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### Social Conditions of Territorial Kansas

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#### Recommended Citation

Miller, Clifford Dwight, "Social Conditions of Territorial Kansas" (1936). *Master's Theses*. 246.

DOI: 10.58809/TLOA5870

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS

OF

TERRITORIAL KANSAS

being

A Thesis presented to the

Graduate Faculty of the Fort Hays

State College in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Master of Science

by

CLIFFORD DWIGHT MILLER, B. S. in Education  
Fort Hays Kansas State College

Approved by



R. L. Parker,  
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Date

7/31/36

Acting

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Chairman Graduate Council



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



*gift*

The author wishes to express appreciation to all who have assisted in this work. Particularly, the late Professor Charles H. Landrum is remembered for his suggestions which led to this field of research; and Professor R. L. Parker who furnished the guidance and kindly counsel which directed the way for completion of the unfinished manuscript, begun before the death of Professor Landrum.

*Clifford Miller*

The help of Dr. W. D. Moreland added much to the value of this material, his reading of the manuscripts enriching the revisions.

Dr. Floyd B. Streeter's assistance with the subject matter and the bibliographical materials are of great value to this thesis. For these aids, and his direction of the facilities of the library to the benefit of this work the author is grateful.

The interested and untiring assistance of Mr. George A. Root, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, was of tremendous value in compiling the sources upon which the information in these pages is based.

*11-19-36*

Hays, July 24, 1936



## IN MEMORIUM

In memory of Professor Charles H. Landrum whose death occurred November 11, 1932. A admiration for his scholarly command of knowledge relating to the history of Kansas led to this field of study, and furnished the inspiration for its inception. To him, for his studiously accurate work in research and love for truthfinding in history, these pages are affectionately dedicated.



## CHAPTER 1

### LIVING CONDITIONS IN TERRITORIAL KANSAS

Who were the people making up Kansas Territory, or simply "K.T.", as correspondence was addressed from everywhere? Coming to Kansas from New England and the Middle Atlantic states through the agency of the Emigrant Aid Company, from the Middle and Western states, from the Southern states, and from foreign countries, they had a variety of folk lore and pioneer technique they could put to work. It seems that they would constitute an extremely chaotic society when viewed from this standpoint; yet, they were all sired by progressive peoples, and, if we consider them from the viewpoint of culture and social manifestations we find the factors to contribute to their cosmopolitanism instead.

According to Andrew H. Reeder's census,<sup>1</sup> as provided for by the Organic Act of May 30, 1854, empowering the territorial governors to appoint census enumerators, there were 8,601 persons living in Kansas of whom 408 were foreigners, 151 free negroes, and 192 slaves in 1855 when it was made. The population in 1854 is not known to research at this writing. Think of it! A population for the entire state scarcely equivalent to sparsely settled Decatur County in northwestern Kansas in 1930! Or indeed, hardly as many as living in Junction City alone in 1935. Yet, in the seven territorial years, Kansas increased in population to 107,206,<sup>2</sup> which is equivalent to the population of Wichita, Kansas in 1935.

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1. Kansas State Historical Society Collections, Vol. 3, p.247, and Council Journal of Kansas Territory, 1855, p17.

2. Martin, George W. The First Two Years of Kansas, Topeka. 1907.



To care for this heavy influx of people, construction of dwellings, public buildings, churches, and hotels began with the earlier arrivals. In the East glowing tales of possibilities in Kansas were given. Whittier wrote his famous SONG OF THE KANSAS EMIGRANT; Horace Greeley set forth glittering editorials in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE; William Cullen Bryant, ardent abolitionist, wrote hypnotic articles for the NEW YORK EVENING POST; the ALBANY TRIBUNE and THE NEW YORK TIMES all furnished romantic delineations of the paradise out in Kansas. These tremendously stirred emigration, and among the first investments to be made by private citizens and the Emigrant Aid Company<sup>3</sup> were in hotels. In the summer of 1854 the old Gillis House located in Kansas City was bought in behalf of the Emigrant Aid Company by Dr. Charles Robinson, afterwards governor of Kansas.<sup>4</sup> Later, S.W. Eldridge, well-known hotel man, bought it from the company. In the meantime it had been operated by lessees under the name of "The American Hotel". Eldridge did not meet his payments, and the business was returned to the Company.

At Lawrence in the summer of 1854 a lodging-house was built of poles and hay.<sup>5</sup> The ends of this building were covered with cotton cloth. When autumn came, the hay was covered with sod and windows introduced into the ends. In connection with this hotel a city dining room was arranged of hay and poles where more than a hundred persons sat at tables daily to board at \$2.50 a week. The beds in this hotel

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3. Minutes of trustees and Executive Committee, Emigrant Aid Company.

4. *ibid.*

5. Letter to Boston Evening Paragaph, December, 1854.



were made of prairie hay, a few quilts and blankets being furnished travelers who had come there ignorant of equipment needed after their arrival. Eldridge was next interested in building a hotel in Lawrence to supplant the huts. But he was unable to finance it. The Emigrant Aid Company subsidized the Free State Hotel which was begun in the summer of 1855 and completed the following spring. Just as it was to be dedicated the "posse" of Sheriff Jones appeared on the scene and burned it to the ground. Eldridge bought the site in 1857 for \$5,000. The Free State had cost about \$80,000. Money could not be raised to rebuild it.

Hotels were built at all of the principal points very soon. They were often scenes of gay attractions, the gathering places for all sorts of social discourses, and the meeting grounds for exchange of news from "home" as well as important centers for recruiting political and mob interest in different questions. Sometimes separate hotels were erected for northern and southern emigrants.

It is not difficult to imagine the re-actions of a modern guest accustomed to his table d'hote or a la carte were he presented with one of their menus! Boiled meats, if available, coarsely ground corn bread, often called "johnny-cake" by them, dried fruits occasionally, and hominy.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes the foods were sans table salt because it was unobtainable.

Religious services were held in the first hotels erected. Most of these people were interested in religious instruction and worship. The hotels afforded the first accommodations for these services in many in-

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6. Kansas Remembrances, Vol. 4. Clipping.



stances.<sup>7</sup>

The home was the center of everything. Culture, education, social gatherings, hospitilization, manufacturing of domestic goods, these all and many more important functions were carried on in the home. Domicile was attempted at first in tents but the severe cold and high winds rendered them more impracticable in Kansas than were they in their homelands. Shelters were often improvised of hay and poles until a warmer one could be built.

Crude lumber was brought up the river by steamer, selling readily at one hundred dollars a thousand board feet.<sup>8</sup> Sawmills were located in various places where builders could haul their logs and have them milled for half of the lumber. In some mills the logs were merely ripped into halves, these serving for the sidewalls of the houses. In others they were sawed into slabs. If the services of a sawmill were not available, one face of the logs was riven off with an axe, and the building constructed of logs. Often the mills were ten miles away. The logs were hauled this long distance by oxen. It then took two days to make the trip one way. Many times only the roof was made of milled lumber, the sidewalls being constructed of logs, because the boards were too scarce and expensive.

Many people lived in "dug outs". This was the quickest and the simplest form of abode which could be built. Next to it was the sod house so well known to pioneers all over the plains in territorial days and for many decades since. Laborers usually received a dollar a day for their work.

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8. *ibid.*



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Unless the roofs were made very steep the clapboards would leak. Construction against rain was managed successfully, but keeping snow out was another question. Fine, dry snow would drift in through cracks no matter how carefully the lumber was laid. "It was no uncommon thing", says Miss E. Cole<sup>9</sup> "to wake up on a winter morning and find our beds covered with a white sheet of snow". Miss Cole states that the cabin in which she was reared was floored with "puncheons", a form of plank split out of logs with axes and wedges and smoothed on one side by means of a broad axe. These cabins, on the whole, were quite comfortable except in winter. The winters of 1855 and 1856 were exceptionally severe, bringing much hardship upon the settlers.<sup>10</sup> During these seasons it often snowed three days at a time, sometimes so intensely that one could not see to travel. Some of the cabins were completely snowed under.

One-legged beds with moderns seem inconceivable. But common construction then provided for an opening in the floor to receive the one leg, located about six or seven feet from the corner. Holes were made in the logs corresponding to the height of the post. Attached to the post were poles running each way, and mortised into the holes in the walls.<sup>11</sup> Slats riven from the green timber were laid from these supports, with a tick of hay placed on them.

At the Baptist mission near Paola, Kansas, was used a rolling pin fashioned from a large ear of corn, the outer edges of the corn being

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9. Kansas State Historical Collections, Vol. 11, p. 354.

10. Burlington Enterprise Chronicle, Nov. 16, 1922.

11. Kansas Reminiscences, Vol. 3. Clippings. Pages unnumbered.



smoothed so that it was quite round. At the same place it is recalled that mouse traps were non-existent and that mice were becoming unbearably numerous. No poison or other provision was available for extermination of the rodents. An ingenious housewife discovered that by means of a plate propped up with a thimble with bait arranged so that the weighted plate placed up-side-down would fall when the mouse pulled at the bait, made a trap which really brought results. This plan saved a trip of forty-five miles to procure mouse traps at exorbitant prices.<sup>12</sup> When a light was needed the pioneers ordinarily used candles. These were made by dipping a string into melted fat. The string was suspended from a stick. When the tallow had set, the string was again dipped into the fat and returned to the stick. This operation was repeated enough times to enlarge the candle to the correct size.

Mrs. J.M. Meade writing in the Topeka Daily Capitol for June 3, 1910, states that she believes that her log home in Topeka was the first house in Kansas to have a papered parlor. She states that her father bought some heavy cotton drill called "Osenburg" which he tacked on the side walls and ceiling. Then her mother made paste of flour-and-water and pasted the paper on the wall. She states that it was white with large red roses and leaves on it. People came from everywhere to see the first papered home in Kansas.<sup>13</sup>

Matches were unknown to them. Fires were started by means of flint and steel. Since it was so difficult to start these fires, bark logs as much as four or five feet long were placed in the fire place

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12. Kansas City Star, November 11, 1911. Interview with a pioneer.

13. Topeka Capitol, June 3, 1910.



to hold the fire. Neighbors borrowed fire by transplanting live coals.

