period at any price.

The Aid Company was important to Kansas for a number of reasons. It made the first effort to fill the territory with free-soilers and

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 147.

through its publicity and advertising, it made the country aware of the Kansas efforts. Other organizations were formed in the North and East which also sponsored groups and operated in a similar fashion.

The Aid Company was instrumental in founding towns which were the centers of free-state activities and defense. The most important of these were Lawrence, the headquarters of the free-state efforts, Topeka, Manhattan, and Osawatomie. It was also involved in towns of Wabaunsee and Hampden (Burlington), and was probably involved with Humboldt, Zeandale, Mapleton, and Milford. It had interests later in Quindaro and Atchison but had no role in the founding of these two towns.¹⁶

Of great importance to life on the frontier was the saw mill for sawing lumber and the grist mill for grinding grain. The company located nine steam operated mills in Kansas. All but the one at Atchison were sawmills although four operated both as grist mills and saw mills.¹⁷ The engines were often underpowered to meet the necessary demands and the mills were frequently in need of repair. Parts necessary for repair were not always readily available.

The company entered the hotel business to accommodate both settlers and travelers. In the summer of 1854, the old Gillis House in Kansas City was bought and used as the American Hotel until 1862. It was used by hosts of free-state settlers going to the territory but was not ample for the needs. It was also used

¹⁶ Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, 1931-1932, 432-434.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 434.

as the free-state headquarters for the area. Temporary huts served as boarding houses at Lawrence until the Free-State Hotel was built at a cost of approximately \$20,000. Begun in the summer of 1855, it was finished just in time to be destroyed by Sheriff Jones and his proslavery posse on May 21, 1856, during the sack of Lawrence. It later was rebuilt. The Aid Company also owned a small hotel in Atchison and had minor interests in several other hotels in the territory.¹⁸

[The company had a major interest in the Herald Of Freedom at Lawrence, which was considered to be the mouthpiece of the Emigrant Aid Company and was widely read in the East. The company also had a financial investment in a German language newspaper, Die Kansas Zeitung, published first in Atchison, then later moved to Leavenworth.¹⁹

The role of the company in early Kansas churches, schools, and in Kansas relief will be discussed later.

Rumors persisted that a large corporation in the East with a capital of \$5,000,000 was hiring twenty thousand armed men to come to Kansas to rid the territory of the proslavery element. It was rumored that the Aid Company was procuring thousands of emigrants to send to the territory to vote the free-state ticket. This terrified the Missourians and spurred them to action. Many young

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 435-436.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 436-437.

men were recruited, organized into companies, provided with transportation, food, and liquor, and sent to the territory to vote in the election. This resulted in the "bogus" election of March 30, 1855.^{20]}

The Aid company never hired anyone to vote. They only hired company agents and a few skilled mechanics to set up the mills and do other necessary labor.²¹

The Free-State headquarters at Lawrence, under the leadership of Dr. Charles Robinson, assisted by Samuel C. Pomeroy, became a hub of activity soon after the election. Both men were agents for the company. Four military companies were organized and a letter sent to Eli Thayer begged for a shipment of two hundred Sharps rifles. After the weapons arrived, a series of seven conventions were held which produced the Topeka constitution. Then Kansas was blessed (or cursed) with two separate governments, two opposing political factions, and two opposing armed camps. All that was needed was a match to light the flame of conflict. The match was the sack of Lawrence on May 21, 1856, by Sheriff Jones and his posse. For the next three months, Kansas was the scene of civil unrest and became known as "Bleeding Kansas."²²

²⁰Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Conflict," Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI, 1937, 21-25.

²¹Ibid., pp. 25-26.

²²Ibid., pp. 27-28.

Proslavery settlers living along the border firmly believed that the company was supplying arms to the Free-State forces and this infuriated them. It was also the belief among these settlers that the Free-State hotel was being built as a fort. This is questionable, but it was used as a barracks for the Free-State militia whenever Lawrence was under danger of attack.²³

The proslavery settlers in both Kansas and Missouri blamed the Aid Company and other similar New England organizations for all the trouble in the territory. Many felt that only a minimum of problems that are usual to new settlement would have existed if the aid societies had not provoked much of the conflict.

The publicity of the New England Emigrant Aid company was probably too well done. This plus propaganda and rumors enraged and frightened the border areas. The officers and the company supplied arms for the Free-State party. The company really directed all the Free State activities in the territory.

The Beecher Bible and Rifle Church still stands today as a memorial to the Connecticut Kansas Colony which was organized at New Haven, Connecticut, in the spring of 1856. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher spoke at one of the organizational meetings held for the purpose of arming the colony. The meeting succeeded in securing 27 weapons and Beecher's church donated 25 rifles plus 25 Bibles to the cause. Thus, the the "Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony" became the name of the company

²³Ibid., p. 30.

and the Sharps rifle became known as a "Beecher Bible." It has been estimated that \$50,000 worth of arms were sent to Free-State settlers in the territory in 1855 and 1856 from Eastern organizations and individuals. Most were Sharps rifles, which were manufactured in Hartford, Conn., and were a great determinant for the success of the Free-State efforts.²⁴

The company arrived in Kansas City on April 10, 1856. A location sixty-five miles above Lawrence and twelve miles below Manhattan was chosen for their new home. Dr. Johnston Lykins suggested the Pottawatomie Indian word, "Wabaunsee," meaning "Dawn of Day" for the settlement.²⁵ Charles B. Lines, the principal organizer of the colony, wrote many interesting and informative letters back home describing their early experiences. He used a variety of ways to spell Wabaunsee during the early years.

The majority of the free-state settlers in the territory of Kansas were not from New England but from the Old Northwest, the country of the Ohio River Valley. They were settlers from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Some of these settlers had originally been from Kentucky, which had a northern migration to the Old Northwest. In a previous generation the Old Northwest had been peopled by Easterners who crossed the Alleghanies and settled in a new country. The generation who were

²⁴ Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony, Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 2-3.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

the pioneers to Kansas followed in their father's footsteps. Being a pioneer in a new land had been their way of life. Their life style had been simple and difficult. They were well qualified to be experienced pioneers on the Kansas frontier.

The doctoral dissertation of Elmer LeRoy Craik reveals a very detailed picture of southern attitudes and the proslavery movement in Kansas up to the time of the rejection of the Lecompton Constitution.²⁶

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, settlers poured into the new territory from all sections of the country. Most of the young men from Missouri only wanted land and farms. They had little or no interest in the question of slavery. Their chief interests were good farms, good roads, and the extension of the Central Pacific Railroad to the Pacific coast.²⁷

Thus began a frantic race between the North and the South to bring voters in on election days to sway the vote for the dominance of their party. Both sides also began campaigns to bring new settlers into the territory. During this period the two political parties in Kansas were officially labeled the Free-State and Proslavery parties.

On election days large groups of men, called border ruffians, were sent from Missouri to the various districts in the territory to vote, hoping to make Kansas a slave state. They camped out in their tents,

²⁶ Elmer LeRoy Craik, A.M., "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," Kansas Historical Collections, XV, 1919-1922, 334-450.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 340.

carried their own provisions which included a generous supply of whiskey, and they usually were armed. It was customary for them to return home soon after the election.

In the election of March 30, 1855, there were 1,410 legal voters in the territory, 2,905 residents, and the number of voters totaled 8,601.²⁸

Law-abiding was the prime requisite for settlers in the Kansas territory. They did not want fanatics of any kind, from any place. Men with capital, farmers with livestock, all sorts of craftsmen, professional men, and tradesmen were both needed and welcome.²⁹

David R. Atchison was the man most responsible for Missouri's involvement in the Kansas struggle. For twenty-five years he had been a leader in Missouri and he held many public offices. Atchison had been president pro tempore of the United States Senate but was defeated in the election. He left the Senate on December 4, 1854, and returned to his home in Platte County, Missouri. He became deeply involved in the Kansas struggle. It was felt that much of the controversy in Kansas was caused by Atchison's compulsion to return to his role in the Senate.³⁰ At this time senators were elected by the state legislature.

Benjamin F. Stringfellow and Dr. John H. Stringfellow, two brothers,

²⁸ Ibid., p. 346.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 349.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 355.

joined forces with Atchison to organize and lead all the proslavery activities in Kansas. If Kansas could be admitted to the Union as a slave state, Atchison envisioned his return to his position of prestige and honor in the Senate by being one of the first senators from Kansas. Possibly, Stringfellow could occupy the other Senate seat, while other associates could take political positions of varying importance.³¹ With this goal in mind, he set out, aided by the Stringfellow brothers, to lead the proslavery forces in the Kansas territory. They sent large companies of Missourians into the territory to vote the Proslavery ticket. They obtained speakers and organized meetings in Missouri to raise men and money to go to Kansas. This same program was expanded and carried forth throughout the South. They directed and were involved in the border ruffian raids and proslavery battles during the "Bleeding Kansas" era. The border ruffians had around the clock access to Atchison's living quarters. They also attempted to deter northern settlers from entering the territory by intimidation, hoping to enable the South to people the territory.

Just as the Emigrant Aid Company was blamed for much of the Kansas conflict on the Free-State side, Atchison, his associates, and his political aspirations were blamed for much of the Kansas conflict on the Proslavery side.

Connelley believed that "had there been no effort to stimulate emigration, but every one left to pursue his own course

³¹Ibid., p. 341.

in the matter of settling Kansas, the great influx of free labor would have secured it forever to freedom."³² However, the enormous amount of propaganda, publicity, and advertising by the Emigrant Aid Company in the North spurred the South to action to slow the northern tide of emigration.

By placing advertisements in a number of southern newspapers, Col. Jefferson Buford, a practicing attorney in Eufaula, Alabama, raised a group of 360 men to go to Kansas. They appeared on the Kansas scene during the summer of 1856. The purpose of the trip was to establish southern men as residents in Kansas in an effort to make Kansas a slave state. Buford's men were under no military control and while at Leavenworth they created disturbances throughout their brief stay there. Dissatisfaction and disappointment with the venture soon became apparent among the Buford men. They refused to take claims and settle down. It was obvious to Kansas settlers that these men knew nothing about growing crops and farming.

The men participated in various attacks and outrages on settlers during the "Bleeding Kansas" era. They roamed around over the country in organized bands, depending on the hospitality of citizens of both Kansas and Missouri. At one time, they became so destitute that Dr. Stringfellow raised \$500 to render assistance to them. They were an expense to any community they visited and soon wore out their welcome.

Following the sack of Lawrence and attacks on other free-state

³²Ibid., p. 343.

towns in the territory in May, 1856, Buford's troops were billeted on the citizens of Missouri. These men erected nearly a dozen forts in northeastern Kansas. They camped around the area, set themselves up as voters, and created obstacles to prevent free-state emigrants from entering Kansas. The Buford men earned notoriety while in the territory.³³

Most Kentucky settlers who came to Kansas territory were self-sustaining. The Ashland Company, composed of strong anti-slavery and temperance men, came in 1855. Included in the group were educated and professional people, who brought with them a frame schoolhouse, ten Hinkle's cottages,³⁴ a steam engine, a sawmill, and livestock. Their town site was located on the Kansas River eight miles below Fort Riley and was named Ashland.³⁵ Many Southerners came only for personal gain. A number of business men hoped to establish themselves in the West. Not all emigrants from the South remained loyal to southern interests. Many did not support the slave system. Geographical lines were no true indication of sectional allegiance. People supporting both factions lived both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Funds were not always adequate to complete the trip to Kansas.

³³ Ibid., pp. 397-398.

³⁴ These were frame houses that were knocked down and sent by steamboat to the territory. They were also called Cincinnati houses. For further information, please see page 37.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 406-407.

Men deserted en route and returned home. Many were completely disillusioned with Kansas and its many problems and stayed only for a short period of time. Insufficient funds in Kansas also caused many to return to their homes in the South. It was often necessary to ask for aid or try to find jobs along the way in order to get home.

Craik concludes that this "unique contest" was decided, "not by any particular section of the Union, but by the ever-increasing tide of free labor, which, flowing not only from New England but from the Ohio valley and even from the South, made it utterly impossible for the South to erect in Kansas the institution of negro slavery, without which type of society the struggle over Kansas would have been a meaningless wrangle instead of the prologue to the story of the great Civil War of 1861-1865."³⁶

The most common form of transportation to the territory from St. Louis to Kansas City was by steamboat up the Missouri River. The rates on the river steamboats were higher when the water level was low, incurring more expense for both travel and shipping. Some trips were uneventful while for others the travel conditions were far from ideal. Many became ill on the trip and death came for some of them, especially young children. Violent colds, cholera, ague, fatigue, lung fever, and dysentery were unusual illnesses, although other contagious diseases were present, too.

In April, 1855, the steamboat Australia went aground near

³⁶ Ibid., p. 448.

