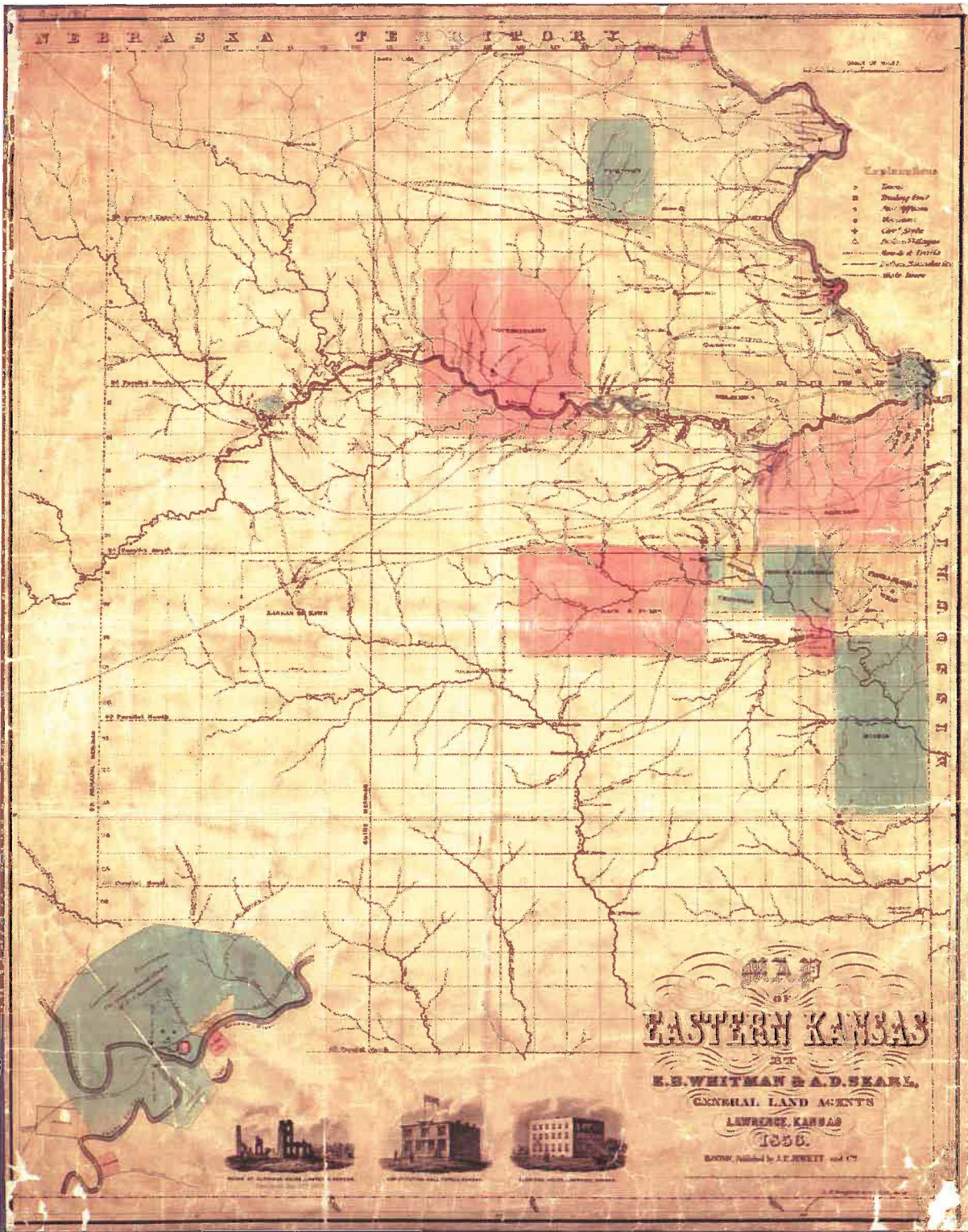



Trails, Tribes and Territories

2012 OCTA Convention, Lawrence, Kansas

Kansas State Historical Society



Trails Head Chapter



Trails Head Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association welcomes you to Lawrence, Kansas. There's a lot of history in this area, and we're happy you have come to participate in it this week.

About eighteen months ago, the theme of "Trails, Tribes, and Territories" was selected. Convention speakers, displays, bus tours, and articles in this booklet will expand upon those topics, and provide an enhanced appreciation of, and understanding for, the struggles that took place in eastern Kansas -- in fact, the convention theme could have been "Trials and Tribulations."

Kansas had been a civilized place for Native Americans for centuries before the white man ventured here. It is that rich culture that lends so much to our region—even to the naming of our state from the Kansa (Kanza, Kaw) Indians, who are "People of the South Wind." As today's geographical center of the continental United States, in the early 1800's this region was at the trail's head for what has become three designated National Historic Trails. Trails brought an influx of commerce, travel, and a political battle for statehood that brought a nation to the brink of the Civil War.

In her 151st year of statehood, Kansas is home to four tribal reservations, miles and miles of historic trails, and a political culture that remains diverse. We celebrate the significance of this place that is situated at the crossroads of the Nation.

Appreciation is expressed to our Convention Chairman, Ross Marshall, for his leadership, and to each chapter member of Trails Head who has contributed their time and talents. It has been our privilege to plan and prepare for this convention, and we're glad you've come to join us. Welcome to the 2012 Oregon-California Trails Association Convention!

Pat Traffas, President, Trails Head Chapter OCTA

Booklet committee:

Craig Crease/ Pat Traffas

TRAILS, TRIBES AND TERRITORIES

TRAILS, TRIBES and TERRITORIES

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Trails, Tribes, and Territories

By Craig Crease

In the century long pageant that is reflected in America's long westward surge, few stories resonate with the national consciousness like the closing act of that pageant; the final great push to the Pacific that took place from 1821 till 1880 along the legendary but oh-so-real Santa Fe Trail, Oregon Trail, and the California Trail, all three designated today as National Historic Trails.

It is not just a happenstance of fate, not just a quirky serendipity that these frontier trails started from what is today the Kansas City metropolitan area. (Which for the purposes of our study encompasses St. Joseph to the north, Ottawa to the south, Independence to the east and Topeka to the west, of course capturing Lawrence within that scope) There is a compelling reason that the Santa Fe Trail did not spring out of the Black Hills of South Dakota, for instance, or that the Oregon and California Trails did not jump off to the west at the Great Lakes. Geography dictated that the trailheads of those three great trails to the west would be right here in the Kansas City area.

In the early years before 1821 the easiest route westward for men, livestock, and goods and commodities were along the waterways and drainage of this behemoth land. The great Mississippi River bisected the young nation from north to south. Any serious push to the west pursued those rivers whose mouths crested on the Mississippi. Of those rivers to the west the Ohio was the most important in the early years of the nation. As the second decade of the nineteenth century came to a close, and as America's young steamboat industry plowed the rivers westward, it became evident that the best and farthest way west by water could be had by floating down the Ohio to its mouth on the Mississippi, then coursing north upstream on the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri River just north of St. Louis, and finally west across the state of Missouri until civilization ran out. In those days the end of civilization was the little village of Franklin on the north bank of the Missouri in the middle of the state.

In 1821, when William Becknell took his little band of five men west from Franklin, he pursued a route that would soon be known as the Santa Fe Trail. But Becknell's Franklin did not hold for long as the frontiers farthest flung westward steamboat port. It was soon supplanted by other landings on the Missouri progressively further west; Blue Mills Landing in the mid-1820s, Independence Landing in 1827, and finally Westport Landing in 1834.

Westport Landing was gifted with a superlative rock landing on the south bank of the Missouri River, but its greatest attribute could be claimed by no other landing; it was located at the very point that the Missouri River coursed its furthest southwest anywhere else in the nation. Just west of Westport Landing the river turned for its last long northward push. Any men, goods, and animals, could make a large part of their cross-country journey from the east by water until finally jumping off to undertake the more difficult land travel at this point, the last great northward bend of the Missouri River. Thus the three great frontier trails sprung out from this great bend of the river for almost three decades, fueled by the twin trailheads of Independence (founded in 1827 just 12 miles from the great bend) and Westport (founded in 1834 and just east of the great bend)

From the founding of Independence in 1827 the Santa Fe Trail ran south four miles from the river to the city; then this earliest trail coursed south-southwest from Independence through Jackson County,

crossing the Big Blue River and the state line several miles north of the Santa Fe Trails' later and final incarnation in the Kansas City area. By 1834, with the founding of Westport, traders bound for Santa Fe could now jump off the river at Westport Landing, make their way four miles south to Westport, then head out south and southwest on to the prairies across the state line, avoiding the difficult crossing of the Big Blue River altogether. Both the early Independence and Westport routes met up near Round Grove, (later known as Lone Elm Campground), and continued as one route west and southwest on out through Kansas. Thousands of wagons cut the soil on the Santa Fe Trail in this area, evolving the route locally to the best access and advantage until 1840, when the courses and river crossings by which the Westport route and the Independence route are most commonly considered today were ultimately established.

In the same year of 1827, however, an event took place that predestined the routes to Oregon and the Pacific. Returning east from the mountains down the Kansas river valley in a very difficult dead-of-winter trip, fur trappers William Sublette and Moses "Black" Harris cut southeast and met the Santa Fe Trail near present day Gardner, Kansas, foreshadowing the route (in reverse) that would become known as the Oregon and California Trails and that within the decade would see the start of the trickle of trappers and missionaries to the far west that would grow into one of history's greatest emigrant routes. Following the route in its final and most commonly considered form in this area also by 1840, the Oregon Trail and the California Trail coursed northwest from that junction with the Santa Fe Trail, crossing Captain's Creek and the difficult Wakarusa river before climbing, inexplicably, over Mt. Oread in Lawrence on the University of Kansas campus of today, before following the high ground south of the Kansas river valley to crossings of the Kansas River at several points in and around modern Topeka.

The lands in this area, from modern Kansas City on through Topeka, that were traversed by the Santa Fe Trail, by the Oregon Trail, and by the California Trail, were occupied, however, by others than just the hardscrabble traders and frontiersmen of Westport and Independence; Indian tribes were here also. Although the Osage Indians had given up their lands starting with a treaty in 1808 that by 1825 had removed them from what is today Jackson County and Kansas City, the Shawnee Indians of Ohio and southeast Missouri were removed just across the Missouri border to a reserve running 28 miles south of the Kansas River, and west from the border 120 miles. All of this reserve encompassed much of modern Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee counties in Kansas. (Which included Lawrence and Topeka).

North of the Kansas River, and running westerly almost the same distance, were the villages of the native Kansa Indians. So the frontier trail system in this area, from the earliest days of the trails and extending for almost 30 years, ran through the lands of two major Indian tribes; one tribe imported from far in the east, the other tribe native to the area. There were other tribes in this area, of course; the Wyandot and Delaware north of the Kansas River and clustered near its mouth; the Ottawa to the south on the Marais des Cygne; the Wea, Miami, and Munsee tribes; even the tiny band of Piankashaw were here. They were all hurried to the west here from points in the East, compelled along by the impetus of the idea conceived of a "permanent Indian frontier", as codified in the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

Unlike other conflicts further west, the Indian tribes locally, and particularly the Shawnee and the Kansa, led a peaceful co-existence with trail travelers for the almost three decades the trails ran through their lands. A mitigating influence may have been the missions established by the Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers among the tribes and on their land.

Certainly there was also opportunity for economic gain, especially by the Shawnee due to the fortuitous location of their reserve. Several opened and operated ferries on the Kansas River and the nearby Wakarusa. Several inns along the trail locally were run by the Shawnee. In the main, however, most of the tribes carried on an agrarian existence in their time here locally, and over the three decades many of them came more and more to be assimilated into the non-Indian culture of the frontiersmen and emigrants passing through and within their midst.

But as the mid-1850s came on a major piece of federal territorial legislation laid the first sparks that grew into the fire of a cataclysmic border war, and the peaceful existence of the trails and the tribes in this area were changed forever by the new territory and all it brought with it. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which created Kansas Territory in anticipation of statehood, set those events in motion. The Kansas-Nebraska Act flew in the face of another Federal act of decades before; the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which basically insured parity between the number of abolitionist states and slave-holding states. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, stipulated that the decision to be an abolitionist or a slave-holding state would be up to the citizens of the Territory, characterized at the time as "popular sovereignty".

The Act became almost immediately a national concern, and a national drive to bring Kansas Territory in on one side or the other of the slavery issue began in earnest. Soon Amos Lawrence and the hastily formed New England Emigrant Society garnered hundreds of pro-abolitionists from Massachusetts and hurried them en masse to a small bend of the Kansas River only some 30 miles inside Kansas Territory, all to put boots on the ground that could vote in the upcoming crucial contest. The aptly named city of Lawrence was born, much to the consternation of slave-holding Missouri and the rest of the South. Missourians and other southerners clamored to affect the coming vote by coming across the state line and "homesteading" a property with just four logs on the ground in a square. Ideologically driven on both sides, soon tempers flared, guns and rifles were drawn, and by 1856 a full scale guerrilla war was underway along the Missouri western border.

The immediate effect of this border war upon the trails was to drive much of the emigrant and freight traffic north and away from the conventional Oregon and California trail route that followed the Santa Fe Trail far southwest into modern Johnson County, Kansas before turning northwest for the Wakarusa. Much of the violence was being carried out in the lower tiers of both Johnson and Douglas counties. Instead the favored northern route during this tumultuous time became known as the California Road. Following old Shawnee Indian routes almost due west out of Westport, emigrants could hook up with the Oregon and California trails proper at the Wakarusa, and bypass the dangerous southern route. From 1855 till the eve of the Civil War in 1860, this was the locally favored route through the Shawnee Indian lands.

For the Indian tribes locally, the Kansas/Nebraska Act had a more specific effect. Their treaties were extinguished, and each of the tribes who had left their homes in the east some three decades before found themselves transplanted again, moved to new reservations in Kansas and northern Oklahoma.

So this three decade plus era of trails, tribes, and territories came to a close on the eve of the Civil War, as a new dynamic began to shape events.

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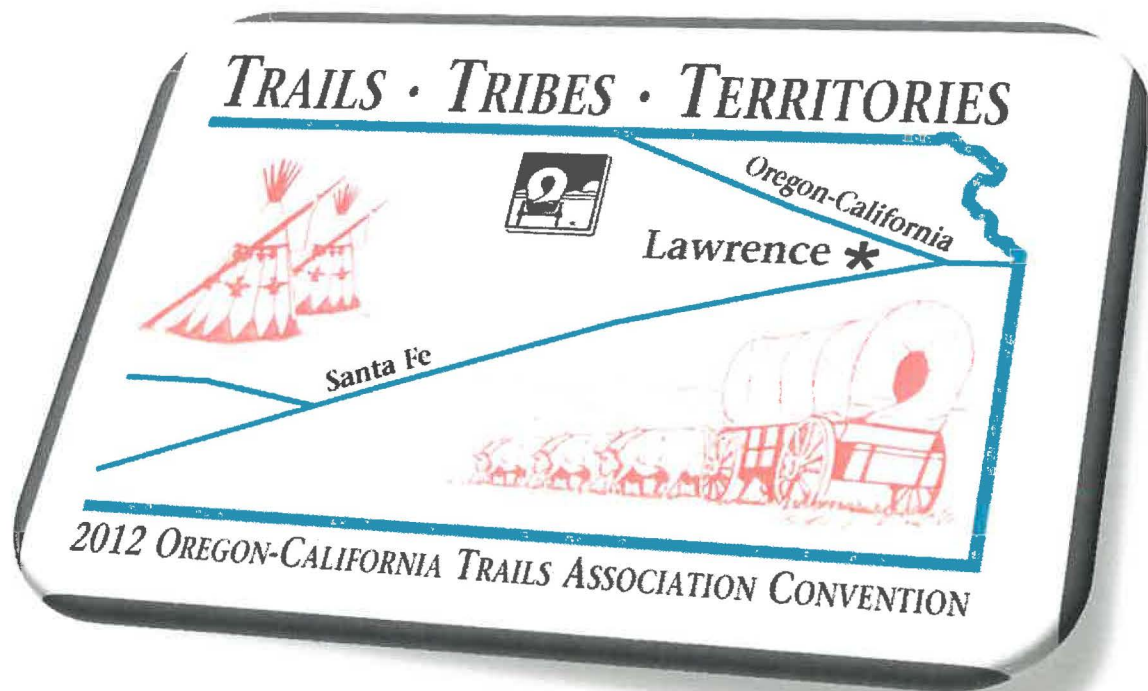
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Historic Trails

While just a frontier settlement, Lawrence was located near the Santa Fe Trail and on the Oregon-California Trail. Because the area had been populated by Native Americans for centuries, often their routes were followed by Euro-American trappers and traders, and became the trails used by emigrants heading westward.

The Santa Fe Trail was several miles south of Lawrence, running through what is farmland and county roads today. This trail originated in Franklin, Missouri, and was used principally by traders seeking their fortunes in Santa Fe, Mexico.

The Oregon-California Trail ran right through the city of Lawrence and over what is now the University of Kansas campus. Emigrants, traders, mountain-men, and 49ers all followed this route to their particular destinies in the West.

After the Civil War, and with the advent of railroads to the area, trail traffic declined. Modern day roads still often follow the routes used by Indians and those on the Santa Fe Trail and Oregon-California Trails.

The Route of the Oregon and California Trails Through Kansas

By Kelly Breen

The Oregon and California Trails followed the same route through Kansas, winding northwestward through the northeastern corner of Kansas for about 185 miles from the Missouri state line to the Nebraska border. The course of the Oregon and California Trails was well established by 1840, and it followed two routes through eastern Kansas. (However during the border war era from 1855 to 1860 the preferred emigrant route was almost due west from Westport to the Wakarusa River, called the California Road) The Westport route entered Kansas Territory just east of the Shawnee Methodist Indian Mission and several miles southwest of Westport. The Independence route crossed into Kansas Territory at the town of New Santa Fe about 18 miles southwest of Independence.