### Clothing Among the Pioneers

Generally there were few stores for there was little to sell, and much of the time nothing to buy goods with, even if they were available. It was therefore incumbent upon the family to provide its own fabrics for clothing. Many of them kept a sheep or two on the premises to shear for the needed wool. This was difficult because wolves slinked to the sheep and carried them away almost invariably unless protection was provided.<sup>14</sup> Cotton was raised on many homesteads. There were gins

of the small hand-turning variety scattered among them. From the gin cotton, like the wool, was carded. The spinning was altogether done on the old time spinning wheel.<sup>15</sup> The clothing was heavy, but it served very well against the hard winters. Calico was almost the universal dress goods, if the material was purchased. It sold at forty and fifty cents a yard.<sup>16</sup> This is about five or six times as much as the

lower priced prints of modern times cost, and these latter are generally conceded to be better goods. There were no sewing machines. All garments were sewed by hand. Needles were coarse and high priced. Thread was rarely available, most of it being spun at home.

### Food and Pioneer Cookery

First of all, in locating the site for a home, was the water supply. Wells were dug and walled up with stones and clay. But the general source for the first-comers was that of a "live spring".

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14. Letter of Mrs. Wood to her daughter, *Kansas Remembrances*, Vol. 4.

15. *ibid.*

16. Valentine, Mrs. D.M. *Journal of American History*, New Haven.



There the thirsty passers-by and neighborhoods of settlers drank their fill of the brimming fluid, and filled their barrels.<sup>17</sup>

The ordinary diet in the homes for winter usually consisted of a preponderance of corn products. There was corn bread, parched corn, hominy, corn-meal mush and milk, with perhaps some vegetable which could be kept through the winter months such as potatoes or turnips.<sup>18</sup> Milk consisted of an important part of their food. If prayers were ever offered in petition for food, they well might have been that "Old Pet", say the prize milker of the herd shall not go dry until spring. Buckwheat was raised by some. And then there were beef and pork. Hogs did well on corn and acorns which grew in abundance in eastern Kansas. Sorghum was made from cane in most of the communities, the juice being pressed by crude cane presses, and distilled to draw off the dregs preparatory for the "lasses barrel". There was little sugar to be had.

Corn was ground at the mill. Some of these mills were run by boilers taken from steam boats by the Emigrant Aid Company, and some of them by water power.<sup>20</sup> "Absolum Hoover," says W.W. Dennison writing in the Burlingame Enterprise,<sup>21</sup> "made a set of mill stones out of hard limestone and as soon as corn became hard this mill was run almost constantly by hand by the people in the surrounding country." The Emigrant Aid Company, according to Professor Samuel A. Johnson of Kansas

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17. Lum, Rev. S.Y. His letter, January 4, 1855.

18. Root, George A. Kansas State Historical Society Collections, Vol. 17.

19. *ibid.*

20. Richardson, H.A. Milling in Kansas, Chap.1, University of Kansas, 1928.

21. Dennison, W.W. Address published in Burlingame Chronicle, November 16, 1922.



few good things left in my lunch basket and I remember that I made hot ginger bread. One couldn't go to market in those days; Mr. Gates rode out along the California trail and found a man who had a herd of cattle. One of the steers was lame and he was glad to sell it. Then we had material for a roast and mince pies. Among the guests present at this dinner were Dr. Charles Robinson, afterwards the first governor of Kansas, and Mr. and Mrs. S.Y. Lum of the Congregational Missionary there.

When J. Savage and his family arrived at Westport from the East, their food commissar consisted of a sack of flour, a ham, dried apples, a box of yeast powder, a frying pan, Dutch oven, mixing pan, spoon, tin cups, bucket, salt, pepper, kettle, coffee, and some sugar.<sup>24</sup>

For lye and soap a hopper was improvised into which the accumulation of ashes for many months was deposited. A small hole was made in the bottom of the hopper and then water was poured over the ashes. The water dripping at the bottom was claimed to be very good grade of lye water. This was combined with grease and boiled. The result was soap.<sup>25</sup>

For some readers it would seem that pioneer life as they knew it in the fifties would be hard to bear. Compared with living standards of today it was. Compared with standards as these people had known them before coming West it was probably hard for them too. Yet, the glorious spirit of adventure and the urge to be at liberty, untremmelled by the crystallization of tradition and the lock-step of formal community life, amounted to appealing treats to many. "We were young and full of hope," writes one pioneer woman in reminiscing, "and it is

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24. Savage, J. "Recollections of 1854, number 3." Kansas State Historical Society.

25. Kansas Reminiscences, Vol. 3. *ibid.*



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a mistake to suppose that we are entitled to any sympathy because of our supposed hardships. It was like a party eternally camping out. We enjoyed it all."

In good years commodities were inexpensive, even very cheap. In lean years like the dread famine of '60 they could hardly be bought at any price. In the good year of 1859 butter sold at five cents a pound, eggs five cents a dozen, and chickens brought \$1.50 a dozen, frying size. "My husband took a double wagon box load of corn to Topeka and sold it for enough to buy one sack of flour.....We burned corn because coal was so high," says Mrs. Wood.<sup>26</sup>

For starch, wheat or bran was soaked in tubs for several days. It was then strained through clean straw and returned to a tub to settle. As soon as the water was clear it was poured off and the white mass placed in the sun to dry and bleach.<sup>27</sup> Large gourds were raised to store lard, soap, seeds and sugar in, after which they were hung up in the cellar or shed for winter.

The swinging crane, Dutch oven, and skillet were to be found in nearly every household as implements for cookery. A big percentage of the cooking was done over the fire place.

Salt was rare and very hard to get. Much of the time food was eaten without salt. Pepper was in heavy demand, probably to add taste to otherwise rather insipid foods used on the frontier, especially due to the absence of the markets where more palatable foods might be obtained. Salt was frequently obtained by boiling the water from the

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26. Kansas Reminiscences, Vol. 4, on Wood family. *ibid.*

27. *ibid.*



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salt licks. The soil and other impurities were allowed to settle to the bottom of the barrel, but the salt would remain in suspension in the water longer than the other minerals. Then the clear water was boiled to evaporate the water, more water added, and the boiling process continued, until a fair portion of salt was left in the bottom of the receptacle.<sup>28</sup>

Bread bowls, "troughs" they were facetiously called, were scooped out of solid blocks of wood with a tool they called a gouge.<sup>29</sup>

Biscuits were occasionally made when ovens were in use or absent, by rolling the dough in ashes and baking in the fireplace. The ashes were then trimmed off, the result being called "ash cake".

As has been before related, corn was sometimes used for fuel, especially when it sold for eight cents a bushel as it did in 1859, but not when it sold for two dollars a bushel following the drought of 1860!<sup>30</sup>

In 1861 we are told they received corn for nothing, but it was charity corn to relieve the drought sufferers remaining after the terrible winter of 1860-1. Had it not been for the lack of market for corn in 1859 which accounted for quite an accumulation of surplus corn, legions of them would have literally starved to death.

Coffee was almost an unobtainable luxury. But they solved the problem anyhow. Sweet potatoes were dried in the sun, green okra shelled and dried, and wheat browned in the iron skillet over a fire. These all were ground together forming a concoction which served very well for coffee. And they did not have any trouble thereby through caffeine

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28. *ibid.*

29. *ibid.*

30. Greene, Albert Robison in address May 18, 1907, old settlers' picnic.



keeping them awake!

#### Entertainment

And there was fun. It was not commercialized either, and folks had a great time. They were closely identified with each other; the neighborly spirit was profound. There were no daily newspaper monstrosities to settle down with in a comfortable lounge away from everybody; there were no radios or telephones for distant and more impersonal communication; and who would have mentioned movie in those days would have been declared insane. People therefore must be together to satisfy their gregarious instincts.

Mrs. John J. Ingalls says that when she came down the river from St. Joe and Leavenworth by boat the passengers were gay and happy.<sup>31</sup> There were many ballads sung and entertaining stories told. Parties were being outfitted for the West. Gold had been discovered in the Pikes Peak region, the glamour of going west to dig for gold obsessed them, and their parties woven about the theme of the wanderer.

When a new house was finished it was the custom of the country that a house warming should be given. There was dancing and the little born jug in the usual celebration,<sup>32</sup> but sometimes the completion of a new dwelling was commemorated in another way. The circuit rider was called in and the neighbors came. There was a sermon, a huge meal for everyone, and much fellowship.

Dances were frequently held in the hotels. These were situa-

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31. Ingalls, Mrs. John J. Speech, "Our Yesterdays" January 29, 1915. Burbank's Printshop, Atchison.

32. Greene, Albert Robison. In Remembrance. His address May 18, 1907 before Greene County Old Settlers.

\* Celebrities in Kansas History Making.



tions of color, plenty of liquor if it could be obtained, and occasions for riotous fun. Tickets were required of the gentlemen, ranging in price up to five dollars a night. The prices, according to an abundance of different sources, were ordinarily above two dollars a night.<sup>33</sup> This would be regarded as high even in modern days. As we have seen, money was scarce and hard to get. But money was spent at entertainments as if it were unlimited; then as nowadays money could be found for the more frivolous things of life somehow.

Some examples of their advertizing and programs would be of interest here.

Washington Birthday Ball Invitation  
by  
Kansas Rifles Number One

Yourself and lady are respectfully solicited to attend a ball to be given at the

Free State Hotel  
in Lawrence on  
Friday Evening, February 22, 1856  
In Honor of the Day which Gave Birth to the  
Immortal Washington

Committee of Arrangements:

J.W. Colburn  
James H. Lane\*  
A. Cutler  
A.D. Searl  
W.L. Bridgen

Charles Robinson\*  
John G. Crocker  
James R. White  
E. Emmerson  
B.F. Swift

Floor Managers:

John G. Crocker      A. Cutler

A.D. Searl

E. Emmerson

Tickets, \$2.00

Another program given New Year's Day, 1858, at Osawatomie,

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\*Celebrities in Kansas History Making.

33. Social Customs, Vol. 1, Kansas Historical Library.

34. *ibid.*



called for an admission of \$2.50 for that gay Friday evening. It was headed "New Year's Hop" and "good music" was engaged for the occasion.<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes these affairs were staged to raise money for a more or less public purpose. We have another interesting program held at the Eldridge House, Lawrence, Friday Evening, May 21, 1858. As the quotation below shows, the proceeds from this entertainment were to be used in furnishing the Eldridge Hotel, built on the site where the eighty thousand-dollar Free State Hotel was destroyed by Sheriff Jones two years before.

36

Here we quote the program:

Benefit Ball

Yourselves and ladies are respectfully invited to attend the ball to be given on the occasion of the opening of the

Eldredge House, Lawrence

Friday Evening, May 21, 1858

The anniversary of the destruction of the Free State Hotel. The proceeds are to be appropriated toward furnishing said house.