Lexington, Missouri, with a heavy load of passengers including 250 U.S. troops. Unseasonably warm weather, crowding, and "unhealthful" conditions on the boat provided a good breeding ground for an outbreak of cholera. A number of deaths occurred including 16 members of the Fifth Aid Company Party. Many frightened emigrants left the boat and went instead to Iowa or Wisconsin³⁷

"During the early cholera epidemics, when a passenger died, especially a deck passenger, who was generally an emigrant, the body of the unfortunate victim was hastily placed in a rude wooden box, the boat run along shore, where a shallow grave was dug, in which the body was hastily interred. There it remained, unmarked, until the shifting current of the river invaded the sacred spot and swept away all that was mortal of the unfortunate stranger, whose friends, perhaps, never knew his fate. There were many such graves along the river in olden times, and it was not unusual for a coffin to be seen protruding from the bank, where the current had encroached."³⁸

These rough wooden coffins were made by the boat's carpenter, who had to have a ready supply on hand for immediate use if necessary. One night a "man of unusual height" died and he was too tall to be fitted into any coffin. The captain deliberately chopped off the man's legs

³⁷ Louise Barry, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1855," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII, 1943, 259.

³⁸ Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," Kansas Historical Collections, IX, 1905-1906, 290.

with an ax, laid them beside the body in the coffin, and he was laid to rest.

The muddy river water of the Missouri created problems for the members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony. Lines wrote, "We were all sick on the way, most of us with diarrhoea, and all, without exception, with colds, and why should we not be? For the water is totally different in its qualities from what we use at home, thus having a decided tendency to diarrhea, and so very muddy as to finish the work by physicing most effectually all who partake of it freely for the first time. The people here, however, seem to regard it as very fine, and say that if they were compelled to live at the East, they should find it necessary to mix mud in their water before drinking it."³⁹ The bar on the boat sold ale at ten cents a glass and a few of the men patronized the bar for medicinal purposes. They were very strong temperance men, but were really sick and truly believed that the ale would bring them some relief.⁴⁰

Emigrants often saw both Indians and slaves for the first time on the steamboats. Threats of tar and feathers on arrival, rumors that they would not be allowed to land, and fear of border ruffians caused much anxiety on some of the journeys. On one "miserable old boat," about 75 passengers were obliged to sleep on the floor, and many had to supply their own blankets.

The North-South conflict in the territory in 1856, created much

³⁹ Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony, Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 7.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

discrimination against free-state emigrants traveling by steamboat to the territory. Assignments of quarters on the boat, seating at meals, as well as all aspects of the journey were determined by one's political beliefs.

Baggage and boxes containing even such innocent contents as pianos, engines, goods being shipped to merchants, etc., were opened, thoroughly searched, and sometimes seized and confiscated. Goods being shipped to merchants in the territory were purposely delayed causing hardships to both the merchants and settlers.⁴¹ Finally, traffic on the Missouri was closed to northern emigration.

River navigation included many risks and dangers. Explosions of boilers were frequent and led to a high fatality rate in the early years of steamboating. The cabins were constructed of white pine, thoroughly saturated with lead and oil, making a highly combustible mixture. Fire always followed the explosion and the vessel rapidly burned. Boiler explosions were the most devastating and terrible of all river accidents. Improvements in the material and construction of the boilers plus very rigid enforcement of inspection laws by the government decreased considerably the number of these accidents in the later years. Others were caused by coming in contact with snags or sunken wrecks, rocks, bridges, storms, and ice. Many wrecks lie at the bottom, buried in the shifting sands of the river.⁴²

⁴¹Albert R. Greene, "Kansas River-Its Navigation," Kansas Historical Collections, IX, 1905-1906, 335.

⁴²Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," Kansas Historical Collections, IX, 1905-1906, 288-289.

However, the Missouri was widely used for both passenger and freight service to the territory and played an important role in the early history of Kansas.

"The Kansas and its tributaries are only useful as drains, suppliers of pure water, and feeders of mills."⁴³ They were believed to be useless for navigation because of snags, bars, dry places, and strong rapid currents. Even so, steamboats traveled the Kansas river when possible from 1854 until the spring of 1866 carrying both passengers and freight.

The first steamboat to navigate the Kansas River was the Excel in April of 1854. She carried 1100 barrels of flour from Weston, Mo., to the site of Fort Riley, which was under construction. The time required for the trip was two days. It was necessary several times each day to go ashore, fell trees, and chop them up for fuel. Occasionally rails were appropriated from Indians living near the river. At St. Mary's Mission, the local priest had two loads of rails ready and waiting for their use. On a later trip, the Excel briefly ascended the Smoky Hill, where she surprised a large band of Fox Indians going north to hunt buffalo. They had about 500 horses with them and their "motley procession" stretched over the prairie for miles.⁴⁴

In May, 1855, the Financier No. 2 ascended the Republican nearly 40 miles and returned the next day. It was the only steamer to ever

⁴³Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River - Its Navigation," Kansas Historical Collections, IX, 1905-1906, 317.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 321-323.

navigate the Republican.⁴⁵

One July, the Col. Gus Linn ran on a bar above Rising Sun, located opposite Lecompton. Fifteen hundred sacks of flour were unloaded in a papaw patch on the river bank. A lone deck-hand was left to keep watch over the flour. Rising Sun had an abundance of saloons, which proved to be too tempting for the deck-hand. The Delaware Indians' razor-backed hogs discovered the flour and whitewashed the papaw bushes with it.⁴⁶

The rivers were closed for travel in late November due to ice. Goods in transit had to be stock-piled at levees along the way until navigation opened in the spring. In the fall of 1859, the Star of the West was grounded near Lecompton and had to remain there all winter. During its stay, its cargo of whiskey was sold for 25 cents per gallon.⁴⁷

In June, 1859, while the Col. Gus Linn was lying at the Lecompton wharf, a doctor was hastily summoned to the ladies' cabin. Soon the ship had a namesake, baby Gusta Linn Kelly, whose home was to be in Junction City.⁴⁸

Perhaps the lightest load ever carried on the Emma Harmon was a pair of boots being taken from Lawrence to Kansas City to be half-soled. The Silver Lake, loaded with corn and hides, arrived in Kansas City on March 31, 1859, from Topeka. This was the first shipment ever made by

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 333.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 348.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 350.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 347-348.

water level, sandbars, and other problems at De Soto. Her cargo had to be unloaded and later hauled by wagons to Lawrence while she returned to the mouth of the river.⁵² The end of steamboating on the Kaw came in the spring of 1866, with the advent of the railroads.

In 1856, because of the heated controversy between the free-state and the proslavery elements, all Free-State travel to the territory via the Missouri River was halted. Companies of emigrants were disarmed and their belongings searched. They were robbed of provisions, possessions, and supplies necessary for life on the Plains and sent back. Emigrants attempting to reach the territory by overland travel through northern Missouri were halted by patrols guarding the ferries crossing the Missouri River.

To safeguard the lives and property of these early settlers, James H. Lane mapped out the Lane Trail. This route, which began at Iowa City, the most western point on the railroad, passed north of Missouri through Iowa and Nebraska into Kansas.⁵³ The Lane Trail was marked by piles of rock called "Lane's Chimneys", which were on top of hills or high points to guide the travelers along the way. A route was necessary from Topeka northward to connect with the Lane Trail in Nebraska. A road was made ". . . through the great sea of prairie grass by erecting tall poles at the tops of "divides" (ridges), blazing trees through the timber skirting

⁵²Ibid., p. 351.

⁵³Shalor Winchell Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," Publications of the Kansas Historical Society, II, 1920, 71.

the creeks, erecting cairns of stones at high places on the prairies, etc."⁵⁴ This route was known hereafter as the "Jim Lane Trail."

This was the first public road from Topeka northward to Nebraska.

Earlier the only route had been a series of "disconnected and indirect trails."⁵⁵

The entrance into Kansas was uneventful as far as interference with border ruffians or the military forces. Along the way, groups broke away from the main body to lay out towns and stake their claims. One of these towns was Holton, today the county seat of Jackson County.

The Lane Trail also served as the underground railroad, an escape route used to help slaves make their way to the North. Topeka was the origin for the journey to the home of Dr. Ira D. Blanchard at Civil Bend, Iowa. Men in Topeka sacrificed both much time and money to enable the slaves to arrive safely at their destination.

Early in February, 1857, three slaves were successfully taken over the Lane Trail to Civil Bend. They traveled in a closed wagon with a false bottom which was covered with hay and straw. At Nebraska City, the wagon was searched by border ruffians but they failed to find the slaves who were concealed in the false bottom. From then on, slaves were sent over the Lane Trail to freedom in the North.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 84.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 83.

⁵⁶William Elsey Connelley, "The Lane Trail," Kansas Historical Collections, XIII, 1913-1914, 269-270.

The success of the Lane Trail proved to the Missourians that their efforts to block free-state emigration into the territory had been in vain. Kansas would be settled with or without the cooperation of the Missourians. Lane's Trail was an important contribution in the Kansas struggle.

After arriving in Kansas, the emigrants traveled in many ways. The existing roads were paths or Indian trails through the wilderness. They were rough and very muddy during wet weather making travel difficult or impossible. Isaac Moffatt described the road they were traveling between Kansas City and Westport as being ". . .in a dreadful state from mud, mostly uphill and through a considerable piece of oak and walnut timber—the rain has washed the earth away from the huge stones which form the basis of the road, rendering our progress very slow and troublesome."⁵⁷ A few miles further, they came upon a number of wagons carrying emigrants, whose trip was hampered by some of the wagons being stuck fast in the mud holes on the road.

The Eldridge brothers operated stagecoach lines from Kansas City to Lecompton, Lawrence to Osawatomie, and Lawrence to Leavenworth. The passengers rode in "splendid four horse Concord-built coaches" and traveled on the shortest, cheapest, and most agreeable route to the interior of Kansas. Express freight was also carried on these coaches.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Isaac Moffatt, "The Kansas Prairie or, Eight Days on the Plains," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI, 1937, 148.

⁵⁸ (copied from an early-day broadside), "Bypaths of Kansas History," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI, 1937, 100.

In 1863, stage lines were running from Kansas City to both Denver and Santa Fe. Charles Monroe Chase reminisced, "Some of the old coaches, used in Vermont and New Hampshire, are in use here now. The rattle of the wheels, the crack of the whip, the rush to the stage hotels on the arrival of the coaches from different points, remind one of the old New England towns, long ago. . . ." Staging was important in the business life of Kansas City.⁵⁹

Emigrants traveled into the interior on horseback, in wagons, and on foot. Walking great distances, as from town to town, was not unusual. During the extreme heat of summer, emigrants frequently traveled at night to avoid the heat.

Wagons were purchased at St. Louis or Kansas City. Teams of horses or oxen were bought along the border before departing for the plains. They carried with them a supply of blankets, tools of all kinds, cooking utensils, personal baggage, and enough food supplies to last for two or three months. It was also possible to charter wagons, covered carriages, etc. for travel.

Wagon trains were a common sight of the Kansas prairie. Military wagon trains carried both men and supplies to the military forts. Freighters carried supplies, especially on the Santa Fe Trail. Emigrants in covered wagons traveled together both for company and protection. They camped along the roadside and often bought hay, grain, and

⁵⁹Lela Barnes, "An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas The Letters of Charles Monroe Chase," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVI, 1960, 116.

foodstuffs from the settlers along the way. Rivers and streams were crossed at river crossings or fords. They were also crossed by ferry boat and flatboat. During periods of high water, the travelers had to camp along the river bank and wait until the water level became low enough to safely cross. Flash floods were a great danger. Often, both the horses and persons attempting to cross the river would be drowned.

People came to Kansas for various reasons. First and foremost was for the land. Many came for the business opportunities offered in land speculation. Appeals from both free state and proslavery agencies motivated settlers to come to the territory to support their political beliefs. The pioneering spirit of a new start in a new land brought others to Kansas. Ministers were assigned by their churches and came with their families to bring the Gospel to the Great Plains.

Newcomers to the prairie country were of different opinions. Some felt it was a great disappointment and a "grand humbug." These soon returned to their homes in the East or South. Others fell in love with the beauty of the prairie and stayed. They wrote enthusiastic letters back home trying to persuade friends and family members to join them.

The emigrants traveled a long, tedious journey to the territory. Here they were greeted with a vast expanse of open prairie from which to choose a suitable location. They had to clear the land, build homes, create farms, plat towns, form their state, and its government. They literally carved a civilization out of a wilderness. These people were rugged, courageous, dedicated, and adventurous. Self-reliance and resourcefulness, too, were necessary qualities for

life on the frontier.

The first project after arriving in the territory was to find a suitable location or townsite. Important was a spot that was pleasing to the eye, yet it was essential to find a location near an adequate water supply. A good landing place on the rivers attracted settlements. Fertile land for farming and good timber land were highly desirable. A place near a trail or military road appealed to settlers. River crossings or river falls for water-powered mills were a prime attraction.

Even a choice location did not guarantee that a town would grow and prosper. A number of settlements were short lived and soon passed into oblivion. Settlers coming to the territory frequently chose to be near family, friends, or hometown folks. The pioneers also wisely chose to be in a town or area with their own political party beliefs, such as proslavery or free-state. A number of townsites were chosen by agents or a committee of the Emigrant Aid Company or by agents of the numerous other groups who came to the territory.

