

Chapter I

Introduction

“Bleeding Kansas” is the popular phrase describing the conflict over slavery in Kansas that became nationally prominent just before and during the American Civil War. Pro-slavery settlers from the South and anti-slavery activists from the north came to the territory because it was located at the intersection of Northern and Southern expansion. Because of the Kansas conflict over whether the territory would become a free state or not, Kansans first acted out the violence that would engage all Americans beginning in 1861. Born in that early conflict, Kansas became the strategic center of an emerging continental nation. In the Kansas Conflict, American settlers first fought to uphold their different and irreconcilable principles of freedom and equality. The place where this crucial step toward the outbreak of the Civil War occurred has not yet received the recognition accorded to other Civil War landscapes.

Designation of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area will recognize the important natural, cultural, and historic resources that form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape. This landscape reflects distinctive patterns of human activity shaped by the geography of the eastern border of the Great Plains. Kansas Territory attracted waves of settlers—some driven from their homes by others, some seeking their freedom, and some intending to enact their ideals and beliefs. These settlers meant to decide the fate of the territory, especially on the slavery question. But they were challenged by the land, the weather, and the spirit of the place itself. Those who came to Kansas to improve their fortune or shape their destiny

had to adapt to the environment they found. What happened as successive waves of settlers tried to remove others and as different groups tried to change the beliefs of others caused the Kansas Conflict. The struggle during the territorial period set the stage for continued struggles, even today. In this adaptation, Kansas is a microcosm of our nation, holding examples of many struggles for freedom within its boundaries.

Today, many places in the eastern Kansas landscape look much as they did in the territorial period when Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans struggled to adapt to the treeless landscape and the harshly variable climate of the Great Plains. Although these settlers recreated a landscape of farms and towns like that of the eastern United States, Kansas is still a frontier where people struggle to make a living and live the good life. There are many stories, storytellers, sites, and parks in that significant landscape that deserve the recognition of their role in the national story. These people and places tell of the pain and triumph of learning to live in a different kind of landscape and learning to live with different groups in building a nation. Today the struggle for freedom is a vital issue that is still associated with the real problem of democratic nation-building.

PROJECT PURPOSE

There are many stories to tell of Kansans’ role in Indian removal, national politics, the Civil War, and the enduring struggle for freedom that followed. Native, European, and African American settlers, both men and

women, struggled for freedom in Kansas Territory and their descendants have continued to contest the fundamental socio-political structure of the United States. A substantial number of cultural and natural resources dating from the territorial and Civil War period can be found in Kansas today. The interpretation of these buildings, landscapes, sites, and geographical features provide a valuable conceptual framework for understanding the territory's critical contribution to the history of the United States. Within this thematic framework, the continued protection of such resources can be enhanced. The purpose of the study is to provide Congress with an analysis to determine if the resources in the study area are suitable and feasible for designation as a national heritage area.

The study area history outlines why people came to Kansas at a particular time, why they stayed, how they affected the environment of the Great Plains, and how that environment affected them. The struggle to adapt to the physical environment affected the development of agriculture, transportation, trade and business, and social and cultural patterns in rural and urban places in the study area. The National Heritage Area designation will help preserve remnants of the territorial period landscape and interpret the stories of that interaction over time. These resources may be cooperatively preserved, interpreted, and celebrated through designation as a National Heritage Area.

This feasibility study was commissioned by the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance (TKHA) with the support of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee (BKNHA). Early formal discussion of a National Heritage Area began in Lawrence, Douglas County, a community that is justifiably proud of its central role in

creating a free-state heritage. In January 2002, members of the Lawrence, Kansas, City Commission and the Douglas County Commission appointed the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area Committee to investigate the possibility of Lawrence and Douglas County applying for federal heritage area designation. The committee of seventeen members produced a detailed report concluding that sufficient resources and public support existed for a National Heritage Area. The committee therefore recommended on September 10, 2002, that the city and county proceed to seek designation.

The Douglas County Committee determined unifying themes that marked the history of the area and focused on the theme of "Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom" as the most distinctive theme of national importance. The committee concluded that, "even without official designation, the creation of a heritage area would confer a number of benefits. It would unify our fragmented but rich history in a cohesive manner that would allow us to more easily educate residents and visitors about our history. This would provide a source of community pride and enhance our quality of life. In addition, the area would become a heritage destination that would boost tourism and the economy."

Recognizing the broad reach of the heritage area concept, members of the Douglas County Committee helped organize a Heritage Summit Meeting held January 30-31, 2003, in Lawrence, Kansas. Approximately seventy-five representatives from twenty Kansas and Missouri communities participated in a structured, facilitated brainstorming process. This generated the significant and unifying themes that could be used to organize the resources of a proposed National Heritage Area. Fifteen educators,

fifteen government officials, seven tourism professionals, six economic developers, five parks and recreation professionals, and several representatives of cultural groups and private heritage attractions participated in the Heritage Summit Meeting.

Besides the Douglas County Committee work, planning for the organization and study of a National Heritage Area built on the efforts of the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance (TKHA), a non-profit grassroots organization established in 1999 and dedicated to building and understanding of and appreciation for the history, heritage, and national impact of the Kansas Territory. In recognition of the Kansas Sesquicentennial commemoration beginning in 2004, the TKHA has embarked on a series of projects, including a brochure series, considering significant topics in the history of the period. These include “John Brown of Kansas,” “Native American Culture: Indian Nations of Kansas,” “African Americans and the Kansas Territory,” “The Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory,” “Battles, Military Forts and Trails in the Kansas Territory,” “Natural Environment of the Kansas Territory,” “Personalities of Territorial Kansas.”¹ Many TKHA members are active leaders in the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area planning committee.

Regular monthly meetings of a regional planning committee (BKNHA) began February 13, 2003, and continued into 2004. The BKNHA planning committee has consulted with the National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office. Since September, 2003, the NPS observer has been Sue Pridemore, Heritage Coordinator.

The steering committee of the regional planning committee interviewed two qualified historians in August, 2003, and contracted

with Dale Nimz in September to undertake a National Heritage Area feasibility study based on the theme of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in eastern Kansas. The feasibility study was completed January 30, 2004.

STUDY PROCESS

The study team for this NHA feasibility study included representatives of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area planning committee and the consultants—Dale E. Nimz, Ph. D., historic preservation consultant, Cathy Ambler, Ph.D., associate historian, and Mike Houts, M.A. mapping technician.

Investigating Kansas’s contributions to the conflict over slavery and the struggle for freedom that followed the Civil War required a review of the extensive literature on the events that occurred in Kansas Territory and the people that participated in the making of a free state between 1854 and 1865. The study consultants selected this time period as the most important to evaluate the national contribution of Kansas and Kansans to the trends leading to the Civil War and subsequent nation-building.

The study process included:

Creating a public involvement strategy of extensive individual and organizational outreach, meetings, and circulation of written materials. This strategy promoted public understanding of the study and maximized the participation and contributions of interested individuals and organizations. Members of the public were encouraged to participate in data collection, selection of themes, and the delineation of boundaries;

¹ See <http://www.territorialkansas.org>. Referenced 12/01/2003.

Researching the history and developing a chronology of events for the unifying themes;

Developing a process for considering and selecting potential themes;

Examining the topographic features that determined the Kansas conflict, influenced the outcomes, and contributed to the enduring struggle for freedom;

Selecting a study area based on preliminary analysis of history and the concentration of resources;

Developing alternative national heritage area boundaries and a process for selecting a preferred alternative;

Compiling maps to analyze the assemblages of natural and cultural resources from the Bleeding Kansas period in the study area.

These maps included important terrain features, public and private open space, designated National Historic Landmarks, National Register of Historic Places listings, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom listings, and other sites and resources identified by the study consultants or suggested by the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area Planning Committee;

Discussing potential management strategies;

Assessing the national significance, suitability and feasibility of designating the study area as a National Heritage Area

Assessing potential impacts of alternatives through an environmental assessment.

STUDY AREA

The Bleeding Kansas study area comprised twenty-three counties in eastern and south-eastern Kansas.

Allen	Anderson	Bourbon
Cherokee	Clay	Coffey
Crawford	Douglas	Franklin
Geary	Johnson	Labette
Leavenworth	Linn	Miami
Neosho	Pottawatomie	Riley
Shawnee	Wabaunsee	Wilson
Woodson	Wyandotte	

Many asset descriptions of historical, cultural, educational, and recreational resources were provided by the members of the BKNHA Planning Committee. The study consultants defined the study area after preliminary investigation of assets associated with the themes determined by the Bleeding Kansas Planning Committee. The consultant’s research discovered that a rich array of resources was clustered in a significant assemblage in the above counties. The natural, cultural, historic, and recreational resources in this area form a cohesive nationally distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

The Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee organized the public involvement strategy to encourage the broadest opportunities for citizen and organizational participation. The BKNHA planning

committee identified key contacts in state and local government, organizations interested in the state's history, natural and cultural resources protection, tourism, business, and industry.

In testimony presented August 12, 2003, Judy Billings, director of Lawrence Convention and Visitors Bureau, chair of the BKNHA planning committee, described her experience to the Joint Committee on Economic Development, Kansas State Legislature. In working to promote the rich history that we share, she observed, "we make attempts at working cooperatively with other cities and counties, but without a formalized way of doing so it just doesn't seem to take on the significance that I believe it could." In Douglas County, for instance, it was not the case that Douglas County didn't have information but that it was not coordinated well enough to be used for the good of the entire county. As Billings concluded her presentation, "it's not the dollars that bring people together. It's the teamwork. It's the goals that we set collectively. As resources and energies are pooled and partnerships are formed with other organizations and governmental entities, the dollars begin to come in for projects that are born out of the collective goals."

During 2003, news articles described the National Heritage Area effort. For example, in the October 20 *Kansas City Star*, columnist Mike Hendricks acknowledged that "plans are afoot to turn eastern Kansas into a tourist attraction focusing on the state's key role in the Civil War and the abolition of slavery ... We're not talking about another national park. [Supporters] hope to get federal help to coordinate some of the historic sites already out there." Hendricks went on to point out that "the timing couldn't be any better for building excitement on something

like this. Next year looks to be a historian's delight in our part of the country. Besides being the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 2004 marks the sesquicentennial of Kansas territory and the golden anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education*, the landmark school desegregation case." Most importantly, Hendricks emphasized, "it was in Kansas where Americans began deciding in earnest—and in bloodshed—one of the most important questions ever put to a people."

Public participation was very important in order to develop the study's geographical and thematic content, to identify resources and activities related to Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom, and to generate public support for management alternatives. The geographic scale of the study area, the number of resources remaining, and the potential for conflicting priorities in interpretation and preservation required consultation with public agencies, organizations, and individual citizens. The feasibility of National Heritage Area designation was discussed with the public at a number of public meetings. Public meeting dates and participants as well as organizations and agencies contacted are listed in Appendix D.

The BKNHA Planning Committee is a remarkable example of electronic community organizing. The planning committee has established a steering committee to determine meeting agendas and review meeting minutes. Through electronic communication, other sub-committees reviewed the asset data forms submitted, considered management alternatives, and consulted on fundraising opportunities. Through electronic communication, members have read and suggested specific revisions to the draft fea-

sibility study. This e-strategy has succeeded in maximizing the alliance's limited financial resources, overcome the geographical separation of the many partners, and encouraged public participation. The committee also has carried out a policy of moving the monthly meetings to each part of the proposed heritage area to encourage participation.

At the first meeting February 13, 2003, planning committee members discussed their vision and expectations about forming a regional heritage area. Four teams then volunteered to coordinate meetings, to invite new participants from historic sites and organizations, to inform local and regional officials about the prospect of a heritage area, and to select possible names for a Kansas heritage area. In March, the group chose a working title, "Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom," and a steering committee. The group agreed to use the capacity of the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance (TKHA) as a non-profit corporation for the heritage area campaign. At the April 10 meeting, members decided on questions to guide a community inventory of sites, exhibits, and institutions that would support the heritage area themes. In May the planning committee considered possible boundaries for the heritage area. Members discussed the criteria for recruiting partners, and heard reports about local heritage assets and activities. In June the group identified more potential local partner organizations and institutions to contact.

Discussion of the need for a feasibility study dominated the July 10, 2003 meeting. The planning committee considered the slow-track alternative of requesting that the National Park Service carry out a feasibility study which would take as long as two years. Instead, the group decided to pursue a fast-track approach which would require hir-

ing a consultant and supplying the necessary information. Then the legislation for National Heritage Area designation could be passed during 2004, the Kansas Territory sesquicentennial. The group set a deadline of September 11, 2003, for the submission of heritage area asset data forms. The group again revised the proposed vision statement and mission goals (See Chapter 7). At the August 14 meeting, the committee discussed the vision statement. The chair introduced Dale Nimz, who outlined his proposal for a feasibility study of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. The committee discussed a strategy for raising the necessary funds to pay for the feasibility study and the economic benefits of heritage area designation. The chair also announced that two domain names had been registered for a future heritage area website.

In September, the committee discussed the status of the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance as a 501 (c) 3 non-profit corporation. The TKHA will serve as the financial vehicle for fund-raising and payment for the feasibility study project. After Congressional designation, the TKHA may act as the management entity for the heritage area. Consultant Dale Nimz reported on the beginning of research and collection of information for the feasibility study. In October, the committee noted the success of fundraising and suggested additional financial partners. The committee discussed information collection, organization, and the steps in preparing a heritage area management plan, the next goal after completion of a feasibility study. On October 27, members of the Douglas County Heritage Area committee reassembled to hear a progress report from Judy Billings, chair of the BKNHA planning committee and feasibility study consultant Dale Nimz.

The BKNHA planning committee met in November to discuss fundraising. While the estimated cost of the feasibility study was \$32,000, the committee set a fundraising goal of \$50,000 for completing the study and additional activities. Members volunteered for sub-committees to research management alternatives, to review the asset data forms, for partnership recruiting and fundraising, and website development. In December the committee considered the on-going business of the organization—fundraising, sub-committee reports, and the draft chapters of the feasibility study.

Throughout the fall, planning committee members met with city and county elected officials and the representatives of Chambers of Commerce, historical organizations, and non-profit groups to explain the heritage area effort, to raise funds, and to solicit letters of support.

COORDINATION WITH CONCURRENT STUDIES

In the region, the BKNHA Planning Committee has maintained informal contact with those planning a National Heritage Area in the Kansas City metropolitan area. Planners for Kansas City, Missouri initiated a feasibility study for a proposed National Heritage Area in 2000. The city retained ICON Architecture, Inc. of Boston, Massachusetts to conduct a feasibility study for the FOCUS Heritage Corridor concept. The study identified three general themes: “Borders and Boundaries,” “Transportation and Trade,” and “Cultural Crossroads.” After the initial feasibility study was completed, several public meetings were held to present the study and to gain public support from local historic organizations and local governments in the region. Since the proposed heritage area would encompass many

communities and parts of two states (Missouri and Kansas), the responsibility for leading the heritage area campaign has been delegated to the Kansas City Planning and Development Department for the Kansas City Heritage Corridor and to the Mid-America Regional Council (MARC) for the bi-state heritage area. A revised second draft of the Kansas City region feasibility study will be submitted to the National Park Service early in 2004.

In other parts of Kansas, residents have discussed informally the possibility of a Tall Grass Prairie Heritage Area and a Chisholm Trail Heritage Area. Both of these areas could extend south into Oklahoma. Leaders of the BKNHA planning committee have shared information with those interested and representatives of the Tall Grass Prairie area have attended BKNHA planning meetings.

State of Kansas

In the state-wide economic revitalization plan announced on October 1, 2003, Kansas Governor Kathleen Sebelius listed tourism development as an important component. The governor and the staff of the Kansas Department of Commerce set the goal of defining a state-wide tourism strategy which would include a Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area feasibility study. This effort was linked to the goal of creating heritage and cultural destination attractions unique to Kansas. The benefits of a National Heritage Area designation would help in the very important strategic goal of economic stimulation in rural areas of Kansas. Overall, this state economic development plan was designed to stimulate and strengthen the Kansas economy.²

To support the effort to achieve Heritage Area designation, the Kansas Department of

² See news release, “Statewide Economic Revitalization Plan Unveiled,” October 1, 2003 at <http://kdoch.state.ks.us/NewsApp/news/> referenced 10/02/2003.

Commerce awarded a \$15,000 grant to the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance for the purpose of developing a feasibility/suitability study. Because of the growing interest in heritage tourism, the director of the Travel and Tourism Division wrote, the “synthesis of heritage, authentic experience, and economic development suggests that National Heritage Area designation of the Bleeding Kansas experience would help us satisfy the demand for, and help us benefit from, these growing travel trends.” Also the director was encouraged by the cooperation between otherwise diverse and separate communities that this initiative had already produced. State leaders and Commerce Department staff have recognized that, “the Bleeding Kansas era was a time when the eyes of the nation were focused on Kansas. The legacy of that era, and the Civil War that sprang from it, attracts significant numbers of travelers and travel-related spending to those states that may claim it. We also may claim a central role in the ongoing struggle of civil rights and liberties that were key points of contention in those earlier periods. National Heritage Area designation would create key partnerships, helping Kansans promote these aspects of our history to a national and international audience.”³

One of the reasons for preparing a National Heritage Area feasibility study on a fast track was to coordinate with the Kansas Territorial Sesquicentennial. The state of Kansas established a Sesquicentennial Commission to gather information and develop a plan for commemorative events and activities marking the 150th anniversary of Kansas becoming a state. The state sesquicentennial will be observed in 2011, but the Commission has planned activities beginning in 2004 with the sesquicentennial of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which created Kansas Territory. The Kansas motto, “Ad

Astra Per Aspera” (to the stars through difficulty), is a reference to the seven-year struggle to make Kansas Territory a state. As Deanell Reece Tacha, chair of the Commission, and chief judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, has said, “the commemoration goals will be to inspire Kansans with a sense of their history and its relevance to issues facing Kansas today.”⁴

Throughout the year, 2004, the BKNHA planning committee will coordinate with activities of the Sesquicentennial Commission. Two of the official projects selected by the Sesquicentennial Commission are the special exhibit at the Kansas Museum of History, “Willing to Die for Freedom: A Look Back at Kansas Territory.” The exhibit will display the actual document, “The Kansas-Nebraska Act.” A second important project is the Kansas Chautauqua, “Bleeding Kansas: Where the Civil War Began.” This program has been organized by the Kansas Humanities Council and coordinated with the host communities of Junction City, Colby, Fort Scott, and Lawrence.

THE NEXT STEPS

This feasibility study report will be sent to the National Park Service for review and submitted to the members of the Kansas Congressional delegation. With their approval, congressional legislation will be prepared to designate a Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area.

While review and legislation are pending, the BKNHA Planning Committee will continue the monthly meetings. The committee will add to the asset data base and the calendar of heritage-related events. To educate

³ Letter of November 18, 2003 from Scott Allegrucci, Director, Travel and Tourism Development Division, Kansas Department of Commerce, to Ms. Judy Billings, Secretary, Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance.

⁴ See <http://www.kshs.org/sesquicentennial/> Referenced 12/01/2003.

the public and to promote the National Heritage Area concept, the planning committee has developed a introductory Powerpoint presentation for members, organized speakers, and drafted a common set of answers to frequently asked questions about the National Heritage Area. These steps are intended to reassure the public, particularly property owners, that there will be no new regulations applied as a result of Heritage Area designation. The committee will research, measure, and promote the economic benefits of Heritage Area designation. Finally, the Planning Committee will educate the residents of the heritage area about the project, the exciting stories associated with the heritage themes and assets, and the intended benefits. The committee will continue to recruit new partners with important resources and develop more support from key individuals and institutions.

In 2004 the BKNHA Planning Committee will continue to forge new partnerships, begin to pool resources and prepare grant applications to work toward common goals. Fundraising and proposed projects will require more specific agreements with organizations at several levels including, for example, the Kansas Humanities Council, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, local Convention and Visitors Bureaus, and local and county historical societies that currently are not represented on the Planning Committee.

Also in 2004, the BKNHA Planning Committee will undertake a new initiative, a branding development and specific marketing program for the proposed National Heritage Area. The committee is developing a website to provide information from the feasibility study and facilitate communication. The committee also is developing a self-guided tour recorded on compact disk of

sites and institutions related to the “Bleeding Kansas” theme. Recorded tours will be developed in phases to extend the visitor experience to different parts of the heritage area. Finally, the committee will ask the Kansas State legislature to consider establishing a state heritage area program.

Why is heritage area development good for Kansas? A distinctive characteristic of a National Heritage Area plan is that the authority to implement the agreements and projects remains in the hands of local officials. Judy Billings, chair of the BKNHA planning committee, answered that important question by emphasizing that dynamic regional initiatives build relationships between people, their place, and their history creating a community that is stronger than its parts. Heritage areas provide for rural economic development. Regional organization for a common purpose provides a balance of attention that connects declining rural communities with growing urban and suburban populations. Organizing a National Heritage Area encourages the development of individual management or business plans that describe the ways in which people can work together to fulfill their common vision.

In a report to the Kansas legislative Committee on Economic Development, Judy Billings, BKNHA planning committee chair, stated that the most tangible benefit of a successful heritage area is economic development—business growth, job growth, and revenue growth. Heritage Areas provide a very favorable leverage of the basic local and federal investment. During the years from 1984 to 2000, for example, the total funding from the NPS Heritage Partnership program was \$107,225,378. This investment leveraged \$124,803,084 from Transportation Enhancement funds, \$118, 202,359 from other federal sources, \$186,233,871 from

state programs, \$189,577,758 from local government, and \$261,658,488 from the private sector.⁵ History and culture are a significant part of the American travel experience.

Besides the economic benefits, however, the designation of a Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area will help to interpret the complex events and issues enacted in Kansas Territory. These events and the disputed issues of citizenship and governance were vitally important in national history. Just important as the political conflict and resolution, the struggle to adapt to the physical environment effected the development of agriculture, transportation, trade and business, and social and cultural patterns in rural and urban places in Kansas. Recognition and development of the heritage area will clarify that significance. The protection and interpretation of the physical assets that form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape is essential for the present and future. Preservation of the natural and cultural resources that portray the experience of “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” is a fundamental goal of the heritage area designation. As BKNHA committee chair Billings concluded, what Kansas has to offer is an authenticity of history and culture, a genuine and significant story of United States history.

⁵ Judy Billings, Director, Lawrence Convention and Visitors Bureau, “Testimony to the Joint Committee on Economic Development,” Kansas State Legislature, August 12, 2003.

Chapter 2

Study Area History and Contributions

For nearly two centuries, the central Great Plains of North America has been a cross-roads of exploration, settlement, and nation-building. Beginning in 1854, the territory of Kansas west of the great eastward bend of the Missouri River became a center of conflict that defined the era of “Bleeding Kansas” in national history. Impassioned abolitionist, Free State, and proslavery settlers fought over the admission of a new state to the Union. Men and women, European, African, and Native American, New Englander, Westerner, and Southerner, abolitionist, free-state, and proslavery settler, all envisioned a different future for Kansas. Inspired by the experience of violent conflict in “Bleeding Kansas,” Free State settlers prevailed to make Kansas a free state. A lasting ideal of freedom and equality was articulated and forcefully defended in the making of a free state in Kansas Territory.

The conflict over whether Kansas Territory would be admitted to the Union as a slave or free state was the beginning of a conflict that culminated in the American Civil War. For more than six years, the fate of Kansas Territory and the nation hung in the balance. The Kansas conflict changed the history of the United States of America and led to a new understanding of freedom. This chapter is the story of “Bleeding Kansas” and the enduring struggle for freedom that followed.

KANSAS TERRITORY: GEOGRAPHY OF RIVERS, TRAILS, AND RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT

After being ignored by European Americans as part of the “Great American Desert” for

decades, Kansas became a strategic central place in the 1850s. The Mexican War of 1846-1848 resulted in territorial gains that increased the size of the United States by nearly fifty percent. Discovery of gold in California and the rapid admission of that new state to the Union dramatically changed the geo-political balance and focused new attention on the central plains between the eastern states and the west.

Because California was admitted as a free state, Southerners wanted more land for slavery. In 1820 the Missouri Compromise had determined that all land east of the Rockies and north of the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes should become free territories. But later, the Compromise of 1850 stated that the land taken from Mexico would be admitted as a state or states with or without slavery as their constitutions provided. Early in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act used the principle of popular sovereignty expressed in the 1850 Compromise to stipulate that the residents of these new territories would decide whether slavery would be permitted. In repealing the Missouri Compromise, the Act declared that the intent of Congress was “not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way.”¹ The question of excluding slavery erupted in the conflict of “Bleeding Kansas.”

Kansas Territory, the same land that some would later call “Bleeding Kansas” was part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Within a few decades, much of this vast addition to

the United States was explored. The Lewis and Clark expedition first reached the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers on June 26, 1804. Later, they celebrated the first Fourth of July in Kansas on Independence Creek. By July 12, Lewis and Clark moved northward up the Missouri beyond the present boundary of Kansas. They crossed the plains and the Rocky Mountains to the sea. Returning from the Pacific Ocean with an unprecedented knowledge of the West, Lewis and Clark reached the mouth of the Kansas River again on September 15, 1806. Their descriptions and maps first located Kansas in the national consciousness of the West.

Reports of the Lewis and Clark expedition encouraged even more government exploration. In 1806 Zebulon Pike led a small group of soldiers along the Osage to the source of the Arkansas River. Pike traveled north to visit the Pawnees, then south to the Arkansas, and west past the present border of Kansas. Later in 1817, Major Stephen Long went to the mouth of the Kansas River, met with the Kansa Indians, and then crossed Nebraska to the mountains, and returned to Fort Smith, Arkansas. Long became most famous for his map of the Plains which he named the "Great American Desert."²

The opening of trade between Santa Fe and Missouri in 1821 made the Santa Fe Trail the principal commercial overland route to the southwest. Promoted by Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Congress in 1825 authorized the President to commission a survey of a road from Missouri to New Mexico and to negotiate with the Plains Indians for safe passage through the area. The Santa Fe Trail entered Kansas in what is now Johnson County and followed a route through Douglas, Osage, Wabaunsee, and

Lyon counties to Council Grove, and then southwest across the plains to northern New Mexico. In the Mexican War, the trail served as a road for military expeditions and the army later established forts near the trail to protect travelers and to maintain peace. This trail also was used by emigrants to the southwest, especially after the United States acquired the territory from Mexico in 1848.

For western emigrants, the most popular route was the Oregon and California Trail. This was not a single trail, but a series of alternate routes that began at Independence or Westport, Missouri, and extended for approximately 200 miles through Kansas. Extending to Oregon or California, it was the longest of the overland trails. In Kansas the major routes began with the Santa Fe Trail, diverged near Gardner, and went up the Kansas River valley past Lawrence turning northwest to pass through Uniontown, St. Marys Mission, Red Vermillion Crossing, Scott Springs, Alcove Springs, and Independence Crossing on the Blue River, and then on into Nebraska. Traversing the counties of Johnson, Douglas, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Marshall, and Washington, the Oregon Trail passed through or near the present towns of Olathe, Gardner, Eudora, Lawrence, Big Springs, Topeka, Silver Lake, Rossville, St. Marys, and Westmoreland, Blue Rapids, and Marysville.

From the 1840s through the 1860s, more than 250,000 emigrants, prospectors, traders, and travelers used this trail to reach the Rocky Mountains, Utah, Oregon, and California. Fur traders established the route, Mormons followed the trail to Utah in the late 1840s, and the discovery of gold greatly increased travel on this route. Overland travel on the trails declined and ended as the railroads built across the West in the 1860s

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report to Congress, he recommended the southernmost route.⁴

But the Secretary's position had already been undermined by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the controversy over slavery in Kansas. With the organization of the territory in the Great Plains, that obstacle to a central route was removed. Allowing the extension of slavery and thereby increasing the political power of the South in Congress, however, threatened the North and Northern politicians refused to support the building of a transcontinental railroad that would link the riches of California and the West to the South. Congress did not resolve the debate over the transcontinental railroad route until after the southern states seceded in 1861. Without southern opposition, the central route easily won approval in 1862.

In Kansas itself, the internal transportation system used the transcontinental east-west trade and emigration routes. The United

States military pioneered in the development of north-south routes. A north-south Military Road in Kansas led from Fort Leavenworth (established 1827 to protect the growing trade on the Santa Fe Trail) south to Fort Coffey in western Arkansas in 1837. The military road branched from Fort Scott (established 1842-48) to Fort Gibson in Indian Territory in 1843. Later a new military road was surveyed and marked just west of the original route in 1859. When Fort Riley was established to the west in 1853, Fort Scott was closed. A road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley was marked in 1854. During the Civil War, Fort Scott was reopened but finally closed permanently at the war's end.⁵

In the late 1850s, the discovery of gold in the Rocky Mountains led to the development of two major routes across Kansas—the Smoky Hill Trail and the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express route. The Smoky Hill Trail was surveyed in 1858. Gold prospectors traveled from Leavenworth and Topeka along the Kansas River to the Smoky Hill River, a tributary, on the way to Denver. The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express used three alternatives through eastern Kansas before joining near Salina. One passed through Lawrence, another passed Oskaloosa and ran along the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road, a third passed through Ozawie and then connected to the Fort Leavenworth road. Today Interstate Highway 70 roughly parallels the earlier Smoky Hill trail.⁶

Before the opening of European-American settlement in 1854, most of eastern Kansas was the homeland of the indigenous Kansa and Osage Indians. The Kansa occupied territory in the northeast corner from the Missouri River to the Big Blue River and from the Nebraska line south to the Kansas

River. They first lived along the Missouri River, then later moved west to the Big Blue River along the upper Kansas River near present-day Manhattan, and then moved to the lower Mission Creek and the middle reaches of the Kansas River. As a result of treaties initiated by the United States government, the Kansa accepted a much diminished reservation to allow land to be reserved for the so-called "Emigrant Indians." In their last years in Kansas, the Kansa lived around Council Grove. Although the Osage lived southeast of the Kansa during the early historical period, after 1825 they moved into what is now southeastern Kansas.⁷

To open more land to settlement after 1825, the United States government led by President Andrew Jackson implemented a policy of "Indian Removal" of Native American nations from the Great Lakes region, the Ohio River Valley and the South to lands west of the Missouri River and the Missouri and Arkansas borders. More than twenty tribes or remnants of tribes were given land in eastern Kansas. All the lands west of the state of Missouri were given the name "Indian Country" in 1834. The Emigrant Indians included members of the Ottawa, Peoria, Wea, Kaskaskia, Piankeshaw, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iowa, Sac-Fox, Pottawatomie, Miami, Munsee, Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee.⁸ By the time James K. Polk became president in 1844, only about 30,000 Indians, out of a population of 125,000 in 1820, still lived east of the Mississippi.

Besides the white government agents who administered the reservations and distributed supplies to the Emigrant Indians, the Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, Moravian, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches established Christian missions in the Indian Country for the emigrant tribes and the indigenous Kansa and

⁵ Wexler, 14.

⁶ "Kansas Preservation Plan," 15-16.

⁷ Patricia J. O'Brien, *Archeology in Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1984), 67.

⁸ O'Brien, *Archeology in Kansas*, 80. While Pottawatomie is commonly used, the Prairie Band of Kansas prefers an alternate spelling, Potawatomi.

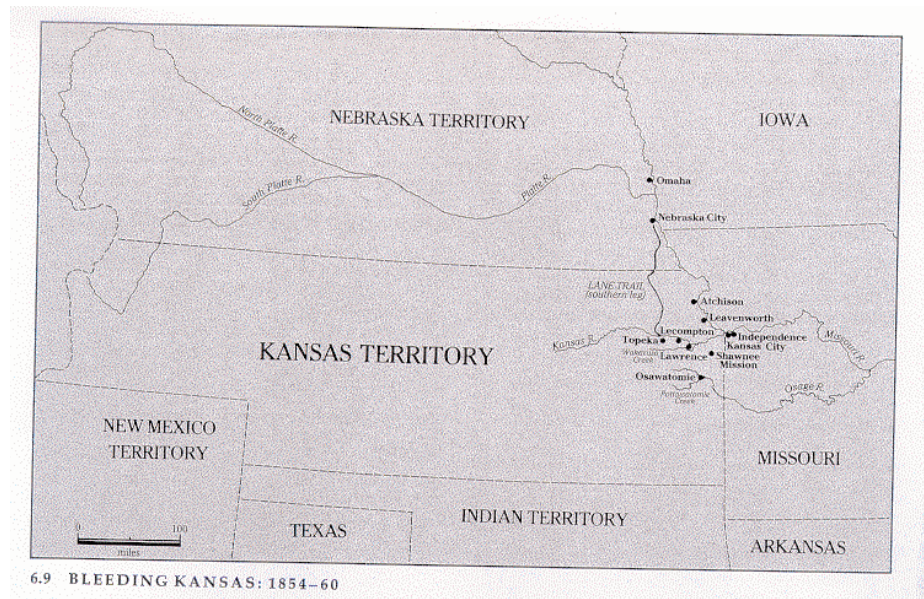
Osage. These missionaries competed for government funding and tribal allegiance. The Presbyterian Church established the first mission in Kansas in 1824, Mission Neosho, for the Osage. Later, the Methodists established eight missions, the Baptists had six, the Catholics and Presbyterians had four each, the Moravians had two, and the Quakers, one mission. Mission schools for Indian children were day or residential schools. Day schools taught reading, writing, English, arithmetic, and religion. Residential schools taught these subjects and manual training such as sewing and cooking, farming, and other skills. Although some of these missions continued for many years, many missionaries reported that few Indians were converted and most were unwilling to give up their native language, culture, and religion. Most of the Indian missions in Kansas were abandoned after Congress opened the territory to European American settlement in 1854.⁹

Beginning in 1853, the growing demand for railroad routes and agricultural land prompted Congress to authorize the abrogation of a series of treaties that had been made between 1825 and 1843 with the emigrant Indians from the East. President Franklin Pierce was directed to secure “the assent of said

tribes to the settlement of the citizens of the United States upon land claimed by said Indians.” Reserves for the emigrant Indians constituted an unbroken array in eastern Kansas along the Kansas-Missouri border which blocked the extension of white settlement. More than ten thousand Indians, who had been promised a permanent country of their own in Kansas, were forced to move to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) during and after the Civil War. The remainder suffered additional losses of land and in some cases dissolution of their tribal status. As historian Paul Gates concluded, “land, slavery, plunder, and patronage combined explain the intensity of the political fight in Kansas as compared with that in Minnesota and Nebraska.”¹⁰

Rivers, trails, and visions of railroads converged in the landscape of Kansas Territory. People of diverse backgrounds followed the rivers and trails into the eastern third of present-day Kansas, the study area for the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. This region was accessible and best supported European American settlement in this period. The var-

Figure 2-2, Kansas Territory, 1854-60



9 "Kansas Preservation Plan," 29-31.

10 William L. Barney, *Battleground for the Union: The Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1848-1877* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 9; H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 3-6; Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 3.

ied landscape of this area is part of the Central Lowlands geographical region. Eastern Kansas, where the first European-American settlements were located, is relatively well-watered and has very good soils suitable for diversified agriculture based on the production of corn, small grains, and livestock.¹¹ In the struggle to adapt to the new territory, the character and determination of the new settlers was tested. As historian Walter Prescott Webb observed, when these settlers came to the Great Plains, an environment with which they had no experience, the result was “a complete though temporary breakdown of the machinery and ways of pioneering.”¹² In Kansas Territory, the settlers worked hard to adapt to the treeless environment and the harshly variable climate of the Great Plains. (See Figure 2-2, Kansas Territory, 1854-60.)

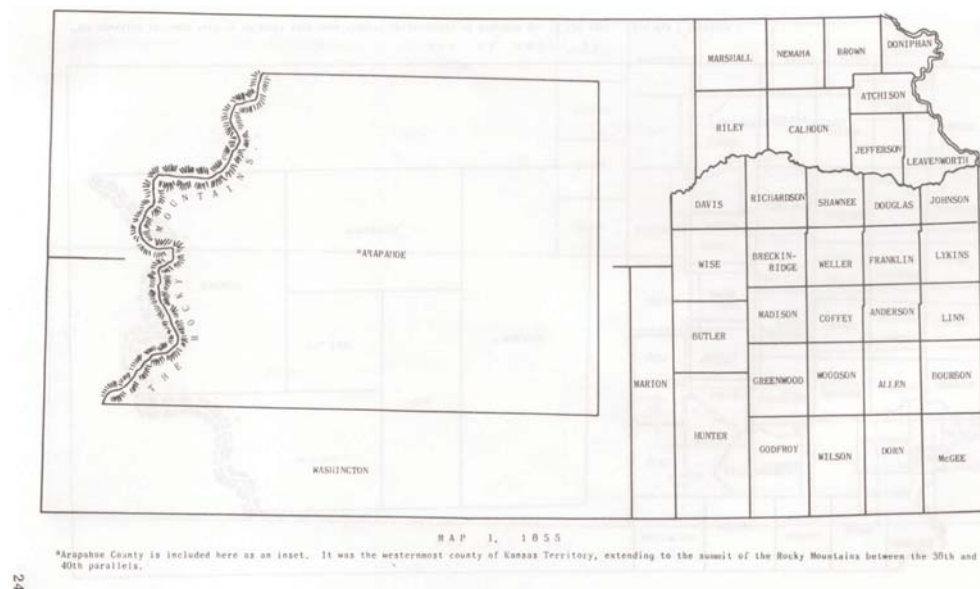
Even before the territory was opened to settlement, many of the residents of western Missouri migrated to Kansas. This migration was necessary to establish a territorial government favorable to slavery. The

Kansas-Nebraska Act seemed to favor Missourians. This legislation granted the right of popular sovereignty on the slavery issue and created two territories (Kansas and Nebraska). Many in Congress held the unstated but implicit expectation that Kansas would be slave and Nebraska free, thus maintaining the balance of political power in Congress. For the proslavery Missourians, it was imperative to enter quickly, claim the best sites for towns along the Missouri and lower Kansas Rivers and occupy the scarce timberlands. Over the years, the struggle for resources and land became a underlying tension in the politics of the Kansas Conflict. (See Figure 2-3, Kansas Territory, 1855, Organized Counties.)

The initial push by Missourians into Kansas Territory lasted from 1854 until 1857. White Southerners were numerous in every county along the Missouri border as well as in the Kansas River valley upstream to Topeka. They also clustered in the Neosho and Verdigris River valleys and maintained small communities at Council Grove on Santa Fe Trail and other places on the Oregon Trail. Many

white Southerners who stayed in Kansas Territory were not strong proslavery supporters and in time they shifted their loyalty to the Union. Later in the wave of migration to Kansas after the Civil War ended in 1865, white Southerners from Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas competed for the land

Figure 2-3, Kansas Territory 1855, Organized Counties



11 Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, "Landforms of Kansas," Historical Atlas of Kansas rev. Ed. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 3.

12 Webb, The Great Plains (Boston, MA: Ginn & Co., 1931), 8.

available in southeastern Kansas.¹³

Even before the Kansas Territory was organized in May 1854, the New England Emigrant Aid Company organized to challenge the westward extension of slavery. The promotion of emigration from the northeast was necessary because the most likely Free State immigrants to Kansas were not Yankees or Southern, but Westerners from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These states were closer than New England, the people had a strong frontier agricultural culture, and these states were populated with young people eager for land and opportunity.¹⁴ Eventually, this majority joined the New Englanders who led the effort to ban slavery from the territory.

Of the twelve thousand Northern settlers present in Kansas in 1865, only some two thousand came in association with New England Emigrant Aid Company. However, Yankees concentrated their influence with the advantages of education and financial support. Most New England emigrants settled in concentrations on both sides of the major transportation route of the Kansas River.¹⁵ Later, New Englanders moved to Atchison and Leavenworth for business opportunities. Although many Americans thought that the new territory would allow slavery, the anti-slavery emigrants who came to Kansas won the state for freedom. The symbolism of the New England heritage and ideals became an aspect of the state's long-standing image.

More than one hundred thousand European Americans rushed into the territory between 1854 and 1860. Kansas attracted waves of settlers—first the Emigrant Indians, then Missourians and other Southerners, New Englanders, Westerners from the Ohio River

Valley. Although challenged by the land and the weather, they recreated a landscape of farms and towns like that of the eastern United States. The plains environment has three distinguishing characteristics: a comparatively level surface of great extent, unforested, treeless land, and sub-humid climate. The region was described as sub-humid because the average rainfall is insufficient for the ordinary intensive agriculture of a humid climate.¹⁶ The present-day landscape reflects this distinctive pattern of human activity in which agriculture, transportation, trade and business, social and cultural patterns have been affected by the geography of the eastern border of the Great Plains.

After a pause during the Civil War, the migration continued at a greater pace throughout the 1870s and 1880s. In 1865 twenty-eight counties in Kansas each contained a thousand or more people. White migrants from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and other upper Midwestern states could be found throughout the new territory. Missourians and others from the upper South secured choice town sites and land near the Missouri and lower Kansas Rivers. Yankees from New England also concentrated on sites with commercial potential. These tended to be upstream on the Kansas River. European immigrants tended to select either urban locations or isolated rural tracts which allowed these groups to maintain cultural cohesion.¹⁷

Most of the state's 12,641 black residents in 1865 were fugitives from Missouri. Almost nine percent of the citizens of the new state were black; this percentage has been never matched since 1865. Most African Americans were clustered near the Missouri border in sites with protection. The major populations were in Leavenworth (2,455),

13 James R. Shortridge, *Peopling the Plains: Who Settled Where in Frontier Kansas* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 19-21. In this study of the cultural beginnings of the state, Shortridge considered the 1865 census as the best source of information about permanent settlers.

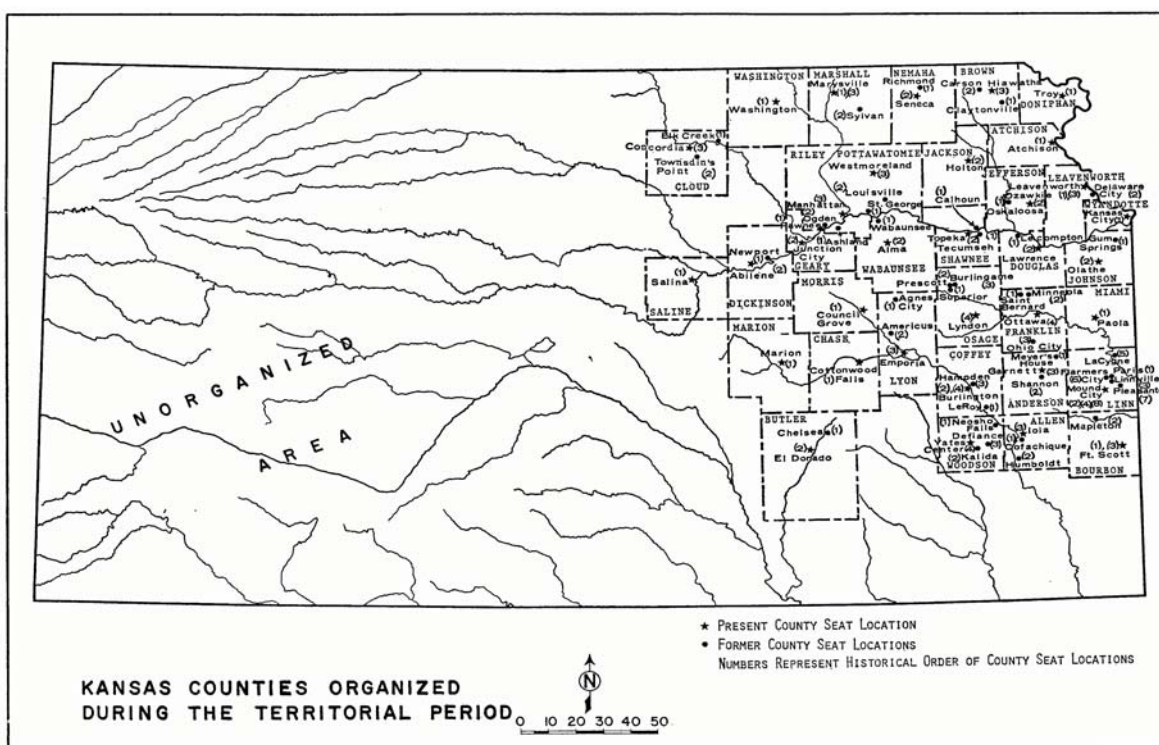
14 Shortridge, 18.

15 Shortridge, 23.

16 Webb, *Great Plains*, 3.

17 Shortridge, 3-4.

Figure 2-4, Kansas Counties organized during Territorial Period



Wyandotte County (1,504), Lawrence (1,464), Fort Scott (492), Atchison (432), Mound City (270), Osawatimie (192), and Topeka (170).¹⁸

About one third of the area of the state of Kansas was occupied by the time of the Civil War. The state census of 1865 tallied 142,456 residents, but the zone of moderate population density extended south only to Fort Scott and just beyond the first two tiers of counties west of the Missouri line.¹⁹ The original Kansas Territory organized in 1854 included land extending to the Continental Divide. When Kansas was admitted as a state, the area was reduced to the present rectangular boundaries—approximately 410 miles east to west and 210 miles from north to south. (See Figure 2-4, Kansas Counties Organized during Territorial Period.)

The Kansas Conflict: “Bleeding Kansas”

Even before the Kansas-Nebraska Act was approved, the settlement of Kansas became a symbolic conflict between freedom and slavery. Congressional leaders, the party press, and ideologues for or against slavery assumed that Kansas Territory would be a battleground over the question. Opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act met in Ripon, Wisconsin, on February 28, 1854 to discuss the formation of a new antislavery party. Similar meetings were held in other northern states.

There were several phases in the Kansas conflict. During early settlement from the spring of 1854 to the spring of 1855, proslavery Missourians exploited their geographical and numerical advantages. In the

18 Shortridge, 27.

19 Shortridge, 15.

first two territorial elections, Missourians crossed the border to cast fraudulent ballots and overwhelm the Free State settlers. The Free State settlers called the legislature chosen in the second election the “Bogus Legislature.” They repudiated the legislative election, the legislature, and the laws it passed because, in their opinion, the election was fraudulent and the proslavery law code was oppressive. The Free State settlers drafted their own Topeka Constitution which excluded slavery, and elected a Free State legislature. Eventually, there were four constitutional conventions in Kansas Territory (Topeka, 1855; Lecompton, 1857; Leavenworth, 1858; and Wyandotte, 1859).

The contest between the proslavery and Free State governments intensified the Kansas conflict from March, 1855 until September, 1856. During this phase, the growing destruction of settlements and cabins, physical violence, murders, and armed confrontations made the territory famous as “Bleeding Kansas.” After the peak of active violence in the fall of 1856, the debate over freedom or slavery continued, but settlers of all persuasions turned their hand to establishing a popular government and developing the territory’s economy. In the national presidential election of 1856, the issue of “Bleeding Kansas” won unexpected popular support for the Republican candidate, John C. Fremont. The Whig Party was torn apart in the national controversy. A surprisingly strong base of support in the campaign made the newly formed Republican Party the major opponent of Democrats in a new national political party system.