Both of these routes coursed southwest through present day Johnson County, Kansas. The Westport route continued to the campground known as Elm Grove, and the Independence route continued to the Lone Elm campground a mile south. (although a branch of the Westport route also came to Lone Elm)

Just west of present day Gardner, Kansas the Oregon and California trails branched off to the northwest from the Santa Fe Trail that they had been following. This important and historic junction marks the beginning of the Oregon/California Trail as a separate trail.

Soon the trail entered modern Douglas County. Here the emigrants encountered their first difficult river crossing; the Wakarusa River, located several miles southeast of Lawrence. Several crossings were used, including the upper crossing and the several lower crossings near Bluejacket's ferry. The Wakarusa was so steep that wagons often had to be lowered by ropes and chains.

Nearing the area of modern Lawrence, the emigrants encountered the Blue Mound, a hill rising over 150 feet and visible for many miles. Many emigrants climbed it for a long view.

The Oregon/ California Trail now entered present day Lawrence, and angled up over Mt. Oread to follow the ridge through the current campus of the University of Kansas. Then the trail headed west to Topeka. Several ferry crossings were used to cross the Kansas River in present downtown Topeka.

The Oregon/California Trail entered present Pottawatomie County west of Topeka and continued on to St. Mary's Mission and the Red Vermillion River. This Jesuit mission was established in 1848. In May 1849 a large group of emigrants camped on the banks of the river here. Cholera spread through the camp; soon 50 were dead, one of the great tragedies of the trail. They are buried west of the river.

The next big river crossing that the emigrants encountered was the Black Vermillion River. From there the emigrants found Alcove Spring, located about seven miles south of present Marysville, Kansas. The spring is in a rock formation on the east side of the Blue River. It was named by a member of the Donner (Reed) party in 1846. Emigrants engraved their names in the rock, including J.F. Reed. Reed's mother-in-law Sarah Keyes died here. Her grave, unfortunately, has been lost.

Near the Alcove Spring is the Independence crossing of the Big Blue River. High water often made this a difficult crossing in trail days.

Next the Independence route met up with the St. Joseph route, which was popularized by the 49ers in 1849. Within a few miles of this junction today sits the Hollenberg Ranch House. It is an original ranch house and served as a Pony Express station in 1861. Built in 1857, it took advantage of the traffic on the trails. It is believed to be the only station on the entire trail neither altered nor moved from the original location.

From Hollenberg the Oregon/California Trail continued for a few more miles to the Tri-County Marker on the Nebraska state line. This is where the trail crossed from Kansas into Nebraska.

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Ferries in Kansas

Excerpted from Kansas River Valley: Corridor of Influence

"Rivers are both byways and barriers.
To understand history, first understand rivers."

By Leon Groves and Bob Burkhart

The confluence of two rivers, the Kansas and the Missouri, defines the borders of the states of Kansas and Missouri at Kaw Point in Wyandotte County, Kansas. The Kansas River Valley, extending due west, was the waterway for native tribes, explorers, traders, and eventually emigrants and settlers to the region.

Though navigable by pirogues and steamboats, crossing the river proved daunting. By 1825, Francois, Cyprien, and Frederick Chouteau established a ferry about seven miles west of Kaw Point. Moses Grinter, in 1831, operated a ferry at Delaware Crossing, about three miles west of the mouth of the Kansas River. [1]

Around 1840, emigration of settlers to the Oregon country was increasing. The principal route at this time was to follow the Santa Fe Trail a few miles west of Missouri, then branch off to the northwest to the Kaw Valley, cross the Wakarusa, ascend the ridge on the south side of the Kansas river, cross Shunganunga Creek and then the Kansas River. [2]

The Papan brothers arrived in the area between the Kansas River and Soldier Creek in 1840. Three of the four Papan brothers were married to daughters of Louis Gonville. The Gonville sisters were granddaughters of White Plume, the Kansas chief who had negotiated the Treaty of 1825 with William Clark. White Plume wanted to assure that his grandchildren and other Kansa of mixed ancestry would have their own properties separate from the politics of communal land ownership. Noting the increase in traffic in the area, the brothers established a ferry in 1842 a short distance downstream in modern Topeka. The four Gonville sisters had received adjoining tracts on the north side of the river, thus assuring the Papan brothers of a monopoly on ferry service in the area. Most early ferries were owned or operated by Native Americans or mixed-bloods.[1]

In 1842, Fort Scott was established west of the Missouri border, about 100 miles south of Fort Leavenworth. The Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott Military Road was built to connect the two posts, and its route was laid out to cross the Kansas River at the Grinter Ferry. This road was one segment of a longer road from Fort Snelling (MN) to Fort Towson (TX), and was generally the demarcation line between the area of white settlement and Indian territory. [3]

In 1844, the Kansas River Valley experienced a bluff-to-bluff flood, which put the Papan ferry out of business. The Wyandot tribe also had a ferry a short distance above the mouth of the Kaw. During the next decade, until the ferry was sold in 1856, problems such as unreliability of ferrymen and the ferry being washed downstream were regular concerns of the tribal leadership. [1]

Military expeditions (Fremont, Kearny, Doniphan) utilized ferries to cross the rivers throughout the 1840's. In 1845, Kearny's five companies of dragoons from Fort Leavenworth were following the Oregon Trail. They crossed the Kaw via a ferry operated by Paschal Fish at the mouth of the Wakarusa.

[3] Doniphan, commanding a column out of Fort Leavenworth in 1846, used Charles Tooley's Ferry which was upstream from the Grinter Ferry. Following the Mexican War, the addition of territory ceded by Mexico, and the establishment of forts throughout the West, increased the importance of trails and stream crossings. [4]

Gold was discovered in California in 1848. This led to an increase in traffic on the Oregon-California Trail through the Kaw Valley. The increase in traffic led to a boom in business for ferry operators, in particular the Papan. In addition to the ferry across the Kaw, they operated a toll bridge across Shunganunga Creek. [1]

There were other improvements on both sides of the Kansas River. A Catholic mission to the Potawatomi was established at St. Mary's west of Cross Creek. The Potawatomi also were served by a Baptist mission and school established on the south side of the river, a few miles upstream from the Papan Ferry, in 1847. [5]

Competition for the Papan emerged upstream on the Kaw. When weather conditions permitted, a ford near Uniontown, and the Darling ferry were alternatives. Uniontown faded after a cholera outbreak in 1849. That same year, Charles Beaubien and Louis Ogee established a ferry at the mouth of Cross Creek, which continued to operate into the 1860's. In 1852, Sidney W. Smith established a ferry, followed by Hiram Wells and John Ogee, and by Joseph and Louis Ogee. These ferries were upstream from the Papan Ferry, and downstream from the mouth of Cross Creek. [1]

Kansas became a Territory in 1854. As settlers came, early towns tended to be founded on rivers, at stream crossings, and near military posts. Along the Missouri River were White Cloud, Elwood, Doniphan, Atchison, Leavenworth, and Quindaro. Wyandotte was founded on the ridge between the Missouri and the lower Kaw. Towns on the south bank of the Kansas River included the abolitionist town of Lawrence; the proslavery territorial capitol of Lecompton; the proslavery town of Tecumseh; and the abolitionist town of Topeka on the south bank near the Papan ferry. [6] In selecting the sites for these towns, not much heed was paid to Native American reports of a bluff-to-bluff flood in the valley of the Kaw less than a decade before. Extensive development took place in floodplain areas. [7]

Napoleon Bonaparte Blanton came to Kansas Territory from Missouri in September 1854. He built a log house on the west side of the Oregon-California Trail just south of the crossing of the Wakarusa. By March of 1855, Blanton was building a bridge. Known as Blanton's Crossing, he built a grocery store and post office.

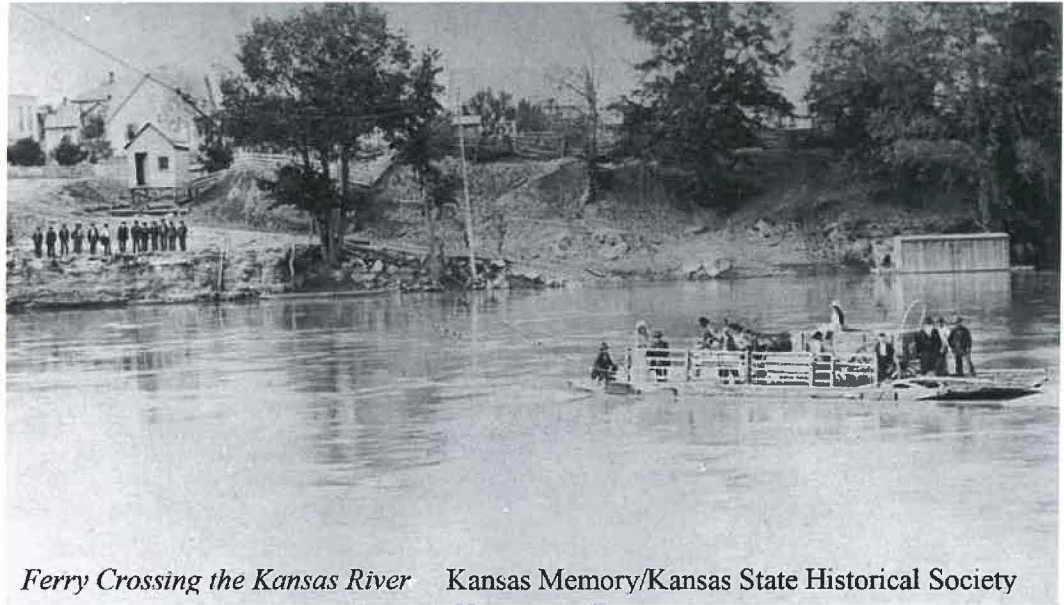
Farther downstream, a Bluejacket Ferry across the Wakarusa was operated by Charles Bluejacket. William "Dutch Bill" Greiffenstein, immigrant from Germany, would establish a store. [8]

In 1856, the Wyandot tribe sold their ferry to Isaiah Walker, a member of the tribe. A competitor, Silas Armstrong, operated a ferry at the mouth of the Kaw. Armstrong sued Walker, requesting that he be enjoined from operating his ferry. In one of its early decisions, the Supreme Court of Kansas held that a franchise granted by the Legislature of Kansas Territory in 1855 or thereafter prevailed over any rights of Walker derived from the Wyandot tribe. [9]

Quindaro, founded as a free-state river port on the Missouri, a few miles upstream from the mouth of the Kaw, was a commercial rival of Wyandotte. Both towns established ferries on the Kaw to

draw trade from south of the river. (81) Downstream, the Grinter Ferry was prospering, and Moses Grinter built a substantial brick house for his family in 1857. [10]

Kansas became the 34th state on January 29, 1861. Kansas, and particularly the Kansas River Valley, continued to be a corridor of influence, but on different terms after the Civil War. Railroads were built westward, and the young state began to fill with settlers. The State Capitol was moved to Topeka, on the Kansas River. Colleges and Universities would be established in Lawrence and Manhattan along this waterway. In this land, once owned by France or Spain, but always inhabited by indigenous peoples, government and commerce would be established.



Ferry Crossing the Kansas River Kansas Memory/Kansas State Historical Society

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[9] *Ibid.* August 1933.

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The Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution

Marking the Oregon Trail

By Shirley S. Coupal

The 2000 convention booklet, *Beyond the Wide Missouri*, included an article on the Kansas Daughters marking the trails through Kansas. More details are to be found in the soon to be published, *The Tales They Could Tell*, a comprehensive study of the Kansas Daughters marking the Santa Fe Trail. This article focuses on the Daughters attempt to mark the Oregon Trail in Kansas.

The Kansas Daughters instigated marking the trails in 1903. They wanted to preserve the way of westward expansion, as their eastern sisters preserved the relics and battlefields of the American Revolution. Their first undertaking, the Santa Fe Trail, Kansas' first interstate highway, was highly successful, with the support of the Kansas Legislature, the Kansas State Historical Society, the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Santa Fe Railroad. The memories of old trail travelers verified where the trail went. Old Settlers and county commissioners determined where to place the markers. The Legislature appropriated \$1,000.00 for the project. Another \$584.00 was collected from school children on Trail Day - Kansas Day 1906. This money with the generosity of the Santa Fe Railroad and support of the involved County Commissioners or local friends bought 89 red granite engraved stones.

The Kansas Daughters didn't repeat their success with marking the Oregon Trail. Ezra Meeker's campaign to mark the Oregon Trail made an impression on the Kansas Daughters. They started their effort to mark the Oregon Trail in 1914. As they had previously, they went to the Kansas Legislature for funds. The political structure of the Kansas Legislature and suffrage had taken its toll on the esteem the Daughters had held. Money, which had been generously appropriated a mere ten years before, was not forthcoming. The bill to mark the Oregon Trail died in committee, reason given: Ways and Means feared a dangerous precedent in view of the numerous trails in the state. This setback didn't deter the Daughters. By the 1940's, four DAR chapters had marked sites on the Oregon Trail in Kansas. These included a spot near where the Santa Fe Trail and the Oregon Trail divided in Gardner; Coon Point Campground south of Lecompton; a Papan's Ferry Crossing marker at Tecumseh; near Frankfort where the Pike Trail crossed the Oregon Trail; and Sarah Handley Keyes grave at Alcove Springs. Since then numerous trail and historical sites have been commemorated.

Kansas Oregon Trail DAR Markers



The Olathe Chapter placed a granite marker near the divide of the trails at Gardner.



The Betty Washington Chapter, Lawrence, marked the Coon Point Campground south of Lecompton.



The Topeka Chapter, using one of the Fraser bronze medallions, placed a marker at Tecumseh commemorating Papan's Ferry Crossing in Topeka.



The Arthur Barrett Chapter, Marysville, marked two spots. The first, on the left, near Barrett (now in Frankfort) using a Fraser bronze medallion, which has been stolen and now replaced with a granite relief, marked where the Pike Trail crossed the Oregon Trail. The second, on the right, at Alcove Springs marks the grave of Sarah Handley Keyes, daughter of a Revolutionary War Patriot and member of the Donner-Reed party.

Application and Instructions for Permission to Place a DAR Historical or Commemorative Marker, Office of the Historian General, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Annals of Kansas 1886-1925 in Two Volumes, published by the Kansas State Historical Society, Nyle H. Miller, Secretary, Topeka, Ks.

Looking Back, Trails to the Second Century, The Centennial History 1896-1996, Kansas Society Daughters of the American Revolution, compiled and edited by Shirley S. Coupal, KSDAR Historian 1995-1998, 1997.

Original letters written by Mrs. Harvey to Miss Meeker, part of the permanent collection of the KSDAR Archives in the Kansas DAR Library at Dodge City, Ks.

The Story of the Marking of the Santa Fe Trail, by Mrs. T.A. Cordry, KSDAR Historian 1910-1921, 1915, reprinted 1996.

Ninetieth Anniversary Survey of the Santa Fe Trail DAR Markers in Kansas, compiled and edited by Shirley S. Coupal, KSDAR Historian 1995-1998, 1998.

KSDAR History, Vol. II, compiled by Mrs. T.A. Cordry, KSDAR Historian 1910-1921, part of the permanent collection of the KSDAR Archives in the Kansas DAR Library at Dodge City, Ks.

8 Milestones in Missouri's Past, Missouri State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, compiled and written by Nancy Short, Louise Taraba and Rolfe Teague, 1988.

Osage Pathways West

By Arnold Schofield

Before there was the State of Kansas, the Town of Fort Scott, Bourbon County or the U.S. Army's Fort Scott, this was the "Land of the Osage Indians." In fact, in the 17th Century the "Osage Nation" included all of the land south of the Missouri River in the "Show-Me- State" and north of the Arkansas River. This also included millions of acres of land in the eastern half of Kansas and northeastern Oklahoma.

The valleys of the Kansas, Marais des Cygnes, little Osage, Marmaton and the Spring Rivers provided natural entrances that became trails for the Osage in what is now Kansas. One of the many north-south Osage trails started at the mouth of the Kansas River, in Kansas City, and went south to where Fort Scott is now located and then went further south to the Neosho / Grand River in northeastern Oklahoma.

The Osage were primarily hunters, but they were also gatherers and they cultivated corn, squash, pumpkins and beans. They were also some of the fiercest warriors of the Central Plains and their natural enemies were the Comanche and Pawnee Indians. A class of Osage Warriors was known as the "Protectors of the Land" and it was their job to prevent unwanted, uninvited non-Osage hunters, trappers or settlers from trespassing on or hunting on their land. If any of these individuals were discovered on Osage land they were not asked to leave! Instead, they were killed, decapitated and their heads were placed on stakes as a warning to others who would kill their animals or settle on Osage land. It is not known exactly how many intruders were killed for trespassing, but Spanish and American records indicate that more than 2,000 individuals were killed because they did not have permission to hunt, trap or settle on Osage land.



In the 18th and early 19th centuries the Osage Tribe was divided into two large clans that were identified as the Big Osage and Little Osage and their villages were located in northern Vernon County, Missouri in the Little Osage River Valley. Today, the Missouri Division of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation administers and maintains the Osage Village State Historic Site which is located north of Walker, Missouri on M Highway. This is an unstaffed park that is open year round and is the location of a Big Osage village that once had more than 2,000 inhabitants. There is a walking trail that has a series of exhibit panels that describe the history and lifestyle of the Osage.

Between 1808 and 1825 the Osage signed seven treaties with the United States whereby they gave up all of their land in Missouri, Arkansas and northeastern Oklahoma. The treaty of 1825 provided the Osage with a reservation of more than 1,000,000 acres of land in southern Kansas which they occupied until 1869. A stipulation of this treaty was the establishment of a buffer zone between Missouri and the Osage land that was called the "Neutral Lands" where, initially, settlement of any kind was

prohibited. This buffer zone was eventually transferred by another treaty to the Cherokee Tribe and became known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands and included all of the land that became Crawford and Cherokee Counties. In 1869 the Osage entered into another treaty with the U.S. government and traded all of their Kansas land for their current reservation in northeastern Oklahoma.

