Vernacular Architecture Forum
Lawrence, Kansas 1996
Vernacular Architecture Forum:

Making Urban and Rural Landscapes on the Prairie Plains

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Field Guide

for

May 23-24, 1996

Dennis Domer and Michael Swann

Co-sponsors:

The School of Architecture and Urban Design, The University of Kansas
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The College of Architecture, Planning and Design, Kansas State University
The Kansas Livestock Association
Woodward-Clyde Federal Services
The Lawrence Convention and Visitors Bureau
The Division of Continuing Education, The University of Kansas
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We have been working on the VAF conference in Kansas for several years. We have driven several thousand miles to select the route that reveals the richness of a typical urban and rural landscape on the prairie plains. We drove the rural route perhaps twenty times, talking to people, looking at the landscape, measuring the landscape, instructing students, timing the route, showing the route to Professor Richard Longstreth, Professor Claire Dempsey and a host of others. We have looked carefully and counted urban houses several times and studied them over the years in papers, theses, and surveys. The prairie plains have never been boring; in fact, each trip and each study has revealed new information and given us new insights into the many layers of this thick landscape.

Nearly all of the information we gathered along the first day’s route is new, and as a result, its presentation here represents original research one step above the raw data stage. Much of the information we present for the second day about the typical urban landscape on the prairie plains is also one stage above the original fieldwork. We have done this field work alone, together, and in our courses with the help of many of our students, including Dr. Cathy Ambler, Paula Adams, Karen McGaughy, Cade Hobbick, Aaron Altman, Barbara Anderson, James Barker, Brian Black, Dennis Enslinger, David Benjamin, Alisa Branham, Anna Caldwell, Scott Homolka, Cory Norwood, Erin Shirley, Amelia Carlson, Lonnie Clark, Lora Duguid, Amanda Farrell, Susan Jezak Ford, Yvette Feverly, Kendra Murphy, Jay Robinson, Christy Thompson, Chris Turner, Sara Keehn, Thomas Hunt, José Fernandez, James Raymond, Elaine Warren, Victor Burks, Victor Kurtz, Rebecca Bruce, Justin Givens, Jennifer Brehm, Susan Clothier, Lori Davis, James Frederick, Rebecca Gans, Ian Johnson, Scott Sander, Vineeta Sharma, Martin Soetaert, Lisa Winett, Jessica Belmont, Frauke Goldhammer, Thomas Kaldewey, Wende Guerin, Bill Tsai, Linda Zacher, Jason Hensen, Joan Hilger-Mullen, Chin-chan Hsav, Sateesh Magal, Chris O’Connor, Katja Rampelmann, Kelly Reynolds, Michael Roper, Scott Roper, Stephanie Abbot Roper, Patrick Sumner, Sara Swanson, Tom Thomas, Christian Keller, and Betsy Dale Wilson, among others who drew buildings. We have quoted extensively from some of our students’ research papers, used their drawings, and been inspired by their enthusiasm for our subject. We are sure that we have inadvertently left out students who made one contribution or another, and we acknowledge them here.

We also wish to thank several other individuals who made significant contributions to the field guide: Carol Francis Buhler, Dr. Charles Haines, Professor James Hoy, Dale Nimz, Professor Pamela H. Simpson, and Professor James R. Shortridge.

We appreciate also the advice of Professors Claire Dempsey and Richard Longstreth who came to Kansas to evaluate our fieldtrips. Special thanks go to Ned Cooke and his selection committee for their work on the papers given in the Saturday sessions. Professor Paul Groth also deserves credit for insisting that we share our landscape riches. Professor Barry Newton and Professor Dan Rockhill have provided exhibitions of their preservation work in the Kansas Union. Dr. R. R. Domer III, D. V. M., gave lucid explanations of the use of corrals. Todd Domer of the Kansas Livestock Association provided information on the beef business in Kansas. Professor Jan Jennings from Cornell University came to Kansas to investigate the merchant houses of Old West Lawrence. Professor Pamela Simpson from Washington & Lee University also came to Kansas, spent a day looking at houses and landscapes, and providing a critical analysis of the second field day. Dean John Gaunt of the School of Architecture and Urban Design drew an eastern Kansas landscape just east of Lawrence for the cover of the field guide. Monty Smith made sure we had enough funds to make our Saturday evening at Liberty Hall spirited and bright. Professors J. William Carswell, Kent Spreckelmeyer and James Mayo did several drawings.

We also wish to thank the following institutions for sponsoring our efforts: the Vernacular Architecture Forum, the School of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Kansas,
the American Studies Program, the University of Kansas, the College of Architecture, Planning and Design at Kansas State University, the Division of Continuing Education at the University of Kansas, the Kansas State Historical Society, the Kansas Preservation Alliance, the Kansas Folklore Society, the Lawrence Preservation Alliance, the Douglas County Preservation Alliance, the Douglas County Historical Society, the Kansas Livestock Association, and the Lawrence Convention and Visitors Bureau.

We are grateful to our corporate sponsor, Woodward-Clyde, which is an international consulting firm that provides services in a variety of fields. Woodward-Clyde cultural resource specialists have a variety of areas of expertise, such as history, architectural history, architecture, and historic, pre-historic, and underwater archaeology. Woodward-Clyde can perform a number of tasks, including but not limited to historic preservation plans, cultural resources survey and mitigation, National Register nominations, HABS/HAER-style recordation, and laboratory analysis of artifacts.

We wish to thank Cathy Dwigans of the Division of Continuing Education for her continued efforts on behalf of this conference.

We thank all those people along the way who have shared their houses, properties and towns, including Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Flory, Rick Godderz, Mary Picollet, Rick Renfro, John Carey, Kurt Kessenger, Don Parker, Minnie Beth Park, Mary Helen Bell, Vicki Dawson, Mary Beth Maresh, Robert Williams, the Reverend Bob Smith, the Reverend Don Foster, the Reverend Ellie Foster, Linda Mattox, Susan Davis, Whitt E. Laughridge, Dave Kirk, Barbara Zurhellen, Dean Dennis Law, Associate Dean Ray Weisenberger, Professor Gene Ernst, Professor Steve McCabe, Sharon Haun, Jan Claves, John White, Leland and Cindy Schultz, George Wilson, Doug Dean, Hank White, Patricia A. Ringel, Ervan Steuwe, Lila Beasterfeld, Cathy Hoy, Mr. and Mrs. James Eberwein, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Gronquist, Mr. and Mrs. Meseke, Greg and Kathy Davis, Elizabeth Frank, Don and Vicki Jacobson, Wayne and Sally Stratton, Henry and Delores Ringel, Mr. and Mrs. John Schroeder, Claude Adolph, Mr. and Mrs. Bill Manka, Bob Moody, marci francisco, K. T. Walsh, Mary Lisa Pike, Tony Peterson, Brune Banning, Paul Horvath, L. T. Harris, Susan Buchanan, Rod Ernst, Dick Rector, Jim Slough, Warren Jackson, Melvin Lang, John Lee, Mark’s Jewelers, Dr. Steve Jansen, Katie Armitage, Mike Rundle, Professor William Tuttle, Dr. Kathryn Nemeth Tuttle, Professor and Mrs. Burdett Loomis, Professor and Mrs. Stan Shumway, Barbara Waggoner, Dr. and Mrs. Don R. Miller, David and Mary Beth Petr, Wint and Mary Winter, Dr. Roger Boyd, Ray Wilbur, Martha Smith, Ann Hemphill, Talitha Bailey, John Holmes, John Swindell, Jim Scott, Bill Worley, Richard Kershbaum, Dr. Jennifer Lattimore, Professor John Hudson, Professor Donald Worster, Professor Angel Kwolek-Folland, Professor Rita Napier, Dr. Virgil Dean, Dr. Ramon Powers, Ginny Graves, Jim and Sally Postma, Peter Carttar and Professor Rosalea Postma-Carttar, Professor Francis Engemann, Karen Kressin and James O’Malley, Professor and Mrs. William Gaeddert, Jim and Kathy Nitcher, Professor and Mrs. Richard Johnston, and Suzie and George Sympson.

No doubt we have forgotten someone, and we apologize for not remembering or simply leaving out any names. We do want to thank Dr. Pat Swann and Dr. Shirley Domer for tolerating our endless tasks over the past three and one-half years. We were not sure we would ever get done, and they weren’t either. With the help of Cindy Muckey, who spent a long weekend and one very late night in the Computer Resource Center, we did eventually pull through. Her dedication to this project went well beyond the call of duty.

Finally, we take full responsibility for this text and any errors in it. We have benefitted the most from our efforts and our association with a lot of Kansas people and landscapes. Owing to the newness of much of this information, we are not ready to make firm judgments about its significance. We look forward to many clarifications members of the Vernacular Architecture Forum will bring to our analyses and interpretations.

Dennis Domer and Michael Swann
April 23, 1996
To
Harris Stone
who
inspired
all
of us
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INTRODUCTION: MAKING URBAN AND RURAL LANDSCAPES ON THE PRAIRIE PLAINS

The sky is huge in the eastern Kansas landscape. The horizon lies far away across rolling hills, great vistas of grasslands and thousands of acres of wheat, corn, alfalfa, soy beans, and milo. A steady southwest wind adds to the oceanic feeling. In this place distance and direction mean everything, and since 1854 both have been plainly measured and drawn with an unfolding grid of roads that goes on mile after mile. This web—going north, south, east, and west—provides the structure for a thickly layered landscape of interdependent farms, ranches and towns. Former VAF President Paul Groth describes eastern Kansas as “a pivotal landscape,” where East meets West, and where town and country are still deeply obligated to each other.

The VAF theme, “Making Urban and Rural Landscapes on the Prairie Plains,” seeks to elucidate these obligations. The eastern Kansas landscape is layered with residues of the natural environment, a history of environmental destruction, harsh weather patterns, the eradication of the native population, the rigid grid of the land survey, ethnic differences and socio-economic variation, technological change in transportation, farming, and communications, and dramatic population shifts that peak in the 1880s, drop sharply until the 1950s and then skyrocket again in the 1970s. Kansas is not the fantasy land of Oz, Toto, and Dorothy but rather the real consequence of making towns and hinterlands on the wide open grasslands in an old cycle that empties and fills the landscape, a cycle that portends what the likely future of this landscape will be.

Kansas is also a large state that is really two different states environmentally sliced in half at about the hundredth meridian. Western Kansas, owing to aridity, is quite different than eastern Kansas which receives twice as much precipitation. No attempt will be made to address the landscape of western Kansas here, although many landscape forms found in eastern Kansas can also be found in western Kansas. Eastern Kansas was a paradise before it was invaded by European-American settlers. It was anything but the Great American Desert that Long described. It was an ecologically rich, tallgrass prairie with buffalo, an abundance of other wildlife, and plenty of water.

This natural environment was touched lightly and turned subtly into a landscape for human habitation when it was the domain of numerous Indian tribes. The Kansa Indians, who built their earthen lodge villages along the Kansas River until the 1840s when they were moved to a reservation near Council Grove, claimed the land in Douglas County as part of their living space. They ceded it, however, along with 18,000,000 acres of Kansas prairie land to the federal government in 1825. The Shawnee Indians, who agreed to give up all their land in Missouri in 1825, were moved west in that year to the Kansas reservation that included Lawrence. Unfortunately, respect for Shawnee land rights was short-lived. With the coming of the first wagon trains of settlers in the early 1840s, squatters claimed much of the Shawnee’s land and parts of it were given to other Indian groups in other treaties. There were Osage, Pawnee, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Wyandot and others from many tribes who were moved in and out in response to a policy of genocide carried out by the federal government. The change from a Native American landscape to a white American landscape was violent, fraught with deceit and treachery, and unmerciful. By the time all the Indians were finally forcefully removed from this part of Kansas in 1854, eastern Kansas was so desirable that a stampede of people stormed the territory. Whatever Native American landscape might still have existed in 1854 eventually disappeared in a fit of land speculation and subsequent large-scale plowing and building over the first 20 years of white settlement.

Radical, large-scale landscape changes continued on the prairie plains from 1854 to about 1885. First, the European-Americans wanted to make the prairie into a productive farmscape or ranch country in the Flint Hills with local community centers for trade, religion and schooling.
The land survey marked off land sections, no matter the topography, into 640 acres that were easily subdivided into 320-, 160-, 80- and 40-acre farms, depending on the buyer. Section lines — north, south, east and west — became dirt roads. These roads were quite regular in the farmland and very irregular in the ranch country. But within one day’s driving distance by wagon, whether in farm or ranch country, these European-American landscape builders planned vigorous regional centers. Lawrence became one of these regional centers in a vast network of large and small economic spheres of city and county connected to what Cyrus McCormick called “Chicagoland.” Carbondale, Scranton, Burlingame, Emporia, Strong City, Cottonwood Falls, Alta Vista, Topeka and Lawrence are good examples of these regional centers. Scattered among the regional centers, about every four miles and usually at crossroads, were small, local commercial centers consisting of at least one general store and sometimes a church and school. Pleasant Grove, Zarco, Willow Springs, Worden, and Globe are good examples of these local commercial places, most of which disappeared in the 20th century. Because children could walk perhaps a maximum of three miles on the windy landscape, schools were generally closer together than the four miles.

Between the roads on this new landscape, farmers zipped open acre after acre of prairie with oxen and special plows to cut the deep roots of the Big and Little Bluestem. The farmers planted corn and wheat, and raised cattle and pigs either behind fences or in the road commons. They fenced in the fields with stone, hedge, barbed wire and woven wire. They built a variety of balloon frame houses, primarily three-bay, I-houses (Hall-Parlor subtype), and bent houses in the form of Ts or Ls. They built English, German, and Dutch hay and cattle barns, and normally employed a mortise-and-tenon technology found in eastern cultural hearths. They built corn cribs, spring houses, chickenhouses, outhouses and sheds for their mixed farming uses. They dug wells, and they also planted trees to change the climate (which was impossible), and these trees helped transform an “empty” prairie into a semblance of a woodlands setting. Trees did not take hold in the Flint Hills. There was less cultivation in this ranch country where the topsoil was thinner, except in the valleys, and the limestone came up close to the surface of the earth. In the Flint Hills it made sense to raise cattle on some of the best grasslands in the United States and since the 1870s cattle from Texas and Mexico have been brought to the Flint Hills for spring and summer grazing.