Tickets may be obtained at the Hotel and door of the hall at five dollars each.

And here we present another, this time a picnic which was obviously to be developed into a dance:

37

Independence

Grand Picnic Party

The pleasure of your company is respectfully solicited to attend A Picnic Party

To be given at McAllister's Hall, Osawatomie

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35. ibid.

36. ibid.

37. ibid.



At five o'clock, Monday Evening, July 5, 1858  
Supper at the Hall. Tickets, \$2.50.

Evening Programme:

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Four sets Quadrilles | 11. Cecilian Circle     |
| 2. Opera Reel           | 12. Mazourka            |
| 3. Quadrille            | 13. Quadrille           |
| 4. Schottische          | 14. Pop Goes the Weazel |
| 5. Spanish Dance        | 15. Quadrille           |
| 6. Quadrille            | 16. Waltz               |
| 7. Money Musk           | 17. Quadrille           |
|                         | 18. Grand Basket        |

SUPPER

- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 19. March Quadrille | 24. Hop Waltz  |
| 20. McDonald's Reel | 25. Quadrille  |
| 21. Quadrille       | 26. Polka      |
| 22. Bow Quadrille   | 27. Money Musk |
| 23. Schottische     |                |

The younger men gathered in each community center to form ball teams. Sometimes the games were inter-community, other times intra-community. They were gatherings entirely devoid of any commercial enterprise. There were no "guarantees", but quite a good many sportsmen did enjoy betting on the game. The old game of horseshoes was enjoyed everywhere. From the village's blacksmith they gathered horseshoes. Every family and trading post had the stakes driven for horseshoe games. <sup>38</sup>

Singing schools were numerous. The singing master usually held his groups together more through the entertaining nature of his personality than through any training he may have had. <sup>39</sup> There were spelling matches and quilting parties.

Traveling shows generally found business good among some of the territories "back home" but they do not seem to have obtained a start in Kansas during her territorial days.

In summer one of the amusements which gave the citizens a real

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38. See note 21.

39. ibid.



thrill--especially the boys--was that which surrounded the arrival of the canvas covered wagon trains. Caravans of 20 to 30 wagons and upward, had with them some one who could do a good job of "sawin' the fiddle", playing a harp, and "spinning yarns". Folks swarmed around their camp fires to listen to the entertainment. The boys enjoyed going to meet these trains. Each wagon was heavily laden with freight, some of them drawn by six yoke of oxen or several spans of mules. The boys would get permission of the drivers to crack the whip over the beasts of burden as they moved through town.<sup>40</sup>

Camp meetings were as much a part of the summer's activity as shucking bees and spelling matches were in the winter season.<sup>41</sup> Everyone took a week off and attended.

The liquor was brought in from the East, or distilled by some of the settlers at their homes. Usually there was plenty. The men liked to smoke and chew tobacco. It was grown in Kansas. One ingenious method of pressing the tobacco into form suitable for cutting and chewing, and to be sliced for the corn-cob pipe, was by evolving a contrivance for pressing the tobacco by cutting a good-sized hole in a burr-oak tree, fashioning a lever from a sapling into the hole. Under the lever a platform was placed so that the lever could be brought down on a board covering the tobacco. By hanging a few hundred weight of stone on the far end of it the pressing took place in fine shape.<sup>42</sup>

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40. *ibid.*

41. See note 32.

42. Root, George A., *Reminiscences of William Darnell*.  
Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1926-1928, Vol.XVII.  
p.14.

43. Darnell, Thomas P., *Kansas Sixty Years Ago*. Topeka, 1922.  
Saturday Night Club, Topeka, February 4, 1922.

44. *ibid.*

45. *ibid.*



Petroleum V. Nasby was just coming into his hey-day and some of them quoted him a good deal. Itinerant preachers, peddlers and trappers were always a source of much fun. They expounded on their adventures, experiences; knew lots of jokes and how to tell them.<sup>43</sup>

### The Public Health

Kansas of modern times has the lowest death rate of any state in the Union, according to her department of public health service statistics. This is generally accounted for through the effects of modern medicine and its substantial reduction of infant mortality. But territorial Kansas did not even have the medical care known to science of that day. There were very few practicing physicians, no license was required for the medical profession, and charlatans and mountebanks feasted avidly on the gullible and superstitious settlers.<sup>44</sup> "Common Sense Medical Adviser", blue-mass pills, and Aver's ague cure were the "life savers" of the day. Modern medicine, of course, finds none of these to be of any value worth mentioning.

Confinement cases were in the hands of "practical nurses" or midwives, and an occasional physician. Many deliveries were made without the assistance of anyone except a mid-wife. The average size of the family was more than twice that of now. If nature's milk was not available at the mother's breast, the chances to save the child were very dim.<sup>45</sup> It is thought, however, that delivery was not then so severe an ordeal for the mother as it would be now with the same amount of medical aid, for the mothers were closer to nature, were muscular,

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43. Doran, Thomas F., Kansas Sixty Years Ago. Paper read before Saturday Night Club, Topeka, February 4, 1922.

44. *ibid.*

45. *ibid.*



and physically stronger than they are now in a more delicate environment.

Easily the most remarkable condition concerning the public health was then what they called "Kansas Ague". Thomas F. Doran calls it malaria, and more commentaries seem to agree that it was that. Since there is none of that disease present anywhere in the regions these settlers occupied now, it seems incredible and unbelievable to health students, that the "Kansas ague" was malaria. Some who are not close to these historical descriptions discount the barest thought that real ague ever existed here, and simply say that it was what is now called "grippe" or influenza. But the evidence coming from innumerable sources, and the descriptions of it, are overwhelmingly convincing that it must have been malaria.

"Oh, how they did shake!" writes S.H. Fairfield, old settler of Kansas Territory. "The people who settled the Territory in '56-'57-'58 had along with the suffering and privation incident to pioneer life the fever and ague, the latter called 'shakes' by the early settlers. Not a person coming to the West escaped. Whole families were down at the same time, and all stretched out on the hay floor improvised for beds."<sup>46</sup>

"Settlers soon lined the valleys and land was broken out in larger tracts, but with the rotting of the sod came malaria, or ague. It fastened itself upon the whole population; few were exempt," writes one man who lived in the Territory.<sup>47</sup> "The victims would burn with

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46. Fairchild, H.F. Paper prepared for Old Settlers' Meeting, Harveyville, Kansas, 1904. Kansas Historical Collections, 1909-1910, Topeka.

47. Doran, Thomas F. Kansas Sixty Years Ago, paper at Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.



fever one minute and freeze the next. It was said by a neighbor that when his whole family were shaking with ague the chinking between the logs of his cabin was jarred loose, and that he 'was too sick to live and not sick enough to die.'" .....There were times when half the population was salivated. Doctors were few. In rainy seasons vegetation was rank, and, rotting upon the ground, added to the virulence of the dreaded disease."

At Cread Cemetery there is written the story of loss of life among the little folks. This burying ground was in use about twenty-five years, beginning in 1854. During the fifties large numbers of slabs were carved from native stone bearing near the same dates of death. These deaths could have been caused by epidemics of some unidentified disease such as scarlet fever or diphtheria.<sup>48</sup> There is no loss which touches one's feelings to the quick like that of a little child. Homes in Lawrence were robbed of their children in large numbers in those days. It is seriously doubted if there was another tribulation they endured which was as hard as this.

Again we have borne out our statement that there were no practicing physicians to be had, through accounts written by W.W. Dennison. Describing the experiences his family had with ague, he states that his father was ill with the disease, but that he was out of his bed part of the time. Dennison says, "During November 1856 our little sister Elizabeth died from the effects of this terrible Kansas ague and the want of medical attention, as there were no regular pra-

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48. Dennison, W.W. Address in Burlingame Enterprise Chronicle, November 16, 1922.



cticing physicians to be had in those days even if they had money to pay for the service. Imagine if you please, the terrible agony my parents went through. They had no personal friends to go to, not even a board to make a casket with or money enough to buy a screw to fasten down the lid. So my father accompanied by my mother (she had to go with him to help care for him) went three miles down the creek to Council City (now Burlingame) leaving me and my little brother Isaac with the little dead body. They called on Mr. George Bratton and told him of their misfortune and circumstance. He with a heart in him as big as an ox came to their assistance and volunteered to help them out. Gathering up a black walnut board and a few nails and screws, he returned with them to the cabin and made a small casket. When completed my mother lined it as best she could. She laid the little body in it and Mr. Bratton and father carried it three miles, dug the grave, and buried it, my father returning home near mid-night."

#### Drouth of 1860

The only year of our territorial period that crops were a complete failure was 1860. It did not rain for eleven months. <sup>49</sup> The spring that year opened somewhat promisingly, even though it was dry, but the usual rains did not come and the wildberries, a source of food upon which they depended much, withered. Every living vegetable died including both natural and planted forage. The wild prairie grass dried up so that they did not even have pasture. The hot scorching blasts blew out of the south all summer. In low places there was a little

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49. Valentine, Mrs. D.M. Reminiscences of an American Mother on the Western Frontier. (Wife of one of the first judges of the supreme court of Kansas).



green left, but the grasshoppers came in clouds, completing the work of devastation. Wells dried up; so did the cows. Water had to be hauled or carried from most inaccessible places. Laundry was taken to the stream where there were scattered pools into which clothing was dipped for washing. "We did not waste any water at our homes, you may rest assured," writes Mrs. Valentine. "The children certainly were not weakened by too many baths."

There was no butter and no eggs. The streams were lowered so that light loads of commodities had to be hauled by the boats for aid. They therefore were reduced to dependence upon what might have remained from the preceding year when there was an excellent crop and no market. Coffee was made from parched barley and oats. From the corn cribs of '59 they obtained hominy, corn-meal mush to be served without milk or butter, and corn-bread.<sup>50</sup>

Ordinarily wild ducks and geese came in each autumn furnishing a great time for meat hunters. But with the ponds drying up, the streams abating, and water holes in general being very scarce, the water-fowl did not stop much. Prairie chickens had to be fried without lard or butter. Even they were so thin and tough from starvation that there was inpalatability except for those who were ravenously hungry.

One family recalls that when a neighbor grew fainthearted and left, they purchased a peck of dried peaches from him. These were the only luxury in the community, and they were used during the winter months for the sick.<sup>51</sup>

There was not a pound of flour in all of the miles around. Tea

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50. *ibid.*

51. *ibid.*



was a whispered luxury, and sugar was out of the question. Hickory nuts were gathered for food.