From the late 18th Century to the 1840's, as the Euro-American exploration and settlement occurred west of the Mississippi River the Osage were contacted by French traders, U.S. Army Officers and civilians. Some of the prominent individuals who traversed the Osage lands are as follows, French Traders of the Choteau Family, Captain Zebulon Pike (1806), Colonel George Sibley (1820), Washington Irving (1832), the noted 19th Century American author and a French medical student by the name of Victor Tixier in 1840. These individuals were pathfinders who traveled many of the Osage trails in Missouri and what is now Kansas and Oklahoma.

Many of these Osage pathways and trails, or parts thereof, evolved into roads that were traveled by emigrants who were going west and many of whom returned from the west. The following are some of these roads that passed through western Missouri and eastern Kansas that became feeder roads for the traffic on the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails:

1. Fort Osage –Harmony Mission-Deerfield- Neosho, MO. Road (North/South),
2. Harmony Mission – Fort Scott Road (East /West),
3. Harmony Mission –Balltown-Trading Post-Garnett Road (East /West),
4. Butler- Trading Post- Ottawa Road (East /West).
5. Fort Leavenworth – Fort Scott- Fort Gibson Road, Indian Territory (North/South),
6. Fort Scott-Council Grove Road (Southeast-Northwest),
7. Fort Gibson -Texas Road (North/South),
8. Cherokee Trail (Fayetteville, AR.-northwest to Santa Fe Trail near Salina, K.S.).

All or part of these roads were once pathways west across Osage land in western Missouri or what is now eastern Kansas and eastern Oklahoma.

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THE CHEROKEE TRAIL IN SOUTH CENTRAL KANSAS

By Brian D. Stucky, Goessel, KS

The Cherokee Trail, as a feeder trail to the California Trail, passes through a variety of landscapes. Coming up from Arkansas and Oklahoma, it enters south central Kansas to the east and north of Wichita. It passes through the edge of the Flint Hills native pastures near El Dorado but quickly moves into highly cultivated land before joining the Santa Fe Trail near Galva, southeast of McPherson. All of the land in the area is privately owned. Being cultivated, it is a special challenge to identify physical evidence of the trail. That is why multiple methods of research are necessary to uncover the riches of this important trail. I will leave the history and value of the trail up to authors Jack and Pat Fletcher, authors of "Cherokee Trail Diaries" who are its national authorities.

As the Cherokee Trail passes through the area near Goessel, north of Newton, it runs through an area that has an amazing number of trails. In an area of an eight-mile radius, not only are there nationally known trails such as the Santa Fe and Chisholm, but also two gold rush trails, the Cherokee Trail and the Valley of the Cottonwood to Pike's Peak Trail; a named Indian trail in the Kaw Indian Trail; a military trail, the Col. Emory/Black Beaver Trail; Mennonite immigrant trails and other local trails. If you expand the area to Harvey, Marion, and McPherson counties, the subject of my possible upcoming book, you add the Lt. Col. Morrison Trail (from Ft. Gibson), Zebulon Pike Trail, and Coronado's Trail and many others. Happily I live in an area with a wealth of trails to study.

Multiple methods of research being necessary, we began in the library, gathering all documentary information possible. This starts with the GLO survey maps and notes. In Kansas, flatter land is conducive to straight lines, square mile sections and townships. It is easy to stand on the very spot where surveyors indicated a trail crossing in the 1860's. Other information includes local maps, notes, letters, and other sources. Next is fieldwork to identify physical evidence. Local farmers know the rare pasture with ruts, if you are lucky. Other evidence includes creek fords, observing plant growth in different seasons of the year, subtle differences in cultivated fields, and dips in the lines of hedge trees planted next to roads, half and quarter mile lines.

However, there comes a point when there are simply gaps in the documentary information. For instance, the last six miles before the junction with the Santa Fe Trail, the Cherokee Trail has no surveyor's information and no physical evidence of any kind. In that situation, all a trail hunter can do is stand by the edge of the road and imagine that the trail must have gone here somewhere.

In 2006, it occurred to me to experiment with a practice I had tried as an 8th grader, and which is dowsing, or what some called "water witching." After observing an old-timer who came to my farm, I developed a unique technique using an L shaped copper pipe held on an angle, in tension, just barely gripped tight enough that natural gravity does not turn it down. As I pass over a target, it simply pulls and rotates down. This technique is unlike any other I have seen. It is more consistent and stable than any other method. What separates my practice is that I approach it from a viewpoint seeking scientific reasons why it may work. I have worked with two geophysicists and have dowsed prior to an archaeological excavation. And most importantly, blind testing nearly always hits on or near known surveyor

measurement marks. In one day on the Cherokee Trail, I hit right on the surveyor marks on ten out of ten spots.

Using first documentary information, then filling in gaps with dowsing, I have studied the Cherokee Trail in central Kansas. Beginning at El Dorado and the crossing of the Walnut River, first we identified a hill south of El Dorado near the crossing. "The man long credited with being the first white settler in Butler County was William Hildebrande, who arrived in May 1857. He and others came south from Lawrence, to the California Trail from Fayetteville. As they topped the hill and looked down into the lovely valley of the Walnut, they decided immediately to make their stop there. It is said that some of the pioneers shouted, "El Dorado" and forthwith named their settlement El Dorado" just north of the Walnut River crossing.



Cherokee Trail Marker; Goessel, KS

In addition, an area near the crossing of approximately a half square mile was studied in an extensive archeological site survey by the Wichita State University archeology department, commissioned by the El Dorado Department of Public Utilities.

Moving on west through today's oil refinery and west through the Butler County Junior College campus, the trail next passed through the city of Potwin. On the north side of Potwin the trail route was confirmed by a Class I

swale, and physical evidence such as a pistol discovered in a yard in town.

Just a mile north of Potwin the Whitewater River crossing was found at the corner of a field with a gentle slope and a developed picnic area. History records several buildings in the area.

Into Harvey County is Section 9 of Walton Township, on Highway 50, seven miles NE of Newton. This treasure is a square mile nearly all in native pasture. It is the intersection of the Cherokee Trail, Valley of the Cottonwood, and hub of numerous local trails, as well as the site of "Buffalo Chip Camp" identified in the Cherokee Trail Diaries. The latitude/longitude coordinates in the book match the actual site and also the mention of a spring. Trail ruts are today visible driving diagonally through the section on Highway 50.

The Sand Creek Crossing is three miles south and one east of Goessel. Lauren Flaming has excavated metal artifacts from a wagon dump such as a metal glazed pot, stone chisel, branding iron, and canon ball, indicating military presence. The site is only 10% excavated.

Just one mile south of Goessel is the Vernon Base buffalo pasture with original ruts and survey marks coming in and going out of the pasture. Just west is the site of the "Wolf Camp" identified in "Cherokee Trail Diaries" with a "slow, sluggish, cold spring."

The junction of the Cherokee Trail with the Santa Fe Trail is at the Turkey Creek Crossing, two miles south of Galva, KS on 22nd Road. A marker on the west side tells of Charlie Fuller's Ranch started in 1855, the first white settlement in McPherson County. This area eventually became the town of Empire, KS with twenty-two houses, stores, etc. Today, nothing of the town remains. When the railroad was built two miles north, the town was moved, becoming today's Galva. At the site of the trail junction was once a stone reading, "To Fayetteville, Ark, 300 miles--Capt. Evans' California Company, May 12, 1849." There is debate as to whether that historic stone is still in its original location.

Although the Cherokee Trail has suffered farm cultivation, there are still spots of physical evidence available if the trail researcher has the persistence to find them.

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Bookout, Kurt. Director of Public Utilities of the City of El Dorado, KS, interview March 16, 2012.

Buller, Larry, Goessel, KS. Numerous field identifications of physical trail evidence, 2000-2006.

"Butler County's Eighty Years—1855-1935" Butler County Historical Museum, El Dorado, KS.

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Fletcher, Jack and Pat. "Cherokee Trail Diaries", Vol. I, II, and II

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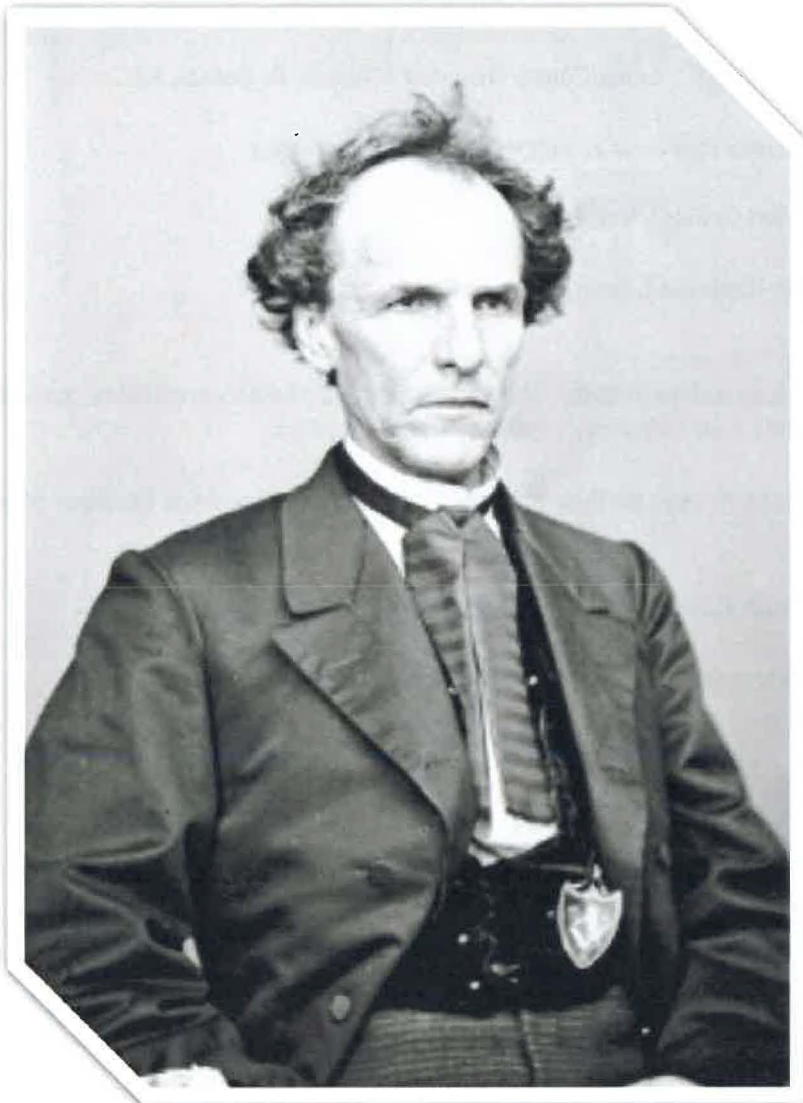
Lane and his Trail in Kansas History

By Nathan McAllister

Notorious, visionary, and heroic are just a few words used to describe James H. Lane. To say that James Lane was a controversial figure, even today, would be an understatement. All too often the controversy surrounding Lane infects all things associated with the man. This infectiousness of the Lane name includes the trail that bears his name. The Lane Trail, though not as famous as its namesake, does hold a unique place in Kansas Territorial history. This trail is arguably the greatest conduit for change in Kansas history. The story behind the creation, the involvement of James Lane, and the evolution of the trail over time are worthy of consideration.

"The undersigned Iowa State Central Committee, for the benefit of Free Kansas, beg leave to represent that the dangers and difficulties of sending Emigrants to Kansas through Missouri has been attempted to be remedied by opening through Iowa an Overland Route...Arrangements are being made by Gen. Lane, Gov. Reeder, Gen. Pomeroy, Gov. Roberts, and others to turn the tide of emigration in this channel, and thus avoid the difficulties heretofore experienced in attempting to pass through Missouri."

To the Friends of Free Kansas, Iowa City, July 4, 1856



coming to Topeka and aid them in their journey north and freedom. This new role of movement northward and out of Kansas was not an easy one. There were many dangers traveling the Lane Trail Underground Railroad. Slave-hunting posses roamed the area of the Lane Trail searching for escaped slaves. To make the journey many escaping slaves had to endure many hardships. One such story of escape and freedom is well known to Kansas students. Today students learn the story of Anne Clark who hid in a barrel for weeks and escaped with the assistance of John Armstrong and others by means of the Lane Trail. Anne Clark's story, though well-known to Kansas students, is not the most famous person to utilize the Lane Trail to escape to freedom. That honor would go to a man known as much for a mural hanging in the governor's office in Topeka as his deeds in Kansas....John Brown.

John Brown and the acts associated with him have etched his name in Kansas history. Knowing that Kansas was no longer safe, due to his highly controversial attacks on proslavery supporters, and having changed objectives in his fight against slavery that required his relocation further east to Harpers Ferry, Brown made plans to leave Kansas. But he did not leave using any nondescript path or road; John Brown used the Lane Trail. In fact the last battle John Brown fought in Kansas, although it was not much of one, was the Battle of the Spurs just north of Holton, Kansas along the Lane Trail.

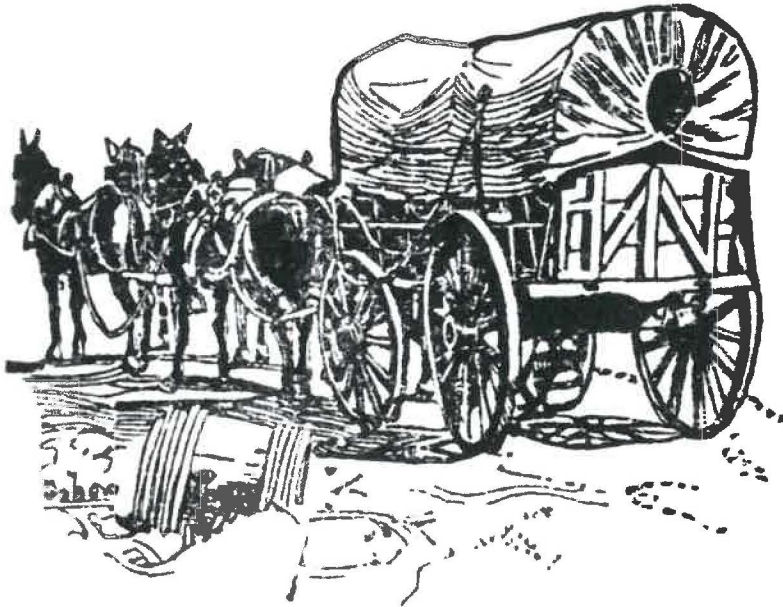
James Lane and the Trail that bears his name transformed the landscape of Kansas. This Trail saw the reinvigoration of the Free State cause and the transplant of one of its most controversial and dynamic leaders, Lane. This trail was a passageway to freedom for many enslaved peoples and an escape route for one of Kansas' most discordant figures, Brown. Finally, the Lane Trail was an avenue for settlers seeking a new life. The Kansas-Nebraska Act opened Kansas for settlement and allowed those settlers to decide the fate of Kansas. In so doing, that Act initiated a firestorm, to decide if Kansas would be a slave state or free state; it came to be known as Bleeding Kansas, and James Lane along with his trail played a significant role in making Kansas a free state.

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James Aull: Missouri Merchant and Trader

By Roger Slusher

James Aull was an important merchant, outfitter, and trader in western Missouri from the 1820's through the 1840's. His Scots-Irish parents John and Margaret, who were probably merchants, settled in



Delaware and had six children who were named John, Joseph, Robert, James, Maria and Elizabeth: all of the children but Joseph would move to Missouri. In 1819 John opened a general store northwest of the thriving new town of Franklin in the Boonslick area of the state along the Missouri River.

Lexington, probably named after the one in Kentucky and located about 100 miles west of Franklin, was platted as the county seat of Lillard (now Lafayette) County in 1822. Since the town was located on the new Road to Santa Fe, initiated by William Becknell in 1821 out of

Franklin, John Aull saw a real business opportunity. He built a store and warehouse on the original courthouse square in 1822, and his brothers James and Robert joined him in 1825 with Maria and Elizabeth soon to follow.

Each brother operated his own store at first, but they often cooperated and were generally known as the Aull brothers. By 1830 the brothers in various ownership arrangements also had stores in the nearby towns of Independence, Liberty, and Richmond. Robert operated a hemp rope walk in Liberty and later the Blue Mills for sawing lumber and grinding grain near Independence as well. The brothers sold a wide variety of goods to fur trappers, Santa Fe traders, emigrants, and settlers, acting as suppliers, agents, and bankers.

Inevitably the brothers began to specialize according to their interests. John was more and more the elder advisor and business manager, while Robert was more inclined toward investments and banking. James, who had been born in Wilmington in 1804, wrote up most of the letters of credit and correspondence; fortunately many letters sent and received were copied into letter books which have survived.

The brothers sometimes sent their own goods to Mexico for sale, but the returns were generally not satisfactory, so they usually preferred to sell goods to traders. For example, in 1830 they sold about \$10,000 worth of goods to the caravans at 25% over Philadelphia prices with no interest for six months and then 10% monthly interest until paid. This indicates one of the main problems with trade in the early

West. Credit was crucial, but risky. Some goods could be bought locally, but most had to be purchased in the East.

James was generally the purchasing agent for the brothers. He usually traveled to the East in February for about six weeks to buy goods for the next season. Lighter goods such as cloth and luxuries were escorted by him overland in wagons to Pittsburg and by steamboat to St. Louis. There, those items, St. Louis goods, and heavier goods such as stoves and plows, which had been shipped by steamboat through New Orleans, were shifted to smaller boats or wagons bound for the Lexington area. Most of those goods had to be bought on credit, while they paid for the previous year's goods with payments made by the latest caravan from Santa Fe.

In 1831 James and Robert formed a formal partnership, but the rising flood of often worthless paper money, due to President Jackson's dissolving the Second Bank of the United States, soon led to a land speculation bubble. Fearing a coming depression, in 1835 James warned that banks "will hold up for a few years longer" and that speculators would be wise to be "preparing for any storm that may come some two or three years hence." Following his advice, the partnership was dissolved on January 1, 1836, and most of their stores were sold. James concentrated on the Lexington store, and the brothers became strong supporters of the new Whig Party that opposed President Jackson.