There is an ethnic dimension to the landscapes in the six counties we will study but nothing like the very significant ethnic landscapes of central Kansas, for example. By far the majority of settlers were English-speaking people. Germans were the largest ethnic minority in all the counties we will examine. There was also a significant influx of Swedes, French, and Welsh settled in small numbers in the mining areas of Osage and Lyon counties. The dispersed landscape in the rural areas tended to separate people into tight ethnic and religious neighborhoods, such as the Germans in Willow Springs Township in Douglas County. These neighborhoods remained relatively aloof from each other. German was spoken around Worden until the 1930s. After World War II the melting pot thesis became a reality in the rural areas in response to the transportation and communications revolution. This collapse of ethnicity as a determining factor in the landscape came twenty to thirty years earlier in the urban landscape of Lawrence and in the mining areas of Osage and Lyon counties.

The urban landscape on the prairie plains is particularly distinguished by a grid plan of blocks laid out perpendicular to either a river — such as in Lawrence and Cottonwood Falls — or to a railroad right-of-way — such as at Burlingame and Alma. The pedestrian trade districts in these towns are usually composed of a main street flanked by buildings with elaborate Italianate facades facing each other across the street. Initially, the first of these long and narrow buildings were wood with squared-off commercial fronts. Later these were replaced by stone or brick buildings that shared party walls. As many buildings as possible were squeezed onto the main
street. Richard Longstreth’s typological framework for sorting out these buildings into comprehensible categories works well in Kansas. Jan Jennings and Herbert Gottfried’s detailed analyses of entrances, spaces, materials and commercial layouts are also instructive and helpful. The universal interiors of these buildings accommodated nearly all commercial enterprises, making them flexible enough to handle many different owners and considerable turnover. Certain arrangements on the main streets—such as banks on central corners and filling stations on peripheral corners—were nearly formulaic, even though the current uses of buildings on corners may not fit the old formula.

The urban landscape also provides a variety of other building types, including churches, fraternal buildings, opera houses, libraries, hotels, motels, schools, industrial structures, elevators, and train stations. All of these exist or existed in all the regional centers we will visit on the prairie plains. The rectangular aisle church with entry tower and educational wing is the most typical on both the urban and rural landscapes; however, we will see a number of “Akron-plan” churches, notably in the Methodist Churches at Cottonwood Falls, Strong City, and Vinland. The 19th-century schools we will see, whether in town or country, are predominately rectangular, gable-fronted buildings with either two front doors or side doors. The interior plans almost always included a stage for recitations. Progressive schools introduced after 1910 are usually square in shape, such as the one in Pleasant Grove, and they re-introduce windows on all sides of the large classroom space along with library space, closets and sometimes basements. Stages were dropped in these new schools.

The railroads determined to a large extent where regional centers would be built. Many towns actually moved themselves to be near a railroad line, if the railroad decided to take a different route. The railroads brought in huge amounts of lumber; pre-cut, manufactured house kits; cast-iron commercial facades; plumbing and heating appointments; new farming equipment manufactured in Chicago; and all manner of other goods, including the automobile, that transformed both rural and urban landscapes alike.

The frequent change in automobile transportation routes—either through frequent widening such as along Highway 59 from Lawrence to Zarco or through additional roadways such as the South Lawrence Trafficway—has had a significant impact on the landscape that borders these roadways. We will be observing these changes in the landscape because their potential effects have created great controversy, especially in “Boom Town” Lawrence on the south side of the city.
I. FIRST DAY OVERVIEW

The first day — from Lawrence to Cottonwood Falls to Alma and back (see Fig. I.A.) — concerns itself mostly with rural landscapes on the prairie plains; however, rural and urban landscapes are inseparable economically and sociologically, and the architectural overlap on these landscapes is also considerable. The first leg of our trip from the Eldridge Hotel to Iowa Street passes through an urban landscape. We will illustrate the most frequent urban housetypes along our way. At the edge of Lawrence, you will confront the biggest environmental-preservation battle in Douglas County, the Baker Wetlands and the South Lawrence Trafficway that threatens them.

From the trafficway landscape to Pleasant Grove, just inside Willow Springs Township, you will see the emerging exurb, tracts of urban houses interspersed among the old farms of the rural landscape that are slowly being bought up by urban cowboys. Pleasant Grove introduces us to town-building on the rural landscape, which usually was unsuccessful. Pleasant Grove, Zarco, Willow Springs, Worden, Globe represent community centers, now fragments of the church-country store-school complex that was the pattern throughout the plains.

Our first stop at the May-Way Farm (1 hour), on the Santa Fe Trail, is owned by Wayne and Mary Flory. It illustrates the evolution of domestic and farm buildings and space on a mixed-farm landscape since the 1920s. This is a Dunker neighborhood, one of three German neighborhoods in Willow Springs Township. Ethnic ties, religious affiliation, and intermarriage among families are still powerful forces that produce a cohesive community life here.

Between the May-Way Farm and Worden we will observe how all three of the German neighborhoods center around their churches and how the social landscape and the physical landscape are superimposed upon each other.

From Worden to Burlingame we will get a sense of distance on the prairie plains, the irreducible fact on this vast landscape that Kansans and other Westerners simply take for granted. Along this distance we will look at houses on the rural landscape and their accompanying barns, fences, pens, water structures, fields, crops and animals. We will pass through the “highway” main street of Overbrook and the central main street of Scranton, through the mining fields of Osage County and on to our second stop on the Santa Fe Trail, Burlingame (30 minutes). In Burlingame, we will have a camera stop and the opportunity to understand the transformation of a main street in terms of building evolution, adaptive reuse, building replacement, and street aberrations.

The next leg of our trip — from Burlingame to Cottonwood Falls — will take about one hour. We will consider the mining landscape north of Osage City and also begin to explore the change from the mixed-farm landscape to ranching as expressed in the type, shape and size of corrals along the way. At Admire we will enter the Kansas Turnpike, the largest landscape undertaking in Kansas in the 1950s. On the Turnpike we will get our first glimpse of the Flint Hills, a fifty-mile wide stretch of rich ranching grasslands that runs from near the Nebraska border to the Osage Hills in Oklahoma. We will pass through Strong City, one of the rodeo centers of this cowboy country in Chase County. It is the twin city to Cottonwood Falls, which won the county seat war but lost the railroad to Strong City.

Our third stop is Cottonwood Falls (1 and 1/2 hours) where we will have dinner (lunch) in the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. Cottonwood Falls offers several buildings along the main street that still function with their original plans and have many original interior details. The county courthouse is a classic. The “Akron Plan” Methodist Church is typical of many Methodist churches on the prairie plains.
Our fourth stop is the Z-Bar Ranch (1 hour), an 11,000-acre spread with a fabulous ranch house, a foreman's house, an enormous three-story barn, a schoolhouse, and other buildings that show the evolution of ranch life since Texas cowboys drove cattle here in the 19th century.

From the Z-Bar Ranch we will drive through the Flint Hills to Council Grove. Here we will have our fifth stop (30 minutes) and investigate the exuberant architecture of this city's main street, including two churches, the Stella Theater unchanged from its 1947 modern renovation, two banks, an apothecary with soda foundation and the basement and upstairs of the Hays House.

Our passage from Council Grove to Alta Vista and on to the Schultz Ranch follows the spectacular Skyline Drive through rolling grasslands of the Flint Hills ranching country. We will see many stone buildings, including some large, 5-bay I-houses, such as at the Schultz Ranch where we will make our sixth stop (1 hour). The Schultz Ranch demonstrates a layered landscape of ruins and contemporary buildings and pens in close proximity. It is a good example of a spring-summer, cow-calf operation that is typical of this region.

At the end of the day on this long trail we will arrive at our seventh stop, Alma (2 and 1/2 hours), the stone city. Here we will visit several 19th-century stone residences, a historic hotel and other main street buildings, have supper (dinner) with the people of Alma and be entertained by the Kansas Folklore Society. We will then make a beeline drive home for a late evening arrival in Lawrence.
Urban and Rural Housetypes

Lawrence grew along a grid stretching south, perpendicular to the Kansas River. As we drive south in East Lawrence from Seventh Street and Connecticut, we can see the history of 19th-century and early 20th-century domestic urban housing on the prairie plains unfold before us. Many of these urban housetypes have their "country cousins," such as the rancher, the split-level, the Cape Cod, the pyramidal and the four-square. However, there are also some significant differences between the housetypes that exist in the city and those in the country, and the proportion of certain housetypes in town as opposed to the country. Figure 1.1 shows a comparative reading of houses in town and country. The urban sample is made up of Connecticut and Massachusetts Streets. The rural sample includes Willow Springs Township. These are not exact, statistically reliable samples but only two readings. Two other readings could be completely different, especially if we didn't do a cross-sectional sampling and concentrated on a single neighborhood which might be all ranchers and split-levels. There is a general validity about these two samples, however, and we can learn something from their similarities and differences.

For example, the gable-entry, two-over-two house is the most frequent housetype on the 19th-century urban landscape; however, it seldom exists on the 19th-century rural landscape. Also there are few gable-entry, four-over-four houses in the country, but they make up nearly 10% of the housetypes in the city. On the other hand, there are significantly more I-houses (HP subtype) in the country than in the city but bent houses (T- and L-shaped) in city and country are about the same. In the 20th century, the differentiation between housetypes on urban and rural landscapes widens. For example, the bungalow is the most frequent housetype on the early 20th-century urban landscape followed by colonial, dutch and classical revivals. These houses seldom exist, except for the Cape Cod house. The most frequent 20th-century replacement for worn-out 19th-century houses on the rural landscape is by far the rancher; however, in the city the rancher is just one of many possibilities, even though from approximately 1960 to 1970 the rancher dominated some parts of the urban landscape.

Along the 700 and 800 blocks of Connecticut the most frequent housetype is the two-over-two house (10) followed by the bent house (T- or L) (5) and the four-over-four house (3). From Seventh to Twenty-third, these three housetypes make up 17%, 13%, and 9% of the housetypes respectively. These relative frequencies hold true until we reach Massachusetts Street; however, the farther south we go, the fewer 19th-century housetypes we find and the more early 20th-century examples of a wide variety appear. Only the bungalow exceeds these 19th-century types with 22% of the 212 houses we counted along our route to Twenty-third Street. After the four most frequent housetypes along our route, no housetype reaches a double-digit percentage: colonial revival (6%), rancher (4%), apartment (4%), I-house of the hall-parlor subtype (3%), four-square cube (3%), T-cottage (2%), Pyramidal (2%), Dutch Colonial (2%), post-modern (2%), and shotgun (1%). The Victorian Queen Anne, the Upright and Ell, Cape Cod, English cottage and other revivals do not reach 1% of all the houses in our count. Most houses in this reading of the urban landscape are gable-entry houses, no matter their type, except for those types that are never gable-entry such as the T-cottage. Lot size is often a determining factor on the urban landscape.

Typical two-over-two houses are at 1036 Rhode Island and 1106 Rhode Island, and a variation, the two-over-two house with a side-porch entry, exists at 1016 Rhode Island (Figure 1.2). All of these are balloon frame, gable entry, rectangular, two-story houses with front porches. In plan, there may be a small entry hall and stairs or the living room may function as an entry hall,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housetype</th>
<th>U = urban sample</th>
<th>R = rural sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BENT (T&amp;L)</strong></td>
<td>27/12.7%</td>
<td>51/11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BUNGALOW</strong></td>
<td>46/21.7%</td>
<td>10/2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAPE COD</strong></td>
<td>2/0.9%</td>
<td>38/8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLASSICAL REVIVAL</strong></td>
<td>1/0.5%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COTTAGE</strong></td>
<td>6/2.8%</td>
<td>3/0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DUTCH COLONIAL</strong></td>
<td>4/1.8%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENGLISH COTTAGE</strong></td>
<td>2/0.9%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOUR-OVER-FOUR</strong></td>
<td>20/9.4%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOUR-SQUARE CUBE</strong></td>
<td>7/3.3%</td>
<td>11/2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I-HOUSE (HALL &amp; PARLOR)</strong></td>
<td>7/3.3%</td>
<td>43/10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MISSION REVIVAL</strong></td>
<td>2/0.9%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POST-MODERN</strong></td>
<td>4/1.8%</td>
<td>92/21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PYRAMIDAL</strong></td>
<td>5/2.2%</td>
<td>9/2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUEEN ANNE</strong></td>
<td>2/0.9%</td>
<td>4/0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RANCHER</strong></td>
<td>9/4.2%</td>
<td>93/21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHOTGUN</strong></td>
<td>3/1.4%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPLIT-LEVEL</strong></td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
<td>32/7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T-COTTAGE</strong></td>
<td>5/2.4%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRAILER</strong></td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
<td>44/10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRIPLEX</strong></td>
<td>1/0.5%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TWO-OVER-TWO</strong></td>
<td>37/17.4%</td>
<td>0/0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UPRIGHT AND ELL</strong></td>
<td>2/0.9%</td>
<td>1/0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban sample included 212 buildings; rural sample included 430 buildings. Nine apartment buildings (not represented) made up 4.2% of urban sample.

**KEY: HOUSETYPE**

U = number in urban sample/percentage of urban sample
R = number in rural sample/percentage of rural sample

Figure 1.1: Common Housetypes of the Prairie Plains
Figure 1.2: Housetype Variety in East Lawrence: Three Blocks on Rhode Island Street
followed by a dining room with a stair to the second floor. Usually there is a back addition containing a bathroom and a kitchen. Upstairs there are two bedrooms. The side-porch entry two-over-two differs only in that the stairway is set off from the dining room or living room by a hall.

In nearly every block from Seventh to Twenty-third the bent house appears either as a two-story structure or as a single-story house which we call the T-cottage. These houses (see Dell Upton's article in Winterthur Portfolio) responded to a Victorian sensibility for the picturesque and "a pleasing variety of prospect." They differ from the Greek Revival Upright-and-Ell in that bent-house space is more interrelated and the main living room can just as easily be in either the upright or the ell. In the T-cottage at 1008 Rhode Island, the living room of the bent house is in the ell and the bedrooms were probably moved into the upright when additions were attached to the back of the house. The living room, dining room, kitchen plan of this house, an accretive result, imitates the basic bungalow plan. As Fred Peterson has shown, there is a lot of variety in the bent house plan, and this is true on both the urban and the rural landscape.