Samuel C. Pomeroy was chairman of the State Aid Society at Atchison. That his act along with those of Dr. Robison left considerable to be desired in another field, but even so, Pomeroy's work was helpful in aiding the development of the country, and his acts help much in this emergency. About the only source of meat supply they had was that of dried buffalo meat. To make things even worse, when it surely seemed nature had been severe enough on them counting the dry weather and the 'hoppers, yet experience was complicated by a two-foot snow just before Christmas, 1860, which did not clear until the spring of 1861.<sup>52</sup>

Yet, all these reverses did not seem to reduce the number of people who lived in the Territory. Of course there is to be considered that a very hard fought political campaign has been going on meanwhile between two rival factions. It is also true that the settlers lacked the means to return East. They could not have returned even if they did give up. But their mettle was capable of going through the test of fire and it did. The price they paid for victory is sufficient to put any of us now who have obstacles to surmount to shame, no matter how strenuous they seem to be. The population in 1859 had increased over the preceding year. The Territory gained in population every year, reaching a total of 107,206<sup>53</sup> in the summer of 1860, as compared with 8601 when the first official census was taken in 1855.

Money had been sent in from many sources for assistance for the

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52. Spear, Stephen Jackson, *Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dragoon Creek, Wabaunsee County.*

53. Wilder's *Annals*, pp.281, 282.



settlers. In the main, however, the pioneers knew how to make subsistence off the country, except in the drought of 1860. Aside from the help which was rendered through the aid societies, relatives, and friends, help was sent by some of the states. An instance of this is to be found in an appropriation which was made by the Michigan legislature. Professor F.B. Streeter, who had made a careful study of the political parties and their history in Michigan, finds that in the year 1857 Michigan sent \$10,000 to Kansas for the aid and relief of immigrants there who had come from Michigan.<sup>54</sup> This grant was subsequently severely criticized in the Detroit Free Press, the argument being that there was no actual suffering in Kansas, but that there was in Michigan.<sup>55</sup>

One cannot contemplate the story carried in this chapter without a feeling of gratitude for and confidence in the stock living in our commonwealth today, when it is remembered that they are the descendants of those brave pioneer women and stout men who founded our state. The political history of Kansas has been well covered by history. It carries a story which confirms what we have learned here. Could our highways but speak; could each stream and bluff and vale but communicate with us, each would personify in verification of the things we have presented in the pages of this chapter.

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54. Streeter, Floyd Benjamin, Political Parties in Michigan. Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1918. p.263.

55. *ibid.* p.265.



## CHURCHES OF TERRITORIAL KANSAS

AS in much of their other activity, there was Bohmeianism in religion as well. Manifestations of the gay and weird were in evidence. Religious epidemics swept over the country, literally driving people to church by a mania of singing, shouting and exhortation. It was a great time for zeal and lungs. Circuit riders came from far and near to attend and hold "camp meetings". Many John the Baptists were crying in the wilderness. "On a fair day," says A.B. Greene, "a preacher of average ability could be heard a mile and more. Camp meetings during the summer were as much a part of the year's activity as shucking bees and spelling matches were of the winter season. Everyone took a week off and attended."<sup>1</sup> Three-quarters of a century later, it occurs to the student that the religious services they knew were more of the carnival than they were of worship. But to them, these religious services were of deep concern.

The denominations had begun their missionary activities in Kansas a good while before territorial days. However, no work had been done primarily for white settlers until the territory was organized. Probably the first sermon to be preached specifically for a white congregation was that of Rev. S.Y. Lum, Congregational minister from Middletown, N.Y., on October 10, 1854, in a hay tent, the "hotel" mentioned in the preceding chapter. On the fifteenth of October, 1854, Plymouth Church was founded by the Congregationalists in Lawrence.<sup>2</sup> This was only a few weeks after the settlers had arrived. The services were

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1. Greene, Albert Robison, "In Remembrance", his address, May 18, 1907, on occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Greene family in Kansas.
  2. Kansas Annual Register, page 87.



held in the hay tent until it was destroyed by fire during the winter. Services for the next three years were held wherever they could meet. As nearly as can be ascertained there were ten charter members of this church. Lum resigned in the spring of 1857 as pastor on account of ill health.<sup>3</sup>

In 1857 a church was built of stone to be the first regular place for services after the burning of the hay tent. It was located on what is now Louisiana and Pinckney Streets. It was completed in 1862 at a cost of \$9,000.<sup>4</sup>

The Congregational Church was that of Amos W. Lawrence, patron of the city of Lawrence, and chiefest benefactor of the Emigrant Aid Company.

It was liberal in its views, anyone being eligible to membership or its pastorship who was affiliated with a church of congregational form of government, and who believed in Christ. It took a militant position against slavery holding that "the system of American chattel slavery is a high crime against God and humanity, and, as such, is prima facie evidence against the Christian character of those implicated in it....and that no church may belong to its associational fellowship which wilfully sustains, directly or indirectly that system."<sup>5</sup>

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3. Cordley, Rev. Richard, pastor of Plymouth Church 1857 to 1875, and for many years after 1884. Kansas Memorial Album, May 30, 1895.
  4. Kansas Memorial Album, May 30, 1895. Compiled by E.S. Tucker and circulated by George O. Foster.
  5. Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and churches in Kansas in session at Topeka, April 25-27, 1857.



At the time of the associational convention of the Congregation-  
alist in Topeka, April 25-27, 1857, there were eight churches of this  
denomination in Kansas located at Lawrence, Manhattan, Topeka, Osawa-  
tomie, Zeandale, Council City, Bloomington, and Kenwackie. A total of  
eighty-three members was reported for six communities, Osawatomie and  
Council City were not reporting on the extent of their membership.<sup>6</sup>

#### Unitarians

The Unitarian church does not seem to have started extensively in  
our period, but a good deal of interest was taken in Kansas as a mis-  
sionary enterprise by the American Association in the East. In the  
Douglas County Clippings is an excerpt from an eastern newspaper in  
which a citizen offers to ship to Kansas a bell weighing 1,500, provid-  
ing others will give a clock and dial of corresponding value, adding,  
"The sound of a Sabbath bell will indeed be music to the ears of the  
settlers, reminding them of their New England homes, and if to this be  
added a clock showing its cheerful face and marking for them the pass-  
ing hours, they will indeed feel that amid their pioneer privations  
they are not forgotten by their friends at home."<sup>7</sup>

It was not time to build churches, but forts instead. In March,  
1856, the basement walls were started. On the night of September 15,  
1856, it was used as a fort to guard against invasion. The first ser-  
vice was held in this basement on March 29, 1857.<sup>8</sup>

In the late autumn of 1854 and the early spring of 1855 funds were

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6. *ibid.*

7. Douglas County Clippings, p. 158, clipped from eastern news-  
paper November 20, 1855.

8. Foster, George O, and Tucker, E.S. Lawrence Kansas Memorial  
Album, May 30, 1895.



raised for the establishment of a mission at Lawrence.<sup>9</sup>

### Catholic Church

Very little was done by the Catholics in the Territory. They had begun a church at Atchison just prior to 1854. The Benedicting monks of St. Vincent's, Pennsylvania, established a primitive home in the hills of Doniphan County and in 1857 Rev. Fr. Augustine Wirth, O. S. B., came down from Doniphan community once a month to attend to the spiritual wants of his faithful. In the autumn of 1858 he erected a frame parish church there, thirty feet by sixty feet.<sup>10</sup> The first services in that church were held Christmas Day, 1858.

Atchison was growing. This attracted the Benedictine community at Doniphan in its quest for a good location for a college and monastery. In 1859 they erected the building which still stands adjoining the church to the east. In 1861 another wing was added. All of this<sup>11</sup> was used for boys.

Many scores of missions had been established by the Catholics among the Indians, particularly the Osages, but since our study does not embrace them, we are to conclude that the work of the Catholics among the white settlers was not large.

### The Baptists

Of course the bloody days of territorial Kansas, times of political and border strife, were not very favorable to the growth of churches; yet in the time of sorrow there is no institution which is needed more

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9. *ibid.*

10. Heinz, Rev. Gerard, O. S. B., *An Historical Sketch taken from St. Benedict's Parish, Atchison, Kansas.* Abby Student Press, St. Benedict's College, Atchison.

11. *ibid.*



than the church. In anticipation of the settlement of the territory, too, the churches evangelized rapidly. The Baptists organized in June, 1855, and their first house of worship was at Atchison.<sup>12</sup>

Among the Indians the Baptists had already taken up missionary work of first rank importance. Only about 20% of the churches had places to meet, the services being held largely in homes. The numerical strength of the Baptists in the Territory does not seem to be well established. The very first state-wide convention was held in Atchison, June 6, 7, 8, 1860. At that time there were five sub-divisions of the church, called, as now, "associations". They were the East Kansas, Kansas River, Neosho Valley, Nemaha, and Mound Associations.<sup>13</sup> At that time twenty-eight churches in the Territory had pastors. These associations contained about fifty constituted churches and twelve hundred members. No exact number could be established because some of the associational clerks failed to get in their reports for the convention. At this time attention was centered on having a state paper, and colleges for education. The following year the convention was again called. They had failed in all of these things, charging it to the drouth of '60.

The Methodists

The first session of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held at Lawrence, Kansas, October 23-24, 1856.<sup>14</sup> There were twelve churches with a total white membership of

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12. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. III, p. 422.

13. Minutes of the First Baptist Convention held at Atchison, June 6, 7, 8, 1860. Leavenworth, Daily Dispatch Power-Press Printing House.

14. Minutes of this conference. Lawrence, John Speer, printer.



661, besides 66 probationers. There were thirty local preachers, part of whom served the churches, the balance of whom held meetings. The second Conference met at Nebraska City, Nebraska, April 16, 1857. <sup>15</sup>

At this time there were fifteen churches with 693 members and 114 probationers. Resolutions were introduced at this conference for the opening of Baker University. When the third conference convened at Topeka, April 15-19, 1858, there were 26 organized Methodist churches in the Territory comprising 1,443 members, 445 probationers, 47 local preachers. Meanwhile land had been donated by the Palmyra association-al unit. This was laid out at Baldwin City. A stone school house was then in course of erection and the foundation set up for a preparatory department developed. <sup>16</sup> The minutes of the fourth Conference written at the convention held at Omaha speak of Baker University at Baldwin, "A good substantial stone building, three stories high, has been erected and the preparatory department commences. This department has been provided with a superior teacher, Rev. B.R. Cunningham, and has been favored with fifty pupils during the last winter. It is thought that the present prospects may justify the organization of a full college faculty at the commencement of the next educational year. The school was well under way when the last conference of the territorial days was held in Leavenworth in March, 1860. The membership had continued to increase in proportion to its growth at the first conferences.