The issue of slavery was beginning to split both parties. In 1835 James was surprised to receive a letter from their main Philadelphia wholesaler complaining that letters of credit written by the Aulls for another company were based on funds that "are the proceeds of traffic in slaves." Many Quakers in Pennsylvania such as their wholesaler were now active in the new abolitionist movement. In his long reply, James admitted that they owned slaves to do the necessary work in their warehouses, but emphasized that they made no money from selling slaves and actually expected and supported a Missouri convention to soon gradually abolish slavery in the state.

In the 1830's and 1840's Lexington grew nearer to the river as steamboats began to arrive. To keep down their shipping costs, the brothers bought a quarter-share in several steamboats, but they still had to deal with various wrecks and explosions that were common. James was quite active in business, civic affairs, and the Presbyterian Church. He donated land for the first city cemetery, was an elder in his church, and donated his front yard, on the new courthouse square near the river, for a brick Presbyterian Church which was begun in 1844 and still stands. Many other brick homes and commercial buildings were erected in Lexington during that prosperous period, including the 1846 Greek revival courthouse which is still in use.

Business was better than ever as emigrants poured into the Missouri River Valley bound for the Oregon Country. Perhaps to cement his connections with Independence, in 1846 James formed a partnership with Samuel Owens of Independence who had managed and then bought the Aull store there. They loaded \$70,000 worth of goods onto several wagons pulled by oxen and mules to join the second 1846 caravan to Santa Fe so well documented by Susan Magoffin.

In early June at about 300 miles into the Indian Territory, they were overtaken by troops of Gen. Stephen Kearny who told them that war had broken out with Mexico and that they had to follow the troops to Santa Fe for their protection. That city was taken without a fight so James, Samuel Owens, and other traders headed for Chihuahua 500 miles south which was their original destination. They were soon

overtaken by Col. Alexander Doniphan's Missouri Volunteers and compelled to become the "Traders Battalion" under the command of Owens, who was elected to be their major.

Unfortunately, Samuel was killed in the Battle of Sacramento as the Americans captured Chihuahua in February of 1847. James set up a store to sell his remaining goods. On April 3 he sent over \$15,000 to Ebenezer Pomeroy, Maria Aull's husband, who was at their office in Santa Fe. James was even buying Mexican pork and mutton for reselling to the army.

At the end of April Doniphan was ordered to move on to attack Saltillo, but James, having received promises of protection from the Mexican authorities, decided to stay. Every few days he was able to send several thousand dollars to Pomeroy, but on June 23 James was stabbed to death in his store by four Mexican robbers. They took about \$5,000 worth of money and goods, but were apprehended by the authorities. His servant Andrew was able to return his gold watch and Bible to Missouri, but James Aull and his partner Samuel Owens remain buried in Chihuahua.

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Indian Removal Act of 1830

By Pat Traffas

The concept of Westward Expansion began almost as soon as American colonists won independence from England. Lands were occupied or surrounded by the French, Spanish, and Indian people who were not willing to cede property willingly. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution, and the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790 were created to deal with the "Indian Problem." While these policies recognized the sovereignty of Indian nations, the American government sought to impose their own interpretation and to reduce Indian nations to a form of semi-sovereignty.[1]

Reverend Isaac McCoy, Baptist Missionary to tribes in Indiana and Michigan, was one of the first to advocate the need for a permanent Indian Country. He penned letters to President Andrew Jackson and opined with Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, who was in charge of Indian affairs. McCoy sensed that tribes should be liberated from the "corrupting influences associated with the frontier people of that early period." His extensive travels, letter-writing and lobbying efforts would have profound influence in Washington, DC. [10]

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed into law the Indian Removal Act. "Removal will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community." [2]

Tribes were forced to cede their lands east of the Mississippi River. There were areas west of the 95th Meridian set aside for their relocation. This area, which was west of the Mississippi River, and not part of Missouri, Louisiana, or Arkansas, was unorganized territory, but a part of United States because of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. This territory excluded settlement by white people and any trade with Indians was strictly regulated. This "Indian country", or what Isaac McCoy in 1835 would term "Indian Territory," was the present states of Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma.[3] From 1830 through 1840, nearly 100,000 American Indians living east of the Mississippi River were moved. Overseen by the U.S. Army, these long-distance marches were wrought with hardships. There was death from disease, exposure, and starvation. The Trail of Tears[5] and Potawatomi Trail of Death[6] are well-documented routes used by eastern tribes during their forced removal.

Indian agents, like Pierre Menard, were assigned to assist tribes during the removal process. Menard worked with the Shawnee, Delaware, Peoria, Piankeshaw, and Kickapoo. In a letter written October 8, 1830, Menard states: "The merchandise to be given is uncertain; it depends entirely upon the season in which they move. Although there is no obligation to clothe them; yet it is impossible to refuse clothing to many women and children, suffering in cold weather. Nothing is said about lost horses in their travels; but the past has proven that, in their journey when emigrating, number of horses have been stolen by our citizens, and more especially when they are crossing the Mississippi [River], our bad men steal them, and many others hide them in order to get a reward for bringing back what they have unlawfully taken. When their horses are stolen, and no hopes of getting them, then the Indians demand

other horses in [place] of those stolen from them, and say if our white brethren had not compelled us to move from our native land, our horses would not have been stolen, and we cannot travel with our wives and small children without horses.”[7]



When white men first visited what now comprises the State of Kansas, four tribes occupied the state: the Kanza or Kaw, the Osage, the Pawnee, and the Comanche or Padouca. With the Indian Removal, numerous eastern tribes were relocated to Kansas: Iowa(y), Sauk(Sac) and Fox, Kickapoo, Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Wea, Piankashaw, Potawatomi, Miami, and New York Indians. The Omaha, Oto and Missouri(a) went to Nebraska region, and the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Quapaw, and Seneca tribes were settled in present-day Oklahoma.

With the 1854 Kansas and Nebraska Act[4], Congress officially organized northern parts of the Indian Territory into either Kansas or Nebraska Territory. Here was fertile land which was much desired by incoming settlers. After Kansas became a state in 1861, and after the Civil War, the majority of Indians were removed once again, further south into present Oklahoma, which was still a part of the Indian Territory. In the belief that Indians should be “civilized,” the reservation system, which would confine tribes to one particular geographical place, was developed for assimilation. On reservations, English could be taught and all could be converted to Christianity.

By the end of the 19th century, an era of Federal Indian policy had concluded with disastrous consequences to American Indians. Populations were diminished almost to the brink of extinction. Reservation life and land allotment forced a culture which was foreign to the tribes, and lessened their self-sufficiency. "Yet despite over 100 years of such destructive federal Indian policies, the cultural and spiritual heritage of many Indian nations survived. Indeed, by the end of the 19th Century, American Indians across the nation refused to be assimilated and victimized by their historical experiences with the federal government. With the progression of the twentieth century, this survival mode helped to revitalize many Indian nations as they continued their resistance to becoming assimilated and to celebrating their spiritual, cultural, economic, and political traditions." [8]

In 2012, there are four tribal reservations in Kansas: Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox, and Iowa(y). [9]

[1] Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, 1949; rev. ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.

[2] Indian Removal Act of 1830

[3] William Miles, "Enamoured With Colonization: Isaac McCoy's Plan of Indian Reform," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Autumn 1972).

[4] The Kansas and Nebraska Act of 1854

[5] John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, Doubleday, New York, 1988.

[6] Shirley Willard and Susan Campbell, *Potawatomi Trail of Death-1838 Removal from Indiana to Kansas*, Fulton County Historical Society's Indian Awareness Center, Rochester, IN, 2003.

[7] Pierre Menard. Original letter. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. 1830

[8] Robert J. Miller. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

[9] Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, 2012.

[10] Roustio, Edward. "A History of the life of Isaac McCoy in Relationship to Early Indian Migrations and Missions as Revealed in His Unpublished Manuscripts," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, KS, 1954

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Currently in her fifth term as President of Trails Head Chapter, Pat is a native Kansan, having grown up in extreme northwestern Kansas. She is a member of numerous patriotic, lineage, and historical societies, and has served as a State and National officer in Daughters of the American Revolution. She has been recognized with a Lifetime Achievement award from the Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association for her research, trail-marking, and interpretation of national historic trails. When Pat takes time off from her vocation as a licensed funeral director and embalmer, you most likely will find her out doing more trail work.

Jotham Meeker

By John Mark Lambertson



In the annals of Indian missions on America's frontier, the Rev. Jotham and Eleanor Meeker are little known, even in Kansas where the majority of their service was conducted. But their story is an amazing one for what they set out to accomplish, and the many positive effects they had on the Indians who benefited from their care. Their service can be seen today as an exemplary example of how Indian missions in America could have been conducted, but unfortunately most fell grievously short.

Jotham Meeker and Eleanor Richardson were only 20 and 17 years of age, respectively, when they individually entered the field of Baptist missions, working for several years among the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians in Michigan Territory. In this isolated frontier setting they met, and married in 1830 in Cincinnati, Ohio, both being natives of that area.

In 1833 they were induced by the Rev. Isaac McCoy to come to the newly organized Indian Country, now the State of Kansas. Their goal was to assist with what they saw as the physical and spiritual needs of the newly displaced tribes which were being removed to the West by the federal government. Jotham Meeker, originally a printer by trade, brought with him the first printing press to be used in Kansas.

They first settled among the Shawnee Indians in what is now a part of the south Kansas City, Kansas area. Here, Meeker set up his press and printed the first pamphlets, books, newspaper and other items in Kansas. He had previously devised a clever method for placing several Algonquin Indian languages into a written form for the first time in history, making it relatively easy to teach the natives to read and write in their own language. He was therefore also able to print works in their language as well.

In 1837, the Meekers received permission to settle fifty miles farther into the interior of the Indian Country on the new Ottawa Reserve, a 72,000 acre tract in Franklin County. In the eighteen years which followed, they devoted their lives to the Ottawas and served them in an astonishing number of roles. They served as ministers, doctors, teachers, interpreters, social workers, and marriage counselors. Meeker became their accountant, building foreman, printer, attorney, correspondence secretary, pharmacist, farming instructor, undertaker, and served as a de facto Indian agent and advocate for the tribe with the government. Last but not least, they came to be viewed by the Ottawas as treasured neighbors and friends.

The Meekers also had to support themselves and their three daughters by attending to the usual roles of any frontier family: farming, gardening, raising livestock, butchering, making candles and soap, etc. Overwhelmed with their workloads, the Meekers found themselves unable to devote the time needed to educate their daughters as they wished, and had to endure heart-breaking separations in sending them back to Ohio for schooling.

When Anglo travelers passed through, the Meekers were also pressed into the role of innkeepers. With the advent of the California gold rush, their home and mission witnessed thousands of emigrants who ventured west from Arkansas and southern Missouri on two little known or documented feeder trails. Rev. Meeker's daily journal recorded these travelers and his estimates of how many wagons and heads of livestock passed his door each spring as fortune seekers headed to their eagerly anticipated "El Dorado".

Besides their enormous workloads, the Meekers were challenged by and surmounted numerous hardships on the pre-territorial Kansas frontier. They overcame the initial indifference and suspicion of the Indians, and later withstood cases of strong opposition, hostility, and verbal and physical threats, before eventually winning the Ottawas' trust and gratitude for their service. They faced and survived blizzards, droughts, plagues, prairie fires, a devastating flood, unscrupulous government agents and traders, debilitating illnesses, exhaustion, and discouraging spiritual setbacks in their Ottawa church.

Through it all, the example they set for the Ottawas and others was one of tremendous faith and courage, and amazing patience and perseverance. Their love and selfless service was so great for their adopted people that they wore themselves out and died at their mission post just fourteen months apart in 1855 and 1856. They were laid to rest in the cemetery behind their log mission church, surrounded and mourned by their Indian friends, who had come to embrace them as the tribe's adopted "father and mother".

Jotham and Eleanor Meeker did not see themselves as "successful" missionaries, but merely as "servants of the Lord", as is inscribed on their tombstone. But what they accomplished is truly remarkable, as well as how they accomplished it. Their goal, as in other less successful Indian missions, was to form a new culture for the Ottawas; one which was based on Anglo society of the times and which could therefore withstand the rapidly approaching Anglo domination of the country. Through "kindness, sincerity and tact" as one Ottawan later described it, the Meekers applied gentle prodding and diplomatic leadership until the following goals were achieved:

Nearly all of the Ottawas in Kansas were converted to the Christian faith including virtually all of the tribal leaders for many years to come. In their church, they established their own lay leadership to continue worship services after the missionaries were gone. The Ottawas became successful farmers with some learning additional trades, and many obtaining a basic knowledge of reading and math. The Ottawas came to value education so highly that in a few more years they partnered with whites to open Ottawa University. They established a form of governance which included written laws and an Anglo-style court system for resolving differences. The leadership outlawed alcohol from their reserve to protect their tribe from the negative influences of alcoholism. And, perhaps most significantly, after several early years of severe losses due to a high mortality rate, the Ottawas began to regain in population under the Meekers medical efforts. By the time the Meekers died, the Ottawas were reportedly the only Indian tribe in Kansas which was actually growing in numbers—and other displaced tribes neared extinction.

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Missions in Kansas

By Pat Traffas

Following the Indian Removal from the South, the Ohio River valley and the Great Lakes region, land allotments were given for the tribes in Kansas. The United States government provided annuities and limited education. To these tribal settlements came Indian agents, and Protestant and Catholic missionaries, whose efforts to “civilize and educate” would leave long-lasting effects.

Missions were work/trade schools mostly. There were buildings constructed which were used both as schools and churches. The earliest to arrive was Reverend Isaac McCoy in 1830. His Baptist mission to the Shawnees was about three miles west of the state line in present Kansas City, Kansas. Dr. Johnston Lykins, who married McCoy’s daughter, Delilah, was instrumental in its founding. Jotham Meeker, a trained printer, arrived and brought the first printing press to translate materials into the Indian languages. The wives of the missionaries brought traditional beliefs and lifestyles to the territory, and were responsible for training Indian girls in household chores in the Euro-American manner. This mission operated until 1855.

Thomas Johnson founded the Shawnee Methodist Mission in September 1839, about 3 miles from Westport—one mile inside the state line in present-day Johnson County, KS. This mission replaced Johnson’s first mission, founded in 1830 near the Kansas River in the present Turner area. Building the 1839 mission was in response to a request from Chief Paschal Fish, of the Missouri Shawnee tribe. The Missouri Conference of the Methodist Church also appointed William Johnson, brother of Thomas, as missionary to the Kanza Indians west of Topeka. He would later serve the Delawares. The Shawnee Indian Mission was built on a branch of the Santa Fe Trail and opened as a manual labor school where boys learned shop work and farming. School days were Monday-Friday, with students rising at 4 AM on weekdays. This training ceased in 1854, and the Mission was closed in 1862—a turbulent time in Kansas statehood. These historic buildings still stand in Fairway, KS. If their walls could talk, they would tell of housing territorial Governor Andrew Reeder’s offices and of fiery meetings of the first territorial legislature. “Bogus laws” to perpetuate slavery were written here. Thomas Johnson, a southern sympathizer and proponent of slavery, would later swear an oath of allegiance to the Union, however. He was murdered in the doorstep of his home in 1865 and is buried in the tiny Shawnee Methodist Mission cemetery about 3 blocks east of Mission Road. In 1927, the State of Kansas obtained the property and the Shawnee Indian Mission State Historic Site is administrated by the Kansas State Historical Society.

Soon to follow the Methodist and Baptists were the Quakers (Friends), who established a mission about 3 miles further west from 1834-1869. Henry Harvey endeavored to elevate Indian youth to speak and write in English. His kind and gentle manner endeared him in his efforts.

The Methodists later established mission work to the Peoria (1832-43), the Delaware (1832-37) in Wyandotte County, the Kickapoo (1835-59) in Leavenworth County, the Potawatomie (1837-48) near Osawatomie, the Shawnee in Douglas County (1848) on the Wakarusa River, the Kanza (1850-43) in Morris County at Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail, and to the Sac and Fox (1860/1-66) on the Osage River between Osage and Franklin counties.

Baptists would go on to have missions at Marais des Cygnes (1837), Wea near Paola (1840), Delaware near Briggsdale (1847), to the Miami near Paola (1847) and the Potawatomi 6 miles west of Topeka (1848).

The Presbyterian missionaries established the Harmony Mission among the Osage, Hopefield (1823-37), WEA (1834-38, Boudinot Mission (1824-1837), the Ioway, Sac and Fox Mission (1837) in Doniphan County, about three miles east of Highland KS, on the St. Joe Road. This site is administrated by Kansas State Historical Society and is well interpreted. A boarding school for the Kickapoo followed in 1850.

Catholic missionaries were arguably the first to visit Kansas, when Father Juan de Padilla ventured here in 1540 with Coronado. Fr. Padilla would die in Kansas and monuments are erected to him. By 1820, the Harmony Mission (established by Presbyterians) near Fort Scott was baptizing Kanza Indians. The baptisms of James and Francois Chouteau (sons of Pierre Chouteau and an Osage wife) were recorded in 1822. The Catholics founded missions to the Kickapoo (1836), Potawatomie (1838), Osage (1847-1895) and the Miami (1850). Catholic influence was longest-lasting with the Potawatomie tribe, following another removal to reservation land on the Kansas River. That mission later became St. Mary's College in St. Mary's, Kansas, on the Oregon Trail.

The Moravians established "Westfield" (1837-1905) and "Shekomeko" (1854-58) missions among the Munsee (Muncie) tribe.