A third phase in the Kansas conflict began with massive emigration from free states in the spring of 1857. Migration shifted the political balance of power to the Free State settlers, but the Supreme Court’s Dred Scott

decision in 1857 seemed to deny Congressional authority to prevent slavery in the territories. Late in 1857, a national financial panic made the economy a major concern. At the end of this year, the proslavery Lecompton Constitution for Kansas was defeated in Congress despite an adamant lobbying effort by the Buchanan administration. During the next few years, more and more runaway slaves, traveling on the Underground Railroad, escaped the South into Kansas headed north to freedom. Although a severe drought from 1859 to 1860 drove many settlers out of the territory, residents moved toward political stability and eventually won the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state under the Wyandotte Constitution.

Congress delayed the admission of Kansas as a state from 1860 until January 29, 1861. After seven southern states seceded from the Union, the Civil War broke out in April. Jayhawkers from Kansas raided into western Missouri and many runaway slaves fled to freedom in the new state. The outbreak of war also uprooted loyal Native Americans in the Indian Territory who sought refuge in Kansas bringing significant numbers of African Americans with them. The most destructive and deadly incident of the Civil War in Kansas was guerrilla William Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence August 21, 1863. The rebuilding of Lawrence after Quantrill destroyed the town center culminated in November 1864 when the Union Pacific Railroad reached the town.

After the Civil War ended early in 1865, European Americans quickly shifted their attention from politics to economic development. During the next three decades, the population and wealth of the state increased tremendously. Despite the important constitutional amendments introduced after the

Civil War to guarantee citizenship and voting rights for African Americans, political conservatism and institutionalized racism impeded the struggle for freedom. African Americans and Native Americans did not win their full civil rights for the next one hundred years.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

Although the Kansas-Nebraska Act was hotly debated in terms of sectional politics, other underlying motivations were railroad-building and economic expansion. Proposals for a transcontinental railroad dated back to the mid-1840s. The territorial leap to the Pacific resulting from the Mexican War along with the discovery of gold in California made such a railroad imperative for both economic and strategic reasons. Congress debated many bills in the early 1850s that specified different routes and funding mechanisms, but rejected them all.

Senator Stephen Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, considered a Pacific Railroad as the key to his program for strengthening the Union, elevating his position as a leader in the Democrat Party, and providing for the economic prosperity of the Mississippi Valley and the West. Douglas wanted an eastern terminus at Chicago for the Pacific Railroad. Public land could not be surveyed or granted until organized by Congress. Since the railroad would be funded by land grants, this required organization of the territory west of Iowa and Missouri through which any northern or central railroad route would run. Douglas had to act quickly because Southerners were about to complete the Gadsden Purchase which was necessary for a federally supported southern railroad from New Orleans to Los Angeles via El Paso, Texas.²⁰

The Kansas-Nebraska Act effectively ended the Missouri Compromise prohibition against slavery north of 36°30'." Senator Douglas substituted the popular sovereignty language from the Compromise of 1850. He intended to win more railroad support for the bill, but many Northerners interpreted his bill as a trick to deliver Kansas to the slave interests. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was branded as a plot of the "Slave Power" in the famous "Appeal of the Independent Democrats." Southern congressmen defended the bill and with support from President Franklin Pierce, Congress approved the act on May 26 and the President signed it into law on May 30, 1854. This created two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, out of the remaining unorganized area of the Louisiana Purchase and opened both to slavery.²¹ Despite this apparent success, Douglas did not win any of his personal goals. The Pacific Railroad was held up in Congress for almost ten years.

In the summer of 1854, opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the "Slave Power," and the Democrats continued organizing the Republican Party in the North. The Republican Party became the most successful third party in the nation's political history. Eventually, the controversy over Kansas destroyed the Whig Party and divided the Democratic Party. In the 1854 elections, the Democrats lost 66 of 91 congressional seats in the free states. As historian William Barney concluded, "the Northern belief in the Slave Power and its gigantic plot in the Kansas-Nebraska Act to repeal the Missouri Compromise gave birth to the Republican party." Trying to neutralize the single most effective issue for the Republicans, the Democrats only deepened the sectional rivalry of American politics between 1854 and 1860.²²

²⁰ Barney, 64.

²¹ Barney, 65-67.

²² Barney, 69-70, 73.

While Congress debated the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Eli Thayer of Massachusetts conceived the idea of forming a corporation to organize emigration from New England to Kansas. By investing in mills, hotels, and other enterprises for the accommodation of settlers, Thayer expected to attract migration from all parts of the North. Thayer did not define his cause as “abolitionist.” He intended to make money, to advance his own political ambitions (Thayer was elected to Congress in 1856), and to express a genuine desire to check the advance of slavery.²³

Amos A. Lawrence, Thayer’s key financial supporter, was a Whig who opposed the extremes of both slavery and abolitionism because he wanted to avoid a national division. Lawrence never expected the company to pay back his investment in Kansas Territory. His goal was not only to save Kansas for freedom, but also to block forever the further expansion of slavery. In the bill for incorporation signed April 26, 1854, the purpose of the company was stated as “to aid and protect emigrants from New England or from the Old World in settling the West, and to secure to them in their new homes the advantages of education and the rights and privileges of free labor.”²⁴ The company’s initial capitalization was not to exceed \$5,000,000.

This grandiose plan was not realized. Instead, the New England Aid Society was organized as a private association with a capital stock of only \$200,000. The Society’s goals were publicized by Horace Greeley, in a series of supportive editorials published in the New York *Tribune* beginning May 29, 1854. Renamed the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts, the company functioned as an unincorporated stock company until it received a new charter as

the New England Emigrant Aid Company on March 5, 1855.²⁵

Widespread publicity about the Society aroused Southern fears of a Yankee conspiracy to steal Kansas Territory away from the slave South. This fear was incited by the inflammatory rhetoric of Missouri Senator David Atchison. Atchison led the Missourians who determined to establish the institution of slavery in Kansas and to prevent an abolitionist invasion on their western border. Most of the early settlers were non-slaveholders from Missouri and other Midwestern states. What brought them to Kansas Territory was the hunger for land. None was legally available, Indian titles had not been extinguished, and no public land had been surveyed and put on the market. This was the case until the end of 1854 when the first treaties in which the emigrant Indians gave up the largest part of their reserves were signed. For the next several years, federal land surveyors could not work fast enough to meet the demand for public land.

The Emigrant Aid Society did not send its first emigrant party until July 1854. Emigrant Aid Company agents Charles Robinson and Charles Branscomb reached Kansas City early in July, 1854. Robinson went to Fort Leavenworth and Branscomb traveled up the Kansas River to Fort Riley to observe the country, to investigate Indian land titles, and to note locations for suitable settlements. The first Emigrant Aid Company party reached the present site of Lawrence on August 1, 1854. They chose this site for a town, in part, because the location at a bend of the Kansas River was the first desirable location where emigrant Indians had ceded their land rights.²⁶

23 Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1954), 7, 10, 14.

24 Johnson, 16.

25 Johnson, 19, 25-26.

26 Johnson, 51-52.

Meanwhile, anti-slavery advocates held Kansas meetings throughout the Northern states to generate support and organize emigration parties. Supporters published a series of publications describing and promoting the opportunities in Kansas beginning in August 1854. The famous poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, wrote and published the "Song of the Kansas Emigrant." The Emigrant Aid Company organized the important free-state towns. Lawrence was named October 1, 1854. Topeka was organized on December 5 and Osawatomie was established early in 1855. Further west, the town of Wabaunsee was established in November, 1854. Manhattan was established in the spring of 1855 at the point where the Big Blue River joined the Kansas River. The New England Aid Company assisted other settlements later during the boom of 1856-1857. These included Humboldt, Burlington, Emporia, and Wyandotte. Later, the Emigrant Aid Company developed extensive business interests in the Free State town of Quindaro and the former proslavery town of Atchison.²⁷

Unless slavery arrived with the first settlers, it probably would never be established. For this reason, control of the first territorial legislature was essential to advance the goals of proslavery ideologues and politicians. President Franklin Pierce appointed Andrew H. Reeder from Pennsylvania as the first territorial governor. Reeder arrived at Fort Leavenworth on October 7, 1854, where he established the governor's office or capital. He moved the office to Shawnee Mission on November 24, 1854, and then to Pawnee (near Fort Riley). Reeder convened the first territorial legislature at Pawnee on July 1, but the legislature decided to return the capital to Shawnee Mission. The territorial capital finally was located in Lecompton (on the

Kansas River between the Free State towns of Lawrence and Topeka) on August 8, 1855. Lecompton remained the official capital until Kansas was admitted as a state in 1861.

The first territorial election was held in November 29, 1854, for a Congressional delegate from Kansas Territory. Many Missourians crossed the border to vote and elected proslavery sympathizer John Whitfield. He won with 2,238 votes, compared to 305 votes for Democrat Robert Flenniken, a friend of Gov. Reeder, and free-state candidate John A. Wakefield with 348 votes. Probably, 1,729 votes were fraudulent with only 1,114 legal ballots.²⁸

Governor Reeder was credited with coining the term, "border ruffian," to describe the Missourians in his remarks during a visit to Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. early in 1855. To carry out his duty to supervise a fair election, Reeder organized a census, finding 2,905 legal voters, before the residents elected a territorial legislature and adopted a law code. But Missourians again swamped the local elections in March 30, 1855, casting 6,801 votes for the first territorial legislature.²⁹ Reeder served as governor less than a year. Members of the proslavery territorial legislature signed a resolution to President Pierce asking for Reeder's removal and he was removed July 28, 1855.³⁰

Why did Free State settlers rebel?

Outraged Free State settlers rebelled in 1855 because they believed that the fraudulently elected legislature was a "bogus" legislature without genuine authority. This belief was confirmed by the irresponsible actions of the proslavery legislature. When the proslavery representatives met at Pawnee on July 2, 1855, they promptly began to expel the out-

27 Johnson, 79-85.

28 Socolofsky, 35.

29 Zornow, 69-70.

30 Detailed information on the territorial governors and acting governors is based on Homer E. Socolofsky, *Kansas Governors* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 31-78.

numbered Free State members. On July 4, 1855, John A. Wakefield was the last to be expelled. As he rose to leave, he warned, “gentlemen, this is a memorable day, and it may become even more so. Your acts will be the means of lighting the watch-fires of war in our land.” After moving the territorial capital to Shawnee Mission, the proslavery representatives approved legal codes for Kansas based on those of Missouri which protected slavery and forbid dissent. With an overwhelming majority, the proslavery measures were passed over Governor Reeder’s veto. Reeder then joined the free-state forces and his speech at the Big Springs convention September 5 referred to the possibility of bloodshed. Reeder insisted that if free-state supporters were not allowed to exercise their rights to speak and to vote against slavery, they would have to fight. This meeting formally organized a Free State party and adopted a platform.³¹

By January 1856, there were two opposing governments in Kansas Territory. This created the fundamental tension of “Bleeding Kansas,” described by Thomas H. Gladstone, an Englishman who visited Kansas as a correspondent for the *Times*, of London. He said, “the Free-State organization ... gave rise to the double governorship, double judiciary, double legislature, double militia, and in general, double claim to obedience, which has constituted so peculiar a feature in the politics of Kansas.”³²

Members of the Topeka convention drafted a constitution in late October and early November 1855 that prohibited slavery in the territory after July 4, 1857. Three successive territorial elections followed. On October 1, 1855, pro-slavery settlers reelected John Whitfield as territorial delegate to Congress. Separately, the free-state party

chose former appointed governor Reeder for their delegate. Proslavery men formed a “Law and Order party.”³³ In an election that was not contested in pro-slavery areas, Free State voters ratified the Topeka constitution on December 14, 1855. The Free State government held an election for state officers on January 15, 1856. Then the Free State legislature met in Topeka March 4, 1856 and petitioned Congress for admission as a free state.³⁴ Congress did not accept the Free State Topeka Constitution.

Early in 1856, the Pierce administration sided with the proslavery legislature. In a special message to Congress on January 24, the President denounced the Free State elected officials, the parties opposed to Kansas-Nebraska Act, and any support for colonization “to prevent the free and natural action of its inhabitants in its internal organization” regarding the question of slavery. New governor Wilson Shannon, who had been appointed by President Pierce on August 10, 1855, also had extreme Southern sympathies. Shannon served until his removal on August 18, 1856. Territorial secretary Daniel Woodson acted as governor five times including several weeks in 1856 and 1857 until he was removed April 16, 1857. Both Shannon and Woodson were staunch Democrats who were sympathetic to the plan to make Kansas a slave state.

“Bleeding Kansas and Bleeding Summer” (April-September, 1856)

In a letter to the Emigrant Aid Company, dated April 2, 1855, the Company’s resident agent, Charles Robinson, asked for 200 Sharps rifles and two field guns. The executive committee ordered 100 rifles to be paid for from a separate fund in case it was necessary to deny that the Company had partici-

31 Johnson, 108.

32 The Englishman in Kansas, or Squatter Life and Border Warfare (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971 [1857]), 283-92, cited in Sheridan, *Freedom's Crucible*, xx.

33 Zornow, 70-71.

34 Zornow, 70-71; Johnson, 138, 143-144.

pated in any activity encouraging rebellion. The Emigrant Aid Company did not direct the Free State movement, but the executive committee members followed political developments in Kansas Territory and aided the Free State settlers. The Company recruited settlers, supported the Free State leaders, invested in mills to build settlements, and furnished arms and munitions to fight, if necessary.³⁵

Some of the violence leading up to “Bleeding Kansas” began in Douglas County. For example, proslavery settler Franklin Coleman murdered Free State settler Charles Dow on November 21, 1855, in a dispute over a land claim at Hickory Point. The so-called “Wakarusa War” began with the arrest by Sheriff Samuel Jones of Dow’s friend Jacob Branson and the rescue of Branson at Blanton’s Crossing of the Wakarusa (a tributary of the Kansas River). Sheriff Jones called the rescue by armed free-state settlers an act of rebellion and gathered a proslavery militia at Lecompton on November 29. Jones and the band of Missourians threatened the town of Lawrence, but after Governor Wilson Shannon negotiated a truce with the opposing sides on December 7, the pro-slavery militia withdrew.

To investigate the election fraud and violence, leaders of the House appointed a special committee headed by William A. Howard on March 19, 1856, to investigate the controversy in Kansas.³⁶ While the congressional Howard Committee held public hearings, the crisis erupted. When Sheriff Jones tried to arrest some Free State leaders in Lawrence in April, 1856, he was shot and wounded. In May, the District Court in Lecompton indicted the most prominent Free State leaders (Reeder, Robinson, Lane, and five others). Warrants for their arrest were

given to the U.S. Marshall who gathered a large pro-slavery force outside Lawrence and attacked. In the infamous “Sack of Lawrence” on May 21, 1856, pro-slavery forces burned the fortified Free State Hotel, which had been financed by the Emigrant Aid Company, destroyed the offices of the Herald of Freedom and the Kansas Free State, the most influential Free State newspapers, and burned the house of Charles Robinson.³⁷ One historian described this time as “the lowest ebb in the fortunes of the Free State movement . . . The whole force of the national administration was arrayed against the Free State party and its friends.”³⁸

Meanwhile in Washington, D.C., Senator Charles Sumner delivered a major speech, “The Crime Against Kansas.” He stood in support of the Free State constitution on May 19-20, 1856 and answered or denied every charge brought against the Emigrant Aid Company. Sumner argued that the charge of rebellion was only a pretext for a worse crime—the subjugation of Kansas. The lengthy debate over the proposed Free State constitution and the admission of Kansas as a Free State unified the antislavery legislators who consolidated as Republicans. Just two days after Sumner’s famous speech, the sectional debate led to violence in Congress. In denouncing the crime against Kansas, Senator Sumner offended Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina by personally insulting his relative, Senator Andrew Butler. On May 22, Representative Brooks attacked Sumner on the floor of the Senate with his walking stick. Because Sumner was unable to get up, Brooks beat him unconscious at his desk. With the nation-wide protest against these events, several different groups came together to make the Republican Party a new force in national politics. As one historian insist-

35 Johnson, 124-126, 132.

36 Johnson, 147-149.

37 Zornow, 73.

38 Johnson, 159.

ed, “two shocking events in May—the ‘sack of Lawrence,’ an attack by proslavery Missourians on the most important free-soil settlement of Kansas, and the savage beating of an antislavery senator, Charles Sumner, by a Southern congressman—dramatically personalized the Slave Power for Northerners as a barbaric force that threatened all decent values of civilized behavior.”³⁹

In Kansas Territory, another incident intensified the violence. On May 24, John Brown, four of his sons and two other men went to Pottawatomie Creek and murdered five proslavery men. Although Brown never admitted or denied direct involvement in the massacre, he said that it was carried out to revenge the six free-state settlers murdered in the previous months and “to cause a restraining fear.”⁴⁰ Brown had arrived heavily armed in October, 1855. He was determined to stop the spread of slavery to the new territory and, ultimately, to end American slavery. A few days later, Captain Henry Pate, who set out to capture Brown, was himself taken prisoner by Brown in the “Battle of Black Jack” near present-day Baldwin City, Douglas County. This event on June 2 was the first open skirmish between Free State and proslavery forces in the Kansas conflict. Although the number of fighters involved and casualties were relatively small, the violence in “Bleeding Kansas,” judged by its impetus toward civil war, was more important than violent incidents on a larger scale in other parts of the country.⁴¹

The political tension was heightened with several major setbacks for the free-state opposition on the Missouri-Kansas border and at Lawrence and Topeka. Proslavery forces blockaded the Missouri River and vir-

tually cut off the main trade and travel route for Free State settlers. Missourians intercepted freight and tampered with the mail between Kansas City and Lawrence. From June through October 1856, all Emigrant Aid Society freight and practically all supplies sent by the various Eastern relief organizations were sent overland from Iowa City at the end of the railroad, across the Missouri River at Nebraska City, and then south to Kansas Territory. When the elected Free State legislature tried to convene at Constitution Hall in Topeka, acting Governor Woodson issued a proclamation forbidding the meeting and Colonel Edwin Sumner led five companies of dragoons into the streets to enforce his edict. On July 4, the Federal troops aimed their cannon and threatened to use bayonets to break up the meeting.⁴² The Free State legislators dispersed without bloodshed.

In August Free State settlers took the offensive by attacking four proslavery fortified positions in Douglas County—Franklin, Fort Saunders, the Georgia Fort, and Fort Titus. Meanwhile, Governor Shannon resigned and the acting governor Daniel Woodson proclaimed on August 25 that the territory was “in a state of open insurrection and rebellion,” and called upon all law-abiding and civil and military officers “to aid and assist by all means in their power in putting down the insurrectionists.”⁴³ The proslavery leader, Senator David Atchison assembled a large force of Missourians on August 30 and marched into Kansas. Some of the Missourians, led by John Reed and Reverend Martin White, attacked Osawatimie, killed John Brown’s son Frederick, drove off John Brown and a small band of defenders, and

39 Barney, 76.

40 Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance Guide, compiled by Karl Gridley, “John Brown of Kansas, 1855-1859,” (Lawrence, KS: Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance, 2000), 5.

41 As historian Samuel Johnson concluded, “bleeding Kansas” drove a “wedge between the sections that could only be extricated on the greater and more sanguinary battlefields of the great Civil War,” 181.

42 Johnson, 193; Daniel Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, KS: T. Dwight Thatcher [sic], Kansas Publishing House, 1886), 127-128.

43 Johnson, 203.

burned all but a few houses in the free-state settlement.⁴⁴ Early in September, James Lane and a free-state band threatened Lecompton while Senator Atchison and his proslavery force threatened Lawrence.

After John W. Geary was appointed territorial governor in September 1856, he disbanded the militia, and with federal troops brought relative calm to the territory. Governor Geary issued two proclamations on September 13. He ordered all armed forces to disband and ordered all adult male citizens to enroll themselves for militia duty. These actions broke up the opposing guerrilla bands and restored civil order.⁴⁵ Geary tried to act with strict neutrality; he clashed with the proslavery legislature which met in January 1857. For example, Geary vetoed a bill providing for an election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. He believed that popular sovereignty required a referendum on any constitution before it was submitted to Congress. Incoming President James Buchanan dismissed Geary on March 20, 1857 because the new President insisted that Kansas must become a slave state.

After September 1856, Free State settlers were relatively secure in the northern part of Kansas Territory, but proslavery settlers still dominated the southern part particularly along the Missouri-Kansas border. They held on to the advantage gained by first settlement and control of the county seats. When the federal land office and federal court were located at Fort Scott in 1857, proslavery Democrats were appointed to these important positions. Beginning in the spring of 1857, there was a large Free State migration into this area. While the migration was peaceful at first, the Free State settlers began to expel proslavery men in disputes over land claims that had been abandoned

because of the previous fighting in 1856. By the summer of 1858, Free State settlers dominated in both Linn and Bourbon Counties.

Violence broke out again in the territory in 1858, mainly in the southern Kansas counties along the Missouri border where Free State settlers were dispersed among proslavery settlers. One of the proslavery leaders who had been driven out of Kansas in the fall of 1857, Charles Hamilton, returned seeking revenge. In the "Marais des Cygnes Massacre" May 19, 1858, Hamilton's band killed five free-state settlers. There were several other violent incidents in southeast Kansas that year along the Missouri border. Underlying the slavery controversy, violence was incited by the problem of questionable land titles because the existing Indian claims were not settled until after the Civil War.

James Montgomery was one of the abolitionists who led the Free State men who drove out many of the proslavery settlers in southeast Kansas Territory. His violence was not restrained by more conservative Free State settlers because of the feeling of retaliation for earlier violence in 1856. Earlier raids in Bourbon and Linn counties were led by George W. Clarke, who became the register of the Fort Scott land office and was accused of favoring proslavery claimants. Clarke finally was removed in August, 1858. At the same time, the federal troops did not enforce warrants against Free State men because many officers were sympathetic to the anti-slavery cause. John Brown also caused trouble during the period from June 16, 1858, to about February 1, 1859. Brown organized a military company and conducted a raid into Missouri to liberate slaves. According to Augustus Wattle, who questioned the raid into Missouri, Brown replied, "I have considered the matter well. You will have no more inroads from Mo. The poor people of

⁴⁴ Zornow, 75; Wilder, 133.

⁴⁵ Zornow, 74-75; Johnson, 203, 231.

Kansas have suffered enough. My heart bleeds for them. I now see it my duty to draw the scene of excitement to some other point of the country.”⁴⁶ With those words, John Brown left Kansas and went on to the Harpers Ferry raid and national notoriety.

Governors, Elections, and Constitutions

Although the violence in Kansas Territory subsided, the turbulent politics continued. A new territorial secretary, Frederick P. Stanton, who arrived on April 15, 1857, served as acting governor until May 27 when Governor Robert J. Walker arrived in Kansas Territory. After Stanton was dismissed by President Buchanan on December 21, 1857, he joined the Free State party and remained in Kansas for some years.

In the fall of 1857, a second constitutional convention held by proslavery supporters met at Lecompton. Free State settlers decided to participate in the next territorial election held October 5-6, 1857. The free-state candidate for Congress won. Governor Walker rejected fraudulent votes from two districts along the Missouri border which gave the Free State men a majority in the territorial legislature for the first time.

Even so, the Lecompton Constitutional Convention that concluded its session on October 28, 1857, was dominated by proslavery settlers. These representatives called for a referendum on December 21 to vote for a constitution with or without slavery, but not on the Lecompton Constitution itself. The Lecompton Constitution protected slavery by submitting it to a vote asking residents to vote for the “constitution with slavery” or for the “constitution with no slavery.” In his effort to be even-handed, Walker deviated from President Buchanan’s

single-minded support for the Lecompton Constitution and so he resigned in November 16, 1857. Since the referendum held December 21, 1857, protected slaves already in the territory, Free State settlers refused to participate.⁴⁷

In opposition, the Free State settlers called a special session of the new territorial legislature which set another referendum on January 4, 1858, to vote for the acceptance or rejection of the Lecompton Constitution. In the first referendum, there were 6,226 votes for the pro-slavery constitution; in the second election, there were 10,226 votes against it. Although the Free State settlers boycotted the first referendum and proslavery settlers avoided the second election, the actual majority opinion was evident. President Buchanan refused to accept the people’s decision, however, and sent the Lecompton Constitution to Congress on February 2, 1858, urging its approval.⁴⁸

The President asked James W. Denver, who was touring Kansas as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to serve as acting governor on December 21, 1857, and he was appointed governor on May 12, 1858. Although Denver supported the Lecompton constitution and also vetoed several acts of the free-state legislature, he acted as an effective mediator between the two factions in the territory. Denver resigned on October 10, 1858, to return to his post as Indian Commissioner.

While the Lecompton Constitution was being debated in Congress, some Free State legislators called another constitutional convention at a new town called Minneola in Franklin County on March 23, 1858. But this convention quickly moved to Leavenworth and framed a constitution that

46 This summary is based on G. Murlin Welch, *Border Warfare in Southeastern Kansas, 1856-1859* (Pleasanton, KS: Linn County Publishing Company, Linn County Historical Society, 1977), 229-238. Wattles' testimony recalling Brown's remark is from the *Lawrence Republican* February 23, 1859. Cited in Welch, 237.

47 G. Raymond Gaeddert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1940), 27.

48 Zornow, 77-78.

could oppose the Lecompton version if Congress approved it. Although the Leavenworth constitution was ratified in a vote on May 18, 1858, proslavery men refused to participate in the election and Congress rejected it. Instead, Congress ordered that the Lecompton Constitution again be submitted to a vote of the people in Kansas Territory and, three months later, the proslavery constitution was finally defeated by six to one in the August 2, 1858 election.⁴⁹

When the fourth territorial legislature met at Lecompton on January 3, 1859, for the first time a majority of the delegates were free-state men and they voted to move the session to Lawrence. This group repealed the offensive laws passed by the earlier “bogus” legislature and passed an act calling for the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention. Although Governor Samuel Medary vetoed the call for a convention, the legislature overrode his veto and the convention was scheduled.⁵⁰

To prepare for the constitutional convention, Kansas Democrats held a party convention at Tecumseh (just east of Topeka) on May 11. They adopted a conciliatory platform accepting the future of Kansas as a free state. The Republican Party convention met in Osawatomie on May 18-19, 1859. The delegates denounced the Supreme Court Dred Scott decision, opposed the extension of slavery to free soil, and asked the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention to prohibit slavery. Once established in Kansas, the Republican Party soon included the members of the old Free State party.⁵¹

For the first time, Democrats, Republicans, and Free State delegates met together at the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention begin-

ning on July 5, 1859. In crafting a Free State constitution, the delegates borrowed from several sources, including the earlier Topeka and Leavenworth territorial constitutions along with the Ohio state constitution of 1850.⁵² The Wyandotte Constitution was approved by a vote of 10,421 to 5,530 on October 4, 1859. In the first election of state officials on December 1, the Republicans won an overwhelming majority in the new legislature and also elected the representative to Congress.⁵³ Kansas joined the Union as a free state on January 29, 1861.

Civil War Kansas

When outgoing President James Buchanan signed the statehood bill for Kansas on January 29, 1861, there were only ten towns with populations over 500 inhabitants. At this time, Leavenworth was the only point in direct telegraphic contact with the East. Because of the serious drought that lasted from autumn, 1859 to the spring of 1861, 30,000 settlers had returned to the East. Kansans had received more than \$1 million in relief aid by early 1861. Over time, the distinctive cultural landscape of Kansas was shaped by the continuing struggle to adapt to the harshly variable climate of the Great Plains. As one historian pointed out, “a more poverty-stricken state than Kansas

49 Gaeddert, 28.

50 After Governor James Denver resigned in 1858, Hoge Walsh, territorial secretary, acted as governor for brief periods in 1858-1860. Walsh supported the proslavery policies of President Buchanan. He was dismissed as secretary June 16, 1860. Samuel Medary succeeded him as governor from December 18, 1858 to December 17, 1860; George Beebe followed from September 11, 1860 until February 9, 1861, when Charles Robinson became the state's first governor. For the Free State legislature's actions, see Gaeddert, 16-17.

51 Gaeddert, 13-16.

52 Gaeddert, 44.

53 Zornow, 86.

probably never entered the Union.”⁵⁴

Within a few months after the outbreak of war in April, 1861, radical abolitionists James Montgomery and Charles Jennison carried the violence characteristic of “Bleeding Kansas” to western Missouri. They raided farms and settlements across the border and returned with Negro “contrabands.” When the Union forces in Missouri were defeated at Wilson’s Creek in southwest Missouri on August 10, the setback left western Missouri vulnerable. Confederate troops advanced to Lexington and the overwhelmingly Unionist residents of Kansas feared an invasion.

In September 1861, Free State leader James Lane led a force of 1,500 men into Missouri. He sacked the town of Osceola on September 23, reportedly in retaliation for a raid on Humboldt, Kansas, September 8. Raiding continued back and forth across the Missouri-Kansas border. A Confederate cavalry force burned Humboldt on October 14 and later there were raids into Linn County. William Quantrill and his Confederate guerillas hit the hamlet of Aubrey in Johnson County, Kansas, on March 7, 1862. Meanwhile, Jennison’s “Jayhawkers” continued to raid western Missouri in late 1861 and early 1862. One of the main results of the raids of Lane and Jennison was “to turn many of the Unionists and neutralists in the border counties into Confederates.”⁵⁵

In the summer of 1862, Lane began recruiting two regiments of African American troops to help defend the state and carry the war into Missouri, Arkansas, and Indian Territory. By this time, there were thousands of Unionist Indian refugees from Indian Territory in the southern part of Kansas. Two regiments were recruited from among

these displaced people. In these units, men of three racial groups joined to defend the Union. By the fall of 1862, antislavery sentiment was so intense in Kansas that a correspondent of the *New York Times* declared that all Kansans were abolitionists. While the border warfare continued in Kansas and Missouri, the Union military leaders determined to limit offensive campaigns in the West and fight only a holding strategy. The generals believed that the Confederacy had to be defeated in the East and that only victory there would end the war.⁵⁶

In May 1863, the *Lawrence Journal* reported that all the border counties from the Kaw to Fort Scott were nearly depopulated. Governor Thomas Carney organized a new regiment, the 15th Kansas, to provide for defense of the border. Union General Thomas Ewing, who was trying to defend Missouri and Kansas with far too few troops, issued Order No. 10 which required families with Confederate sympathies to remove from his district in western Missouri.⁵⁷

Out of this conflict came the most dramatic and widely publicized disaster of the Civil War in Kansas—Quantrill’s raid and the Lawrence massacre. To avenge the Jayhawker raids in Missouri, the Confederate guerillas led by William Quantrill organized to attack the town of Lawrence which had long symbolized Kansas and abolitionism. Residents of Lawrence enjoyed a false sense of security because they believed that guerillas would not attack the “free state fortress.” The people of Lawrence depended on home guard companies for their defense, but Mayor George Collamore stored the weapons for the guards in a central armory which was not accessible.⁵⁸ Quantrill assembled a force of approximately 450 men, the largest guerrilla

54 Albert Castel, *Civil War Kansas: Reaping the Whirlwind* rev. ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), see 1-15, the quotation is from 13.

55 Castel, 59, 63, quotation from 61.

56 Castel, 91, 96-98.

57 Castel, 116, 120-122.

58 Castel, 125-127, 136-140. See also Richard Cordley, *The Lawrence Massacre by a Band of Missouri Ruffians Under Quantrell*, August 21, 1863. N.p., n.d.

force under one command during the border warfare. Early in the morning of August 21, these guerrillas raided the sleeping town of Lawrence, looted and burned the buildings in the center of town, and killed more than 200 men and boys.

Just days after the terrible “Lawrence Massacre” on August 25, General Ewing issued the infamous Order No. 11 which required “the people residing in Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties and that part of Vernon County within the District of the Border, except those living within one mile of Independence, Hickman Mills, Pleasant Hill, Harrisonville, and Kansas City” to leave their homes by September 9, 1863. As Order No. 11 was carried out, the loss of a supporting population forced the Confederate guerillas to scatter and retreat further into the interior of Missouri.⁵⁹

Many miles south of Lawrence in the southeast corner of Kansas, the Union army established an outpost at Baxter Springs, Kansas to protect the line of communications between Fort Scott and Fort Gibson in Indian Territory. Near this post on October 6, 1863, Quantrill’s band surprised and killed more than seventy of General James Blunt’s escort. Although Blunt survived, he was relieved of his command for allowing his men to be surprised.⁶⁰

While still capable of this vicious incident, Quantrill and the other Confederate guerillas were on the run from their refuge in the Missouri border counties. In September 1864, General Sterling Price invaded Missouri in one final push for the Confederate cause. This army was repulsed at the battle of Westport, Missouri, on October 23, and then General Pleasanton’s cavalry routed the retreating Confederates at

Mine Creek, Kansas, on October 25.⁶¹ With this final defeat, the threat to Kansas receded until the Confederate surrender at Appomattox finally ended the Civil War.

Despite the destruction and death caused by Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence and the many other incidents of border warfare, Kansas as a state prospered economically during the Civil War. The U.S. government maintained a strong demand for agricultural produce, cattle, mules, and horses from Kansas. Supplying the military in the West became the major business in wartime Kansas. Leavenworth boomed as the center of over-land trade.

Refugees, white, black, and Indian, flooded into the state. At the same time, the white settlers of Kansas continued the campaign to acquire land set aside as Indian reservations by means of treaties with particular tribes, purchase from individuals, legal suits, and outright fraud. This land hunger came from the agricultural boom, but even more from the land speculation prompted by the construction and proposed construction of railroads. Construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division, began near Wyandotte, Kansas, on September 7, 1863. This railroad finally reached Lawrence on November 26, 1864.⁶² The railroad connection made emigration to Kansas even easier and thousands of new settlers poured into the state after the war’s end.

59 Castel, 142, 152.

60 Castel, 158-161.

61 Castel, 184, 194-197.

62 Castel, 203-222.

Chronology—Kansas and the West

1803	Louisiana Purchase	1855	March 30, election for territorial legislature.
1804-1806	Lewis and Clark exploration expedition.		July 1, proslavery “bogus” legislature met at Pawnee.
1819-1820	Stephen Long’s exploring expedition.		July 6, “bogus” legislature moved capital to Shawnee Mission.
1820	Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes latitude.		August 8, Lecompton made territorial capital.
1821	William Becknell established Santa Fe Trail.		December 15, Free State Topeka Constitution prohibiting slavery ratified in election.
1825	June, first treaties with Kansa and Osage Indians to make land west of Missouri available for removal of eastern Indians	1856	May 10, Free-state governor Charles Robinson arrested.
1829	Delaware Indians given reservation north of Kansas River.		May 21, “Sack of Lawrence.”
1830	Congress passed Indian Removal Act		May 22, Senator Charles Sumner from Massachusetts beaten.
1834	Shawnee Indians from Ohio moved to land south of Kansas River.		May 24, John Brown led Pottawatomie Creek massacre.
1842-1843	Colonel John C. Fremont led exploration expeditions through Kansas River valley.		June 2, Battle of Black Jack, Douglas County.
1841-1869	Oregon Trail—California Road migration.		July 4, Free State Topeka Legislature dispersed by federal troops.
1850	Compromise of 1850. Pacific Railroad surveys.		November 4, Democrat James Buchanan defeated John C. Fremont, the Republican Party’s first presidential candidate.
1854	May 26, The Kansas-Nebraska Act first introduced by Senator Stephen Douglas finally passed. New England Emigrant Aid Company organized.	1857	March 6, Supreme Court Dred Scott decision denies Congressional right to prohibit slavery in territories.
	November 29, first election in Kansas Territory to elect delegate to Congress. ⁶³		August 24, financial panic begins with failure of New York banks.

63 For more detail on Territorial Kansas events, see <http://www.territorialkansasonline.org>

	October 19, proslavery constitutional convention drafts Lecompton Constitution. October 5-6, Free State settlers win majority in election for territorial legislature.		December 20, temporary State Capital in Topeka occupied.
	December 21, Proslavery Lecompton Constitution approved without Free State participation.	1864	November 27, Kansas Pacific Railroad reaches Lawrence.
1858	January 4, Lecompton Constitution defeated in second election. May 18, Free State Leavenworth Constitution ratified. May 19, Marais des Cygnes Massacre, Linn County, five killed and five wounded. August 2, Lecompton Constitution rejected in a third election.	1865	Construction began on the University of Kansas, Lawrence.
1859	July 5 Wyandotte Convention convened, drafted constitution prohibiting slavery. October 4, Wyandotte Constitution ratified by nearly 2 to 1 vote. December 1, Abraham Lincoln visited Kansas. December 2, John Brown hanged for treason at Charlestown, Virginia.	1869	Transcontinental railroad completed
1860	February 12, Kansas statehood bill introduced into U.S. House of Representatives.	1870	Union Pacific Railroad spanned Kansas. East wing of present State Capital occupied.
1861	January 29, Kansas becomes 34th state. March 26, first state legislature convened at Topeka. April 12, Secessionist troops fire on Fort Sumter, South Carolina.		
1863	August 21, Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, about 200 men and boys killed.		

The Enduring Struggle for Freedom

A lasting ideal of freedom and equality was articulated and forcefully defended in the making of a free state in Kansas Territory. As early as 1855, the disputed Free State Topeka Constitution said, “there shall be no slavery in this state.” Enacted by and for white males, the ideal of freedom was not universal in 1856 and not without contradictions. Kansans are generally proud of their New England roots and the state’s founding ideals of freedom and equality. Yet many settlers came to Kansas from southern and Midwestern states with economic livelihood foremost on their minds. The tension created between the idealism of the state’s early history and the reality of underlying economic and political concerns made Kansas history exceptional—especially, when unfulfilled ideals of freedom and equality stimulated activism. This Free State heritage, which was born of conflict and violence in “Bleeding Kansas,” represents an unbroken theme of hope and achievement in Kansas history. During the “Bleeding Kansas” period, the struggle for freedom became an ideal grasped by women, African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants to legitimize their own struggle.

Women and the Struggle for Freedom

Citizens of the new state showed plenty of interest in matters besides the territorial conflict over freedom and slavery. For example, debate continued about the political status of women. Nationwide, some observers hoped that the effort in Kansas would be an example to the rest of the nation. The ideal of freedom was expressed by the 1859 state constitution in laws which protected women’s property rights, equal guardianship of children, and women’s right to vote in school district elections. In 1861 the state

legislature passed laws for the relief and protection of widows.⁶⁴

In the spirit of equality which defined the state’s effort to remain free of slavery, members of the Kansas legislature chose to celebrate “opportunism over racism” and proposed constitutional amendments granting the vote to African Americans and women. But the final outcome paralleled the national choice made during Reconstruction. These innovative suffrage measures were defeated in a general election, perhaps because both measures were linked. The disruption of a joint African American and woman suffrage movement in 1867 created a woman suffrage movement in Kansas independent of the campaign for equal rights for African Americans.⁶⁵ But the ideal of civil rights was important in making Kansas a state and those who came to the state seeking these rights worked to secure them. By 1887 women won the right to vote in municipal elections and to hold offices. In that year, the *New York Times* called the state “the great experimental ground of the nation.” Kansas was an acknowledged leader with the first state coed university, the first state-wide woman suffrage campaign, the first constitutional prohibition amendment, and the first municipal woman suffrage law.⁶⁶

Others seeking freedom and tolerance in Kansas during the 1870s and 1880s included ethnic and religious groups such as Swedes, Volga Germans, French, Mennonites, Jews, and Mexicans. The influx exemplified the Kansas image as a setting for acceptance and tolerance; a place where ideals were translated into reality.⁶⁷ These new residents brought different cultural traditions and formed cohesive communities which have enriched Kansas history.

64 Craig Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 125-126.

65 Miner, 165.

66 Michael Goldberg, “Non-Partisan and all-Partisan: Rethinking Woman Suffrage and Party Politics in Gilded Age Kansas,” *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives*, edited by Rita Napier, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 202.

67 Miner, *Kansas*, 129.

African American Struggle for Freedom

For African Americans in particular, Kansas offered the hope of independence and equality. African Americans played an important role in the Civil War which ultimately led to the abolition of slavery. Two Negro regiments and one artillery battery were raised in Kansas and served along with white troops. Many of these recruits fled to Kansas from slavery in Missouri to serve in the Union Army. Some also came with the Indians in the "Great Escape" to Kansas of 1861-62 led by Opothleyahola, and were soldiers in the Indian Home Guard regiments that, together with the Kansas Colored regiments, helped to liberate Indian Territory. Later, African Americans served as Buffalo Soldiers and cow hands. African Americans worked to further their civil rights as early as 1863. At the first Kansas State Colored Convention, they demanded an end to racial discrimination.

Like other groups, African Americans established their own churches, social and political organizations, and took advantage of educational opportunities. Through the most difficult of segregated times, the African American families built their own communities and built churches, formed Masonic lodges, and women's clubs. African Americans established their own newspapers and engaged in politics.⁶⁸ For example, Freeman University, a school for African American children, was established at Quindaro, Wyandotte County, in 1862. Later known as Stanley Industrial Hall, this important educational institution became Western University in 1899.

A critical constitutional change associated with the enduring struggle for freedom came at the end of the Civil War. The passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the

United States Constitution abolished slavery (1865), provided citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States (1868), and gave African American men the right to vote (1869). However, the national intent to enforce voting rights and equality in accommodation failed to overcome Southern white resistance after Reconstruction ended in 1877. African Americans in the South lacked the numbers or power to win elections on their own.

As the South began to adjust to an economy without slave labor, most African Americans became sharecroppers instead of landowners. African Americans understood that land ownership provided the economic foundation for political and social independence, yet most were unable to secure acreage for their families. Some of them, called Exodusters, began to seek the "promised land" in Kansas in the 1870s. African Americans came to Kansas believing that the state had a connection to their emancipation. Many Kansas leaders acknowledged the oppressive situation in the South and welcomed these migrants in the Free State tradition.⁶⁹

There were two main Exoduster migrations, one associated with African American leaders such as Henry Adams and Benjamin "Pap" Singleton who helped found Nicodemus in 1876 in Graham County. Two other small African American colonies formed in other parts of the state. Another wave came in 1879 when about 7000 African Americans from the South reached the city of Topeka. They were encouraged by Governor John St. John, who held the ideological position that anyone was invited into the state as long as they obeyed the laws and joined in the efforts to make the state great. Those who remembered the Kansas ideals of freedom and equality could not deny their humanitarian needs, and under St.

68 William M. Tuttle, "Separate But Not Equal: African Americans and the 100-year Struggle for Equality," in *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001), 142.

69 Tuttle, "Separate But Not Equal," 151.

John's leadership, the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association helped find employment for the migrants.⁷⁰

Men like Singleton, Adams and St. John, joined those like Charles Henry Langston who worked to improve the lives of African Americans in Kansas. Langston moved to Leavenworth, Kansas from Ohio where he had worked for suffrage causes. He organized schools for runaway slaves and became an agent for freedmen who came to Missouri and Kansas. Charles Langston moved to the Lawrence vicinity in 1868 and returned to Ohio in 1869 to marry Mary Patterson Leary, widow of Lewis Sheridan Leary who had been killed in John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid. Langston and his wife moved to Lawrence in 1878 and bought a part interest in a grocery store. Charles Langston worked to assist African Americans within the Republican party; he was one of four black electors to cast votes for President Ulysses S. Grant in 1872.

Early in the twentieth century, the child Langston Hughes, came to live in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1902.⁷¹ He lived in Lawrence until 1915. Hughes' literary talent was nurtured by his grandmother, Mary Leary Langston, who worked to insulate him from the Jim Crow atmosphere of the time. She taught her grandson her ideal that all people should have access to full human rights. As a notable African American writer and poet, Hughes integrated this theme into his writing.⁷²

African Americans who came to Kansas served their state. In 1882 E.P. McCabe was the first African American elected as state auditor, but most African American men and women remained hidden within a white world.⁷³ African Americans in Kansas had diverse backgrounds in education, profes-

sion, and skills as did other Kansans. Two of the wealthiest African Americans in the state in the 1890s were farmers who belonged to the Kaw Valley Potato Growers Association.⁷⁴ Some owned their own businesses, which served mainly other African Americans; others were skilled tradesmen, teachers, and lawyers.⁷⁵ Many who came to Kansas endured difficult working and living conditions, but others succeeded in creating a life only dreamed of in the South.

The Kansas ideal of freedom and equality reappeared in the egalitarian politics of the Populist movement during the last decade of the nineteenth century. As Kansans faced hard economic times, the fiery Populist orators argued that political reform of the government could improve society. When the populist movement faded, the ideals did not disappear, especially for women's rights. In 1912 the Kansas legislature granted women the right to vote—eight years before the 19th Amendment was passed. At the time, a Kansas City observer commented, "Kansas is again up to its old tricks upsetting precedents."⁷⁶

For African Americans, equality suffered when the US Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. It had guaranteed to all persons full and equal enjoyment of inns, public conveyances and public places of amusement. Segregation in housing differed little from segregation in schools. In 1879, the Kansas legislature enacted a law which shaped the course of permissible segregation for the next seventy-five years. It allowed first class cities with a population over 15,000 to provide separate schools based on race. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled in 1896 that states had the right to establish separate but equal facilities based on race in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. The gap between promise and fulfillment

70 Paul E. Wilson, *A Time to Lose: Representing Kansas in Brown v. Board of Education* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 46. The Nicodemus town site is now a National Historic Landmark operated by the National Park Service. See <http://www.nps.gov/nico>. See also Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, (1986).

71 Mark Scott, "Langston Hughes of Kansas," *Kansas History* 1 (Spring 1980), 3-25.

72 For Langston Hughes in Kansas, see Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes Volume 1*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

73 Miner, Kansas, 254.

grew into a great divide and there were no more attempts to implement national civil rights legislation until 1957.

The Kansas Supreme Court upheld segregation in schools as constitutional in 1900. By 1909 the state provided the means to eliminate any remaining barriers to school segregation. For smaller second or third class cities, however, a vestige of equality in education existed because schools were prohibited from segregation even though there might be separate and equal facilities available.⁷⁷ By the 1920s, the practice of segregation in Kansas was similar to the rest of the United States. The historic ideal of equality and freedom was inhibited by the pervasive viewpoint that segregation was acceptable. The Kansas Supreme Court upheld school board authority to discriminate again in 1930 and this would not be challenged again until the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* in 1951.⁷⁸

With racism a fact of life, violence sometimes punctuated its presence and occasionally in lynching perpetrated by mob mentality. In Lawrence, Kansas, the center of the Free State movement prior to the Civil War, for example, three men were hanged in 1882 for reputedly killing a white man.⁷⁹ Racial violence in the nation escalated in 1919 and the early 1920s and spiked in extreme examples such as the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921. Violence resulted in the death of hundreds of African Americans, and raised concerns about issues of race, poverty, civil rights violations, and discrimination in hiring. Despite concerns about the causes of such violence, civil rights advocates were unable to change existing patterns.