The typical gable-entry, four-over-four house was built from the late 19th century through the first decade of the 20th century. A good example is on 1001 Rhode Island. Although this house has been radically changed on the inside, it is still easy to infer the original plan. One and one-half story variants with gable or long-side entry also exist at 1005 Rhode Island and 937 Rhode Island. These variants have four rooms down and four rooms up, more or less depending on internal changes. However, some scholars might dispute the relationship between the typical plan and these variant versions because the exterior forms are so different, even though the plans are similar.

In the middle of the 900 block of Rhode Island and at 1000 Rhode Island we see two variations of the I-house (HP subtype). These three-bay I-houses do not have central halls, and the two-room, hall/parlor plan is most typical on both the urban and rural landscapes. The five-bay I-house with a central hall does exist on both landscapes of the prairie plains but in significantly small numbers than the HP subtype. The I-house was so desirable and amenable to change that we can find substantial variation in roof forms, architectural expression and facade characteristics. They house at 1000 Rhode Island has Italianate details. East Lawrence was a mixed ethnic neighborhood and near the Turnhalle we are in German territory. For that reason it is not surprising to find the two-door facade configuration of the I-house, a holdover from the medieval "Stallhaus" that still exists in nearly every region of modern Germany. We show a plan of this variant in the St. John's parsonage in the town of Willow Springs.

At 1004 Rhode Island we see one of the first bungalows on our tour, and we have most of the variant bungaloids on the urban landscape. Most of our bungalows are gable entry rather than long-side entry, and the gable-entry types typically follow the plan at 1004 Rhode Island — living room, dining room, kitchen on one side and bedroom, bathroom, bedroom on the other side. This parallel-line of public/private space is typical of many houses built in the first half of the 20th century. Most of the bungalows are wood. Only a few are stuccoed or built of stone. Roofs are more likely to be gabled than hipped. One variant, the airplane bungalow with the high tail dormer on the back, supposedly was developed by a builder in Topeka, Mr. Garlinghouse. It wasn't a great invention. The tail dormer can be hot in the summer and cold in the winter. You will see several of these on both sides of Massachusetts.

The rancher at 1024 Rhode Island is one of the smaller variants of this ubiquitous housetype. This one is garageless — atypical of most of our ranchers — and the porch is cut out of the corner — also a relatively infrequent characteristic. Many Lawrence neighborhoods, such as Hillcrest west of campus near Iowa Street and along our route from Twenty-third Street and Louisiana to Thirty-first Street, are full of all kinds of ranchers and split-levels. Usually our ranchers are one story, symmetrical structures on grade or with a basement, and they have a hipped roof, a central
door with hood, and a two-car garage at one end. Some of our ranchers are composites of two intersecting masses, one for people and one for cars that extend out from the main house. Compare the rancher at 1024 Rhode Island with the one at the May-Way Farm in Willow Springs Township, where the rancher became the dominant housetype after World War II.

The South Lawrence Trafficway and the Haskell and Baker Wetlands

The biggest and most controversial change in the landscape of Douglas County since the building of Clinton Lake southwest of Lawrence in the 1970s is the infamous South Lawrence Trafficway (Figures 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5). By a narrow margin voters approved this huge roadway around the south border of Lawrence to connect the Kansas Turnpike with 4-lane Highway 10. The purpose of the trafficway, ostensibly, is to relieve traffic on south Iowa and Twenty-third Streets. However, no transportation traffic model has shown any such effect. In fact, the SLT is a development highway, and its creation will only increase development in west and southwest Lawrence. The SLT is important for the “power center” that begins at Thirty-first and Iowa and consists now of Target, Walmart, K-Mart, Payless Cashways Lumber and eventually Sears. The total number of vehicles using the routes in south Lawrence will only increase with the SLT.

The SLT, however, is not a sure bet, and it may not be completed. Construction began without an agreement on the last five miles of the 14-mile alignment. The Haskell-Baker Wetlands — a national historic landscape — stand in the way of the last five miles, and for the past five years there has been a spirited defense of these last 600 acres of the 18,000 acres of wetlands along the Wakarusa River (Figure 1.3). The county did not consult with Haskell Indian Nations University, which considers the wetlands sacred. Baker University in Baldwin City, which received over 500 acres of wetlands in 1968 to manage, at first saw no problem with the SLT on Thirty-first Street, the alignment the county preferred. However, this position became so controversial that Baker backed off, recommended an alternative route on Thirty-eight Street along the north side of the Wakarusa, and offered to give up the wetlands to the county to manage. The other possible alignment, Thirty-fifth Street, is right down the middle of the wetlands (Figure 1.4). A recent community meeting, sponsored by the county, drew a huge crowd, and the county was overwhelmed by over 750 written responses to the three possible routes. All the routes are now in trouble.
from the point of view of one government agency or another, and the first nine miles of the SLT has consumed the budget for the whole 14-mile road (Figure 1.5). The no-build option is being seriously discussed. Landscape changes of this magnitude are expensive, controversial and often offer large monetary benefits to relatively few individuals. Some landowners along the SLT became millionaires in this landscape deal.

Figure 1.5: The South Lawrence Trafficway, a “Road to Nowhere”
2. HIGHWAY 59: LAWRENCE TO ZARCO

The Wakarusa Valley

The limestone rock that underlies this part of Kansas was laid down by a gigantic inland sea. When the sea withdrew, this limestone, after thousands of years of exposure to the elements, tilted up making gently sloping hills which are called the Osage Cuestas. Rivers and creeks, including the Wakarusa, ate away at these escarpments, forming watersheds along which a few trees grew on a largely treeless plain. The new American settlers from the eastern woodlands and the European continent found Kansas to be an unfamiliar environment in which only about 10% of the land surface had trees. They first considered Kansas "a great American desert," but they soon learned that eastern Kansas had an abundance of water and excellent soil. The Wakarusa River has encouraged settlement for 10,000 years, and the valley still shows the signs of Indian trails, many of which lead south from the river into Willow Springs where we are traveling. There are hundreds of Native American archeological sites along the Wakarusa's banks, and many of them were covered up by Clinton Lake when it was filled in 1980. Water was everything to these native people, and the Kansa Indian's Great Spirit was a water god, Waconda. In spite of the fact that we understand water differently today than the Kansa Indians did 175 years ago, water still means everything in the future of Douglas County.

Roads and Road Building

Roads are nearly as important, and they have been a continuous dynamic in the landscape that we cannot overlook. Highway 59 was perhaps once just an Indian trail and after white settlement no more than a dirt road leading south out of Lawrence. The making (1870s), widening and graveling (1930s), and widen-
ing and oiling (1950s) of this road created significant changes on the rural landscape and had a considerable effect on the vernacular landscape. We are now considering widening this road once again into a four-lane highway that will cost $70 million, probably more. Being set too close to the road in Kansas has proven fatal to many significant historical buildings. Many buildings and other built forms will be eliminated should the Kansas Legislature decide to invest in this road. Most of our other roads in Willow Springs Township, except for Highways 59 and 56 and the paved county roads, are gravel roads on section lines. Not all section lines have roads, and there are some so-called “half-mile” roads. Not all roads are straight either since the old ones, before the grid was enforced, paid close attention to topography. They curve around big hills, streams and other obstructions. The maintenance of roads has also changed dramatically since settlement and it is in the process of changing now. When the townships were first organized in the 1870s, men had to pay a poll tax. They could work off this tax by dragging the roads under the direction of overseers. By the 1930s, this process proved unsatisfactory because automobile traffic required better maintained roads than horse-drawn drags could provide. From the 1930s to 1996, the roads have been kept by township crews with roadgraders. Now the county proposes to take all the roads and the tax money, leaving the townships effectively without any function at all. Except for fire protection, this eventuality will end the history of townships in Douglas County.

Dispersed Settlement and Exurbia

The rural landscape of the prairie plains exhibits the characteristics of a changing, dispersed settlement pattern that is readily discernible along Highway 59. The creation of scattered farmsteads on relatively large farm tracts meant that the village life the Europeans were used to could not be easily duplicated on the prairie plains. We see remnants of these farms between Lawrence and Pleasant Grove hill. The I-houses and T-houses belong to the old farms, and these farms are now generally broken up with exurban enclaves of ranchers, split-levels, and post-modern houses of mixed influences and a plethora of gables and roofs. The exurban enclaves were not possible thirty years ago before the development of rural water districts, but by 1970 rural water was available in much of Douglas County and the prairie plains. One of the biggest exurbs on our route is at the bottom of Pleasant Grove hill, a
tract with more than 100 houses all built between 1970 and 1980. Besides these planned exurbs, there are farmettes, scattered on five-, ten- and twenty-acre plots and owned by people who work in town but have moved to rural areas. Rural Douglas County is under heavy development pressure, and the only break in the pace of development south of Lawrence now is the number of water rights the water districts have available to sell to buyers. Water rights now sell for about $4,000 each, up considerably from the initial price of $300 or so. The number of water rights is based not on availability of water but on the capacity of water treatment plants.

**Pleasant Grove**

This is the site of the first white settlement in what would eventually be Willow Springs Township. Established by Jacob Ulrich in 1855 as the grounds for the first Brethren Church, Pleasant Grove became an early country corner with a general store and soon after that a school (Figure 2.1). It was a spectacular place of members of Ulrich's Dunker Church to meet, north and they met here for 25 years in tents and barns before they built their first church in 1877. Pleasant Grove is another 'T' town. This one formed at the confluence of an east-west, regular grid road, a north-south, half-mile road, and a crooked road that followed the gentlest topography east down the hill, avoiding the northern slope that dropped off precipitously. Climbing the shorter eastern slope and entering the fledgling town on the east was the only workable solution for the big hill during the 19th century and into the first decade of the automobile period.

The church, the country store, the second generation balloon-frame school built in 1877, and a few houses made up the town for the first forty years. The space between the church, the school and the store formed a commons around which a few residences collected. One of the main functions of this commons was to provide space where many horses and buggies could be tied on Saturdays when trading was done and on Sundays when the Brethren came to worship at their church overlooking the Wakarusa Valley.

Slowly, new community services were added around the commons. The second school was replaced by a "progressive school" in 1916, which was square with a pyramidal roof, and had an entry foyer with stairs up to a classroom with windows only on the south and east (Figure 2.2). In contrast to the old rectangular school, the new one had no stage and in addition boasted a small library and glassed shelves for equipment and exhibitions. Chris Peterson built a tile blacksmith shop in Pleasant Grove in the early 1920s, and next to it Guy Carpenter added a small frame grocery store with gasoline pumps in front. About that same time the Citizens Protective Association (CPA) moved a barn from the bottom of the big hill and placed it north...
of the church. These public buildings further defined the commons in the emerging town.

Through a powerful outside force Pleasant Grove was changed radically in the third decade of the 20th century. In 1928 the state built a highway diagonally up the long, north slope of Pleasant Grove hill and right through the town’s commons. The crooked road east through the timber past the school was abandoned, and the new gravel highway came so close to Carpenter’s grocery store that he had to give up his gas pumps. Noble Messer, who then ran the country store on the east side of the highway, put in his filling station first on the west side and then in 1930 on the east side of the highway (Figure 2.3). In the late 1930s he abandoned the first Pleasant Grove store and opened a new, larger one in the closed Brethren Church. But even with all of these new services, a number of new residences and the added importance of the highway, Pleasant Grove never became an incorporated town. While Pleasant Grove had been a lively place in the middle distance of the prairie plains for decades, its church, businesses and school ultimately did not survive in the face of the centralizing forces at work in the automobile landscape. The automobile made places like Pleasant Grove unnecessary. If Highway 59 is widened as planned into a four-lane highway, Pleasant Grove is likely to disappear altogether.