Early settlers were sometimes enticed to a town by an eastern promoter. When they arrived, they found that the town only existed on a piece of paper and so were referred to as paper towns. Fannie E. Cole wrote that her father had been given a pamphlet describing at great length and in "glowing language" the many advantages and the phenomenal growth of the city of Whitfield, located on the "Conda River." "In this city, besides the many elegant residences, were banks, schoolhouses, and other public buildings, and plans for a great college or university were under way." On

arrival, ". . .it was a city of stakes only; not a single house or even a tent to break the monotony of bare hills and wide, rolling prairie. . . ." It never was a town, but ". . .a pleasant country neighborhood of fine farms, some of them small, and pretty homes." The "Conda River" is known today as Soldier Creek.⁶⁰ Similar happenings occurred many times in Kansas and elsewhere in the West.

Under the Pre-emption Act of 1841, settlers were allowed to settle on and improve 160 acres of surveyed land, then buy it at \$1.25 per acre before the holding of a public land auction. Land could be paid for in cash or military bounty land warrants. These were given to veterans of earlier wars and could be bought from 80 cents to a dollar an acre. This made it possible for settlers to buy a quarter section of land for as low as \$128.00.⁶¹ Much Kansas land was purchased for speculation and profit.

The federal lands recently acquired by treaties with the Indian tribes were to be sold only at public auction.⁶² The first sales of Kansas land were held in 1856 and 1857 for these tribal lands. During the panic of 1857, banks closed, prices fell, and selling sent into a decline. Kansas was in a severe depression. No further land sales were held until 1859.

⁶⁰ Cora Dolbee, "The Third Book of Kansas An Interpretation of J. Butler Chapman's "History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1939, 278.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁶² Ibid., p. 45

Settlers were forced to pay exorbitant interest rates of 24 to 60% on their loans.⁶³

Taxation was one method used to discourage non-resident ownership.⁷ At Leavenworth, the county highway tax of \$16.00 per quarter section could be worked out by residents at \$4.00 a day while non-residents had to pay in cash. The non-residents charged that this was an illegal act.⁶⁴ }

All sorts of fraud, claim warfare, claim jumping, high interest rates, foreclosures, land problems, etc., existed in the early years. Settlers frequently banded together and threatened massive action to help in a similar fashion to claim associations. Because there was no formal government in Kansas in the early period, settlers were dependent on themselves for both making and enforcing local laws to meet their needs. Decisions were enforced by warnings to leave the country, threats of tar and feathers, and even threats of death. One family refused to leave when the owner's family arrived to live in the cabin. The squatters removed their belongings and piled them on the prairie. When the wife refused to go, she was carried out of the cabin still sitting in her rocking chair and added to the pile.⁶⁵

A man could acquire a large farm by marrying a squaw. Every Indiann

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

⁶⁴ Paul Wallace Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXI, 58.

⁶⁵ Martha B. Caldwell, "Records of the Squatter Association of Whitehead District, Doniphan County," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XIII, 1944-1945, 20

female had the right to 200 acres of land for herself and for each child born to her. Charles B. Lines was shown several large and valuable farms of 1200 acres each acquired in this way by white male settlers.⁶⁶

At the Osawkee land sales in 1857, unmarried men had to pay 25 cents per acre more than the married men. The Freemen's Champion, Prairie City, August 13, 1857, wrote, "In behalf of this unfortunate class of individuals we strongly protest against this outrageous proceeding. In the States where girls are plenty, we would shout "Amen!" to all such operations; but here, where "ribs" are so scarce that nearly all our bachelors are made so from necessity, owing to their inability to obtain the article, we do think this taxation levied upon them entirely unjust and tyrannical. Can it be that the incorrigible [sic] old woman-hater of the White House had a hand in this matter? It don't look reasonable."

[Staking claims was not without its problems as B. R. Knapp, who came with the Aid Company, relates: "One of our party had his camp utensils, tent, and all his fixings removed into the California road, a day or two since, because he had squatted on the claims of Nancy Miller. Nancy and another Hoosier woman made quick work with the intruders moveables. I

⁶⁶ Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 12.

had rather have a Prairee wolf after me than one of these Hoosier women."⁶⁷

Town sites, too, had their difficulties. The first frame building on the townsite at Grasshopper Falls was built by A. T. Pattie. He refused to conform to the rights of the town company and constructed his shanty in the middle of the street in August, 1855. The lumber for it was hauled from Weston, Missouri. Pattie made a great deal of money in his store and saloon, but was run out of the country the next year because of his proslavery interests. His house was then used by new settlers until they could build their own.⁶⁸

Traveling was not easy in the early years. The American Hotel in Kansas City was widely used by emigrants coming to the territory. However, it was not always able to supply lodging for everyone. One settler had his room taken forcing him to take his blanket and sleep on a pile of straw in a corner of the attic. Others had to sleep on the floor of the hotel or go to the stable to sleep on the hay.

The Cataract House, a hotel at Grasshopper Falls, built in 1857, boasted thirty sleeping rooms, a sitting room, large parlor, and suitable dining rooms and kitchen.⁶⁹

Few travelers were blessed with accommodations like this. Many

⁶⁷ Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII, 1943, 122.

⁶⁸ A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), I, p. 506. (Reproduction edition, 1976)

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 507.

newcomers to the territory found the only accommodations available to them were the open prairie for a bed with the Kansas sky, described by Lines as "a canopy studded with brilliants, the like of which cannot be found in the bridal chambers of Queens or Princes," for a roof over their heads. Hay was gathered up in the fields and used for a bed. Settlers camped out in the open air, while others pitched tents of cotton cloth for a shelter.⁷⁰

It was the custom in this period for settlers to open their doors to emigrants passing through even though they were total strangers. Their cabins were small, usually only one room with no windows, and sparsely furnished which served as kitchen, living room, and bedroom. At night the floor often served as a bed for an assortment of human beings. Cyrus K. Holliday related that twenty-four people had slept in a log cabin hotel in Topeka that was 12 x 14 feet in size, all at the same time. There was no privacy, except occasionally a sheet was hung to serve as a wall. All ages and sexes shared the same room. The floors were often bare Kansas soil occasionally covered with a carpet. A few cabins had rough puncheon floors. Dirt floors were often covered with freshly cut grass, hay, wood chips or shavings. A cabin floor spread with a fresh bed of hay over it gave Lines and his traveling companions the choice of spitting into the hay or spitting outdoors through the "crevices between the timbers."

⁷⁰ Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 166.

The cabins often had other uninvited "guests." Snakes, even large rattlesnakes, entered through openings in the cabin, frightening the inhabitants. Snake-bites occurred, sometimes resulting in serious illness. An invasion of bedbugs produced a restless night of slapping, scratching, and "large quantities of hard words." Travelers also stayed in abandoned cabins, sharing their shelter with spiders and other vermin. Cotton tents were the first temporary shelters in the territory. They were widely used until a more durable shelter could be built. In rainy weather they were sometimes entirely drenched, giving both the occupants and their possessions a thorough soaking. Tents also provided shelter while traveling.

John Considine's family lived in a tent until their house was finished in Grasshopper Falls. One stormy night in June, 1857, "the wind blew violently, the lightning flashed, the thunder roared, and the rain poured down in torrents, and ran into the tent wetting the occupants. The next morning all hands drank to the health of the new-born child." It was a boy named Johnnie.⁷¹

The early log cabins had the original air conditioning in Kansas. Many had holes large enough to put both hands between most any of the logs. Fresh air came in along with dust, rain, snow and insects. Doors were usually made of cloth or a piece of carpet. The roof of the cabin was usually made of rough, handmade shakes which leaked. It was not

⁷¹A. T. Andreas. History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), I, 506, (Reproduction edition, 1976)

uncommon to wake up on a cold winter morning to find the beds and everything in the cabin covered with a white sheet of snow. Later, the cracks or holes in the log cabins were filled with pieces of wood, a combination of prairie mud and lime, or any other suitable material to keep out the elements.

One of the early homes of John and Sarah Everett was a dilapidated cabin. Worms were working in the logs both in the wall and roof. Continual "dust droppings" sometimes were an inch thick on things in only a few days.

Lines observed a unique dwelling occupied by "a very respectable man". It was ". . . a box in which he brought fruit trees into the territory—seven feet long, three feet wide and three feet deep—with a slight roof fixed over it, leaving one side entirely open. In this box is his bed, across the end of it his chest—with a frying pan and testament lying upon the top and yet he pursued his daily toil, is cheerful and looks forward to better times. . . ." ⁷²

Crude bedsteads were made of wood, framed usually with the bark left on the wood. The bed ticks were filled with dried grass, dried leaves, hay, etc. Beds were made of sacks of meal or flour with bedding thrown over them. The little son of Sarah Everett slept in a large trunk filled with bed clothes. Many early pioneers simply wrapped a buffalo robe around them on the floor. Buffalo robes were also used as beds on the

⁷² Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium", The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XX, 1956, 34.

open prairie.

The father of J. T. B. Gephart, of Grasshopper Falls, "worked up" the boxes, in which their belongings had been shipped to Kansas, into a table and several benches. One family while living in a tent, ate their meals off a trunk while sitting on the ground. All sorts of make-shift furniture and utensils were used such as a tub turned upside down for a desk, and spoons whittled from sticks.

Widely-used on the Plains was the Cincinnati house, built by Hinkle, Guild & Company of Cincinnati, Ohio. These were frame houses that were knocked down for shipping and sent by steamboat to various points on the Missouri River. Easily reassembled, these ready-made houses were one and two stories tall and ranged in price from \$150.00 to \$500.00 plus a shipping charge of approximately \$50.00. Leavenworth had a section of the city called Cincinnati that contained many Hinkle houses. These cottages were available in 1855.⁷³]

A new technique in building was called balloon framing. Balloon framing required the use of standardized sawed lumber from a local sawmill or shipped in lumber. This type of architecture was used throughout northeast Kansas.⁷⁴

Unseasoned cottonwood was commonly used for lumber as was oak, hickory, and black walnut. The cottonwood lumber was notorious for

⁷³James C. Malin, "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community", 1855, The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXI, 1954-1955, 112-113.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 112.

"assuming amazing shapes under the influence of rain and the Kansas sun".⁷⁵ The Herald of Freedom office and Charles Robinson's combined office and dwelling were both well ventilated in a short time.

The Pioneer Boarding House at Lawrence was built of poles, the roof was thatched with prairie grass, and the inside was covered with cotton cloth. A similar building was built to be used as a church or meeting house, although, both were used for shelter and sleeping quarters.

"These thatched tents or houses of the hen-coop type, were made by pinning together poles about 20 feet long, raised to make an "A," and along the sloping sides were nailed horizontal ribs. Tall grass was mowed for thatching and was held in place by wire,"⁷⁶

There were variations on the hen-coop plan. Instead of covering with thatch, wooden shakes were used. Some of the hen-coop houses were also covered with turf. Some of the roofs of cotton cloth were coated with tar which was sometimes coated with sand or lime. When the weather became very cold, the ends of the houses were closed by laying up sod around the doorway.

There were a few sod houses and they were thought to be the warmest built in the territory. Cotton cloth was used in great abundance in these early houses. It was used for roofing, inside finishing of the walls, and for doors and windows. These early houses were most

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 111.

⁷⁶ James C. Malin, "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXI, 1954-1955, 41-42.

primitive, yet they served well as home and shelter for these pioneers on the Plains until permanent housing was available.

The very first settlers in the Kansas Territory had to revert essentially to hunting and gathering for much of their food. Staples, such as sugar, flour, beans, meal, potatoes, rice, dried apples or peaches, crackers, etc. were bought at the river towns. Many trips to the river for food and supplies are described in the literature of this period.

Wild geese, turkeys, ducks, prairie hens, quail, rabbits, squirrels, and deer were in abundance. Julia Lovejoy wrote, "The rivers are full of fish of the finest flavor I ever tasted. . . called catfish, and some of them weigh over 50 lbs., and sometimes twice that amount, and the flesh when dressed, looks as large as a fat calf. A man just above us, on the Blue River, one night last week with a "seine" caught 1,500 lbs. and carried them the next day to Fort Riley to market."⁷⁷

There was an abundance of wild fruit available for the gathering. Gooseberries, plums, blackberries, mulberries, grapes, paw-paws, persimmons, peaches, and others grew in abundance. Wild strawberries were a favorite in the summertime. Sarah Everett canned gooseberries, dried plums after they were stewed and pitted, and made plum sauce. She also pickled peaches, dried peaches, and made peach sauce. She described ". . .mulberries the most insipid fruit that grows, . . .paw-paws, a large green sickish fruit that some people are very fond of, and

⁷⁷ Julia Louisa Lovejoy, "Letters from Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XI, 1942, 40.

persimmons that before they have been ripened by several severe frosts will pucker ones mouth up so that they cant find their tongue for a week after. But which when fairly frost ripened are very nice. Some people sprinkle sugar on them and dry them and call them raisins. . . ."78

Nuts, especially black walnuts, hickory nuts, and hazelnuts were popular food items and were gathered by the pioneers.