The Methodists organized their first conference in 1856, embracing the Territory and a part of Nebraska, through a conference of

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15. Minutes of this conference. Topeka, Ross Brothers, printers.
  16. Minutes of the Third Conference, Topeka. St. Joseph, Missouri, Pfouts and Cundiff, printers.



ministers who met in Lawrence. Nebraska continued in this conference until 1860.

#### Episcopalians

It is to be expected that the Episcopalians would have a policy of organizing churches early here for the South had many leaders in the Territory to represent southern interest, and these leaders, many of them, were of English aristocracy from the pretty well capitalized plantations. This being the case, the church of their fathers would be represented.

The first annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal church in Kansas was held in St. Paul's church in Leavenworth, September 12, 1860. There were then twelve churches in the Territory located at Leavenworth, Lawrence, Wyandotte, Topeka, Manhattan, Junction City, Wabaunsee, Elwood, Tecumseh, Prairie City, Olathe and Atchison. Pastors were located at each of these places. They served in meeting bodies of their faith in homes and other smaller meeting places. The first of these churches was organized in 1858,<sup>17</sup>

By 1860 Grace Cathedral, Topeka, had a church hall for worship, a comfortable parsonage, built from funds obtained mainly in the East, and a female seminary worth about \$15,000, all of which was paid for except \$1,200 which was pledged in the East.<sup>18</sup>

At the first convention Bishop H.W. Lee, D.D., of Iowa was selected president of the Kansas convention. The following year the bishop

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17. Proceedings of First Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church, St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, September 12, 1860. Topeka, Cummings and Shephard, printers.

18. *ibid.*



could not attend, but in his letter to the convention he stated that through the church papers he had made public the condition of Kansans as a result of the drought of 1860. This publicity produced about \$5,000 which was used to buy food, grain and provisions for the needy, the distribution being made through the clergy.

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#### Prohibition, Slavery, and the Church

All of these churches except the Catholic and Episcopalian, took an active part against both slavery and intemperance. The Baptists in each of their associational and convention congregations passed resolutions for the discipline of their own members, and for prohibition legislation. In their convention the East Kansas Association held in Atchison, K. T., in October, 1858, a resolution was passed saying, "That we recommend our brethren to exert their influence in every proper way, both as members of churches and members of society, to put a check to the alarming evils of intemperance, and in order to effect this object (the more successfully, we conceive it their duty to abstain entirely) from the use of intoxicating liquors as a luxury; that it is the decided opinion of this body, that any brother who may persist in the manufacture or sale of spiritous liquors, except for mechanical or medicinal purposes, after proper efforts have been resorted to, to induce him to abandon it, should be no longer retained in fellowship.

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The Methodists in their convention of 1857 passed a resolution that they would do all in their power in or out of the pulpit to pre-

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19. Convention Minutes.

20. Minutes of the East Kansas Association of Baptists, October 1, 1858, Atchison, Freedom's Champion Office, printers.

21. Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas, Topeka, April 25-27, 1857.



vent the sale and use of intoxicants; and that members of the church would not patronize any dealer who sold liquor unless such sales were for medicinal or mechanical purposes. In their convention the following year they went further by dedicating their efforts in the direction of obtaining passage of a prohibitory liquor law for the Territory.

The Congregational Church took the stand that its members would not be allowed to sell liquor, when the General Association of Ministers and Churches of the Congregationalists met in April, 1857.<sup>21</sup>

In all the meetings of the Congregationalists, Methodists, and the Baptists, very active stands were taken against slavery, pronouncing that "involuntary servitude or chattel slavery was a high crime against God and man." Since there were Baptists and Methodists in large numbers coming from the South, these churches had to divide into northern and southern communions to maintain the two sides and memberships in their churches.

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21. Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas, Topeka, April 25-27, 1857.



## CHAPTER 3

## THE LODGES

Very much was made of the fraternal benefits of the lodges. Members of the Masonic order began plans the very first year of the Territory to establish communications. As usual, in any important organization, the unit which was established first likes to hold that honor. There has been a discussion of long standing as to whether Smithton or Wyandot was first organized. Smithton was organized by J.W. Smith at the old town of Smithton, near Troy and Iola. The lodge met under an oak tree, and three men were posted to ride back and forth in the surrounding territory to keep visitors away. There were seven members of this lodge. Daniel Vanderslice, a farmer and member of the lodge was one of the guards, according to reminiscences of his sister,<sup>1</sup> and directed John W. McChesney, according to the latter's personal testimony, to drive his cattle away so that the lodge's program would not be interrupted by his presence.<sup>2</sup> Smith was an ardent abolitionist, and lost one of his eyes in an argument with some pro-slavery men. Since he had two daughters, he was anxious to raise them in a different environment and moved away. Smithton was chartered June 1, 1855, and the lodge ended when Smith moved. The lodge was then re-organized in a corner by its secretary, John H. Whitehead, about ten miles from Smithton.<sup>3</sup> A copy of the Charter for Smithton Lodge, together with the program of the first open air meeting in the "first lodge of Kansas" was sent to Kilwinning, Scotland, said to then be the oldest lodge in the

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1. Illustrated Doniphan County, p.117, 1837-1916.

2. Personal testimony of John W. McChesney, Kansas City.

3. Personal testimony of Mrs. Holt, sister of Daniel Vanderslice.



world with a written record.<sup>4</sup> Smithton lodge now meets in Highland Kansas.

The other claimant for the first lodge in Kansas is that of Wyandote lodge in Kansas City. It was founded by Matthew R. Walker, a brother of Governor Walker. Walker came from Ohio with the Wyandot Indians. He had been initiated into their tribe. These Indians were regarded as among the most intellectual and progressive of their race on the North American continent. Walker sought to find a place for them to emigrate to in Kansas. On the banks of the Missouri River in the Walker home at what was then called Wyandot, was held what William E. Connelley calls the first Masonic lodge in Kansas.<sup>5</sup> Several informal meetings had been held there prior to 1854 and they were continued up until July of that year. A warrant was then issued by the Grand Lodges of Missouri authorizing the lodge to meet and operate "U.D." which is generally taken to mean that the lodge is held invalid due to unsatisfactory work or other cause.

There is no reason here to engage in that wordy battle relative to which lodge was first. To dismiss the subject it is enough to say that the three lodges existing in Kansas at the time of its first Grand Lodge for Kansas, Smithton, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte, were at odds as to who would have the first Grand Master. To procure the votes for a member of the Wyandotte Lodge a little intrigue was practiced, Smithton getting number one for its votes in favor of Wyandotte.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Illustrated Doniphan County, 1837-1916, p.117.

5. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p.113.

6. Historical Sketch, pp.63-77; Carr Erasmus T. his paper read before a later Grand Lodge in Kansas.



As a result the lodges were numbered Smithton, number one; Leavenworth, number 2; Wyandotte, number three. If the date of charter is to be taken as the date of the organization of these lodges, then Smithton is number one; if the date of authorization of the lodge brethren to meet U.D. under the jurisdiction and recognition of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, then Wyandotte is number one.

The Topeka Daily Capitol of July 5, 1936 carries the following item.

We are indebted to Nate B. Thompson for the following information regarding Topeka's first Masonic lodge: "On Wednesday evening, November 26 A. D., 1857, Joel Huntoon, worshipful master elect; James T. Holliday, senior warden elect; Cyrus K. Holliday, junior warden elect, the same being designated to their respective positions in the dispensation from the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the Territory of Kansas; and Brothers J.C. Gordon, S.D. Conwell and F.R. Foster, Master Masons, assembled at the lodge room in the city of Topeka, were duly constituted as Topeka Lodge No.17, A. F. & A. M., by Brother Cyrus K. Holliday, by authority invested in him by letters from Most Worshipful Brother Richard R. Rees, grand master of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the Territory of Kansas. In completion of the organization, Brother Joel Huntoon was chosen treasurer; Brother C.K. Holliday, secretary; Brother J.C. Gordon, senior deacon, and Brother F.R. Foster, junior deacon."



Mendias Chapter Number 1 was the first chapter of the Order of Eastern Star in Kansas. It was organized and named for Mrs. Lydia R. Walker, whose Indian name was Mendias.<sup>8</sup>

#### Odd Fellows

No Grand Lodge of I.O.O.F. was held in the territory until 1858. Through the activities of a well known and able physician, Dr. Cornelius Ambrosius Logan,<sup>9</sup> practicing physician associated with Dr. Tiffin Sinks, also quite renowned, the first Grand Lodge was chartered by the R.G. Grand Lodge of the United States, charter dated March 10, 1858.<sup>10</sup> Later Dr. Logan was made Grand Master in Kansas, and finally grand sire of the sovereign lodge. Dr. Logan was once minister to Chili. He edited a medical journal, THE LEAVENWORTH MEDICAL HERALD, and contributed to nationally known periodicals. Odd Fellows are proud of Dr. Logan.

There were five lodges with 174 members when Grand Lodge convened in June 1858 at Tecumseh. The convention reported ten lodges with 333 members in October, 1859; and June 20, 1860 there were eleven lodges with a total membership of 402.

Officials traveled to these meetings by boat and stage coach. They were allowed five cents a mile at the convention for expenses. We shall see how this allowance compared with transportation costs in the next chapter as the companies charged in their tariffs.

The oldest Odd Fellows Lodge in Topeka was chartered under date of March 11, 1857.<sup>11</sup>

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8. History of Wyandotte County, Vol. I; p.435.

9. Kansas Historical Collection, Vol. XII; p.191.

10. Proceedings of Kansas Grand Lodges, Kansas Historical Society Topeka.

11. Topeka Daily Capitol, July 5, 1936. Article by O.K. Swayzl.



## CHAPTER 4

### TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION

The year 1854 saw Kansas Territory take form with very few whites there. A few trails had been established over which oxen traveled at the breathless rate of maybe a mile an hour, counting delays at fords; mules could do perhaps a mile more per hour more than that. There were no railroads anywhere in Kansas. River vessels did six or seven miles an hour up stream; down stream sometimes they made fifteen miles per hour. The scheduled trip from Independence to Santa Fe was twenty-one days covering a total of 775 miles, at a passage fare of one-hundred-twenty-five dollars; by the only means of conveyance offered to the public, the stage coach. These were generally drawn by six mules, and manned by a conductor on horseback equipped with pistols, and a driver in the seat.<sup>1</sup> Both usually carried "blacksnakes", a hard cutting braided leather whip. Five hundred miles of the Santa Fe were in the Territory. A trail led from Fayetteville, Arkansas to Turkey Creek junction in McPherson County, Kansas. This was used in the California immigration, extending into the mid-fifties. The Oregon Trail traversed the northeast corner of the Territory.