Zarco

Zarco, formerly Quality Oil, was a local country store that competed in the first years of the 20th century with the country store at Pleasant Grove two miles to the north. These were general stores that offered a broad line of goods and staples that “locals” needed to carry out their daily lives without going to a regional center. Usually the locals patronized the store on Saturday mornings when they brought in eggs or cream and bartered for staples, feed, cloth or picked up their mail. The whole family made the trip on Saturday, for this event brought isolated people into the middle distance where the community could assuage their loneliness and longing for neighborly exchange. With the advent of the automobile — by 1925 many farmers in Willow Springs Township had one — the local nature of the country store slowly began to change. By the 1960s Quality Oil still catered mostly to farmers but on a cash basis, and there were a few travelers on Highway 59 who stopped for gas when they couldn’t make it to Lawrence. Quality Oil was a small, square, concrete block building. The proprietor sold tires and a line of items such as belts, bolts, nuts and feed that local farmers could buy without going all the way to Lawrence. Quality Oil was purchased by an entrepreneurial, local gasoline wholesaler in the mid-1980s who quickly expanded a kind of greasy spot in the road to a bright and shiny concrete block station with modern lines and lights, gas pumps on both sides, a large surrounding concrete pad, and a line of products that no longer focused on a local clientele of farmers but appealed increasingly to regional customers who needed what one could usually purchase at a 7-Eleven store. In the late 1980s, the owner post-modernized the building by covering the concrete block with fake stone, adding a large new sign and lighted canopy, and opening the store 24 hours each day. With the growing number of exurbanites in the township, the increasing traffic between Lawrence and Ottawa, and new attractive services, Zarco evolved into a prosperous and progressive center in a rapidly changing township.
West of Zarco the landscape expands on a relatively treeless plain to a distant horizon. Here is the unmistakable prairie, where the Big Bluestem once grew three to seven feet tall. Pioneers often became lost when they wandered too far from their "Prairie Schooners." Besides a rich tapestry of wildflowers — Spiderwort, Indigo, Larkspur, Coneflower, Lead Plant, Milkweed, Aster, Primrose, Goldenrod and Sunflower to name a few — the prairie also supported many grasses, such as Little Bluestem, Gama Grass, Indian Grass, Switch Grass, Side-Oats Grama, and Prairie Cord Grass. The Santa Fe Trail has crossed this prairie in a southwesterly direction since 1821. There were many Kansa Indian trails that ran north towards the Wakarusa, but otherwise there was nothing here but a robust and diverse ocean of grass and other flora running into the hundreds of species. Wildlife was plentiful. Rainfall ranged from 34 to 36 inches a year. Near by tributaries grew edge timber such as oak, walnut, ash, hickory, sycamore, hackberry, elm and cottonwood, and these woods along with the limestone in places just under the prairie, provided adequate building materials. However, many early pioneers mistook this part of Kansas as a God-forsaken place where the wind blows incessantly, the sun beats down without the shade of forests, and the snows blind and drift up six feet high. But by 1854, with the Indians ruthlessly cleared out and much good land already taken in Oregon, yeoman farmers — mostly German-Americans from the east — correctly concluded that this prairie with its underlying loamy soils was potentially great farmland and relatively easy to make ready since there were few trees to eliminate. Preparing the prairie to become farmland was still slow going, since it took oxen pulling hard for hours to break up the prairie with wood bottom plows that men walked beside. However by 1865, the steel bottom plow — the "prairie breaker" — began to accelerate the transformation to farmland. The most frequent farm size was 160 acres with the average farm being about 100 acres, and this was big enough during the initial periods of subsistence farming and late 19th- and early 20th-century, market-oriented farming. From 1865 to 1875, Wilder and Palm, a plow manufacturer in Lawrence, won blue ribbons for its off-camber, razor blade, steel plow bottom with a piercing, arrow-point tip. The gang plow came later, and by 1924 the Sulkey plow had wheels and a man could ride it. After 130 years of cultivation the prairie landscape can now only be imagined behind the refined fields of terraced, row-cropped wheat, corn, milo, soy beans, alfalfa, fenced pastures, and here and there a prairie hay field. Holstein diary cows, Hereford, Mixed and Black Angus beef cattle, Poland China swine and chickens add to the mixed-grain business of this lush farmland that three groups of German settlers and their progeny have labored to make and maintain for five generations.
The Flory family came to Kansas in 1864, and in 1922 Harve Flory moved on to this place of 160 acres owned by the Geiger family, the original homesteaders of the land. By examining the buildings and fields that the Flory family has made over the last seventy years, we can understand the technological and economic changes in their farm (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

The Plow Period

In this early period Harve Flory operated a subsistence and local market farm. He used a steel bottom plow which became obsolete with the introductions of the Sulkey plow. Two horses pulled his mowing machine and raked the hay into rows. Three men using a hayloader and a team of horses picked up the hay, and at the barn three men pulled the hay up to the loft door with a hay fork and then pulled it along a track into the barn. There was an upright and wing house, a corncrib, a hogshed, an outhouse and chicken house at that time. A barn with a roof of bundles of slough grass had existed earlier but was gone by 1922. The house was a typical balloon-framed building with white clapboard siding. It faced south with a front door in the temple front leading to a parlor and a bedroom behind, and a stair to the bedrooms above. The wing also had a door to the dining room with a stair to the bedrooms above. The kitchen extended north as a shed addition to the temple front section, and it had a dirt floor. In 1923-24, Harve and his brother built the 51-foot by 32-foot barn that still stands, and they put a wood floor in the kitchen and a canopy over the porch along the wing (Figure 3.3). The barn’s central passage stored hay, while the east wing had stanchions for eight milk cows and the east wing had four stalls, each housing two horses. The structure of this barn is very similar to the structures found in 19th-century, mortise and tenon barns in the area, although this barn is bolted and nailed.

In 1926, Flory’s farm was still small and diversified. To broaden his economic base, Harve built a shed for beef cattle on the east side of the corn crib. They still milked cows, and his wife took eggs to the store at what is now Zarco and sold them along with cream for credit at the store. They fed extra milk to the pigs. It was still a cashless society in the countryside; barter and trade, especially in the form of shared labor, drove the economy. Besides community barn raisings that still occur today, haying and especially thrashing were jobs that required many people in the neighborhood to work together.

Harve and his wife saved up what little money they had to buy a Model T Ford in 1924. In 1930, he built a garage southwest of the house for this car because it was too dangerous to park in the barn.

Mechanization

In 1938, Harve bought his first tractor, one with steel wheels that got rubberized in 1940, and although the family still kept horses, they needed fewer of them. Going from horsepower to "horsepower" changed the farming process dramatically from the practices of the 19th Century, practices that could sustain a subsistence farm but not the market farming Harve’s two boys, Wayne and Harold, would do. Still, there were some things that didn’t change, such as the need for a new privy and a bigger chicken house in 1942.

In 1945, Harve and his wife moved across the road, and Wayne Flory and his wife, Lois, both 21, moved onto the place. This little move was actually a generational shift at the end of World War II, a shift that ushered in a great watershed of economic and technological change. The rural landscape, even in this conservative religious community of Willow Springs, was transformed.
Figure 3.1: Site Plan: The May-Way Farm
Figure 3.2: Evolution of Buildings: The May-Way Farm

PRE-EXISTING GEIGER BUILDINGS
POLE WALL BARN
WITH SLOUGH GRASS ROOF UNTIL 1922
HOUSE
CORNCRIB
HOUGHED
OUTHOUSE
OLD CHICKEN HOUSE

HARVE FLORY
INHABITS 1922-1945
WIFE & 2 SONS (HARVE 22 IN '22)
BARN 1925-26
FRONT PORCH 1924
KITCHEN WOOD FLOOR 1924
LABOR: SELF & FAMILY
"WAYNE, BROTHER, GREAT UNCLE"

1924-1927 PLOW CULTURE
1942 TRACTOR CULTURE
1951 BEGIN DAIRY OPERATION
1963 EXPAND DAIRY OPERATION

WAYNE FLORY
INHABITS 1945, OWNS/RESIDENT 1946-PRESENT
MARRIED LOIS MAY/MARRIED 21, 4 SONS

CATTLE SHED 1926
CAR GARAGE 1930
NEW OUTHOUSE 1942
NEW CHICKEN HOUSE 1942
LABOR: SELF & FAMILY
"WAYNE, BROTHER, GREAT UNCLE"

1926 EXPAND DAIRY OPERATION
1930 ADD MILK ROOM
1942 MOVE CATTLE/HEADCORN
CRIB & 16' CATTLE SHED
1951 SILO & FEEDBUNK
1951 1st INDOOR BATH (KITCHEN)
1951 MOVE IN A CAR GARAGE
1951 MOVE EXIST'G GAR. BY IT
1951 LABOR: SELF, FARM LABOR, SILO/TURN-KEY

MARKLEY, HIGH SCHOOL FARM WELDERS
HANGAR KENNETH MARKLEY
HOUSE/ KEN WYCLIFFE
Figure 3.3: Barn Plan and North and South Elevations
by the shift. As Dunkers, Wayne and Lois abided by certain restrictions on new, frivolous things — such as radios — but most of the technology of the 20th Century was available to them. Telephones made necessary sense, as did electricity when it came in with Kansas Power and Light in 1947, and anything else that was useful and was driven by a gasoline motor. It was never a sin to make money honestly; indeed in an increasingly market-oriented economy, it was absolutely necessary to make money to stay on the farm. Wayne, more than his father, saw a huge market that stretched all the way to Chicago and beyond. From a subsistence farm on the prairie, Wayne remade the farm into a business in the Chicago market. With a technical knowledge of farming his father never had, a make-do savvy, an unrelenting work ethic except on Sundays, and good business practices, Wayne, his brother Harold, and their generation made the biggest changes on the landscape since the plowing of the prairie.

Dairy Begins

To take advantage of economies of scale and make enough money to pay off investments in new tractors and other farm implements, Wayne and Lois expanded the size of their farm by renting ground from their neighbors. Rent was set at 40% of the crop. They planted even more corn and wheat and made more hay and silage for the new ‘Grade A’ dairy operation they began in 1947. From then on, the success of the Flory farm as a dairy business depended on getting bigger, buying bigger and more implements are buying or renting more land — up to 400 acres during Wayne’s active farming career.

The change to a dairy farm eliminated the hog operation, and the hogshed was converted to a dairy barn with an added milk room for cooling and storage in 1947. The cattle shed and corn crib combination was replaced in 1951 with a new 16-foot shed for the growing stock of calves. In that same year Wayne put in a silo and feedbunks, and he was milking from 35 to 40 cows a day, producing 23 ten-gallon cans of milk for the market. Harve milked by hand but Wayne had to change from a gas milking machine system in 1946 and an electric system in 1947 to keep up with this many cows. Lois gave up the chickens because the barter economy disappeared, and she enjoyed working the dairy cattle right along with the men. There was plenty of work to do. Things were going so well by 1951 that the Florys built a new garage and moved a used garage next to it to house their car and their pickup. In that same year they put in their first indoor bathroom on the backside of the wing.

Expanded Dairy

Twenty-three, ten-gallon cans of milk a day added up to a lot of milk but the delivery of that milk proved inefficient. Wayne and Harold sold their milk to Sanitary Dairy in Lawrence, and in 1957 Sanitary Dairy changed the collection system from milk cans to bulk tanks that met high standards of cleanliness and could be unloaded mechanically by hoses and milk trucks. Many dairy farmers resisted the changes this mechanization would bring.
but Wayne changed over in 1956. He removed the old dairy barn (once a hog shed), and with some local help, built a new concrete block dairy barn with milking stalls, a bulk container room, a utility room, a bathroom and an office. In the bulk system, the milking machines push milk through a stainless steel pipeline into a refrigerated tank that is emptied every day by a hauler. The system worked well for years. In the first year the Flory Farm produced 250 gallons per day, and by 1982, the Florys were producing 1,000 gallons of milk a day. Along with the milk barn in 1956, Wayne built a frame building sheathed in metal to connect the new milking complex with the 1924 barn and its 1951 shed. This protected waiting cows from northwest winds. Business improved when things got bigger in the dairy business, it seemed, and in 1958, Wayne added another silo.

In 1958 he also designed and built a Quonset building for about $2,800 to house his bigger machinery. He chose a trench footing of concrete, a concrete block foundation, a concrete pad on the eastern third of the building and a dirt floor for the rest. With a jig, he cut out the eleven main bents in three pieces, and then welded them together on the ground. One by one they were raised and high school kids welded on two-inch square angle iron purlins and covered the structure with corrugated siding. This Quonset was capable of storing tractors, combines, drills, and bailers, and it also functioned as a machine shop and place for a drill press, welding equipment, grinders and other tools.

Wayne carried on the metal building tradition with the airplane hangar he built in 1960. He loved to fly, but he had to justify his use of the plane at Dunker meetings. Along with the metal hangar he built a runway that he and four neighbors who had planes used for business purposes. A local builder, Kenneth Markley, and kids from the community helped Wayne weld this structure together using the steel truss of an old bridge for the track to carry the main door. The building is 40 by 32 feet with a 50-foot truss, and was used to house first a J3 Piper, then a 172 Cessna, and then finally another 172 Cessna that Wayne and his son Mike used to fly passengers to Lawrence from the Kansas City Airport. The hangar now houses a cattle truck and trailer.

The phase of the expanded dairy came to a head with the erection of a modified rancher that Wayne designed and built in 1963 to replace the century-old Upright and Wing that needed new plumbing and other modern adaptations difficult to build into a compartmentalized house of one and one-half and two stories (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). This change from a very desirable 19th-century housetype to a more desirable post-World War II housetype would become the pattern on the rural landscape among the most successful farmers. The exurbanites also built the rancher in larger numbers, and it is now the most frequent housetype in this rural landscape. Less than 10% of the houses on the current rural landscape were built before the 20th Century. The new Flory house met some specific needs of the rural lifestyle but it had all the characteristics of a modern house in the urban landscape with its expansive, open plan, concrete basement, bathrooms on both floors, bedrooms for every child, hipped roof, large hearth, and an attached garage added in 1970.

1970 to 1995

This period continued to be a time of expansive growth in the Flory dairy business. The Florys named their farm the May-Way Farm after Lois’s maiden name and the first three letters of Wayne’s name. The farm’s name was then used to distinguish its registered dairy cows from other cows. In 1970, an 82-foot tall, 20-foot diameter, high moisture grain silo was added to store 20,000 bushels of grain. In 1975, the Florys built another silo, the scale house and the bull pens. The poured concrete bull pens were for registered bulls whose semen was sold but this added dimension to their business was not as profitable as selling springers, cows that were pregnant for the first time. Another silo was built in 1980, and in 1985, the Florys had the 32-by 52-foot
Figure 3.5: Plan: The Flory Home
Astro metal building erected that was big enough for a 30-foot wide drill, an 18-wheeler, the large round hay bailer, and other large implements. One of the last changes Wayne Flory made before he retired from the dairy business was to install a computerized feeding system that reads a computer chip around a cow’s neck, allowing her to enter a feedstall and eat at a designated time. However, all this mechanization and efficiency only led to over-production on a national scale and a reduction in government subsidies. This forced farmers out of the market and lowered the prices of registered Holstein cows. Wayne had enough by then, and sold out his Holstein business in 1989.

In 1990, Wayne’s son, Mike, started to invest in farmland in Willow Springs, and he and his father became grain farmers. They now plant over 1,000 acres of wheat, corn, milo and beans. Only a few farmers in Douglas County can compete at this scale and most have instead chosen to sell out because the investment is just too high. This market reality is emptying the rural landscape of its farmers, who now understand the land as a valuable real estate commodity to be sold to exurbanites who are fleeing the city for a country home on five to ten acres. There are now less than 90 farmers left in Douglas County.
The land that is now the May-Way Farm was anything but developed and certainly not urban when the Santa Fe Trail opened across it in 1821. Trail traffic was heavy until the Civil War and the route was still used until 1872, when it was replaced with other roads. At times in the 1850s there was an endless string of people and wagons that created great ruts which are still quite visible in Wayne Flory’s east pasture and yet only faint in his fields west of the house, where they lead down into Willow Springs.