For example, in 1937, the Kansas legislature passed a law against discrimination in employment which acknowledged the problem, but the law was widely ignored except for employment by or on behalf of the state itself.⁸⁰ The legislature tried again in 1941 to address employment discrimination in private industry, but again, the law was little used given the difficulty of enforcement.

For African Americans, progress seemed small, but the steps were important. The University of Kansas at Lawrence accepted its first African American woman in 1876 and continued an open admissions policy. For this reason, students came to Kansas from other states which had Jim Crow universities, such as Oklahoma, Missouri and Arkansas. In the late nineteenth century, the University of Kansas was somewhat integrated outside of classes. For example, all students had athletic privileges and all could eat at the student restaurant. From about 1910 to 1930, however, African American students at the University of Kansas generally were excluded from social activities for whites and at times were relegated to the back of classrooms.⁸¹

77 Mary L. Dudziak, "The Limits of Good Faith: Desegregation in Topeka, Kansas, 1950-1956, Kansas and the West: New Perspectives, edited by Rita Napier, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 348. Also see Miner, Kansas, 256.

78 Miner, Kansas, 257.

79 Tuttle, "Separate But Not Equal," 142. See also Clare V. McKanna, Jr.'s, "Black Enclaves of Violence: Race and Homicide in Great Plains Cities, 1890-1920, Great Plains Quarterly, 23 (Summer 2003), 147-160. McKanna noted that minority disputes, guns, and alcohol particularly contributed to the deaths of black men during this period.

80 Joseph P. Doherty, Civil Rights in Kansas: Past, Present and Future (Topeka, KS: State of Kansas Commission on Civil Rights, July 1972), 11.

81 Kristine M. McKusker, "The Forgotten Years" of America's Civil Rights Movement, Wartime Protests at the University of Kansas, 1939-1945," Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins eds. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001), 183-184.

This period in Kansas history was marked by raw and painful segregation. The town of Lawrence, a symbol for the struggle for freedom during the era of "Bleeding Kansas," hosted a statewide conference for the Ku Klux Klan in 1924. Yet Kansas was the first state to legally oust the Klan in 1925.⁸² Kansans were not sheltered from feeling the hypocrisy between its founding vision and its segregationist reality, however. The University of Kansas' policies were publicized when a KU student wrote about them in an NAACP periodical. W.E.B. DuBois wrote to Chancellor Ernest Lindley in protest, but Lindley responded that he could do nothing to change the University's racial policies. In 1938 the School of Medicine, University of Kansas, admitted an African American student, mainly through the efforts of Governor Walter A. Huxman.⁸³ Students began the process of change at the main Lawrence campus. In 1942 a branch of the NAACP was formed and by 1943, a racially inclusive All Student Council was established.

Nationally, the United States increased production in the defense industries prior to its entry into World War II. President Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1941 by executive order to implement a federal policy of nondiscrimination in the defense industries or in governmental positions.⁸⁴

Students at KU protested against the exclusion of African Americans from the Big Six track meets and by 1948, a Congress of Racial Equality chapter was in place and its members conducted sit-ins. After students began returning from World War II, young KU professors who were committed to racial equality and religious tolerance organized the Lawrence League for the Practice of

Democracy. Finally in 1950, a new chancellor, Franklin Murphy, used his position to help integrate the university and Lawrence business establishments such as movie theaters. When Wilt Chamberlain, a basketball super-star, attended KU, he helped to desegregate restaurants and barber shops.⁸⁵

The forces for change were stirring, however, and Kansas would be reminded again that its visionary past was relevant in the present. President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948 declaring that there was to be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. Also in 1948, the United Nations adopted a universal declaration of human rights.

During the late 1940s, the Kansas Clearing House on Civil Rights brought the issue of discrimination in employment before the legislature. In 1949 the governor directed the Kansas Commission Against Employment Discrimination to investigate and report its findings to the governor and Legislative Council in 1950. The Commission found that discrimination in hiring did exist based on race. By 1951, the first anti-discrimination law was introduced in the legislature but it did not pass. Although Kansas in 1953 became the twelfth state to enact fair employment legislation, eight years passed before the state had the authority to enforce it.⁸⁶

There may be no more important event for racial desegregation than the landmark case, *Brown. v. Topeka Board of Education*. The U. S. Supreme Court decision in 1954 was one of the most significant opinions ever rendered by that body and focused on Kansas. Although the case was a consolidation of cases from several states, the

82 Patrick G. O'Brien, "'I Want Everyone to Know the Shame of the State': Henry J. Allen Confronts the Ku Klux Klan, 1921-1923," *Kansas History* 19 (Summer 1996), 111.

83 Nancy Hulston, "Our Schools Must be Open to all Classes of Citizens": The Desegregation of the University of Kansas School of Medicine, 1938, *Kansas History* 19 (Summer 1996), 89-97. According to historian Willard R. Johnson, at least two African American students were admitted even earlier, but they did not graduate from the University of Kansas.

84 Doherty, 12.

85 Miner, 346.

86 Doherty, 16.

NAACP concentrated on Kansas because of its unusual history. Kansas was different, as Paul Wilson, the lawyer who defended the state, has suggested. Kansas had antislavery origins; it was admitted as a free state; it had limited application of separate but equal facilities. Because of the substantial equality of school facilities, this free-state heritage restricted debate to issues that could be avoided in other cases.⁸⁷

This case was initiated by members of the local NAACP chapter in Topeka. Thirteen parents volunteered. In the summer of 1950, they took their children to schools in their neighborhoods and attempted to enroll them for the upcoming school year. All were refused admission. The children were forced to attend one of the four schools in the city for African Americans. For most this involved traveling some distance from their homes. These parents filed suit against the Topeka Board of Education on behalf of their twenty children. Oliver Brown, a black Topeka minister, was the first parent listed in the suit, so the case came to be named after him. Three local lawyers, Charles Bledsoe, Charles Scott and John Scott, were assisted by Robert Carter and Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.⁸⁸

Ironically, the case heard in Kansas at the district court level was heard by former governor Walter Huxman. The court's decision, written by Huxman, was designed to put the United States Supreme Court on the spot over segregation. Judge Huxman later noted that "if it hadn't been for *Plessy v. Ferguson* (separate but equal) we surely would have found the law [for separate but equal] unconstitutional. But there was no way around it –

the Supreme Court had to overrule itself."⁸⁹ This landmark decision demonstrated the Supreme Court's role in affecting changes in national and social policy. Yet, the case only highlighted the changes needed, not just in schools but in the segregation that continued in other parts of daily life. Those neighborhood schools in Topeka, Sumner and Monroe, now are recognized as a National Historic Landmark managed by the National Park Service. The site will be dedicated in 2004.

Mexican American Struggle for Freedom

As people of color, Mexican Americans living in Kansas experienced discrimination similar to African Americans. Until the 1950s, in virtually every Kansas town and city, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were segregated in movie theaters and were often restricted from sections of city parks, churches, and other public facilities.⁹⁰

Civil Rights in Kansas

The decade of the 1960s was a period of unrest, as those who upheld the founding ideals of freedom and equality in Kansas worked toward the goal of integration. Social change was enacted at the local level. As one historian has pointed out, the sixties were a national phenomenon created locally, and communities in Kansas played their part. Following a period of parochial conservatism, activists in Lawrence called on the "John Brown legacy, which was born of violence in Bleeding Kansas." The civil rights movement of sit-ins, walk-outs, protests, and even violence shattered the complacency of small town Kansas and the movement attracted many, especially the young, to join the struggle for freedom and equality.⁹¹ For

87 Wilson, 25.

88 <http://www.nps.gov/brvb/pages/brown.htm>, referenced October 2, 2003.

89 Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York, NY: First Vintage Books Edition, 1977), 424.

90 Rita Napier, *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 30.

91 Monhollon, Rusty L. "Lawrence, Kansas, and the Making of the Sixties," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001), 210.

example, civil rights and anti-segregation protests in Lawrence included picketing of the local swimming pool, open to whites, but not to African Americans. The city council created a Lawrence Human Relations Commission to look at fair housing issues in 1961, and the council eventually enacted a Fair Housing Ordinance in 1967.

The tension between ideal and reality made Kansas history unique. In a history of civil rights in Kansas, the author noted in 1972 that “race is a major problem in American today and a simplistic attempt to solve that problem by pretending to overlook it is no response to the difficulty at all.”⁹² He expressed an ideal which Kansans had not ignored; a call that would have been familiar to John Brown, Charles Henry Langston and thousands of others who took action to ensure that freedom and equality were not just words. Just as Free State settlers believed, as women suffragettes, the Populists, and civil rights activists believed, the civil rights activist of the 1960s believed that the reform of society could not only improve the lives of all people, but lead Kansas and the rest of the nation to racial justice and equality.

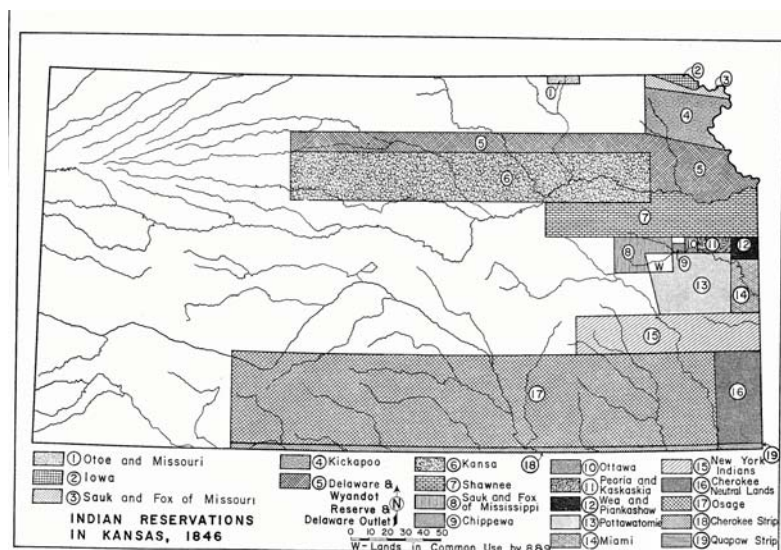
Native American Struggle for Freedom

Long before Kansas became a state, it was home to several Native American peoples, each with distinct cultural traditions. In 1803 President Thomas Jefferson first proposed the idea that land could be held in “reserve” for

Indian tribes. Later, President Andrew Jackson pushed for the Indian Removal Act which provided for the exchange of Indian lands in the East for land in present-day Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. Removal required that the indigenous Kansa and Osage tribes give up much of their land to make way for eastern tribes. Between 1825 and 1843, more than twenty-five tribes signed treaties accepting land in Kansas. Before European-American settlement then, Kansas became a “solution to the Indian problem” in the eastern states.⁹³ By 1854, Kansas was home to thousands of Indian emigrants.⁹⁴ (See Figure 2-5, Indian Reservations in Kansas, 1846.) The history of Native Americans in Kansas Territory demonstrated their enduring struggle for freedom.

The Civil War presented serious difficulties for Native Americans. In the southern part of Kansas and in Indian Territory, several tribes had strong ties to the South, and some tribal members owned slaves. Three tribes with land claims in Kansas—the Quapaw,

Figure 2-5, Indian Reservations in Kansas, 1846



⁹² Doherty, 19.

⁹³ Miner, 33. See also Suzette McCord-Rogers, "To Have and Have Not: The Vanishing Lands of Native America," *Kansas Heritage* 4 (Summer 1996), 5; Doherty, 7.

⁹⁴ Joseph B. Herring, *The Enduring Indians of Kansas* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 27.

Osage, and Cherokee—signed treaties with the Confederacy. The Quapaw occupied the Quapaw strip, a small area in present-day Cherokee County. The Confederacy failed to help the tribe as promised and most Quapaws deserted the reserve. They either joined the Union army or became refugees in present-day Coffey County.⁹⁵

The Osage had welcomed both antislavery and proslavery whites to live among them although slavery was rare among the Osage. In 1861 nearly all the Osages in southeastern Kansas lived in villages along the Neosho and Verdigris Rivers. An Osage mission established in 1846 served as the tribal social center. When approached by Confederate representatives, the Osage believed that they could get more support than they received from the U.S. government and they signed a treaty with the CSA in December 1861. To block the use of the Osage reserve, the Osage people were officially removed to Indian Territory in 1863, but part of the reserve remained in Osage hands until white settlers rushed in after the Civil War. The 1863 treaty negotiations in Kansas between the Creek Indian refugees and the U.S. agents provided for freedom and land to the former slaves and to “all others of the African race who shall be permitted to settle among them.”⁹⁶ These provisions and earlier promises made by Opothleyahola became a basis for the post-Civil War acquisition by freedmen of citizenship rights among the Creeks, Cherokee and other so-called Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory.⁹⁷

The Cherokee and Creek nations, especially, were divided on the issue of slavery. Full-bloods tended to be antislavery; those who had intermarried with whites tended to support slavery and many owned slaves. Most of the Cherokee reserve was located in

Indian Territory, but a northern portion was located in Bourbon, Crawford, and Cherokee Counties in Kansas. The principal tribal chief, John Ross, wished to avoid commitment to either side, but the Confederacy claimed their land and ordered a Confederate Cherokee regiment to take up positions in the Kansas “Neutral Lands.” Ross signed a treaty with the Confederacy in 1861, but in 1862 he revoked an agreement to sell the Neutral Lands to the Confederacy. The Cherokees remained divided in their loyalties.⁹⁸ Although the Confederacy claimed the southern part of Kansas, the rebels could not maintain military control, especially without political support from the tribes.

Native Americans tried to escape the violence of the Civil War in Indian Territory. Those who supported the Confederacy moved south and those who opposed it fled to Kansas. After John Ross signed the treaty with the Confederacy in the first week of October 1861, Opothelayahola, a long-time opponent of the pro-slavery tribal leaders, led his followers to Kansas. These refugees included Creek opponents of the proslavery faction, Seminoles who hoped to avoid the war, and hundreds of African Americans—many of whom were runaway slaves. Confederate forces pursued and attacked this band, estimated at between 3,500 and 7,000 refugees, at Round Mounds on November 19, Bird Creek on December 9, and Shoal Creek on December 26. In the last attack, the refugees were routed. The survivors fled without most of their possessions and suffered a bitter winter of exposure and starvation in Kansas. This episode in 1861-1862 has been called the “Trails of Blood on Ice.”

Many of the men who survived joined the Union’s First Indian Home Guard and the Second Kansas Colored Regiment. As shown in the 1865 state census, the subse-

95 Gary L. Cheatham, “Within the Limits of the Southern Confederacy: The C.S.A.’s Interest in the Quapaw, Osage, and Cherokee Tribal Lands of Kansas,” *Kansas History* 26 (Autumn 2003), 175-176.

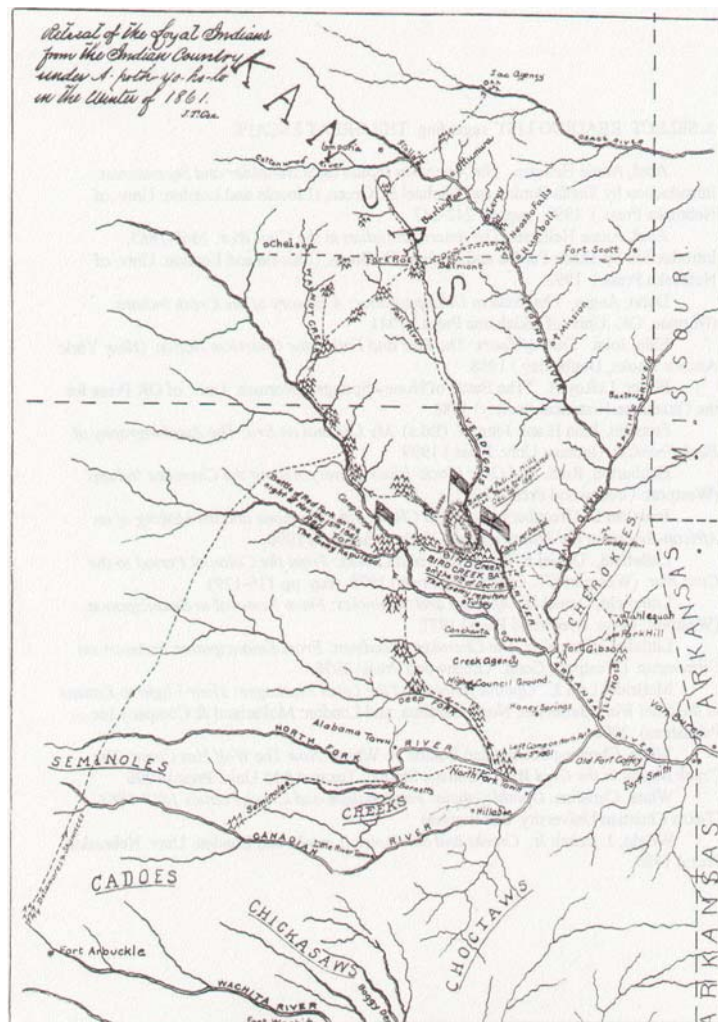
96 Daniel F. Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks* (New York, NY: Greenwood Publishing, 1980), 239.

97 The Osage Mission was located at what is now St. Paul, Kansas. Cheatham, 177-180.

98 Cheatham, 182.

quent experience of these Native and African Americans was largely shared—they lived, socialized, and worshiped together in several communities of the state. A number of pioneer Native American and African American families traced their ancestry to the survivors who made it to the area near Humboldt, Neosho Falls, and LeRoy, Kansas.⁹⁹ (See Figure 2-6, Opothelayahola's Escape, Trails of Blood on Ice.)

Figure 2-6, Opothelayahola's Escape, Trails of Blood on Ice



Kansas after the end of the Civil War in 1865 was a place of conflicting old and new social orders. Violence and abuse characterized the removal of Native Americans from Kansas. But even though European Americans wanted them removed from the path of commerce, most whites did not approve of unwarranted mistreatment. Except for small reservations that exist today in Jackson and Brown Counties, most of the Native Americans in Kansas were forced once again to move. Indian Kansas disappeared.

After 1865 the competition between settler organizations and railroad officials for control of tribal lands intensified. Indian rings, which were loose coalitions formed to acquire large land tracts included Washington bureaucrats, congressmen, businessmen, army officers, Indian agents, and even tribal “chiefs” who joined forces to dispossess Native Americans.¹⁰⁰ While most missionaries helped and protected Native Americans, some did not. Legitimate chiefs who tried to protect their tribes were replaced by leaders who were more amenable to white wishes. Cultural persistence was an important issue of freedom for Native Americans when faced with the forces of “civilization.” The adoption of the reservation system as national policy meant that one tribe after another left their Kansas homes.

Trouble for the Osage began when the government acquired four million acres from them in 1865. They sold their land in 1867 to railroad interests and their lands were settled by whites. By 1870, the Osage began to move to Indian Territory. In the case of the Kansa, lands were overrun by squatters, land speculators, and railroad promoters. By the time the Civil War was over, it was clear that the tribe would be forced to leave Kansas.

99 Willard R. Johnson, "Tracing Trails of Blood on Ice: Commemorating The Great Escape in 1861-62 of Indians and Blacks into Kansas," *Negro History Bulletin* (Jan.-Dec. 2001), 6. This article was found at <http://www.weyanoke.org/hc-trails.html>. Pagination is based on this source.

100 Hering, 8.

They made their final trek to Kay County, Oklahoma, in 1873.¹⁰¹ Other tribes began emigrating there after the Civil War – Delawares, Ottawas, and Sac and Foxes. Where there were over 10,000 Native Americans at the beginning of the Civil War, by 1875, fewer than one thousand remained – the Prairie Band of Potawatomi, Kickapoos and a band of Iowa and Missouri Sacs and Foxes.

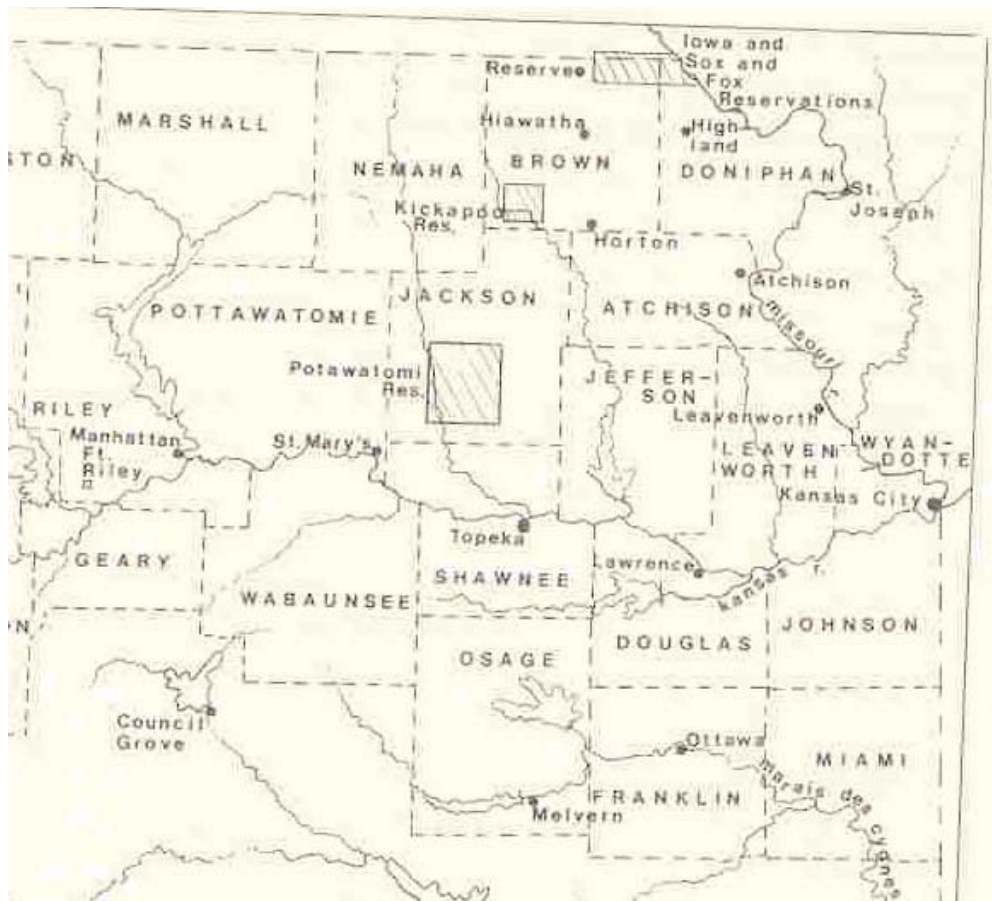
The resistance of the Pottawatomie, Kickapoo and Sac and Fox to removal was a struggle for cultural persistence despite white efforts to end their way of life. During the late nineteenth century,

Wahquahboshkuk, the Pottawatomie leader, helped the tribe resist formal education, Christianity, and the allotment of their reservation into individual family farms – the major provisions of the federal civilization program. Led by Wahquahboshkuk, the Prairie Pottawatomie held together as a cohesive group despite the efforts to undermine their solidarity.¹⁰² In the 1870s, Kenekuk, a prophet for the Kickapoo, helped the tribe resist allotment and remained unified. The Chippewas and Munsees retained their Kansas homes, but gave up their Indian identity in the process. The Iowas and the Missouri Sacs and Foxes followed a successful strategy of peaceful coexistence with

their often hostile white neighbors and were able to secure tribal lands in the northern corner of the state. Only those tribes whose identity was so important to them that they were not tempted by offers of money, railroads, power in the tribe, or other blandishments could resist white expansion.¹⁰³ (See Figure 2-7, Present-day Indian Reservations in Kansas.)

By 1871 Native Americans were deemed wards of the government, a colonized people. By the early 1880s, many in the United States were calling for an overhaul of Indian

Figure 2-7, Present-day Indian Reservations in Kansas



101 H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 102.

102 Hering, 10. While Pottawatomie is commonly used, the Prairie Band of Kansas prefers an alternate spelling, Potawatomi.

103 Miner and Unrau, 139

policy. With most tribes already subjugated, the publicly exposed scandals exposed the entire Indian system as ineffectual and graft ridden bureaucracy. The press wrote stories about the plight of Indian starvation, removal from homelands, and the shaky moral principles that had caused such conditions. Policy change was necessary, but that brought the argument that Indians needed not only be saved from the white man, but they needed to be saved from themselves.¹⁰⁴

In 1887, the General Allotment, or Dawes Act, was passed. This provided that small parcels of land would be “allotted” to Native Americans which would break up the tribal connections, force Indians to work the land and end the dependency that had been created by the reservation system. Without communally held property, Native Americans would become, in theory, self-reliant individuals. Once every member of a tribe had received an allotment, any surplus lands could be sold which would reduce Native American’s holdings to almost nothing

With a common school education, Native Americans could be moved more quickly into the white world, and relieve the government of responsibility of feeding and clothing them, if they had the know-how to do so.¹⁰⁵ Schooling reinforced the allotment system. Schooling would take away the Native languages and teach children to respect private property and accumulate wealth. Schooling would also teach them Christianity, an ethical code which insisted that the individual was responsible for both his economic and spiritual self.¹⁰⁶ The model established by the U.S. government for Native American schooling was Carlisle Indian School, Pennsylvania, which opened in 1879 as a boarding school. Native American children, as a result, were taken

from their homes.

After the Carlisle plan was adopted, four more schools were opened including the Indian Industrial Training School in 1884 in Lawrence, Kansas. Within ten years, this school offered training beyond the standard eight-year program of most boarding schools and was regarded as one of the select schools in the Indian school system. Later known as Haskell Institute, Haskell was also one of the most intertribal, with children sent to Lawrence from reservations and communities in the Midwest, Southwest and from Oklahoma. In the 1920s, Federal officials forced Kickapoo, Pottawatomie, Iowa, and Sac children to attend Haskell Institute or Genoa School in Nebraska. By 1927 Haskell had an accredited secondary curriculum and began offering post secondary courses.¹⁰⁷

Regardless of its prestige, the purpose of Haskell and other schools was to carry out a concerted effort to turn Native American students into “Americans.” But students were not necessarily passive victims. Some did accommodate, some were selective about what they accepted, and others actively resisted.¹⁰⁸ Assimilation remained a federal goal and Native Americans were granted U.S. citizenship in 1927.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the twentieth century, the Indians of Kansas continued to fight for the right to worship freely and to secure an adequate living in Kansas.

During the Depression, most Native Americans faced severe hardship that forced them to leave homes to work in cities near their reservations such as Topeka, Kansas, St. Joseph or Kansas City, Missouri, although they remained on the tribal census rolls. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act eliminated allotments and overturned the Dawes Act. Although this legislation helped

104 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 7-8.

105 Adams, 19.

106 Adams, 23.

107 Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 7; Hering, 156.

108 One of the most visible Native Americans in the early twentieth century was Kansan Charles Curtis. In 1906 he was the first Native American elected to the Senate; he eventually became Vice President of the United States during President Herbert Hoover's administration from 1929 to 1933.

109 Hering, 157-8.

reorganize some of the Kansas Indians' tribal councils and provided some federal loans, conditions of poverty for most Native Americans had not improved by 1945.

The boarding school experience did not eradicate traditional cultures and even facilitated cultural persistence in a number of ways.¹¹⁰ The policy of assimilation instead created a pan-Indian identity that encouraged Native peoples to work together for political and cultural self-determination. Some boarding school graduates used their educations to become prominent tribal leaders who reinvigorated Indian political sovereignty and strengthened traditional cultures on both a local and national level.¹¹¹

From 1954 to 1960, a new government policy, termination, was implemented. Supporters argued that the long standing relationship between American Indians and the federal government must be severed because that dependent relationship had delayed the adjustment of Indians to American life. In Kansas, the Pottawatomie, Kickapoo, Sac and Iowa protested because they understood from long years of experience that they would lose more of their lands if required to pay taxes. The Pottawatomie hired attorneys in 1953 to defend their interests. Tribal members argued their point of view in Washington, D.C. Facing this opposition, termination was not implemented in Kansas.

States became worried about the loss of federal funds and Congress lost interest. Termination remained official policy, however, until the 1960s. In 1965, as the African American civil rights movement achieved national prominence, self-determination for Native Americans became federal policy. By 1968, the American Indian Civil Rights Act

and the Tribal Self-Determination Act were passed. Finally in 1975, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 provided for Indian participation in administering service programs, Indian control of reservation schools, and additional federal funds to promote the economic development of their reservations.¹¹²

Changes in national policy and in the Native American struggle for freedom were demonstrated in the example of Haskell Indian University. One significant success in the study area was transformation of this boarding school intended to strip Native American children of their culture to a university that celebrates Native American culture. In 1884, twenty-two American Indian children entered the doors of a new school in Lawrence, Kansas to begin an educational program that focused on agricultural education in grades one through five. The doors to Haskell officially opened under the name of the United States Indian Industrial Training School. Enrollment quickly increased from its original 22 to over 400 students within one semester's time. The early trades for boys included tailoring, wagon making, blacksmithing, harness making, painting, shoe making, and farming. Girls studied cooking, sewing and home-making. Most of the students' food was produced on the Haskell farm, and students were expected to participate in various production duties.

Ten years passed before the school expanded its academic training beyond the elementary grades. A "normal school" was added because teachers were needed in the students' home communities. In 1895 a commercial department (the predecessor of the business department) opened. By 1927, high school classes were accredited by the state of Kansas, and Haskell began offering post

110 Julie Davis, "American Indian Boarding School Experiences," OAH Historians Magazine of History 15 (Winter 2001), 5. This is a on-line web reprint of the article and is nine pages. The web address is <http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/deseg/davis.html#Anchor-Americ>. Referenced 10/6/03.

111 Child, 99-100.

112 Hering 162-63.

high school courses in a variety of areas.

Part of Haskell's attraction was its success in athletics. Haskell football teams in the early 1900s to the 1930s are legendary. Athletics remain a high priority to Haskell students and alumni. Today, Haskell is the home of the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame. Industrial training became an important part of the curriculum in the early 1930s, and the last high school class graduated in 1965. Haskell began offering a junior college curriculum in 1979 and became Haskell Indian Nations University in 1993. From a manual training school, the institution has become a university with a diverse student body representing many of the federally recognized tribes from all over the United States.

While setbacks and problems continue, Native Americans in Kansas are seeking their own freedom in a state that has idealized the concept, yet has struggled with reaching those ideals. Native Americans, like African Americans, have managed to survive by finding the political and cultural means to achieve those ideals through persistence and action.¹¹³

Chapter 3

Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Themes

“Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” is the main theme for a proposed National Heritage Area in northern and eastern Kansas. This theme originated in the conflict between Free State and proslavery settlers over the Kansas Question—whether the territory should be admitted to the Union as a state which forbid or allowed slavery within its borders. The territory became the focus of national attention in newspapers and congressional debate during the spring and summer of 1856 when it became known as “Bleeding Kansas.” These events contributed to the birth of a new political party that led the nation through its most dangerous conflict in the enduring struggle for freedom.

Because of the ideas and actions that brought “Bleeding Kansas” to national prominence in the mid-nineteenth century, Kansas Territory became a distinctive landscape characterized by nationally important events, what one historian has called a “militantly sectionalized frontier.”¹ Just as important as the political conflict, the struggle to adapt to the environment of the eastern Great Plains affected the development of agriculture, transportation, trade and business, social and cultural patterns in Kansas. Today the cultural, historic, and natural resources in this area form a cohesive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography. Kansas Territory attracted waves of settlers, but they were challenged by the land and weather. Those who came to improve their fortune or shape their destiny had to adapt to the environment they found. What happened as successive waves of settlers tried to remove others and as different groups tried

to change the beliefs of others caused the Kansas Conflict. The struggle during the territorial period set the stage for continued struggle, even today.

In the making of a Free State in Kansas Territory, the Free State leaders articulated and forcefully defended a lasting ideal of freedom and equality. This ideal was expressed in a proposed Topeka constitution drafted in 1855 by the Free State delegate convention. From that time until 1858, there were always two governors, competing congressional delegates, two capitals, and two legislatures.² Then in 1856, the Kansas Conflict turned violent in a series of murders, attacks on Lawrence, Osawatimie, and other Free State settlements, and skirmishes between Free State and proslavery forces. Daily newspaper stories and congressional debate about these events made “Bleeding Kansas” the center of national attention. By making the Kansas Conflict a political issue, the newly formed Republican Party almost won the presidency in its first major election campaign.

Outrage in the North over “Bleeding Kansas” was important to the organization and success of the Republican Party. The Republican movement was a direct response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, but the new party faltered for the first two years and experienced electoral defeats at the state level. It seemed less powerful than the other third party, the American or “Know-Nothing” Party. Events in the spring of 1856, particularly the proslavery “Sack of Lawrence” and the assault by Representative Preston Brooks on Senator Charles Sumner

1 Gunja SenGupta, “Bleeding Kansas,” *Kansas History* (Winter 2001), 341.

2 Craig Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 55.

in the Senate chamber itself—revived the organization’s political momentum. By opposition to the extension of slavery and sectional loyalty, Republicans attracted thousands of northerners to the party’s cause and their presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, was narrowly defeated.

The Republican movement combined Whigs, antislavery Democrats, and Free Soilers who wanted to make antislavery the dominant element in northern politics. Leaders formulated a party ideology that charged the Slave Power united with the Catholic Church in an alleged assault on the country’s republican heritage. Surprisingly, the party emerged in the 1856 presidential election as the major anti-Democratic party in the country. The Republican argument that there was a conspiracy to destroy liberty gained plausibility with the passage of time and the events of 1856 especially strengthened its emotional power in the northern electorate. As Lincoln himself said, the party’s members were drawn together by a common danger—the spread and nationalization of slavery.”³ Conducting runaway slaves from Missouri and other southern states on the Underground Railroad through Kansas to the North challenged this danger through covert action. John Brown’s radical commitment to armed insurrection in Kansas Territory and his execution in 1859 as an anti-slavery martyr helped link the violence of Bleeding Kansas to the abolitionist cause and eventually to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Gaining popular support because of the controversy about “Bleeding Kansas,” the Republican Party became the most successful third party in American history. The new party’s strength in 1856 as a major alternative to the Democrats dramatically intensified the sectional conflict. The party’s victory in 1860 began the final rush to civil war.

Proslavery southerners refused to accept the Republican Party as legitimate. As a leading historian of this period concluded, “it is no exaggeration to say that the creation of the Republican Party, and its emergence as a powerful political organization, was one of the more crucial links, if not *the* most crucial link, in the chain of Civil War causation.”⁴

Some historians have seen the armed conflict during this period as a “prelude to the Civil War.”⁵ The violent confrontation in Kansas Territory over the issue of slavery contributed to the rise of the Republican Party, the election of Abraham Lincoln, secession, and the outbreak of the Civil War. Because of that war and emancipation, a new nation-state emerged from the great war of unification. Yet the nature and meaning of that national identity remains contested.⁶

As Governor Lyman Humphrey asserted in 1889, Kansas started on a high social and moral plane, and territorial history was “an influence that runs like a golden thread throughout our later experience.”⁷ Enacted by and for white males, the ideal of a Free State was not universal in 1856 and not without contradictions. After statehood was achieved, the Free State heritage became an ideal grasped by less powerful groups such as women, African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants to legitimize their own enduring struggle for freedom.

Stories illustrating the theme of “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” can be categorized in at least five major sub-themes:

- 1) Kansas Territory: Geography of Rivers, Trails, and Railroad Development
- 2) The Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas

3 William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 443-448.

4 William Gienapp, “The Crisis of American Democracy: The Political System and the Coming of the Civil War,” in Gabor S. Boritt, ed. *Why the Civil War Came* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 94-95.

5 Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1885, rev. ed. 1907).

6 Brooks D. Simpson, *America's Civil War* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1996), 2-3, 219.

7 Miner, *Kansas*, 54.

- 3) The Underground Railroad
- 4) African Americans and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom
- 5) Native Americans and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom

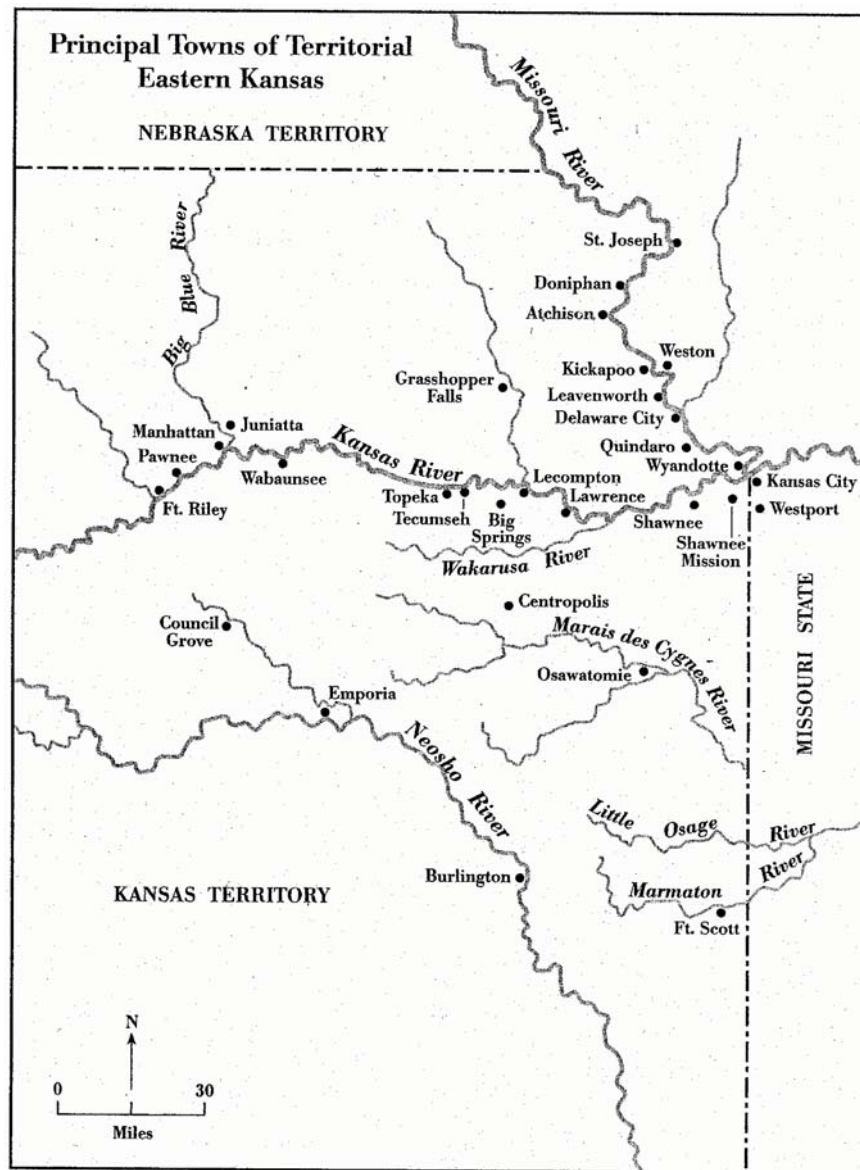
Themes are the organizing framework under

which the interpretation of related natural and cultural resources can be promoted. The overall theme for this study was identified first by the Douglas County Heritage Area Committee, evaluated and refined by the feasibility study team, and reviewed by the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee. The theme categories established through this effort cover the

range of stories related to Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom. Sub-themes are incorporated into the main theme. For each sub-theme, the feasibility study has identified important natural and cultural resources that can serve as the basis for interpretive programs (See Chapter 4).

The Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area was the stage for a nationally important conflict and resolution in which both sides tried to settle the issue of freedom versus slavery by gaining control of this strategic territory. Free State activity was centered in the towns in the Kansas River valley and its tributaries. These settlements were established with the assistance of the New England Emigrant Aid Company—for example, Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, and later Quindaro. The area of “Bleeding Kansas” extended to the south with towns along the Missouri border such as Osawatimie, Mound City, Humboldt, and others. Together, these places united a region that was the birthplace of the Free State heritage. (See Figure 3-1, Towns

Figure 3-1, Towns of Territorial Kansas



of Territorial Kansas.)

The “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” theme provides an emphasis for future natural resource protection efforts and recreational opportunities in the feasibility study area. Today the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area offers a uniquely evocative place for experiencing the dynamic historical interactions “between West and East, between politics and culture, between popular ideology and sectional violence.”⁸

Kansas Territory: The Geography of Rivers, Trails, and Railroad Development

Because of its strategic location, the physical geography of Kansas Territory played an important role in defining the time and place of the Kansas Conflict and its resolution of the national slavery question. This conflict was dramatized as “Bleeding Kansas.” In the early nineteenth century, the central plains region was described as the Great American Desert by explorer Stephen H. Long. After the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in California, the land later known as Kansas became an important central route for the proposed transcontinental railroad. Characteristic elements of the historic landscape from the “Bleeding Kansas” era remain: rivers, overland trails, timber and prairies, and political boundaries still demarcate the landscape of antebellum conflict. This was the stage for “Bleeding Kansas”—the place of beginning for a diverse community where Native Americans, Emigrant Indians, European Americans, and African Americans met because of the intersection of major transportation routes, the search for land, and the expression of social ideals and religious beliefs.

During this period, European American set-

tlers first experienced the challenge of adapting to the relatively treeless landscape and the harshly variable climate of the Great Plains. They joined with Native Americans and African Americans in the work of recreating a landscape of farms and towns like that of the eastern United States. The struggle to adapt to the environment affected the development of agriculture, transportation, trade and business, social and cultural patterns. A substantial number of historic and cultural resources dating from the territorial and Civil War period can be found in eastern Kansas today. Interpretation of these buildings, sites, and geographical features provide a valuable conceptual framework for understanding the territory’s contribution to the history of the United States. Preservation of this distinctive landscape provides an opportunity to portray the physical and mental struggles that tested the character and determination of Kansans during the territorial period and afterward.

The Kansas Conflict: “Bleeding Kansas”

Although opposition to slavery in Kansas Territory “did not imply a modern view of racial equality,” the Kansas Conflict fundamentally was a conflict about the moral issue of slavery.⁹ Land speculation was a factor, but the evidence supports the significance of moral conviction in the conflict for and against slavery and freedom. The history of the Kansas Conflict and Bleeding Kansas was enacted in geographical terms, for example, in the struggle for control of strategic locations within the territory. Because of the challenge to adapt to the relatively treeless landscape and sparse distribution of streams and rivers, conflict erupted over land and other resources. That struggle also can be traced in the movement of the legislatures and the change in territorial capitals.

8 Gunja SenGupta, “Bleeding Kansas,” *Kansas History* (Winter 2001), 341.

9 Miner, 57.

There were four territorial period capitals (Fort Leavenworth, Pawnee, Shawnee Mission, and Lecompton) sanctioned by the proslavery legislature. The Free State settlers and their elected legislature met at their capital, Topeka, until they won a majority in the territorial legislature early in 1858. The legislature also met at Minneola and Lawrence. From 1854 to 1857, territorial politics were complicated by the fraudulent voting by Missourians and the repressive laws adopted by the proslavery legislature. At the same time, drafting a Free State constitution and convening an opposing Free State legislature led to congressional review of territorial government while raising a question for actual settlers of which legal authority they should obey or resist.

Because of its location on the Missouri River across from Missouri, the first town in Kansas Territory, Leavenworth, was a proslavery center at first. Its founders came from Weston, Missouri. Leavenworth played a key role in the territory's commercial development because of its proximity to Fort Leavenworth. The town was the major outfitting place for emigrant wagon trains and supply trains headed west, often with protective military escorts.¹⁰ By 1858, however, Leavenworth had a Free State majority. After the outbreak of the Civil War, the town boomed with new residents from many Union states and refugees and fugitives from the rebel states. To the south, Wyandot City, was considered a proslavery town despite the presence of a number of abolitionist Wyandot Indians.

Although Leavenworth had a few hardy Free State partisans, the early Free State centers in the territory were Lawrence, Topeka, Osawatomie, and Mound City. Later in 1856, a new town on the Missouri River between Wyandot City and Leavenworth,

Quindaro, was established by abolitionist Wyandot Indians and agents of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.¹¹ Many of the dramatic events of the Kansas Conflict centered in Douglas County on the Kansas River during the period from 1855 to 1857. Establishment of the Free State town of Lawrence and the proslavery town of Lecompton, official capital from 1855 to 1861, just a few miles apart focused the tension. Roving bands of Free State and proslavery settlers also ranged east and west from the Missouri border and south into Linn and Bourbon counties. From 1858 until 1861, most of the violence broke out in the southern counties along the border, while political contests continued in the more northern towns. After the outbreak of the Civil War, both Union and Confederate sympathizers reenacted the pattern of cross-border violence.

In many specific and personal encounters, the controversy over slavery in the United States became a violent conflict between American citizens in Kansas. Thus, the image of "Bleeding Kansas," acted as a force in national politics and American history. According to historian Michael Fellman, "the direct experience of physical contact and competition elicited an antislavery passion in the masses of ordinary northern settlers in Kansas."¹² In that experience, Free State settlers came to define themselves as exemplars of freedom. "As the people of Kansas have been encouraged by the memory of their fathers' heroic struggle for right, so will the struggle in the future be strengthened by the remembrance of the Kansas contest" insisted an editorial in the in the Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* December 27, 1856.¹³ The immediate reaction to the "Pottawatomie Creek Massacre" by John Brown from the Free State settlers demon-

10 "Leavenworth County Historic Outline." 1.

11 "Wyandotte County Historic Outline," 1.

12 Michael Fellman, "Rehearsal for the Civil War: Antislavery and Proslavery at the Fighting Point in Kansas, 1854-1856," in Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 290.

13 Cited in Fellman, 298.

strated the growing acceptance of violent means to achieve antislavery ends.¹⁴

Both sides justified their violence as a defensive response to systematic attacks of the others. The presence of federal troops prevented most open engagements of large numbers of proslavery and antislavery fighters, but “wide-ranging, vicious guerrilla actions of small groups were frequent.” Hundreds of northern and southern settlers were compelled, whatever their position to choose sides. One of the consequences of the Kansas Conflict was “the terrible guerrilla conflict in Missouri and Kansas during the Civil War.”¹⁵

While antislavery men such as Eli Thayer and Amos Lawrence were the first to organize migration as a strategy in the conflict over slavery, Missourians were the first to threaten the use of force to remove the Free State “invaders.” Later, when the fraudulently elected territorial legislature met, its proslavery politicians adopted a “uniquely repressive set of statutes for the protection of slavery.” These made it a capital offense to aid a fugitive slave and a felony to question the right to hold slaves in Kansas. The legislature also expelled its few antislavery legislators.¹⁶

Outraged by this undemocratic grab for power, former territorial governor Andrew H. Reeder gave a fiery speech at the Free State political meeting in Big Springs on September 5, 1855, that presaged the violence to come. “Whenever peaceful remedies shall fail and forcible measures shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success, then let our now shrinking and reluctant hostility be pushed to a bloody issue.”¹⁷ Following this meeting, the Free State constitutional convention held in Topeka wrote a

Free State constitution and prepared to apply to Congress for admission of Kansas as a Free State. The conflict in Kansas became well defined and public.