Potawatomi Mission – Kansas State Historical Society

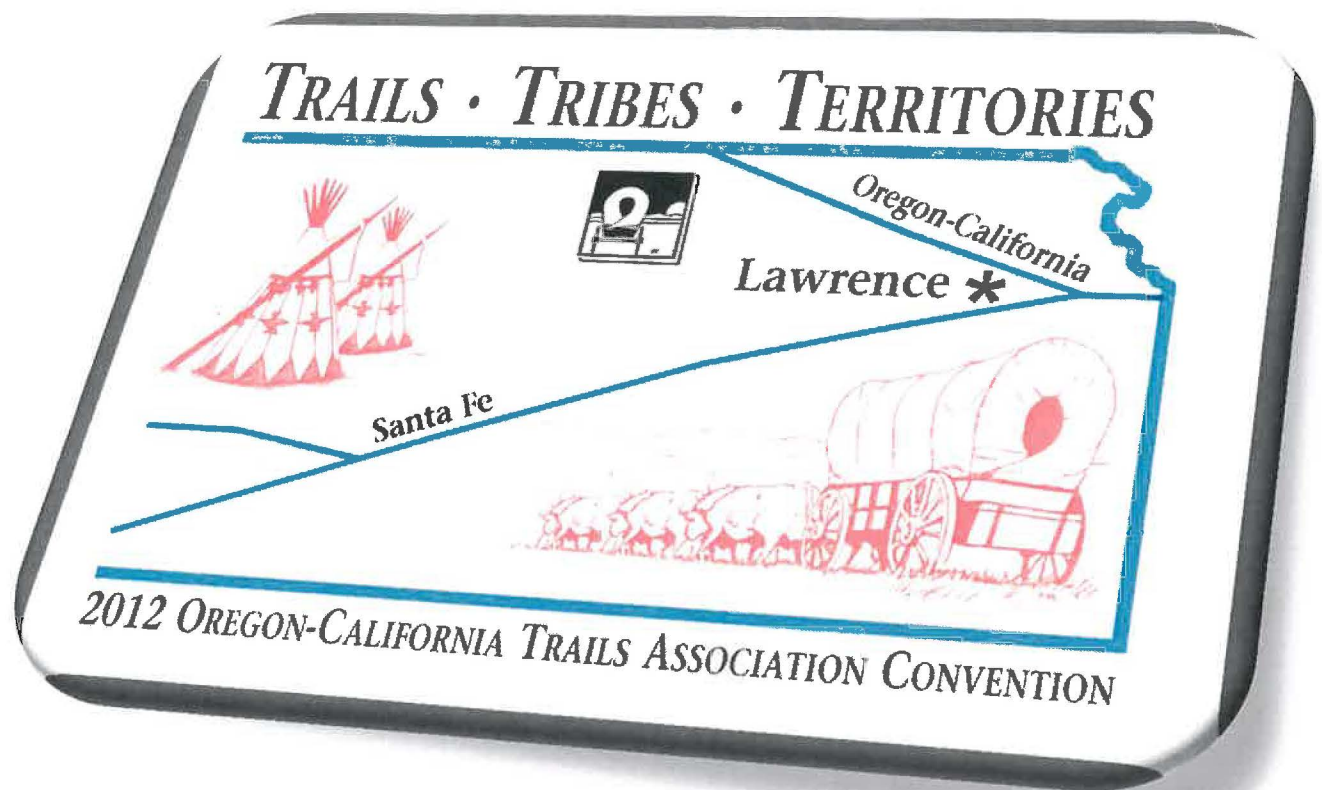
"The greatest forces for the civilization of the Indians in Kansas were those Christian missionaries who, forsaking home and friends and social ties, came out into the Indian Country to live among the red men and to labor for their spiritual and temporal welfare. The story of their hardships, privations and sacrifices forms one of the most fascinating chapters of the annals of Kansas." [1]

Of the 32 missions established, only nine remained by the time of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Most early missions were log buildings, followed by structures of native stone or brick. The latter exist and are well-preserved, most notably the Shawnee Methodist Indian Mission in Johnson County; the Ioway, Sac and Fox Mission in Doniphan County; the Potawatomi Baptist Mission on the grounds of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka; and the Kaw Indian Mission in Council Grove.

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Territorial History

The Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854 opened the Kansas Territory to settlement with the concept of “popular sovereignty.” The right to choose to be “slave or free” brought fervent factions to the area. Amos Lawrence funded the anti-slavery New England Aid Society to establish a foothold in Lawrence, and thus the town was named after him, although other names had been proposed. Missourians flocked to the area in attempts to promote their pro-slavery views. There were many bloody clashes between the Jayhawkers (“free staters”) and the Bushwhackers (“pro-slavery”). Lawrence was raided multiple times, burned, and re-built. The resilient citizens adopted a motto: “From Ashes to Immortality”.

The Underground Railroad had an important stop in Lawrence. This conduit was a route used by escaped slaves to travel to freedom in the north.

The Territorial years (1854-1861) were a turbulent time in Kansas. Settlers were dealing with an influx of political influence, busy trail traffic, establishment of government, and attempting to bring civilization to this western frontier. After statehood on January 29, 1861, Kansas’ motto became “Ad Astra Per Aspera”—To the stars through difficulties.

Kansas and the Nation, 1854-1861

By Virgil W. Dean

Kansas Territory was officially established in May 1854 with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a hotly contested piece of legislation that reignited debate in the U.S. Congress over the question of whether or not slavery would be allowed to expand into newly opened territories. The act included a popular sovereignty provision that allowed the territory to decide the issue for itself. On the surface this appeared to be an easy, straightforward solution to a controversial problem; in reality it was anything but, and Kansas Territory became a political and literal battleground for pro- and antislavery partisans. The recruitment of and support for settlers from both the North and the South, contested elections, and armed conflict gave rise to the moniker "Bleeding Kansas," but just as important, the battle for Kansas was waged in the halls of Congress, the national press, and just about anywhere in the country where people gathered to discuss or debate the issues of the day. All of this exacerbated the growing tension between the North and the South, which eventually led to the outbreak of the American Civil War.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act set in motion a plan that was supposed to decide the "Kansas Question" through a peaceful, democratic process. The nation was ready to expand into the vast interior, previously reserved for American Indian peoples. At mid-century, however, the era's two great themes, westward expansion and sectionalism, were frequently at odds, and a new plan to facilitate American growth seemed necessary. The principle of "popular sovereignty," some believed, offered the solution. First introduced as a method for dealing with the issue of slavery's expansion in the West after the Mexican War, the popular sovereignty approach was incorporated into the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854. Just let the people decide, said Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and others of his ilk, and specifically the act they passed provided that Nebraska and Kansas "shall be received into the union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

Many, including Presidents Franklin Pierce (1853-1857) and James Buchanan (1857-1861), appeared to believe this approach would work. They assumed Nebraska would enter the Union as a free state and Kansas, which shared its eastern border with the slave state of Missouri, would be admitted as a slave state. However, this assumption failed to take into account the Northern commitment to the revered Missouri Compromise of 1820 that prohibited slavery in any state that might be created out of the Louisiana Territory north of the southern border of Missouri (the 36° 30' line). Reopening the "settled" question of slavery in the territories was more than the growing free-soil, anti-slavery movement in the North could tolerate, and it organized to contest the area.

Thus, timing and geography made Kansas the battleground for a clash between two increasingly antagonistic forces—those who opposed slavery and those who favored it. Soon after its creation, settlers from both the South, including Missouri, and the North migrated to Kansas. Many from the South supported the use of slaves or for political reasons wanted Kansas counted among the states that favored the institution. Those from the North generally opposed slavery in Kansas. Election fraud, intimidation, and some violence resulted as the two sides vied for hegemony, and in part because partisans inside and outside Kansas exaggerated the clash of arms for their own political advantage, the territory was often called Bleeding Kansas.

The Kansas conflict polarized the nation in many respects. Reflected in the journalism, the poetry, and the music of the day, the Kansas Question also changed the face of politics and government in the United States. Prior to 1854, the second American party system had already begun to unravel under the pressures of sectionalism and westward expansion. The Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson, with its pro-Southern, state rights bent, was well entrenched in the North, the South, and the West, but the Whig Party of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster lost its way during the late 1840s and early 1850s. The Whigs were victorious with the election of General Zachary Taylor in 1848, but it was a hollow victory. Dissidents from both major parties ultimately organized as the Free Soil Party in the summer of 1848, and the new party united around the Wilmot Proviso (a proposed ban on slavery in the territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War) and the slogan "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." Although their candidate, former Democratic president Martin Van Buren, ran a distant third, the third party movement impacted the outcome and was a harbinger of political things to come. In less than six years, despite the efforts of Clay, Webster, and others who fashioned the Compromise of 1850, the two party system reached its breaking point with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Superseding the Free Soil Party in 1854 was the Republican Party, which emerged in opposition to the principle of "squatter" or popular sovereignty and to the expansion of slavery in the territories. The new party soon replaced the Whig Party as the main opposition to the Democratic Party and mounted its first national challenge in the presidential elections of 1856. In a campaign that featured much harsh rhetoric, including the first documented use of the term "bleeding Kansas," the infant Republican Party made a respectable showing. The Democrats had abandoned their embattled and much maligned incumbent, Franklin Pierce, who supported the proslavery government in Kansas, in favor of James Buchanan, while the upstart Republicans opted for the famous "Pathfinder of the West," Colonel John C. Fremont. The Republican Party lost its first national contest, but in the process it launched a new party system, deepened the sectional gulf, and positioned itself for a second chance in 1860.

During the months leading up to and following the pivotal 1856 contest, several incidents in Kansas Territory and in Washington, D.C., drastically altered the national discourse. Civil war broke out in Kansas with the sacking of Lawrence and the subsequent Pottawatomie Massacre of May 1856; while in Congress, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner denounced the slave power and its "rape of Kansas" in his famous "Crime Against Kansas" speech. Two days later, violence entered the Senate chamber in the form of Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina, who beat the defenseless Sumner senseless for his antislavery remarks. Throughout 1856 much congressional time and attention was given to the Kansas Question, especially as it pertained to the proposed free-state Topeka Constitution. Although the violence in Kansas subsided by election day, sectional strife had risen to a new level.

In 1857 a second constitutional convention in Kansas once again increased national tension. The Lecompton assembly, which resulted in the ratification of a proslavery document for Kansas before the end of the year, badly split the national Democratic Party. Clearly, antislavery Kansans were in the majority by January 1858 when they defeated the Lecompton Constitution in a second referendum. Nevertheless, President Buchanan submitted it to Congress on February 2 and recommended that Kansas be admitted as a slave state. Many Northern Democrats, including the influential Senator Douglas, who recognized the violation of the principal of popular sovereignty in the Lecompton action, split with their party's president on this issue. Subsequently, the Senate voted for admission and the House for resubmission; a compromise—the English bill, providing for an up or down vote by territorial residents

on the constitution—passed both houses on April 30, and Kansas voters overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton Constitution on August 2, 1858. Technically, because of the Dred Scott decision, slavery remained legal in the territory of Kansas until admission; in reality, however, the free-state victory in the fall 1857 legislative elections and the defeat of the proslave constitution in 1858 settled the issue for Kansas. As Senator Douglas had indicated during one of his debates with Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln-Douglas Debates, August 21-October 15, 1858), slavery could not survive, no matter what the courts might say, in a territory where the majority was hostile to its continued existence.

Tensions moderated in Kansas after the final defeat of the Lecompton Constitution, but the seeds of the “irrepressible conflict” had been sown. John Brown brought the country to the brink of disunion at Harpers Ferry in October 1859, and Lincoln inadvertently pushed the nation beyond the point of no return when he captured the presidency in November 1860. With the election of this Illinois Republican, Southern states began to leave the Union and opposition to Kansas admission under the free-state Wyandotte Constitution, blocked in the Senate the previous year, decreased. On January 21, 1861, with the departure of senators from Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida, the Senate passed the Kansas bill. A week later the House passed the bill, and President Buchanan signed it into law on January 29, 1861. Thus, Kansas became the thirty-fourth state in a Union that was rapidly disintegrating in no small part because of the Kansas Question, and in less than three months, the nation was at war with itself.

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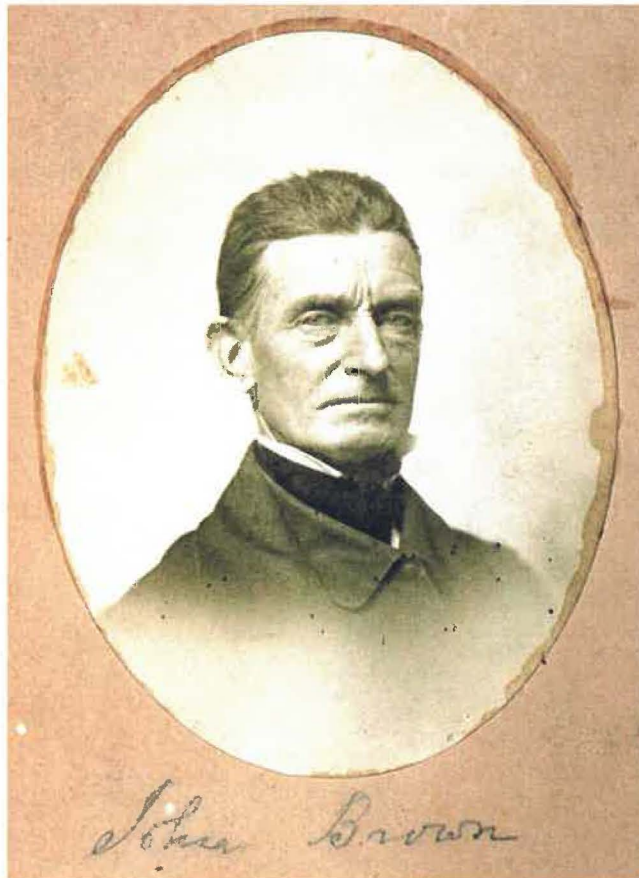
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John Brown in Kansas (1855-1859)

By Pat Traffas and Sandra Wiechert

He was a polarizing figure, a devout Calvinist, father of 20 children, who in the Spring of 1855, at the age of 55, came heavily armed to Kansas. Five of his sons preceded him to Kansas Territory. Over the fierce winter of 1855-1856, the family would build cabins and establish what became known as Brown's Station about 10 miles west of Osawatomie on the north side of Pottawatomie Creek in Franklin County. On December 7, 1855, the Wakarusa War broke out and the Browns went to defend the anti-slavery cause in Lawrence. "To each of their persons was strapped a short heavy broadsword. Each was supplied with a goodly number of firearms, and navy revolvers and poles were standing endwise around the wagon box with fixed bayonets pointing upwards. They looked really formidable and were received with great éclat. A small military company was organized at once, and the command was given to Old Brown." [1]



*Daguerreotype of John Brown-
Summer 1856, Kansas Territory*

*(Attributed to John Bowles,
Lawrence, Kansas Territory)*

*Library of the Boston
Athenaeum*

The spring of 1856 ushered in a year of violence and bloodshed. When the Free State Hotel was



burned by Missourians (May 21, 1856), Brown started out to defend Lawrence once more. The next day, after delivering an anti-slavery speech in the United State Senate, Senator Charles Sumner was attacked by proslavery Congressman Preston Brooks and almost caned to death. In retaliation for both events, on the night of May 24, 1856, Free State volunteers led by "Captain" John Brown murdered five men in the Pottawatomie Massacre. At the Doyle farm, James and two sons William and Drury, were dragged from their beds and hacked to death with short, heavy sabres. The Allen Wilkinson farm was raided next and Mr. Wilkinson was killed. The band went next to the James Harris farm, and although four adult proslavery men were there, only William Sherman was executed. The brutality of the Massacre plunged Kansas into guerrilla warfare. Raiders from Missouri terrorized the Free Soilers, and roving bands of Free State volunteers (like Brown) inflicted violence upon proslavery neighbors. On June 2, 1856, Brown's volunteers would clash and capture Henry Pate's forces at the Battle of Black Jack near Baldwin City. Some historians contend this was the first battle of the Civil War. The prisoners were released three days later by

Col Sumner and Lt. J.E.B. Stuart. During the battle, Brown had taken Pate's Bowie knife, which he much treasured. He would later attach it to a 6-foot pole (known as a "Pike") and have 1000 created. "It would be the capital weapon for the settlers of Kansas to keep in their log cabins." [2]

The Battle of Osawatimie, August 30, 1856, was a culmination of open warfare along the banks of the Marais des Cygnes River. Just back from rustling cattle in Missouri, Brown and his sons were the target of Gen. John W. Reid and his band of 250. They met in a furious firefight and a son, Frederick Brown, was killed. After retreating, John Brown watched the victors burn the town of Osawatimie. September 7 saw Lawrence, KS, back under siege. John Brown arrived on a gray horse amid cheers and delivered his famous "Keep calm and aim low" speech. He departed Kansas Territory on October 5 to return east on a fund-raising crusade.

Over one year later and under the alias of Nelson Hawkins, Brown returned to Kansas. He gathered recruits and expounded upon his idea to raid the armory at Harper's Ferry, and of a bold plan to free slaves. For the next seven months (November 20, 1857-June 24, 1858) he left Kansas once more.

During this period, the Marais des Cygnes Massacre occurred, where five Free State men were shot and killed.

Now white-bearded, under the alias of Shubel Morgan, Brown arrived back in Kansas. He had been in Canada and there his plans for the raid on Harper's Ferry were refined, and later betrayed by an advisor. Upon his return, he quietly built Fort Brown, on the Snyder claim "in full view for miles around in Missouri" From this fortress he led a raid on December 20, 1858 to free eleven slaves from Vernon County, Missouri, and escort them to freedom along the Underground Railroad. The Governor of Missouri and President Buchanan offered a reward for Brown's capture. Shortly after The Battle of the Spurs near Holton, KS, he crossed the northern border on February 1, 1859 never to return to Kansas again. A baby born during this escape was named Captain John Brown Daniels. After safely escorting African Americans to Canada, Brown then went to Pennsylvania and Maryland to launch his bigger plan, the Harper's Ferry Raid.

Whether seen as a madman by proslavery factions or a martyr by abolitionists, Brown was a central figure in a nation at the crossroads of civil war. "God sees it. I have only a short time to live—only one death to die and I will die fighting for this cause. There will be no more peace in this land until slavery is done for", he said to son Jason Brown while watching Osawatimie burn on August 30, 1856.