Willow Springs was a famous watering hole, where, other than the willows along the springs, there was hardly a tree in sight, let alone a town (Figure 4.1). The springs still run, although nothing like the “fountain of water” observed in 1855, when William Wells patented 300 acres to create a town that he named Davis. Davis got a post office, which stayed there until 1904, even though the town was renamed Willow Springs in 1861, then Akron in May, 1870, and followed by Willow Springs again about six weeks later. E.H. VanHoesen, an entrepreneur and rascal of a
man, bought Willow Springs from William Wells in 1858 for $300, and he did everything he could to make it an urban center. In 1866, he set up the post office in his trail hotel (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). He attempted but was unsuccessful in attracting either the Lawrence Southwestern or the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroads. Without the railroad Willow Springs was unlikely ever to become a town, but VanHoesen continued developing it. In 1870, he gave an acre of land at the north end of the town for a school (Figure 4.4). He attracted the conservative faction of the Dunker Church at Pleasant Grove, and they built a church near the middle of his still fledgling town in 1885 (Figure 4.5). Mr. Adler had a blacksmith shop at the center of town near the hotel, and at the south end of town Mr. Duncan ran his blacksmith shop and Mr. Gregory his creamery. In 1907, the hotel burned, three years after the site lost its post office. This was the beginning of the town’s disappearance. The church remains but all the other institutions in Willow Springs were lost in competition with other towns that were on railroads: Lawrence, Baldwin, Ottawa and Overbrook. None of the other towns of Willow Springs did much bet-

Figure 4.1: Willow Springs Township as shown in an 1857 Map of Douglas County

Figure 4.2: Site Plan: Willow Springs in the Early Twentieth Century
ter (Figure 4.6). Holling, Norwood and Echo disappeared entirely. Lone Star, Pleasant Grove, and Worden, along with Willow Springs, are but fragments of towns that once had all the institutions needed for community life on the prairie plains. There were just too many towns and community centers in a township that after 1888 saw a free-fall drop in population until the “back-to-the-country” movement of the 1970s (Figure 4.7).

The Fate of Community Life: Roads

The township — supposedly 36 square miles although Willow Springs is 54 square miles — was the only political entity that survived the rash of town building and failure, and over the past 125 years of its existence, the maintenance of roads has been the township’s only major responsibility. Besides the Santa Fe Trail, J. Cooper Stuck, who surveyed the township in 1857, found two other early roads: the Ottawa road that meandered on the east side of the township and a road that clipped the northwest corner of the township leading to the California Road and to Lawrence. The 1855 Legislature authorized four additional territorial roads, all of which in one way or another went through Willow Springs, and they were supposed to be 20 feet wide and cleared of all stumps taller than eight inches. These territorial roads would not be adequate very long for a growing rural population. When at least 12 householders applied for a road, a three-person board of viewers had to recommend that it be built. When the road was approved, the township overseer took responsibility for keeping the road along with the help of the residents who lived along it. All men between 21 and 50 were required to spend two eight-hour days each year working on the roads to pay their poll taxes. It was an inexpensive way for government to do business because the township spent only $4364 for its roads between 1878 and 1907. By the 1930s this system collapsed under pressure from automobile drivers to improve roads, and then the township began to
hire road professionals and buy grading equipment to keep up with the demand. This road maintenance system is still operating; however, the county is considering taking over the maintenance of all roads, leaving the township without any responsibilities at all.

The drive for efficiency and the subsequent centralization of community services eventually put an end to the community life in Willow Springs Township that had built up by about 1900. At that time, besides all the roads, there were six towns with at least a country store not very different from the one remaining in Worden (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). These stores typically used a commercial front facade to indicate their business role, and, as in the city, were long, thin buildings, usually frame, with goods stored on peripheral walls and in cases in the center. These country stores and their towns were seemingly irreplaceable community nodes, and for the most part they simply were not replaced in the 20th Century.

There were also nine churches in the township about 1900, and during the first 100 years of the township’s history, from the time of settlement in 1854 to the building of the last church in 1954, fifteen churches were built to serve people in Willow Springs. Twelve were within the township itself. Thirteen were frame churches, two were stone, and all were rectangular buildings with central aisles formed by wood pews. There were four Brethren churches, four Methodist churches, two German-speaking evangelical churches and a Roman Catholic church. The fate of these churches closely parallels the maturation and slow dissolution of most other forms of community life in the township. By 1895 there were seven churches with 269 members, and this number fell to six churches with 259 members by 1905. By 1930 the population of Willow Springs had fall 39% from its height in 1885, and during the 1920s three more churches failed, leaving only three churches that still operate today: the Old German Baptist Church (Dunker) at Willow Springs (erected 1885), the second generation church of St. John’s (1954), and the second Methodist church at Worden (1933).

The churches at St. John’s and Worden also have second generation parsonages. St. John’s reflecting its conservative German ways, replaced an Upright and Wing parsonage in 1910 with a two-door house found frequently in German communities throughout the United States (Figure 4.10). There are many origins of the two-door arrangement, but among the Germans it seems to have come from the ubiquitous Stallhaus or barnhouse still extant throughout Germany. These barnhouses had at least two doors — one for people and one for animals. They could be very large buildings or small ones, depending on the
economic status of the owners. As cities grew up around them in Germany, many of these barnhouses were transformed into more urban form by expelling animals and changing the Stall into a second Stube. One Stube was used for special gatherings only, and the other Stube was used for daily family life. This practice of having two doors for social reasons continued in America, where few real Stallhäuser, but many two-door houses were built, to satisfy a deeply embedded cultural pattern.

School building in the township was especially vigorous, and at one time schools were strategically and liberally scattered around the township, and within an easy middle distance of the children who attended them (Figure 4.6). Only one is left today. The period of first-generation schools lasted almost twenty years from 1854 to 1870. During that time 12 land owners gave 12 school sites, and most of these first schools were built in the 1860s. At least three, including the one at Willow Springs, were originally frame, rectangular, clapboarded and gabled structures with windows on the long sides, two doors in the gable end, a stage for recitations and plays, and a potbellied stove (Figure 4.4). The average age of first-generation schools before they were replaced with second-generation schools was 14 years. The log schools, such as the first Union School, were replaced first, and eight other second-generation schools were constructed in the 1870s and 1880s. Only four schools entered a third generation, and the one at Pleasant Grove, built in 1916, was significantly different in form.
and plan from all the other schools (Figure 2.2). It was a “progressive” school, basically square with a hipped roof, one door, an entry foyer, a line of windows only on the south and east sides, a library, and built-in display cabinets. It had no stage. These progressive changes were driven by new ideas about the quality of the school environment, gender and education.

However, none of these progressive ideas so well expressed in the third Pleasant Grove school kept it open when the relentless, centralizing developments of new transportation and communication, reduced rural population and economies of scale consolidated all the rural schools in Willows Springs Township. Consolidation began during World War II with the temporary closing of some schools and continued slowly until the last one-room school was closed in Pleasant Grove in 1962. This consolidation was one of the most wrenching, traumatic and emotional processes on the rural prairie plains because consolidation meant the further destruction of community life. One school remains to bring on new life in the township. The modern brick school with its gymnasium built in the 1960s just north of Worden is called Marion Springs School, and it brings all primary school children together from Willow Springs and Marion Townships. Besides school, great chili suppers are still held there.

The Ethnic Landscape

There were four main neighborhoods in Willow Springs Township around the turn of the century: the Brethren neighborhood, St. John’s neighborhood, the Worden neighborhood, and the Media/Norwood neighborhood. The Brethren neighborhood settled by English-speaking, Pennsylvania-Germans from Indiana and Ohio was the largest, covering nearly half the township with three Brethren churches, five schools and five country corners. The St. John’s people came from Germany, and they built their houses on homesteads in a small neighborhood around the St. John’s Church and German school. The center of the Worden neighborhood was one mile south of St. John’s Church, and it contained three Methodist churches, four schools, and a country corner called Worden. These people also spoke German when they came to Kansas. The fourth neighborhood of Media/Norwood was settled by English, French, and Irish people of mixed faiths, both Methodist and Roman Catholic, and the neighborhood did not cohere as tightly as the others because of its diversity. Distance, religious affiliation, ethnicity, intermarriage, a decentralized economic system, and territoriality separated these people into their respective groups well into the 20th Century. The melting pot was a myth in Willow Springs until after World War II, when the transportation and communications revolutions and their consolidating effects on school systems, religious centers, and economic institutions slowly began to erase the distinctions between neighborhoods that marked the early farm community.
Highway 56 approximately follows the old Santa Fe Trail that began in Franklin, Missouri. Here at Worden the end of the trail in New Mexico is only about 665 miles away. The swales at the May-Way Farm are remnants of the early history of the route to Santa Fe, and swales bigger than these can still be found all along this trans-prairie landscape, even though it has been continuously transformed by changes in transportation and communication. William Becknell struck out with his pack train from Franklin in 1821 to ply his goods 77 days later on the dusty square in Santa Fe. It was a long and tortuous journey. Today, we leave early in the morning from this part of Kansas, and get to Santa Fe for a good meal with wine before we turn in that evening. We ride in air-conditioned comfort with Beethoven on CD. The difference between Becknell and us is layered in the landscape of Highway 56.

The Santa Fe Trail

Surveyed in 1825 after a treaty was made with the Kansa Indians and others, the Santa Fe Trail was used primarily as a trade route from 1821 to 1880, when the last leg of it was closed in New Mexico by the coming of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. The Kansas Pacific Railroad closed the eastern Kansas part of the trail in 1867, when it reached Fort Larned 250 miles west of here. From now until we get to Cottonwood Falls you will see railroad right-of-ways on both sides of the highway. The rails replaced the road as a means of hauling goods, and so it became a stage road for the last three decades of the 19th Century. One of the old stage stops is the post-civil war, limestone upright and wing house you will see on the right near the gigantic ATT relay station, a part of the electronic landscape (Figure 5.1). By 1912, Kansans were driving 30,000 cars, and the Good Roads Association began promoting the road as the New Santa Fe Trail. This dirt road was one of the earliest cross-state highways and part of a trans-continental highway from New York to Los Angeles. In 1932 the road was widened and graveled for more automobiles, and this change in the landscape razed or moved back many buildings, fences, telephone poles, and fields. For example, in Worden the framed Methodist Church with a corner tower entry was torn down and replaced with a new brick church on the corner. The store at Worden, now known as Worden AG, was moved back. Oiling and paving beginning in the 1950s made automobile travel faster and safer, which transformed the road into a tourist highway that is still two-laned all the way to Springer, New Mexico.

In addition to the layer upon layer of changes in transportation, there is also a thick electronic landscape that crisscrosses our route like the swales. The ATT Relay station is the largest knot in this electronic landscape, and there are thousands of smaller knots—television sets, radios, and satellite dishes receiving information from space, as well as unseen thousands of computers and telephones along the way that receive information through buried telephone lines. The electric
grid also crosses back and forth over our heads on Highway 56, and the biggest of these lines, held by huge steel poles, supplies electricity to Kansas City and comes from the Wolf Creek Nuclear Plant near Burlington, 60 miles from Worden. Not enough can be said here about the complex landscape history of the Santa Fe Trail route.

**Rural Housetypes**

The housetypes in the rural landscape along this transportation route are not surprising in kind or relative number, for they are similar to the houses and frequencies in rural Willow Springs Township (Table 5.1). We counted 132 houses from Worden to the Kansas Turnpike (and we probably missed a few). We found these kinds of distributions along the route:

- rancher—21%
- bent house—11%
- cube or four-Square—8%
- metal trailers — both single and double-wide — 8%
- Cape Cod—6%
- bungalow—5%
- I-house/HP—4.5%
- 4 over 4—4.5%
- pyramidal—3.8%

The route maps from here on have numbers (1-30) that signify the location of a house of a specific type and letters (A-M) that represent barns listed in Table 5.2.

Just west of Worden there is a cluster of 19th century/turn-of-the-century frame farmhouses and their barns dating from the 19th and 20th centuries — a pyramidal house, bent house and five-bay I-house (uncommon) on the left with a horse barn and a 3-bay, often called an English barn (which is too ethnocentric but we use it since almost all barns are three-bay barns in this part of the country), and a bent house on the right with its elaborate pediment. Then we see the replacement process working on the right, where, as we found at the May-Way Farm, a post- World War II rancher has probably replaced a 19th-century house that was built in the same

**Table 5.1: Common Rural Roadside Housetypes on the Prairie Plains**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSETYPE</th>
<th>Highway 56 Route</th>
<th>Highway 177 Route</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abandoned</td>
<td>Strip Map Code</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-frame</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungalow</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungalow (log)</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Cod</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colonial Revival</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conversion (railroad cars)</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conversion (school house)</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cotteh Cube</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Dutch Colonial</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dutch Colonial</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four-Over-Four</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>I-cottage</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>I-house/HP</td>
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<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-house</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.0b: Route Map**
period as the extant English barn. The rancher is the symbol of 20th-century success on the rural landscape.

The “Tree Culture”

On the left, just two miles west of Worden, is a woodlot (along with three conical, metal corncribs). Settlers from the East and from Europe, especially from Germany where the forest is still revered to the point of myth, were not used to the treeless environment, which to them only reinforced the problem of distance and the psychology of loneliness. The treeless plain was a wilderness, and there was a Protestant ethic about the wilderness in Maximilian Kern’s idea of “subduing the wild prairies.” Kern, a landscape architect, wrote in favor of tree planting for the Kansas Pacific Railroad in 1879. He was not alone. There was a widely-held belief that enough trees — planted carefully by humans in lots, down fence rows, around the homestead, in a windbreak, and always in cemeteries where the pine was favored because it was distinctive and was evergreen — could change the weather patterns, bring more rain, and modify the mid-continental climate of the Great Plains. People of influence argued these grandiose views in government and business, and the woodlot is a remnant both of those ideas and of the tree culture policies legislated by the United States in the Homestead Acts and the Timber Culture Act of 1873. The railroads also needed large amounts of timber on the treeless plains. Kansas became known as the leading tree planting state in the late-19th century, and although the tree-planting policies were doomed to failure, more trees rather than less trees is a common landscape feature east of the Flint Hills.