Few gardens or crops were planted the first year on the Plains. By the time the emigrants selected a location and staked a claim it was often too late in the growing season to plant crops. The usual garden vegetables such as corn, tomatoes, beans, cucumbers, squash, pumpkins, beets, potatoes, and melons were grown in the second year. The pioneers planted orchards of apple, pear, peach and cherry trees as well as various kinds of berry bushes. The settlers often wrote for seeds or starts of various plants, shrubs, and flowers from their families back East. Flower gardens were planted giving a touch of home. They were delighted by the beautiful wild flowers that they found on the prairie. Even the men wrote letters describing them and their fragrance.

Settlers often shared their garden crops with neighbors. Thomas C. Wells paid for part of his board bill with vegetables from his garden. Sarah Everett had prolific pumpkin crops. She dried pumpkin for future use, boiled pumpkin to feed their pigs, and served her family pumpkin pie at every meal. Their six-month-old baby was brought to the table and fed "potato and turnip and pumpkin pie" like the rest of the family.

⁷⁸"Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1939, 376.

Elijah Porter related the art of plowing, ". . .The first day both plows were broken, and thrown aside for the present, as useless. After sundry means had been resorted to to mend the broken plows and hunt up the oxen, they began the work again, and finally became so expert in the business, that three men, five yoke of oxen, one pair of wagon wheels, and one mammoth plow, could turn over, all told, one acre of the turf in a day. The roots of the grass made a complete network as hard as adamant, and the corn must be planted in holes made by sharp sticks. Whether the corn will ever grow in such a hard soil, is to me a question to be decided next fall. . . ." ⁷⁹ Corn was also planted by chopping holes in the ground with an axe.

Theodore Gardener described his primitive method of plowing. Their only horse crippled himself and had to be killed. There was no money to buy another horse and it was time to do the corn-plowing. He went to the woods, ". . .where he secured a large, crooked elm root, from which he made a "bob yoke." Cutting some tugs from the skin of a cow which had died, he harnessed up a steer, and hitching to a single-shovel plow, managed to raise ten acres of corn with that primitive rig." ⁸⁰

In the summer of 1861, the Everetts had eight acres of self sown winter wheat, the result of a tornado passing through the previous

⁷⁹ Louise Barry, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1855," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII, 1943, 254.

⁸⁰ Theodore Gardner, "The Last Battle of the Border War," The Kansas Historical Collections, XV, 1919-1922. 550.

summer. This tornado sown wheat promised a fine yield.

Fences were made of wood or stone. Many wooden rails had to be cut to build the fences. In the early years, few sawmills were in the territory and these seldom were able to meet the demand. Therefore, most of the wood had to be cut and split by hand. Extra rails always had to be available for repairs. The strong Kansas winds frequently blew down fences which also damaged the rails. Animals wreaked havoc on fences. The crops were fenced in and the animals were allowed to roam on the open range. They made holes in the fences or knocked down parts of it to enable them to forage the crops. This also resulted in damage to the fields as they trampled down the crops, broke off corn, and damaged gardens. Prairie fires were common. These were caused usually by Indian campfires in the woods that were not properly extinguished, by lightning, or by deliberate burning to clear a field, which often got out of control. Rail fences suffered during fires. The rails were untreated and exposure to the elements caused a rapid deterioration. Repairing rail fences was a perpetual task.

Wood was the fuel for both cooking and heating. Although stone was also used in some areas, wood was widely used for building cabins or houses, business buildings, schools, churches, etc. It was used to build furniture, wagon beds, coffins, and a multitude of other things. Wood was a valued commodity on the Plains. Samuel J. Reader often spoke of salvaging wood from trees that had been partially burned to use for fuel. Little was allowed to go to waste.

Pioneers butchered their own beef or hogs. Frequently neighbors helped with the task and were given a part of the animal as payment for their labor. Reader's uncle was asked to help a neighbor kill a "beef."

They only wounded it and it ran away. Reader and his uncle searched all afternoon, but the steer could not be found. That night the steer came home, but by the time they got there, it was gone again. Two days later the owner found and killed the beef. The uncle got half of it.

Butchering was not an easy task.

In the winter, groups of men traveled west on buffalo hunts to supplement the diet. Dried buffalo meat could be bought occasionally from the Indians.

Water was obtained from creeks and pools for laundry and bathing. Drinking water was often obtained from natural springs. Underground water was located by the water witching method using a forked stick. As soon as possible, wells were dug by hand and walled up with stone. It was common for settlers to haul water from their neighbors.

In addition to the mills owned by the Emigrant Aid Company, there were privately owned mills in the territory.

At least as early as 1852, Jude W. Bourassa, a Pottawatomie half-breed Indian, operated a government owned mill for grinding corn for the Indians on the Pottawatomie Reserve. He was employed by the government to run the mill on a salary.⁸¹

The sawmill at Grasshopper Falls was constructed in 1855 by Frazier, Riddle, Cody, and Whitney. It later was purchased by J. M. Piazzek. In

⁸¹Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony, Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 28. 1860,

1860, buhrs were added making it also a grist mill. Two years later flouring buhrs increased the mill's capacity. A woolen mill was begun on a small scale in 1860.⁸²

Many of the early pioneers were single men or married men who came to find a location before sending for their families. Erastus E. Ladd wrote in September, 1854: "All here are still living in tents, and it would please you to see us men at the hour of meals, gathered around our campfires with our frying pans, tea-kettles, bake-kettles and other appliances, providing our food, some to their wrists in dough, preparing bread, and others washing dishes. Well, this will be obviated when we get places to live, and our wives and families (those who have them, the rest of us can board or keep bachelor's hall), . . ."⁸³ During the early years, much cooking was done outdoors, weather permitting. In warm weather many families lived mostly outdoors.

Early menus were of the simplest sort and the settlers were thankful for any food. Sample menus of this period included ham or bacon with bread or flapjacks and occasionally potatoes. Corn pone with sorghum or molasses and mush with milk were common fare. One family survived on a steady diet of boiled corn. Another family had only raw meal with molasses. Coffee and tea were sometimes available to drink.

⁸²A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), I, 507, (Reproduction edition, 1976).

⁸³Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XII, 1943, 131.

Food was also monotonous and tiresome. The Lovejoys lived on cornbread and bacon "until the very sight of a four-legged rooster would almost give us spasms." Later, they were sick of eating chicken after a steady diet of corn dodgers, pancakes, and bacon.

In December, 1854, Cyrus K. Holliday's diet consisted of mush, molasses, and bacon, "mixed plentiful with dirt" three times each day. At night he rolled himself into a buffalo robe plus two blankets and slept on the bare ground clad in his boots, hat, and overcoat. In spite of this, he felt he had never had better health in his life and was growing "fatter and heartier" each day.⁸⁴

Ways were found to supplement the family income which often was quite meager. Chickens, eggs, milk, butter, and garden produce were sold. Wagon trains and emigrants passing through often bought these products as well as hay, grain, and livestock from the settlers living along the way.

Families often took in boarders charging an amount that was agreeable to both parties. Others had boarding houses that served as early day restaurants.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis T. Litchfield opened a pioneer boarding house or hotel in a "rude structure of poles, thatched with prairie grass" in September, 1854. Here, ". . .the bread was raised in a large wash-tub which stood behind the stove to keep it warm, and was baked in a large stone oven. It was never light for want of time to rise. This, with

⁸⁴Lela Barnes, "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI, 1937, 246.

boiled and fried beef, was their staple food; plenty of molasses, vinegar and mustard were always on the table, as well as sauce made of dried apples and peaches; and for a substitute for butter we used the drippings from the beef, salted. In the large open tent, the November mornings were cold and chilly without a fire, so that we generally ate wearing our hats and overcoats."⁸⁵

Sarah Everett made and sold cheese to earn income. Rennet⁸⁶ was a necessary ingredient and had to be sent to her by their families back home. Her cheese was in great demand but she sometimes had trouble with spoilage during the summer months. Their families had a regular mail order business as the Everetts were always sending very long shopping lists of things that they wanted, varying from pencils, sewing needles, pans, seeds and books to starts or roots of bushes and plants, plus the rennet.

John Everett took a job carrying the mail from Osawatomie to Neosho in 1857. The round trip was 120 miles long and required three days of travel on horseback. To enable John to have time at home to care for their crops, Sarah rode the mail route for him. One night she rode until nearly midnight in very cold, windy weather across a prairie unihabited for about twenty miles.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 253.

⁸⁶Rennet is the prepared inner surface of the stomach of a young calf, used for curdling milk. It was cleaned, salted, and dried. Curdled milk was a part of the cheese making process. It was difficult to obtain rennet in the territory because few calves were killed.

A number of springs had soft water which was desirable for doing the laundry. Water usually had to be carried a considerable distance which created a hardship.

In December, 1854, Cyrus K. Holliday was living in Topeka with a company of about thirty men. There were no women and children. He wrote to his wife, "Our washing we get done as we can. For myself I am wearing today a shirt that I put on two weeks ago and scarcely know when I will get a clean one . . . I would not exchange Kansas and its dirty shirt for Penna. with all its elegance & refinement."⁸⁷

In March, 1855, there was a heavy snow that was six inches deep. When Holliday came home that night, everything in the house, including his bed, was covered with three inches of snow. He scooped snow up with his hands and piled his washbowl heaping full to thaw or melt for wash water in the morning. Because he had to carry water one mile, he tried to be saving with its use. He then took a hoe that some boys dug up from an Indian grave and scraped a path from the door to the stove.⁸⁸

Clothing was usually home-made and hand-sewn. In September, 1863, on a trip to the river, Reader bought both a melodeon and a sewing machine for his sister, Eliza Campdoras. Within a few days, she could sew well on it. Sewing machines were becoming available in the territory

⁸⁷Lela Barnes, "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VI, 1937, 249.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 256-257.

to lighten the work load of the housewife.

The Everetts kept a small flock of sheep on shares. In 1863, feeling that the cloth purchased in the store was "so deceptive and shoddish," Sarah made her own cloth by using a primitive spinning wheel and loom. It was necessary to send the wool sixty miles away to be carded.

Women on the frontier were interested in the latest fashions even though it was more of a dream than a reality. Sarah Everett wrote to her family back East inquiring about the fashions being worn and asking them to send patterns for sewing. She also inquired about the borders or face trimmings to be worn in summer bonnets. Julia Lovejoy admired the pretty bonnets and other articles of used or nearly new clothing sent from the East to help the needy following the "Bleeding Kansas" years.

The settlers made their own lard, tallow, and candles. Candlesticks early in the territorial period were made of a block of wood sometimes with several nails to hold the candle in place. Haircuts were done at home by various family members or by someone in their company. The interiors of the cabins were sometimes lined with cloth or the walls were whitewashed. This work was done by the family. Housekeeping on the frontier was a demanding job.

Domestic animals were allowed to roam on the open range which presented potential danger to them. Because the stock frequently wandered away from home, hunting their animals was a time-consuming job for the pioneers. Sometimes they were never found.

J. M. Bisbey was one of the first settlers in Wabaunsee in 1854. Early in 1855, he received word that his goods had arrived in Kansas City and he prepared for the trip to get his belongings. He had been very

busy finishing his house and had not noticed that his oxen were gone. He hunted them for a week and tracked them for twenty miles east. He finally set out on foot for Kansas City. Near Topeka he met two teamsters and hired them to deliver his belongings to Wabaunsee. In May, while going to get his cow, he met a man who told him where he could find his team of oxen. He found them and drove them home. They had been missing nearly five months.⁸⁹

Later, on another trip when J. M. Bisbey and some companions were returning home from Kansas City, a fat hog strayed into their camp while they were eating breakfast. The hog lost the ensuing chase and provided the company with fresh pork for a few days.

Domestic animals often fell prey to predatory wild animals such as coyotes, wolves, and wildcats. Hawks were known to carry off chickens, especially the baby chicks. Julia Lovejoy's hens roosted on the chimney top for safety. Another family had a hen setting in the cabin not far from their cook stove to keep her and her young safe.

Especially in the eastern part of Kansas, domestic animals were often "pressed" (stolen) by border ruffians or bands of outlaws who traveled the countryside in groups robbing and committing outrages on settlers. Col. Jefferson Buford's men were frequently involved in this sort of activity.

Many domestic animals foraged for food on the open prairie. John Everett's pigs lived on acorns found in the woods and house refuse.

⁸⁹J. M. Bisbey, "Pioneering in Wabaunsee County," The Kansas Historical Collections, XI, 1909-1910, 595.

Later his pigs disappeared and he believed they had been "pressed." Horses often lived off the prairie and never tasted grain. One farmer kept his horses from straying by giving them an occasional dose of salt. When he arrived on horseback, they all galloped to meet him and flocked around him to get their salt. Another method of keeping animals close to home was used in John Everett's neighborhood. It was customary in the summertime to let the cows run on the prairie and keep the calves confined at home. The calves were allowed to take half the milk in the morning, then the cows would come up in the evening to suckle their calves.

Lawlessness was a part of the way of life on the Kansas frontier. Social conditions during the period of settlement were very primitive and unorganized. Most settlements and individual cabins were few and far between. There were no local laws. Each man had to make his own individual laws to protect himself and his property. As civilization developed, citizens continued to participate in enforcing the laws and sometimes they also obstructed law enforcement.