[1] Brown, F.W., editor: Herald of Freedom (newspaper), "Old John Brown", October 29, 1859

[2] John Brown and Bleeding Kansas: Prelude to the Civil War. A Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance Guide, 2000.

[3] Oates, Stephen B.; To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970.

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*A famous mural
"Tragic
Prelude" by
artist John S.
Curry can be
seen in the state
Capitol building
in Topeka.*

Lane's Brigade

By Bryce Benedict

In a cemetery just outside of Osceola, Missouri stands a beautiful granite obelisk. An inscription on the monument reads:

*"IN MEMORY OF OSCEOLA CITIZENS MURDERED BY KANSAS JAYHAWKERS AND THE UNION ARMY
In June 1861, President Lincoln issued an order making the U.S. Senator from Kansas, James H. Lane, a
Brigadier General.*

*In September 1861, General Lane and his rabble army of Kansas jayhawkers, under questionable authority of
Mr. Lincoln, invaded Missouri. His objective was to pillage and destroy peaceable, prosperous Osceola.
On September 21 & 22, the jayhawkers invaded, occupied, sacked, and torched Osceola. Twelve male citizens
sought to protect one of the banks from being looted and ultimately burned. General Lane arrested these
citizens for "Treason", and by way of a "Drumhead Court-Martial", appointed himself prosecutor and judge,
condemning the twelve to death.*

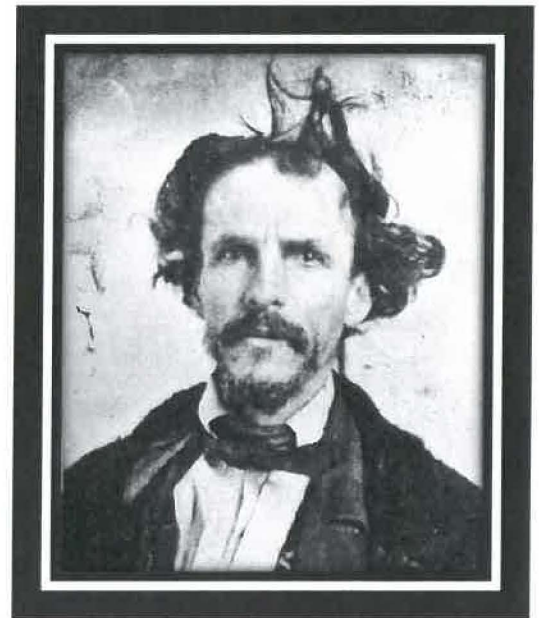
*He mustered a makeshift firing squad, in which he himself took part, murdering all but three of the twelve
men, thinking all were dead...."*

A contemporary Union general wrote in 1862 of the men of Lane's brigade, "Their principal occupation for the last six months seems to have been the stealing of negroes, the robbing of houses, and the burning of barns, grain, and forage. The evidence of their crimes is indisputable." Modern historians have not been much kinder to the memory of James Lane and his brigade. Thomas Goodrich claimed Lane's brigade "was little more than a mob of thieves and adventurers. Soon after crossing the [Missouri] border, the Kansans went on a looting and burning rampage." Albert Castel wrote that the Kansas men "proceeded to plunder, burn and kill indiscriminately."

The truth is far different !

When the war broke out in 1861 Kansas was surrounded by hostile forces on three sides. To the west were the Plains Indians. To the south were the slave-holding Indian tribes of the Indian Territory which were negotiating alliances with the Confederacy. To the east lay Missouri, which although it had not seceded yet, had a pro-southern government, many southern sympathizers, and a pro-Confederate state militia. Kansas settlers could still remember the days of Bleeding Kansas when pro-slavery Missourians crossed the border *en masse* to stuff ballot boxes, intimidate free state voters, and, at least twice, mounted armed invasions. In 1861 there was but a handful of Federal soldiers in the state. In fact Kansas witnessed a bleeding of Union strength as Federal garrisons in the Indian Territory were evacuated and the soldiers deployed elsewhere. There was no effective militia in the state.

Into this power vacuum stepped James Henry Lane, the United States Senator from Kansas. Without any military commission, without holding any rank in the army, in fact without any authority at all, he took command of the three U.S. Volunteer regiments forming in Kansas and christened them the "Kansas Brigade." The Kansas Brigade, or as it was sometimes known, the Lane Brigade, was in existence for less than a year before being disbanded. During its short existence the brigade operated along the Kansas-Missouri border, sometimes acting independently of U.S. military authority, and



sometimes cooperating with it. The brigade fought only one pitched battle but engaged in numerous skirmishers with Missouri troops. Like other Union troops, more men were lost to disease than to combat.

Although the brigade won no major battles, it was ever victorious in another arena—freeing slaves. Hundreds of slaves in Missouri were gathered up and sent to freedom in Kansas. At the time, however, slavery was still legal in Missouri, and taking slaves was theft. The men of the brigade did not concern themselves with such legal niceties, which is not surprising for a brigade that had among its members John Brown Jr., the son of John Brown of Harpers Ferry fame. A Missouri woman complained to a Federal general about a slave of hers who allegedly had taken refuge in the brigade camp. The general replied “Madam, if I had your nigger, I should feel it my duty to return him, and would cheerfully do so; but if he has got into Lane’s Brigade, all hell couldn’t get him.”

What of the charges of stealing other property, of arson? It is true some property of Missourians was taken, and some was burned. Some of this was theft and/or revenge, but most was legitimate confiscation according to the laws of war of the time. As to Osceola, what was done there on September 22, 1861 has been wildly, irresponsibly exaggerated. For instance, James Lane was not there. Nonetheless, what was done was a crime, even under the contemporary laws of war, and a crime for which no one was ever punished.*

Bryce Benedict, “Jayhawkers: The Civil War Brigade of James Henry Lane,” University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.

Freedom’s Fraud, “Monument to Osceola, Missouri Murdered Citizens,”

<http://www.geocities.com/clintlacy1/freedomsfrontierproject.html> accessed 24 February 2009

* “The author has discovered primary sources that indicate that James Lane was not at the actual battle of Osceola.”

AN INCIDENT ON THE MARIAS des CYGNES

By Joe Houts

There are several words in the English language, which when spoken, may cause a person to cringe, or better yet, to send grizzly chills down one's spine. Examples of such words would be murder, mayhem, and massacre. Actually, when murder and mayhem come together as a single act, as in war, they can turn into a massacre. The word has its origins from the old French spelling of "maacre," meaning shambles, or slaughter. Today's meaning is similar, but has become more defined, whereby it is, "The killing of numerous human beings under circumstances of cruel or atrocious acts contrary to the usages of civilized people."

When we think of massacres, we often think of far away places and times when such barbarous acts occurred, never believing such an audacious thing could happen close to home. Americans have always prided themselves on trying to be a fair and just people, not only in times of peace, but also in war. Regrettably, this statement has not always held true, especially within our own borders and towards our fellow citizens.

On May 19, 1858, one such massacre took place as part of the escalating and bloody Border War between Missourians and Kansans. Earlier in the spring of 1858, noted Jayhawker, James Montgomery and his gang, had forced a group of proslavery settlers from Fort Scott, Kansas back across Missouri's border. The men within this displaced lot subsequently tied up with Charles A. Hamilton, who in short order led them back into Kansas.

They entered the town of Trading Post and seized eleven men and hurried them off to a ravine near the Marias des Cygnes River. On Hamilton's order, the captives were gunned down in cold blood.



Two of the men died instantly. Hamilton and the men went into the ditch kicking the fallen making sure they were dead. The survivors attempted to play possum, but three were found alive, at which point one was shot in the head, the other in the mouth and the last was simply shot twice, leaving a death toll of five. Of the six survivors, five had been wounded in the foray. Apparently, the sixth survivor was covered with the blood from the others and not only escaped detection, but injury as well. What was once a quiet and peaceful place upon an isolated river would now be referred to as the Marias des Cygnes Massacre. Noted poet of the time, John Greenleaf Whittier, penned a poem

about the atrocity in the September 1858 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Unfortunately, this was not the first massacre to occur during the Border War, nor would it be the last before the conclusion of the American Civil War within these states. Two years before, John Brown, accompanied by his sons, had murdered five suspected proslavery settlers on the Pottawatomie Creek outside Osawatomie, Kansas by hacking them to death with broad swords.

After the Civil War commenced other massacres occurred in the area and by war's end six had taken place with two in Missouri and four in Kansas. The others were the Palmyra Massacre on October 18, 1862, where ten Confederate prisoners were murdered in retaliation for the death of a Union man. Next, the most famous occurred, being the Lawrence Massacre on August 21, 1863, where Captain William Clarke Quantrill and 450 of his men raided and burned the town to the ground, killing upwards of 200 unarmed men. On October 6, 1863, the Baxter Springs Massacre took place, again at the hands of Quantrill. And lastly, there was the Centralia, Missouri Massacre on September 27, 1864, where remnants of Quantrill's gang led by William T. "Bloody Bill" Anderson, George Todd and John Thraillkill killed, butchered and mutilated 147 Union soldiers under the command of Major A. E. V. Johnson. Purportedly, future outlaw, Jesse James, shot Major Johnson through the head, stating first, though, "I am the last thing you will ever see alive."

Tragically, we have had our share of massacres. Again, we as a society want to think the best about ourselves, saying it could never happen here, or to us. But in truth it already has and may we pray it will never reappear on our door step. Of strange irony though, the Pottawatomie Creek starts in eastern Kansas and runs into the Marias des Cygnes, which merges into the Osage River on the Missouri side of the border. The Osage eventually runs into the Missouri River. After the Marias des Cygnes Massacre, it could be said, the blood of one land bled into the blood of the other.

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Kansas, an Overview

By Thomas Fox Averill

The geography, politics and the historical framework of Kansas' entry into the Union make the Sunflower State of great importance to the United States. Kansas was the destination of the first European explorer, Coronado (1541), to venture north into what is now the United States. The Spaniard's inability to see Kansas for what it was, blinded instead by his search for Cibola, the Seven Cities of Gold, has become part of the commentary of Kansas writers, who often celebrate a landscape overlooked by those who dismiss the Midwest as "Flyover Country."

Kansas was part of the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and its northeast corner, defined by the Missouri River, was traversed by the Lewis & Clark expedition of 1804. Other early explorers crossed the state: Zebulon Pike (1806), Stephen Long (1819) and John Fremont (1842). Long's map, drawn after his explorations, labeled much of western Kansas as part of the Great American Desert, and the image of "desert," to contrast with early promotions of Kansas as "garden," is a dichotomy that has its presence in Kansas to this day. Later, via Westport (currently in Kansas City, Missouri), Kansas became the first leg of the Santa Fe Trail, surveyed in 1825 and patrolled and protected by soldiers from Fort Leavenworth, Fort Larned and others. These forts, along with Fort Riley and

Fort Hays, situated near the Smoky Hill Trail, was instrumental in the prosecution of the Indian Wars of the post-Civil War era. The Oregon Trail went through Lawrence and Topeka, then cut northwest into Nebraska. More than 400,000 emigrants used the trail between the 1840s and late 1860s. In 1830, Kansas was the destination of Native American tribes relocated through the Federal policy of Indian Removal. Reservations for such tribes as the Potawatomie, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Shawnee and Delaware replaced the territories of such indigenous tribes as the Kansa, Osage and Pawnee.

By 1854, when Kansas was opened as a territory, the United States was on the verge of its civil eruption over slavery. Those settling Kansas were given "squatter sovereignty," the right to decide for themselves whether Kansas would enter the Union as a Free or as a Slave state. Abolitionists flocked to Kansas under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. John Brown followed his sons to a farm near Osawatomie. Free State towns—Topeka, Lawrence, Manhattan—sprang up, as did the pro-slavery towns. Kansas entered the Union as a free state in 1861 and gave more troops per capita to the Union cause than any other state.

After the Civil-war, Kansas was settled predominantly by Union Army veterans, and hence Republicans. Kansas has been dominated by that political party ever since. But 19th Century Republicanism supported all kinds of reform, and writers

analyzing the state remarked on Kansas as a bellwether: Carl Becker, in a 1910 essay, "Kansas," noted that, "The Kansas spirit is the American spirit double-distilled." William Allen White noted that, "When anything is going to happen in this country, it happens first in Kansas." He mentions Abolition, Prohibition, Populism and various other reform movements, including Woman's Suffrage. Unfortunately, much of what happened in Kansas might be said to reinforce the state motto, *Ad Astra Per Aspera*, "To the Stars Through Difficulties." Eastern Kansas was settled primarily before the Civil War, and the difficulties were political. The central third of Kansas was settled from the late 1860s through the 1870s

and was plagued by economic depression (1873), drought (mid-1870s) and grasshopper invasion (1874). Western Kansas, on the High Plains, saw the most difficulties. The 160-acre claims of the Homestead Act of 1862 were simply insufficient to sustain life in such a dry climate. Those who did well on an Eastern Kansas claim, where a settler could count on over 30 inches of rain each year, struggled where rainfall rarely exceeded 15 inches per year. Out of Western Kansas struggles came the most viable third party movement in U.S. history, Populism. Together with the Democrats, the Populists nominated William Jennings Bryan to run against William McKinley in the 1896 presidential election. Kansas had already elected a third party governor, a U.S. Congressman and U.S. Senator, and a Populist Kansas House of Representatives.

Kansas settlement and development was tied closely to the railroads, particularly the Union Pacific and Santa Fe. As a result, by 1868, when the Kansas Pacific reached Abilene, Joseph McCoy saw the opportunity to drive Texas cattle to the railhead there and make good profits feeding a beef-starved, post-Civil War America. Out of the cattle industry, with cattle towns gradually moving south and west (to Wichita and Caldwell, to Ellsworth and Dodge City), comes cowboy song, poetry, and legend. Prohibition passed the Kansas Legislature in 1881, just before the last cattle drives to Dodge City in 1882.

The 20th Century Kansas image is dominated by the Dust Bowl, ranching and farming, a vital aircraft industry and the film "The Wizard of Oz." The recent rediscovery of the state's subtle landscape, coupled with environmental awareness, is moving the state toward wind energy, organic farming, farmer's markets and other alternative economies.

Our state song, "Home on the Range," asks for a home, "where seldom is heard a discouraging word. We are a hopeful and optimistic people. As Dorothy said, "There is no place like home."

Welcome to our home: Kansas.



Thomas Fox Averill is Writer-in-residence at Washburn University, where he teaches courses in Creative Writing, and Kansas Literature, Folklore & Film. He founded the Center for Kansas Studies there, and his own Thomas Fox Averill Kansas Studies Collection is housed at Washburn's Mabee Library. His most recent novel, rode, published by the University of New Mexico Press, was named Outstanding Western Novel of 2011 as part of the Western Heritage Awards administered by the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City.

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Singing the Cattle North

By Jim Hoy

It's my contention that the American cowboy, our national folk hero, was created in the trail drives from Texas to Kansas that followed the Civil War. Men all over the world had been working livestock from the backs of horses for centuries, but it was on the Old Chisholm Trail that these mounted drovers and herders first entered the American consciousness as popular-culture figures.

The Chisholm Trail was only one of many cattle trails in the Old West, and it was neither the oldest, the longest, nor the most heavily used, but it was the most famous. Before the Civil War longhorn cattle sometimes reached eastern markets by following the Shawnee Trail up through Indian Territory, southeast Kansas, and Missouri. The Chisholm Trail ended first at Abilene, then moved west to Ellsworth, and finally south, first to Newton, then to Wichita, and finally to Caldwell.

As eastern Kansas became more settled, drovers blazed a new trail farther west. The Great Western Trail, the longest and most heavily used, crossed the Red River from Texas into Indian Territory at Doan's Crossing, then went all the way to Montana, running through the famous cow towns of Dodge City, Kansas, and Ogallala, Nebraska, on the way.

The legacy of the old cattle trails, however, was not only the cowboy himself, but the trove of verse he created. It has been noted that no other occupational group has composed as many poems and folksongs as the cowboy. One reason was that cowboys had lots of inspiration: they worked in the great outdoors amid the glories of nature, their work was often exciting, and they had plenty of opportunity to compose. It was the horse, after all, that was doing the heavy dawn-to-dusk lifting.

Many of the old cowboy folksongs were sung horseback while trailing cattle north. Most of those songs fit into one of three categories: trail-driving songs, night-herding songs, and campfire songs. Cowboys sang trail-driving songs to entertain themselves, night-herding songs to entertain the cattle, and campfire songs to entertain their fellow cowboys.

"The Old Chisholm Trail" is probably the first song that cowboys composed. "Come along, boys, and listen to my tales/I'll tell you my troubles on the Old Chisholm Trail. Come a ti-yi-yippee, yippee yea, yippee yea, come a ti-yi-yippee, yippee yea." Those early-day cowboys sang it to relieve the boredom of travel. Music helps pass the time, and the cowboys of yore had lots of time to pass. Depending on how deep in Texas they were when they left and how far they were going on a drive, they might be anywhere from two or three months to six or seven on the road. As one verse in "The Old Chisholm Trail" says, "It's up every morning before daylight/Before I sleep the moon shines bright." That's a lot of hours to fill every day.

Now longhorns are rangy beasts and could easily cover 40 miles in a day. But if they did that every day, they'd soon be worn down to a nub, so a typical day covered maybe six or eight miles, allowing the cattle to graze their way north. A good trail boss could deliver steers in Kansas that weighed more than when they left Texas. Eight miles a day was the equivalent of driving 30 miles-per-hour on an Interstate Highway—excruciatingly slow.

That's why cowboys sang trail-driving songs—to entertain themselves as they ambled north. Potentially fatal excitement was created by a stampede, Indians, or rustlers, but most of the time the biggest danger was being bored to death.

Longhorns were generally in camp about ten hours each night, giving them time to both rest and to chew their cud. That ten-hour down time for steers was divided into five shifts of two hours each with two cowboys at a time taking their turn riding night guard. While it was still daylight, they would just ride a circle around the cattle, but when it got dark they would sing or hum, the belief being that the soothing sound would help keep the steers quiet.