Maximilian Kern suggested that in the rural landscape, “trees be set together in compact and close masses, to afford each other mutual protection, to attain height and straightness of stem, and to facilitate cultivation. In this he (the tree planter) has the key-note of judicious tree culture on the prairies. Scattered trees, exposed to every play of wind and snow, grow low branched and often shaggy.” In towns, Kern recommended “the planting of public grounds” and creating “a canopy of shade” to protect the prairie towns. He suggested that trees be planted around the home too, for “the most modest home, standing lonely on the prairie, and a scene of constant toil and labor, can have its grove . . .” He thought the home should have the “appearance of a park. It may be the poor man’s park, but nevertheless it is pretty and inviting.”
One of the most frequently planted trees was the Osage Orange, known also as the hedge tree, which was raised in large nurseries in Illinois and Arkansas. Hedge, planted in a line of seedlings as a fence and trimmed annually to about 4 and 1/2 feet high, was one of the cheapest legal fences a farmer could make in eastern Kansas. Hedge could also be easily grown to produce steel-hard posts to hold board fences and later, wire. This made the hedge important on the plains because by far the largest expense of the homesteader — far more than the cost of land — was building a legal fence.

Another tree Kern highly recommended for the rural landscape woodlot was the Catalpa — our woodlot on Highway 56 is Catalpa — because it is “hardy...considered ornamental...a rapid growing tree remarkable for the value and durability of its wood. It is the tree which bids fair to solve the momentous question of supply of railroad timber.” The Black Walnut, “the leading tree of Kansas,” also made good timber for railroad ties when closely planted, as did many of the native oaks.

There were other needs for lumber in Kansas besides shade, fence, and railroad ties. Building other parts of the rural landscape, especially barns and sheds, consumed much of the big native timber and most of the woodlots. And no matter how many trees could be planted, there would never be enough lumber in Kansas to meet the immediate needs of town building. Trees took too much time — no matter how fast they grow — to become lumber when planted on the prairie. Most of the lumber for the larger urban landscape was shipped in by railroad.

Other Artifacts in the Cultural Landscape

The extensive mining culture on the rural landscape of eastern Kansas shows up on the left with the old Kereford limestone quarry (now a pond) and its tailings. Limestone and coal were the primary mineral deposits of value. Both of these minerals lie close to the surface in this part of the state, and required little digging. After sites had been mined to their end, they were abandoned in the landscape. The whole state was once a great interior ocean that laid down the sediment which eventually became the white and yellow limestone that early builders employed. Limestone was used most frequently in public and commercial buildings on the urban landscape, to a great extent in barns and stone fences on the rural landscape, and perhaps the least in houses whether town or country.

The railroad landscape. On the left is the idiosyncratic train house (it’s in the slide packet) that has no peer in either the rural or urban domestic landscape. Through the preservation and reuse of actual cars, this place reestablishes the railroad landscape on a small scale, expressing a nostalgia for powerful engines pulling passengers and great loads over long distances. The love of railroads has been taken to the level of fetish here, but exaggeration is not unheard of when people get caught by the romance of the iron horses. In Council Grove, for example, Mr. T. W. Whiting, a wealthy entrepreneur, was known to make emphatic statements through buildings,
and he went so far as to set up his own private depot and railroad that took him and his family to their country estate. There are, however, more usual, less exaggerated reuses of the cars and train depots along our way. You will see numerous box cars that farmers bought from the railroads in the early 20th century and reused for storing hay and annual feed. Most of these are on their last legs because the box car was often just set out on the ground. The component of the railroad landscape most often reused in Kansas is the depot, although most of our small town, framed depots — which we once had by the hundreds — were simply demolished along with all the other attendant buildings, such as coal sheds, signal towers and water towers, when the railroads began their withdrawal in the mid-1950s. Just before we arrive in Burlingame, you'll see an unsuccessful attempt to make a depot into a restaurant, but not even breaking the long building into an "L" shape could bring in enough bacon at the edge of this small town. The Santa Fe brick depot at Strong City (it's in your slide packet) is used little except for storage but it is still in excellent condition on its original site. Another re-use of a depot is in North Lawrence, where the Union Pacific Depot, designed by Henry Van Brunt and William Howe, has been renovated for offices and meeting rooms.

**The Globe Store.** This is a general store that has survived since the town-building period of the late 19th century. Originally, the store was a mile north of here on the old Santa Fe Trail and was called Washington. The name was changed to Marion, and then to Globe and the store was moved to the new road in the early 20th century. Changing the names of places and even moving towns was common in this part of Kansas when a town was bypassed by the railroad or an important highway.

**The Tractor Museum.** On the hill on the left is the largest of many private machinery museums that exist on the prairie plains (Figure 5.2). In these museums lie the mechanics and history of farm machines, the material (agri)culture that helped produce the vast quantities of grain and meat for the continental market the Chicago trade moguls directed and manipulated.

**The American Telegraph and Telephone Company Relay Tower.** This is the tallest structure in the complex electronic landscape that crisscrosses the prairie plains. This structure intersects the old Santa Fe Trail and the later stage route marked by the historic limestone Upright and Ell house its current owner is allowing to self-destruct (Figure 5.1).

**Dodder Cemetery** on the right is a final resting place for the people of the St. Francis Roman Catholic Church about a mile to the north. In rural Kansas there are private, religious, and public cemeteries, many of which are often marked by the white pine. These cemeteries are of many sizes and shapes but they are almost always subdivided by drives that circle through. Most of the stones are in English, although in the strongest ethnic centers, such as at St. John's Cemetery in Willow Springs Township, some stones are in German. In some cemeteries along our way there are also Czech and Spanish stones. At St. Anthony's Cemetery just north of Strong City, the graves of Spanish-speaking people are collected in one area of the cemetery, perhaps reflecting a separation that still exists in cattle country or for that matter throughout Kansas between the white majority group and a Mexican-American minority.

![Figure 5.0e: Route Map](image)
The prairie plains, when turned into gigantic grain fields, pastures, feedlots, and homesteads during the late 19th century, became another kind of land of plenty. The pre-pioneer landscape, only slightly modified from the natural environment by thousands of years of human habitation and considered sacred by the Kansa Indians, was a rich ecology of wildlife and lush plant life. However, by the mid-1880s, the sacred landscape was cut up and fenced up into an economic miracle, and made into a landscape that began to work for a living. Instead of hunting and gathering and moving about within a landscape that maintained itself, as the Kansa Indians did, the inhabitants were sedentary, believed deeply in the value of property, saw the land as a means to an economic end, and worked hard to build farms and maintain them as commodity-producing entities. The amount of human energy behind this landscape is incalculable. Farm life was no easy undertaking, and still isn’t, and there were many failures with drought, pestilence and volatile markets. With the help of new machinery and a dawn-to-dusk work ethic, these prairie plains produced an abundance far beyond the needs of a single farm family. This abundance from the vast bread basket and meat tray of America had to be collected, and stored again and again, and sent along in a great chain of fields, animals, bales, barns and corncribs, pens and corrals, silos and grain elevators that were ultimately connected to the railroad system. The roles these various structures played in the landscape are as important as their individual technologies and histories.

**Naming and Counting Traditional and New Barns**

The barn played and plays a critical role in the food storage system of the prairie plains. Along our way we have hundreds of barns that have been a main link of the farm-to-market food
storage chain since just after the Civil War. These barns can be generally divided into traditional 
barns and new barns engineered and designed for modern uses. Traditional barns were built 
from the 1860s to the 1920s, after which there was a relative pause in barn building (Figure 5.3). 
After World War II, a new barn building period was launched with the Quonset Hut which was 
followed by an avalanche of manufactured metal barns that are slowly replacing the traditional 
barns (Figure 5.4).

We find a range and variation of traditional, 19th-century/early 20th-century barns typical 
on the prairie plains. Only fools rush into the nomenclature battle over barns, and we are not 
much concerned with the issue here. We are comfortable sorting our traditional barns into old, 
perhaps misnamed categories: gable- and side-entry “English” barns, raised “English” barns, 
cattle barns, “Dutch” barns, crib barns, and horse barns (Table 5.2). The only other traditional 
barn on the prairie plains is the bank barn, sometimes with a forebay, but there are remarkably 
few of them along this particular route. We will look at one gigantic version of the bank barn on 
the Z-Bar Ranch. In any discussion about barn types, our experience tells us not to generalize too 
much because traditional barns are unique, especially in plan and to a lesser extent in the specifics 
of their building technology. Most people who live with traditional barns on the prairie plains 
do not categorize them by name.

This is not the case with some post-World War II barns. Few buildings are more quickly 
recognized on the prairie plains than the Quonset Hut, which was named after the Naval Base at 
Quonset Point, Rhode Island. This easy-to-maintain structure, especially if raised on a concrete 
foundation to protect it from bumping and puncturing, was developed initially for the military

Figure 5.0g: Route Map
that needed a building soldiers could put up easily and quickly with simple hand tools. It had to be disassembled and moved fast, and reused somewhere else effectively. The building’s half-round structure and its ogee arch variation is inextricably connected to World War II and the military, and instantly triggers military associations. Later pre-fabricators of modern metal barns/buildings wanted to disassociate their structures from the crude image the Quonset Hut had. They dropped the curved roof, and almost universally adopted the gable roof form. Today there are many companies that pre-fabricate metal barns and buildings but in this rural landscape we call them all “Butler Buildings” after the Butler company, established in 1901 in Kansas City (Figure 5.4).

We can report some statistical generalizations, if we accept a few names for the time being. About 35% to 40% of the barns you see along our way are “English” barns with or without wings and raised or not raised. These barns are entered either at the gable end or more traditionally
The gambrel roof "Dutch" barns and barns with clerestory roofs, sometimes called cattle barns, make up about 10% to 15% of the examples. The entrance to these barns is usually at the gable end. Next comes the horse barn — a smaller, proportionally tall, usually tripartite structure with a gabled roof, few windows and vertical siding. On the inside, horse stalls in two bays are usually separated by a feeding bay, and sometimes by a tack room and granary. They make up another 10% to 15% of the traditional barns. None of these traditional barns is built any longer, and their numbers are being reduced now by age and neglect. They are being replaced by new metal building companies that today control over two-thirds of the market share of all new buildings constructed. New engineered barns by Astro, Butler, CECO, Behlen, Ruffin, Varco-Pruden, Inland, A & S, Star, and other companies have replaced perhaps up to 30% of the barns on the prairie plains, and this percentage keeps going up with the continued "Butlerization" process.

About 75% of all these barns, traditional or new, have gable roofs. Just over 50% have wood siding and shingles, and perhaps even up to 40% are sheathed in corrugated metal or in a manufactured and painted metal siding. Stone, stone and metal, stone and wood, brick, and brick and wood provide the material make up for the other 10% to 15% of the barns.

**Barn Plans**

In spite of many plan variations, the core of almost all traditional barns in eastern Kansas is tripartite, and therefore most of these barns are three-bay, whether the entry is in the gable end or on the long side. The three-bay core is often extended on one or more sides with wings used for implement storage or feeding. With the exception of the horse barn, and sometimes the crib barn, the central bay of the other barns usually served as a driveway. In the 19th century the driveway, whether it went through or not, was used primarily for thrashing grain. After the big steam thrashers were introduced into the landscape in the early 20th century, this bay evolved into a parking area. A second bay was usually designed to store small grains — wheat, oats, corn, barley — in tight bins of tongue-in-groove siding, or corn on the cob in a crib. In this bay there is often a tool storage area or a place for tack. The third bay usually divided into a line of
milking stanchions and feeding troughs on one side and horse stalls and feeding bunks on the other side. The hay loft above provided ample storage for loose hay that was brought into the barn through the hay door by way of a hayfork on a rail, a system perfected in the late-19th century. After World War II, hay bailers replaced loose hay with rectangular or round bales that weighed up to about 150 pounds each. The hay loft stored these bales well.

This tripartite plan was susceptible to change, rearrangement and compartmentalization, even when the changes reduced the structural integrity of the barn, which was often the case. In spite of these generalizations about plans, just about every barn plan exhibits at least one surprise. You have to go in and look at every barn to be sure.

The new barn plans, like the Quonset and Astro buildings on the Flory Farm, are usually open, universal plans, that rely on truss systems rather than columns to carry the roof (Figure 5.5). These are the plans necessary to house the big, expensive machinery that a modern grain farmer needs to farm hundreds of acres of wheat, corn, milo and soy beans.

### Barn Structural Systems

The typical traditional structural system of the earliest barns is a wood, post-and-beam, mortise-and-tenon technology with peripheral and cross girders that tie the structure together and lend it considerable carrying strength. Diagonal braces were placed in corners on the wall and roof planes. The cross girders on columns interconnect with and hold up king post, "Y" braces that in turn buttress purlins running underneath rafters and a plank and shingle or metal roof. The general structural system is similar to mortise and tenon systems found in many locations east of the Mississippi. In one case, students at KU with family records traced a barn, its form and structural system on the prairie plains to a mother barn in Indiana and a grandmother barn in Pennsylvania. In this case, variation in size was the biggest difference with the prairie plains barn being considerably larger than the older barn in Pennsylvania. The medieval structural system persisted, even after the industrialization of components might have encouraged a change in form. After the coming of the railroad in 1867 to eastern Kansas, structural members of barns increasingly changed from hewn to sawed lumber of standard sizes, and from mortise and tenon to nailed connections; however, the form of the structural system changed remarkably little in traditional barns into the 1920s.

### Table 5.2: Common Barns of the Prairie Plains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BARN TYPE</th>
<th>Highway 56 Route</th>
<th>Highway 177 Route</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strip Map Code</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cob</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Hipped</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Metal, Sheathed</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pole</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raised</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-Bay Hay</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** | 66 | 100.0 | 8 | 100.0 |
After World War II, the structure and plans of new barns changed dramatically. Most traditional barns were no longer big enough for larger tractors and wider cultivators and plows. The long-term tendency away from mixed farming to specialized farming after World War II called for ever larger machines on bigger grain farms, and this has accelerated the obsolescence of traditional barns that are now inadequate for all but the smallest implements. The new machinery required engineered structures — as in the new manufactured building at the Flory Farm — that provide a clearspan of 160 feet or wider (Figure 5.5). The clearspan also eliminated the tripartite plan of the traditional barn, although when load-bearing posts were used in new barns, the tripartite plan dominates.