Territorial period reports of the number of people killed for political reasons in territorial Kansas were often vague and present-day historians suggest that the numbers were inflated. Newspaper reports about “Bleeding Kansas” and many later histories generally depicted antislavery settlers as “the victims of proslavery attackers.” As one historian noted, “both sides employed violent tactics and both were adept at focusing blame on their opponents, habitually claiming self-defense in any killings committed by their own men.” But the antislavery settlers who were the ultimate victors, wrote their own history of Kansas Territory.¹⁸ For example, the event that kicked off the so-called “Wakarusa War” was the killing of Charles Dow, a Free State settler, by Franklin Coleman, a proslavery settler at Hickory Point in Douglas County. Neighbors later testified that the two came to a conflict over a disputed land claim, but land claims were a central issue in the conflict over politics. One of Dow’s friends, Jacob Branson, was arrested by a posse led by Samuel Jones, sheriff of Douglas County. Free State men

14 SenGupta, *For God and Mammon*, 115.

15 Fellman, “Rehearsal for the Civil War,” 303-304.

16 David M. Potter *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* comp. and ed. By Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 204.

17 Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 44-45.

18 Dale E. Watts, “How Bloody Was Bleeding Kansas: Political Killings in Kansas Territory, 1854-1861), *Kansas History* 18:2 (Summer 1995), 118. According to Watts, both sides “were nearly equally involved in killing their political opponents.” There were 30 proslavery people killed, 24 anti-slavery men, one U.S. soldier, and one man whose political persuasion is obscured by a garbled historical record. See Watts, 125.

rescued Branson from the sheriff, which led to open political conflict. So, the rescue became significant, but the killing itself was not political.¹⁹

Individual murders and threats led to the so-called “Wakarusa War,” the “Sack of Lawrence” on May 21 and the “Pottawatomie Massacre” on May 24, 1856. These incidents made both sides believe that civil war had broken out in the territory. The year 1856 began in January with President Franklin Pierce’s criticism of the Free State legislature and their elected officials in his message to Congress. Charles Robinson, new elected Free State Governor and resident agent for the New England Aid Company, wrote to Amos A. Lawrence on January 25 to say, “we have reliable information that extensive preparations are being made in Missouri for the destruction of Lawrence and all the Free State settlements ... I am doing my utmost to conquer without bloodshed, and I believe that if my suggestions are acted upon promptly in the states we shall avoid a war.”²⁰

In April the House of Representatives sent an investigating committee (Howard Committee) to Kansas Territory. While the committee was holding hearings, the proslavery sheriff Sam Jones was shot and wounded. In retaliation, several Free State leaders, including the Free State Governor Charles Robinson, were indicted for treason and arrested. Proslavery forces then attacked Lawrence on May 21. John Brown’s brutal killings on Pottawatomie Creek aroused even more violence. On June 2, Brown defeated a force intent on capturing him at Black Jack in Douglas County. Federal troops from Fort Leavenworth broke up the meeting of the Free State legislature on July 4 at Constitution Hall in Topeka. The Free State settlers had re-convened to

respond to the rejection of the Free State Topeka Constitution by Congress. In August Free State forces attacked four proslavery fortified cabins around the region. Secretary Woodson, acting as governor, declared the territory to be in rebellion. John Brown and a group of Free State settlers were defeated at Osawatomie at the end of August. Jim Lane led a Free State force to victory in a skirmish at Hickory Point, Jefferson County, on September 13. After a new governor, John Geary, arrived in September and the Democrat, James Buchanan, was elected President, an uneasy peace settled on the Kansas Territory.²¹ In the end, as historian Thomas Goodrich concluded, “the continual stress of the guerilla war, the day-in, day-out uncertainty of life and property, quite simply exhausted the meager resources of the territory not only physically and financially, but emotionally as well.”²²

It appears that the earliest explicit reference to “Bleeding Kansas” appeared in a published letter by Free State advocate Julia Louisa Lovejoy. She and her family moved from Manhattan, Kansas, to Lawrence in August 1856, while the Free State town was under siege. Her letter dated August 25 appeared in two Republican newspapers, the Independent Democrat September 11 and the New York Evening Post September 13. Lovejoy proclaimed, “we are in the midst of war—war of the most bloody kind—a war of extermination ... 800 Missourians, it is said, are encamped on the Wakarusa, and our people are preparing to rout them ... If any of the friends of freedom will set apart a day of fasting and prayer for bleeding Kansas, they will confer a favor. Do help us in some way and God will reward you.”²³ The phrase, “Bleeding Kansas,” also has been attributed to Horace Greeley’s New York Tribune which publicized the violence in Kansas in

19 Watts, 120.

20 Quotation from Spring, 104.

21 Miner, 64-66.

22 Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-61* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 185.

23 This is one of the earliest published appearances of the term, Bleeding Kansas, which earned national attention in the election campaign of 1856. See Michael D. Pierson, ed., “A War of Extermination”: A Newly Uncovered Letter by Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856, *Kansas History* 16:2 (Summer 1993), 122-123.

1856. Criticizing the incumbent Democratic Party for the crime of “Bleeding Kansas” served as an effective Republican Party slogan in the 1856 election. By September 13, 1856, the words of a prize-winning Republican campaign song went, “far in the West rolls the thunder, the tumult of battle is raging where bleeding Kansas is waging warfare with slavery!”²⁴

Many of those who came to Kansas Territory came to fight in the conflict. As Kansas Adjutant General Cyrus Holliday explained in December 1864 “the reputation required by our settlers in our early Kansas troubles aroused the military spirit in sympathizing breasts all over the country, and from that consideration, and the additional fact that Kansas came to be regarded as a dangerous place for settlement, the result was, that the large proportion of the immigration to our State was composed of the most daring and hardy sons of the Republic.”²⁵ For the national antislavery movement, the Kansas Conflict was most important for its publicity value. In this contest for public sympathy, antislavery newspapers and speeches in Congress tended to dominate the production of news about Kansas and proslavery men and their actions were systematically portrayed in the worst possible terms.²⁶

Antislavery advocates believed that the Kansas-Nebraska Act ended a long-standing policy of disapproval of slavery and established a policy that slavery was a local issue. For the Kansas settlers, the Act closed off moderate strategies that antislavery men might have pursued. The Kansas Conflict became so bitter in part because the Kansas-Nebraska Act failed to precisely define “popular sovereignty.” The legislation did not specify when the settlers of a territory could decide the question of slavery. Northerners

held that territorial legislature could act; Southerners asserted that only when applying for statehood could a territory decide the status of slavery.²⁷

Before this debate, the concept of a Slave Power—a tightly knit body of slaveholders united in a design to expand slavery and maintain their control of the nation’s destiny—was not widely accepted. Move to repeal the Missouri Compromise raised this fear. “The Kansas-Nebraska Act was one of the most fateful measures ever approved by Congress. It weakened the Democratic Party throughout the North, disrupted the sectional balance within the parties, gave additional momentum to the ongoing process of party disintegration, and fundamentally altered the nature of the anti-Democratic opposition.”²⁸

The movement for a new national political party began in May, 1854 at a meeting of a group of anti-Nebraska representatives in Washington, D.C. Israel Washburn suggested that the new party take the name *Republican* and that its platform focus on opposition to the extension of slavery. Events in the spring and summer of 1855 provided a new opportunity to build an anti-slavery party. The massive illegal voting in the March 1855 election of the first legislature in Kansas Territory inspired the repudiation of the legislature by Free State men. Proslavery legislators basically enacted the existing laws of Missouri, but also made it a felony to maintain that slavery did not legally exist in the territory; or to circulate any printed material containing such an argument; disqualified all antislavery men from serving as jurors; prohibited opponents of slavery from holding office and prescribed

24 Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* new edition (Topeka, KS: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), 138.

25 Cited in Miner, 58.

26 As historian David Potter characterized the Kansas Conflict, “the war was a propaganda war ... and by 1857 the South and the administration had lost it decisively. The Kansas crusade in particular and the antislavery crusade in general ... represented a struggle for ideals.” See *Impending Crisis*, 217.

27 Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 71.

28 Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 81.

the death penalty for anyone who assisted fugitive slaves.²⁹ In the northern states, the Republican Party's 1855 platform emphasized the slavery extension issue and the situation in Kansas. The state political conventions and elections in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York were important steps in organizing the new party. Finally, in the spring of 1856, the Republican Party emerged as a major political movement. The Sumner caning and the sack of Lawrence occurred just before the Democratic and Republican conventions when uncommitted voters were beginning to form new party identities or renew old loyalties.

Even before the news of the attack on Lawrence reached the East, Preston Brooks beat Senator Charles Sumner into unconsciousness in the U.S. Senate chamber on May 22, 1856. After reports of the "Sack of Lawrence," Republicans in the North blamed the U.S. Marshal in Kansas, Israel Donaldson, and territorial Chief Justice Samuel Lecompte for the violence, and through them Governor Wilson Shannon and President Franklin Pierce. Even the usually restrained New York *Evening Post* warned on May 23, "Violence has now found its way into the Senate chamber. Violence lies in wait on all the navigable rivers and all the railways of Missouri, to obstruct those who pass from the Free States to Kansas. Violence overhangs the frontier of that territory like a storm-cloud charged with hail and lightning. Violence has carried election after election in that territory... In short, violence is the order of the day; the North is to be pushed to the wall by it, and this plot will succeed if the people of the Free States are as apathetic as the slaveholders are insolent."³⁰

Reports of escalating violence in Kansas

after the sack of Lawrence and the Pottawatomie massacre inspired the movement to the new Republican Party. When the report of the House's Howard Committee to investigate Kansas was published on July 1, the document provided evidence of dishonesty, intimidation, and terror by the proslavery legislators and settlers. The majority report asserted that Missourians had fraudulently controlled elections, that the existing territorial legislature was illegal, and that the Topeka constitution embodied "the will of the people."³¹ This sustained popular excitement in the North, even after Governor Shannon resigned on August 18 and the new governor Geary pacified the warring parties. Republicans kept up the rhetorical message of saving Kansas by electing Fremont until the November election. In Kansas Territory, the election of a Free State dominated legislature in October 1857 finally meant the beginning of an end to "Bleeding Kansas."³²

The Republican national convention began on June 17, 1856, in Philadelphia. The platform that was written included several important points related to the Kansas Conflict. The platform denied "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States," under the Constitution. Other sections recited violations of the rights of the Free State settlers in Kansas and censured the Pierce administration for condoning these acts. The Republican platform called for the immediate admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution. Although the Republican candidate, John C. Fremont, was politically inexperienced, the delegates wanted a resolute candidate who would stand up to the South. Many Republican leaders believed that the party had little chance of victory in

29 Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 89, 168-171.

30 Cited in Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 301.

31 Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 351.

32 Miner, 72.

its first national election, but they hoped to establish a national organization and take the American Party's place as the only significant party opposed to the Democrats. In the November election, the Fremont plurality in the North greatly exceeded popular expectations and made the Republicans the main opposition party.³³

The Republican ideology included several sometimes contradictory elements, but the party members were less concerned about slavery than the Slave Power. Most of the Northerners who joined the party hated white slaveholders, not black slaves, and most feared the growing threat to white liberties, not black. For Republicans, the fundamental issue was whether the North or the South would exercise political power in the nation. This was based on the assumption that the South had long dominated the national government and dictated federal policy. From the Mexican War to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, each demand by Southerners increased until the rights of Northerners were in danger. Events in Kansas converted thousands to this Republican viewpoint. For example, proslavery settlers had trampled on the freedom of speech, press, and Free State voting rights in Kansas. Thus, the symbols of Bleeding Sumner and Bleeding Kansas enabled Republicans to attack the South without attacking slavery directly.³⁴

Contemporary historians now study the evidence of this time and place by placing "Bleeding Kansas" not only in the context of the slavery debate and political realignment of the 1850s but also in the broader cultural context of Victorian America.³⁵ Integrating the significant categories of race, class, and gender into a revised political history of the Kansas Conflict will enrich the meaning of

"Bleeding Kansas." The Kansas Conflict dramatized the failure of the political system to resolve the sectional conflict over slavery and the future of the United States as a nation. The controversy over "Bleeding Kansas" contributed to a significant change in the political party system—the emergence of the Republican Party, the most successful third party movement in U.S. history. The Kansas Conflict ensured that slavery would remain the central political issue in the United States until resolved by the Civil War. But even after the Civil War ended in 1865, the struggle for freedom was far from over. "Bleeding Kansas" gave birth to both a political ideal and a political tradition that has inspired the struggle for equality up to the present.

33 Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 335.

34 This discussion of Republican ideology is based on Gienapp, *Origins of the Republican Party*, 353-365.

35 SenGupta, 340.

Underground Railroad in Kansas

An important sub-theme of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom is the story of the Underground Railroad in Kansas. This activity was significant, but not well documented. Activity in Kansas has hardly been mentioned in most histories of the Underground Railroad. Following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, both Northern and Southern states battled to occupy Kansas Territory. Many Northern political and religious leaders believed that the expansion of slavery would destroy the rapidly developing Union of states. Southern leaders feared that the loss of Kansas would lead inevitably to the end of slavery in Missouri and on to the rest of the Southern states.

After the Free State movement in Kansas gained national attention, word spread throughout the South. Runaway slaves or “freedom seekers” began to make their way to Kansas Territory. Resident “conductors” and their supporters established secret networks that passed escaping African American men, women, and children northward over a regional system of trails and then to freedom in the North.

A frustrated slave hunter is said to have remarked that his prey had “disappeared into thin air ... taken a ride on some sort of railroad ... silently ... as if they were underground.” Traveling by foot in the night and transported hidden in wagons and crates, escaping slaves were protected in houses, barns, cellars, and caves. These sites were “stations” along the famous Underground Railroad. Free State emigrants from New England and the Ohio River Valley states operated many historic stations in Kansas Territory. A Lawrence resident, for example, claimed that his town was “the best-advertised antislavery town in the world.”³⁶ On

the eastern border near Missouri, settlers of Osawatomie and vicinity supported John Brown’s men as they directed slaves toward escape through Douglas, Shawnee, and Wabaunsee County conductors and stations.

The Underground Railroad was “a system of receiving, concealing, and forwarding fugitive slaves on their flight from bondage in the American South to freedom in the North and Canada.”³⁷ The loosely organized network of stations extended from the eastern states north of the Mason-Dixon line to the states of the Old Northwest, and from 1854 to 1861 to Kansas Territory. Those active in the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory faced particular danger because of the conflict between antislavery and proslavery settlers for control of Kansas Territory and the lawlessness that characterized that struggle. The enemies of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory included Missouri slave-owners and politicians; the proslavery Territorial government and federal law officers; the lawless men, operating singly or in gangs, who kidnapped both free blacks and fugitive slaves to sell or return them to their masters for a ransom or bounty.³⁸

Only parts of the full story of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory were documented because of the strict secrecy in its operation. Much of the available information is based on oral tradition and the published recollections of those who were active in aiding and protecting fugitive slaves. Despite these challenges for historians, it is accepted that the Underground Railroad was significant in the evolution of the national civil rights movement and its interpretation is relevant to foster the spirit of racial harmony and national reconciliation.³⁹

36 Cited in Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance, “The Underground Railroad in Kansas, 1854-1861,” Draft Brochure (October 2003).

37 Richard B. Sheridan, ed. *Freedom’s Crucible: The Underground Railroad in Lawrence and Douglas County, Kansas, 1854-1865: A Reader* (Lawrence, KS: Continuing Education, University of Kansas, 1998), vii.

38 Sheridan, vii.

39 In 1997 the “Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1997” was passed to recognize the importance of the Underground Railroad and to authorize the National Park Service to coordinate activities to interpret the history of the Underground Railroad. See House Resolution 1635, 105th Congress, 1st Session.

Although not a railroad, the network had to be secret, thus “underground,” and railway terms were used to describe the elements of the system. Routes were known as “lines,” the houses giving protection to runaways were called “stations.” Those who aided the slaves along the route were “conductors.” And the fugitive slaves were referred to as “passengers,” “packages,” or “freight.” A party of slaves was known as a “train.” Estimates of the total number of slaves who reached freedom through the underground network during the period from 1790 to 1860 vary from 40,000 to 100,000.⁴⁰ While occasional stories told of people who had walked from Texas, Mississippi, or Alabama to Iowa, Indiana, or Ohio, most of the fugitives came from the upper South and were young men in good health. Most of those slaves east of the Appalachian Mountains who escaped tended to go directly north, by land or water, to Pennsylvania, New York, or the Boston area. Those on the other side of the mountains had to cross the Ohio River to leave Virginia or Kentucky or Tennessee. Slaves from Arkansas and Texas might cross the contested areas of Missouri and Kansas to bear east for aid in Indiana or Illinois. These are just some of the possible routes to freedom.⁴¹

Runaways who lived near the Missouri River crossed into Kansas Territory by swimming or on rafts, boats, and ferries. However, most runaways who entered Kansas from Missouri came over the land border south of the Missouri River. There were Free State communities established at Mound City, Osawatimie, Lawrence, Topeka, and other settlements. From 1857 to 1861, activity on the Underground Railroad in Kansas increased as new stations were established at Quindaro, Sumner, Clinton, Oskaloosa, Holton, and other communities.

At the height of the armed conflict in “Bleeding Kansas,” Missourians blockaded steamboats ascending the Missouri River to turn back passengers and freight intended to aid Free State settlers in Kansas. Free State leader James H. Lane then popularized a trail that crossed Iowa and the Missouri River to Nebraska City and ran south to Holton and Topeka with branches to Oskaloosa and Lawrence. After the blockade of the Missouri River was lifted, the Lane Trail became a major route on the Underground Railroad. Runaway slaves moved north and east through Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, and finally reached freedom in Canada.⁴² (See Figure 3-2, Lane Trail.)

According to proslavery newspapers, Lawrence became an active station on the Underground Railroad by April 1855. The Leavenworth Herald, reprinted in the Lawrence Herald of Freedom on May 26, 1855, said “we learn from a reliable source that a secret association in now in existence at Lawrence, the object of which is to abduct and run off all negro slaves in the territory.” Later the Herald of Freedom reprinted an article on June 16 from the Westport News, “there is an Underground Railroad leading out of western Missouri.” The editor denied the charge insisting that the people of Lawrence had no “Secret Association” and had carried out no conspiracy. In fact, any activities to liberate slaves had to be subordinated to the need to strengthen and defend Lawrence against Missourians and their Southern allies. These opponents most resented the repudiation of the so-called “bogus” legislature and the challenge from Free State leaders who opposed the proslavery territorial government.⁴³ Other Free State towns faced similar charges and many did have secret associations to assist in the transport of runaway slaves.

40 Sheridan, xiii-xiv; National Park Service, National Register, “Underground Railroad Resources in the United States,” E. Statement of Historic Context: “The Underground Railroad in American History,” 13.

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/themee.htm>

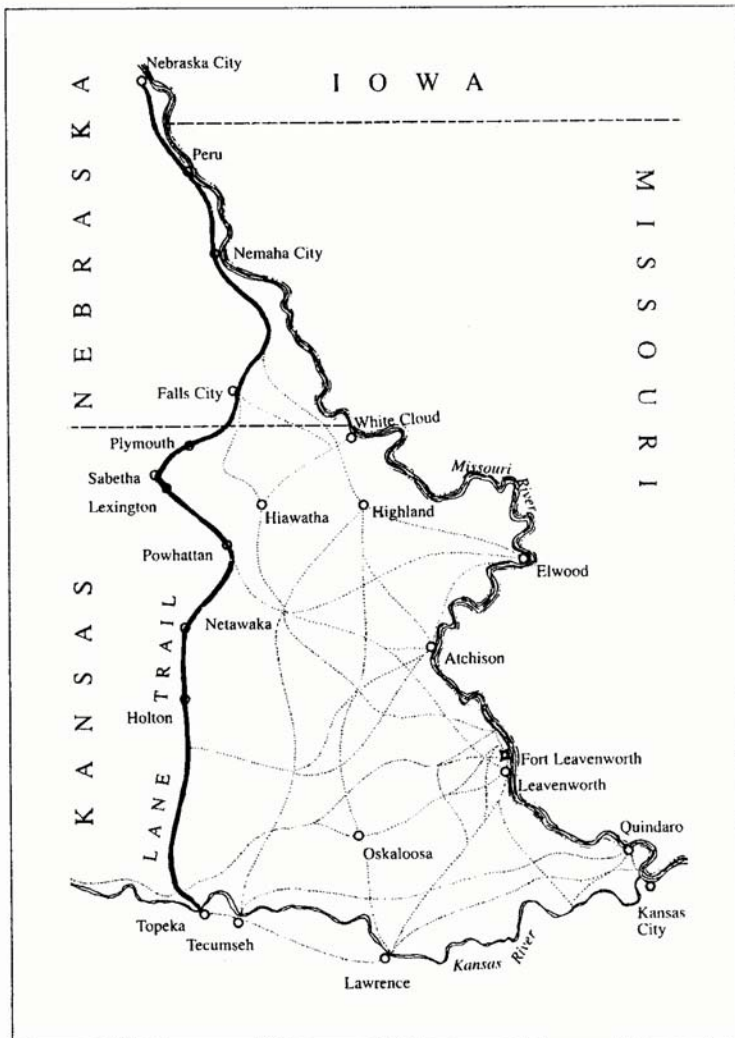
41 NPS, NR, “Underground Railroad in American History,” 21.

42 Sheridan, *Freedom's Crucible*, xv-xvii.

43 Sheridan, xxiii, xxv.

Figure 3-2, Lane Trail

Editor's Commentary



The Lane Trail played a prominent part in Kansas history. Initially it enabled free-state immigrants to bypass hostile antislavery forces in Missouri. Later, it facilitated the movement of fugitive slaves north from Lawrence and Topeka to Nebraska and Iowa with greater security and access to support services.

Activity on the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory paralleled the course of political and military events from 1854 to 1865. From November 1855 until September 1856, proslavery forces threatened Lawrence and the other Free State settlements. From 1857 until the outbreak of

war in 1861, the tension lessened as more Free State settlers entered the territory. Beginning in 1857, the underlying conditions for a successful Underground Railroad improved as a result of victories gained by antislavery militia, increased immigration of Free State settlers, and political victories for Free State legislative candidates.⁴⁴

The Civil War brought newly enlisted troops, then wounded soldiers, and pro-Union refugees from western Missouri and other Southern states to Kansas. One of the most unique movements was the influx of African American slaves. Wherever Union soldiers were stationed, slaves would leave their masters and run to the military camps. Most were protected as "contrabands of war." Many of these contrabands found their way to Lawrence, the most famous Free State town.⁴⁵

The Underground Railroad crossed the Missouri border at whatever point was most quickly reached by runaway slaves, usually somewhere south of Kansas City. These runaways followed no definite route, but according to one interpretation, there were two Underground Railroad divisions in Kansas with Lawrence as the northern headquarters and Mound City, the southern. The traffic manager of the

Lawrence division was Reverend John E. Stewart, who had a log fort near his farm on the Wakarusa River four miles south of Lawrence. He was assisted by Dr. John Doy. In the south, James Montgomery who had a cabin on a farm near Mound City, Linn County, was the manager assisted by C.R. Jennison and, at times, John Brown. The

⁴⁴ Sheridan, vii.

⁴⁵ Sheridan, xxxiii-xxv. In Sheridan's compilation of Underground Railroad narratives concerned with Lawrence and Douglas County, most concentrated on events from 1857 to 1865 which led to his hypothesis that the Underground Railroad became more active after 1856.

Lawrence route crossed the Kansas River at Lawrence and continued north through Oskaloosa to Holton, Kansas. The Mound City route ran north through Topeka to Holton.

The most publicized route was the one taken by John Brown and the twelve slaves he took from Missouri through Kansas Territory, Nebraska, Iowa, and other states to Canada in the winter of 1858-59. This route took them from the Wattles, Mendenhall, and Adair farms to a cabin near Garnett, then to the home of Ottawa Jones, Abbot's farm, Joel Grover's barn near Lawrence, and the farm of Daniel Sheridan near Topeka. In winter 1857, the Lane Trail became the Underground Railroad out of Kansas to Canada. This route ran from Topeka to Holton, Netawaka, Sabetha, Kansas, then on to Falls City and Nebraska City, Nebraska.⁴⁶

Known abolitionists who ran the Underground Railroad in Kansas—John Stewart, John Doy, Sam Tappan, and James Blood of Lawrence, Walter Oakley of Topeka, Sam C. Smith of Quindaro, and John Brown of Osawatimie—called on their supporters in New England and the Ohio River Valley for advice, financial assistance, and even the famous Sharps' rifles. The leaders worked to maintain the Underground Railroad network in Kansas Territory. Correspondents for Eastern newspapers used these calls for assistance to keep up interest in the Kansas Conflict and the efforts of the Underground Railroad. In a letter of January 24, 1858, for example, Samuel Tappan, one of the original settlers of Lawrence, wrote to Thomas Higginson in Worcester, Massachusetts, "I am happy to inform you that a certain Rail Road has been and is in full blast . . . Our funds in these hard times have nearly run out, and we need some help, for the present is attended with considerable

expense. If you know of any one desirous of helping the cause, just mention our case to him, and ask him to communicate with Walter Oakley at Topeka, James Blood and myself at Lawrence, or Sam C. Smith at Quindaro."⁴⁷ The Kansas abolitionists also maintained relationships with the Quaker settlements of Springdale and Tabor, Iowa, as well as settlements in Ontario, Canada.⁴⁸

Only a select group of anti-slavery sympathizers knew about the activities of the Underground Railroad. Since aiding a runaway slave was a federal offense punishable by a sentence of six months imprisonment, for most settlers, it was better not to know about the escaped slaves and the network that aided them. There were several levels of involvement: radical abolitionists who actually rescued and conducted slaves to freedom; station masters who regularly offered their homes as hiding places for runaways but were unaware of other participants and stations; spontaneous participants who believed slavery was wrong but was not involved until a conductor brought a runaway to his door in the summer of 1858.⁴⁹ Other strategic counselors planned, coordinated, considered the political implications of the traffic in runaways, and sought favorable press reports in Eastern newspapers. There is some evidence that Walter Oakley, Samuel Tappan, Sam C. Smith, and others guided the long-term strategy of the Underground Railroad in Kansas and that this leadership used Quindaro as a strategic base after 1857.⁵⁰

Nearly eighty places in twenty-two present-day counties in Kansas meet the criteria for association with the historic "Underground Railroad." In addition to Lawrence and Mound City, other places associated with important activity were Bloomington,

46 Sheridan, 123-125, 151-153.

47 Sheridan, 50.

48 Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance, "Underground Railroad of Kansas, 1854-1861," 1.

49 Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance, "Underground Railroad of Kansas," 1.

50 For information on the significance of Quindaro, see "The Border Storm," a publication of the Quindaro Ruins Archaeological Park Project.

Topeka, Auburn, Holton, Wabaunsee, Sabetha, Leavenworth, and Quindaro. Douglas County had a number of Underground Railroad sites. Other counties with at least one presently known Underground Railroad site include: northern counties—Brown, Doniphan, Nemaha; western counties—Jackson, Riley, Wabaunsee; eastern counties—Douglas, Jefferson, Johnson, Shawnee, Wyandotte; southern counties—Allen, Anderson, Bourbon, Franklin, Linn, and Miami.⁵¹ The Underground Railroad network in Kansas Territory had north-south routes that reached from the south around Mound City, north to Lawrence, and beyond. An east-west route ran from the east gate at Quindaro through the crossroads of Lawrence to safer western stations in the Topeka vicinity. This geographical distribution demonstrates the significance of the Underground Railroad in the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area.

In a letter to Franklin B. Sanborn from Lawrence dated April 4, 1859, Kansas settler John Bowles explained, “I am expected to give you some information as to the present condition of the U.G.R.R. in Kansas or more particularly at the Lawrence depot.” Bowles proudly recalled that “Lawrence has been (from the first settlement of Kansas) known and cursed by all slave holders in and out of Mo. [Missouri] for being an abolition town. Missourians have a peculiar faculty for embracing every opportunity to denounce, curse and *blow* every thing they dislike. This peculiar faculty of theirs gave Lawrence great notoriety in Mo. especially among the negroes to whom the principal part of their denunciations were directed and on whom they were intended to have great effect.” Summarizing the activity at this important Free State town, Bowles concluded that in the last four years, he knew “of nearly three hundred fugitives having passed

through and received assistance from the abolitionists here at Lawrence.”⁵²

Once the Civil War broke out, Missouri slaves ran away to Lawrence. The problem of so-called “contrabands” was described by Reverend Richard Cordley in his book, Pioneer Days in Kansas (1903). Lawrence had been settled as a Free State town. As a result, “it was the center of proslavery hate, and at the same time the center of hope to the slaves across the border.” As Reverend Cordley pointed out, “the colored people of Missouri looked to it as a sort of ‘city of refuge,’ and when any of them made a ‘dash for freedom,’ they usually made Lawrence their first point.” After the Civil War broke out, the slaves on the border took advantage of it to gain their freedom. Cordley reported, “they did not wait for any proclamation nor did they ask whether their liberation was a war measure or a civil process.” Many of the escaped Missouri slaves found their way to Lawrence. Reverend Cordley recalled, “they came by scores and hundreds, and for a time it seemed as if they would overwhelm us with their numbers and their needs.”⁵³

Compared to the whole slave population, not many fugitives passed through Kansas Territory during the years from 1854 to 1861, but they were significant. These African Americans asserted their right to freedom by running away and the Kansas abolitionists disobeyed the fugitive slave laws that they considered unjust. These actions helped define the Kansas Conflict. Larger numbers of contrabands came to Kansas during the Civil War. Many African American men volunteered for service in First and Second Kansas Colored Infantry Regiments. They also worked as both skilled and unskilled labor and had an important role in maintaining agricultural production.⁵⁴ These African American

51 Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance, “Underground Railroad of Kansas,” 2.

52 Sheridan, 52-53.

53 Sheridan, 98-99.

54 Sheridan, “From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854-65,” Kansas History Sheridan

played a role in creating the landscape of farms and towns. In this wave of migration, they came to seek their freedom and shape their own destiny, but they had to adapt to the natural environment and the society that developed after the Civil War. Like the other settlers, they learned to live with different groups. In time African American runaways, refugees, and migrants became part of a settled and growing community that made important contributions to the state.

African Americans and the Struggle for Freedom

The struggle for freedom that developed in Kansas during the Territorial Period remained a dynamic and ongoing struggle. As the stories of “Bleeding Kansas,” Civil War Kansas, and the Underground Railroad in Kansas illustrate, African Americans and Native Americans in the state continued to raise questions of sovereignty and freedom that were unresolved even by the Civil War. African Americans and their white allies continued to press for voting rights and equality, but that struggle was de-emphasized in the greater process of nation-building. Racism was too ingrained and institutionalized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to permit the progress that seemed within reach in 1865.

At this time, the detailed research and cultural asset inventory to support the comprehensive interpretation of the sub-themes of the African American and Native American struggles for freedom in Kansas is not available. Nevertheless, the development of interpretation for both of these significant sub-themes has increased greatly since the 1960s. Interpreting the post-Civil War periods and sub-themes is an important area of work to be investigated and implemented in the management plan for the Bleeding

Kansas National Heritage Area.

Because of the Free State heritage and the state’s geographical proximity to Missouri, Kansas became a refuge and site of opportunity for African Americans. During the Civil War, the African American population in Kansas increased from 627 in 1860 to 12,527 in 1865 (8.8 per cent of total population). This influx raised the black population to its highest level in comparison to whites and Indians. African Americans came to Kansas in significant numbers after the war and again in the late 1870s and early 1880s, but the white population increased even more. Thus, African Americans gradually declined as a percentage of the state’s population—to 4.7 in 1870, 4.3 in 1880, and 3.5 in both 1890 and 1900.⁵⁵

African Americans were highly concentrated in certain towns and counties. This choice was a consequence of territorial and Civil War migration. In 1865, the three leading counties—Leavenworth, Douglas, and Wyandotte—contained 55.5 percent of the blacks in Kansas. Wyandotte County, where the short-lived abolitionist river town of Quindaro was located, had nearly half as many blacks as whites. There was one black to every three whites in Fort Scott, one to four in Osawatomie, one to five in Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Mound City, and one to seven in Atchison and Topeka. Four of those leading towns—Lawrence, Topeka, Mound City, and Osawatomie—had been stations on the Underground Railroad. In addition to these abolitionist centers, Forts Leavenworth and Fort Scott offered protection to contrabands during the Civil War.⁵⁶

For years after the end of the Civil War, Kansas retained its power as a symbol of freedom and equality. Many individual African Americans, along with an even larg-

⁵⁵ Sheridan, *Freedom's Crucible*, 37.

⁵⁶ Sheridan, *Freedom's Crucible*

er number of whites, migrated to the developing state after the war. This movement culminated in the late 1870s with the organized migration of thousands of Exodusters from the South. Many of these migrants came to Kansas to acquire farm land under the Homestead Act; others came to practice their trades and to establish businesses. The African American farmers in Douglas County and the black-operated businesses in Lawrence were examples of this trend. As noted earlier, opportunities for economic and social equality diminished in the late nineteenth century. During the so-called Jim Crow era, distinct minority communities developed in Kansas, as in the rest of the United States. This pattern of social segregation was demonstrated in the story of Langston Hughes, a talented African American youth growing up in Lawrence, Kansas.

The Free State heritage of “Bleeding Kansas” influenced the history of African American rights at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. Established in 1865, the state’s premier educational institution accepted African American students, but subjected them to discrimination. Following decades of informal discrimination in the early twentieth century, African American and white students and faculty renewed the enduring struggle for civil rights in Lawrence with small steps toward equal treatment beginning in 1942. Those efforts continued into the 1960s. Just a few miles away in Topeka, another Free State stronghold, the Sumner and Monroe Schools are buildings associated with a key event in the modern history of the civil rights movement—the lawsuit and Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka* (1954). Because of the association with the enduring struggle for freedom, these sites are nationally significant and serve as models for the interpretation of

other properties that illustrate the African American struggle for freedom in the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area.

Native Americans and the Struggle for Freedom

In the dramatic social and political change leading up to and culminating in the Civil War, Native Americans struggled for freedom. They resisted the expropriation of their land reserves and many threats to their cultural identity. For the indigenous Kansa and Osage tribes in the study area, that struggle eventually led to a retreat to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma).

For the Emigrant Indians, there were some different consequences. Like the European American settlers, these immigrants to Kansas had to adapt to the environment they found. Although their contribution has not been acknowledged, these tribes learned to live in a different kind of landscape and to live with different groups in building the nation. During the territorial period, for example, the Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot who lived near the border with Missouri and the Kansas River were threatened by land grabs and their lives were disrupted by territorial and Civil War violence. During the lawlessness of “Bleeding Kansas” and the Civil War, these relatively acculturated tribes were raided and robbed by both proslavery and Free State forces. Because of this history, for example, some of the important territorial period sites associated with the Native American Struggle for Freedom sub-theme are now located in urbanized areas. To the south, the pro-Union Creek, Cherokee, and Seminoles refugees from Indian Territory experienced terrible suffering when they fled to Kansas. Yet both groups contributed men who fought for the Union in Indian regiments.

While most of the Indian tribes in Kansas moved to Indian Territory after the end of the Civil War, the Pottawatomie, Kickapoo, Iowa and Sac-Fox tribes retained reservations in the northeast part of the state. Since the 1880s, the history of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, in the center of the study area, has exemplified the interaction between government policy and Native American cultural politics. The purpose of government-administered boarding schools like Haskell was to replace native language, teach Christianity, promote individualism, and teach practical skills and trades. The boarding school experience, however, did not eradicate traditional cultures and even facilitated cultural persistence in some ways. Resistance to assimilation in boarding schools instead created a pan-Indian identity that encouraged Native Americans to work together for political and cultural self determination. From a manual training school, Haskell has become a university with diverse student population representing many of the federally recognized tribes from all over the United States. In the present day, Haskell Indian Nations University has become a vital institution for Native American education and leadership training.

Conclusion

This study has documented that the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area in eastern and southern Kansas has a distinctive assemblage of natural, historic, and cultural resources worthy of recognition, conservation, interpretation, and continuing use. These resources reflect traditions that are a valuable part of the national story and retain a degree of integrity capable of supporting interpretation. Taken together, the suggested themes for Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom provide for the understanding and appreciation of Kansas's criti-

cal role in the conflict leading to the American Civil War. These themes express the views generated by public discussion of the heritage area study and are supported by a variety of closely related natural and cultural resources that remain in Kansas today.

This outline of the stories that illustrate the theme of "Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom" is based on available information and is subject to change and revision as further research provides additional information. For example, the history of other groups such as women and Mexican Americans (see Chapter 2) is undoubtedly relevant to the "Enduring Struggle for Freedom." These themes will be investigated in the development of a detailed management plan for the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area.

Chapter 4

Affected Environment

The study area for the “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” National Heritage Area comprises 12,958 square miles, representing approximately 15.8 per cent of the state of Kansas. One main part of the study area is oriented east and west along the Kansas River west of the confluence with the Missouri River at Kansas City and the other is oriented north and south along the Missouri-Kansas state boundary with additional counties associated with these two main areas. The study area includes twenty-three of the one hundred and five counties in the state.

Currently, this study places the tentative boundaries of the basic Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area as follows. The eastern boundary of the entire Heritage Area is the Kansas-Missouri state line. The northern boundary of the Kansas River valley area runs along the northern border of Leavenworth County, then south to the northern border of Douglas County, and then west along the county boundaries of Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Riley, and Clay Counties. The western boundary is the western border of Clay County.

The southern boundary of the Kansas River valley area runs south along the Geary County line, then east along the Wabaunsee County line, then north to the Shawnee County line, then east to the Douglas County line, then south along the Douglas and Franklin County lines to the northern border of Coffey County. The boundary runs south along the Coffey, Woodson, and Wilson County lines, then east to Labette County and south along the western border of

Labette County to the Kansas-Oklahoma border. The southern boundary of the Heritage Area runs along the Labette and Cherokee County lines to the state boundary. (See Figure 4-1. Proposed Basic Boundary National Heritage Area Map.)

Counties included in the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area at this time.

Kansas River valley

Clay	Douglas	Geary
Johnson	Leavenworth	Pottawatomie
Riley	Shawnee	Wabaunsee
Wyandotte		

Eastern Border

Allen	Anderson	Bourbon
Cherokee	Coffey	Crawford
Franklin	Labette	Linn
Miami	Neosho	Wilson
Woodson		

POPULATION

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Kansas has a population of 1,037,891 households. Of the state’s total population of 2,688,418, there are 1,328,474 males and 1,359,944 females. The counties in the study area have an aggregated population of 1,296,441 representing approximately 48.6 per cent of the state’s population. Because the study area includes growing towns and suburban areas as well as declining towns and rural areas, the rate of growth varies from county to county. Overall, the state of Kansas has a positive population growth rate of 8.2 per cent.

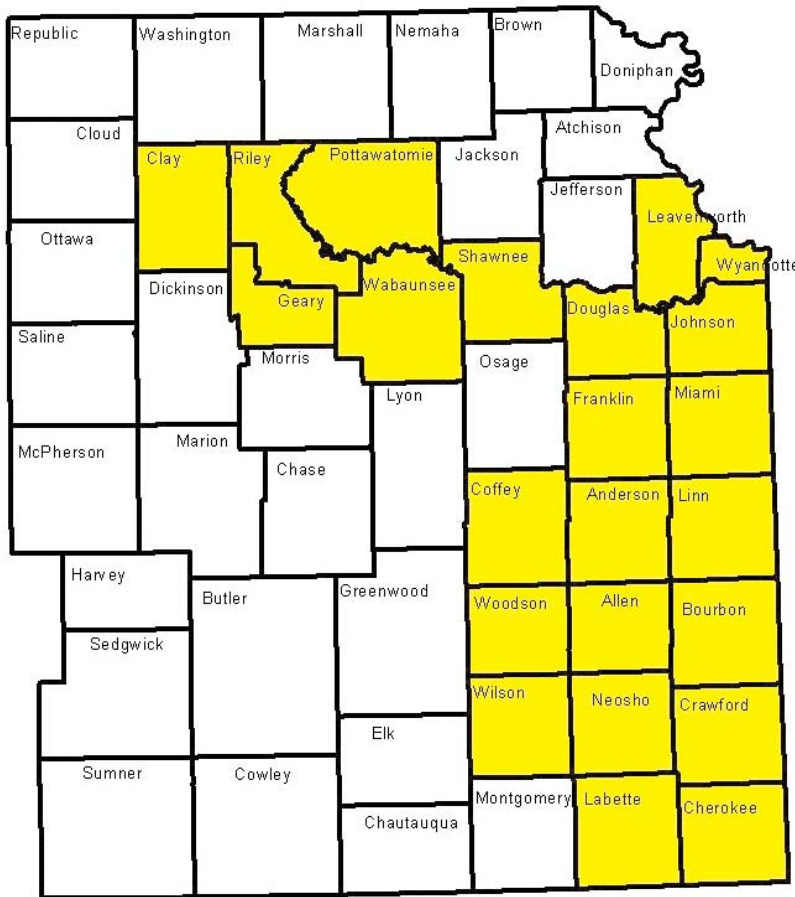


Figure 4-1. Proposed Basic Boundary National Heritage Area

Population density in the study area varies considerably from east to west and north to south. The average number of persons per square mile in Wyandotte County, for example, is 1,042.9; Johnson County, 946.1; Douglas County, 218.8; and Shawnee County, 309.0. To the west, the average number of persons per square mile in Wabaunsee County is 8.6; Pottawatomie County, 21.6; and Geary County, 72.6. To the south, the average number of persons per square mile in Miami County is 49.2, Bourbon County, 24.1; and Linn County, 16.0.

Based on the feasibility study, it appears that

designation of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area designation will not have a significant effect on current and future populations in the study area. However, the organizational and promotional links between counties of increasing population and counties of decreasing population may provide wider dispersion of tourism and investment with a corresponding improvement in the economic and social stability of the counties with decreasing population. In the long term, heritage area designation will protect historic and cultural resources in both areas. Where rapid urban and suburban development is taking place, identification and protection of the resources associated with Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom is essential for their survival. In counties where population is declining or stable, designation will provide recognition and help attract the financial capacity required to protect and interpret these resources.

This assemblage of buildings, sites, landscapes, and institutions is necessary to interpret the important stories

of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in the study area.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Among the residents of the counties in the study area, household income varies considerably. Johnson County in the study area had the highest median household income in the state. Two counties in the study area, Wilson and Woodson, had the lowest household income. Total nonfarm employment in Kansas for 2001 was 1,347,700. Goods producing industries employed 265,500 residents. Service-providing industries employed 1,082,200 residents. Federal,

state, and local governments employed 248,100 residents. The major employment bases in the study area are located in the Kansas City, Lawrence, and Topeka metropolitan areas.

In the study area, the highest property values per capita were found in three counties

County to a high in Coffey County. Other counties with relatively higher tax per capita rates are Johnson, Linn, and Pottawatomie. Coffey, Linn, and Pottawatomie Counties have the lowest mill levies. Wyandotte County has the highest mill levy with relatively higher levies in Bourbon, Clay, Geary, and Shawnee Counties.¹

Table 4.1 Demographic and Socioeconomic Data

<i>County</i>	<i>Population 2000</i>	<i>Population Change 1980-2000</i>	<i>Median Household Income (1999 est.)</i>	<i>Non-farm Employment</i>
<i>Allen</i>	14,385	-1,269	\$32,155	8,696
<i>Anderson</i>	8,1101	-639	\$32,140	3,519
<i>Bourbon</i>	15,379	-590	\$30,410	8,666
<i>Cherokee</i>	22,605	301	\$30,124	9,696
<i>Clay</i>	8,822	-980	\$34,384	5,618
<i>Coffey</i>	8,865	-505	\$36,633	62,068
<i>Crawford</i>	38,242	326	\$29,642	22,299
<i>Douglas</i>	99,962	32,322	\$37,36	62,068
<i>Franklin</i>	24,784	2,722	\$38,391	11,808
<i>Geary</i>	27,947	-1,905	\$30,342	25,358
<i>Johnson</i>	451,086	180,817	\$62,887	363,250
<i>Labette</i>	22,835	-2,847	\$30,506	14,350
<i>Leavenworth</i>	68,691	13,882	\$46,037	31,962
<i>Linn</i>	9,570	1,336	\$34,020	3,211
<i>Miami</i>	28,351	6,733	\$44,865	11,206
<i>Neosho</i>	16,997	-1,970	\$31,881	10,169
<i>Pottawatomie</i>	18,209	3,427	\$40,369	10,750
<i>Riley</i>	62,843	-662	\$33,360	34,929
<i>Shawnee</i>	169,871	14,955	\$39,831	122,068
<i>Wabaunsee</i>	6,885	18	\$40,201	2,201
<i>Wilson</i>	10,332	-1,796	\$29,499	5,165
<i>Woodson</i>	3,788	-812	\$25,565	1,440
<i>Wyandotte</i>	157,882	-14,453	\$31,816	94,187

As in the analysis of the impact on population, the effect is difficult to assess, but it appears that heritage area designation will have a modest positive impact on socioeconomic conditions. Even a small increase in tourism and investment in those counties with static or declining populations will provide greater socioeconomic stability and prosperity. Heritage area designation will provide two gener-

where regional electrical generating plants are located. These are Coffey, Linn, and Pottawatomie Counties. Other counties with relatively higher property values per capita are Johnson, Douglas, and Miami. The lowest property values per capita are found in Geary, Riley, and Bourbon Counties. The Fort Riley military reservation is located in Geary and Riley Counties. Property tax per capita rates range from a low in Cherokee

al benefits—a better balance between tourism and heritage investment in urban and rural counties coupled with recognition that attracts visitation and investment from outside Kansas. In the long term, heritage area designation will protect and then enhance interpretation of the buildings, sites, landscapes, and institutions related to the Bleeding Kansas and Enduring Struggle for Freedom theme.

¹ For property tax information, see <http://www.ksrevenue.org/pvdstatistics.htm>.

LAND USE

The study area is a mosaic of urban centers, suburban communities, smaller towns, and rural areas. The Kansas River valley area lies along the I-70 highway corridor with I-35 cutting diagonally across the northern area. The river valley area includes the major towns of Overland Park, Olathe, Lawrence, Topeka (the state capital), Manhattan, and Junction City. The eastern border area includes the county seat towns of Paola, Ottawa, Mound City, Garnett, Fort Scott, Iola, Yates Center, Fredonia, and Columbus. Both areas, however, encompass a rich array of natural, cultural, scenic, and recreational resources. The river valley area is more developed with urban and suburban communities. The eastern border area is typical of most of Kansas with development

consisting of a county seat town with smaller towns and villages in a generally rural area.