Few places have existed under a more confusing set of circumstances than did Kansas during the territorial period. During this time, Kansas had ten governors or acting governors. Its elections were corrupted and it attempted to operate under four separate constitutions. If this were not confusing enough, Kansas for almost a year had two separate governments operating at the same time.

Territorial laws were under the federal jurisdiction. There was no well defined law enforcement system. The judges were politically motivated and since they operated on a circuit their dockets were often crowded. Few jails existed and sentences were usually either to hang

them or release them. Fines were assessed for minor offenses.

The frontier always attracted some of the undesirables of society. Some were desperadoes with a long record of crime and they came to the West to escape the law. When they persisted in violating the law, settlers considered it good riddance if they were run out of the country or lynched. The frontier was often a seed bed for lawlessness and violence.

If caught for committing a serious crime, punishment was expected. Lynchings were common in Kansas during the early years and the early plainmen both tolerated and condemned them. As the frontier became more settled both law enforcement and laws providing for the punishment of criminals replaced the need for lynchings. During the conflict of the "Bleeding Kansas" years and the Civil War, it was impossible to classify a lynching or a legal hanging. Was an act of violence specifically criminal or was it merely a part of the border warfare? Accounts were conflicting depending on the testimony of a proslavery or free-state resident.

A number of lynchings had a nameless victim who refused to give any information about himself because he came from a good family and would not bring disgrace to the family name. Often men came to the West alone, died alone, and families and friends back home never knew the fate of the victim.

The horse was considered a highly prized and essential possession. The horse was the pioneer's means of communication, transportation, escape from danger, and his livelihood. Often the early Kansan's life depended on his horse. Both horses and cattle were property most easily stolen. Because horses were so essential to life on the Plains, horse

thieves were looked upon with contempt and disgrace. Most of them, if caught, were soon found dangling from the end of a rope which was strung over the branch of an elm or cottonwood tree.

Vigilante committees were formed to protect the life and property of the settlers. These citizen groups worked to prevent crime and to deal out punishment when the civil authorities seemed unable to enforce the law. First offenders were given a sharp warning to leave the country. Second offenders were hanged to the nearest tree or shot down if they reached for their gun. A punishment by death verdict by a vigilante committee was seldom considered illegal. Often a squatters' court was held in conjunction with a lynching. This court was considered to be legal by the community.⁹⁰

Even the women took the law into their own hands. Samuel Reader told of a terrible hullabaloo which occurred at Indianola in September, 1862. A young lady, Jane Jones, who had a very questionable reputation, set up shop at Billy P.'s shoemaker shop. She was confronted there by seven local ladies who strongly advised her to leave town and not bring further disgrace to Indianola. When Jane refused, the ladies grabbed her by the dress and in the ensuing fracas, Jane lost nearly all of her clothing, some said by catching the clothing on the bedpost. Jane defended herself by throwing her arms around the neck of a large Dutchman and kicking in a mule-like fashion with her feet. The Dutchman wrapped a blanket around Jane and escorted her to safety. As a result of

⁹⁰ Genevieve Yost, "History of Lynchings in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, II, 1933, 182-211.

this fight, half the men in town were disgraced morally and politically. A trial was held in Topeka and the ladies were each fined \$1.00 and court costs.⁹¹

In December, 1859, a "nigger hunt" in the Osawatomie area had an unusual ending. A black man had his free papers stolen from him and was the victim of a kidnaping attempt. He escaped and came to the area where there was a station on the Underground Railroad. He worked in the area for a few weeks. Then three men appeared on the scene from Missouri, one claiming to be the owner. The word of their arrival quickly spread and in the following flurry of activity, the black man was taken to a place of safety, a group of men were organized, and a search begun for the Missourians. After an unsuccessful hunt, someone remembered a proslavery man who might harbor such "vermin." The men were there and were brought before the Negro, who recognized one of them as the one who stole his free papers. The Missourians had a hemp rope in their possession. The Negro was given one of the men's horses and overcoat, \$50.00 in cash, a revolver, and a hat. The men were sent back to Missouri and followed some distance to be sure they continued their journey east. Their horses, overcoats, and revolvers remained in Kansas.⁹²

The election in the fall of 1857, produced some startling results when the polls at a little precinct called Oxford City in Johnson County

⁹¹"The Letters of Samuel James Reader, 1861-1863," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, IX, 1940, 160-161.

⁹²"Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1939, 353-354.

produced over 1500 names on the return. An investigation revealed that Oxford City was a tiny hamlet of six houses. The notorious Sheriff Jones was one of the candidates and demanded his certificate of election from Secretary Stanton. When Stanton refused, Jones drew his bowie knife on him. It was rumored that Stanton began carrying arms for his own protection after that incident. To complicate things a return came in from McGee County in extreme southeast Kansas with 1202 proslavery votes. These returns were in the same hand writing as the fraudulent Oxford returns and were tied up with the same kind of red ribbon whose cut ends were a perfect match. The returns were both rejected. It was reported that the Oxford list was taken alphabetically from an old Cincinnati directory.⁹³

Liquor has always been available in Kansas, either legally or illegally. Saloons and liquor were abundant. Drunken individuals, both whites and Indians, were a common sight. Liquor often led to fights, brawls, shootings, and other problems. Many citizens were against the use of alcoholic beverages and banded together to hold whiskey spillings in an effort to control its use. In the 1860's the Kansas State Temperance Society and the Independent Order of Good Templars were organized in Kansas. These groups held meetings, gave lectures, and encouraged people to sign the pledge to abstain.

A custom that was an important part of life on the Great Plains was the practice of sitting up with the sick or dying and helping the family

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 287-289.

to cope with the situation. During the territorial period and the early years of statehood this might even involve building the coffin, digging the grave, and burying the dead. Diaries and letters from this period gave many accounts of this way of helping others.

This custom possibly grew out of a need for help within a community during these times of crisis. The medical profession had severe limitations and many localities had no physician available. When illness struck, the patient had to be cared for at home by family, friends or even strangers if a person were new in the area.

James R. Stewart, who settled at Council City (now Burlingame), sat up with George Young who was very low with fever and died that night. He helped dress him and sat with the body the rest of the night. Young's funeral was held the next day.

Stewart borrowed a team of horses and a wagon and with the aid of a friend, Will Smith, moved his seriously ill brother, Will Stewart, to his home to give him the necessary care. The doctor held little hope for his recovery. Stewart treated him with wine, peruvian bark, and milk. Smith and Stewart sat up all night with him and Will died the next day. Two neighbors dressed him. Smith went to get a coffin built, the grave dug, and a shroud made. Stewart sat up all night with his brother for the last time. The next day the funeral hour had to be changed from 11:00 to 5:00 because the coffin was not finished. It was after dark before the funeral and burial were completed. Stewart spent the night at the home of a neighbor. Burials often occurred after dark.

From knowledge gained by reading many medical books, Stewart made pills and bottles of ague medicine. These were sold by going from house to house along a route that went through Lyon, Morris, and Chase

counties. At a house where he stopped to spend the night, Stewart sat up all night with a sick man and gave him medicine.

Charles B. Lines and others from Wabaunsee assisted a young man who asked for help in laying out his mother, who had just "breathed her last." They traveled by wagon for over three miles to perform this melancholy service. The poverty stricken family of eight children saw their mother die while lying on a buffalo robe which was spread upon the floor. No boards could be found to make the coffin. At last someone donated a part of the bottom of his wagon, another supplied additional lumber, and a box was put together to serve the purpose.

Following a death, the funeral and burial were held as soon as possible. The bodies were not embalmed. Some bodies were dressed for burial while others were buried just as they died. Most coffins were plain wooden boxes especially made for the purpose, while others were even cruder. A small child was buried in a shoe box.

The funeral of Gaius Jenkins was more elaborate. Jenkins was shot on Thursday, June 3, 1858, by James Lane following a long standing claim dispute. In the confrontation, Lane was shot at seven times by Jenkins' friends. One ball lodged in his leg and another grazed his scalp. The weather was very warm, and Jenkins' body was packed in ice to preserve it until Sunday. Julia Lovejoy attended the service and reported that the body lay in a metallic coffin in front of the altar, looking like one asleep. She had not seen such a body of people present on any occasion in Kansas except for the army from Missouri at the September invasion.⁹⁴

⁹⁴"Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XV, 1947, 386-387.

Samuel Reader's sister, Eliza, and her husband, Dr. M. A. Campdoras, lived nearby. Their young son, Leon, was subject to episodes of "fits," which were sometimes quite severe. During these times Mrs. Eliza Cole, Reader's aunt, spent many days and nights sitting with the little boy. During the time when Dr. Campdoras was in the military service, Reader and the entire family would stay at the home to care for Leon. If at all possible, a doctor would be summoned during his father's absence. This was not always easy as one of the local physicians was at times too drunk to respond to the call. Mrs. Cole helped in the Campdoras' home when their babies were born, spending whatever time was necessary. She also was often called upon to care for the sick and to help when babies were born in the neighborhood. They lived at Indianola.

The ague, a malarial-type disease marked by severe chills and fever, was a curse on the Plains. It was a very debilitating disease and often recurred. Often the residents of an entire village would be too ill to care for themselves or for each other. Cholera was also prevalent on the Plains and often had a high mortality rate.

If no doctor was available, women often served as midwives and delivered babies. Members of the community often had to provide the necessary medical care because there was no one else to do it.

George Cutter, with Frederick Brown and three men, went to Osawatomie with dispatches from General Lane on August 29, 1856. The next morning a party of the border ruffian forces shot and killed Brown and seriously wounded Cutter. He was taken to the home of John and Sarah Everett, who cared for him until he was able to leave, which was in March, 1857. The Everetts were paid for Cutter's care by the National Kansas Committee, an organization that gave aid to the settlers in the

territory. The Everetts believed in hydropathy, or water-cure, which was treating disease with the copious use of water, both internally and externally.

Many folk remedies were used by the settlers. Medical doctors sometimes served also as veterinarians. They were often paid for their services with produce.

The first schools in the territory were subscription schools and usually the bachelors, too, contributed generously to provide an education for the children. School was held in any available building, often churches, until a school house could be built. The early teachers were thankful if the building had a roof that didn't leak. The school furniture was primitive and the books were not adequate to properly teach the classes. Schools were often held on a sporadic basis depending on the availability of a teacher.

Many children were taught at home, at least to some degree. Samuel Reader often taught his cousins various subjects at home. Adults often were self taught. Samuel Reader taught himself both French and a type of early shorthand. His diary is partly written both in French and shorthand. James Stewart read many medical books and then read many books of law. Many books on numerous subjects were read by the pioneers. They subscribed to newspapers, journals, and magazines and shared them with their neighbors.

The Emigrant Aid Company contributed to the educational system in Kansas. The first subscription school in the territory was held in a room provided by the company in its office building in Lawrence. In 1857, a two-story brick schoolhouse was built in Topeka by the company at a cost of about \$2,000. The community had the use of it practically rent

free.

The Emigrant Aid Company shared in the origin of the institutions which became the University of Kansas and Kansas State College. In the fall of 1854, Amos A. Lawrence became interested in education in Kansas and sent \$10,000 for the founding of a "monumental college" on Mount Oread with Robinson and Pomeroy as trustees. The funds were later used to build Old North College, the first building on the campus. In Manhattan, Isaac Goodnow, an educator, began plans for a college. The Aid company settlers donated fifty town shares (100 lots) to the project. During 1857 and 1858, Goodnow and others raised enough money in the East to inaugurate the college.⁹⁵ In the fall of 1860, Bluemont Central College opened its doors.

The first colleges in Kansas were Highland College and Baker University, both founded in 1858, and St. Benedict's College, founded in 1859. In 1863, Bluemont College became Kansas State Agricultural College and was the first land grant college in the United States under the Morrill Act of 1862. The Wyandotte Constitution of 1859, provided for a state university and in 1864, legislative action authorized the University of Kansas. However, classes did not begin until 1866.⁹⁶

The trustees for Lincoln College purchased lots on the northeast corner of Tenth and Jackson streets in Topeka for \$400. In late 1865,

⁹⁵ Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, 1931-1932, 438-439.

⁹⁶ Emory Lindquist, "Kansas: A Centennial Portrait," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 1961, 50.

the college building was completed but the college was not open to students until January 3, 1866.⁹⁷

One of the goals proclaimed by the Emigrant Aid Company was to encourage schools and churches in the territory. Dr. Robinson was active in organizing the religious life in the community. The Plymouth Congregational Church was organized October 15, 1854, and met in the "Pioneer Boarding House," a hay tent built to serve as a temporary hotel. Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Aid Company, donated funds to build a "combination church and schoolhouse" in Lawrence. He later gave \$1,000.00 toward a building fund for a permanent house of worship for the Plymouth Church. Robinson and others participated in forming the Unitarian Church in Lawrence and obtained funds and equipment for a building from Boston. The company donated a building lot to the Lawrence Episcopalians. Territorial churches appealed to the company for aid. They were unable to give much assistance but did help by letting their needs be known to individuals, mission boards, and Sunday school boards. They often responded by sending communion sets, other church supplies, and money through company channels. Doctor Webb, secretary of the company, sent several boxes of books for an Atheneum and Sunday School Library at Lawrence. Books were also sent to Topeka.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Russell K. Hickman, "Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVIII, 1950, 49-54.