Barn Skin

The exterior of the traditional barn is most frequently vertical, 3-inch to 5-inch tongue-in-grove or board-and-batten siding nailed onto structural members. However, the later the barn, the more likely its exterior skin will be a corrugated, galvanized iron siding, such as at the Flory Farm, and all the new manufactured barns are sheathed with an exterior metal form specifically invented and tested for strength and durability (Figure 5.4). These durable external materials of the new barns make them easy to maintain, and the precisely manufactured parts assembled by a team of experts who bring these parts to the site make the new barn also easy and cheap to build. In contrast, many of the traditional barns, especially in the conservative Dunker communities on the prairie plains, were set up in barn-raising fashion with many men in the community, working all day to put the structure in place.

Milking Wings

Traditional barns were often modified to meet new farming practices, and one of their most frequent modifications was the addition in the 1950s of a milking wing that met guidelines for Grade A milk production. The main difference between the milking wing and the rest of the barn is a concrete floor and foundation walls that can be washed down with a hose and disinfected. Barns in this area usually had dirt floors and limestone foundations, and if raised, limestone walls. The grain storage/shop/tack wing usually had a plank floor. The added milking wing usually also had a separator room where cream was removed from the milk, and a cool storage room where cream and milk to be sold were kept cool in stainless steel 10-gallon cans.
Another important component of the food storage chain is the silo, one of most common vertical structures on the plains, and it has many advantages (Figures 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8). The silo stores both small grains and silage (cut up milo or cornstalks and the grain too for winter feeding), and comes in many sizes, materials, and loading and unloading technologies. Not all silos are vertical though. The pit silo, sometimes called a bunker silo, lies horizontally in the ground, stores silage, must be packed with a tractor to hold much silage and to prevent storage loss, and is usually covered with plastic held down by used tires. These horizontal silos are easy to build with a bulldozer but even with concrete walls it is impossible to prevent significant storage losses in pit silos (up to 27% even with heavy packing). Tower silos represent a better, specialized alternative to the traditional barn which is prone to contaminate small grains with moisture and can only hold dry hay which doesn’t have the protein value of silage. Another advantage to the silo is its variety of easy and efficient loading and unloading systems that require much less labor to move feed mechanically than it takes to move loose hay, hay bales or whole corn in a traditional barn by hand (Figure 5.7 and 5.8). The silo is often attached by a chute to a traditional barn or even built into the side of a traditional barn to facilitate the transfer of feed. The silo is also a good feed storage alternative to baled hay stored outside in large stacks of “square” bales or in singular, 1500 pound “round” bales. Finally, the silo is a better but far more expensive alternative to storage in silage bags that are 150 to 200 feet long and 9 feet in diameter, take up a lot of space, and are an environmental concern and labor-intensive disposal problem.

The earliest silos were wood, and there are few left on this landscape. The brick silo offered a longer lifespan and was constrained by the limited sizes of bricks and cost. The tile silo was not much better in this regard. The tiles were easily damaged and not that easy to replace, and the tile silo was not airtight, an attribute needed to prevent spoilage. Riveted steel silos come in various shapes and sizes, are easy to construct and maintain, and are moisture proof but they are not airtight and have little insulating value against the harsh continental weather. A popular alternative to the metal silo is the concrete silo either in the form of concrete staves bonded together and hooped with galvanized rods, or a poured, reinforced concrete silo made through a slip-form construction process. These silos are specially plastered on the inside until they are smooth. They fill from the top — usually the silage is blown in and this fills the silo very rapidly — and are packed by gravity. They can be unloaded from the bottom with special chainsaw augers...

Figure 5.7: Filling a Grain Silo

Figure 5.8: Emptying a Grain Silo
Figure 5.9: Grain Elevator Plans and Elevations, Overbrook, Kansas
Concrete offers the grain and silage good protection, and it is strong and long lasting. The most advanced form of the upright silo is a porcelain and steel model, usually the deep blue Harvestore with a white roof. The porcelain is permanently fused to steel plates through a baking process at the factory, and silos are sent to the site to be bolted around a steel frame. These storage machines strictly regulate airflows with a roof bladder system that counters the actions of expansion and contraction, are resistant to the elements, come in a variety of sizes, and are long lasting but expensive to build. The largest Harvestore all-purpose structure can store up to 61,900 cubic feet of grain or silage, and there are 29 other smaller sizes.

**Elevators**

Our first view of Overbrook is its “skyline” consisting of concrete elevator and water tower. These are the vertical symbols of small town Kansas. From a long distance they stand out almost singularly in the landscape like Gothic cathedrals in northern France, and their importance in contemporary life on the prairie plains far exceeds the importance of cathedrals in contemporary European life or for that matter the contemporary church on the prairie plains. No church along our way can compete with the height of these structures, and while the religious landscape has been diminished and consolidated and has struggled to remain viable on the prairie plains, as we saw in Willow Springs Township, the landscape of food and water in the form of elevators and water towers has intensified and been engineered to a high degree.

Nothing is more important than water and its delivery systems on the prairie plains, and we have included the current issue of *Kansas History* in your packet to address the issue of water. There are many articles, several recent books, and currently a vigorous dialog on the meaning of grain elevators in Spring and Fall 1995 issues of Material Culture, so nothing written here can be taken as a definitive statement. William Cronon’s book, *Nature’s Metropolis* gives the best overview of the grain trade. Cronon covers the role of local elevators in a massive system of elevators of different kinds, large and small, and how this storage system operates in conjunction with highly developed systems of transportation, communications and economics to deliver millions of tons of grain to hungry people and animals throughout the world.

Along our way we will see many concrete elevators, which are all mid-20th-century structures, and a number of cribbed or studded wood elevators covered with corrugated, galvanized iron siding. Most of these survive from the early 20th century, although they represent a late 19th-century technology. In the 1930s, tall steel elevators appeared in small numbers, and in the 1940s, to add capacity and flexibility to an elevator landscape, massive conical steel bins were clustered around the larger vertical structures. There were also brick and tile elevators, but we will not see any. Brick elevators did not stand up to grain dust explosions, and tile elevators were too leaky. For many reasons related to problems in the storage and hauling of grain, and insurance costs, poured-in-place, reinforced concrete elevators, like the one in Overbrook, are preferred on the prairie plains. Finding solutions to the problems of grain storage and shipment has made the architecture of elevators both emphatically useful and strikingly symbolic, no matter their material.

The first problem in the vertical storage of large amounts of grain is that all walls of the structure must be load-bearing. They must also withstand the tremendous outward pressure of tons of grain. In the cribbed elevator 2 by 10s, 2 by 6s, and 2 by 4s were stacked and spiked together and overlapped at the corners from the bottom up to achieve the needed strength. The studded elevator — in the form of a balloon frame and 1 by 6 siding banded with tie rods — was much cheaper to build than the cribbed elevator, and for this reason, the number of cribbed elevators on the prairie plains is very small. We will see only the studded variety, covered with
Figure 5.10: Commercial Change in Downtown Scranton, Kansas, 1897-1995
a steel skin to help prevent fires from trains that still haul most of our grain from local elevators
to terminal elevators in Topeka, Kansas City, and Chicago.

The second problem is capacity. The wood elevators that held anywhere from 250 to a few
thousand bushels quickly ran out of capacity in peak grain producing years when there was so
much wheat that it rotted in big piles for lack of adequate storage and rail transport. If more
capacity was needed in the wood elevator, a separate, new structure had to be built. Annexes of
wood and steel were clustered around the main structure and connected to the main headhouse
to help meet storage needs. In these circumstances the area around an elevator became a jumble
of buildings of different sizes, shapes and materials. There were difficult spatial problems to
resolve among these annexes and the main elevator owing to frequent loading and unloading
from large trucks and train cars.

The third problem is explosions and fire. The walls of an elevator must withstand the power
of grain dust explosions, which are numerous, and in the years of the wood elevator fires and
explosions occurred on average about every four years. Grain dust explosions result from stor-
ing grain in a relatively airtight space, and then moving the grain around from bin to bin. Pres-
sures also build up in "airtight" bins from fluctuations in the temperature of the elevator's mate-
rial and in the grain itself. A spark from a train pulling in or a truck running into a bin could turn
an elevator into an incendiary bomb. The wood elevator could not contain explosions or fires,
and when they happened, the whole elevator became involved and had to be rebuilt.

The reinforced concrete elevator afforded new strength in its poured wall 6 to 8 inches in
thickness and reinforced with vertical and horizontal I-beams. Slip-form technology, consisting
of a double ring form that jacks up continuously as the concrete is poured, creates a bin of one
solid wall in a series of bins. It was possible to build huge new capacities with this technology,
because elevators were engineered as modular structures, and were made for added capacity.
Concrete elevators also provided effective protection against fire and explosion because the
strength of reinforced, fireproof concrete could confine nearly any conflagration to a single bin.
Also, the "push-pull" ventilation technology in concrete elevators has reduced grain dust explo-
sions to a minimum, by removing grain dust and maintaining stable pressures in each bin.

The Overbrook elevator uses a central air pollution control system that pushes air in one side
of storage bins and pulls air out of the other side. Drawings for the proposed addition to the
Overbrook elevator designed in 1966 give us a good look at the capacity and technology of poured
concrete elevators we see in nearly every town on the prairie plains (Figure 5.9). The original
bins had a capacity of 118,817 bushels. A modular addition in 1967 brought the capacity to 160,
845 bushels. The elevator has two receiving pits, and these allow two large 16-wheelers to un-
load at the same time. Two legs of bucket chains with 40 buckets each carry the grain to the top
of the elevator where 14-inch distributors send the grain by computer on a 24-inch conveyor belt
computer to the correct bin under the headhouse. The elevator uses gravity and large metal
chutes connected to each bin to drop grain onto another 24-inch similar conveyor belt on the
basement floor leading to an unloading area that only loads trucks now since rail service ended
in March, 1995. This is what we call "a slick operation" on the plains.

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, the development of the first distributing technology
for tall elevators was developed. This included the grading system for bulk grain, which elimi-
nated the inefficient technology of sacked grain (sacked in order to keep the identity of the owner
straight), and a telegraph network that rapidly passed information about grain, climate, and
prices to the central exchange market of the Board of Trade of Chicago. This made Chicago the
center of a huge grain-collecting network that eventually stretched to Overbrook. Overbrook
became one link in a chain of elevators — local, terminal, processing and feed mill elevators —
that led primarily to Chicago and still lead there as well as to New Orleans, Houston, and other
coastal ports for trans-oceanic shipments. On the prairie plains, the magnificent soils, wind and
sun created millions of bushels of wheat, corn, and soy beans, and this plenty required elevators with rail service about every six to ten miles.

These elevators are privately owned, in this case by a Co-op of farmers at Overbrook, or owned by a large corporation in Kansas City or Chicago. A centralizing-decentralizing process has changed the types of ownership over the past century. Early on, urban grain corporations tried to control as many of the largest local and terminal elevators as possible, but during the past decade some large grain corporations, in Kansas City for example, have divested themselves of all their locals and lines of elevators because handling the grain is not as profitable as trading the grain, a form of legalized gambling that takes place at the Kansas City Board of Trade. Today, the grain market connected to the Overbrook elevator and elevators of its kind across the region is a multi-billion-dollar international business, and who actually owns the grain here at Overbrook at any given moment is just about anybody’s guess. In many cases, the traders only own futures on grain, grain that doesn’t even exist yet. This is a long way from the sacks of grain characteristic of the subsistence farming on the early prairie plains.

Small Towns and Self-Images

"Don’t Overlook Overbrook," states a friendly sign. In Kansas we say that if you blink at the wrong time, you’ll likely miss a town. Overbrook is one of those towns, and people here don’t want the traveler to think that just because Overbrook is small, it has nothing to offer. This sign demonstrates a characteristic of many people on the prairie plains. They are somewhat sensitive about the size of their towns, and have wanted them to get bigger, so as not to be taken for granted. James Shortridge in his Kaw Valley Landscapes (this book and Rex Buchanan’s Roadside Kansas are full of information and excellent interpretations of many aspects of Kansas life and lands) calls this sensitivity a “slight inferiority complex,” and relates it to the transient nature of the plains. Shortridge reminds us that people have always passed through these plains on the way to much more interesting places on the coasts, and even the people who stay have "nomadic tendencies," in that Kansas “people nonchalantly drive long distances to football games and movies and do not get excited in the least by out-of-state license plates.” Shortridge points out that most people still pass through this pivotal landscape on I-70, which is a particularly flat and dull slice through Kansas and perfect for highway building. "It is not a difficult transition to connect a dull landscape to dull people. Who else would live in such a bleak, hot place? There is some evidence to suggest that even area residents feel this way. They hear visitors talk, they notice how everyone passes through but nobody stays, and they feel a little bit ashamed of their . . ."

Overbrook’s urban landscape history shows the need to be up-to-date way out here in the middle of “nowhere,” and although it could never get big, like Topeka or New York, Overbrook has nevertheless at least been “incorporated” since 1886 on this major transportation route to Santa Fe. Overbrook first developed as a T-town along Maple Street with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad running along the south end. The 1899 plat of Overbrook shows the power of the railroad to shape the town, a power that pulled two livery stables, a store, and a hotel one block south out of the central commercial block between Market and Fourth Streets. By the time of the 1918 plat, even though the railroad was still necessary at that time to ship grain and cattle and to transport mail and people, the hotel and livery stables had disappeared, the commercial center had consolidated mostly into one block, and Miller’s Garage had appeared across the street from the State Bank. Automobiles on the new highway to the north were raising dust, and they often needed repair. By the time the USGS topographic map was compiled in 1983, Overbrook had a main street center with a solidly built-up commercial block between Fourth and Market, and a thriving highway commercial district four blocks to the north of this center.
This new “highway” main street along Highway 56 was developed to catch the eye and trade of automobile drivers who planned only to pass through this little spot on the blacktop. The highway main street did not fill up with blocks of commercial buildings, like another highway main street we will see at Burlingame. Instead, it developed into a cluttered, strip-like landscape with a jumble of building types and services. The Osage County Fairgrounds (we will look at one of these fairs in Vinland) begins the motley parade followed by a real estate office, gas stations, automobile repair shops, a Butler building church, a hardware store, Shirley’s Restaurant, a house here and there including the Herberling house on the right with its Eastlake pediment and porch features and its fenced yard, and a 1916 Mission Style grade school with a new addition. Overbrook is quickly over after that but not before it presents a small but “up-to-date” suburb.