In the counties near Kansas City, Kansas, more of the land is built out while the western and southern counties are less developed. For example, Johnson County has 44.5 percent of the land area in farms. Wyandotte County has 23.1 percent of the land area in farms. Most of the study area has a landcover/land use designation of agricultural land. The counties of Allen, Anderson, Clay, Coffey, Franklin, Miami, Pottawatomie, Wabaunsee, Wilson, and Woodson have more than 75 percent of the land area in farms. The counties of Cherokee, Douglas, Geary, Leavenworth, Linn, Shawnee, and Riley have more than 60 percent of the land area in farms.

Table 4.2 Land Use

<i>County</i>	<i>% Residential</i>	<i>% Commercial</i>	<i>% Cropland</i>	<i>% Grassland</i>	<i>% Woodland</i>	<i>% Water</i>
<i>Allen</i>	<i>0.87</i>	<i>0.12</i>	<i>41.7</i>	<i>54.14</i>	<i>2.24</i>	<i>0.51</i>
<i>Anderson</i>	<i>0.26</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>38.05</i>	<i>54.57</i>	<i>6.43</i>	<i>0.45</i>
<i>Bourbon</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>43.65</i>	<i>42.75</i>	<i>12.51</i>	<i>0.45</i>
<i>Cherokee</i>	<i>0.88</i>	<i>0.12</i>	<i>60.01</i>	<i>25.72</i>	<i>10.36</i>	<i>1.73</i>
<i>Clay</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>56.44</i>	<i>37.44</i>	<i>3.86</i>	<i>1.82</i>
<i>Coffey</i>	<i>0.41</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>33.99</i>	<i>57.9</i>	<i>3.16</i>	<i>3.94</i>
<i>Crawford</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Douglas</i>	<i>1.42</i>	<i>0.64</i>	<i>39.76</i>	<i>41.1</i>	<i>11.77</i>	<i>3.29</i>
<i>Franklin</i>	<i>0.58</i>	<i>0.26</i>	<i>41.6</i>	<i>45.47</i>	<i>10.18</i>	<i>1.06</i>
<i>Geary</i>	<i>0.89</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>22.37</i>	<i>61.29</i>	<i>9.79</i>	<i>4.26</i>
<i>Johnson</i>	<i>14.54</i>	<i>3.93</i>	<i>24.9</i>	<i>36.9</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>1.36</i>
<i>Labette</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Leavenworth</i>	<i>1.82</i>	<i>0.45</i>	<i>29.35</i>	<i>48.18</i>	<i>16.53</i>	<i>1.68</i>
<i>Linn</i>	<i>0.51</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>24.41</i>	<i>53.97</i>	<i>17.41</i>	<i>2.15</i>
<i>Miami</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>24.62</i>	<i>60.73</i>	<i>10.96</i>	<i>1.96</i>
<i>Neosho</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Pottawatomie</i>	<i>0.29</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>19.53</i>	<i>68.37</i>	<i>8.48</i>	<i>1.67</i>
<i>Riley</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Shawnee</i>	<i>3.39</i>	<i>2.66</i>	<i>20.69</i>	<i>50.23</i>	<i>6.85</i>	<i>2.58</i>
<i>Wabaunsee</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Wilson</i>	<i>0.51</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>34.49</i>	<i>57.95</i>	<i>5.87</i>	<i>0.88</i>
<i>Woodson</i>	<i>0.25</i>	<i>0.04</i>	<i>23.3</i>	<i>70.57</i>	<i>4.23</i>	<i>1.51</i>
<i>Wyandotte</i>	<i>17.93</i>	<i>11.02</i>	<i>14.24</i>	<i>22.29</i>	<i>16.85</i>	<i>4.79</i>

Generally, heritage area designation will help protect the traditional diversity of urban, suburban, small town, and rural agricultural land uses in the study area. As in the analysis of socioeconomic impact, heritage area designation will have a modest positive impact on land use planning. In the long term, by adding a voluntary, cooperative organizational framework for the interpretation of cultural resources in the study area, heritage area designation will protect and then enhance the interpretation of the buildings, sites, landscapes, and institutions related to the Bleeding Kansas and Enduring Struggle for Freedom theme.

TRANSPORTATION

Beginning in 1821, increasing in the 1840s and 1850s, and consolidating in the late nineteenth century, the geographical area now known as Kansas has been an important transportation route between the eastern United States and the West. Settlements established around the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers were outfitting centers for westward exploration and migration. The metropolitan area centered on Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, is still the regional transportation center.

Highways, railroads, and the Kansas City International Airport form a nexus of major transportation routes at the eastern edge of the study area. The highway system within the study area is divided into interstate highways, U.S. and state highways, and local roads. Interstate highways I-70 and I-35 connect the major cities of Kansas City, Lawrence, and Topeka with Chicago, Denver, and other major cities on both the east and west coast as well as Canada and Mexico. These run east and west and south-west-northeast. The interstate highways con-

nect to the interstate system going north to St. Joseph, Missouri, Omaha, Nebraska, and Des Moines, Iowa, south to Wichita, Kansas, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma, west to Denver, and Colorado Springs, Colorado, and east to St. Louis, Missouri. The U.S. and state highways connect communities within the study area and include portions of U. S. Routes 24, 56, 59, 169, and 69. Local roads are most numerous and provide access to sites within these communities. Because of the historic land survey system, these areas typically have a characteristic grid pattern of local roads.

The study area is also accessible by rail transportation. There are four Class I carriers (annual gross revenues of \$250 million or more) in Kansas. These are the Burlington Northern/Santa Fe, Kansas City Southern, Norfolk Southern, and Union Pacific System. The volume of freight transported by Class I carriers in Kansas during 2000 totaled approximately 308 million tons. The principal commodities transported were coal, agriculture products, food and similar products, and chemicals and similar products. (See Figure 4-2, Kansas Railroad Map.)

Rail passenger service in Kansas is provided by the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, commonly known as Amtrak, a quasi-public corporation. Amtrak was established in 1970. The Amtrak train serving Kansas, the Southwest Chief, operates between Los Angeles and Chicago with daily service in each direction. Boarding/disembarking takes place at two places in the study area: Lawrence and Topeka. While Amtrak usage increased nationally in 2001, passenger ridership in Kansas fell six percent compared to 2000. At Lawrence, ridership increased five percent and ridership decreased six percent at Topeka. Localized rail passenger service via commuter rail had

planning in the study area. With minor specific improvements, the existing transportation network has ample capacity to serve the historic and cultural institutions that are represented in the BKNHA planning committee. However, in the long term, there is potential for cooperative arrangements among the BKNHA management entity and bus companies, Amtrak, and the Kansas Department of Transportation to enhance tourism and visitation by telling the stories of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom.

AIR AND WATER QUALITY

According to the 2000 Kansas Air Quality Report, Kansas Governor Bill Graves recommended that all counties in Kansas, except Johnson and Wyandotte, be designated as “attainment/unclassifiable” for the proposed 8-hour ozone standard. Johnson and

Wyandotte Counties were recommended as not attaining the 8-hour standard. In addition, air quality monitors in the Wichita area showed that ozone concentrations were increasing and, if actions are not taken to reduce ozone formation, will eventually exceed the proposed 8-hour ozone standard. Based on results for the



years 2000-2002, the Kansas City area will again be in violation of the standard.³

Based on current information, designation of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area will not have a significant impact on the air and water quality of the study area. In the long term, the maintenance of relatively good air quality and improvement in water quality will enhance the preservation and interpretation of the stories represented in the heritage area resources.

TOURISM

Tourism's economic impacts are an important consideration in state, regional, and community planning and economic development. According to the January 2001 National Travel Survey, sixty-five percent of American adult travelers reported that they included a cultural, arts, heritage, or historic activity or event while on a trip of fifty miles or more, one-way, in the past year. Visiting a historic site such as a building, battlefield or historic community remains the most popular cultural activity forty-three percent of adult travelers participating in this activity while on a trip in the past year. Museums are also popular with travelers since thirty percent claim that they have visited a museum while on a past-year trip.

In 2000 domestic and international visitors spent about 3.9 billion dollars in Kansas, which was a 5.4 percent increase over 1999. That activity supported over 57,000 jobs with 887.2 million dollars in wages and salaries. Travel-generated jobs comprised 4.2 percent of the total non-agricultural employment in Kansas. Also in 2000, travel spending generated almost 564 million dollars in tax revenue for federal, state, and local governments. Kansas ranked 38th in domestic travel expenditures and 40th in

international travel expenditures among all fifty states and the District of Columbia.⁴

For comparison, a study of the economic impact of tourism in Missouri for the fiscal year July 2001-June, 2002 concluded that the direct expenditures by domestic and international visitors totaled 7.9 billion dollars during that year. Travel in Missouri resulted in the employment of 192,159 people and employment in select tourism-related industries totaled 243,569.⁵

Designation of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area will have a strongly positive impact on tourism in the study area. Regional cooperation and comprehensive management for heritage assets will be enhanced as relationships with the heritage area theme and sub-themes provide marketing and investment leverage. Because of the ideals and commitment expressed in the stories of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom, the interpretation of related resources will become even more important in the future to Kansans, other Americans, and visitors from outside the United States.

3 Kansas Department of Health and Environment, Kansas Air Quality Report, 2001-2002, see http://www.kdhe.state.ks.us/bar/download/2001-2002_AQ_Report_6-11-03.pdf.

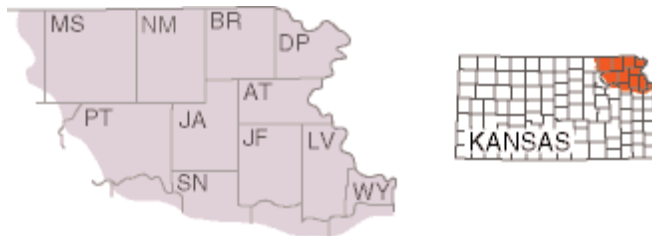
4 See http://kdoch.state.ks.us/busdev/travel_tourism_info.jsp Reference from 11/30/2003.

5 www.visitmo.com/pdf/EconomicImpact , "Executive Summary," 1. Reference from 11/30/2003.

TOPOGRAPHY⁶

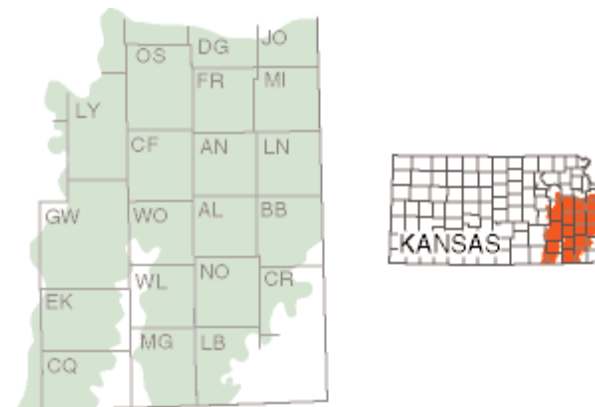
The study area has six physiographic provinces: Glaciated, Ozark Plateau, Flint Hills, Cherokee Lowlands, Chautauqua Hills, and Osage Cuestas.

Glaciated Region



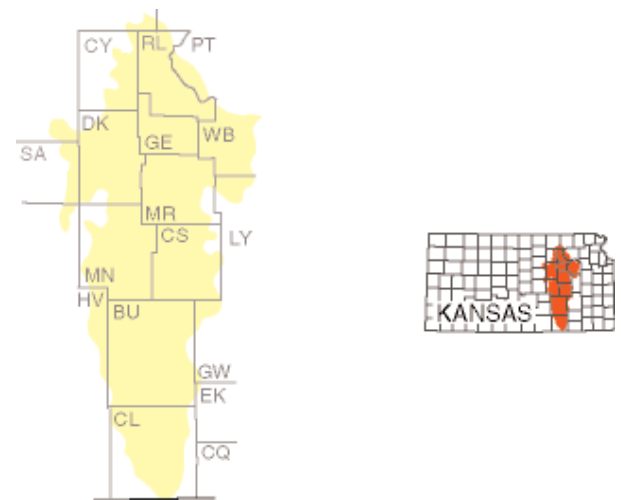
The north-eastern area of Kansas was glaciated, covered by at least two of the eight or nine glaciers that encroached upon much of the northern United States during the [Pleistocene Epoch](#), between 1.6 million and 10 thousand years ago. The first of these covered just the northeastern corner of Kansas. The second, which encroached on Kansas about 600,000 years ago, extended almost to Manhattan and beyond Topeka and Lawrence in a line roughly parallel to the present-day Kansas River. In some places, this ice sheet was 500 feet thick.

Osage Cuestas



Most of the area is Osage Cuesta, a region which occupies nearly all of eastern Kansas south of the Kansas River and is characterized by a series of east-facing ridges or escarpments, between which are flat to gently rolling plains. Cuesta, Spanish for hill or cliff, is the term geologists use to describe ridges with steep, clifflike faces on one side and gentle slopes on the other. Cuesta topography developed in gently dipping, alternating layers of hard and soft rocks. This area is one of abundant limestone.

Flint Hills

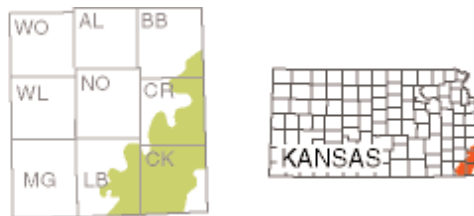


The Flint Hills were formed by the erosion of limestones and shales. Unlike the limestones to the east, however, many Flint Hills limestones contain numerous bands of chert, or flint. Because chert is much less soluble than the limestone around it, the weathering of the limestone has left behind a clayey soil full of cherty gravel. Most of the hilltops in this region are capped with this cherty gravel. Because of the cherty soil, the land is better suited to ranching than farming. The Flint Hills province is still primarily native

prairie grassland, the last remaining landscape-scale tall grass prairie in the country.

The tall grasses in this region are mostly big and little bluestem, switch grass, and Indian grass. Except along stream and river bottoms, trees are rare. The streams in the Flint Hills have cut deep precipitous channels. Streams cut in chert-bearing strata are narrow, boxlike channels, whereas those cut in weaker shales are wider, more gently sloping valleys.

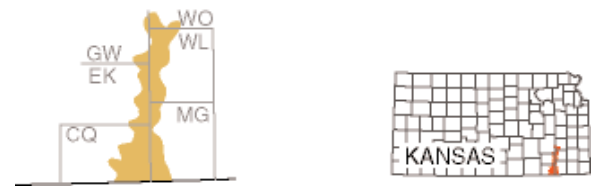
Cherokee Lowlands



Occupying roughly 1,000 square miles in Bourbon, Crawford, Cherokee, and Labette counties, the Cherokee Lowlands region is a gently rolling plain that developed on easily eroded shales and sandstones of the Cherokee Group. The landscape is traversed by shallow stream valleys. Isolated sandstone hills offer occasional topographic relief. One of these, Blue Mound, is located just east of Kansas Highway 69 in southern Cherokee County, a half mile north of the Oklahoma border

The region is characterized by deep, fertile soils. These soils and the relatively flat and well-drained topography make the region good for farming, except where the surface has been disturbed by mining. Generally trees grow only on the slopes of hills, banks of larger streams, and in abandoned mining areas.

Chautauqua Hills



The Chautauqua Hills are a sandstone-capped rolling upland that extends into the Osage Cuestas from the southern Kansas border. Approximately 10 miles wide, these hills extend as far north as Yates Center in Woodson County. Small patches of similar terrain can be found as far north as Leavenworth County.

The Chautauqua Hills formed primarily in the thick sandstones of the Douglas Group. During the Pennsylvanian Period, about 286 million to 320 million years ago, rivers and streams flowed into the sea in this area. Sand and other sediments collected in the estuaries and at the mouths of the rivers in deltas. The sediments were buried and compacted—the sands became sandstone and the muds became shale. Over millions of years, uplift and erosion exposed the sandstone and shale at the surface. Further erosion has dissected the area into a series of low hills, capped by more resistant sandstone.

Because of rock outcrops in this region, the hills are generally not cultivated but are used instead for pasture. The Verdigris, Fall, and Elk rivers cross the area in narrow valleys walled by sandstone bluffs. Topographic relief in the region is never more than 250 feet.

Ozark Plateau



The southeastern corner of the state, in Cherokee County, is Ozark Plateau. As its name suggests, this corner is part of the Ozarks of Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Bounded by the Spring River on the west, the Ozark Plateau covers about 55 square miles and includes the towns of Baxter Springs and Galena.

Heritage area designation will provide a strong incentive for the research, interpretation, and development of a broader public understanding and appreciation of the topography and geographical features of the historic and cultural resources in the study area. Public appreciation of the varied landscapes of eastern Kansas has been undeveloped. By linking the inspiring stories of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom with the landscape, management of the heritage area will improve the appreciation and protection of these different topographical provinces.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Heritage area designation will have a significant positive impact on the current and future condition of natural resources in the study area. By interpreting the ideals and values associated with the early settlement of Kansas Territory, the comprehensive management of heritage area activities will enhance a broad appreciation of settlement origins and the understanding of environmental change during the past one hundred and fifty years.

Learning to live permanently on the edge of the semi-arid Great Plains of North America was a challenge for Native Americans during prehistoric times and for European-Americans during the territorial period.

While that challenge has been met by technological innovation and modernization, the availability of fertile land, abundant water, timber, and other resources (stone, coal, oil and gas) still influences present-day resource development and the socioeconomic stability of communities in the study area.

By visiting the Marais des Cygnes Wildlife Refuge and other refuges associated with federal reservoirs and state wildlife areas, Kansans and other visitors can better understand the riparian environment territorial settlers encountered. Examples of the native tall grass prairie environment may be visited at sites managed by the Nature Conservancy and the Kansas Land Trust.

National Natural Landmarks. Presently, there are no National Natural Landmarks identified within the study area. Designation of a National Heritage Area may provide incentives for further research and protection of significant eco-systems.

Heritage Area Landscapes. Landscapes related to the themes of the Heritage Area are generally associated with historic sites, such as Mine Creek or other battlefields. The Kansas Department of Wildlife and Parks oversees the state's natural resources and works closely with the Kansas Biological Survey and the Kansas Geological Survey. There are no regional agencies.

Within the study area, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service manages the Marais des Cygnes National Wildlife Refuge, located in

Linn County. This refuge is named after the Marais des Cygnes River which is the dominant natural feature of the region. The name, Marais des Cygnes, comes from the French language and means Marsh of the Swans. Presumably, Trumpeter Swans, which were historically common, use the wetlands adjacent to the river during spring and fall migration.⁷ The refuge complements the Marais des Cygnes Historic Site operated by the Kansas State Historical Society. As a natural landmark and resource, the river in northeastern Linn County was significant in history for Native Americans, Free State and proslavery settlers during “Bleeding Kansas” and the Civil War. Other wildlife refuges, such as Tuttle Creek Wildlife Refuge, are associated with the federal reservoirs and state recreational areas in the study area.

Threatened, or Endangered Plant and Animal Species in the Study Area.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service listing of federally threatened or endangered plant and animal species within the study area includes the following:

Flora

- Threatened – Mead’s Milkweed, *asclepias meadii*
- Threatened – Western Prairie Fringed Orchid, *platanthera praeclara*

Fauna

- Threatened – Bald Eagle, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
- Threatened – Neosho Madtom, *Noturus placidus*
- Endangered – Pallid Sturgeon, *Scaphirhynchus*
- Endangered – American Burying Beetle, *Nicrophorus americanus*

- Endangered – Topeka Shiner, *Notropis topeka*
- Endangered – Gray Bat, *Myotis grisescens*
- Endangered – Interior Least Turn, *Sterna antillarum*

Recreational resources in the study area include a number of federal reservoirs and state recreational areas. Of the twenty-four multiple purpose federal reservoirs, six are located in the study area: Clinton, Hillsdale, John Redmond, Milford, Toronto, and Tuttle Creek. State park recreational areas also are located at Clinton, Hillsdale, Milford, Toronto, and Tuttle Creek Reservoirs. The Hillsdale area had 1,373,444 visitors in 2000. Clinton had 459,290 visitors. Milford had 303,256 visitors. Toronto had 112,161 visitors. Tuttle Creek had 501,744 visitors.

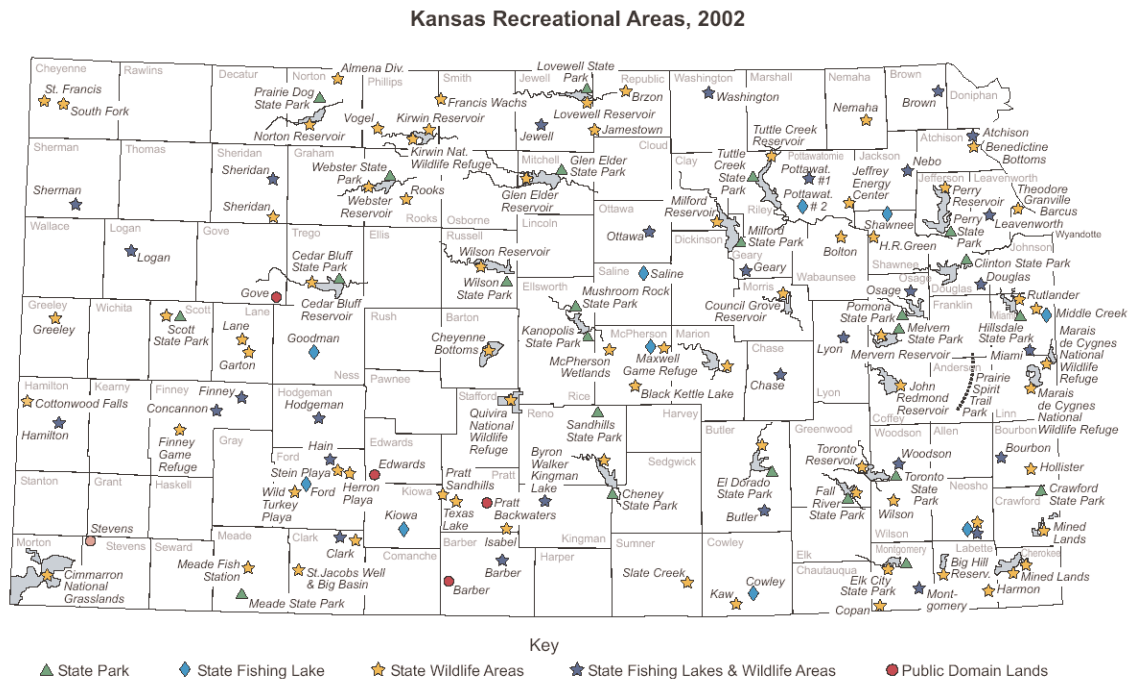
The Prairie Spirit Rail Trail, a state recreational area with 52,040 visitors in 2000, is located in Franklin and Anderson Counties. Other resources in the study area include several state fishing lakes and state wildlife areas. These are located in Bourbon, Douglas, Geary, Leavenworth, Miami, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Wilson, and Woodson Counties. (See Figure 4-3, Kansas Recreational Areas.)

Presently, there are no comprehensive public/private partnerships to protect the landscape and resources of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. However, the Nature Conservancy is active in Kansas and protects the Welda native prairie in Anderson County. The Kansas Land Trust also manages conservation easements for several protected areas in the counties of Douglas, Linn, Miami, Riley, and Wabaunsee. Protected landscapes are mostly native tall grass prairie sites.

Development can be an issue. Residential

⁷ See http://mountain-prairie.fws.gov/reference/briefing_book_ks_2000.pdf. Referenced 11/20/03.

Figure 4-3, Kansas Recreational Areas, 2003



Source: Kansas Department of Wildlife and Parks, 2002.

development recently was proposed on the Black Jack Battlefield site in Douglas County. A local preservation group organized and purchased this significant forty-acre site. The property has been proposed for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

In addition, there are “Friends” groups or foundations at some historic sites and institutions. These are volunteers who act as interpreters or assist in local research and preservation of artifacts. For example, the Mine Creek Battlefield Foundation is a not-for-profit volunteer organization in Linn County that promotes the significance of the Battle of Mine Creek as well as preserving the land upon which the battle took place.

Educational exhibits and publications

Kansas Museum of History, 6425 S.W. Sixth

Avenue, Topeka. Beginning April 3, 2004, the Museum will open a special exhibit, “Willing to Die for Freedom: A Look Back at Kansas Territory,” observing the territory’s 150th anniversary and exploring the Free State heritage of Kansas.

Anderson County Historical Society Museum, 6th & U.S. Highway 59, Garnett. This county museum has exhibits, photos, and artifacts that interpret local history. The museum exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Valentin Gerth Cabin, East side SE Trego Road, Greeley, Anderson County. Typical of European American construction, this log cabin was built for Valentin Gerth’s parents who died in 1856 soon after their arrival in Kansas Territory. The structure may have been used by the Underground Railroad. The Gerth cabin relates to the Kansas

Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Baxter Springs Heritage Center & Museum, 740 E. Avenue, Cherokee County. This is an interpretive and research museum with exhibits interpreting the Territorial Kansas and Civil War period. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, African American, and Native American sub-themes.

Clinton Lake Museum, 261 N. 851 Diagonal Road, Douglas County. This museum interprets the history of communities in the Clinton Lake vicinity. In 1854 this part of the Wakarusa River valley was settled by many who believed that slavery was wrong. The area was known as the home of the Bloomington Guards, an Underground Railroad safe haven, and a place where both European and African Americans served in the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry. The museum relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography, Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, Underground Railroad in Kansas, and African American Struggle sub-themes.

Hobbs Park Memorial, 1004 Delaware, Lawrence, Douglas County. This is a ca. 1867 brick house that has been moved to the John Speer home site. John Speer was a notable newspaper editor who fiercely advocated the Free State cause in Kansas Territory. Speer's eldest teen-age sons were killed in Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence in 1863. The building is being developed as an interpretive memorial for the Free State leader and the heritage of Bleeding Kansas. The memorial relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Watkins Community Museum, 1047 Massachusetts, Lawrence, Douglas County. This museum is dedicated to collecting, preserving, and disseminating the history and

culture of Douglas County. The museum has archives and artifacts which interpret the history of Kansas Territory and the Civil War in Kansas. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Territory: Geography, Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, Underground Railroad in Kansas, African American and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Dietrich Cabin Museum, 5th & Main, City Park, Ottawa, Franklin County. This cabin was built by German immigrants Jacob and Catherine Dietrich in 1859 on a site nine miles south of Ottawa. The building form, materials, and construction techniques represent the type of houses constructed by European American settlers in Kansas Territory. The cabin relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Old Depot Museum, Junction U.S. 59 & K-68, Ottawa, Franklin County. This is a county historical museum with exhibits interpreting the local history of "Bleeding Kansas" with an emphasis on John Brown and the emigrant Indians. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Geary County Museum, 530 N. Adams, Junction City, Geary County. This museum has exhibits that interpret local history, the history of Kansas Territory, and Native American history. The museum exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Johnson County Museum, 6305 Lackman Road, Shawnee, Johnson County. This is an educational institution that provides information about the county's history through exhibits, programs, and publications. The permanent exhibit, "Seeking the Good Life," interprets local history from the early nine-

teenth century to the recent past. Museum exhibits and archives relate to the Kansas Territory: Geography, Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, African American and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Frontier Army Museum, Fort Leavenworth, Leavenworth County. This museum has an extensive collection that emphasizes military history including the evolution of the Army of the Frontier and the Civil War in the West. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Territory: Geography and the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-themes.

Linn County Historical Museum, 307 E. Park, Pleasanton. This museum has exhibits, maps, artifacts, and archives that interpret the history of Bleeding Kansas and the Civil War period. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Trading Post Historical Museum, 15710 N. 4th, Pleasanton, Linn County. This museum interprets the history of the Marais des Cygnes “massacre,” John Brown, the Civil War, and other aspects of local history. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Osawatimie Museum and Depot, 628 Main, Miami County. This is a community museum interpreting the history of one of the prominent Free State settlements in Kansas Territory. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Swan River Museum, 12 East Peoria, Paola, Miami County. This is the center of the Miami County Historical and Genealogy Societies. The documents and exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Osage Mission-Neosho County Historical Museum, 203 Washington, St. Paul, Neosho County. This museum has extensive research materials and artifacts that illustrate the history of Osage Mission. The documents and exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Wilson County Museum, 420 N. 7th, Fredonia, Wilson County. Housed in a historic jail, this museum has research materials, documents, and artifact exhibits that interpret local history. The documents and exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Woodson County Historical Society Museum, 511 W. Wilson, Yates Center. Housed in a historic church, this museum has exhibits interpreting local history including early settlement, the Civil War, and Native American history. The exhibits relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Wyandotte County Museum, 631 N. 126th, Bonner Springs, Kansas. This museum traces the social history of Wyandotte County since 1854. The museum archive has newspapers, photographs, maps, and other records documenting local history. The museum exhibits and archive relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, Underground Railroad, African American, and Native American Struggle sub-themes. (See Figure 4-4, Educational Exhibits.)

Brochures

The Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance has sponsored the research and writing of several brochures, “Bleeding Kansas: A Battle for Freedom and Land,” “John Brown of

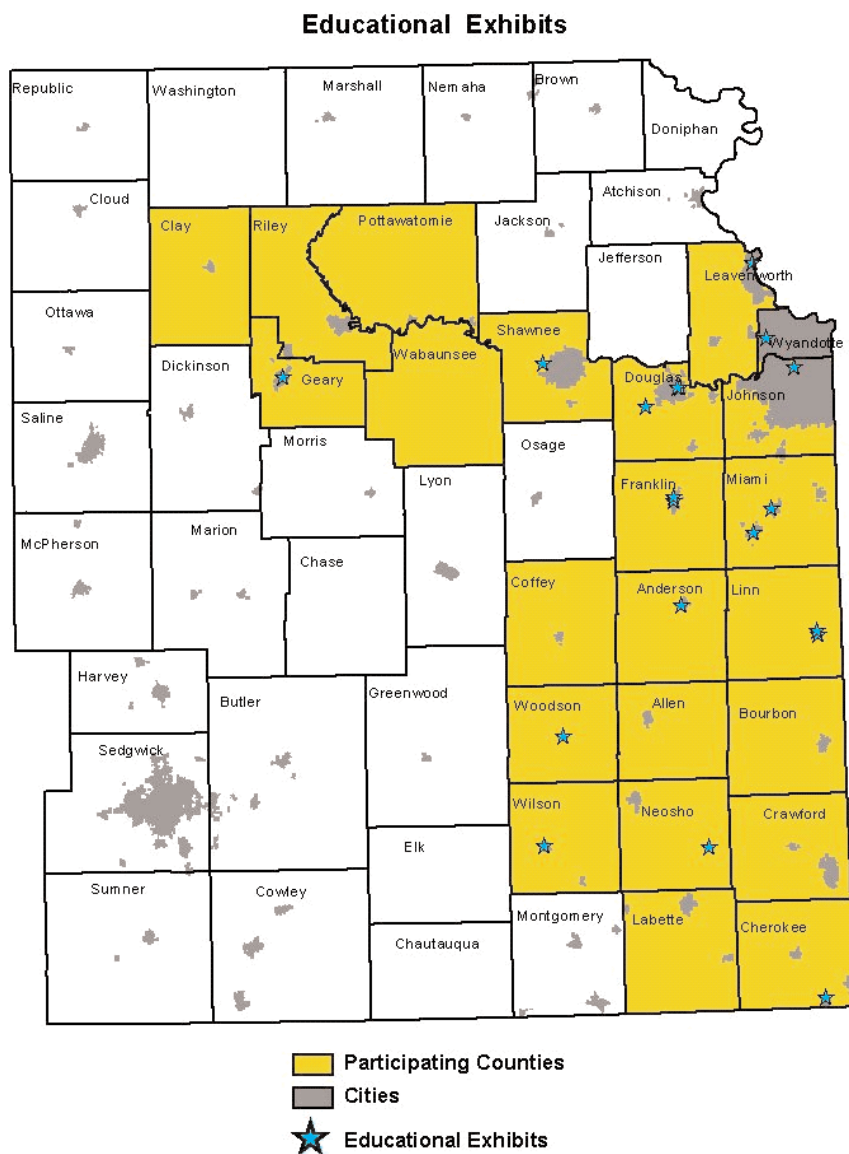


Figure 4-4, Educational Exhibits

Kansas, 1855-1859,” “The Underground Railroad in Kansas.” These brochures present to the public important themes and stories that are related to the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area.

Events, tours, and re-enactments

For a survey of the many events and tours carried out in the study area that are related

to the heritage area theme, see the detailed list in the Appendices.

Reenactors.

1st Kansas Vol. Inf., Co. D & Kansas Women’s Relief Corps. The First Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment was formed in May 1861 at Leavenworth and commissioned by Governor Charles Robinson. The regiment served in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri. Members of the Women’s Relief Corps strive to educate themselves and others about the life and events of the Civil War. Participants in these groups portray typical Kansans of the mid-19th century, research the time period and participate in living history events, reenactments, school programs, and parades.

7th Kansas Cavalry. This regiment was formed at Fort Leavenworth on October 28, 1861. The mission of the 7th was to protect the Kansas-Missouri border from border ruffians and guerilla bands operating in that area. Protecting the border and preventing Indians from joining the Confederate cause was a full time job. The 7th also garrisoned several towns on both sides of the Kansas-Missouri border.

Lecompton Reenactors is a volunteer group dedicated to making Kansas Territory History come alive for entertainment and education. In their plays about the Kansas territorial period, Lecompton Reenactors

breathe life and vitality into that history. The group presents original plays such as “Kansas Territory, Triangle of Mistrust,” “Bleeding Kansas,” and “Prelude to the Civil War.”

Commemorative Resources

The following description reflects the geographic range and types of commemorative resources and monuments that have been identified at this time as contributing to the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area. Because there are many resources of this type in the study area, the following list is not comprehensive.

Pottawatomie “Massacre” site, rural Franklin County. Historical Kansas Road Marker in Lane. At this site near what is now Lane, Kansas, in May 1856, John Brown, some of his sons, and followers, murdered five pro-slavery settlers. The murders were justified as a reaction to the “Sack of Lawrence” and other violence by proslavery bands. On the night of May 24-25, 1856, a small band of abolitionists led by John Brown murdered five pro-slavery men along Pottawatomie Creek. This was one of the most famous events in “Bleeding Kansas.” Brown was later captured after his unsuccessful raid on Harper’s Ferry, (West) Virginia in 1859. Although this site is located on private property and is not interpreted at this time, the environment evokes a sense of the historical time and place. The Pottawatomie “Massacre” site relates to the Kansas



Pioneer Cemetery

Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Pioneer Cemetery, University of Kansas West Campus near the Highway 59 overpass, Lawrence, Douglas County. This cemetery contains burials from the settle-

ment period of the city’s history. New England settlers originally called this cemetery “Oread,” and the first burial was only a few weeks after the first settlers arrived. In 1855, pro-slavery supporters killed Thomas W. Barber, an immigrant from Ohio, and his death was given national attention. John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem, “Burial of Barber,” which immortalized the incident. The cemetery was the original burial site of most of the Quantrill’s Raid victims who were buried in a mass grave. The Pioneer Cemetery relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Oak Hill Cemetery, Quantrill Raid Victim Monument, 15th Street and Elmwood, Lawrence, Douglas County. One year after Quantrill’s Raid, Lawrence survivors established a new cemetery



Oak Hill Cemetery and James Lane Monument

in 1864 as a memorial to raid victims. The “Lawrence Massacre” in 1863 was the most dramatic consequence of the Kansas Conflict during the Civil War. Early territorial leaders were also buried here such as James H. Lane, fiery politician and military leader, and Solon O. Thacher, who was chair of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention.



Quantrill Raid Victim Memorial

Charles and Mary Langston, grandparents of Langston Hughes, were buried in this cemetery and George Nash Walker, a famous African American vaudeville entertainer. Oak Hill Cemetery and the Quantrill Raid Victim monument relate to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery, Fort Leavenworth, Leavenworth County. Established in 1863, this National Cemetery



Fort Leavenworth Monument

is the first west of the Mississippi River. Several Medal of Honor winners are buried there as well as veterans of the Civil War, Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War and Gulf War are buried here. The Fort Leavenworth Cemetery relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, African American Struggle, and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Buffalo Soldiers. There is a monument to the Buffalo Soldiers at Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Benjamin Grierson formed the 10th Cavalry on 21 September 1866 at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. It, along with the 9th Cavalry, 24th and 25th Infantry, formed the first all-black regiments in the Regular United States Army. In western Kansas, the Kiowa encountered the soldiers of the 10th as valiant opponents and termed them the “Buffalo Soldiers.” In time, the term designated all of the African American soldiers in all four regiments. The Buffalo Soldiers Monument relates to the African American Struggle sub-theme.

National-Woodland Cemetery, Civil War Soldiers Monument, Mound City, Linn County. Many important figures of the

“Bleeding Kansas” period were buried here including Col. James Montgomery, a leader of Free State men during the border warfare and a commander of U.S. Colored troops during the Civil War, August Wattles, an abolitionist and associate of John Brown, and Lieut. H. W. Curtis, the only Union officer killed in the Battle of Mine Creek. The cemetery has a Civil War Soldiers’ Monument. The site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.



**Civil War Soldiers Monument
National-Woodland Cemetery**

Marais des Cygnes Martyrs’ Memorial, Trading Post Cemetery, Trading Post, Linn County. This monument was erected in 1886 to honor the eleven Free State victims of the May 19, 1858 “massacre.” Five of the victims were buried near the monument. The monument relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Battle of Osawatomie-Soldiers Monument, 9th and Main, Osawatomie, Miami County. The marker commemorates the Free State settlers killed in the second battle of Osawatomie by pro-slavery forces August 30, 1856. Although defended by a small group of Free State settlers led by John Brown, the town was burned and Brown’s son was killed. The incident helped make



**Battle of
Osawatomie
Monument**

Brown well-known through the nation. Less than two weeks after the battle, a drama called “Ossawatimie Brown” celebrated him on Broadway. The monument relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

John Brown Statue. Wyandotte County. Vicinity of North 27th Street and the Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks, Kansas City. This white marble statue is a life size likeness of John Brown and stands atop a 7 foot, 2 inch granite pedestal. The John Brown Monument was dedicated on the Western University campus in June, 1911. Governor John P. St.

John and other dignitaries were present for the dedication. The money to have a monument sculpted was raised by donations of a few pennies to ten dollars from African Americans. This campaign demonstrated the emotional link between the Free State heritage of “Bleeding Kansas” and the African American struggle for freedom. This monument relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and African American struggle sub-themes.



John Brown Monument

Scenic Byways in the Study Area

The Frontier Military Scenic Byway extends roughly 167 miles tying Fort Leavenworth to the north with Fort Scott at the south and then onward to the Oklahoma border. It follows K-5 out of Leavenworth to I-435, and

then follows U.S. 69 and Alternate U.S. 69 to the state line. The byway approximates the route of the old Military Road used to transport troops and supplies between the frontier forts, one of the first major roads in Indian and Kansas Territory. It was used by the U.S. Army, contractors, traders and missionaries, thousands of emigrants and settlers during Bleeding Kansas and border ruffians and soldiers from both the Union and Confederacy during the Civil War. This scenic route relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography and the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-themes.

Along the route through Leavenworth, Johnson, Wyandotte, Bourbon, Miami, Linn, Crawford and Cherokee counties, cultural resources include the following:

- Fort Leavenworth
- Adair Cabin
- Marais des Cygnes National and State Wildlife Refuge
- Marais des Cygnes Massacre Site
- Battle of the Marais des Cygnes Site, Trading Post
- Trading Post Museum, Trading Post
- Mine Creek Civil War Battlefield Site
- Fort Scott National Historic Site
- Prehistoric and Osage Indian sites

The Glacial Hills Scenic Byway begins at the intersection of K-7 and K-92 in Leavenworth, Kansas, and extends 63 miles north/south through the Glacial Hills of northeast Kansas. It traverses Atchison, Doniphan and Leavenworth Counties and the communities of Atchison, Leavenworth, Troy and White Cloud along the route. The scenic route traverses a landscape related to the Kansas Territory: Geography and the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-themes.

Other Trails Associated with Study Area Themes

Trails of Blood on Ice. This is a self-guided tour in Allen, Coffey, Wilson and Woodson Counties that follows Opothleyahola's flight into Kansas from Indian Territory at the onset of the Civil War. Opothleyahola, a Creek and long time foe of the pro-southern tribal leaders, led Unionist Creeks and their families into Kansas from Indian Territory. His followers included opponents of the Creek anti-Confederate faction, other Native Americans (Seminoles and a few from four other civilized tribes) hoping to avoid war, and hundreds of African Americans, many of whom were runaway slaves. They were pursued by Confederate troops and attacked three times. After they reached Kansas, the people suffered hardship and starvation during the winter of 1861-62. In 1862 Union soldiers moved the survivors from Fort Row in Wilson County and Fort Belmont in Woodson County to Leroy, Coffey County. More than 1,000 men volunteered to form the First Indian Regiment and marched to Camp Hunter, Humboldt, Allen County. There they were inducted as the first Native American soldiers to serve in the Union Army during the Civil War. This tour relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, African American, and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Cultural resources in the study area include National Historic Landmarks (NHL), National Register sites (NR), State Register of Historic Places sites (SR), properties that have been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, and sites that have been listed on the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.

There are seven National Historic Landmarks associated with the theme of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area. These National Historic Landmarks are listed on the National Register. Also, the Kansas State Historical Society maintains and interprets several other sites that are significant in territorial Kansas history.

There are thirty-two properties listed on the National Register that are associated with the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom theme. The National Register is the official federal list of America's historic and cultural resources. Districts, buildings, structures and objects of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, culture and engineering on the national, state, and local level are eligible for listing in the National Register. Besides National Register properties, three properties in the study area listed on the Register of Historic Kansas Places are associated with the Heritage Area theme. Seven sites in the study area are listed on the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. This program was established by Congress in 1998 to tell the story of resistance against the institution of slavery in the United States (and related territories) through escape and flight. Through current and potential interpretation, these sites are directly related to the sub-theme, the Underground Railroad in Kansas. In addition, the American Battlefield Protection Program (National Park Service) identified four notable battlefield sites in Kansas. Only two are listed on the National Register; the others are recognized by historical markers. (See Figure 4-5, Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Sites.)

Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area Sites

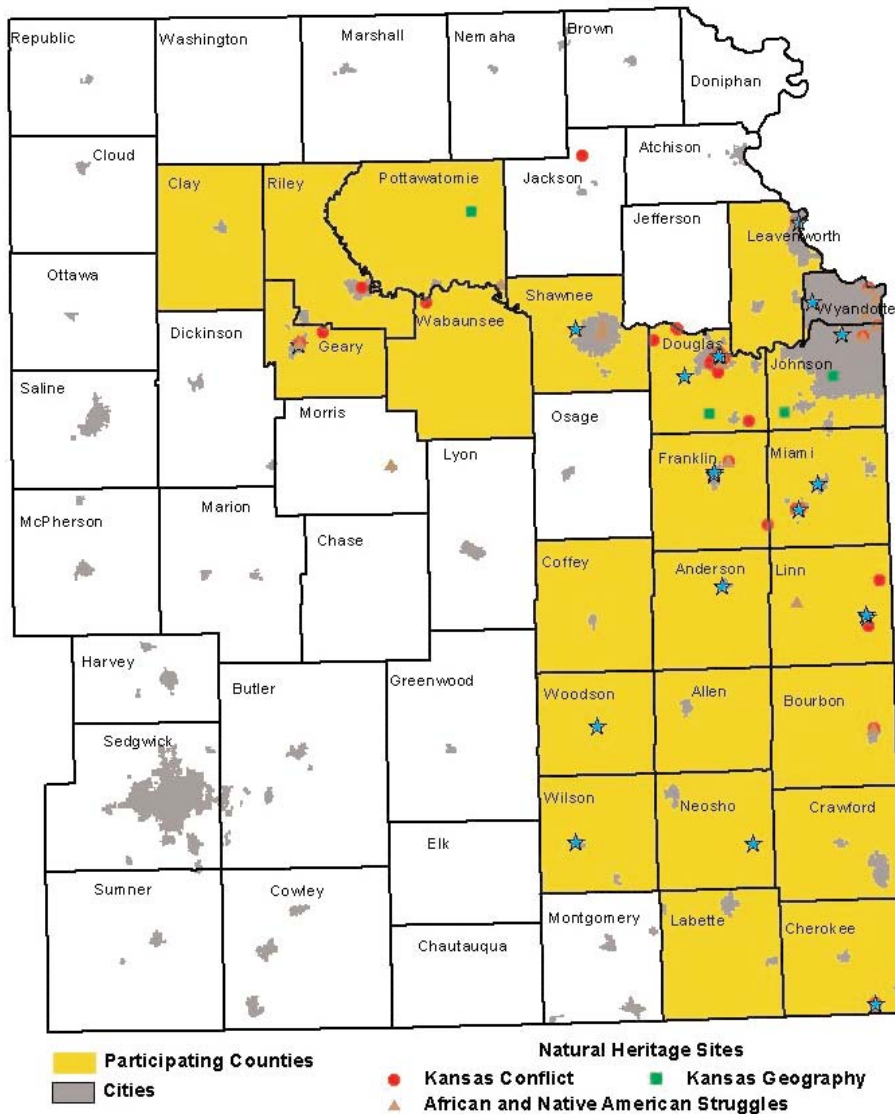


Figure 4-5, Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Sites

In cooperation with the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society, Historic Preservation Office, the study consultants also reviewed an inventory of 291 other cultural resources in the Historic Preservation files associated with the time period of “Bleeding Kansas” from 1854 to 1865. Historic Preservation Office staff helped

identify properties that may be relevant to the heritage area and advised the consultants on the physical integrity of properties and sites, the potential for interpretation, and the level of threat to these properties.

List of Essential Sites

The following description reflects the geographic range and types of properties that have been identified at this time as contributing to the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area. From a survey of public information, consultation with the Kansas Historic Preservation Office, and the review of information provided by members of the BKNHA Planning Committee, more than forty essential sites were selected for the following descriptive inventory. These are noted and described according to their associations with the Heritage Area sub-themes. This selection is based on current knowl-

edge and is subject to future revision.

Kansas Territory: Geography

Fort Leavenworth, Leavenworth County, National Historic Landmark, National Register. Fort Leavenworth, with many historic houses and buildings, is considered one

of the most significant historic military installations in the Nation. The fort is the oldest active army post west of the Mississippi River. From the time of its founding in 1827 until the present, it has served as a front-ranking military installation. Soldiers helped protect westward travelers. For 30 years, Fort Leavenworth was



Fort Leavenworth's Rookery

the chief base of operations on the western frontier. When Kansas Territory was organized in 1854, Governor Andrew Reeder set up executive offices on the post and lived there for a short time. Mounted troopers from

Fort Leavenworth were instrumental in enforcing an end to the violence that marked the "Bleeding Kansas" conflict.