Night-herding songs tended to be long (two hours to kill), slow (lullabies are more soothing than marches), and sad because the cowboy often wasn't in a very happy frame of mind. He was usually young, homesick, and suffering from sleep deprivation. No wonder he didn't feel like singing happy, snappy songs.

One of my favorite night-herding songs is "I Ride an Old Paint," about a cowboy headed to Montana with a herd of longhorns that, as we learn in the chorus, are "fiery and snuffy and rarin' to go." So he's riding around them slowly and singing about Old Bill Jones who "had two daughters and a song/One went to Denver and the other went wrong./His young wife was killed in a poolroom fight,/But still he keeps singing from morning 'til night." Singing, in spite of all his troubles, just like that cowboy riding night guard is singing, in spite of all his loneliness.

The popular conception of the cowboy is that he doesn't talk much. But let one drover around the campfire tell about a tough roundup or a bad bronco, someone else will have a similar tale, and then even the most reticent cowhand can become loquacious. Punchers with poetic abilities turned these stories into poems, and those who could sing turned those poems into songs. The result was campfire songs.

Campfire songs often featured outlaws, both the human and the equine kind. "The Cowboy's Home Sweet Home" typifies the former, and its opening verse provides a perfect setup: "We were lying on the prairie of Slaughter's ranch one night/Our heads upon our saddles; the moon was shining bright./Some were telling stories and some were singing songs,/While others were idly smoking as the long hours rolled along." A young cowboy then tells the sad tale of how he became a drifter and how he'd like to go back home. But he can't because he and his friend got in a fight over a girl, and in the scuffle his friend was killed. Now, like many men on the cattle frontier, he's an outcast and, presumably, wanted by the law.

In the "Strawberry Roan" an overconfident bronco-riding cowboy is lounging around town "not holding a dime." Then along comes a rancher who offers him ten dollars, the equivalent of a week-and-a-half's wages, to ride this outlaw horse. The old roan horse won't win any prizes for looks: "little pin ears that touch at the tip/a big 44 brand on his left hip/ewe-necked and old with a long lower jaw/I can tell at a glance he's a regular outlaw." The cowboy gets him saddled, but when he swings into the saddle the horse "seems to quit living down here on the ground." Old Strawberry "goes up in the east and comes down in the west. . . he can turn on a nickel and give you some change." The rider loses his stirrups and hat, but manages to stay on board until Old Strawberry makes a high leap "and left me a spinning way up in the sky." The cowboy has met his match, but he'll "bet all my money there's no man alive/who can stay with Old Strawberry when he makes that high dive."

So that's how I see cowboy folk songs shaping up: trail driving songs, night-herding songs, and campfire songs. Of course, any of the three types of songs could be sung at any place and any time the

old-time cowboy felt like singing them. Today, the cowboy will just turn on the radio or plug in a CD as he's driving along. In my pickup, it's a CD by Buck Ramsey or Don Edwards or Andy Wilkinson (three of the best contemporary cowboy singers).



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Jim Hoy, Director of the Center for Great Plains Studies at Emporia State University, was reared on a ranch in the Flint Hills of Butler County, Kansas. His latest book, *Cowboy's Lament: A Life on the Open Range*, is about the life of Frank Maynard, the cowboy who in 1876 wrote "The Streets of Laredo."

The Free State/Eldridge Hotel and the Colonel Behind It

By Sandra Wiechert

Shalor (also spelled Shaler and Shayler) Winchell Eldridge was born in Southampton MA in August 1816, one of seven children. At his death Jan. 16, 1899 in Lawrence at age 82, "Col." Eldridge was eulogized throughout the Midwest as one of the last of the "actors whose personality stands out in bold relief in the real drama of Kansas." Yet he never held a civil office, nor spoke at an assemblage. Instead, he leased and built hotels, seven of them, of which The Free State Hotel, later named The Eldridge Hotel, is synonymous with early Lawrence's tragic history.

Eldridge's boyhood was spent on the family farm and in common schools; his early manhood in various business ventures. For ten years he worked in railroad contracting in New England before extending his business into Pennsylvania where he closed it. While there a casual acquaintanceship was struck up with S. C. Pomeroy, an old schoolmate. As financial agent of The Emigrant Aid Company, he was returning to Kansas. Five emigrant companies had preceded him, all intending to save Kansas from slavery. Thus in the winter of 1854, Eldridge, then age 38, traveled with Pomeroy by railroad to Alton IL, by boat to St. Louis then to Jefferson City, by farm wagon to Boonville, and finally by stage to Kansas City MO, arriving Jan. 3, 1855. There Eldridge leased a hotel owned by Pomeroy's company in the tiny town of less than 1000 inhabitants. But in the spring, pro-slavery immigration turned turbulent, and the company found it prudent to sell the hotel to Eldridge. By then he was established as a businessman of good management and good will.

Eldridge rendered bold and dangerous services to the Free State cause. Somehow he sent a cannon, stored in the warehouse of proslavery men, through the watchful ranks of the border ruffians to the beleaguered town of Lawrence. He safely concealed Governor Andrew H. Reeder and other Free Staters in his hotel while their outlaw pursuers roomed there within.

But Kansas troubles were becoming acute, and citizens of nearby Lawrence were reacting to the violent methods of the proslavery party. Shalor Eldridge leased the not-yet-completed Free State Hotel there, also owned by the Emigrant Aid Company, and ordered costly equipment for it from the east. His five brothers and a sister soon followed, as did his wife, Mary Morton, and their four daughters: Mary Sophia, Josie, Evangeline, and Alice. But the family was not yet settled nor the hotel opened when on May 21, 1856, the three-story structure was completely burned and destroyed by Sheriff Sam Jones and his posse. Within two hours, Eldridge announced he would buy the ruins and build a better hotel on the site. He believed a good hotel showed the character of a town and made it a desirable community. And soon he built the most commodious hotel, renamed "The Eldridge House," west of St. Louis. (This inspired the Lawrence city logo, still used, of a Phoenix rising from the ashes of a burning building.)

Soon after this destruction, Eldridge was sent to Washington DC to present a document drawn up by Lawrence citizens for President Franklin Pierce, asking for federal government protection. Pierce received him with "scant courtesy," throwing the paper down and delivering "a Phillipic against the people of Kansas." But eventually Pierce agreed to replace Gov. Wilson Shannon with J. W. Geary, in late 1857. Some Missouri raids stopped.

While still in the East, Eldridge became a delegate to the first national republican convention that nominated John C. Fremont for the presidency. He also was appointed to the National Kansas committee and commissioned to take charge of emigration moving through the northern route of Iowa and Nebraska. His deliverance of 284 immigrants safely to Lawrence and Topeka enabled settlers to act more aggressively yet peacefully as they had avoided the defensive conflicts and harassment of traveling through Missouri.

In 1857, Eldridge started building the large house with its expansive porch and outdoor kitchen at 945 Rhode Island where he and Mary raised their four daughters, and where others in his family lived occasionally. He enlisted as a private in the Second Kansas infantry and soon was elected lieutenant, serving six months. In 1863 he was appointed paymaster in the U.S. Army by Pres. Lincoln, serving one year. While away, on Aug. 21, 1863 his second hotel, the five-story Eldridge House, was burned and destroyed by William Clarke Quantrill and his raiders in the early morning. Due to the bargaining of a Captain Banks with the raiders, all guests were allowed to leave unharmed. Mrs. Eldridge and the family remained safely in their own home which was not damaged. At least 180 men and boys were ruthlessly murdered within four hours. Again Col. Eldridge, with much financial help, rebuilt The Eldridge House, bigger and prouder than ever.

The remainder of Col. Eldridge's life was spent mostly in Lawrence but he also built hotels in Atchison, Wyandotte, and Coffeyville plus three in Kansas City. In his last years he wrote a book of his recollections in Kansas which was published posthumously. His funeral at Plymouth Congregational Church was huge and presided over by the Rev. Richard Cordley, a survivor of, and later an author about, Quantrill's Raid. Kate Riggs, well documented for saving her husband's life during the Raid, was the church musician.



He is buried in the family plot at Oak Hill Cemetery in Lawrence.

The Eldridge home at 945 Rhode Island was renovated in 1979, and added to the Register of Historic Kansas Places in 1981. It has always been lived in and maintained.

The Eldridge House, or Hotel, stood until 1925. Deteriorating, a group of Lawrence business leaders tore it down and rebuilt today's Eldridge Hotel in its original location. By the late 1960's motels were becoming popular, and the Eldridge closed its doors in 1970. Converted to apartments, it remained an apartment hotel until 1985. Then Lawrence investors brought about the rebirth and completely rebuilt and converted it back to a hotel with 48 two-room suites. In 2004 KU alumni and local investors bought the hotel at auction and completely renovated it again, restoring the building to its original 1925 grandeur. Occupying possibly the most historic corner in Kansas "where history and hospitality converge," one can almost imagine the genial Col. Shalor W. Eldridge welcoming each guest and wishing them godspeed upon their departure.

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"Eldridge Hotel History" information sheet, presented at the Eldridge Hotel reception desk and on its website: www.eldridgehotel.com.

Sandra Wiechert, Lawrence, is a native Kansan with degrees from Kansas State University. A retired reference librarian and teacher, she now works with the TALK program of the Kansas Humanities Council, leading book discussions. She is a charter member of the Oregon-California Trails Association.

Stories of Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence, Kansas

By Katie Armitage

Missouri guerrilla leader, William Clarke Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence, Kansas on August 21, 1863 killed about one hundred eighty men and boys, left 85 widows and 250 "orphan" children. Congregational minister Richard Cordley described the scene "The dead lay all along the sidewalk... In almost every house could be heard the wail of the widow or orphan." A young soldier, Sherman Enderton, arrived with a contingent of Union troops that entered Lawrence hours after the raid. Looking around

Enderton found time to make a sketch of the awful scene.



Survivor Robert Elliot described the work of the evening after the attack as "the harvest of death." Elliot and other Lawrence

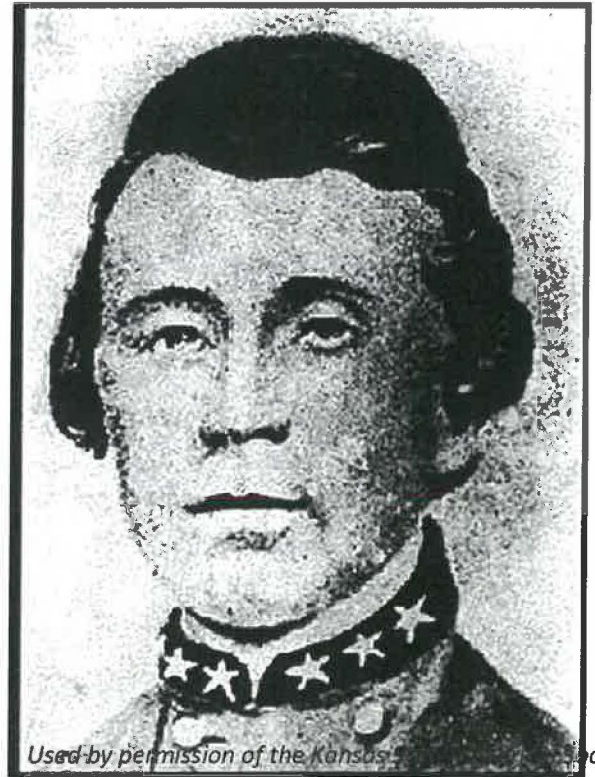
men wondered why they survived when they witnessed the death of many relatives and neighbors. The dozen or more men the raiders sought to kill, like Elliott, James Lane, Charles Robinson, had escaped. Military age men were away from home in the Union army. The militia, formed by men left behind, was unable to offer any resistance after raiders commanded the streets, seized the armory, and surrounded the hotel. In the early August dawn raiders who had ridden all night, completely surprised this nine-year-old town located forty miles behind Union lines.

Survivors of Quantrill's raid, as they died in later years, were often identified with the raid in obituaries. Before they passed from the scene they had told their stories, dedicated a citizen's monument to the victims in 1895, and held reunions. The largest gathering of Raid survivors occurred in 1913 on the fiftieth anniversary of the death and destruction that rained upon Lawrence. In addition to the people who survived some homes were spared and these were identified at the fiftieth anniversary. Some of these homes have endured during the later growth of Lawrence and are today valued historic structures in the progressive city of over 90,000 residents.

Only one guerrilla was killed in Lawrence during the raid. Most of the raiders, including the leader, William C. Quantrill, rode back into Missouri. Quantrill, however, met his fate, ironically at the end of the war in 1865, at the hands of a Union guerrilla in Kentucky. About one hundred raiders survived the civil war and in time held their own reunions in Missouri, much to the horror of the survivors in Lawrence.

William C. Quantrill, born 1832 in Ohio, died in Kentucky in 1865. Quantrill came to Kansas in 1857 from Ohio. He had run afoul of Kansas law and moved to Missouri.

The raid was the culmination of a near decade of enmity along the Kansas-Missouri border. Coming at the mid-point of the Civil War the raid followed years of strife and murder on both sides of the long, unmarked Kansas-Missouri border. Kansas Territory, established by the U.S. Congress in 1854, became the center of the conflict over the extension of slavery. When leaders had sought a central route for a transcontinental railroad, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois led the effort to open what had been Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River to settlement with the provision of "popular sovereignty" or letting settlers decide the question of slavery.



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Katie Armitage, a Lawrence resident, holds an M.A. in History from the University of Kansas. She has worked for several historical agencies and frequently gives tours and talks on Lawrence history. She taught a course based on her recent book for the Osher Life Long Learning Institute at the University of Kansas in Spring 2012.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN KANSAS

By Eva Allen

When the Underground Railroad is mentioned, most people do not automatically think of Kansas. However, with the passage of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, the newly-opened territory quickly became a battleground between pro- and anti-slavery forces, with the Underground Railroad playing a crucial role in the struggle.

Eager to keep slavery out of the Kansas territory, abolitionists from the East flocked to the area to settle. The New England Emigrant Aid Company of Boston sent people to found the town of Lawrence, which soon became the territory's most active Underground Railroad community. Meanwhile, Osawatimie was settled by abolitionists from the American Missionary Association of New York.¹

Not to be outdone, pro-slavery advocates moved into Kansas from neighboring Missouri, as well as from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Most of the pro-slavery settlers arrived during the first two years after the territory opened. Often these slaveholders owned a very small number of slaves, unlike slaveholders in the Deep South.² However, as fighting and unrest broke out around them, and as the danger of losing their human chattel to the Underground Railroad increased, many of these settlers decided to move their slaves to safer locations such as Missouri, or to sell them.

Escaping slaves quickly began to view Kansas as a safe haven, and word spread that if they could reach Lawrence, they would be assured of help. Most of the runaway slaves came from the hemp-producing area of western Missouri known as "Little Dixie." Others arrived from southern states such as Texas, or from Indian Territories where the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles held slaves.³

Many former slaves stopped first in Quindaro, an abolitionist settlement just across the Missouri River from Parkville, a town where there were also some anti-slavery residents.⁴ From Quindaro, fugitives continued on to Lawrence, then to Topeka, and after that, headed north along The Lane Trail.⁵



This trail had been established originally by James Lane, a former congressman from Indiana, to enable free-state immigrants coming into the Kansas territory to avoid pro-slavery settlements along the Missouri River. Starting west from Chicago, he designated a trail through Iowa, the southeast corner of Nebraska, and then south to Topeka, avoiding Missouri entirely. The trail was marked with rock piles

that could be seen from some distance away.⁶ Emigrant travel on the Lane Trail began to fall off by about 1856, but at the same time there was an increase in use of the route as part of the Underground Railroad. The settlements of Albany, in Nemaha County, Kansas, and Plymouth, in Brown County, were founded with the main purpose of serving as stations on the Lane Trail.⁷ Neither of these towns appears on current maps, so apparently they are no longer in existence.

Of course, there are no records to show exactly how many African-Americans made their way to freedom via the Lane Trail, but one notable use of the route was by John Brown in 1858. On December 20 of that year, Brown and his men were encamped at Bain's Fort, in the southeast part of the territory, just a few miles from the Missouri border. A Missouri slave named Jim Daniels approached Brown, asking for help escaping from the master who was planning to sell him and his family.

Brown quickly organized a raid into Missouri, liberated twelve slaves, and carried them away into Kansas. The group traveled north through Osawatomie and then on to Lawrence. To their advantage, they were pursued only half-heartedly by the slave owners, while abolitionists along the route provided shelter. From Lawrence, Brown and his company continued on to Topeka, Holton, Horton, Albany, and into Nebraska. By March 10, they had reached Detroit and were ferried across the river to Windsor, Canada. John Brown traveled on from there to Harper's Ferry, Virginia.⁸

At the same time that John Brown was conducting his raid to free Missouri slaves, Dr. John Doy, a surgeon and "general manager" of the Underground Railroad in Lawrence, had been asked by a group of free blacks to help them move to a safer place. Slave-catchers were ardently at work in Kansas territory to capture not only escaped slaves, but freed slaves as well. The monetary gain was actually greater for kidnapping and selling a free person back into slavery than collecting the reward for returning an escaped slave. Doy and thirteen African-Americans thus made a plan for him to escort them to Holton, Kansas. From there, the blacks planned to continue on to Iowa, where they could settle in safety.

Originally, the plan was for Doy's group to travel with John Brown and the fugitives he had stolen from Missouri. This would provide ten armed guards for the combined parties. However, Brown changed his mind about using his guards for both groups, arguing that the slaves he had liberated in total defiance of the law were in greater danger than Doy's free blacks.

Although left with no protection, Doy decided to proceed anyway. His group had only gone about twelve miles from Lawrence when they were ambushed by twenty border ruffians, who conducted them to Weston, Missouri. Dr. Doy and his son Charles were held at the Platte County jail to await trial. The thirteen African-Americans were sold into slavery, with families being torn apart.