⁹⁸ Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, 1931-1932, 437-438.

The first Lutheran Church in Kansas was built at Grasshopper Falls by Rev. J. B. McAfee in the fall of 1857. This was the first Lutheran congregation west of the Missouri River. Though not on its original site, the building still stands today.

Until churches could be built, services were held in all sorts of places. Church services were held in a grove of trees with a pulpit of wood between two very large oak trees. Services were held with the congregation sitting on slabs placed beside a cabin. Settlers met in private homes or in any available structure. Their religious life was important to them and they often walked several miles to attend worship.

Entertainment and socializing were important on the frontier. Life was primitive, difficult and often lonely and social functions helped brighten the lives of the early pioneers. They played games such as chess, checkers, euchre, seven-up, and whist. People gathered together to visit or tell yarns. Taffy-pulls and spelling bees were fun. Auctions attracted interest and crowds.

Music was enjoyed by all. Settlers gathered together to sing and organized singing schools and choral societies. Those who could play musical instruments were in great demand to play for parties, dances, balls, and to accompany singing. Sometimes enough musicians were available to form a band for band concerts. Instrumentalists often played for their own pleasure. Parties and dances often lasted until daylight.

Work was often combined with pleasure at house and barn raisings, husking-bees, and quilting or sewing bees. Pioneers often gathered in various sized groups to gather nuts or wild fruits. These outings were called names like nutting, strawberrying, graping, or plumming.

They went horseback riding, took sulky and carriage rides, and in the winter, sleigh rides. In the summertime, swimming in the creeks also served as a bath. Usually, this was a man's entertainment.

Men held debates on a multitude of subjects such as, "Resolved that all men are created free and equal," "Resolved, that a good wife contributes more to the happiness of a man than a fortune," and "Resolved, that life in Kansas is preferable to life in Connecticut." Lectures on astronomy, foreign countries, and a variety of subjects were well attended. Beer parties livened up the evening.

Meetings were held for political functions, to plan civic affairs, or make decisions that affected the community. During the periods of hard times, meetings were held to determine needs and to ask for relief goods from the East.

Theatre shows and circuses were making an appearance on the Kansas prairie by the 1860s.

Samuel Reader and his family lived near the Pottawatomie Reserve. They were also near other Indian lands. Hundreds of Indians were in the area and small groups often stopped by the house frightening the children and sometimes the adults. It was not unusual for drunken Indians, sparsely clad, to stop by which terrified the women folk. The Delaware Trail passed near the house and for several years, many hundreds of Indians would pass by going to the hunting grounds to secure their supply of meat and buffalo robes. Fannie Cole, Reader's cousin, described their half-breed neighbors as ". . .inoffensive, hospitable, and always ready to render acts of neighborly kindness to all, and they

proved to be firm and trustworthy friends."⁹⁹ Women were scarce on the Plains and a number of white men married Indian women. Reader and his family had a barter system with the Indians, trading food items for moccasins or other items.

Local militias were organized to protect the community. Officers were appointed, meetings held, and drills were performed on the prairie. They also responded to calls for help from other communities.

On November 21, 1855, while going to the home he shared with Jacob Branson, Charles W. Dow, a free-state man, was shot and killed by Franklin Coleman, a proslavery man. Dow was not armed. Sheriff Jones arrested Branson for attending a free-state meeting to protest the killing. While Jones and his posse were taking Branson to Franklin, he was rescued by a party of free-state men. Jones sent a message to Colonel Boone of Westport, Missouri, to raise men and sent a message to Governor Wilson Shannon for assistance. This was the beginning of the "Wakarusa War." Militia units from nearby towns hurried to Lawrence to lend assistance and Missourians arrived to provide forces for the proslavery side. The potential existed for much bloodshed. However, after a week of the Missourians drilling on the prairie and the free-staters building fortifications around Lawrence while the ladies made cartridges, a truce was declared and the troops sent home.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹Miss Fannie E. Cole, "Pioneer Life in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Collections, XII, 1911-1912, 355-356.

¹⁰⁰Mrs. Sarah T. D. Robinson, "The Wakarusa War," The Kansas Historical Collections, X, 1907-1908, 457-471.

During the afternoon of May 21, 1856, Sheriff Jones and a body of armed proslavery men descended on Lawrence with no good intent in mind. The Eldridge House and the two newspaper offices were destroyed, stores were broken into and pillaged, and the home of Charles Robinson was burned. The printing presses and other printing equipment were tossed into the Kansas River. This set off a series of lawless incidents that lent credence to the "Bleeding Kansas" idea.

John Brown and his sons came to Kansas during this period and played an active role in the conflict. John Brown and his men participated in the killing of five proslavery men near "Dutch Henry's" crossing in Franklin County, the Battle of Black Jack near Baldwin, and the defense of Osawatomie.

There were confrontations at Franklin, Hickory Point, and Grasshopper Falls. Acts of guerrilla warfare occurred throughout the area. Homes and businesses were burned, property looted, and horses and livestock stolen. Supplies were cut off, people were forced to leave their homes, and corn-cribs and haystacks were burned. Even mail was misplaced or purposely held to deny settlers news from their families in the East. Fortunately, relatively few people were killed.

Rumors that Lane's Army of the North was coming through Nebraska caused alarm and a flurry of excitement among the proslavery forces. This army proved to be settlers coming to the territory to establish residence. Their only arms were for their own protection.

John Brown made his last exit from Kansas in 1858. He was taking a group of freed slaves north over the Lane Trail. Word leaked out and men were hastily summoned to a spot near Holton. When John Brown walked out the cabin door, the men put the spurs to their horses and made a hasty

departure, thus the name, the Battle of the Spurs. Not a shot was fired by either side.

During this period men were away from home serving in the militia and were unable to plow, put in their crops, and harvest them. In some areas, it was necessary for the men to go to their fields in large groups, armed with Sharps rifles, for protection. A. A. Cottrell, one of the Prairie Guards from Wabaunsee, wrote, "When our company reached home we found ourselves in a bad fix. The cattle we left had eaten up the most of the corn and garden truck. Many of the boys were sick, caused by improper food and exposure. . . . The winter of '56-'57 was a very long cold winter. A neighbor of mine, with a wife and five children had only one pair of shoes for the family. They were French-Canadians and lived most of the winter on nothing but lye hominy with occasionally a prairie chicken."¹⁰¹

Most of the hostilities were in the Lawrence area and along the border. In the interior the settlers lived a relatively quiet existence. Occasionally an alarm would be received, the militia would quickly assemble with their arms, and wait for further word. While they waited, they often spent their time drilling, marching, and improving their aim. Often, it proved to be a false alarm and they returned home.

Thomas C. Wells, who lived at Juniata, wrote about the problems caused by the border wars in his area. Prices on all provisions were

¹⁰¹ Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXII, 1956, 179.

very high except for the produce that they raised themselves. With the troops and horses from Fort Riley away, there was not the demand for the corn and other produce. New settlers were reluctant to come to the territory until peace was established. Settlers already there hesitated to build churches, school houses, businesses, or make any improvements.

Newspaper accounts and letters from settlers were often exaggerated and inaccurate. Other accounts understated the settlers' problems. Families back East were often anxious and deeply concerned about their loved ones on the Kansas frontier.¹⁰²

The Emigrant Aid Company was actively involved in the collection and distribution of both money and supplies being sent to Kansas during the relief movement of 1856. The company officers participated in the formation of the National Kansas Committee and worked with the Massachusetts and Boston committees in their efforts to relieve the destitute settlers. It was responsible for both collecting and shipping clothing from the Boston vicinity. In October, 1856, Doctor Webb reported that 175 boxes and barrels of clothing had been shipped to Kansas and considerable money was sent to relieve the destitution under the supervision of the company agents and volunteer workers.¹⁰³

Julia Lovejoy wrote numerous accounts of the extreme poverty endured

¹⁰²Thomas C. Wells, "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer 1855-1860," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, V, 1936, 282.

¹⁰³Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, 1931-1932, 439.

by many of the settlers in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Their clothing was a mass of rags, their feet nearly bare walking on the frozen ground, and no warm clothing to protect them from the cold. They had little food to feed their families and livestock and some were near starvation. One settler traveled nearly one hundred miles to get help for his family and neighbors. Lovejoy wrote home to the newspapers in her native New Hampshire pleading for help for these destitute people. There was a great need for comfortable dwellings, clothing, warm bedding, food, and money. All donations were to be sent to W. F. M. Army, general agent, National Kansas Committee in Chicago for distribution. The Lovejoys helped with the distribution of goods at their locality. Word was received that one hundred and forty boxes were at various points on the Missouri River waiting for the opening of navigation in the spring. When goods began to arrive, especially from New Hampshire, she and others were delighted with the generosity of the donors. Recipients sometimes shed tears of thankfulness over the goods they received.¹⁰⁴

There was great excitement in 1858, with the discovery of gold in western Kansas (now Colorado). Hordes of people passed through Kansas on their way to the Rocky Mountains during the Pike's Peak gold rush in 1859 and 1860. Merchants in the river towns prospered as they outfitted countless gold seekers for their journey to the gold fields.

In March, 1859, James R. Stewart of Burlingame had a "strong notion" of going to the gold mines that spring. Many people passed through the

¹⁰⁴"Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XV, 1947, 277-296.

town traveling west to the mines to seek their fortunes. One group had a brass band which played good music for the settlers as they passed through.

Following a trip to the river for the necessary supplies, on May 21, 1859, Stewart and a friend set out for the mines. Soon they joined with a large company of Missourians en route to Pike's Peak. Much of the traveling was done in cold, rainy, gloomy weather with very muddy roads, which made travel difficult. On May 27, they met a very large train returning with bad news from the mines. Greatly disillusioned, they decided to abandon their plans. After proceeding a little farther to hunt buffalo, they turned back toward home. They continued to hear bad news. Thousands were returning from this outrageous "humbug." By June 3, 1859, Stewart was back home in Burlingame.¹⁰⁵

The Smoky Hill route was widely advertised as the most direct and three guide books stressed its advantages. Later information revealed no trail of any kind existed beyond Fort Riley. A report came in of a large company of men lost and without provisions and then reports of deaths from starvation. A party of seventeen men died or disappeared. Another report declared that the remains of one hundred men could be seen along the trail. There was no road, no markers, very little wood or water, and 800 instead of 600 miles on the Smoky Hill route. Then came the worst news of all.

The brothers, Daniel, Alexander, and Charles Blue traveled from

¹⁰⁵"The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVII, 1949, 282-290.

Illinois in February, 1859, to seek their fortunes in the gold fields. They bought a pony at Lawrence to carry their belongings and set out on their journey. West of Fort Riley, they and a man named Soley became lost, their pony strayed away and they were left with few provisions. These soon ran out and they were forced to eat boiled roots, grass, and snow for eight days. Knowing they were facing death, they agreed to resort to cannibalism, if necessary, to survive. Daniel was the last survivor and he was found and saved by some Arapaho Indians. He survived by eating the flesh of his brothers and Soley. The Indians contacted the express company who took Daniel to Denver arriving there May 11, 1859. This incident halted travel on the Smoky Hill Route.¹⁰⁶

The year 1861, saw an end to the gold rush. The Smoky Hill Route was later developed and was used as the route of David Butterfield's Stage line. Later in the 1860s it became the route of the Kansas Pacific Railroad.¹⁰⁷

Lydia Maria Ring was a school teacher who taught in Grasshopper Falls and then Leavenworth. In March, 1860, there was still much enthusiasm about the gold in western Kansas. Thousands sold, gave away, or left their homes for Pike's Peak hoping to gain wealth in their venture. Ring went, too, but she had plans to make her fortune in a different way by opening a school. She accompanied two other couples traveling in a large prairie schooner. Five young men traveled with

¹⁰⁶ Calvin W. Gower, "The Pike's Peak Gold Rush and the Smoky Hill Route, 1859-1860," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXV, 1959, 158-163.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 171.

them, walking the entire 700 miles. The trip took 42 days. She opened her school and was the first school teacher in Denver. The programs presented by her pupils were the "most fashionable and important events of the season," and were long remembered. Ring also invested in real estate, buying and renting houses. After four years in Denver, she returned to Grasshopper Falls and spent her remaining years there.¹⁰⁸

The Great Drought of 1860 brought great hardships to the territory. "From the 19th of June, 1859, until November, 1860, over 16 months, not a shower fell to soak the earth. Vegetation perished all save the prairie grass."¹⁰⁹ The Plum Grove area in Jefferson County fared a little better. A few light showers in late May and early June enabled them to produce some vegetables and the small grain grew tall enough to be mown for hay. They practiced what was later known as dry-farming by producing a "dust mulch" to conserve what little moisture was in the ground. Big Slough springs provided water for their livestock. After observing yellow corn bread on a dinner table, a visitor remarked, "You know, Hank, your folks don't have to eat hog-feed. All in the world you had to do was to fetch your sack over to my crib and help yourself to what white corn you need. Yankees like yellow meal, but not 'our kind of folks.'" Many of the 30,000 starved out settlers on their way home "to her folks" received food from the Plum Grove settlers as they passed through. The eastern counties had many vacant farms to rent because many settlers had

¹⁰⁸ Valley Falls Scrapbook, Valley Falls Public Library, Valley Falls, Kansas.