In 1995 a National Park Service study identified 237 contributing buildings in the fort's historic district dating from 1832 to the 1940s. The district also includes three historic structures and twenty-two archeological sites. The National Historic Landmark district includes 213 acres and preserves some of the most valuable historic military architecture in the United States. Today the Frontier Army Museum holds collections from the fort's history and interprets its national significance. Fort Leavenworth relates to the Kansas Geography, "Bleeding Kansas," African American and Native American sub-themes.

Fort Riley, Geary County, Junction City vicinity, Main Post area, National Register.

The early history of Fort Riley is closely tied to emigration and trade along the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails. During the 1850s, a number of military posts were established at strategic points to provide protection along these arteries of emigration and commerce. In 1853, a military camp was named "Fort Riley" for Maj. Gen. Bennett C. Riley who had led the first military escort along the Santa Fe Trail in 1829. Fort Riley's design followed the standard frontier post configuration and buildings were constructed of the most readily available material - in this case, native limestone. Many of the fort's original buildings are intact and can be visited today.

As the fort grew, troops were drawn into the national debate concerning Kansas, debated not far from the fort, at Pawnee, when the brief territorial legislative session met in 1855. Slavery was an issue within garrison just as it was in the rest of the country. The seeds of sectional discord were emerging that would lead to "Bleeding Kansas" and



Example of Fort Riley Buildings

eventually, civil war. Increased tension and bloodshed between pro and anti-slavery settlers resulted in the use of the Army to "police" the troubled territory. Soldiers continued to patrol the Santa Fe Trail in 1859 and 1860 due to increased Indian threats.

The outbreak of hostilities between the North and South in 1861 disrupted garrison life. Regular units returned east to participate in the Civil War while militia units from Kansas and other states used Fort Riley as a base from which to launch campaigns and offer a degree of protection to trading caravans using the Santa Fe Trail. In the early stages of the war, the fort was used to confine Confederate prisoners. At the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, Fort Riley again provided protection to railroad lines being built across Kansas. The 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments — the famed “Buffalo Soldiers” — were stationed at Fort Riley several times during their history. Fort Riley relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography, “Bleeding Kansas,” African American and Native American sub-themes.

Fort Scott, Bourbon County, Old Highway 54 West, Fort Scott. (1842-1873) National Historic Landmark, National Register, National Park Service Site. Fort Scott was established in 1842 as a base for the Army’s peace-keeping efforts along the “Permanent Indian Frontier.” The fort was garrisoned by dragoon and infantry soldiers. Dragoon soldiers



Fort Scott

provided armed escorts for parties on the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails, surveyed unmapped country, and maintained contact

with Plains Indians, while infantry soldiers were responsible for most of the routine duties and construction of the fort. Both infantry and dragoons played a major role in the Mexican War and the opening of the West. The U.S. Army abandoned Fort Scott in 1853. The buildings were sold at public auction in 1855 and then became the nucleus

for the town of Fort Scott.

In the 1850s, Fort Scott was involved in the turmoil and violence of the “Bleeding Kansas” years. The town was a pro-slavery center during this time period, while Free State settlers occupied much of the surrounding countryside. This division was manifested at the site of the fort where a former infantry barracks served as the Western Hotel (proslavery), while directly across the old parade ground stood the Free-State Hotel, occupying a former officer’s quarters. Incidents of violence compelled the military to return to Fort Scott periodically to restore order throughout this era.

When the Civil War broke out, a new wave of conflict engulfed the area. The United States Army returned to Fort Scott and established a major military complex. This complex included a supply base, a training ground, an army hospital, and a military prison. The town served as a logistical center for troops operating in Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Fort Scott was also a refugee center for the many people left homeless in this region during the war. The First and Second Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiments, the first African-American troops from a Northern state, were mustered in at Fort Scott. Also present in the region were three regiments of Indian Home Guards, the largest concentration of American Indians to serve in the U.S. Army during the Civil War. Today one can visit eleven historic buildings with thirty-three historically furnished rooms. The site also has three museum areas with exhibits. Fort Scott relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography, “Bleeding Kansas,” African American and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Lanesfield School, Johnson County, 18745 S. Dillie Road, Edgerton vicinity, Johnson County Museums, National Register. This



Lanesfield School

one-room limestone school is the only building which remains on the

town site of Lanesfield, a mail stop on the Santa Fe Trail. Built in 1869, former students remembered attending school and watching wagon trains pass by. Lanesfield School relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme.

Mahaffie (J.B.) House, Johnson County, 1100 Kansas City Road, Olathe, National Register. The Mahaffie stagecoach stop & farm is the last remaining stagecoach stop on the his-



Mahaffie House

toric Santa Fe Trail open to the public. James Beatty Mahaffie and his wife, Lucinda, moved in 1857 to Olathe, Kan. and flourished as a livestock breeder and

farmer. During the border wars, the Mahaffies were visited several times by border ruffians. Beginning in 1863, Mahaffie provided livery service and meals for the westbound stagecoach trade. The Mahaffie House relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme.

Vermillion Creek Crossing, Pottawatomie County, Oregon Trail, 6 miles northwest of Belvue, National Register. This site also is known as the Louis Vieux Ford. Vieux was Pottawatomie Indian and French. About 1848, Vieux moved to land in what became Pottawatomie County, located on the Oregon Trail near the Vermillion River crossing. The Vieux family built and operated a toll bridge over the river. Vieux served as a business agent and interpreter and occasionally represented the tribe in Washington, D.C. The site relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme.

Rock Creek Crossing and Oregon Trail Park, Westmoreland, Pottawatomie County. Because of Scott Spring, a dependable water source near the Rock Creek Crossing of the Oregon Trail, most of the area now occupied by the town of Westmoreland served as an emigrant campground. Presently, there is a park with a walking trail at the crossing. The site relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme.

Douglas County Santa Fe Trail Segments, Douglas County Prairie Park, 3 miles east of Baldwin on US-56, National Register. At the junction of the Santa Fe Trail and the Oregon Trail west of present-day

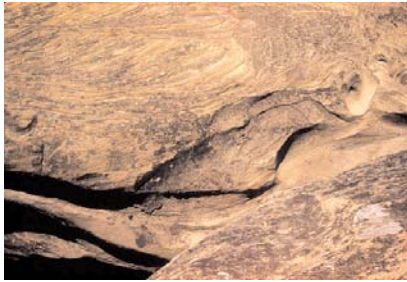


Santa Fe Trail Ruts, Douglas County

Gardner, Kansas, the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails separated after following the same route from Independence, Missouri. In the 1840s, a sign that said "Road to Oregon" was erected at this site. A dramatic set of Santa Fe parallel ruts is located in Douglas

County Prairie Park, adjacent to Black Jack State Park, east of Baldwin City. As the National Park Service National Santa Fe Trail map has noted, these ruts are among the finest along the entire length of the trail. The Prairie Park relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme.

Hole in the Rock, south of Hwy 56, west fork of Taury Creek, rural Douglas County, south



Ireland Sandstone at Hole In Rock, Santa Fe Trail

of Willow Spring 2 miles, 1.5 East. Hole in the Rock is a large deep spring in the eastern Kansas prairie. Native Americans incorporated the site into Kaw and Osage lore. These groups competed for use of the water and the watering place also

became a landmark along the Santa Fe Trail. The Hole in the Rock site relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography and the Native American struggle sub-themes. (See Figure 4-6, Kansas Territory: Geography Assets.)

The Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas

Several sites important to the Kansas Territory: Geography sub-theme also are related to the sub-theme of The Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas. These include Fort Leavenworth, Fort Riley, and Fort Scott. Because the designation and interpretation of properties has occurred over time without a management plan, the list of essential sites is not comprehensive and equally representative of each of the identified sub-themes. In the development of the heritage area management plan, these imbal-

ances should be addressed. However, sites related to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas are particularly important. The following properties are prominent examples of the public interpretation of this sub-theme.

Constitution Hall, Lecompton, Douglas County, 319 Elmore, Lecompton. (1857) National Historic Landmark, National Register, and Kansas State Historical Society site. During 1857 this building was one of the busiest and most important in Kansas Territory. Thousands of settlers and speculators filed claims in the United States land office on the first floor. Upstairs the district court periodically met to try to enforce the territorial laws. Most Free State settlers refused to obey these laws because they had been passed by the proslavery territorial legislature. This resistance made law enforcement nearly impossible for territorial officials.

In January 1857 the second territorial legislative assembly met on the upper floor. Although still firmly proslavery, this group removed some of the earlier laws that their antislavery neighbors opposed. The Lecompton Constitutional Convention met that fall in this same second-floor assembly room. The document representatives created protected slavery no matter how the people of Kansas Territory voted. This was intolerable for their antislavery opponents, who refused to participate in what they considered to be an illegal government. Eventually the Lecompton Constitution was defeated at the national level.

Free State settlers gained control of the territorial legislature in the October 1857 election. Two months later this new legislature was called into special session to deal with critical territorial problems. Legislators met in Constitution Hall, the same Lecompton

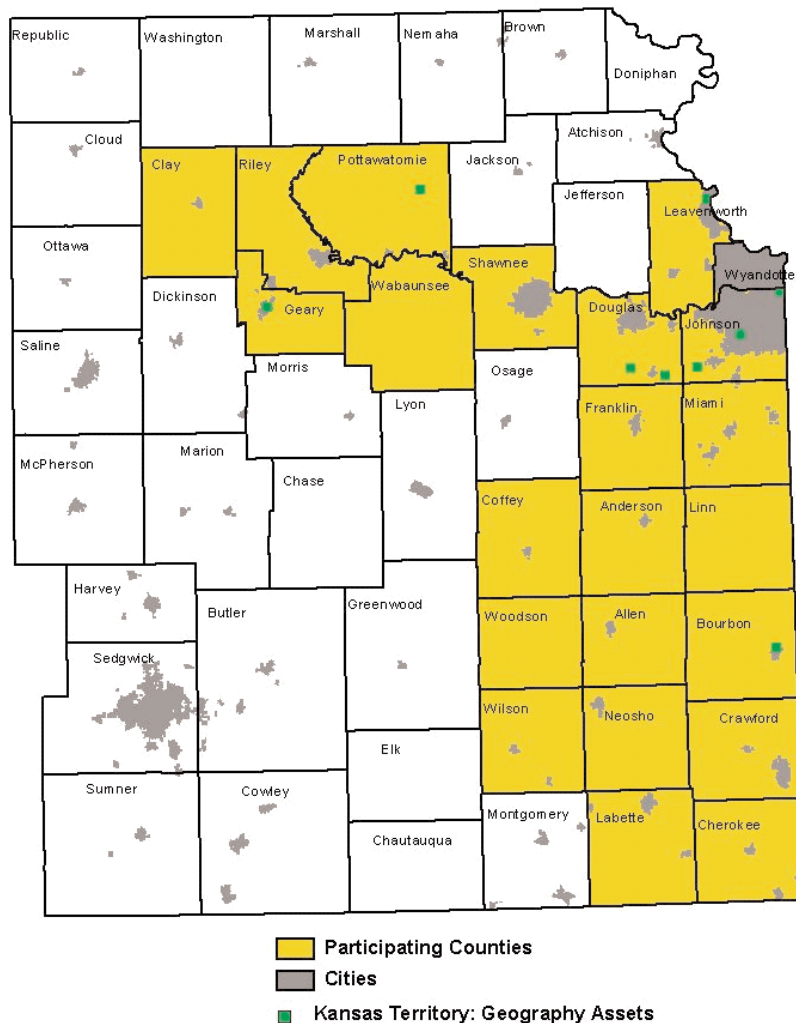


Figure 4-6, Kansas Territory: Geography Assets

Constitution Hall has a land office and the room where the Lecompton Constitution was written. Exhibits discuss slavery and the territorial governments. Constitution Hall relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Marais Des Cygnes Massacre Site, Linn County, (1858), Six miles north on U.S. 69, three miles east on 1700 Road of Pleasanton. National Historic Landmark, National Register, Kansas State Historical Society site. During the years of Bleeding Kansas, numerous instances of violence took place between free-state and pro-slavery groups. Men were attacked, beaten, and killed, often for no reason except their views on slavery. In Linn and Bourbon Counties, on the eastern Kansas border, raids were frequently carried out by opposing factions. Tense encounters between free-state and pro-slavery settlers continued through 1858. On one occasion a free-state group leader rode into the town of Trading Post and notified the proslavery people to leave the territory.

assembly hall controlled by their political enemies only a few weeks earlier. Free State legislators began to reform the laws of



Constitution Hall

Kansas Territory. During later legislative sessions in 1858, the assembly moved from the proslavery capital of Lecompton to meet in the free-state town of Lawrence and later met in other towns.

A leader of the proslavery faction was Charles Hamilton, a native of Georgia who had come to the border area in 1855 to help make Kansas Territory a slave state. In May 1858, he along with other pro-slavery supporters captured eleven free-state men near Trading Post in May 1858, and killed five, some of whom were his neighbors. The “massacre” appalled the nation, and John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem on the murder, “Le Marais du Cygne,” which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. Locally,

indignation accompanied feelings of shock. John Brown, arriving at the scene toward the



Marais des Cygnes Site

but historic markers interpret the site for visitors. The site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

First Territorial Capital, Geary County, Pawnee, Exit 299 on I-70, via Huebner Road in Fort Riley, Kansas State Historical Society, National Register. Early in the summer of 1855, members of the territorial legislature journeyed to the town of Pawnee, adjacent to the Fort Riley military reservation, to attend the first session on July 2 called by Governor Andrew H. Reeder.



First Territorial Capitol

Most of the legislators who came to Pawnee were sympathetic to the proslavery cause. They had been elected on March 30, 1855, with the aid of Missourians who had crossed the border to vote. The election was contested by Free State settlers, but the fraudulent votes helped to overwhelm them. Because of this illegal selection of representatives, antislavery Kansans called this the “bogus” legislature and the laws it passed “bogus laws.”

Since most of the legislators were from the border towns with interest in Missouri, they wanted the administrative center located in the eastern part of the territory where their strengths lay. On July 4 the legislature passed a bill providing for the temporary establishment of the capital at the Shawnee Methodist Mission. Two days later the governor vetoed it on the grounds that the legislature had overstepped the authority conferred upon it by Congress. Both houses, however, promptly passed the bill over his veto and then adjourned to meet at Shawnee Mission on July 16. The site’s stone building contains exhibits on Kansas territorial politics, as well as river and rail travel, and the story of the early city of Pawnee. The first Territorial Capital relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Shawnee Methodist Mission, Johnson County. 3403 West 53rd in Fairway near Kansas City. National Historic Landmark, National Register, Kansas State Historical Society site. Shawnee Indians, with other eastern tribes, were part of the Indian Removal. The Shawnee immigrated into Kansas in the 1820s and 1830s. Paschal Fish, a white chief of the Shawnees, requested a missionary in 1830 and Reverend Thomas Johnson, a Methodist minister, was appointed missionary to the Shawnees. He arrived in present-day Turner, Wyandotte County, to begin the first Shawnee Methodist Mission in 1830. The school was in operation at that location until 1839, serving the Shawnee and Delaware tribes. Eventually Johnson became dissatisfied with the school’s operation and proposed to the missionary society that a central school be built to serve many tribes. A site was chosen where a branch of the Santa Fe Trail passed through the Shawnee lands. Building began,

and the boarding school opened at the present Johnson County location in October 1839. Indian children of many tribes were sent to this school to learn basic academics, manual arts, and agriculture. Some of the tribes represented were the Kaw (Kansa), Munsee, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Otoe, Osage, Cherokee, Peoria, Kickapoo, Pottawatomie, Wea, Gros Ventres, Omaha, and Wyandot.



Shawnee Methodist Mission

At the height of its activity, the mission had more than two thousand acres with sixteen buildings,

including the three large brick structures, which still stand, and an enrollment of nearly two hundred Indian boys and girls.

In 1854 Kansas Territory was established. Andrew Reeder, newly-appointed territorial governor, had his offices at the mission. Following their adjournment from the first territorial capitol, the legislature met at the mission. During this legislative session, the so-called “bogus laws” were passed in an attempt to perpetuate slavery in Kansas.

In 1858 Reverend Thomas Johnson turned the school over to his oldest son, Alexander, who ran the mission until it closed in 1862. Reverend Johnson was murdered in 1865 by those believed to be Southern sympathizers who apparently were angered that Johnson, a proslavery man for many years, swore an oath of allegiance to the Union at the start of the Civil War. During the war, the grounds became a camp for Union soldiers. The site is interpreted today and has teachers' living quarters, classroom, and dormitories.

Shawnee Mission relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography, Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Big Springs Stable, Douglas County, Hwy 40 east of E 100 Road, Big Springs. Big Springs was the site of a convention held in September 1855 as one of a series of public meetings to organize resistance to the actions of the “bogus” or pro-slavery territorial legislature. These meetings led to the founding of the Free State Party. The Big Springs Convention endorsed a resolution calling for a people’s convention to be held in Topeka. Delegates at Topeka drafted a constitution calling for admission of Kansas as a Free State. This public commitment to resist the formally elected territorial government made a struggle in Kansas and in Congress inevitable. The old stable, a stone building which sits along US Highway 40, dates from the territorial period. The Big Springs site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Blanton’s Crossing, Douglas County, East of E 1400, Louisiana Street extended, Wakarusa River bridge vicinity. By 1855, Napoleon Bonaparte Blanton had built



Blanton’s Crossing

a toll bridge over the Wakarusa River south of Lawrence and the California Road crossing became known as Blanton’s Crossing. Travelers used the California, or Westport-Lawrence Road, beginning in 1849 and it was a popular route for many years. The crossing played a part in Sheriff Jones arrest of Jacob Branson, an abolitionist, who was eventually rescued by free-state supporters at

the crossing. This crossing was also chosen by Quantrill and his raiders as an escape route away from Lawrence. This site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Battle of Black Jack. Douglas County, (Robert Hall Pearson Park), vicinity of N 175 and E 2000 roads, Palmyra Township.



Black Jack Battlefield

In June 1856, abolitionist John Brown and his Free State militia led an attack on a camp of a pro-slavery militia led by Capt. Henry Clay Pate and his Missouri followers had been looking for Brown and had spent the night at a popular camping ground on the Santa Fe Trail near Black Jack Creek. Though Pate outnumbered Brown, Pate surrendered in what John Brown later called “the first regular battle fought between Free-State and Pro-Slavery men in Kansas.” Many consider the battle the first in the struggle that would become the Civil War. This site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Beecher Bible and Rifle Church, Wabaunsee County, off K-18, National Register. The Beecher Bible and Rifle church was associated with a colony of Connecticut citizens who gathered to immigrate to the Kansas



Beecher Bible and Rifle Church

Territory to support the free soil/anti-slavery movement. Officially known as the Connecticut Kansas Colony, it became popularly known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony after Rev. Henry Ward Beecher raised money to purchase 25 rifles for the colony members and one of his parishioners

donated 25 Bibles. Charles B. Lines was the leader of the Beecher Colony. The Beecher Bible Church relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Quindaro Archaeological Ruins. Wyandotte County. Vicinity of North 27th Street and the Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks, Kansas City. National Register. The town of Quindaro was one of a number of territorial Kansas river ports established after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Platted by members of the New England Emigrant Aid Society and abolitionist Wyandot Indians, the town was located on a limestone ledge next to the Missouri River; an ideal stop for river boats which provided a safe port for Free State settlers. The town was also an Underground Railroad site.



Quindaro Ruins

Named for Nancy Brown Guthrie, whose Wyandot name is the source of Quindaro, the town was a boom town until the Civil War. The town left a legacy after the Civil War in a thriving African American community. Quindaro also was the home of Clarina Nichols, a feminist reformer who was the newspaper’s assistant editor. She argued for a Free State and equal rights for women. The park includes the ruins of Quindaro buildings. The Quindaro Archaeological site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, Underground Railroad in Kansas, and the African American Struggle sub-themes.



Lane University

Lane University, Douglas County, Lecompton, 640 E. Woodson Avenue, Lecompton, National Register. Part of the historic structure was originally planned to become the first pro-slavery Kansas Capitol building. Construction began in 1855, but was abandoned in 1857. Taken over by the United Brethren church in 1865, a building was finished in 1882 and the university named after James H. Lane, United States senator from Kansas. The Lane University structure relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

John Brown Museum, Memorial Park, Miami County, Osawatomie, Adair cabin 1854, National Register, Kansas State Historical Society site. This site is where Reverend Samuel and Florella Adair struggled to survive on the Kansas frontier while maintaining their Abolitionist principles. John Brown was half brother to Florella Adair and five of Brown's sons moved to the



Adair Cabin at John Brown Museum

Osawatomie area in 1855 as free-state settlers. Osawatomie was attacked and burned by proslavery forces on August 30, 1856, but the Adair Cabin, located some distance northwest of the town, survived. It is a typical rough cabin with a fireplace used for warmth and cooking, and the room in back is said to have hidden escaped slaves. Frederick, John Brown's son, died nearby at the Battle of Osawatomie. John Brown stayed in the cabin with the Adairs from time to time. The site has the original Adair cabin with

family furnishings and belongings as well as a collection of Civil War weapons. The Kansas career of Florella's legendary half brother, John Brown, and his Abolitionist efforts is interpreted in an exhibit gallery. The Adair cabin relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Old Stone Church, 305 6th Street, Osawatomie, Miami County. One of the earliest churches in



Old Stone Church

Kansas, this church was constructed by a Congregationalist group and is typical of the church structures built during Territorial Kansas. The building was dedicated to public worship in 1861. Its first pastor was the Reverend Samuel Adair, the brother-in-law of John Brown, the famous abolitionist. The Osawatomie church relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Isaac Goodnow House, Riley County, Manhattan, 2301 Claflin Road, (1861), Kansas State Historical Society site, National Register. After attending an antislavery lecture in 1854, given by Eli Thayer in Providence, Rhode Island, Isaac Goodnow and his brother-in-law, Reverend Joseph Denison decided to immigrate to Kansas to assist in the free-state movement. By March 1855 Goodnow had organized a company of two hundred men and women, who located the town site at present-day Manhattan where the Blue and Kansas Rivers meet. Manhattan grew rapidly as a free-state community.

Goodnow then turned his attention to building a Methodist school, Bluemont College.

In 1861, after returning from a trip East which included a visit with Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois, Isaac purchased six



Goodnow House

acres of land with-in sight of the new college.

Construction started immediately, and he and his family moved into Goodnow house in November 1861.

Built in the 1860s and furnished with many family belongings, the Goodnow house reflects domestic life in the late 1800s and the Goodnow family. Eventually, Bluemont College became part of the national land grant college system as the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. The Goodnow home has original furnishing and documents related to Goodnow's activities in Kansas. The Goodnow house relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Mine Creek Battlefield, Linn County, two miles south on U.S. 69, one-half mile west on K-52 in Pleasanton. Kansas State Historical Society site, National Register. Period of Significance: 1850-1874. Near the first lead mines in Kansas, and known for a crossing on the Military Road, Mine Creek was a baptizing and swimming place for local residents. But in 1864, the creek became the site of a major battle in Kansas between the Union and Confederate troops.

General Sterling Price had led a Confederate army into Missouri to help capture the state for the Confederacy. As he faced heavy losses in Missouri, Price turned west to retreat through Kansas. Kansas prepared for Price's invasion when the governor, Thomas Carney called out the state militia. Fighting began along the Kansas/Missouri bor-

der and Confederates won several skirmishes. Federal cavalry troops began pursuing Price who crossed into Linn County and they overtook him October 25, 1864.

The decisive engagement came late in the morning. General John Marmaduke, one of the Confederate division commanders, was forced to fight a rear guard action on the north bank of Mine Creek to protect Price's fleeing wagon train. He was supported by General James Fagan's division, which had already crossed the creek. The two Confederate divisions contained about seven thousand men. Although the Union advance under Pleasanton numbered less than twenty-five hundred, the rebels were crushed by a furious cavalry charge.

Continuing his retreat, Price was forced to abandon plans to attack Fort Scott.

His troops purposely destroyed most of the wagon train carrying



Mine Creek

their supplies and booty. On October 28, federal troops handed Price his final defeat at Newtonia, Missouri. The rebel army recrossed the Arkansas River on November 8. For all practical purposes, the Civil War in the West was over. The site has a visitor center with exhibits that describe the Civil War in Kansas and at Mine Creek. There are living history programs through the year and a walking trail that describes the battle site. The Mine Creek Battlefield site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Baxter Springs Massacre. Rural Cherokee County. Site marked by a Historical Kansas Road Marker 2 miles north of Baxter Springs. On October 6, 1863, Gen. James Blunt and about 100 men were surprised near Baxter's springs by William Quantrill and several hundred Confederates masquerading as Union troops. As Blunt's band was preparing a musical salute, the enemy fired. Although Blunt escaped the attack, ninety percent of his men were killed. The raiders also attacked 95 members of the 2nd Kansas Colored Infantry led by Lt. James Pond who were encamped at the springs. This force was likewise caught off guard but resisted until the enemy retired. Lt. Pond won the Congressional Medal of Honor for his actions that day. The battle sites are located in the present town of Baxter Springs. Some of the victims are buried in the national cemetery one mile west of town. The Baxter Springs Heritage Center and Museum also has exhibits on the "massacre." The "Baxter Springs Massacre" site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Bell George and Annie) House. 1008 Ohio, Lawrence, Douglas County, National Register. George Bell and Annie Bell lived at 1008 Ohio in the stone house before Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence in August 1863. Bell was the county clerk for Douglas County and was killed by the raiders. This gable front stone house sits on Mount Oread, a prominent natural landmark, in Lawrence. The Bell house relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.



George and Annie Bell House

Riggs (Samuel) House, 1501 Pennsylvania, Lawrence, Douglas County, National Register. This house was under construction at the time of Quantrill's Raid on



Samuel Riggs House

Lawrence in 1863. Riggs was a lawyer and became a county attorney, district attorney and judge. Judge Riggs prosecuted Quantrill at Lawrence in 1860 for burglary and larceny, and for arson and kidnapping under the name of 'Charley Hart'. He served as a Kansas senator, and helped revise the Kansas civil and criminal codes. The Riggs' house relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Miller (Robert H.) House, 1111 East 19th Street, Lawrence, Douglas County, National Register. Miller and his family arrived in Kansas in 1858 and the home was constructed soon after their arrival.



Robert H. Miller House

The Miller house relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Eldridge House Hotel, 7th and Massachusetts, Lawrence, Douglas County, National Register. This is the original site of



Eldridge House Hotel

the Free-State Hotel, burned in the sack of Lawrence May 21, 1856. Rebuilt and renamed the Eldridge Hotel, it opened in 1859. That structure was burned by Quantrill's raiders in 1863, the hotel was rebuilt again in 1865-66. The current brick structure dates to

1925. The site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

House Building, 729-731 Massachusetts, Lawrence, Douglas County, Register of Historic Kansas Places. The House



House Building

Building, once called the Miller Building, was the only remaining commercial building left along Lawrence's main street after Quantrill's Raid in 1863. Today the commercial building still fronts on Massachusetts, Lawrence's main street although with a twentieth century façade. The building relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas sub-theme.

Kansas State Capital, Capital Square, Topeka, Shawnee County. Topeka was named the Free State Capital in 1855 and became the state capital in 1861. Construction of the East Wing of the present building began in 1864 and was completed in 1869. At this time the state government moved from the temporary capital in the State Row office block (which included Constitution Hall, Topeka). An ambitious rehabilitation and restoration of the Kansas State Capital is now in progress. This site relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding

Kansas sub-theme. (See Figure 4-7, Bleeding Kansas Assets.)

Underground Railroad

The National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom (NPS) has recognized seven sites in Kansas that relate to this sub-theme. These include Constitution Hall-Topeka, the John Doy Home site, the Henry and Ann Harvey Farmstead, the Captain William Mitchell Farmstead, Wabaunsee Cemetery, Clinton Lake Museum, and Watkins Community Museum.

"Constitution Hall" was the name given to a two-story building at this site, 427-429 S. Kansas Avenue, Topeka, Shawnee County. In 1855 Free State settlers wrote a territorial constitution ("Topeka Constitution") and elected a legislature that met in Topeka to demand the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state and challenge the fraudulently elected proslavery legislature. The Free State constitution prohibited slavery in the territory. This building became known as the Free State capital. On July 4, 1856, federal dragoons dispersed the Free State legislature when it met in session. "Constitution Hall" served as a center of community activities in Topeka during the Bleeding Kansas period. From 1864 to 1870, the capital of Kansas enclosed old Constitution Hall and extended at each end. The enlarged structure housed all the offices for the state government until a more prestigious capital building (still in use) was constructed. This site is being developed for interpretation. Constitution Hall, Topeka, relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-themes.

The Dr. John Doy homesite, Lawrence, Douglas County, is associated with the anti-slavery activities of Doy who was the gener-

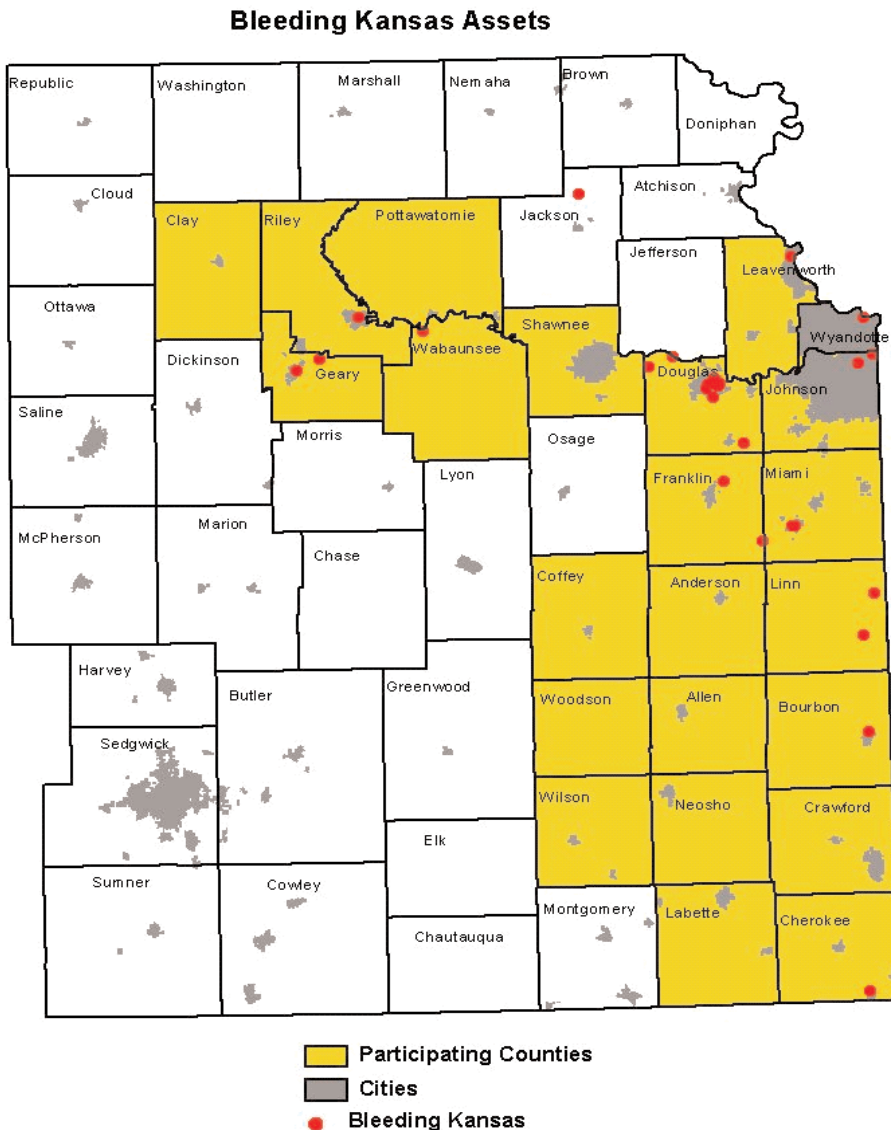


Figure 4-7, Bleeding Kansas Assets

al conductor of the Underground Railroad in the Lawrence area. He settled in Kansas in October 1854 and lived with his family in a log structure from 1854 to 1860. Doy was captured by proslavery supporters in January 1859 while conducting 13 fugitive slaves. Then in a daring rescue, he was freed from the St. Joseph, Missouri, jail and returned to Kansas. Doy's capture and rescue was pub-

built it with the help of other members of the Connecticut-Kansas Colony, later called the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony. The members emigrated to Kansas to help insure the territory's admission as a free state. They sheltered freedom seekers from Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. Captain Mitchell acted as both station master and conductor on the Underground Railroad. The Mitchell cabin

licized nationally and aroused wider support for the Free State cause in Kansas and abolitionism. This site relates to the Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-theme.

This is the site of Henry and Ann Harvey's cabin, Harveyville, Wabaunsee County. Constructed in 1854, the homestead was a station of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory. The Harveys were members of the Society of Friends and life-long opponents of slavery. They served as missionaries to the Shawnee Emigrant Indians. The original cabin survived until ca. 1900 when the present wood-frame house was constructed on the property. This site relates to the Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-theme.

The Captain William Mitchell house, Wamego, Pottawatomie County, began as a log cabin constructed in 1855. Mitchell

relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-themes.

Nearby, the Wabaunsee Cemetery, Wabaunsee, Wabaunsee County, is the final resting place of seventeen settlers who participated in the Underground Railroad. The cemetery is located one mile northeast of the historic community of Wabaunsee, home of the Beecher Bible and Rifle Church. The Wabaunsee Cemetery relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-themes.

Two other facilities offer particular interpretations of the activities of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory. Exhibits in the Clinton Lake Museum, Douglas County, interpret the history of Bloomington and other communities in the valley of the Wakarusa River. Many settlers in this area supported the Underground Railroad. The Watkins Community Museum, Lawrence, Douglas County, interprets the history of this prominent Free State town, a center of Underground Railroad activities.

Joel Grover Barn/ Fire Station, 2819 Stone Barn Terrace, Lawrence, Douglas County. The barn was built from 1857-1858 for the Grover family. They came to Kansas with assistance from the New England Emigrant Aid Company, a group established in 1854 and known for its anti-slavery sentiments. This barn, now incorporated into a Lawrence Fire Station #4, was once part of the Underground Railroad network in eastern Kansas. The Joel Grover barn relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Underground Railroad in Kansas sub-themes.

John Ritchie House, 1116 SE Madison, Topeka, Shawnee County, Register of Historic Kansas Places. This stone house is

associated with John Ritchie, a prominent Free State settler. He was a leader of abolitionists in the Topeka area, an associate of John Brown, and a delegate to the Leavenworth and Wyandotte Constitutional Conventions. This building relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas, Underground Railroad in Kansas, and African American Struggle sub-themes.

African American Struggle for Freedom

As noted earlier, both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley relate to this sub-theme. (See Figure 4-8, African and Native American Struggle Assets).

Monroe Elementary School, Topeka, Shawnee County, National Historic Landmark, National Park Service Site. On October 26, 1992, Congress passed Public Law 102-525 establishing Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site to commemorate the landmark Supreme Court decision aimed at ending segregation in public schools. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously declared that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” and, as such, violated the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which guaranteed all citizens “equal protection of the laws.”

The case was initiated by members of the local NAACP chapter in Topeka. Thirteen parents volunteered to participate. In the summer of 1950, they took their children to schools in their neighborhoods and attempted to enroll them for the upcoming school year and all were refused admission. The children were forced to attend one of four

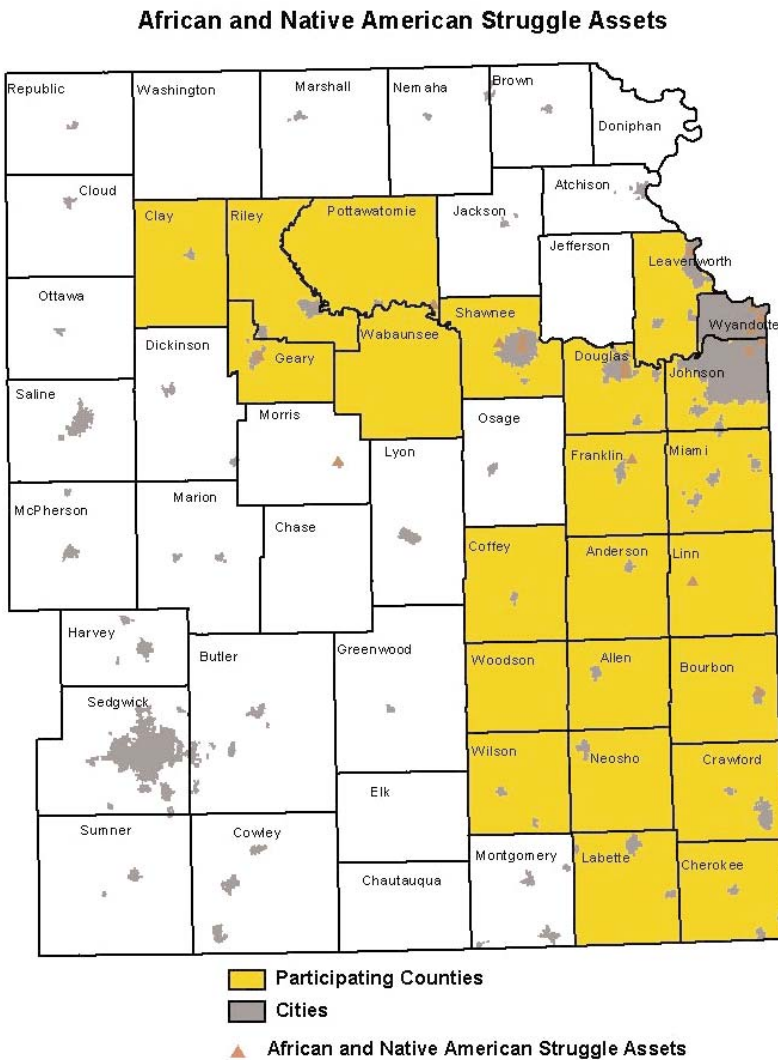


Figure 4-8, African and Native American Struggle Assets

schools in the city, including Monroe School, for African-Americans. For most African American students, this meant traveling some distance from their homes. These parents filed suit against the Topeka Board of Education on behalf of their twenty children. Oliver Brown, a minister, was the first parent listed in the suit, so the case came to be named after him. The legal issue was not that schools had separate but unequal facili-

ties, the issue revolved around separation based on race.

Kansas and Monroe school were chosen for this court case specifically because of the state's Free State heritage and anti-slavery beginnings. After the Civil War, a number of newly freed African Americans came to Topeka and built homes on land in this area developed by John Ritchie and others. Due to the sizable African American population, the school board decided to establish a school for black children in the neighborhood. The current building is the third Monroe school to sit on the corner of Fifteenth and Monroe streets. The first school was located in a small rented building that was used from 1868 until a permanent structure was erected in 1874. The current building was constructed in 1926 just to the south of the old school. Monroe was the newest of the four segregated schools serving Topeka's African American community. The other schools were Buchanan, McKinley, and Washington. Washington no longer stands and the Topeka Board of



Monroe School

Education no longer owns the remaining schools. The site is currently being restored by the National Park Service for a visitors' center, a research center and forum for discussion of the Brown case and the Civil Rights Movement. Monroe School relates to the African American Struggle sub-theme.

Sumner School, built in 1935, is also in Topeka. This school drew the attention of the nation in 1954 because of the Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka legal case. It was Linda Brown's desire to attend Sumner School which was in the neighborhood nearest her home. The school relates to the African American Struggle sub-theme.

St. Luke's AME Church, 9th and New York, Lawrence, Douglas County, Register of Historical Places. This church was organized in 1862 by runaway slaves, ex-slaves, and their children. At the time of Quantrill's Raid in 1863, members were working on a new church. Poet and writer Langston Hughes attended this church along with his "Auntie" Mary Reed. Langston Hughes, in his autobiography, observed that he heard the rhythms that influenced his poetry in the black churches of Lawrence. This church is representative of several other AME churches in the study area that relate to the African American Struggle sub-theme.

Western University, 27th and Sewell, Kansas City, Wyandotte County. Western University had its beginning in the Quindaro Freedman's School founded in 1880 by the Rev. Eben Blachley, a Presbyterian minister. The Freedman's School was intended to provide an education for the children of escaped slaves and black families who had begun to settle in the area. The school received support from the state in 1867 and 1873, but

became inactive following the Rev. Blachley's death in 1877.

The school was revived in 1881 under the sponsorship of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and reopened in 1882. In 1891 the school was renamed Western University and moved from the valley to a new building, Ward Hall, near 27th and Sewell. William T. Vernon, who was subsequently named registrar of the treasury by President Theodore Roosevelt, was placed in charge of the school in 1896. When Vernon retired from the school on 1916, he left behind a flourishing campus with many fine buildings. Western University continued to prosper under Dr. H.T. Kealing, adding a junior college and a school of religion. As with many small schools, Western University was severely affected by the Great Depression and was finally forced to close in 1948. The Western University building relates to the African American Struggle sub-theme.

Native American Struggle

As noted earlier, both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley relate to this subtheme.

Kaw Methodist Mission, 500 N. Mission, Council Grove, Morris County, Kansas State Historical Society, National Register. When the Santa Fe Trail was the great highway between the Missouri border and the Spanish town of Santa Fe, Council Grove was an important point on the route. Situated on the Neosho River, it was a natural stopping place, well-watered with abundant grass and timber. Here in 1825, the US commissioners negotiated with Osages for passage over their lands. This right of way became the Santa Fe Trail. In 1846, a treaty with the Kansa or Kaw Indians gave them a dimin-

ished reservation twenty miles square that included the site of present-day Council Grove. Traders and government agents soon followed the tribe to the new location. In this treaty, the government promised to make an annual payment of one thousand dollars to advance the education of the Kaw Indians in their own country. In 1850 the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which had ministered to the tribe since 1830, contracted with the government and completed the construction of a stone mission and school building



Kaw Methodist Mission

by February 1851. During its use, the school averaged about thirty pupils a year. Instruction was given in spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic to boys only. A

treaty with the Kaw Indians in 1859 provided that the reservation be diminished further to an area nine by fourteen miles. These lands were relinquished in the 1870s, and the tribe moved to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

The site, the stone mission building, has exhibits about the early “Kanza” or Kaw Native Americans, a photograph gallery, Santa Fe Trail exhibits, and early-day Council Grove artifacts. The Kaw Mission relates to the Kansas Territory: Geography and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Pottawatomie Baptist Mission, Exit 356 on I-70, 6425 SW Sixth Avenue, Topeka, Shawnee County, National Register, Kansas State Historical Society property. The mission, part of a complex of buildings, was built in 1847. It was operated as a boarding

school for children of the Potawatomi Indians, an eastern tribe which had been forced west by the federal government in the 1830s. Native children struggled to adapt to a strange new way of life. School enrollment fluctuated from week to week. Disease often struck students and teachers. Because a branch of the Oregon Trail passed by the mission, it was almost impossible to keep hired hands from leaving the mission and heading west. The mission closed in 1861. The Pottawatomie Baptist Mission relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.



Pottawatomie Baptist Mission

Pottawatomie Indian Pay Station, Mission Street, St. Marys, Pottawatomie County, National Register. The town of St. Marys was founded in 1847 as a Jesuit Mission and tribal headquarters, serving the Pottawatomie when that tribe was moved from the Sugar Creek

reserve in eastern Kansas. St. Marys straddled the route of the



Oregon-California Trail, the

Pottawatomie Pay Station

Fort Leavenworth - Fort Riley Military Road and the Smoky Hill Trail. The Indian Pay Station, the oldest building in Pottawatomie County, was built in 1857 by the U.S.

Government as an Indian Agency where the Pottawatomie transacted business with the U.S. government. It was later used to make payments for land taken from the Pottawatomie. The last payment was made from this location in 1870. The Pottawatomie Pay Station relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.

Grinter (Moses) House, 1420 South 78th Street, Kansas City, Wyandotte County. National Register, Kansas State Historical Society site. This two-story brick house constructed in 1862 overlooks the historic Delaware Crossing of the Kansas River. After Moses Grinter married Annie Marshall, a Delaware Indian, they operated a ferry at the crossing, a trading post with the Delaware from 1855 to 1860, farmed, and raised livestock. The state historical society acquired the property in 1971. Grinter House is related to the Kansas Territory: Geography, Bleeding Kansas, and Native American Struggle sub-themes.



Huron Indian Cemetery

Huron Indian Cemetery, Minnesota Avenue bet. 6th and 7th Streets, Kansas City, Wyandotte County, National Register. In 1842 the Huron, or Wyandot, Native Americans ceded their lands in Ohio and Michigan and began to immigrate to Kansas in 1843.

Illness killed nearly 100 while camped along the Missouri River. The dead were carried to the west side of the river to a ridge overlooking the Kansas and Missouri Rivers. These burials established the Huron cemetery. In 1855, the Wyandots lost their tribal status and the tribe split. Many members moved

south to Indian Territory, although some remained in the Kansas City area. These members prevented several efforts to sell or use the cemetery land for other purposes. The Huron Cemetery relates to the Native American sub-theme.

St. Philippine Duchesne Memorial Park, approximately 10 miles northwest of Mound City on County Road 1427, rural Linn County. During Indian removal in 1838, the Pottawatomie were forced from their homes in northern Indiana to eastern Kansas in the fall of 1838. Sister Philippine Duchesne arrived in Kansas in 1841 to help educate the Potawatomi children. The park occupies the site of the former Sugar Creek Jesuit Mission, around which the Pottawatomie attempted to establish a transplanted culture for the next ten years. The mission closed in 1848. The park is dedicated to the missionaries and Native Americans. Historical markers describe buildings and list those who resided or are buried at the site. The Memorial Park relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.

Whitefeather Spring, 3818 Ruby Avenue, Wyandotte County, Kansas City. National Register. The spring is associated with the Shawnee Prophet, Ten-Squa-TA-WA, a noted



Whitefeather Spring

leader of the Shawnee along with his brother Chief Tecumseh. The Prophet moved with a band of Shawnee to Kansas in 1828. He died in 1836 and was buried near the mouth of the Whitefeather Spring. George Catlin painted the Prophet in 1832 and the painting hangs in the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. Whitefeather Spring relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.

Graham Rogers House, 6741 Mackey, Overland Park, Johnson County, Register of Historic Kansas Places. Underneath the modern sheathing, the original part of this house is the two-story log house of Graham Rogers, a leader of the Shawnee Indians who were removed to Kansas Territory and then moved again to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) after the Civil War. The Rogers house relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American subthemes.

Jones (Taui) House, rural Franklin County, National Register. John Tecumseh "Taui" Jones was part Chippewa Indian and part white. Born in the year 1800, he came to the area as an interpreter for the Pottawatomie. He joined the Ottawa tribe and became their interpreter, advisor, and minister. He operated a trading post



Jones (Taui) House

just south of the Marais des Cygnes River, where downtown Ottawa is today. Before the Civil War, Jones helped abolitionist John Brown in his anti-slavery activities. The existing house was built during the Civil War

to replace an earlier structure from the territorial period. The Jones house relates to the "Bleeding Kansas," Underground Railroad,

and Native American sub-themes.