Charles Doy gained his freedom, but his father Dr. John Doy, was sentenced by a Missouri court to five years of hard labor in the state penitentiary. However, on July 23, 1859, while Doy was waiting for his appeal to come before the Missouri Supreme Court, his abolitionist friends, calling themselves

“The Immortal Ten,” launched a daring rescue of Doy from the St. Joseph jail.⁹



Very few written records were kept that pertain to the history of the Underground Railroad, mainly because it was too dangerous to document the people and places involved. Yet oral history and other sketchy bits of tradition have provided some indication of where the Underground Railroad “stations” were in Lawrence.

The most important of these locations was probably the big stone barn belonging to Joel Grover, a New Yorker who had arrived in Lawrence in 1854 with the second group of settlers sent by the New England Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts.¹⁰ This barn survives today as part of Fire Station No. 4 at 2819 Stone Barn Terrace.

First built in 1858, the barn apparently served as a point to which fugitives who had been hiding in various Lawrence residents’ homes were brought and sent on as a group to Topeka or Valley Falls. At least two oral history accounts later confirmed the use of the Grover barn in this way. One of these, recorded in the 1890s, was from Elizabeth Abbott, wife of Major James B. Abbott, who was a well-known free-state leader during the 1850s. A second report in 1929 came from Mrs. S. B. Prentiss, in whose father’s cabin John Brown and part of his group of fugitives had sheltered for one night before going on to spend several days hiding in Grover’s barn.

Among other Lawrence residents known to have been active in the Underground Railroad were Amasa Soule and his father William Lloyd Garrison Soule, Rev. John E. Stewart, Richard Cordley, and Josiah Miller. The Miller family lived at 1111 E. 19th Street, and the history of their home has been researched by Dennis Dailey, a KU professor who lived there subsequently. He learned that escaped slaves were apparently hidden in the smokehouse, the foundation of which is still on the property. The house is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The exact number of Lawrence homes where escaped slaves were hidden will probably never be known, but judging from a statement in an 1859 letter from J. Bowles of Lawrence to F. B. Sanbourne in Concord, Massachusetts, the number may be fairly impressive. Bowles wrote: “To give you an idea of what has been done by the people of this place in U.G.R.R., I’ll make a statement of the number of fugitives who have found assistance here. In the first four years, 1855 to 1859, I am personally known to the fact of 300 fugitives having passed through and received assistance from the abolitionists here at Lawrence.”¹¹⁰

¹ Diane Miller, "The Underground Railroad in Bleeding Kansas,"

http://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/upload/UGRR-in-Kansas.pdf, May, 2008, accessed Feb. 17, 2012.

² "Slavery and the UGRR in Kansas," The Salina Journal, <http://www.salina.com/www/nie/UGGRinKS.pdf>, publication date unknown. Accessed Feb. 17, 2012.

³ Miller

⁴ "Slavery and the UGRR"

⁵ Kansas Historical Society, "Cool Things—Underground Railroad Chair," <http://www.kshs.org/p/cool-things-underground-railroad-chair/10181>, accessed Feb. 16, 2012.

⁶ Miller

⁷ Morris W. Werner, "Lane's Trail and the Underground Railway," Kansas History Web Sites, <http://www.kansasheritage.org/werner/lane.html>, accessed Feb. 16, 2012.

⁸ Frank W. Blackmar, editor, Vol. II, Kansas: a cyclopedia of state history, embracing events, institutions, industries, counties, cities, towns, prominent persons, etc. ... / Standard Pub. Co. Chicago : 1912, transcribed July 2002 by Carolyn Ward, http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/u/underground_railroad.html, accessed Feb. 15, 2012.

⁹ Miller

¹⁰ Nancy Smith, "The 'Liberty Line' in Lawrence," Lawrence Journal-World, Feb. 22, 1987, Lawrence Community Connections, <http://history.lawrence.com/project/community/ug1987/UG1987index.html>, accessed Feb. 15, 2012.

¹¹ Smith

MOSES GRINTER RESIDENCE (GRINTER PLACE), 1856-57

1420 South 78th Street

John Swagger, Builder

Kansas City, Kansas Historic Landmark: August 26, 1982

Register of Historic Kansas Places: July 1, 1977

National Register of Historic Places: January 25, 1971



On May 8, 1827, Colonel Henry Leavenworth established Cantonment Leavenworth on the site of the present fort. It was intended to be the principal western depot for government supplies, which were shipped up the Missouri River by boat and then distributed overland to the various posts on what was intended to be the permanent border between the United States and Indian Country. It soon became evident that, for the supply system to function smoothly, a ferry would be needed across the Kansas River. Accordingly, in January 1831, a twenty-one year old Kentuckian named Moses R. Grinter was sent to establish and operate a ferry at a point on the river near the present intersection of 78th and Kaw Drive.¹ At that time, the area north of the Kansas River was part of the Delaware Reserve, established in 1829, while the lands on the south bank were part of the Shawnee Reserve, established in 1825.

The Grinter ferry was a typical rope ferry, the type most frequently used on the larger streams such as the Kansas River. It was designed so that the current furnished the motive power. A heavy cable was stretched across the river, on which ran two pulleys from which ropes were attached to each end of the boat. When the ferryman was ready to start across, he would release one end of the rope to head the boat upstream. The current pushing against the side of

the boat would then propel the ferry to the opposite shore. The boatman controlled the movement by winching the cables with a windlass to hold the boat at different angles. This was a slow process, as generally only one team and wagon at a time could be carried. In the case of the Grinter ferry, the charge to non-military users of the ferry was set at 50 cents for a passenger and two dollars for a wagon.

Moses Grinter built a log house for himself on the north bank of the river near the ferry, on the lands of the Delaware Reserve. In January 1836, he married a sixteen-year-old Delaware girl of mixed parentage named Anna (or Annie) Marshall. They eventually had ten children, descendents of whom still live in the Kansas City area. It is generally accepted that Moses Grinter was the first permanent white settler in what is now Wyandotte County. However, in 1827 Cyprien Chouteau had established a trading post in the Shawnee Lands near the south bank of the river a short distance downstream from the Grinter ferry (the exact location is in dispute). Chouteau married a Shawnee girl, Nancy Francis, and lived in the area for many years, at least until the mid 1850s.

In the first years of the ferry's operation, the roads that ran to it were little more than Indian trails, but in 1836, Secretary of War Lewis Cass proposed the construction of a military road from Fort Snelling in Minnesota south to the Texas border, linking the forts and posts of the "permanent" Indian frontier. In October of that year, the Delaware signed an agreement granting the government permission to open a road through their reserve. From September 1 to October 8, 1837, the route for a section of Cass' military road between Fort Leavenworth and the Arkansas River was surveyed by a party led by Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, but it was not until some five years later that the southern section of the Military Road was finally completed, connecting Fort Leavenworth with Shawnee Town, Fort Scott and the government posts beyond. The Grinter ferry is often noted as having been on the Military Road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott. This is correct, but the establishment of the ferry predated the construction of the road by eleven years.

¹Accounts of this event vary, some saying that Grinter was in the Army at the time, others saying that that he was a civilian in Army employ, and some suggesting that he came from Kentucky specifically to operate the ferry.

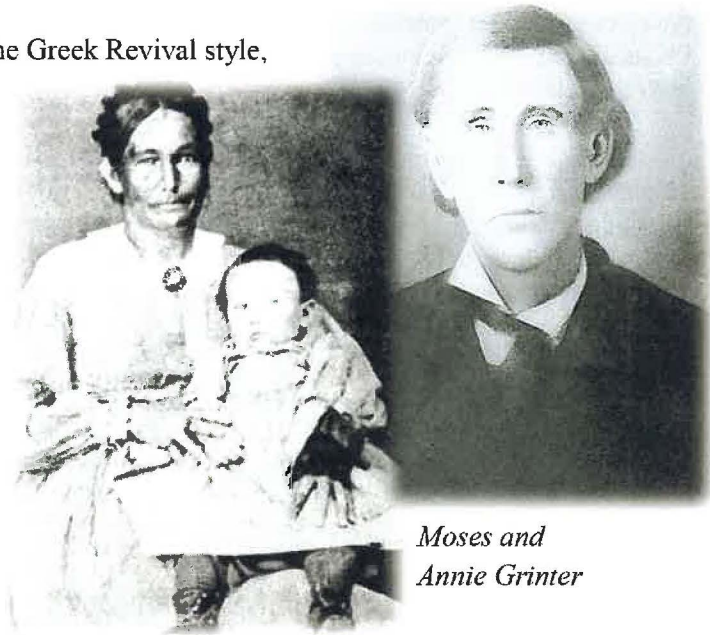
In the summer of 1844 there was a great flood on the Kansas River following six weeks of rain in May and June. The Grinters' cabin was washed away, as was the Delaware mill on Mill Creek a short distance to the east and the village called Anderson's Town to the west where Edwardsville is today. Both Anderson's Town and the mill site were abandoned, but the Grinter ferry was soon back in operation.² The Grinters then built a second, more substantial cabin higher up on the north bank, well above the flood level.

As the years passed, military and civilian traffic on the ferry steadily increased. The Delaware Indian town of Secondine was established by James Secondyne, or Quar-cor-now-ha, to the east of the Grinter property across a small ravine or creek that may still be seen on the east side of 78th Street. Stores, including a trading post operated by the Chouteau family, and a blacksmith shop operated by Issac Mundy for the Delaware, were built on the Grinter side of the creek. In 1849 James C. Grinter, a younger brother of Moses, came to Kansas. He assisted as ferryman until 1855, and married Anna Grinter's sister Rosanna Marshall. A post office called Delaware, the first in what is now Wyandotte County, was established in 1850 with Indian trader James Findlay as Postmaster. As names (and spelling) were apparently somewhat flexible in the mid Nineteenth Century, it should perhaps be noted that the Grinter ferry, the Military ferry, Delaware, the Delaware ferry, Delaware Crossing, Secondine, and Secondyne all refer to the

same small community.

Moses Grinter was authorized to open a trading post with the Delaware on April 20, 1855, and continued to operate it until October of 1860.³ As a reflection of their increased prosperity, the Grinter family erected a new home (their third) on the hill one quarter mile to the north of the ferry and just east of the previous log house. In the fall of 1856, with summer work out of the way and winter preparedness completed, the job of construction was commenced. John Swagger, another immigrant from Kentucky, was head of all supervision in the construction. Some time elapsed before total completion, and since most of the building was done during 1857, that is the date usually given for erection.

The house that Swagger built was in the Greek Revival style, a two-story, gable-roofed, rectangular brick structure with a central pedimented entrance porch and a one-story service wing forming an "L" to the rear. An open "dog run" separated the service wing kitchen from the main block of the house, reducing the risk of fire. In both layout and appearance the Grinter house was quite similar to other Greek Revival farmhouses built in the Kansas City area by transplanted Kentuckians, most notably the John Harris residence of circa 1855 and the John B. Wornall house of 1858.



*Moses and
Annie Grinter*

The Grinter house was built of brick that was molded and burned on the premises. The lime kilns and depressions in the soil where the clay for bricks was taken were still visible in the early 1900s, located about 250 yards northeast of the house. The main structural members, such as floor joists and roof rafters, were made of walnut, presumably cut and sawn in the area. The finished lumber in the interior, that made up the window and door trim, was of white pine made in St. Louis and hauled by ox teams from Leavenworth. The floors were of linden wood, which was found in this area in early days. The first Grinter barn was of logs and was located west of the house. It was while working on its construction that Moses Grinter received a broken leg and other injuries that were to handicap him somewhat in later life.

² The Delaware Baptist Mission at Anderson's Town survived the flood, but the abandonment of the town eventually led to the mission being relocated to near the present 110th Street and State Avenue.

³ When closed on October 24, 1860, Moses Grinter's account book showed \$14,134.13 still owed to him by his Delaware customers.

The Kansas Pacific Railroad reached Secondine from Wyandott in April 1864, and was extended across the Delaware Reserve to a point opposite Lawrence by November. A Secondine Station was established, and was located about 100 yards southeast of the Grinter

house. Depressions in the ground where the tracks were laid were still visible in 1963. Despite the arrival of the railroad, the ferry remained in use throughout the years of the Civil War, hastening the crossing of troops and supplies from Fort Leavenworth to the Battle of Westport on October 23, 1864.

The first bridge across the Kansas River, connecting Wyandott to Shawnee Town, had been built in 1858 some seven or eight miles downstream from the Grinter ferry. This apparently did not affect the ferry greatly, as the two crossings served travelers on different routes. But in 1867, a railroad bridge across the Kansas River at Wyandott was completed, and the ferry was becoming obsolete after nearly forty years of operation. It was also in 1867 that the Delaware finally gave in to continuing pressure and sold their reservation in Kansas, moving to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma the following winter. The town of Secondine soon disappeared, its departure hastened by the removal of the station to Muncie a mile further east. By 1870, the Grinter ferry, unlike several other ferries further upstream, was absent from the official map of Wyandotte County that was published in that year.

Moses R. Grinter died on June 12, 1878, at the age of 69. He was buried in the Grinter Chapel cemetery a quarter mile to the north of his house on ground that he and Anna had donated to the Methodist Episcopal Church South ten years before. Anna Marshall Grinter died June 28, 1905, at the age of 85. The house was purchased from her granddaughters in March, 1950, by Harry E. and Bernice A. Hanson. The Hansons established and operated a chicken dinner restaurant in the house from 1950 to 1970, highly aware of the treasure they possessed and concerned about its preservation.

Through the efforts of the Kansas City, Kansas Junior League, and The Friends of Grinter Place, Inc. that they organized, the house was acquired from the Hansons by the State of Kansas in 1970. It is now a historic house museum, administered by the Kansas State Historical Society and open to the public. The property is now divided, with the northern half owned by the Friends organization.⁴ The Friends have erected a two-story "barn" on their half of the property, used for meetings and a variety of activities. Of particular note, each October the property is the site of the Grinter Apple Fest, a fund-raising event that draws large numbers of people to view the house and participate in the festivities.

⁴ The local Historic Landmark designation includes both halves of the property; the State and National Register listings include only the State-owned half of the site.

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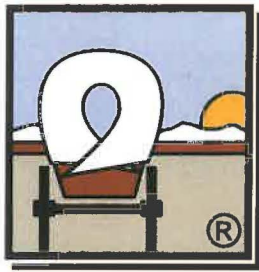
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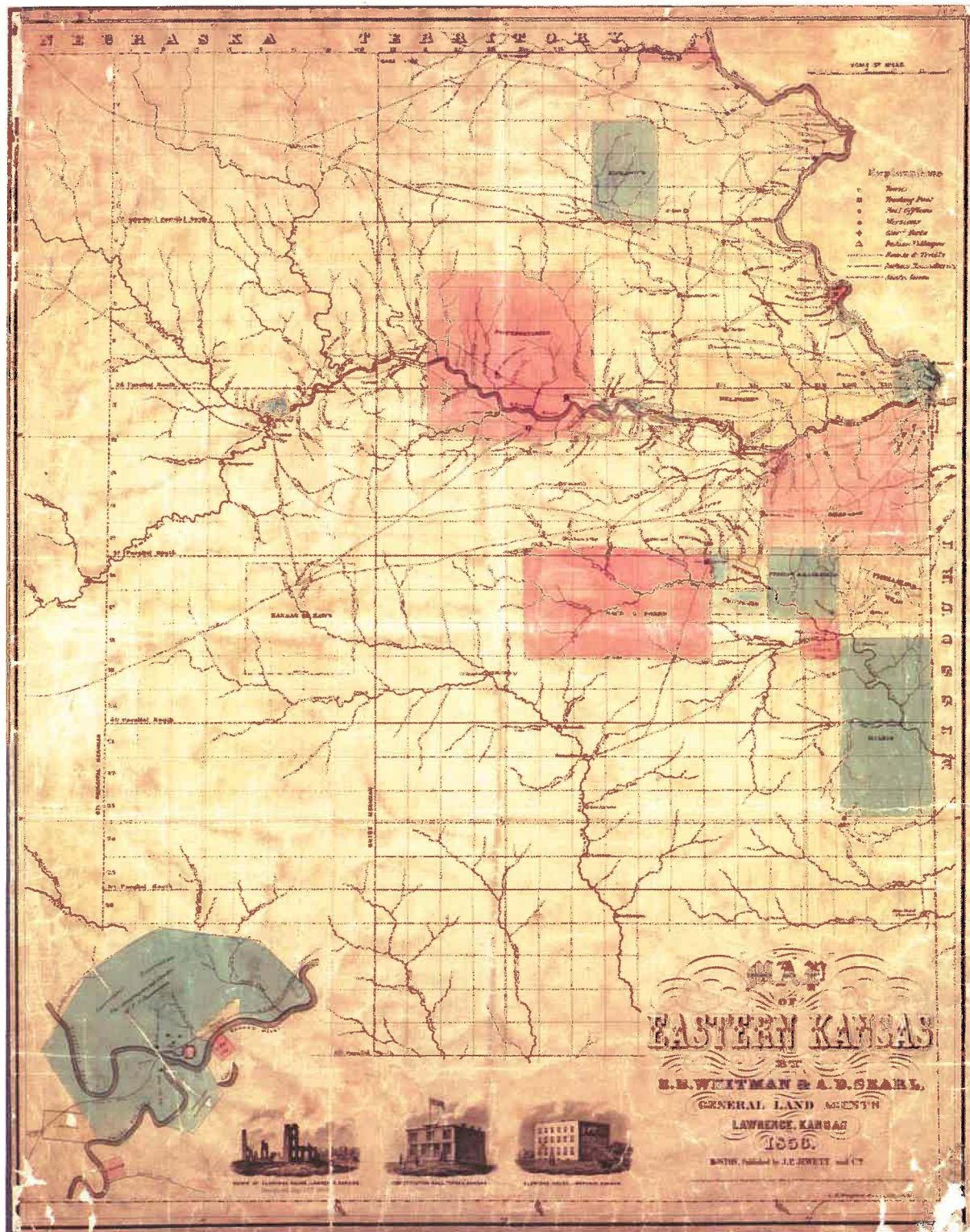


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