Employees of the wagon train enterprises and of the overland mail were often hired by the year. In event they did not carry out their agreements to work for that period of time, they were required to forfeit ten dollars a month of the year's wages.<sup>2</sup> The trips were gener-

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1. Bryce, James, Kansas City, Missouri. Kansas Historical Society files, "Reminiscences of Ten Years' Experience on the Western Plains."
  2. Bryce, James, "How the United States Mails were carried before Railroads reached the Santa Fe Trail."



ally strenuous. Sometimes the crews were injured or slain by Indians. There was the hazard of disease, and of insufficient food in case of delay due to bad weather conditions, sieges, etc.

River navigation was often a source of much entertainment. When the boats came to the wharf, whistling their announcements of arrival, it was the signal for the citizens to turn out for a good time, to greet the arrival of a relative, or friend. Someone has said that the census could always be taken of the village when the boat arrived. One person tells ~~us~~ that "river navigation opened up (at Lawrence) about the latter part of May, 1855. Steamer "Emma Harmon", a three decker carrying a number of passengers and a large amount of freight for our city surprised our citizens before day light one morning."<sup>3</sup> This was the arrival of the first steamer of any importance there.

Another describes "the Missouri River as being a little too thick to swim in and not quite thick enough to walk on.....navigating the Missouri at low water is like putting a steamer upon dry land and sending a boy ahead with sprinkling pot; our boat rubbed and scraped upon the sand bars and they stopped us abruptly several times a day. Compared with ocean vessels the boats seem light as pasteboard, and if they take fire they burn like tinder.....carry enormous loads at fifteen miles an hour down stream and often pay for themselves in a year."<sup>4</sup> Freight was seventy five cents a hundred-weight; passenger

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3. Reminiscences of Old Time Lawrence Clipped from Lawrence Journal World, Sept. 21, 1915. Found in "Douglas County Clippings" Vol. III, State Historical Society.

4. Richardson, Albert D. "From Beyond the Mississippi", p.19, State Historical Society.



rates four dollars from Kansas City to Lawrence; three dollars return.

Post offices were established along the trails and main roads. The first post office to be established in Kansas was Fort Leavenworth May 29, 1828, the second one at Fort Scott in 1843. The first one under Ter ritory dispensation was Marysville which opened November 11, 1854. In 1856 about forty post offices were established.<sup>5</sup> In 1857 72 more were organized and 17 abolished; 1858 sixty-five were created and seven abolished; 1859 twenty were established and nineteen abolished; and in 1860 forty-six more were started and fifteen dropped.

In 1855 the government paid for 570 miles of mail transportation, none of which was by coach; 1856 1,647 miles plus 331 by coach making a total of 1,978 miles; these figures increased annually, until 1859 when the total was 5,722 in a single year. In 1860 the total dropped sharply, it being only 2,480 miles. It is of record that congress decreased its appropriations a million dollars that year, and it is supposed that is the reason for the drop in the miles of postal service paid for.

#### The Railroads

The first railway project to get under way in the Territory was that of the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western chartered by the legislature of K.T. in 1855. The company was organized in pursuance of this charter in May, 1857 at Leavenworth with a capital of \$156,000. Grading was begun there in May of that year, and extended to Pawnee on what

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5. Dallas, E.J. **Kansas Historical Collections 1875-1880.**  
pp.255-260. Kansas Publishing House.



is now the Fort Riley Military Reservation.<sup>6</sup> The company had to stop at this point for want of funds, and nothing more was done until 1862 when the government furnished aid.

Two more roads were chartered by the same body, the St. Joseph and Topeka; the Atchison and Topeka, but the Civil War came along and both of these failed to materialize. The first railroad to complete its line to the Kansas border was the Hannibal and St. Joseph. This was finished early in 1859.<sup>7</sup>

But the first road to really build a track and bring in a locomotive to the Territory was the Palmet to and Roseport, later called the Marysville and Elwood. It was chartered by K.T. Legislature February 17, 1857.<sup>8</sup> Wilder's Annals has it that March 20, 1860 "Iron arrives in Kansas and track laying begins on Kansas soil."<sup>9</sup> On April 23, 1860 the locomotive "Albany " arrived in St. Joseph. It was dragged up on the bank by men and boys from the flatboat over the Missouri River. On April 24, and preparations were made for the celebration of the opening of the first section of the railroad.

The road completed was five miles long, extending from Elwood to Wathena. The engine and cars were placed on the track April 28, 1860. The story of the celebration is of much interest, furnishing good humor for the reader. Col. M. Jeff Thompson was president of the road.

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6. Morgan, Perl W. "History of Wyandotte County, Chicago. The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911.

7. Hull, O.C. Principal of Great Bend High School, in speech before the Kansas State Historical Society at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, 1910.

8. Hull, O.C. Speech before Kansas Historical Society, Dec. 6, 1910.

9. Elwood Free Press, April 28, 1860.



Governor R.M. Stewart of Missouri and he addressed the crowd. The engine was kept going on a mile of track which had been completed toward Wathena.<sup>10</sup> Some flat cars had been brought across the river for the

purpose. From one source there was written on the occasion the following: "Elwood is placed by the Hannibal and St. Joseph in direction communication with the most populous and wealthy cities of the East, and by the first of April will be within fifty hours travel of N.Y."<sup>11</sup>

It was a motley and festive crowd which gathered to witness the running of the first locomotive in Kansas. The speeches on the great topic of the day were enjoyed by all. Willard P. Hall, president of the St. Joseph and Topeka, joined Governor Stewart and President Thompson in making an address also.

Charles S. Gleed, writing for the Kansas State Historical Society, has written accounts, all of which are confirmed by the evidence presented in this chapter, as follows of the celebration and the social events surrounding it, "It was, indeed, a merry mob of 'high rollers' that followed the venerable old scrap-heap Albany west from Elwood to the terminus of the new-laid track on the opening day. Of the many hundreds of railroad celebrations which have since been held in Kansas this first one seems to have been the most remarkable. I am informed by one of our most distinguished citizens (who says in the language of the classic narrator, 'all of which I saw and part of which I was') that the occasion was characterized by the most ardent, wide spread and all prevailing inebriety ever attained in the state. It would seem from the narrative of my distinguished friend as if the new railroad had

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10. Gleed, Charles S. "The First Railway in Kansas". Special study for State Historical Society.

11. Saint Joseph Directory, 1860-61.



been built and equipped for no other reason than to convey all the champion drunkards of Kansas and the vast quantity of their liquid inspiration to the picnic grounds, where the two became one. Not only were the champion drunkards of Kansas there; their contemporaries from Missouri were there also, headed, as the FREE PRESS said, by 'Bob' Stewart.

"A truce was declared in matters political, and the enmities of the border were for a time drowned in the general enthusiasm over the prospective commercial reciprocity and countless tubs of beer.....so amicable, in fact, the governor was found drunk on his back in the woods, a free state man settled beside him jesting.....the cars which followed the Albany that day were all flat cars, carrying about equal numbers of barrels and men.....the cars were decorated with green boughs to conceal their unattractive craftsmanship, seats of planks set cross-wise.....engine gaudy with all the colors of the rainbow, and some that the rainbow never had....track was rough but it held together.

"One episode worthy of real note was, that the editor of the Elwood Free Press named Hunt was a stripling, hard-working, gentlemanly and well-ordered. The president of the company, M. Jeff Thompson was looking on while the barrels were being adjusted. Hunt meanwhile sat perched on the top of the brake, where he could make note of all that occurred for his newspaper. Suddenly the pompous Thompson, not knowing who he was, with neatness and dispatch kicked him off the train, taking him for a loafer. Hunt was furious, but in his fury he did not forget to be wise. He determined to get even. Accordingly he distinguished himself as being the only man in the crowd who abstained



from all liquor. He watched his chance, and when that night the party returned to Elwood, he lingered on the sandbar until everyone but Thompson had boarded the steamer for St. Joseph. Hunt then slapped him in the face; more slaps, and then by blows, kicks and more of them, he had Thompson beaten up and smitten with sand in his eyes, nose, ears. When Hunt saw help coming for his victim, he sped into the woods, leaving the balance of his spleen to be vented in his newspaper.<sup>12</sup>

The coming of the Civil War, however, stopped this work and its operations. Sprouts from trees grew up in the road bed, weeds and grass took possession, and the ties rotted. And thus ends the road which had come into being through dramatic and congratulatory speeches full of felicitous remarks, that had felt its beginning amidst hearty cheers of dense masses of men, loud ringing of bells, screeching of whistles as the first cars rolled over the first Kansas railroad. Its final requiem was punctuated by the lowing of oxen drawing the cars over the creaking rails bringing farmer's provisions from St. Joseph. The old engine was returned to St. Joseph. Brighter days for railroad enterprises were not to come until the clouds of war had cleared and the spurt of building was at hand again caused by the famous Credit Mobilier Company of America established in 1865.

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12. State Historical Collection, Vol. VI. p.357-61.



## CHAPTER 5

### EDUCATION

The pioneer stock of any domain must be physically rugged. But that is not all. Man was first controlled by his environment. Civilization was cradled in the Mediterranean World because man did not there have to spend much time fighting the elements; his creative activities there came from the leisure the environment provided. From the leisure grew research and development which enabled man to create his own environment. When the sovereignty held by environment was given over to man, the intellectual began to lead mankind into hostile environment; regions where the brains as well as the brawn were used in forcing progress into the wilderness. Probably from the depths of antiquity man has always had plenty of brawn to enable him to meet the needs of living anywhere. But he did not have the resourcefulness or the knowledge necessary.

Therefore, Kansas, like any other frontier, was vulnerable only to men and women of stout, courageous hearts, and of brains. It required imagination, resourcefulness, planning, and mechanical ingenuity to manage the frontier. Such people were capable of abstract thinking and cultural education. They were not drones, physically or intellectually. They were not afraid to match their wits against nature. They had nerve. They came out here prepared to pay any price for success and progress; they were not afraid of the test of fire, and they took it. If it must be a losing game they played it heroically and stoically; but they had ideas and ideals, good strong ones, and plenty of emotion to put them across.