Oak Grove Cemetery, North 3rd Street and Waverly Avenue, Wyandotte County, Kansas City, Kansas Historic Landmark. The town of Wyandotte (unincorporated) was chartered on June 8, 1858. At that time, the only cemetery close to the town was the Huron Indian Cemetery which was largely restricted to members of the Wyandot tribe. A ten-acre plot was selected at the crest of a low hill overlooking the Missouri River valley, and the cemetery was established before the City of Wyandotte which was incorporated in January 1859. Oak Grove cemetery relates to the Kansas Conflict: Bleeding Kansas and Native American Struggle sub-themes.

Curtis (Charles) House, 1101 Topeka Avenue, Topeka, Shawnee County, National Register. Charles Curtis was Vice President of the United States under Herbert Hoover (1929-1933). He is the only Kansan to hold



Curtis House

the office of Vice President, and the only Vice President of Native American heritage. Curtis was one of the first supporters of women's suffrage, and was influential in passing Native American and farm legislation. Born in 1860, his mother died in 1863, so he lived with his father's parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Curtis, in North Topeka and with his mother's mother, Julie Gonville

Pappan, on the Kaw Indian Reservation in Morris County. His grandmother Pappan was granddaughter of the Kanza Chief White Plume. The Curtis house relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.

Haskell Institute, 23rd and Barker, Lawrence, Douglas County, National Historic Landmark, National Register. Haskell Indian Industrial Training School, a government boarding school, opened its doors in 1884 to begin an educational program focused on agricultural education in grades one through five. The U.S. government founded Haskell in part to fulfill numerous treaties that promised to educate Indians in exchange for their land. For more than one hundred years, American Indians and Alaska Natives have been sending their children to Haskell, and the school has developed from an industrial training school to a university. Haskell football teams from the early 1900's to 1930's are legendary. And even after the 1930's, athletics remained a high priority to Haskell students and alumni. Today, Haskell serves as the home of the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame.

Haskell Indian Nations University, the only four-year Native American university in the United States, has grown over the last century



Haskell Indian Nations

from a school designed to assimilate Indian children into the white culture, to a fully accredited university that celebrates the diversity and culture of the dozens of federally-recognized Indian tribes throughout the country.

A new museum has recently opened on the campus for visitors. Haskell University relates to the Native American Struggle sub-theme.

According to the State Historic Preservation Office, at the present time there are no sacred sites documented by NAGRPRA in the proposed Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. Three sites in Douglas County—the Haskell University Medicine Wheel, a site near Highway 59 south of Lawrence, and a large glacial boulder in the Riverfront Park in Lawrence—have been mentioned as sacred by others. The Prairie Band Pottawatomie and Kickapoo Nations in Kansas have been contacted for comment on this proposed action.

CONCLUSION

The historic and cultural resources of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area are threatened by urbanization, neglect, lack of funds, and the lack of public awareness. Particularly in the Kansas River valley, rapid urbanization can result in the destruction of historic structures and historic landscapes. Low density development consumes rural land and therefore accelerates the loss of historic structures and landscapes. In more rural areas, population decline, depressed agricultural prices, and limited economic development can result in deferred maintenance and investment in historic properties.

A lack of effective coordination among local and state authorities coupled with widespread public misunderstanding of the benefits of historic preservation contributes to the vulnerability of these resources. Presently, the process of identification, designation, and protection of Bleeding Kansas and Territorial period properties is inadequate to meet the cumulative threats to vulnerable properties. Even after significant properties are identified, they are subject to demolition and demolition by neglect. Recently in Johnson County, for example, an intact terri-

torial home and outbuildings were lost because their history was not widely known.

Many Kansans lack a useful knowledge of their local and state history and do not recognize the importance of their historic structures and sites. Some appreciate the resources, but are unaware of planning techniques and strategies that might help preserve them. Even when the historic significance of a property is recognized, individuals, organizations, governments often lack the funding to preserve such sites. Residents of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area do have a basic appreciation for their history, but have not initiated coordinated action to ensure that the landscapes, structures, and sites representing that regional history are protected.

Because of the activities of the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance and the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee, the assets associated with the “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom” theme have become more visible and valuable to Kansas citizens, city, county, state officials, and visitors. As more formal attention is focused on these assets with Congressional designation, they will become even more important. Thus, the National Heritage Area designation and the development of thematic interpretation will organize and strengthen the broad support for interpretation, protection, and management of these assets for the benefit of future generations of Americans.

Chapter 5

Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Heritage Area Management Alternatives

As documented in chapters 2 and 3, the resources in the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Heritage Area are worthy of preservation and integrated interpretation. This chapter will describe the management alternatives, which may be appropriate to protect and interpret the important resources in the study area. Four primary management alternatives have been considered: 1) Continuation of Current Practices/No Action; 2) National Heritage Area Designation; 3) Private Non-profit Corporation Management; 4) State Heritage Area Management.

Alternative 1: Continuation of Current Practices/No Action

The National Environmental Policy Act requires that a “no action” alternative be described to serve as a reference against which other actions may be evaluated. No federal designation or additional authority for federal involvement would be pursued under this management alternative. Given available funding, existing entities would continue their individual efforts to preserve and enhance heritage resources. The resources currently owned and operated by incorporated organizations, local, state, and federal government would continue to be maintained and interpreted for public use under existing policies, and, in most cases, in their current status. As with every management alternative, existing land use regulation and policies would remain under the authority of existing governmental agencies. This status would continue for all proposed management alternatives.

The existing National Park Service (NPS) sites in the region would continue their operations. There are five NPS sites in Kansas—Brown v Board of Education, Fort Scott, Fort Larned, Nicodemus and the Tallgrass Prairie Preserve—but no federally designated heritage areas within the state. There would be no new National Park Service (NPS) program dedicated exclusively to providing technical assistance and no additional federal funding. State and local government, private nonprofit organizations and foundations, and for-profit corporations would continue to be the primary sources of funds for the protection and interpretation of heritage resources. Presently, Kansas has not established any state heritage areas.

The size of the region with its varied perspectives, make it difficult to recognize, preserve and celebrate our regional identity, share the stories that illustrate important heritage themes, and link the heritage sites for interpretation and visitation. Even with committed local organizations dedicated to the task, it would be difficult to achieve these objectives. The general lack of connection between thematically related sites and the lack of a distinctive sense of place in the region would continue.

Current activities would proceed, as they do now, without an overall framework that could guide such efforts as they relate to the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom theme. This management alternative would be unlikely to improve: 1) the development of new and existing attractions; 2) the maintenance and protection of existing resources; 3) the protection of distinctive

places and the distinctive heritage landscape; 4) rural economic and infrastructure development; 5) regional economic development.

Alternative 2: National Heritage Area Designation

This management alternative requires congressional designation of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom as a national heritage area. The National Park Service defines a National Heritage Area (NHA) as a place “where natural, cultural, historic, and scenic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography. These patterns make NHAs representative of the national experience through the physical features that remain and the traditions that have evolved in them.” As a strategy, national heritage areas emphasize the protection and conservation of critical natural, cultural, scenic, and historic resources.

Designation as a national heritage area would recognize the importance of Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom in American history. This national designation would acknowledge our distinctive cultural and geographical region as a series of landscapes distinctive enough to attract and keep the strongest and most earnest of those who attempted to settle here. A heritage area managed by the residents themselves would strengthen the sense of identity both within the region itself and for outside visitors. Such a regional approach would encourage the protection and management of cultural and natural resources in a complex landscape. It would also provide a much-needed incentive for the development

of greater community capacity through inter-local cooperation.

Heritage area goals include: increasing public awareness of local history and associated landscapes and the need for preservation, encouraging research on local history and its incorporation into the educational curriculum, enhancing the quality of community character and strengthening the region’s identity. By coordinating the management of cultural and natural resources, the national heritage area will address the economic viability of small towns, rural communities, prairies, open spaces and the business and ranches that make up the region’s landscapes. The formal organization of a national heritage area followed by the preparation of a comprehensive management plan would ensure that participating governments and organizations with their different objectives have an institutionalized process for coordination. The national heritage area would provide the stability necessary for long-range goals to be achieved.

The National Park Service would provide technical assistance to the national heritage area management entity and its associated partners. For example, the partnership between the National Park Service and the management entity would work together toward development of high quality heritage area interpretation and successful regional identity programs.

The Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance (TKHA), a private nonprofit organization, is the leading candidate to be designated as the management entity for the proposed heritage area. Working with technical assistance from the National Park Service, TKHA has been developing the grass-roots support and management expertise to be responsible for managing the heritage area. The federally

designated management entity, TKHA, would include a cross-section of public and private interests, including representatives of state government, municipalities, historic, cultural, and environmental organizations, economic development organizations, educational institutions, and private citizens.

The management entity would be responsible for receiving and disbursing federal funds and would have authority to enter into agreements with the Federal Government. The management entity would be responsible for raising funds to match the federal financial assistance. Federal, state, local, and private historical and cultural sites and natural areas within the heritage area would operate under their own authority and voluntarily work in partnership with the management entity.

TKHA has a proven track record for working in large regions as they developed extensive programming for the Kansas Sesquicentennial, which will be celebrated from 2004 to 2011. For example, TKHA has created two educational brochures, "John Brown in Kansas" and "Underground Railroad in Kansas," to publicize heritage area sub-themes. Members of the TKHA served as the regional planning committee for the heritage area feasibility/suitability study and the committee is currently developing an organizational structure for heritage area management. The committee consists of representatives from throughout the counties included in the proposed heritage area.

The organizational leadership structure for the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area currently being considered by TKHA would consist of a Board of Directors with eight to fifteen members. Judge Deanell Tacha,

Chief Judge of the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, has agreed to serve as Board Chair. Directors will be recruited from progressive leaders in the region with experience and contacts that can be used to achieve the goals of the National Heritage Area. The directors will be civic-minded with an entrepreneurial viewpoint. Membership of the Board will also reflect the thematic emphases and geographical areas within the National Heritage Area.

When designation is approved, the BKNHA management entity will prepare a work program and hire staff members. The policies and plans formulated by the Board will be implemented by a staff of three to five people. Staff will include an executive director, marketing and fundraising officer, and a finance and office manager. In addition, a Partnership Panel of local participants would advise the Board and staff, help promote additional partnerships, and assist in heritage area coordination and plan implementation.

Much of the work of building the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area will be accomplished by mobilizing key committees of the Alliance members. This will include management, finance, and marketing committees. The management committee, for example, will prepare guidelines to guide local communities, organizations, and heritage attractions in developing the resources of the heritage area. The finance committee will prepare a conceptual financial plan for the first three years of operation as a national heritage area. This committee also will organize and educate Alliance members and partners to improve their fundraising capacity.

The management committee will also develop a work program of management tasks for

the National Heritage Area. Some important goals of the program include:

Enhancing the existing heritage tourism sites, events, and experiences.

Developing needed new “anchor” facilities or attractions

Creating a network of sites, scenic byways, guides, and maps that tell the Bleeding Kansas story and provide a more tangible visitor experience.

Building the capacity of communities, organizations, heritage attractions, and local businesses to become more viable and stronger partners in a regional effort.

To develop the partnerships necessary to carry out an ambitious work program, the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area management entity will identify Strategic Investment Areas (SIAS) where heritage resources, organized leadership, and cooperative actions are concentrated. Also, the committee will link SIAS with Strategic Investment Partners (SIPS), strong sites/ attractions that are not in potential SIAS, but could play significant role in regional network. Finally, the management committee will identify Aspiring Partners with the potential to develop their capacity so as to join SIAS or become SIPS. In the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area, Strategic Investment Areas could be centered on Wyandotte, Douglas, Geary, Linn, and Allen counties. Strategic Investment Partners may include Fort Scott, a National Historic Landmark in Bourbon County, Kaw Mission, a Kansas State Historical Society site in Morris County, and the Nicodemus Historic District, a National

Historic Landmark, in Graham County.

For the selection of partnerships, the management committee will evaluate the evidence of the area’s heritage, economic and community development through tourism, interpretative programs, geographical linkages, local commitment and leadership, and supportive public policy. Partnerships then will be strengthened through communication and education about NHA benefits and effective development strategies.

TKHA would prepare a heritage area management plan, prioritize projects, conduct public meetings regarding implementation, and implement the plan in conjunction with partners. The comprehensive management plan includes strategies for natural and resource protection, plans for interpretation of resources based on the heritage area theme, and a methodology for including various defined roles for willing public organizations and private individuals, municipalities, federal, state, and local agencies. It is important to note that the heritage area management alternative imposes no new land use regulation on properties located in the area. Willing partnerships and public support are the keys to the success of a national heritage area.

The National Park Service (NPS) could provide the communities as well as cultural, historical, and natural resource organizations within the heritage area with technical assistance and grants for education, interpretation, historic preservation, planning, recreational trail development, and open space conservation. This program would place special emphasis on activities that would serve as model projects. NPS staff would provide technical assistance to the heritage area.

Consulting with the NPS, the management

entity would develop an accessible and comprehensive interpretive and identity program for the heritage area's resources. Its projects could include:

- A signage system including both directional and interpretive signage. A logo-based directional signage system would embrace highways, local routes, and specific destinations. This signage system could contribute to a regional interpretive program including wayside exhibits and other interpretive media. The system would interpret the major regional themes identified by Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area.
- Heritage area publications such as informational brochures with maps and comprehensive guides similar to the NPS series of park guides.
- Interpretive training provided by NPS to ensure a consistent standard for interpretive programming in the national heritage area. Individual sites in the heritage area would continue to be responsible for their own interpretation.
- Establishment of information centers in the heritage area that would make available a wide array of information concerning attractions, interpretive programs, directions and maps, and food and lodging. The management entity would develop the visitor centers, but would not manage their day-to-day operations. Visitor centers would be at existing information centers, chambers of commerce, public buildings, and

participating cultural institutions.

- Development of educational materials for interpreting the heritage area's themes to students.
- Support for research, inventories, and documentation of heritage resources.

The TKHA would also undertake demonstration projects. These projects could range from historic preservation and adaptive reuse efforts to the development of traveling education kits and other educational outreach services. These projects could serve as models demonstrating appropriate standards for interpretation and visitor services.

The TKHA would be eligible to make grants to local heritage organizations from a designated pool of funds. Grants would be made to organizations carrying out projects identified in the heritage area management plan that meet criteria established by the Partnership Panel, administered by staff, and approved by the Board of Directors.

The financial relationship between a heritage area and the National Park Service usually is authorized for no longer than 15 years. The relationship/partnership between Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area and NPS will continue after federal funding ceases. BKNHA would continue to thrive, having established funding sources thanks to the seed monies from NPS and the Department of the Interior.

The management entity would be required to provide a 50 percent match for the federal heritage area appropriation. Other federal programs, the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), National Historic Landmark

assistance, Historic Preservation Fund, and the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21), administered by the Federal Highway Administration, could provide matching funds. Grants from state and municipal agencies or private nonprofit foundations and for-profit corporations could provide additional funding for management of the heritage area. (For a detailed conceptual financial plan for the proposed National Heritage Area, see criterion 6, Chapter 6.)

Designation of a national heritage area would not entail federal acquisition of land. The national heritage area designation would not change private property ownership or local decision-making about land use, nor would it change existing land use regulations.

Alternative 3: Private Non-profit Management Alternative

This alternative would rely upon the establishment of a private nonprofit corporation which would promote heritage activities in the Bleeding Kansas region. This management model would require less formal organization and less funding than a national heritage area. Since the nonprofit organization would not have to obtain Congressional approval, satisfy federal standards, or go through annual congressional funding cycles, it could proceed with its initiatives more quickly.

Under this management alternative, the heritage area organization would not have to obtain a 50 percent match for federal funding. If local support and budgets were not sufficient to support a national heritage area, this model could prove effective in implementing such heritage projects as brochures, walking tours, and festivals. However, a private nonprofit heritage organization would be unable to develop a regional signage pro-

gram, visitor centers, and exhibits and extensive research and interpretation of heritage themes.

A private nonprofit heritage organization would have substantially less prestige than a national heritage area. The Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Heritage Area would not receive the beneficial publicity from being associated with the National Park Service. It would be less likely to attract local financial support and participation in special initiatives and to draw new visitors to the region. The area would not be able to request the NPS assistance for planning and interpretation, which is provided to national heritage areas around the country. The lack of federal designation might make it difficult to gain a share of funding from the state government of Kansas. A locally established private nonprofit heritage program might lack the resources to interpret the major heritage themes identified in this study.

Building sustainable partnerships and balanced infrastructure to successfully build the excitement, pride of place, sense of our roots and landscape preservation requires the initial funding this region currently cannot produce. This is a rural state. The population of the state is less than many counties in the east. While tenaciousness is our trademark and that stick-to-it attitude placed many nationally significant stories about struggle within our landscapes, without the cache of designation and the temporary boost of funding, it will be a few more generations before we reach the goal that so many residents have already identified as one they wish to attain.

Alternative 4: State Heritage Area Management

The Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Heritage Area could be managed by an existing institution. The Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee considered this management alternative. However, the state of Kansas does not have a state heritage area program. Budget constraints make it unlikely that the state will create a heritage area for Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom on its own.

The existing county historical societies, local historical organizations, and municipal tourism offices lack the capacity to manage a regional heritage area. There is no regional planning agency in a position to administer a heritage area. Although the Travel and Tourism Division, Kansas Department of Commerce has supported the preparation of the feasibility/suitability study, its mission does not extend to cultural and natural resource interpretation and protection which are significant aspects of heritage area management. Budget constraints limit the capacity of the Kansas State Historical Society to take on the open-ended management responsibilities of a National Heritage Area. Management of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area by an existing state institution also could contribute to a lower level of collaboration and resource sharing among local groups within the region.

Conclusion

National Heritage Areas have been successful in protecting and restoring historic sites, creating greenways and trails, providing better public understanding and appreciation of regional history and associated resources and in creating a special identity for communities

within the designated region. Many organizations can participate and contribute to the creation of a common vision that is based on unique traditions and heritage. Designation of a heritage area often results in compatible economic development, particularly tourism and commercial services related to the preservation and rehabilitation of historic structures, visitor services, recreation, and education.

NHA designation for the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom Heritage Area would provide a crucial strategy for future protection of the important natural and cultural resources of Kansas related to the free-state heritage. It would provide a cohesive framework within which to tell the important stories of how Kansas and its citizens contributed to the enduring struggle for freedom in the United States. Chapter 3 outlines potential sub-themes that may be valuable for a Bleeding Kansas NHA. Chapter 6 evaluates the feasibility of NHA designation.

Chapter 6

Application of National Heritage Area Feasibility Criteria

The National Park Service has outlined four critical steps that should be taken prior to congressional designation of a national heritage area. These steps are:

1. Completion of a suitability/feasibility study.

This report documents the analysis and conclusions of the suitability/feasibility study for a Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area.

2. Public Involvement in the suitability/feasibility study.

There has been extensive and on-going public involvement before and during the feasibility study. Chapter 1, Introduction outlines the history of public involvement. The effort to achieve heritage area designation originated with the research and promotion of the Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance beginning in 1999. This private, non-profit corporation has provided financial administration and organizational support for the heritage area effort. In January of 2002, officials in Douglas County appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of a heritage area, and by 2003, that committee hosted a heritage summit meeting to expand the scope of the heritage area effort.

Monthly meetings of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Alliance began in February of 2003, and have continued ever since. Local involvement has been enthusiastic and committed. Members of local and county groups have taken a systematic approach to determine unifying themes shared among counties and have remained committed to the broad goal and purpose of a heritage area designation. Public education, promotion,

and historic preservation are important activities needed to maintain local history among the interested counties as well as to benefit from heritage tourism that can positively affect local economic conditions.

3. Demonstration of widespread public support among heritage area residents for the proposed legislation. The extensive support for this project comes from these twenty-three counties:

Allen	Anderson	Bourbon
Cherokee	Clay	Coffey
Crawford	Douglas	Franklin
Geary	Johnson	Labette
Leavenworth	Linn	Miami
Neosho	Pottawatomie	Riley
Shawnee	Wabaunsee	Wilson
Woodson	Wyandotte	

Grass-roots support for the BKNHA primarily comes from the listed counties. The alliance includes citizens, organizational, and governmental representatives who requested that Bleeding Kansas be designated a National Heritage Area, but also have secured support from their organizations and worked within their own counties to explain and promote the heritage area effort.

Kansas Governor, Kathleen Sebelius, recognized the heritage area effort in her October 2003 state economic revitalization plan. The governor and staff at the Kansas Department of Commerce set the goal of defining a state-wide tourism strategy which now includes the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area feasibility study. Also, along with the Governor and the Department of Commerce, Mary Allman, Executive

Director of the Kansas State Historical Society and State Historic Preservation Officer, has endorsed the study and the theme of Bleeding Kansas. The Director offered assistance from Cultural Resource Division staff and society historians. These staff members have been instrumental in helping to identify important sites, in assessing integrity, and contributing to improving the feasibility study.

Members of the Kansas Legislature have also indicated their support or have requested that resources in their districts be included.

County support comes from county commissioners and county clerks. Other county organizations include historical societies, travel and tourism, and chambers of commerce. Community support has come from newspapers, community colleges, churches, event organizers, city governments, clubs, and local historic attractions. Appendix E is a complete list of the letters of support and financial contributions to date. For many of the Kansas communities and county governments which are represented, with relatively small population and economic bases, their financial contributions represent a significant endorsement of the heritage area study.

Besides the involvement and contributions shown in Appendix E, the organizations and groups listed have helped identify contacts, supply data regarding their local history, have arranged public meetings and workshops, and met with governmental, tourism, and economic development officials to promote the heritage area effort.

Dedicated public involvement has been characteristic of this heritage area campaign since the beginning in 1999. Over the years, these efforts have resulted in a shared sense

of the importance of state and local history as told through the Bleeding Kansas theme and a strong belief by those involved that this history can enrich America's story as well.

4. Commitment to the proposal from appropriate stakeholders, which may include governments, industry and private nonprofit organizations in addition to the citizenry.

The chapter has documented the formal support and financial commitments to the implementation of a Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area among all potentially affected levels of government from the Governor's office to local city government. Support ranges from financial commitments from the state, to programmatic and other commitments from the Kansas State Historical Society. Nine of the society's own sites interpret Bleeding Kansas history and staff interprets, maintains sites, and educate through exhibits, talks, and special events.

This feasibility study will be used to request funds from private non-profit organizations and foundations.

The letters from county and local organizations previously mentioned support the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. The significance of this support is directly related to local activities which already interpret the sub-themes of Bleeding Kansas. Many of the county historical museums have developed programming, exhibits and special events that relate to the sub-themes. These organizations are ready to participate more actively in building the heritage area program. Numerous organizations are currently raising funds to restore and maintain Bleeding Kansas sites and buildings so that

the public has better access to attractions representing this period of Kansas and American history.

Examples of notable demonstration projects in progress include the purchase of the Black Jack Battlefield site which, at the same time, preserved a landscape in Douglas County threatened with development. The Black Jack Battlefield Trust plans to manage and develop the forty-acre property as a battlefield park because of its significance as the site of “the first regular battle fought between Free-State and Pro-Slavery men in Kansas.” Also in Lawrence, Douglas County, the U.S. House of Representatives has approved a \$100,000 allocation for the restoration of the Hobbs Park Memorial, a building dedicated to Lawrence antislavery activist and newspaper publisher John Speer. In Wyandotte County, the Quindaro Ruins, an abolitionist and Underground Railroad center dating from 1857, will be interpreted as an Archaeological Park.

CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION

The following components are essential in assessing whether an area may qualify as a national heritage area. A suitability/feasibility study should include analysis and documentation that:

1. The area has an assemblage of natural, historic and cultural resources that together represent distinctive aspects of American heritage worthy of recognition, conservation, interpretation and continuing use and are best managed as such assemblage through partnerships among public and private entities and by combining diverse and some times noncontiguous resources and active communities.

Chapters 2 and 3 document the historical

importance of “Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom,” and Chapter 4 shows the distinct assemblage of historical and cultural resources related to the proposed Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. These include nationally significant resources and many others that are regionally significant. Together these represent Bleeding Kansas’s distinctive and unique contribution to American heritage. These resources are worthy of recognition, conservation, interpretation and continuing use. The territory’s critical position in the national struggle over slavery, a unique history as “Bleeding Kansas,” and the consequences an enduring struggle for freedom, deepen the interpretation of America’s history. As noted in Step 3 above, there are partnerships among public and private entities which include state and local governments and organizations to manage and protect this heritage area. The distinct advantage of a heritage area designation, however, would be the capacity to present to Kansans and visitors an integrated and powerful story about the meaning of the assemblage of cultural resources. Because there is already a foundation of stewardship and appreciation of these resources by residents and visitors, planning and programming could be significantly enhanced by the combined efforts of public and private sectors under the broad organization of a Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area. Coordinated efforts will provide residents and visitors with a more comprehensive and multi-faceted experience. One of the most significant results would be the opportunity to tell the complex and significant story of the state’s formation to Kansans as well as out-of-state and international visitors.

2. Reflects traditions, customs, beliefs and folk life that are a valuable part of the national story.

Bleeding Kansas abounds with traditions, beliefs and folklife that are regionally valuable, but also exceptionally important to the national story of an enduring struggle for freedom. Eastern Kansas was the site of memorable events during the territorial and Civil War periods, which are celebrated in festivals and reenactments today. These are discussed in Chapter 4. The people and events of Bleeding Kansas riveted the nation's attention to the state and the outcomes of the Kansas conflict contributed to the politics of the United States during a critical time. Abolitionist activists, such as John Brown, believed Kansas had to remain free of slavery and brought his family to the state to help insure such.

Native American history in the proposed heritage area has been told in stories of indigenous inhabitants and their interaction with emigrant Indians who arrived in Kansas in the 1830s. The subsequent removal of both Native American groups to Indian Territory was integrated into what happened in the early history of Bleeding Kansas. Nevertheless, their place names and routes still are evident in many counties within the study area. Many counties in the BKNHA are named for Native American groups.

African American culture has also played a significant role in the heritage area. Kansans were active on the Underground Railroad and many African Americans came to Kansas with the help of abolitionist conductors when they fled north to Lane's trail and away from Southern cause supporters. Both Native and African Americans fled north from Indian Territory at the beginning of the Civil War toward Union forces and their experiences are told in stories, history and interpreted on the historic "Trail of Blood on Ice." Kansas's complex ethnic heritage also includes European immigrant groups and Mexican Americans. The stories and history

from these groups are part of Kansas history and remain potentially significant stories to develop within the Bleeding Kansas theme.

3. Provides outstanding opportunities to conserve natural, cultural, historic and/or scenic features.

The "Bleeding Kansas" theme presents an opportunity for preservation of associated sites through education and technical training as well as increased protection for other cultural and historic resources. The coalition of interested and supporting parties provides an outstanding opportunity for new initiatives and greater financial efficiency. Support for a national heritage designation begins with the governor and has been demonstrated by county and municipal governments, tourism and economic development organizations, and citizens groups and individuals. This coalition of interests is powerful and, with federal assistance, can greatly enhance the process of identification, designation and recognition of Territorial Kansas sites. While many territorial and Civil War period resources have been identified, there is little systematic protection afforded to them from development, demolition or demolition by neglect. In many cases, ordinary citizens and civic leaders lack the knowledge about their early local and state history and therefore fail to recognize the significance of early historic structures and sites.

Natural and scenic sites in the heritage deserve further identification and interpretation. Many important events occurred at creeks, fords, or on prairie or forested landscapes. Such sites today have little visual history to reveal to a casual visitor, yet they are important in understanding and experiencing the events of Kansas history. A heritage area management organization will be

able to continue the process of identification, evaluation and prioritization of those sites that need protection and interpretation.

While some county and city officials and residents are becoming more aware of their responsibility to protect our nation's past and the economic benefits, a Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area will provide an outstanding opportunity to conserve natural, cultural, historic and scenic features that are dispersed among a variety of resources which is difficult for individual groups, governments, or citizens to do alone.

4. Provides outstanding recreational and educational opportunities.

Chapter 4 provides information related to existing cultural opportunities and resources. As noted on the "Map of Kansas Recreational Areas," the proposed heritage area will offer outstanding recreational and educational opportunities for residents of the area and visitors. Recently, one of the issues identified by the Kansas Natural Resources Legacy Alliance Final Report was that "growing demands for outdoor recreation from expanding urban centers and communities throughout the state are creating pressures and opportunities for both public and private lands." Since greater than 95% of Kansas land is privately owned, the proposed National Heritage Area will help to meet the growing desire for outdoor recreation in eastern and southern Kansas. The heritage area will promote access to outdoor recreation through private sector enterprises, public/private partnerships, technical assistance, funding and tourism enterprises.¹

Some of the essential Bleeding Kansas sites are well-established and managed by the Kansas State Historical Society. These feature exhibits, markers, and educational pro-

gramming that convey the significance of the proposed heritage area theme. Trails and forts, such as the National Park Service's Fort Scott, relate the story of the territorial period to the struggle for statehood. The opportunity for the development of integrated interpretive and educational programs at publicly and privately owned historic locations throughout the region is outstanding. With the strength of the existing coalition, both residents and visitors will have the opportunity to learn of Bleeding Kansas's critical role in national history. Topics may include the John Brown legacy, the Underground Railroad, battles and skirmishes of the territorial period and the Civil War, the political arenas of Northern and Southern differences, the personalities who participated in the events of Bleeding Kansas, and the state's role in the struggle for enduring freedom.

At present the Kansas State Historical Society offers a unit to teachers on the Territorial Conflict which meets Kansas educational standards. The development of additional heritage education materials and programming will provide Kansas youth opportunities to supplement and enrich materials they receive in school or through field trips to sites.

The most important aspect of a Heritage Area designation, however, is the outstanding opportunity for conservation, recreation and education that such a designation would provide.

5. The resources important to the identified theme or themes of the area retain a degree of integrity capable of supporting interpretation.

Chapter 4 documents that the landscapes and resources from the "Bleeding Kansas" peri-

¹ Kansas Natural Resources Legacy Alliance Final Report (December 1, 2003), 10-11. See kdwp.state.ks.us/alliance/alliance/html , referenced 12/19/2003.

od retain a high degree of integrity. The staff at the Kansas State Historical Society assisted in the determination of physical integrity. These resources include major battle sites, topographical features associated with the period, trails, historic sites, buildings and monuments. Many of these attractions are open to the public and the opportunity to expand that number is promising. By using the theme identified during the study, these resources can be interpreted to provide a comprehensive experience for residents and visitors alike. The Bleeding Kansas theme will express a story of the heritage area’s unique contribution to our nation’s history.²

6. Residents, business interests, non-profit organizations and governments within the proposed area are involved in the planning and have developed a conceptual financial plan that outlines the roles for all participants including the federal government and have demonstrated support for designation of the area.

The proposed management entity, described in criterion 10 below, will include a wide range of interests on its board of trustees and will provide opportunities for interested organizations wishing to participate in planning and programming for the heritage area. The following conceptual financial plan has been developed. It outlines the roles of the various participants including the federal government. Should the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area receive congressional designa-

tion, the first task for a designated management entity will be the development of a comprehensive management plan that will include a detailed five-year financial plan based on specific commitments from heritage area partners.

The revenue projection includes federal appropriations to the management entity totaling \$1,586,000 over the three-year period. The projection assumes that the management entity will be successful in obtaining any combination of approximately \$1,586,000 a year in state grants and contributions, foundation, corporate, and local government contributions, individual donations, and miscellaneous revenues from memberships, fees for events and tours, and sales. The projection assumes that \$750,000 of the federal appropriations will be used by the management entity for grants to other organizations during the three-year period, and that those grantees will provide the necessary 50/50 federal match in the same amount.

The expense projection assumes an average annual operating budget of the management entity of \$224,000 for staffing, operational, and administrative costs for a total of \$672,000 over the three-year period. The cost for completion of a heritage area management and interpretive plan is estimated at \$400,000. The costs of actual heritage area projects and programs undertaken during the development of the management plan are estimated at \$300,000. Beyond the projected

**Table 6.1, Three-Year Revenue Projection
Total Revenues - \$2,122,000**

<i>Anticipated Federal Appropriations</i>	<i>Anticipated State Grants and Contributions</i>	<i>Direct Matching Contribution by Local Grant Recipients</i>	<i>Anticipated Foundation Grants, Local Government Contributions, Donations, and Miscellaneous Income</i>
<i>\$ 1,061,000</i>	<i>\$ 200,000</i>	<i>\$ 750,000</i>	<i>\$ 111,000</i>

2 Significant archaeological sites are located in the proposed heritage area, but have not been disclosed to the public to prevent vandalism and damage.

three-year period, grants to local organizations are likely to increase and direct project expenditures by the management entity will decrease.

Three-Year Expense Projection
Expenditures in Each Category Might Be Adjusted Based on Actual Federal Appropriations With the Exception of the Heritage Area Management Plan (see Table 6.2)

tee organized and expanded its focus, it has consulted with the Midwest Office of the National Park Service, environmental groups such as the Nature Conservancy, landscape preservation groups such as the Kansas Land Trust, state and county officials. The activities of the BKNHA will continue to develop partnerships with other public entities, other non-profits and private sector stakeholders. More specific responsibilities will be defined in preparing the Heritage Area management

Table 6.2, Three-Year Expense Projection

<i>Operations</i>	<i>Grants to Local Organizations</i>	<i>Development of Heritage Area Management and Interpretive Plan</i>	<i>Heritage Area Projects (publication of brochures and maps; special events organization)</i>
<i>\$672,000</i>	<i>\$750,000</i>	<i>\$ 400,000</i>	<i>\$ 300,000</i>

plan. The proposed management entity will include representatives of state and local governments on its board of directors to ensure that governmental interests are represented and involved in the planning and implementation of the heritage area.

Ten-Year Budget Projection

<i>Annual Operations (\$280,000)</i>	<i>Grants to Participating Organizations (\$350,000)</i>	<i>Planning and Development Projects</i>	<i>Total 10-year Budget</i>
<i>\$2,800,000</i>	<i>\$3,500,000</i>	<i>Signage design/installation - \$500,000 Visitors centers -\$450,000 Exhibits design -\$250,000 Special projects -\$2,500,000</i>	<i>Operations - \$2,800,000; Grants-\$3,500,000; Projects-\$3,700,000</i>
<i>Total</i>		<i>\$3,700,000</i>	<i>\$10,000,000</i>

7. The proposed management entity and units of government supporting designation are willing to commit to working in partnership to develop the heritage area.

The strong cooperative relationships among the members of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area Planning Committee demonstrate a commitment to work together in partnership to develop the area. Leaders of this group have already involved all levels of government in its planning. As the commit-

8. The proposal is consistent with continued economic activity in the area.

Designation of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area is expected to increase tourism, educational and recreational activities as well as the development and expansion of businesses associated with these endeavors. The designation can also benefit businesses involved in historic rehabilitation and community renewal.

Kansas has a state tax credit program for his-

3 Center for Rural Affairs, “Swept Away: Chronic Hardship and Fresh Promise on the Rural Great Plains,” Executive Summary. See <http://www/cfra.org/resources/> Referenced 12/19/2003.

toric properties which provides an incentive for rehabilitation. It is equal to 25% of qualifying expenses on a qualified building. Qualified buildings are those that have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Register of Historic Kansas Places, or have been deemed contributors to a National or State Register Historic District. Kansas has made it easy for applicants because projects that are approved by the National Park Service for the 20% Federal Tax Credit also qualify for the Kansas State Tax Credit. Such incentives linked with an awareness of the contribution of individual structures to the heritage area should encourage the rehabilitation of architectural and cultural resources.

Any anticipated increase in economic activities is consistent with and supportive of existing economic activity in the region. The State of Kansas encourages heritage tourism because it has been demonstrated to be financially beneficial to the state's economy. Coordinated heritage tourism based on the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area theme is expected to contribute to the state's overall economic development.

While recent population growth in the study area has concentrated in the northeast corner of the state near Kansas City, Lawrence, and Topeka, outside the suburban and exurban fringe, the small towns in most counties need support to preserve existing resources and remain economically viable. As a recent report from the Center for Rural Affairs concluded, the rural communities of the Great Plains are "beset by poverty rates chronically higher than the metropolitan rates; incomes and earnings significantly less than those in metropolitan areas; and continued depopulation."³ To meet this challenge, the state of Kansas, along with its neighboring states on the plains, is developing a comprehensive development policy for rural and

agriculturally-based communities. This policy will include a paradigm shift toward greater regional collaboration and the development of greater community capacity through inter-local cooperation.

Communities participating in the BKNHA recognize that self-reliance and resilience will be the keys to their economic future. The proposed New Homestead Act was intended to attract new residents and businesses to rural areas suffering from high out-migration. The legislation would provide for repayment of college loans, tax credits for home purchases, and individual homestead accounts to help build savings to those who locate in high out-migration counties. The act would provide investment tax credits and micro-enterprise tax credits to encourage investment and small businesses in those counties. The act also provides for a homestead venture capital fund to invest in businesses in high out-migration counties. Four of the twenty-three counties in the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area are high out-migration counties.⁴

The Kansas rural development policy and the New Homestead Act will build on the recognized inherent strengths of small towns and rural communities—close-knit communities, strong local business networks, and a tradition of entrepreneurial creativity. The development of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area will conform to best practices recommended by the National Governors' Association. These include, for example, the adaptation of cluster-based strategies of interconnected rural businesses and the promotion of entrepreneurship outside the agricultural sector in rural regions.⁵

As a complementary strategy, the management of a Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area could improve the quality of

⁴ Center for Rural Affairs, "Update on the New Homestead Act," See <http://www.cfra.org/resources/> Referenced 12/19/2003.

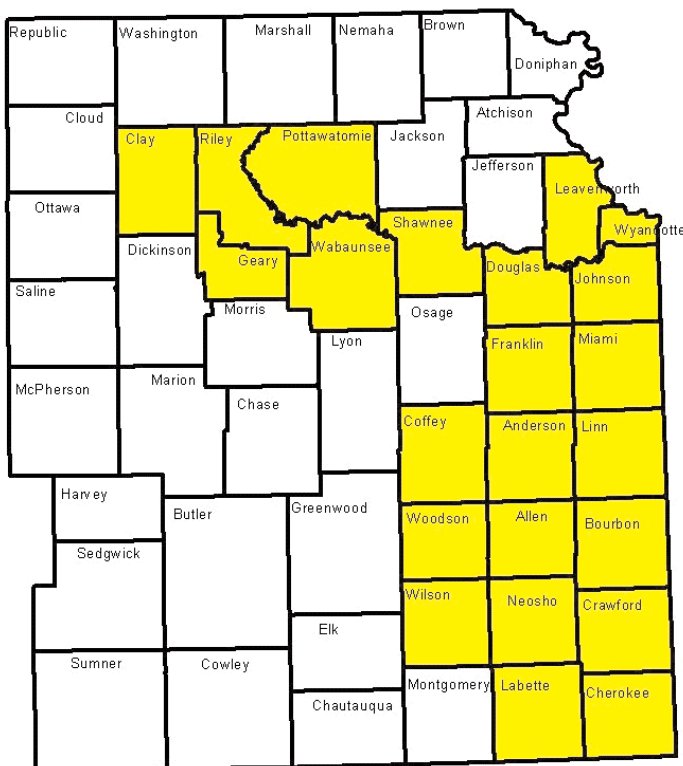
⁵ National Governors Association, "Innovative State Policy Options to Promote Rural Economic Development," Executive Summary. See <http://www.nga.org>. Referenced 12/19/2003

life of the region, while offering support for activities and services linked to heritage tourism and infrastructure development.

9. A conceptual boundary is supported by the public.

The feasibility study has developed two heritage area boundary alternatives after discussing a number of concepts with the BKNHA alliance.

Map 6.1



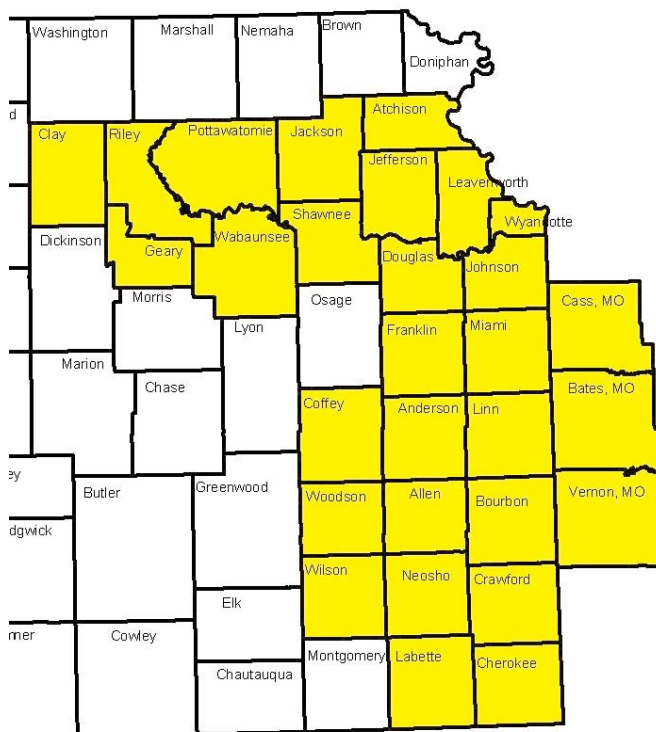
The basic boundary (See Map 6.1) includes a minimum number and range of resources which will provide a representative visitor experience and enhance the protection of primary resource examples related to the proposed themes. This boundary is based on

current participation and financial contributions to the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Alliance. Chapter 4 described the thirty-two essential resources included in the basic heritage area, all of which have a high degree of integrity and are capable of interpretation using the theme and sub-themes described in Chapter 3.

The expanded boundary is the preferred alternative for the long-term (See Map 6.2.) This area is larger and includes substantial numbers of theme-related natural and cultural resources with integrity and varying degrees of public accessibility. The expanded heritage includes the most closely related and thematically important sites in eastern and southern Kansas and tells a more comprehensive history of Bleeding Kansas. There is public interest in supporting the possibility that the heritage area boundary could be expanded into Missouri to include historic sites which were involved in the border war history. This is potentially significant because much of Missouri supported the Confederacy and such inclusion could provide a more complete understanding of the complex political rivalries of the territorial Kansas and Civil War periods. The expanded boundary increases the potential for future partnerships with Missouri organizations to assist with natural and cultural resources interpretation and protection of historic sites. Also, an expanded heritage area would provide a continuous landscape across state boundaries and a much broader interpretation of regional history. Visitors would have a unique opportunity to visit a greater variety of sites.

Finally, unique sites such as Nicodemus in western Kansas should be considered for inclusion in the expanded heritage area when final boundaries are determined. This NPS historic site is highly significant in the histo-

Map 6.2



ry of the African American struggle for freedom. Located in the geographic expanse of the High Plains, Nicodemus is integral to the story of a struggle for freedom since the settlers who left oppressive conditions in the South during the 1870s believed that Kansas would be their “promised land.” This successful African American community is evidence of the consequences of the free-state heritage after “Bleeding Kansas.”

10. The management entity proposed to plan and implement the project is described.

In any heritage area, the management entity acts as a catalyst to focus attention on the area’s distinctive natural and cultural resources and promotes the partnerships necessary for success. The feasibility study has

identified the following characteristics of a management organization which can focus attention and resources necessary for success. The feasibility study finds that a management organization should be identified by the following:

A level of organizational commitment to focus on the heritage area as the singular role of the organization;

A willingness of the management entity to include on its board individuals reflecting a wide variety of interests in the heritage area;

A capability of the management entity to assemble necessary financial resources to match federal contributions;

Experience in and commitment to natural and cultural resources protection and heritage programming; and

Support of the public and organizations that wish to participate in heritage area planning and implementation.

Presently, the BKNHA directs the effort for designation of the National Heritage Area, and this organization could be incorporated with a more formal administrative and financial structure to serve in the role of management entity. The process of developing a Management Plan must evaluate the appropriate roles of the BKNHA and other entities in long-term management. Whatever organizational structure is chosen, it must have the capacity to accept, disburse and account for federal funds and other funding.

National Importance of Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area

This study has documented the rich history

of the Bleeding Kansas period, and concluded that the regional history is unique in American history and occurred during one of the most conflicted periods of national history. This history is evident in landscapes and historic sites which survive from this very difficult period. The story of Bleeding Kansas is a story about freedom – whether the new state of Kansas would allow slavery within its boundaries or not. This story is particularly significant because Bleeding Kansas became for the nation a symbol of the struggle over slavery which was caught up not only in politics, but also in Kansas action that turned into violence. Caught in the turmoil were Native Americans who were pushed from the state after settlement, and African Americans, mostly from Missouri, who fled to Kansas seeking liberty from bondage. Ideologues from both perspectives moved into to Kansas to influence however they could. The nation’s attention was riveted on Kansas as John Brown led raids and engaged in battles to promote the abolitionist cause. Poet John Greenleaf Whittier wrote poems about the state’s troubles stirring the emotions of the nation. The conflict in Kansas became a testing ground to see if the Northern and Southern states could peacefully resolve their differences over slavery. The conditions of the contest were set in Kansas, and in the end, the differences could not be resolved.

Kansas symbolized the struggle for freedom for many people, and was embraced by immigrant groups, women, Native, African and Mexican Americans as a place where they could make a safe home. For this reason, the history of “Bleeding Kansas” is a nationally distinctive history based on cultural resources that are representative of nationally important events and social movements which have had a significant impact on the formation of our national story.

Today the struggle for freedom is as vital and pressing a challenge associated with democratic nation-building as it was during the period of “Bleeding Kansas.” The historic and cultural resources in the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area retain a high degree of integrity and many sites have exhibits and educational events that interpret the Bleeding Kansas period. With locally initiated protection and interpretation of these natural, cultural, scenic and historic resources, the BKHNA is in a unique position to administer a successful National Heritage Area.

CONCLUSION

The Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area complies with the stated criteria for designation of the National Park Service, is strongly supported by local, state, and national legislators, has widespread public support, and should be submitted for National Heritage Area designation by the U.S. Congress at the earliest possible date.

The Next Steps

Following Congressional designation, a detailed Management Plan will be prepared, as required for other designated heritage areas. Key topics that should be studied in further detail in this Management Plan would include, but not be limited to:

- **Confirm and/or adjust the final boundary of the Heritage Area**, including consideration of an expanded area for programmatic coordination that might facilitate involvement of key area institutions such as the Kansas State Historical Society and local historical organizations in interpretive and educational efforts in and beyond the proposed core resource area. Additionally, an expanded area could include important

resources linked to the basic heritage area, including sites in western Missouri.

- **Recommend the most effective management responsibilities for the proposed National Heritage Area**, taking account of the potential for expanded cooperative efforts in resource protection among county governments, state government, and non-profit organizations. The BKNHA may continue to serve as the overall management entity during the management plan development.