¹⁰⁹ William John Meredith, "The Old Plum Grove Colony," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VII, 1938, 352.

to leave to survive.¹¹⁰

Sarah Everett described conditions at Osawatomie: ". . .that ragged coat and those ragged pants one woman said to me yesterday is all that William (meaning her husband) has got for the winter and this dress a slitted out old calico my only outside garment and not corn enough for bread no potatoes nor any other eatable except meat which they were to have enough for themselves and a little to spare-and not fodder enough for their stock and her husband not a sock for winter."¹¹¹ Everett felt that her family would have plenty of corn bread, meat, and milk to eat but felt they would go awfully "shabby." They would be in style with the rest of the community. Atchison was over 80 miles away, yet they hoped to find a way to get grain being distributed there.

Thaddeus Hyatt wrote extensively for the Eastern press during the drouth years describing conditions in Kansas and pleading for contributions to relief funds. He again organized the Kansas Relief Committee and set up headquarters at Atchison, the western terminus of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad. Samuel C. Pomeroy reluctantly agreed to be the chairman of the relief committee and worked tirelessly to bring help to the needy pioneers. As before, the East responded and shipped food, clothing, medicine, and seed to help the destitute pioneers. Settlers, clad in rags, drove many miles with their teams and wagons to get these badly needed supplies.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 352-353.

¹¹¹ "Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, VIII, 1939, 361-362.

¹¹² Joseph G. Gambone, "Samuel C. Pomeroy and the Senatorial Election of 1861, Reconsidered," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXVII, 18-20.

Pomeroy was alleged to have sold some of the relief goods and pocketed the money. Other serious accusations were also made against him. However, after careful examination of all the records, it was determined that a regular set of receipt books had been kept. "Every dollar received or expended was accounted for; no evidence of fraud, corruption, or extortion was found."¹¹³

President James Buchanan signed the Kansas bill into law on January 29, 1861, and the state was admitted under the Wyandotte constitution. The Topeka, Lecompton, and Leavenworth constitutions had all failed, primarily because of the arguments over slavery. The Senate had held up the Wyandotte constitution for the same reason but as southern states seceded and their senators returned home, the bill finally passed. Kansas became the thirty-fourth state in the union. When news arrived in Kansas, universal joy prevailed. Old Sacramento thundered in Leavenworth and guns were fired in salute to the new state. There was cheering, music, laughter, and drinking. Patriotic speeches were made and John A. Martin, editor of the Atchison Freedom's Champion, wrote an obituary for the territory of Kansas.¹¹⁴

The joy of Kansas achieving statehood was soon saddened by the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor on April 12, 1861. The Civil War, long dreaded, had begun. Bushwhackers, Red-legs, and Jayhawkers became common terminology along the border. Bushwhackers from

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 24-26.

¹¹⁴ "When Kansas Became A State," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 1961, 1-21.

Missouri made frequent raids along the border looting and burning. Bands of outlaws led by Anderson, Todd and Yager committed crimes and murders that added to the terror of the Kansans. Jayhawkers went into Missouri freeing slaves, stealing horses, and other plunder.

On September 22, 1861, James H. Lane, with his Union troops, destroyed Osceola, Missouri. General Sterling Price had captured Colonel Mulligan at Lexington and Lane went to Osceola to destroy some of the enemy supplies. Lane was fired on and in returning the fire, he killed one man. Lane's men assisted the women in removing their belongings from their houses and he removed the records from the county court-house. These he returned after the war. Then the torch was applied which destroyed the town. Quantrill's devastating attack on Lawrence on August 21, 1863, is believed to have been in retaliation for the destruction of Osceola.¹¹⁵

Various bands of guerrillas and their leaders joined forces with William C. Quantrill the morning of August 21, 1863, for the vicious, bloody, devastating attack on Lawrence. After they rode out of town, much of the town was in flames and wounded men and dead bodies lay about in profusion. The destruction and deaths were unbelievable. Crude coffins of rough lumber fastened with burned nails found in the ruins of a hardware store were hastily built. Fifty-three bodies were buried in a common grave, a long trench. One hundred and fifty men died at the

¹¹⁵ George W. Martin, "The First Two Years of Kansas," The Kansas Historical Collection, X, 1907-1908, 144.

Lawrence massacre. ¹¹⁶

The controversial Order No. Eleven issued by General Thomas Ewing decreased guerrilla activities along the border. It did cause hardship for the Missourians but it was well received by Kansas settlers. In 1864, the Confederate forces of General Sterling Price clashed with Union troops and the Kansas militia. Price and his men were defeated and retreated south along the state border. This brought an end to the campaigns in the West.

Samuel J. Reader served in the Kansas militia against Price's forces at the Battle of the Blue. He was taken prisoner but escaped and made his way safely home. Reader was an artist, using a rather primitive style. He painted a number of pictures depicting the battle scenes and some of them are included in this thesis.

Kansas had a draft for a few weeks only late in the war. Kansas had an enlistment quota based on its population and had always been able to fill it. Some communities encouraged enlistment by giving bounty money, usually about \$200. It was a common practice to send a substitute to serve one's period of enlistment.

Kansas furnished 20,097 troops during the war. Some of these enlistments were only for a three-month period. Missouri residents actually served as Kansas troops because credit was given to the location of enlistment instead of their actual residence. Former Confederate troops who chose to serve in the Union army rather than be imprisoned

¹¹⁶R. G. Elliott, "The Quantrill Raid as Seen from the Eldridge House," Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, II, 1920, 179-196.

increased the Kansas quota. Indian and black troops also served in the Union forces from Kansas.¹¹⁷

Pioneer families endured many hardships during the war years. Many of the men were away fighting the war, leaving their wives and children in the care of a few family members, friends, or neighbors. Prices were high and some items were scarce. Those men left at home had to help other families plant and harvest crops and help with any necessary assistance. The men at home often had to be away, drilling with the rangers, hauling freight from the river, or taking grain to the mill. There was always the danger of border ruffians, Indians, elements of the weather, and sickness. For the woman alone, there was always the fear of something happening to the husband, and it was always a great relief when he returned safely home.¹¹⁸

The Civil War came to an end and Kansans who fought in both the Union and Confederate armies, began to return home. Kansas paid a big price in the war as nearly 8,500 of her men were lost in the war. As with all wars, many things had to be postponed until peace was restored and the men were home. The frontier period in northeast Kansas was over as the line of settlement pushed further west. The future looked bright and hopeful.

Construction could now begin on the vast system of the long anticipated railroads. It was believed that the railroads would greatly

¹¹⁷Albert Castel, "Enlistment and Conscription in Civil War Kansas," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 1961, 313-319.

¹¹⁸Thomas F. Doran, "Kansas Sixty Years Ago," The Kansas Historical Collections, XV, 1919-1922, 489.

promote both business and settlement. Farmers would have an easier time shipping their goods to market.

Towns and cities in northeast Kansas had various fates. Many continued to grow and prosper. Some withered and died. Wheat fields or pasture lands replaced the townsite. Others were absorbed by nearby towns. In 1860, a tornado virtually destroyed the town of Sumner and it died. In 1862, nearly one-third of the town of Elwood fell into the Missouri River and residents watched as their houses and property floated down the river. A number of towns went through several name changes before a final name was decided.

Settlers left a wealth of historical information in letters and diaries, recording for posterity the problems and joys of pioneer life.

The infant colleges continued to grow and expand and new ones were founded. Lincoln College left its original location and became Washburn University.

A system of roadways continued to improve and with the establishment of hotels and eating places, traveling became easier.

Stores began to carry a wider variety of goods which allowed for more comforts at home and a wider variety of foods. All sorts of businesses provided a more civilized atmosphere. New inventions provided more efficient methods of manufacture and farming.

Kansas was growing up and slowly increasing her importance in the federal union.



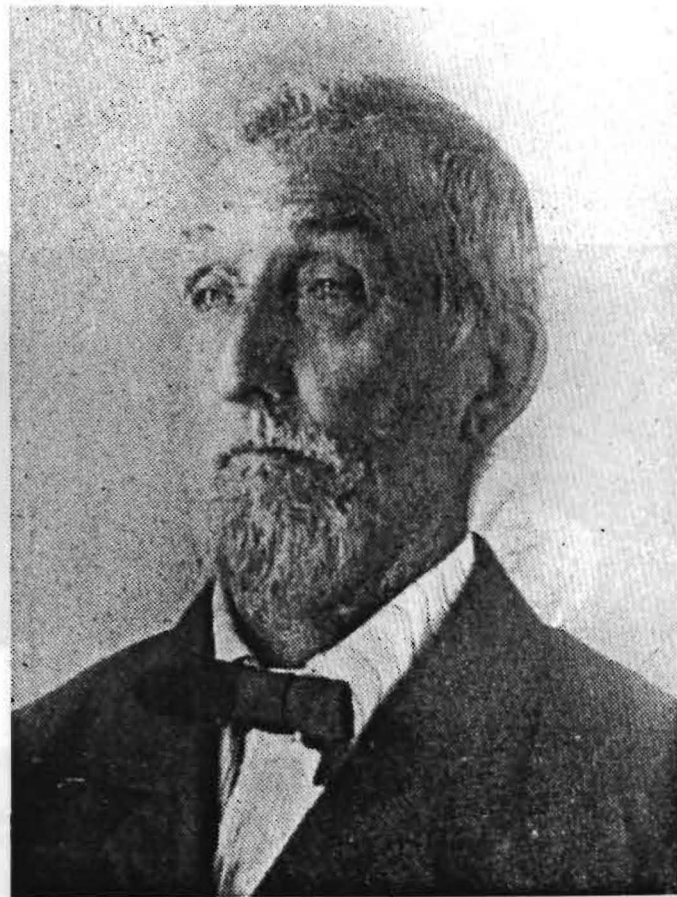
S.J. Reader 1854
Early settler at Indianola



Julia L. Lovejoy at age 51
about 1861.



Mrs. John (Sarah) Everett



Mr. John Everett



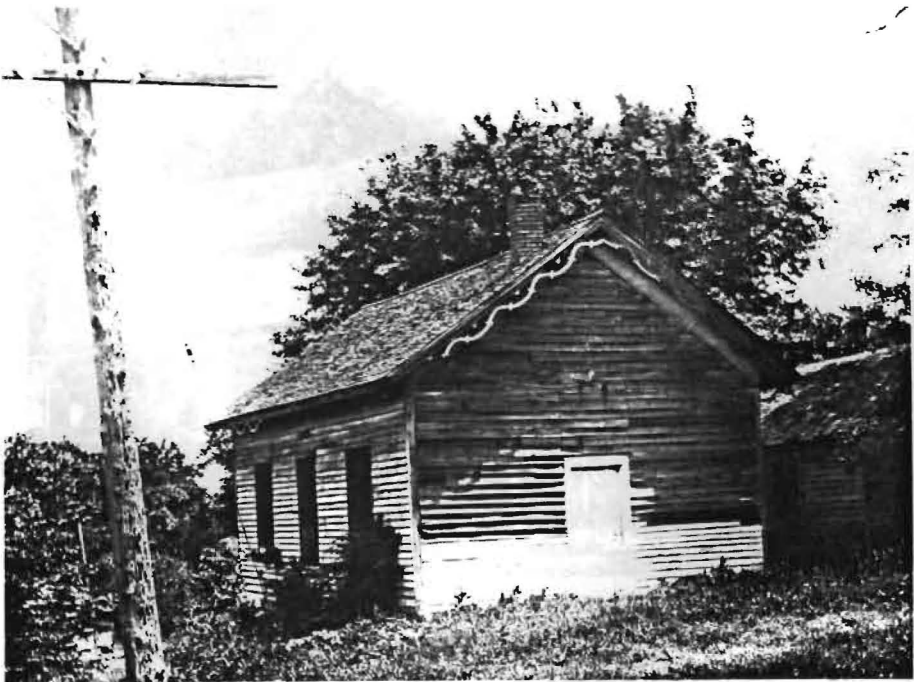
David R. Atchison



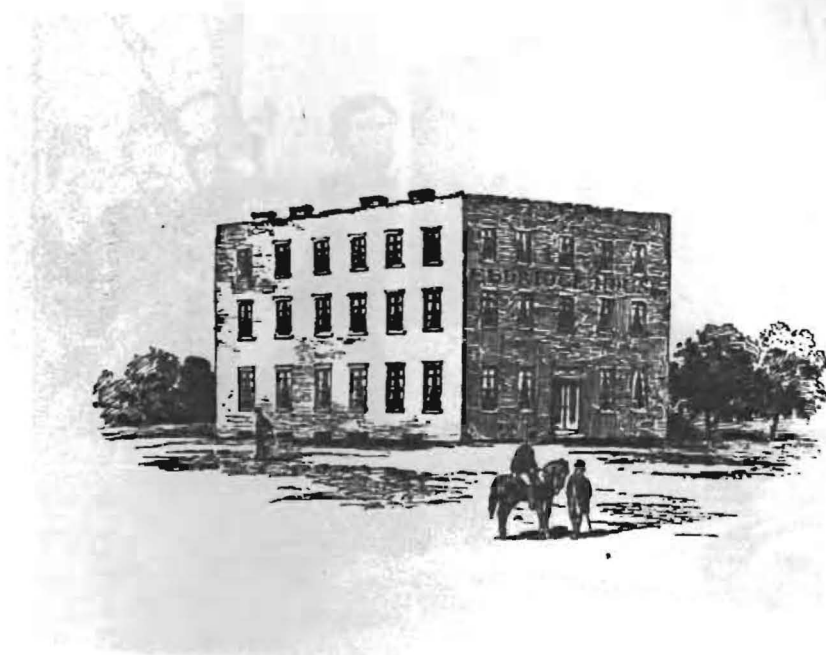
First house in Lawrence



Piazzek Mill, Grasshopper Falls built 1855.