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Such people are educated. They can take care of themselves; yes, they were giants of strength and knowledge and versatility compared with the helplessness of modern highly specialized man, who is dependent upon all the rest of the world for his needs. The missionaries were chosen, no doubt, as much on account of their engineering ability, common sense, and ability to administer medicinal and surgical help to the members of their parties, as they were for their clerical education.

Even at that there was a lot more specialization among the emigrants than is generally supposed. Dr. Robinson, the agent for the Emigrant Aid Society's first party to Kansas which started March 3, 1855, reported that he had tradesmen in bricklaying, carpentering, spinning, shoemaking, varnishing, designing, weaving, engineering, carving, watchmaking, machining, stone cutting, tinning, tanning, and store keeping.<sup>1</sup> Kate E. Kellogg, well known teacher, was with this group.

In the second party headed by J.T. Farwell of the same company, there were the same tradesmen plus jewelers, curriers, gunsmith, lawyers, and cutlers. They left New England March 20, 1855.<sup>2</sup>

The third party led by Dr. Hunting had all these people, too, and some tailors, printers, ministers, and teachers. This party followed the second party by one week. The three parties embraced five hundred people.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Minutes and records of Emigrant Aid Company.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*



Dr. Charles Robinson of Massachusetts was a well read and professionally educated citizen. He is credited with having founded the first town in Kansas, Waukarusa. The first Herald of Freedom bears the date, Waukarusa, Kansas Territory, October 21, 1854. It was Amost A. Lawrence, wealthy Boston merchant, who backed the Emigrant Aid Company when it was too young and weak to operate without financial aid. This man was interested in Kansas, and because he was the most generous patron Waukarusa had, the name of the town was changed to Lawrence. Almost immediately school was organized, for on January 16, 1855, Edward P. Fitch of Hopkinton, Massachusetts taught the first term of school in Lawrence. It lasted three and a half months with twenty pupils. He was paid by private subscription. The school was held in Dr. Robi<sup>2</sup>son's back office in the Emigrant Aid building.<sup>4</sup>

Within a year after the tents were first pitched in Waukarusa in 1854, the name was changed to Lawrence. Lawrence then encouraged his namesake by contributing ten thousand dollars for educational purposes. The money was placed on interest. By statehood the interest accumulations stood the sum at fourteen thousand dollars. That year, this amount, plus a site, mounted to more money than any other center could offer, and upon this foundation was placed our state university.<sup>5</sup>

By June 16, 1855 Miss Kate E. Kellogg had taken over the school held in Dr. Robi<sup>2</sup>son's office. The Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, June 16, 1855, carried the following advertisement: "Miss Kellogg, late of Massachusetts, has opened a school in Doctor Robi<sup>2</sup>son's new building

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4. Richardson. Beyond the Mississippi. Hartford, Connecticut. 1867. American Publishing Company.  
 5. Kansas City Star, Douglas County Clippings, Vol. III.



opposite Allens and Brothers Store. She has a very respectable number of students and more are coming daily. She is said to be an excellent instructress and will of course find constant employment as long as she shall choose to follow her profession as a teacher."

In Leavenworth Rev. J.B. McAfee, a Lutheran minister, opened a private school in conjunction with his religious services. This was broken up by a vigilance committee. In the same community the Kansas Weekly Herald, September 27, 1856 carried an advertisement of which this is an exact copy:

"J.P. Robinson respectfully announces to the citizens of Leavenworth that he will commence school on Monday the sixth of October at the Union School House. Terms per session of five months, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, \$8.00; English Grammar, Geography, and Natural Philosophy, \$10.00; Algebra, Geometry, and Surveying, \$12.00. The above mentioned house will be comfortably fitted up for the accommodation of a large school. The subscriber expects to teach successfully and respectfully appeals to the citizens of Leavenworth and vicinity for a liberal patronage. J.P. Robinson, Principal; A.W. Robinson, Assistant."

In Topeka private schools must have been started during the Territorial period because we find notation that L.A. Merrell announced that he would hold a public school on Topeka Avenue beginning on the tenth of May, 1858.

There was almost no certification of teachers. The "Bogus Legi-

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6. Moore, H.M. Early History of Leavenworth City and County, p.199.

7. Kansas Tribune, Topeka, May 8, 1858.



slature" provided for a district inspector to grant certificates to teachers whom he had <sup>8</sup> examined.

In 1858 and 1859 the general law provided that these examinations should be administered annually in regard to "moral character, learning, and ability to teach school". Certificates should be annulled by giving ten days' notice, the county superintendent having full authority to carry out the annulment. <sup>9</sup>

Private schools were unquestionably organized all over the Territory. In a well and capably prepared report made by Territorial Superintendent Greer he records that in his travels over the Territory he finds that there were private schools held in each community, ranging from three to six months in length, during the summer of 1859. <sup>10</sup> In studying this report, one can easily conclude that not far from a total of one hundred thirty-five private schools were organized in Territorial Kansas. Much interest was getting started early in our Territorial History in free public schools supported by taxation for we find that Governor Reeder in his travels over the commonwealth he repeatedly mentioned the importance of education available for every child of school age. His speeches stand testimony to his interest in education. <sup>11</sup>

Even in this early period a state teacher's association was getting under way. For it was on June 2, 1858 that a two-day session began embracing lay and "professional" <sup>12</sup> school people met at Leavenworth.

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8. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1855, Ch. 144, Sec.5.

9. Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Community Schools, s. 1859, p.20.

10. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1859, Ch. 116, Sec.26,27 and 28.

11. Governor Reeder's Address, Kansas Weekly Herald, July 14, 1855.

12. Quotation marks my own; teachers were hardly professionally equipped then.



The Lawrence Herald of Freedom quoted from the Leavenworth Herald relative to this convention as follows: "On the first day of June, next an educational convention will be held at Leavenworth, for the purpose of considering the best means of organizing a common school and educational system in Kansas....for selection of textbooks....Superintendent, Mr. J.R. Noteware requests all the counties....be represented....this movement should meet with a hearty response....cause of public education is the most important one which can occupy the public mind."

Provision for taxation to support public education was not very vague then, but with the guerilla trouble and political turmoil so distressing, the benefit to the system were not developed very extensively. Even as early as 1855 we find provision made to authorize district board members to assess the property in the district for the school.<sup>13</sup> A tax warrant could be issued allowed the trustees to collect and pay over the taxes to the treasurer in thirty days.<sup>14</sup> This was never used. In 1858 power was given to tax the property for a school house, either bought or hired, to buy fuel, hire a teacher, make black boards, charts.<sup>15</sup>

It is plain that the people coming from our progressive states, would think about high school education. Newspapers carried announcements of private classes in branches which would rate as higher education;<sup>16</sup> for female high schools offering work in mathematics, Latin, French, and Music.<sup>17</sup>

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13. Lawrence Herald of Freedom, May 22, 1858.

14. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1855, Ch. 144, Art.1, Sec.6.

15. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1858, Ch. 8, Sec.40.

16. Kansas Weekly Herald, March 4, 1855.

17. History of Kansas, Cutler.



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In the matter of textbooks, it is not at all hard to establish that there were no standard texts prescribed at all, but that the parents decided entirely just what books they wanted to buy for the pupils. From one newspaper we find an add running this way, Parents are requested to examine Towns's Speller, together with his series of readers and analysis of the English language, before purchasing other books for schools.....we also call attention to Watson's Mental Arithmetic and Lawrence's written Arithmetic, with his Primary and University edition of Algebra.<sup>18</sup> Each of these books may be seen at the Herald of Freedom office.

<sup>19</sup> Another periodical puts it, "Books, books, it would be well in the incipency of our territorial government of schools to be careful in selecting good school books. B. and Company have issued several works, highly commended that we would like to see introduced into our schools." Later the state superintendent was given authority to recommend text books, and was admonished to discourage the use of sectarian books in the public schools.<sup>20</sup> Later, what was worse, the boards

<sup>21</sup> were given authority to select the text books. These conditions were never improved upon in Territorial Days.

It is natural, of course, that some thought should be given for normal schools, and institutes for qualification of teachers. Since most of the public education spirit came from the northeastern and middle western states, where these institutions had already started, it

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18. The Herald of Freedom, January 20, 1855.

19. Kansas Weekly Herald, February 2, 1855.

20. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1858, Chapter 8, Sec.5; 1859, Chapter 116, Sec.5.

21. Laws of Kansas Territory, 1858, Chapter 8, Sec.69; 1859, Chapter 116, Sec.8.



is expected that they should be reflected here. State Superintendent Greer in 1859 discusses both of these institutions, adding the hope that appropriations for both would be made soon where teachers could meet to harrow up their experiences, modes of government for schools, plans for conducting recitations, "treasuring up funds for future usefulness."<sup>22</sup> Nothing, however, was ever done about either for the Territory.

Aside from those already mentioned we should mention Charles L. Edwards, a well educated New Englander, who came to Lawrence in 1855. To supplant the school work in the offices of the New England Aid building here-to-fore mentioned, Edwards formed school, in the basement of the Unitarian Church in 1856. He was given a salary of six hundred dollars for six months which was to cover also the salaries of his assistants. He recorded that the assistants were paid but that the principal was not. Because there was delay in getting the building ready he was unable to start classes until March, 1857. Edwards was an important factor in the educational history of Douglas County, served as its county superintendent in Territorial days, and worked hard to get the state university located at Lawrence.<sup>23</sup>

At Leavenworth another fine character was that of V.K. Stanley, who began school on the banks of Fall Creek near Leavenworth in May, 1856. He had seventeen pupils ranging in ages from six to eighteen years. In August of that year it was broken up by border strife. It was one of the very first schools held in the state. The school house

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22. Annual Report, State Superintendent Greer, 1859.  
23. Douglas County Clippings, Vol. 3. State Historical Society, Topeka.



was improvised from an old residence building, built of logs from the oak timber nearby. It had one three-light and two two-light windows, glass size eight-by-ten inches. The flooring was of puncheons and the roof of clapboards weighted with poles. The furniture consisted of seats made of slabs, with no backs, and four pegs for legs. Boards were fastened to the walls near the windows, here the pupils did their writing. The teacher's stool was a block sawed from the end of a log about eighteen inches in diameter, and his desk a board fifteen inches wide and three feet long, fastened to the wall in a corner. 24

Border strife, national conflagration, financial troubles, and the devastating drouth of 1860 were all factors making it almost impossible for much education to be carried on in Kansas despite the ardent and devout zeal present for it. The Compendium of Superintendent S.W. Greer for 1859 shows that the Territory had 222 public schools districts that year. 25 Greer guesses that the number in 1860 was fewer than five hundred.