- **Recommend a coordinated program of interpretation** that communicates the story of this area, takes advantage of key extant resources, and proposes specific interpretive improvements and associated responsibilities. This effort should include additional ethnographic research into the African American and Native American communities of the study area and the association of these groups with the post-Civil War legacy of the Bleeding Kansas era. While there is enough information on these sub-themes to establish their importance, more research is needed to identify additional heritage resources and to develop interpretation.

Chapter 7

Vision Statement

Heritage areas bring people, organizations, and governments together to promote a common vision. The themes of the heritage area provide a cohesive framework for explaining the importance of unique events that occurred in the past. In the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area, the themes provide the basis for organizing publicly and privately owned properties and landscapes related to the conflict over making Kansas a free state and the enduring struggle for freedom so that residents and visitors may experience the inspirational story of Kansas's contributions and the part each resource played in that important aspect of United States history.

The following vision statement was adopted by the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area Planning Committee at the September 11, 2003, meeting.

Vision Statement

Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area is a place where citizens increase community vitality and expand economic opportunities based in appreciation for their enduring struggle for freedom.

Mission

The mission of the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area is to raise local, regional, national and international awareness of our shared heritage.

Goals

Strengthen partnerships to preserve, promote and educate.

Provide access to new resources for stewardship of our culture.

Enhance and develop historic sites and landscapes.

Utilize heritage to stimulate economic development opportunity.

Chapter 8

Impact Assessment

This chapter describes the anticipated impacts related to the proposed management alternatives, including the “no action” and the National Heritage Area designation alternative. For the purposes of this Environmental Assessment, the proposed action is the designation of a defined area in eastern and southern Kansas as the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area. The results of the feasibility study indicate that the historic and cultural resources are best protected and interpreted by designation as a National Heritage Area.

The Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area feasibility study is subject to the compliance requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and Section 7 of the Endangered Species Act. Generally, an Environmental Assessment (EA) is sufficient to meet NEPA compliance requirements since no significant, quantifiable positive or negative impacts of NHA designation have been identified.

Formal and informal consultation with the appropriate federal, state, and local agencies has been conducted in the preparation of this feasibility study. The study consultants have contacted the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), resource protection and Native American organizations. Consultation was conducted through letters to the Kansas Biological Survey, Kansas State Historical Society, Kansas Humanities Council, Kansas Department of Health and Environment, Kansas Department of Transportation, Kansas Department of

Commerce, National Park Service, Midwest Region, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance, Kansas Land Trust, Nature Conservancy of Kansas, Kansas Rural Center, Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians, Kickapoo of Kansas Tribal Council (See Appendix F). These letters requested the agencies and organizations to identify any issues regarding the study.

Any development projects that involve federal funds, assistance, or permits/licenses would be subject to review for compliance with Section 110 (f) of the Historic Preservation Act. If and when a comprehensive management plan for the Bleeding Kansas Heritage Area is developed, future consultations with the Kansas State Historic Preservation Officer may be required. Neither of the management alternatives considered would result in positive or negative impacts to public health or safety.

Implementation of either of the management alternatives would necessarily comply with state and federal regulations, including laws pertaining to health and safety.

Because neither of the management alternatives prescribe specific actions for the development of land or natural or cultural resources with the study area, air quality and water resources would not be affected. Development projects that involve federal funding or staff would be subject to review for compliance with the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. It is impossible to identify potential impacts on wetlands because no management alternative specifies a development location. If and when development sites are selected, a wetland determination

would be conducted and an analysis of potential impacts, if any, on wetlands would be completed to fulfill compliance requirements. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service was contacted on December 1, 2003 and indicated on December 12 that no formal consultation was necessary.

Based on the information in Chapter 4, Affected Environment, and the analysis in Chapter 6, Application of NHA Criteria, the consultants have determined that heritage area designation will be consistent with continued economic activity (see criterion 8, Chapter 6).

SIGNIFICANCE CRITERIA

One of the management alternatives is “no action.” This assumes that there will not be any additional federal action in the study area. Therefore, for that management alternative, the consultants find that there will be no adverse effects on the characteristics of the affected environment. This conclusion is based on an analysis of population, socioeconomic conditions, land use, transportation, air and water quality, tourism, topography, natural resources, recreational resources, and cultural resources.

For the National Heritage Area designation, two boundary alternatives were considered. This environmental assessment will not evaluate the expanded heritage area alternative. Because the expanded area alternative would include additional Kansas counties and cross the Kansas border to include at least three counties in Missouri, public participation has not been demonstrated in those additional counties. If the expanded area alternative is considered in the future, additional consultation and an amended Environmental Assessment will be required.

The proposed Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area is an area in eastern and southern Kansas that includes twenty-three counties:

Allen	Anderson	Bourbon
Cherokee	Clay	Coffey
Crawford	Douglas	Franklin
Geary	Johnson	Leavenworth
Labette	Linn	Miami
Neosho	Pottawatomie	Riley
Shawnee	Wabaunsee	Wilson
Woodson	Wyandotte	

The Proposed Action would not have a significant impact on the natural environment, cultural, or socioeconomic resources of the Bleeding Kansas National Heritage Area. As defined in 40 CFR Section 1508.27, significance is determined by examining each of the following ten criteria:

Impacts that may be both beneficial and adverse.

Because of the conceptual nature of the proposal, there would be no noticeable affects to the geologic, vegetative, and scenic resources of the area. Generally, there would be no effects to other natural resources (wetlands, floodplains, rivers, wildlife, air quality, etc.). Thus impacts to natural resources as a whole were not considered to be significant. Impacts to the socioeconomic environment would be localized, positive impacts. No effects to cultural resources were identified for the basic heritage area alternative.

Degree of effect on public health or safety.

There are no known health and safety issues that would result from the designation.

Unique characteristics of the geographic area such as proximity to historic or cultural resources, park lands, prime farmlands, wetlands, wild and scenic rivers, or ecologically critical areas.

No effects to natural or cultural resources were identified for the preferred boundary alternative. There are no prime farmlands, wetlands, wild and scenic rivers, or ecologically areas that would be affected.

Degree to which effects on the quality of the human environment are likely to be highly controversial.

Controversy can relate to local opposition to the proposed boundary definition and NHA designation. There was no significant local opposition to the proposed action.

Degree to which the possible effects on the quality of the human environment are highly uncertain or involve unique or unknown risks.

There were no highly uncertain or unique or unknown risks identified.

Degree to which the action may establish a precedent for future actions with significant effects or represents a decision in principle about a future consideration.

This proposal for National Heritage Area designation is modeled after several designated and proposed National Heritage Areas, for example, "Silos and Smokestacks" Iowa, and "Crossroads of the Revolution," New Jersey.

Whether the action is related to other actions with individually insignificant but cumulatively significant impacts.

There are many past and present actions that affect the historic and cultural resources included in the Bleeding Kansas and the Enduring Struggle for Freedom National Heritage Area. With implementation of this proposed designation, the planning committee believes that protection and interpretation of the historic and cultural resources included would be enhanced.

Degree to which the action may adversely affect districts, sites, highways, structures, or objects listed on the National Register of Historic Places or may cause loss or destruction of significant scientific, cultural, or historical resources.

The Kansas Historic Preservation Office (KHPO) has advised on the preparation of the NHA feasibility study. Draft copies were sent to the State Historic Preservation Officer on January 12, 2004. Because the study provides recommendations without any actions or undertakings, no further consultation is required. Therefore, the feasibility study has met the requirements of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

Degree to which the action may adversely affect an endangered or threatened species or its critical habitat.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has been consulted and provided information that indicated the action would have no effect on threatened or endangered species.

Whether the action threatens a violation of Federal, state, or local environmental protection law.

This action violates no federal, state, or local environmental protection laws.

CONCLUSION

The proposed action will not have a significant effect on the human environment. Negative environmental impacts that could occur are minor. There are no significant impacts on public health, public safety, threatened and endangered species, sites or districts listed in or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, or other unique characteristics of the region. No highly uncertain or controversial impacts, unique or unknown risks, significant cumulative effects, or elements of precedence were identified. The proposed action does not constitute an action that normally requires preparation of an environmental impact statement (EIS). Implementation of the action will not violate any federal, state, or local environmental law.

COUNTIES IN THE PROPOSED BLEEDING KANSAS AND THE ENDURING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM NATIONAL HERITAGE AREA

Each of the counties considered for inclusion in the proposed Heritage Area has had a role in Kansas history and development connecting it to the theme of the Enduring Struggle for Freedom. Following is a list of the counties currently involved and the themes that connect them to the enduring struggle for freedom:

GLACIATED REGION

LEAVENWORTH: Topographically part of the Glaciated Region with Pottawatomie, Shawnee and Wyandotte counties.

Thematically linked with Native Americans, African Americans, Proslavery, Free State, Kansas Conflict and Civil War. Additional themes include Underground Railroad and Military/Government. Well timbered and watered with the Missouri River to the North and the Kansas River on the South Leavenworth County was the home for the Kansas City Hopewell people in the prehistoric period and later the Kansa. The first known European settlers were the Coureurs des Bois and garrison located at **Fort Cavagnial** outside the Large **Kansa Village** or Town in 1746 on the grounds of present **Fort Leavenworth**. The site of the abandoned fort was visited by **Lewis and Clark** in 1804. In a demonstration of the premise that what makes a location desirable for settlement good for one group generally makes it good for any group the US Army established **Fort Leavenworth** on

the bluffs overlooking the Missouri River in 1827. Fort Leavenworth is the oldest continuously occupied military post west of the Mississippi River. The Fort was actually supposed to be built on the Missouri side of the River but attempts to locate there were flooded out. The military located the Fort illegally on Indian land and negotiated for the purchase after the fact. Over the years the Fort has continued to expand and occupy what was open land or farm land. This also increased the demand for supplies and provided a good opportunity for business. During and after the War the presence of the Fort was a boon to the town. After the War Fort Leavenworth became the home of the **“Buffalo Soldiers”** as the African Americans were known. Their presence is recognized by the **Buffalo Soldiers Monument** on post and at the **Richard Allen Cultural Center** in Leavenworth. These troops fought for a country which was based on liberty, yet denied them equality. A fact not lost on them. Even the story of the Monument is an indication of the Enduring Struggle. While an officer at Fort Leavenworth Brigadier General Colin Powell looked for the streets named after the 9th and 10th Cavalry. What he found were two “streets” that did nothing to honor those units. He began a personal crusade which led to the creation of the Monument that stands today to acknowledge the significant role these troops played in opening the West to settlement.

During the Territorial period many of the officers at Fort Leavenworth were from the South and supported the Proslavery faction. This support and the close proximity to Weston, Missouri led to the creation of the **Leavenworth Town Company** which initially was

Proslavery. Leavenworth did have a **Free Black settler** early on who came specifically to assist escaping Freedom Seekers. Free State settlers located in the area seeing the same economic potential that led their Proslavery counterparts to select the location. A **German colony** soon moved into the area as did other Free State settlers. Gradually Leavenworth changed from a Proslavery town to a Free State community. The African American population began to grow and swelled during the Civil War with Freedom Seekers and the elements which would form part of the **First Kansas Colored Infantry** and provide three Black officers, Captain Matthews, Lieutenant Minor and Lieutenant . One **Abolitionist** active in Leavenworth was Dan Anthony. When Dan was shot in an altercation his sister **Susan B. Anthony** came to nurse him back to health. While here Susan corresponded with an old friend from the East, Clarina Nichols, as they both worked on **Women's Rights** and began planning their next moves in the struggle for Freedom.

Leavenworth was a major commercial and manufacturing center for a time. Like other communities the floods along the Kansas and Missouri Rivers affected it.

Towns include Leavenworth, Fort Leavenworth.

POTTAWATOMIE: Part of the Flint Hills Region and Glaciated Region.

Thematically tied to Native Americans.

Initially this was Kansa land until they were removed and replaced by **Potawatomi, Chippewa, Sac Fox and Kickapoo**. Jesuits established the community of **St. Marys**, which became the town of St. Marys. St. Marys served as a mission, school and trading site

throughout the 1860's. A government ferry was established when Fort Riley was built nearby and increased traffic brought opportunities and problems for the Tribes. Like most Tribes the Nations brought in as part of the Permanent Indian Frontier had mixed feelings and watched as whites increasingly moved through the area. In 1864 a group of Potawatomi and Kickapoo leave the region and settle in the state of Coahuila, Mexico. While crossing through Texas this group is attacked by Confederates resulting in a twenty-year war between the Saint Marys Band and the Texans in their new homes. The fertility of the river bottom lands was not lost on many of those going through the region and after the Civil War a number of former soldiers settled the county and developed crop land in the valleys and ranches in the uplands. The remaining **Potawatomi split** into two groups, the "**Citizen Band**" which chose citizenship and personal land holding and the "**Prairie Band**" which opts for traditional communal landholding and is removed to Jackson County. Eventually most of the Citizen Band intermarry with whites or remove to Oklahoma as they lose their lands to encroaching white settlers.

With the promise of the railroad more European immigrants arrive from Sweden, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. **Part** of these settlers **retained their ethnic customs and languages** while others chose to join the mainstream culture.

Towns include Wamego and Westmoreland.

SHAWNEE: Part of the Glaciated Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, African Americans, Free State, and Kansas Conflict. Additional

theme includes Underground Railroad.

The Wakarusa and Kansas Rivers water Shawnee County with smaller streams and contained stands of timber along the waterways. Initially the Kansa occupied this county. After the Kansa were removed the Shawnee, Delaware and Pottawatomie settled it. Missions were established along with a ferry across the Kansas River at the site of Topeka. A number of **Free Staters** and elements of the **New England Emigrant Aid Company** settled in the vicinity of **Big Springs** and **Topeka**. Topeka became the seat of the opposition Free State government. With settlement mills were constructed and timber harvested, crops were put in and creeks dammed or bridged. After statehood in 1861 Topeka became capitol and has been the seat of government. The county became a rail center with the development of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. African Americans came as part of the **Underground Railroad** with some remaining. Exodusters fleeing the oppression in the South later joined these settlers. **Mexicans** were brought in to work on the railroad and were also classed as **People of Color** with similar treatment by white culture. In 1954 Topeka would come to national attention as the focus of “**Brown vs. Board of Education**”. This landmark Civil Rights case is commemorated with the National Historic Site at Monroe School.

Towns include Big Springs and Topeka.

WYANDOTTE: Part of the Glaciated Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, African Americans, Women, Free State, Proslavery, and Civil War. Additional themes include

Civil Rights, Mexican Immigrants, Asian Immigrants and the Underground Railroad.

Wyandotte County is largely located between the Kansas and Missouri Rivers. Prairies in the west end of the county merged with the heavy woods along the rivers. The **Kansas City Hopewell** were the first known prehistoric residents as they settled on bluffs along the Missouri River. Some plants were grown but cultivation and land modification were minimal. The **Kansa** used the region but their main villages were further up the Missouri. Roads crossed the area early after Fort Leavenworth was established and the county became home for the **Shawnee, Delaware** and later **Wyandot** Tribes. Each of these groups had different experiences as they struggled to decide whether to adopt the white culture or retain their own religion and customs. The main settlements of the Shawnee were in Johnson County but individuals intermarried with the other tribes and moved onto their reserves. The Delaware had several towns along the Kansas River and its tributaries but were forced to move to a different set of sites after the 1844 Flood. The **Wyandot**, who arrived last had intermarried extensively with Whites, other tribes and Blacks. This Tribe **split over the issue of Slavery** in 1847 and **Proslavery elements** established what would become the town of **Wyandott** while the **Abolitionist members** retreated to other areas, especially in the Northern part of the county near what would become **Quindaro**.

When the Territory opened in 1854 the town of Wyandott boomed as a river town. By 1856 the **New England Emigrant Aid Society** combined with Abolitionist Wyandots to establish the

Free State town of Quindaro. Quindaro quickly gained a reputation as both a Free State and Abolition center and became a stopping point on the Underground Railroad. A number of sites were used including the cistern at Clarina Nichols home. Mrs. Nichols was an active **Suffragette** and is credited with getting the Kansas Constitution to include **Women's Rights**. In **1859 a city election board allowed two Runaway Slaves to vote in local elections**. This was one of the first instances where Blacks were allowed to vote in any election. Quindaro suffered with the economic crash but was seen by escaping Slaves as a safe haven. This became especially important in the winter of 1861 when the Missouri River froze solid enough for horses to cross. Many of the **Freedom Seekers** avoided Wyandott due to its earlier reputation. By 1862 Quindaro was largely abandoned due to its threatened position across the river from Confederate held Parkville, Missouri.

Wyandott rose in prominence as refugees gathered there and Union troops established a military post. Some where in the county was located "**Camp Jim Lane**" where the **First Colored Kansas Volunteer Infantry** gathered and began training. By 1863 the railroad reached Wyandott and began moving west. The coming of the railroad helped develop other businesses and later industries. A series of towns consolidated in 1887 and became known as **Kansas City, Kansas**. Eventually Kansas City would swallow all other communities and entities in the county except **Bonner Springs** and **Edwardsville**. By 2004 all of Wyandotte County is part of the Unified Government of Kansas City/Wyandotte County, Kansas except Bonner Springs

and Edwardsville. Other communities swallowed up included Argentine with what was for a time the worlds largest silver smelter and the Argentine rail yards, Armourdale and the packinghouse and stockyards districts, and Rosedale with the University of Kansas Medical Center and School.

Wyandotte County initially focused on agriculture, meatpacking and the railroad. It was in part this agricultural focus that resulted in the selection of Bonner Springs as the home of **The Agricultural Hall of Fame and National Farmers Monument**. Over the years it developed manufacturing and during World War II was producing both landing craft and medium range bombers. During the Korean War the General Motors plant had two assembly lines going. One on the floor produced automobiles. The Overhead line produced jet fighter aircraft

Towns include Kansas City including former towns of Quindaro and Wyandott.

OSAGE CUESTAS REGION
ALLEN: linked topographically with Anderson, Bourbon, Coffey, Crawford, Douglas, Johnson, Labette, Linn, Miami, Wilson and Woodson counties in the Osage Cuestas Region. This area of rolling hills and plains is heavily underlain with limestone and results in good, fertile soils.

Thematically linked with Native American, African-American, Free State themes defined in the main body of the Feasibility Study. Additional themes or perspectives include European Immigrants and Underground Railroad.

Originally this was part of the Osage hunting area until they were

removed by the Treaty of 1825. Later part of the Reservation. Lands were initially grasses until crops were planted. Timbered areas along streams and rivers were used by white settlers although much construction was made of stone.

Humboldt was settled by German immigrants in 1857 and was associated with the New England Emigrant Aid Society. These settlers were strongly affiliated with the Free Staters and chose Kansas in part **because it provided an opportunity for the Germans to control their own fates as a majority, not minority component** of the settlement. A **Vegetarian Colony** was established six miles Southeast of Humboldt in 1856 but was short lived. During the Civil War over 1000 Loyal Creeks, Cherokees their slaves and freedmen fought their way out of Oklahoma under **Opothleyahola**. This group would become the core of the **First Volunteer Indian Home Guard Regiment**, which formed part of the **Tricolor Brigade**. Blacks enlisted in this Regiment with their former masters and also found work as interpreters for the white officers. Humboldt served as a time as headquarters for the Creek Agency until Confederate raiders burned the town. The refugees who formed the Home Guard Regiment retreated. They were provided with the weapons and training to allow them to retake their homes.

Towns include Iola and Humboldt

ANDERSON: linked topographically to the other counties in the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically linked to Native American, African American, Free State themes in the main body. Additional themes include European

Immigrants, Underground Railroad and John Brown.

Originally this was part of the Osage hunting lands until the Treaty of 1825. Later part of the Potawatomi, Sac and Fox Reservations until removal by the Treaty of. Part of the **Permanent Indian Frontier** until extinguished through the Opening of the Kansas Territory in 1854. Early settlers in the vicinity of **Garnett** and **Greeley** were largely Free State supporters. John Brown brought a party of Slaves he was liberating through the area and one gave birth in the Gerth Cabin, now moved into Greeley as a historic site for interpretation. Early European settlements included **Emerald** founded by Irish Catholics in the 1850's and **Scipio** founded by Catholics and joined by residents of Scipio, Indiana from 1855-1857. These early settlers came in part to make Kansas free but also to avoid anti-Catholic sentiment in the East and acquire land.

Fertile soils aided the transition from prairie grasses to agriculture. Small communities located near water sources and survived drought and flood until their economic reasons for existence caught up with them. Those towns located in the best areas for laying rails got the railroads. Those without rail traffic found themselves off the beaten path and had to transport their produce and goods farther to market. The development of roads along the Section lines helped here as throughout the Midwest. With increased personal transportation and better roads conditions improved for the farmers for a time. Better farm machinery allowed more land to be put under cultivation. With the coming of the Depression and the drought of the 1930's agriculture suffered. New methods of farming

focusing on dry-land methods were developed.

Towns include Garnett, Greeley and Scipio

BOURBON: linked topographically to the other counties in the Osage Cuestas Region. Portions of the county are also included with Cherokee, Crawford and Labette counties in the Cherokee Lowlands Region. The Cherokee Lowlands included areas with good fertile soils combined with underlying minerals including natural gas, oil and coal.

Thematically linked to Native American, African American, Free State, and Proslavery, Kansas Conflict and Civil War themes. Additional themes include Military/Government role in the Enduring Struggle for Freedom.

Bourbon County was part of the Osage lands until they were removed. **Fort Scott** was established as an outpost of the Permanent Indian Frontier in 1843 and served as a troop center throughout the Mexican War until it was replaced by Fort Riley in 1853. One of Fort Scott's main duties was to protect the Emigrant Tribes being relocated into Kansas. To do this mounted troops from the post made a number of "Demonstrations" onto the prairie to awe the Plains Tribes into submission. These attempts to control the Plains Tribes were successful but attempts to resettle some Emigrant Tribes were not. The Wyandot of Ohio were supposed to remove to the area adjacent to Fort Scott but refused. Eventually they would be forced to relocate in present Wyandotte County but these initial resettlement attempts were successfully resisted. Later efforts to resettle the New York Indians to the area originally set aside

for the Wyandot were also largely unsuccessful. By 1853 when the Fort was being abandoned it was clear the area would soon be open for white settlement. Squatters from Missouri illegally settled the land and began developing the future town site. The same reasons that led the Army to establish the Fort on the bluff overlooking the Marmaton River contributed to the success of the settlement. Prairies to the west merged with the timber of the Marmaton Valley and the limestone bluffs provided stone, which was easily accessible. Initially the settlers were mostly Proslavery partisans from Missouri intent on bringing Kansas into the Union as a Slave State. As more Free State settlers arrived in the region violence flared and Fort Scott became both a source of raids from Proslavers and a target of raids from Free Staters. Eventually Kansas settled into the calm before the Civil War officially began. With statehood in 1861 came the War. Fort Scott once again became a military outpost but the old fort had been sold and many of the structures were otherwise occupied. The main military activity moved outside of town and would eventually become one of the sites where the **First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry** would be mustered into Kansas service in 1862. This unit was the first African American unit raised in the North to see combat. One of the unit leaders who saw combat on October 29, 1862 was Lieutenant Patrick Minor, an African American who would lose his rank when the unit transferred into federal service in 1863. This unit would also form part of the **Tricolor Brigade** with the Indian Home Guard Regiments and elements of Kansas Cavalry units. Fort Scott also is home to **National Cemetery #1** where a number

of Civil War and later soldiers are interred.

After the War the railroads and eventually US Highway 69 would also go through Fort Scott following the old military road. The same reasons it was attractive to the early road builders held true for the later ones, following the path of least resistance. Fort Scott would also find notoriety as the setting for Gordon Parks autobiographical film **“The Learning Tree”**. Parks, an African American photographer and filmmaker recounted “growing up in a small Southern town”. The film and the ensuing controversy showed that while Kansas had one image as a place where people fought to end Slavery it also had another darker image for those African Americans who had experienced the Racism present in many towns. In 2004 there is progress reconciling between Mr. Parks and the community. The town also hosts Fort Scott National Historic Site established in 1976 and focusing on the role of the military on the Frontier, especially along the Permanent Indian Frontier. Part of the county has retained its grassland heritage as ranching country while part has become more heavily timbered as the woods overtake prairie and unused fields.

Towns include Fort Scott.

COFFEY: linked topographically with other counties in the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, Free State and Civil War. Traditionally part of the Osage country until removal. During the 1850’s **Burlington** was settled by Pennsylvanians and members of the **New England Emigrant Aid Society**. These settlers were later joined by more **Free Staters** at **Leroy**, which replaced

Humboldt as the headquarters for the Southern Indian Agency after Humboldt was burned. Refugee Creek and Cherokee settled the area temporarily outside the local military post.

Towns include Burlington and Leroy

CRAWFORD: Topographically linked to other counties in the Osage Cuestas Region and the Cherokee Lowlands Region.

Thematically linked to Native American, African American, and Women. Additional themes include Mining, Labor and European Immigrants. Part of the Osage lands, Crawford county contained timber as well as mineral wealth. Primarily settled from the 1870’s on. Crawford County experienced a variety of variations on the Enduring Struggle. A group of **Exodusters** settled in Cherokee and soon found themselves surrounded by miners brought in from Eastern Europe to work in the coalmines. These Italian and Bohemian miners would contribute to the areas nickname as **“the Little Balkans”**. In their struggle for better working conditions and wages several things would occur. **African Americans** would be imported from the South as strike breakers or “scabs”. When they found out why they were being brought in and kept away from white workers they promptly joined the Union effectively combining the African American Struggle with the Labor Struggle. Girard, the county seat would elect a Socialist city council and serve as home to Eugene Debs and “Mother” Jones. Between 1919 and 1951 Girard was also home to the “Little Blue Books” printed by Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, “the Henry Ford of the Printing Press”. In 1920 between 3000-6000

women met to support their striking husbands and staged “the **Amazon Army March**”. These women were marching in protest against the **Industrial Court Law**, which restricted the right of miners to strike. By taking this action the women were actually marching for the miners struggle for freedom. Pittsburg would provide the new labor union, the United Mine Workers of America, with its first president, Matt Walters. As the mineral deposits ran out and technology changed to move to strip pits rather than deep shaft mining a number of workers found themselves looking for work.

Towns include Girard and Pittsburg.

DOUGLAS: linked topographically to the other counties of the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically linked with Native Americans, African Americans, Free State and Proslavery, Kansas Conflict, Civil War. Additional themes include the Underground Railroad and John Brown. Originally considered part of the Kansa hunting region until removal. Included **Delaware** settlements including a town near what became North Lawrence. During the violence of the 1850’s both **Delaware** and **Shawnee** Tribal leaders offered warriors to help protect the town from Proslavery forces. The Delaware tried to remain in the area but were later removed to Oklahoma after the Civil War. For a time Lawrence was the headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Later it became home to Haskell, currently **Haskell Indian Nations University**. Started as a boarding school for Western tribes Haskell grew and changed with the times to provide a four-year Liberal Arts

program with special focus on indigenous peoples. Recently the scene of struggles over the South Lawrence Traffic way which had been planned to take part of Haskell’s grounds including an area where students secretly met their parents as late as the 1960’s.

Clinton was adjacent to the old **Free State town of Bloomington** where one of the incidents of Voter Fraud occurred in the territorial Elections. Clinton also became home to an integrated farming community of Runaway Slaves from Missouri and Free State whites. This community remained until descendants were removed for the construction of **Clinton Reservoir** in the late 1960’s. Currently descendants of these early settlers are relocating near the reservoir as they retire.

Lecompton was established and recognized as the **official capitol** of the Kansas Territory. The Federal Government in Washington recognized this Proslavery settlement even though it was considered Bogus by the Free Staters. Located along the Kansas River the area had fertile ground and was largely agricultural after Kansas became a state and the capitol was officially removed to Topeka. Today Lecompton contains both a state historic site (Constitution Hall) and a local museum housed in the old Lane University building. Residents of the small town are very aware and proud of their role in the national controversy that stopped the spread of Slavery.

Lawrence, located along the Kansas River, was considered the epitome of a **Free State town** and contained both Westerners from Indiana and members of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. This town started in 1854 and gained national and international recognition as it was

sacked and burned by Proslavery Missourians in 1856 and became the scene of the Lawrence Massacre in 1863. In retaliation for the 1856 attack **John Brown** butchered Proslavery settlers at Dutch Henry's Crossing in the Pottawatomie Massacre. Brown and a number of other conductors on the Underground Railroad brought escaping slaves through Lawrence and Douglas County. Runaway Slaves were welcome in the community and were emancipated as Kansas troops under Jim Lane moved into Missouri on military raids. Lane would also give orders to recruit the **First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry** in 1862 in spite of official War Department refusals to enlist African American troops. Later Lawrence developed an active and thriving African American community including the grandparents of poet and author **Langston Hughes**. For a time Langston lived with his grandmother and they were the only People of Color on the stage when President Teddy Roosevelt dedicated the John Brown Park in Osawatimie. In spite of its role as a Free State center the city maintained a segregated swimming pool until 1964. Over the years Lawrence has survived a number of droughts, fires and floods.

Towns include Lecompton, Lawrence and Clinton.

FRANKLIN: Topographically part of the Osage Cuestas.

Thematically linked with Native Americans, Free State, Proslavery, and Kansas Conflict. Other theme includes John Brown.

Once Osage hunting ground Franklin County became home to the Chippewa, Ottawa, Munsee, Peoria and Kaskaskia who were relocated in the Permanent Indian Frontier. Part of the **Munsee** have

remained and intermarried with the whites while retaining elements of their culture. This group is not federally recognized and receives no direct government support. The other tribes removed to Oklahoma after 1867. Under terms of an agreement with the Baptist Church the **Ottawa** provided land for what is today **Ottawa University** in exchange for free college educations for tribal members. In 1980's a book was published and a battle to enforce the terms of the agreement occurred. Ottawa is located along the Marais des Cygnes in an area with hardwood forest along the river and had open prairies beyond. Over the years much of Franklin County came under cultivation or was used as pasture. One practice still followed in much of the region as of 2004 is the seasonal burning of pastures to kill off weeds, and prevent the spread of scrub brush and trees. During 1951 Ottawa and other locations downstream were hard hit by the flooding this helped lead to the construction of **Melvern Reservoir** in Osage County in the 1960's as part of the flood control program developed.

The area around **Lane** included both the **Free State** settlement of **Brown's Station** (founded by John Brown's sons) and the **Proslavery settlement** at "**Dutch Henry's Crossing**". Both settlements were along Pottawatomie Creek in a well-timbered region with good prairie for cultivation and pasture. In 1856 "Dutch Henry's" would become the scene of the Pottawatomie Massacre. Brown's Free State Abolitionist followers killed Proslavery settlers in retaliation for the destruction of Lawrence by Proslavery Missourians. In this area both parties would form military companies and engage in hit and run combat as they

tried to force out the opposition. Lane also for a time was the home of Clarina Nichols who is credited with persuading the legislators drafting the Wyandotte Constitution to include Women's Rights issues. Mrs. Nichols sons also rode with John Brown at the Battle of Black Jack. When presenting talks in Vermont and the East on conditions in Kansas she used the bullet removed from her son, A.O. Carpenter to demonstrate what was occurring. Much of the area around Lane is still owned by small family farmers including a number of descendants of early Free State settlers.

Towns include Lane and Ottawa.

JOHNSON: Part of the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, Proslavery, Kansas Conflict, and Civil War.

Johnson County was ceded as part of the Osage Treaty of 1825. The **Shawnee** were relocated into the area and tended to settle in small villages and homesteads. Timber along well-watered creeks and the Kansas River provided logs for "Dog Trot" cabins and fence rails. The Shawnee already farmed before they got to Kansas and continued raising both traditional foods and developing orchards. The Shawnee were considered good farmers and generally produced excess crops, which they sold along the side of the Santa Fe Trail, which passed through the grounds of the Shawnee Methodist Mission. Rev. Thomas Johnson, a Methodist missionary and slave owner became an influential political figure in the Territorial period. During the Civil War he sided with the Union and was murdered by Confederate guerrillas.

Towns include Lenexa, Mission, Shawnee and Olathe.

LABETTE: Part of the Osage Cuestas Region with parts in the Cherokee Lowlands.

Thematically linked with Native Americans and African Americans. Labette County was part of Neosho County until 1867. Refugees from the Creek and Cherokee made their way through Labette on their way to safe locations where they would organize the **First Indian Home Guard Regiment**. After the county was established a sizable African American population moved in as part of the **Exoduster** movement. Many of the members of this group came up from Texas along the railroad and settled in towns where they worked for wages. Others moved out along the Neosho River Valley where they began farming.

As farmsteads and other towns grew up wells were dug for water and tree rows established as windbreaks. Crops were rotated and sorghum grains became some of the leading crops in this area.

Towns include Oswego and Parsons.

LINN: Part of the Osage Cuestas Region

Thematically linked to Native Americans, Free State, Proslavery, Kansas Conflict, Civil War, and African Americans. Additional theme includes the Underground Railroad.

Linn County was initially Osage land and included a **trading post** set up by the Chouteau family in the early 1800's. Well watered and timbered with high prairie and fertile bottomland the area was highly attractive for farming. When the **Osage** were removed the **Potawatomi** were initially resettled in both Linn and Miami counties. Later the **Miami** were resettled here. When the

Territory was opened the Indian lands were reduced and the first white settlers were Proslavery Missourians who were quickly replaced by Free Staters from Indiana, Ohio and the other western states. Farmsteads were initially the most common form of settlement. Military companies for both sides quickly developed and the running battles spread throughout the county. **Free State** leaders connected with **John Brown** and some Free Staters became **Abolitionists** as their own stances hardened. These Free Staters wanted to contain the spread of slavery. After their conversion they began actively assisting Freedom Seekers and raiding into Missouri to liberate Slaves. These Freedom Seekers were routed through the area as part of the **Underground Railroad** on their way to safety. Linn County was also the site of the “**Marais des Cygnes Massacre**” where a group of eleven Free Staters were shot by Proslavery forces. This event was commemorated in the poem by John Greenleaf Whittier and served to further harden the lines between North and South.

During the Civil War Linn County was the site of Kansas only official battle at **Mine Creek**. Here the largest frontal cavalry charge of the war took place on the tenth anniversary of the charge of the Light Brigade. Tactics developed in this battle are still taught at the Command and General Staff College to both American and foreign officers.

Towns include Trading Post, Mound City and Pleasanton.

MIAMI: Part of the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically tied to Native American, African American, Free State, Proslavery, Kansas Conflict,

and Civil War. Other themes include Underground Railroad, John Brown.

Originally Miami County was mostly prairie with hardwood forests along the rivers and streams. Part of the Osage lands until **Shawnee, Potawatomi, Piankishaw, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea and Miami Indians were relocated in the Permanent Indian Frontier**. With the opening of the Territory Indian lands were reduced until the last Tribes left after the Civil War. The county was originally named Lykins in honor of Reverend David Lykins. In 1861 the name was changed to Miami in honor of the Tribe. Rev. Lykins left the area at about the same time due to his Proslavery politics. It was in the 1850's that the River formerly known as the “Osage”(a name it retains in Missouri) became known as the “Marais des Cygnes”. It appears that both name changes were attempts to differentiate Kansas from Missouri.

The first community was **Miami, which** no longer exists. It was established as a mission and Indian Agency. Not far from this old community is the scene of a new controversy as Oklahoma members of the **Miami Tribe** sued for the return of lands illegally taken by whites. The Miami wanted to establish a Bingo Parlor but have so far been stopped through legal action by the State of Kansas.

Osawatomie developed when a group of Quakers stopped at the town site and gave up their interests to a party from the **New England Emigrant Aid Society** when assured the settlement would be **Free State** and **Antislavery** in political orientation. This settlement became home to the Reverend Samuel Adair and his wife, the sister of John Brown. These graduates of Oberlin

College came specifically to see Kansas become a Free State, as did other Oberlin alumni. One of the things that makes the situation in Kansas unique is the convergence of a number of diverse groups with a specific political agenda, either seeking to expand or restrict the number of Slave states. The East in particular saw it as both a holy crusade and a direct tie to their Pilgrim past. An example of this is the “**Song of the Kansas Immigrant**”...”We cross the Prairies as of old our fathers crossed the sea, to make the West as they the East, the homestead of the Free...” Another thing making the situation in Kansas unique and volatile was the sense of desperation both sides felt. In Kansas this desperation turned violent and spilled over to become the Civil War.

In answer to Osawatomie the community of **Paola** was founded by **Proslavery** Missourians. Paola became the county seat and would modify its political views as it became clear Kansas was lost to the Proslavery cause. It also became home to the first oil well west of the Mississippi in 1860. The development of this venture demonstrates how things changed. The primary developer of this project was G.W. Brown, the former editor of “The Herald of Freedom” a Free State publication from Lawrence. Most of the financial backers of the venture were Southerners. Brown had visited Pennsylvania where an oil boom was taking place and remembered hearing stories of oil springs in Kansas. Before significant production could take place the Civil War broke out and the Southern investors returned to the South. During the Civil War Paola served as a headquarters and a garrison site.

Towns include Osawatomie, Paola, and Louisburg.

NEOSHO: Part of the Osage Cuestas Region.

Thematically tied to Native Americans, Mexican Americans. Additional themes include Asians, Land Use Reform.

Neosho County adjoins Allen, Crawford, Labette, Wilson and Bourbon Counties. Home of the **Osage** Indians and later the **Osage Mission** station established by the Jesuits in 1847. The Osage settled near the rivers and streams and Osage Mission grew into the city of Saint Paul and served as a hub for establishing other missions through the region. The missionaries were followed by farmers who cleared out much of the timber and planted crops. Like the rest of the region Neosho County suffered through the grasshoppers, droughts and floods. Over tillage resulted in erosion and the loss of soil productivity requiring more intensive use of fertilizers. Over the years small family farms have been especially hard hit and have gradually been replaced by larger corporate farms. Mexican labor was initially brought in on a seasonal basis but is now staying settled along with new refugees from Vietnam. Both of these groups have had to adapt to the “mainstream” society. Asians have also come in and purchased some of the remaining small farms with extra capital. In 2004 there appears to be a cultural exchange going on and both the mainstream and the newcomers are learning from each other. Some former croplands are diverted to wildlife preservation and others have become involved with the Land Institute focusing on more sustainable farming in a prairie ecosystem.

Towns include Erie and Chanute.

CHEROKEE LOWLANDS REGION AND OZARK PLATEAU

CHEROKEE: linked topographically with other counties in the Cherokee Lowlands Region. Portions of this county are also part of the Ozark Plateau Region. Local minerals included lead and zinc along with mineral springs.

Thematically linked with Native American, African American, and Civil War. Additional perspectives or themes include Mining, European Immigrants and Labor. Cherokee County was part of the Osage lands until 1826. It became part of the Cherokee Neutral Lands and part of the Quapaw Strip. By 1862 **Baxter Springs** became a center for settlement and an outpost on the military road between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson. In 1863 this was to be the site of the Baxter Springs Massacre and involve elements of the Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry and the escort for General James Blunt attacked by elements of Quantrill's Confederate Guerillas. For the men of the Kansas Colored Infantry there was no doubt as to their fate if they lost. They had to win or die. Blunt's escort was fooled by Quantrill's use of federal uniforms and were soon massacred while the Colored Infantry did what it could from its defensive positions. Baxter Springs was Kansas first cow town and would later become important with the coal and lead mining in the region. After the War a number of **Exodusters** settled in the "**Singleton Colony**" where they farmed and later found work in the towns and coalmines with immigrants from Eastern Europe. Eventually the mine tailings and shafts produced pollution as the waste leached into groundwater and soils.

Towns include Columbus, Baxter Springs and West Mineral.

FLINT HILLS REGION

CLAY: Topographically linked with Geary, Pottawatomie, Riley and Wabaunsee counties in the Flint Hills Region. This region has tall grass prairie and is mostly used for pasture.

Thematically linked to Native Americans. Additional themes include European immigrants. Clay County was initially part of the Kansa hunting lands. With the removal of the Kansa to their Reservation in Morris County the area was occupied by the. Some small settlement occurred in the 1850's but the area received more attention when a colony of English came in 1869. These English would concentrate on town building at **Wakefield**. One of the most interesting groups of English colonists was a party of **orphan boys** between 16 and 19 years old. This group appeared to be the predecessors of the **Orphan Trains** that would later bring orphans out to the West for placement. Initially sod homes were most common in the county but later construction was often of stone. Timber was only found along the rivers and creeks and was often conserved due to its scarcity. New tools encouraged cultivation but the ground was mostly kept in grasses except for small areas for local needs. A series of droughts interspersed with floods and the grasshopper plague affected farming initially. Later lands were put in corn and wheat and the communities prospered.

Towns include Clay Center and Wakefield

GEARY: Part of the Flint Hills Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, Free State. Additional themes include Military/Government.

Geary County was home to a **Free State** Community of **Pawnee**. This town is also claimed by Riley County, as is the military post at **Fort Riley**. Fort Riley played a role in the 1850's as it shut down the Free State legislature in Topeka. Several attempts to form towns between 1855 and 1857 failed before Junction City was established. At that time (1857) the county was known as **Davis County**. Named for **Jefferson Davis**, at that time Secretary of the War Department the name proved so unpopular that several attempts were made to change the name. In 1889 the county officially changed its name to Geary. From the 1850's through the 1880's Fort Riley provided troops for **campaigns against the Plains Tribes** such as the Cheyenne, Plains Apache, Kiowa and Comanche. For a time the "**Buffalo Soldiers**" were stationed at Fort Riley and experienced the same difficulties they had elsewhere.

Towns include Junction City.

RILEY: Part of the Flint Hills Region.

Thematically tied to Native Americans, African Americans, Free State, Kansas Conflict and the Military and Government Role in the Conflict.

Riley County adjoins the Kansas River, which proved both a blessing and a bane as it did further downstream. Much of the land has remained as prairie and grassland except along the rivers and streams. Traditionally **Kansa** land until their removal. **Fort Riley** was established in 1853 and served as the Horse Cavalry School through 1943. The post is still in use in 2004. **Free State communities** were established in 1854

and provided the roots for what would become **Manhattan** when **Canton, Poliska and Boston** merged. Pawnee was established as the county seat and site of the first territorial legislature. The town was found to be on the grounds of the Fort and was destroyed by the military in 1855. Troops from Fort Riley were important in patrolling the Free State and Proslavery communities to minimize violence. Troops under Colonel E.V. Sumner disbanded the Free State legislature at Topeka. Towns grew up along the waterways and roads to the Kansas Gold Fields (Colorado) were established. Floods in 1856 were followed by the drought of 1859, which severely impacted the region. **Bluemont College**, today's Kansas State University, was given to the state in 1863 and became a Land Grant College. In 1865 a dam was built which was washed out in the Flood of 1866. In 1867 another dam was constructed which was destroyed by a flood in the 1880's.

The persistence of Kansans is demonstrated by **Bala**. In 1870 a Welsh settlement was established at Powys. When insufficient water was available the town moved two miles East and was renamed Bala. The new town survived the grasshopper plague of the 1870's. In 1887 the railroad built a depot at Bala City (1 mile South and 1 mile West) and most of Bala moved to Bala City.

The **Konza Research Prairie** managed by Kansas State University is an important source researching and working with the prairie ecosystem to understand the past and present as well as look towards the future.

Towns include Manhattan and Fort Riley.

WABAUNSEE: Part of the Flint Hills Region.

Thematically linked to Native Americans, African Americans, Free State, Underground Railroad and the Kansas Conflict.

Historically Wabaunsee County was occupied by the Kansa before their removal. Remnants of prehistoric villages indicate the area was initially settled between. Located, like the Tribal settlements near the river, **Alma** was founded as a **German** and German-American **colony** in 1857. This colony became the county seat and controlled local and county politics. It also provided a springboard for other German agricultural settlements over the years. **Wabaunsee** was a **Free State** settlement and had a number of sites connected with the **Underground Railroad**. After the Civil War a **Freedmen's** colony with a unique heritage came to the county. This colony was composed of former slaves from the plantation belonging to the family of **Jefferson Davis**, former President of the Confederacy.

Towns include Wabaunsee and Alma.

CHAUTAUQUA HILLS REGION

WILSON: Part of the Chautauqua Hills Region with Woodson County. This area is heavily underlain with sandstone and is mostly used for pasture.

Thematically linked with Native Americans, Free State, and Civil War.

Wilson County has some water resources with the Verdigris River but the underlying sandstone in the West and thin soils in the East do not provide as good a base for crop agriculture. In the 1850's much of the western part was in Black Jack Oak, which was cut out. Recently this area has begun a

reforestation project. Until 1868 this was home to the **Osage** although some whites settled nearby.

Mainly settled by Civil War veterans Wilson County had some agriculture early on in the river bottoms, but the uplands thin soil proved better for cattle grazing and livestock production. Under state and federal programs a number of trees were planted from the 1880's on. **Neodesha** was the site of Norman #1, the first commercial oil well west of the Mississippi and has continued involvement with oil and gas production to the present. In 2004 a number of leases have been taken out for new methane gas production along the old coal and oil fields. Local farms are still producing crops and livestock but hunting outfitters based in Wichita and Kansas City metropolitan areas are now leasing hunting rights for their customers and a new business is developing based on commercial recreation.

Towns include Fredonia and Neodesha.

WOODSON: Part of the Chautauqua Hills Region.

Thematically tied to Native Americans, Free State. The earliest known occupants of the region were **Kansas City Hopewell Culture** from 200BC to 500 AD. The Hopewell were related to the Mound builders of Cahokia and Ohio. Historically the Osage occupied the area but **Wichita, Sac and Fox** and later **Pawnee** and **Seminole** roved the area but did not have permanent settlements. Although officially designated part of the New York Indian Lands they never occupied the area as they refused to be relocated. In 1855 some Free State settlers began occupying the county. In 1856 and 1857 **German colonists** arrived to reinforce

the **Free Staters**. In 1861 **Opothleyahola's** Refugees came into the area and settled here and in the neighboring areas. In 1863 a unit of **Osage Indians was sent to protect the white settlers from Confederate Indians**. With the coming of the railroad in 1870 settlement picked up only to have the financial panic of 1873 hit, followed by the grasshoppers in 1874. Some people who could afford to left. Others tightened their belts and held on because they felt they had no other options but to hold on. Cattle ranchers rebuilt along with the farmers. Things got better with oil and gas boom but the drought of the 1930's affected the farmers who received some help from the **Agricultural Adjustment Act** in 1933 and with the establishment of the **Soil Erosion Service** (later known as the **Soil Conservation Service**). A number of farms were abandoned due to the lack of water and nature reclaimed what had been disturbed by man. Instead of returning to prairie a number of these sites were taken over by scrub brush and trees. Elements of the **Civilian Conservation Corps** came in and taught local farmers newer techniques for farming while protecting the soil. The Works Progress Administration also played a role as locals were hired to work on community projects, which could assist with conservation. A number of lakes were created by the WPA and remain in service today.