Lutheran Church, Grasshopper Falls, built in 1857.



The Lawrence Eldridge House built 1856.



Grasshopper Falls Hotel Cataract House built 1857.



Effects of RUM. drawn 1853.

Effects of Rum - drawn 1853



Women's Rights - Reader Diary 1854-1857.



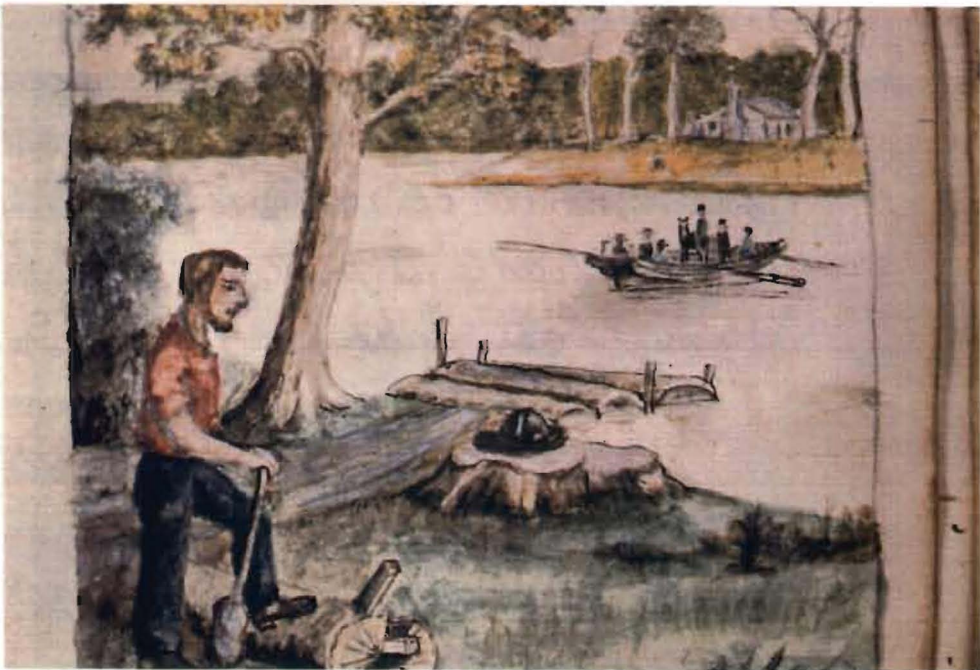
O Rumseller! that home, it once was mine!

S.J. Reader



July 29, 1856, Assistant Cook

S.J. Reader



1850's Calhoun Ferry

S.J. Reader

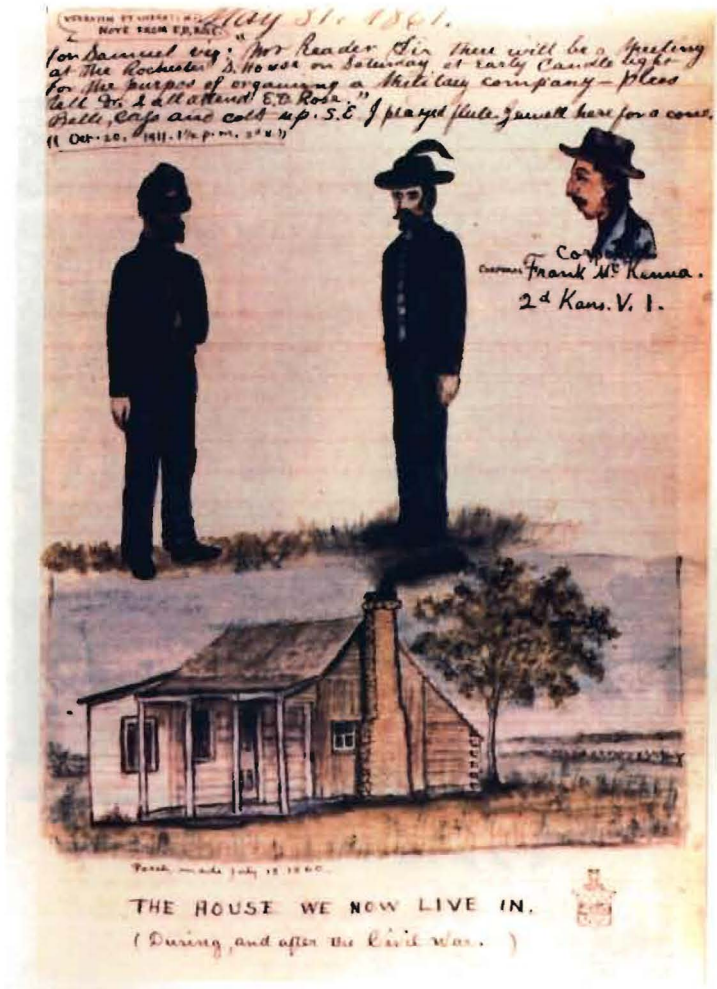


July 29, 1856, On the War Path

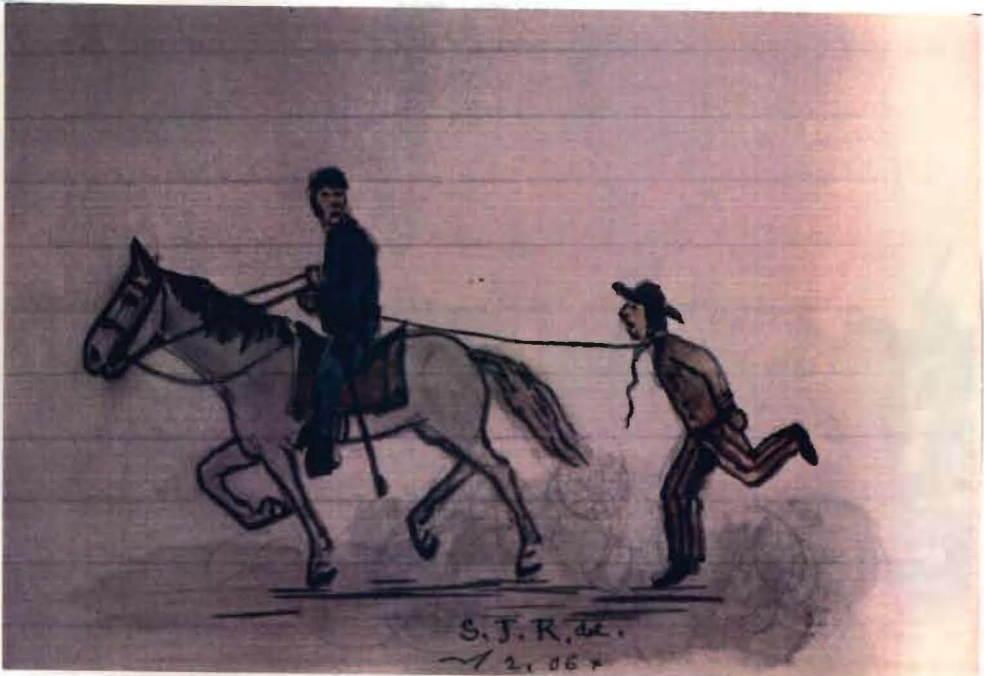
S.J. Reader



Cavalry Engagement Hickory Point



The House We Now Live In S.J. Reader



The Prisoner



Free Lodgings

S. J. Reader



It went against us.

S. J. Reader

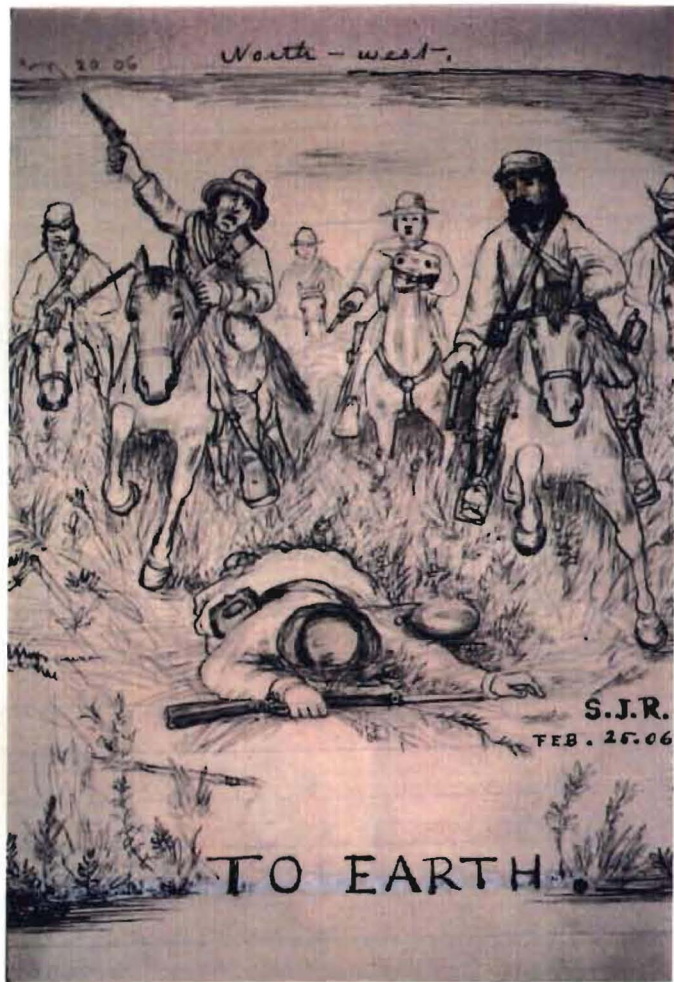


300 - 2nd Kansas State Militia
"Into the Jaws"

S.J. Reader



Double-quick, you Yankee!

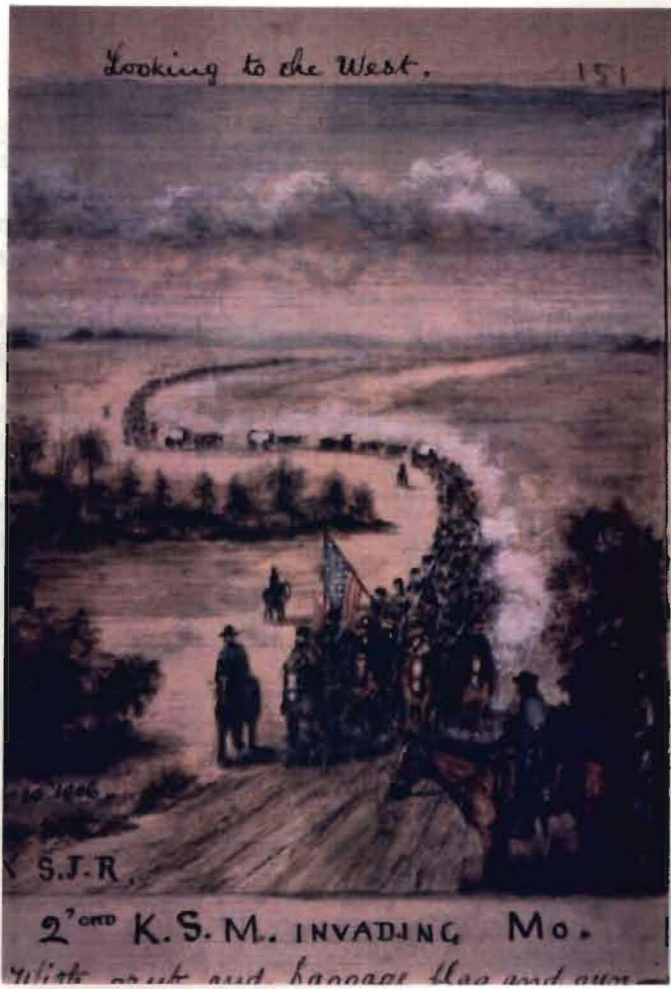


To Earth

S.J. Reader



Rebel Sharpshooter



The Militia Invading Missouri S.J. Reader



The Battle of the Blue

S.J. Reader

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