There was much debate as to the education of colored children. The Free State people contended that all should attend the same school, while the opposition held that the two must be kept separate, of course. The question was debated in constitutional conventions when our constitution was being arranged for submittal to Congress, but the final document made no mention of it.

That the Kansas pioneer had a beloved interest in the boys and girls of his day no one can deny, despite the fact that there were only

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24. Leavenworth County Clippings, Vol.2. Sh.S.Leavenworth Times, May 6, 1900.  
25. State Superintendent Greer's report, Dec.31, 1859.



a few hundred schools to care for the children population of the 107,260 residents of the Territory in 1860. The work our pioneers did in the Territory as given in these pages, together with the fact that all four constitutions drawn for the new born state soon to be contained very careful provision for the children of Kansas. No matter what the ardor of the iconoclasm of cynics and skeptics might be that a people does not care for the higher and nobler things of life, the hard work done by these sturdy pioneers as shown in these pages to build education and tradition and citizenship in their children, far eclipses any presentation to the contrary. From the depths of their hearts they cared!

numerous individual cases cited in the manuscript have been carefully examined to determine whether or not they were typical of the social conditions to which they bear testimony. Many scores of similar sources have been discarded by the author because they did not bear very fully before the bar of truthfulness.

Despite the gloomshed associated with the struggling spirit of the day, writers found that the citizens of the Territory of Kansas had a good time, and very probably they enjoyed life. Whether the pioneers enjoyed life as much as modern humanity does is a question often asked. Hence, these pages are filled with the feeling that the generation that found life just about as enjoyable as any other generation, except for the larger troubles and losses through disease.

Relative to disease, one of the peculiarities of the subject is, that malaria seems to have been existent. Many have conjectured as to what became of it, and no satisfactory explanation seems to be had. At the same time, the evidence is overwhelming in establishing that there was malaria in Kansas.



## CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing it is easy to conclude that our antecedents who founded Kansas were men and women of nerve, bravery, imagination, and ability. It would be difficult indeed for moderns to be successful against the rigors of nature, disease, and guerilla turmoil which were among the problems of Kansas in the fifties. But they won their victories. It is small wonder, then, that Kansas of today, sired by these heroic fathers, have won national importance in the field of literature, agriculture, politics, science, and invention. Probably no state in the middle west has furnished any more in these fields than Kansas.

The numerous individual cases cited in the manuscript have been carefully examined to determine whether or not they were typical of the social conditions to which they bear testimony. Many scores of similar sources have been discarded by the author because they did not bear validity before the bar of truthfulness.

Despite the bloodshed associated with the crusading spirit of the day, we have found that the citizens of the Territory of Kansas had a good time, too; very probably they enjoyed life. Whether the pioneers enjoyed life as much as modern humanity does is a question often debated. Anyway, these pages are closed with the feeling that the generation then found life just about as enjoyable as any other generation, except for the border troubles and losses through disease.

Relative to disease, one of the peculiarities of the subject is, that malaria seems to have been existent. Many have conjectured as to what became of it, and no satisfactory explanation seems to be had. At any rate, the evidence is overwhelming in establishing that there was malaria in Kansas.



The results of the terrific drouth in 1860 show that the people were not afraid to face adversity and stay with it. Few moved. We are reminded of the stability of our forefathers here; and the manner ~~e~~ young people met the hard days of 1932-3 when they were working their way through school, enduring the privation of food, clothing, and pleasure, reminds us of '60. Folks have not lost their fighting blood.

Today, we are told, there are more church members than at any time in history. We are interested in religion. They were very much interested in it, too, and gave a heavy share of their means and effort in behalf of religion. The struggles of the churches in the Territory were just as spirited as any other endeavor.

The Odd Fellows lodge, the Mason and Eastern Star lodges all began in Kansas during the Territorial period. Some of the leading citizens of the last half of the nineteenth century in Kansas were members of these lodges.

As we have seen, the railroads did not get much done until after statehood. Transportation remained for the boats and wagon trains.

Educational opportunity was limited, not because of lack of interest, but because of border strife, national conflagration, financial troubles, and drouth preventing its development. A few private schools were opened. Of the public schools, fewer than five hundred were begun during the period. Most of these were only open for a few weeks of the year.

It is probable that no other state in the Union has a more dramatic historical background than Kansas. State-making in Kansas Territory was an issue with the citizenship of every state in the Union.



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Considered reliable and well respected by research.

Kansas Tribune, Topeka, May 8, 1858.

Interesting article on the starting of private schools in  
Topeka.

Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, July 14, 1855.

Carried Governor Reeder's address referring to education.

Lum, Rev. S. Y. Letter written East from Kansas, December 7, 1854.

Describes his progress in the work at Lawrence.

Lum, Rev. S. Y. Letter written East on January 4, 1855. (Kansas  
Historical Society).

Like the rest of his communications, this carries material  
neatly and conservatively written.

McCabe, Rev. F. S., D. D. Address before the Quarter-Centennial  
Celebration, Topeka, January 29, 1886. Kansas State Historical  
Collections, Vol III. Topeka, State Printing Plant, 1886.

Valuable study of the churches of the Territorial era. Dr. Mc-



Cabe was one of the leading religious and prohibition workers in the Territory and state.

McChesney, John W. Personal Testimony to the Masonic Order. Manuscript, July 3, 1867.

He wrote an account of the first lodge's meeting under a tree, and of one of the members approaching him with a request that he get farther away with his cattle. Helps to establish the facts about the first meeting in the Smithton Lodge, Masonic Order.

Martin, George W. Early Days in Kansas. Topeka, State Printing Plant, 1908, 18 pages.

Mr. Martin was for many years secretary to the Kansas Historical Society. This address was delivered at the semi-centennial celebration at Pike's Pawnee Village, September 27, 1906, and published by the Historical Society in bulletin form as well as in its Collections, Volume X, p. 120-159. Mr. Martin was a fairly careful student and his work is well regarded. Treats in this message of the border strife and cites statistics.

Masons, Historical Sketch of. Paper read by Erasmus T. Carr before the Kansas Grand Lodge. Manuscript, Topeka, 1873.

Capably prepared.

Methodist Episcopal Church. Kansas-Nebraska Conference, First Session.

Lawrence, John Speer, printer. 1856, 17 pages.

Excellent primary materials.

Methodist Episcopal Church. Kansas-Nebraska Conference, Second Ses-

sion. Nebraska City, April 16, 1857. Topeka, Ross Brothers, printers, 1857.

Methodist Episcopal Church. Minutes of the Third Conference, Topeka,



April 15-19, 1858. St. Joseph, Pfouts and Cindiff, printers, 1858.

12 pages.

Reliable statistical information; Baker University begun.

Morgan, Perl W. History of Wyandotte County. Chicago, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911. 156 pages.

Good secondary work; well supported by documents in the primary field for the early railroads of Kansas.

Moore, H. Miles. Early History of Leavenworth City and County. Leavenworth, 1870. Compilation. 199 pages, manuscripts.

Account of attempts to start schools at Leavenworth and the interference of the raids.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, September 12, 1860. Topeka, Cummings and Shepard, printers, 1860. 21 pages.

Good summary of the status of this church.

Reeder, Governor Andrew H. Message to Council and House of Representatives, Kansas Territory, July 3, 1855, Shawnee Mission. In Kansas Territory Council Journal, 1855, p. 17, manuscript. (Also in Kansas State Historical Collections, Topeka, State Printing Office, 1896, V, 190-195).

Contains much valuable information cited by careful scholars on census, judicial districts, and formation of counties. Governor Reeder made the first census in the Territory, and the finding of that census is given in this speech.

Reminiscences of Old Time Lawrence. Clippings. Volume III. (Kansas



State Historical Society).

Descriptions of the first months of life in Lawrence.

Richardson, Albert D. From Beyond the Mississippi, p. 19, 1857 Diary.

(Kansas State Historical Society files).

Absorbing write-up of river travel. Richardson was a brilliant author and journalist. This is considered by some to be the best account of the early West written.

Richardson, H. A. A History of Milling in Kansas, Chapter 1. Lawrence,

(Bureau of Business Research Bulletin), University of Kansas, 1928.

47 pages.

A highly respected account of the mills of the Territory.

Root, George A. Reminiscences of William Darnell. Kansas State Histor-

ical Society Collections, Topeka, State Printing Plant, 1926, XVII,

479-513.

Mr. Root is on the staff of the historical society. He wrote this article, which was reprinted from Collections, following many interviews with William Darnell, a resident of Pottawatomie County, and with the aid of sons of Mr. Darnell. A most valuable historical document.

Rousselaux, Mrs. Louisa Gates. Interview [In Douglas County Clippings,

Volume III, (Historical Society), from Kansas City Star, November 2, 1914].

Interesting narrative of the first Thanksgiving feast.

Saint Joseph Directory. 1860-1861. Manuscript.

Account of the celebration incident to the first locomotive to run on Kansas soil.



Savage, J. Recollections of 1854. Folio number 3, "Recollections of 1854", Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

List of provisions an imigrant brought with him.

Shawnee County Clippings, Volume XXII, clipping from Topeka Capitol for June 3, 1910.

An interesting account written by Mrs. J. M. Meade about her log home in Topeka which had wall paper inside.

Social Customs, Volume I, Compilations of Manuscripts, Kansas State Historical Society Library.

A very fertile source for accounts of social gatherings, dances, hotel celebrations, etc.

Speer, Stephan Jackson. Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dragon Creek, Waubunsee County. (In Kansas State Historical Collections, Topeka, State Printing Plant, 1915, XIII, 345-363).

Speer was a boy when his father emigrated to the Territory from Illinois in 1854. His accounts are interesting and well borne out by other sources.

Streeter, Floyd B. Political Parties in Michigan. Lansing, 1918, p. 265.

Shows \$10,000 appropriated by Michigan Legislature for aid of immigrants in Kansas from Michigan. Gives political reactions to it in Michigan. A careful study.

Valentine, Mrs. D. M. Reminiscences of an American Mother on the Frontier. Article in Journal of American History, p. 14, New Haven, 1910.

Mrs. Valentine was the wife of one of the first judges of the Kansas Supreme Court. Her accounts are clear and convincing.



Wilder, Daniel Webster. Annals of Kansas. G. W. Martin, Editor.

Topeka, 1875, 691 p.

A well known and valuable source. Index poor.