Back-to-the-Country Landscape

For some people, even Overbrook was too urban and it was fashionable in the 1970s to move back to the country in spite of rising gasoline prices. There was little planning in this escape from the city, and more or less unregulated, this migration from town to country created a strung-out, sprawling landscape of houses on five to twenty acre lots like the ones we see after the Air Motor Chicago windmill on the right. Behind the houses lie the fields that once edged up to the road. The hippies and the yippies and the straight middle-class urban folk too built their American dream in what once were fields not far from the barns and older farmhouses of people who made their living in the country. The migrants seldom made their living by farming. Instead, they put in little gardens and created huge yards of fescue. They poured fertilizer on them, watered them from lines made possible by rural water districts set up in the 1960s into the 1980s to support farms and their stock, and mowed them weekly, if not more often, on riding mowers. The American dream came true for them in a rural landscape that was now no longer so rural. These new exurbanites chose a number of modern housetypes and added features peculiar to the period: a trailer house, ranchers, a berm house, an A-frame (this is one of the favored housetypes of the time because it was cheap to build and carried an association with the mountains), a gable-entry Cape Cod house, a split-level, a raised rancher.

Santa Fe Trail High School

The fractious days of school consolidation in the 1960s and 1970s, when people fought passionately to keep their one-room country schools and their small town high schools, eventually ended in compromises with many variations. High schools had always been in town, and every town wanted the consolidated high school, if there had to be one. A frequent compromise was to put the high school back in the rural landscape, where everyone had to start out new again. The pre-cast concrete Santa Fe Trail High School, established in 1970, consolidated Overbrook, Scranton and Carbondale high schools, and serves about 420 pupils.

Bypass Landscape at Four Corners

Two miles west of the high school we travel under U.S. Highway 75, called the Capitol Highway in 1918 when this roadway was first recognized as one of the main north-south routes bisecting Kansas. This highway is 234 miles long and runs from the Nebraska line north of Sabetha to Topeka, the capital of Kansas, and on to the Oklahoma line just south of Chaney. After our underpass we come to Four Corners, once a raucous spot at the intersection of U.S. 56/59. A large open area was needed to park all the swinging airmen from Forbes Air Force Base who came this far south to drink and dance and to visit “massage parlors” up and down U.S. 75 south
of Topeka. In the 1970s, Forbes closed, and in the 1980s, a new roadway for U.S. 75 replaced the old one that was so essential to Four Corners. For reasons of safety, an overpass over U.S. 56 was also created, leaving no space for a traditional crossroads landscape. Things dried up, as we say in Kansas, and the old crossroads reverted to a bypass landscape. The gas stations with repair shops and drinking/dancing establishments that once made Four Corners lively are now in the custody of antique stores, an auction house, and on the north side of the road, a drinking establishment called Trop 56 caters to the local population.

Scranton and Coal Mining

At its peak in the 1890s, Scranton was one of the centers of the Osage County coal mining that began with the discovery of coal in Carbondale in 1869 (Figure 5.10). A Scranton business directory reflecting that period shows 20 businesses, not including the bank: three general stores, two groceries, two hardware stores, three clothing stores, two blacksmith shops, two drug stores, a doctor and lawyer, a hotel, a shoe store and a cafe. The bank/cafe building along main street is one of the few surviving buildings of that period. This main street lost many buildings in a long decline, and when new buildings were finally needed, metal structures replaced old stone and brick public and commercial establishments, including churches that, without the needle point steeple, could be taken for a barn or large storage building. Had there not been a need for coal, Scranton might never had existed in the first place. Between Scranton and Burlingame, Shortridge has counted about 20 coal mining dumps called gobs, the red remains of excavating out shafts and strips of coal that lay just beneath the Kansas prairie plains. The sulfur and high acid content prevent vegetation from growing on them. When the railroads came after 1867, they needed the coal to operate. This need brought in a rich ethnic mix of coal mining pioneers, particularly Welsh and Italians. In his Kaw Valley Landscapes, Shortridge relates that the seams of coal here were thin and the quality relatively low. The railroads' demand for coal eventually outstripped the supply here, and they decided to buy their own mines of high quality coal in southeast Kansas around Pittsburg. This decision by the railroads closed the small coal mines in Osage County and caused a large out-migration of people, leaving places like Scranton, Osage City and Burlingame to scramble for survival.
Burlingame's history of growth based on trails and rails makes it a fairly typical town of the prairie plains. Despite this common background, however, it has several idiosyncrasies in its form and appearance that suggest a once-promising past. In his Kaw Valley Landscapes, Shortridge mentions the broad main street, the many elegant Victorian homes, and the high quality of workmanship in the downtown commercial buildings of Burlingame. These are relic features of the town's boom period, when coal mining in the area fueled an economic spurt and the towns and townships in this part of Kansas witnessed an uncharacteristic surge in population. Since the turn of the century, when the richer and more accessible coal deposits of southeastern Kansas and southwestern Missouri pulled the focus away from Osage County, Burlingame has slowly settled into its role as a small trade center.

We'll be stopping here for 30 minutes, long enough to snap some photos of Santa Fe Avenue, peek into a few of the shops, and walk through the Rulison (Godderz) Building, a representative commercial building located on the southwest corner of Santa Fe and Topeka. Don't miss the Parker Cafe on the north side of Santa Fe. You'll find refreshments, an impressive interior, and a good part of the town's history framed and hanging on the walls. We'll depart Burlingame from the west end of the downtown.

Early Growth of a Trail Town

The railroads are known as one of the most important town-building forces in Kansas but, long before the Kansas Pacific, the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe and lesser known rail companies such as the Leavenworth Lawrence and Galveston started promoting cities, the overland trails gave rise to settlements. The early main braid in the Santa Fe trail crossed Switzler Creek just east of the current site of downtown Burlingame and then skirted the southern edge of the hill that rises at the west end of the downtown (Figure 6.1). Later routes pressed directly west from the crossing and climbed straight over the hill, following the path of today's Santa Fe Avenue. It was this early passage of settlers, wagons, muleteers and soldiers that created the basis for Burlingame's early growth, for the roots of the town can be traced to a blacksmith shop and store sited at the crossing.

The official start of the trail town took place in 1854 when the American Settlement Company, located in New York, proposed a town for the site to be called Council City, "the new metropolis of the Southwest." In characteristic fashion, the town was platted over an area much larger than the town of Burlingame would ever cover. The paper city was divided in a regular grid pattern with three wide avenues 190 feet wide and other streets 100 feet wide. Lots were laid out as 75 feet by 150 feet with 25-foot alleys running through each block.

A handful of settlers from the Northeast arrived in Council City in 1854. They selected a corner of the prairie plains that would remain atypically devoid of ethnic settlers. Only a small band of German settlers to the east near Carbondale and Swedes to the east and north near
Osage City, gave the area an ethnic presence that resembled the rest of the prairie plains.

These settlers were abolitionists and one of their first acts, in 1859, was to rename the town Burlingame after Senator Anson Burlingame of Massachusetts, a well-known opponent of slavery. The town that took his name made up only the southeastern portion of the original Council City. Burlingame, with its broad avenue and long blocks, abutted the creek and a proposed railroad route on the eastern edge of the settlement. The town center at Santa Fe and Topeka was unofficially established in 1856, when a watering well was dug in the middle of the intersection. By 1860 a free-state town was defined, populated and planted.

Unlike most of the speculative prairie plans towns, Burlingame survived and prospered mainly because of its early start as a trail center. This link to the southwest gave Burlingame an edge in
attracting the Santa Fe railroad, even though it lost the right to serve as the seat of government in Osage County. After an involved political battle in which county boundaries were redrawn and Osage City businessmen squared off against their counterparts in Burlingame, the county seat was switched to Lyndon, a small compromise town to the east.

Forging economic links with the railroad in 1869 positioned Burlingame for its most significant era of growth. On the eve of coal discoveries in the area, Burlingame was beginning to resemble a progressive community. A birds-eye view of the early 1880s depicts a community with a clustered downtown, a significant main street, small but neat and wooded neighborhoods, and all the railroad and milling industries of the late-nineteenth century (Figure 6.2). It had a well-developed commercial center (Figure 6.3) and a population that more than doubled in the 1870s (Figure 6.4). It was ready for an economic boom.

The Coal Mining Era

Coal was discovered to the east of Burlingame near Carbondale in 1869. Exploration uncovered veins throughout the county and by the end of the 1870s, mines were operating all around Burlingame. No one type of mining dominated. Strip mines were used to uncover surface deposits, while drift mines were developed to remove coal from exposed outcroppings. Some shafts were dug to mine deeper veins but, like the other operations, they were developed on a small scale with little mechanization. By the early 1890s, more than 50 of these small mines dotted the landscape from Scranton to Burlingame. Dozens of other mines were scattered throughout the county.
The mining boom caused an enormous increase in the size of the population that lived in the environs surrounding Burlingame. Small temporary mining camps attracted hundreds of workers who, in turn, used Burlingame and other towns as a source of goods and services. In fact, the city’s population remained fairly constant throughout the mining era, while the big demographic swings were registered in Burlingame’s hinterland. By the turn of the century, the township population had started to dip, reflecting the gradual relocation of the coal-mining industry southeast to the Joplin-Pittsburg area.

Despite this relocation, the mines of Osage County remained active into the 20th century and, in Burlingame, the boom continued into the 1920s. The increased wealth and economic activity created by the coal industry had a long-term impact on Burlingame. An 1894 view of Santa Fe Avenue (Figure 6.5) shows several substantial commercial buildings with considerable street activity. A view of the same place in 1910 (Figure 6.6) indicates that Burlingame was prosperous and bustling with a graded main street, numerous automobiles, and some remarkable buildings on the north side of Santa Fe. These two-story structures suggest the growing importance of Burlingame as a retail and service center at the turn of the century. The prosperity continued into the 1920s when downtown Burlingame could boast ornate facades, large store-front awnings, elegant street lamps and wide sidewalks (Figure 6.7).

A pronounced decline in the area’s coal industry started in the 1930s and continued into the 1970s. The last coal mine in Burlingame Township was closed in 1964. The small companies that operated the industry never produced a mining elite in Burlingame, but they had a profound impact on the town’s built environment and infrastructure. Between 1880 and 1910, many large Victorian homes were constructed in the city, an opera house was erected in the early 1900s, and a water/sewer system and other utilities were in place early in the century. More importantly, the mining industry kept main street alive in Burlingame by providing the commerce and capital needed to construct new buildings and replace older ones damaged by fire.
The Changing Face of Main Street

Visitors to Burlingame today find an exceptionally wide main street flanked by two-story buildings—an unusual slice of contained, open space in the center of a small town. The newer metal buildings contrast sharply with the natural stone walls and the orderly brick facades. Empty store fronts are noticeable as is their common use as storage spaces for local businesses. The apparent mix of uses and services along main street might seem incomplete but it's generally appropriate for a town of 1,000 people, many of whom commute to work in Topeka or other distant cities.

In 1939, the writers of the WPA Guide to Kansas visited Burlingame and found that "old limestone buildings with long, deep windows and strong, straight walls line its main street." The commercial center of the city described by the WPA writers, not all that different from the townscape we find today, was much different from the string of frame buildings that faced Santa Fe Avenue in early Burlingame. It was during the town's first 75 years that main street experienced its greatest changes.

Burlingame started the 1870s with little more than a cheese factory, a brickworks, a pottery factory and a newspaper. In 1872, local investors pooled their capital and constructed a three-story, 40-by-120-foot brick building that they hoped would become the site of a woolen mill. The plan failed and the building became a flour mill, but it signaled the start of speculative construction in downtown Burlingame.

By 1885, there were more than 70 buildings that lined the two blocks of Santa Fe Avenue from Delaware on the east to Topeka and to Dakota on the west (Figure 6.8). The majority of these had frame facades. Over a dozen of the main street buildings were constructed of stone, and fewer than ten buildings had brick fronts. Almost all of the buildings had either a retail shop or a service-oriented business on the ground floor and, if the building had a second floor, it most likely contained at least one office (Figure 6.9). This pattern, typical of the two-part commercial main street building described by Longstreth, was the rule in Burlingame at the start of the mining era, before the arrival of the automobile.

Almost 40 years later, the occupancy pattern of buildings on Santa Fe Avenue was even more biased toward services and, particularly, toward retail businesses reflecting the city’s growing
Figure 6.10A: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, Santa Fe Avenue, 1885 and 1923
Figure 6.10B: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, Santa Fe Avenue, 1885 and 1923
role as a trade center for the farmers, miners and other residents of northwest Osage County (Figure 6.9). A brief comparison of information from the Sanborn Fire Insurance Atlases for 1885 and 1923 will provide a more detailed picture of what was developing (Figure 6.10).

Between 1885 and 1923, the south side of Santa Fe Avenue from Topeka to Dakota changed from a broken row of stores, workshops, and harness makers to an almost continuous row of retail shops (Figure 6.10A). The same pattern of consolidation and infill characterized businesses along the blockface to the east (Figure 6.10B), with a notable number of automobile garages and related businesses occupying Santa Fe Avenue buildings in 1923.

The overall trend toward more retail and auto-oriented businesses with less commercial variety and fewer small shops was typical for a small town of the prairie plains in the 1920s. The gradual switch to a main street of brick storefronts rather than frame was also common (Figure 6.8). Metals became a more dominant element in the commercial facades of the early twentieth century as the wooden shops were lost.

Fire was an important agent in the transformation of Burlingame's main street. In 1903, the Shepard Hotel, a bank, restaurant and two shops, all located along the northwest corner of Topeka and Santa Fe, were lost to fire. The hotel was rebuilt in 1906.
and later sold and renamed the Hotel Williams (Figure 6.11). Today, the hotel is used for storage, a dentist uses the old bank as an office for weekly visits, and the two shops have been replaced by a hardware store which eventually was transformed into Parker’s Cafe.

On the opposite southeast corner of Topeka and Santa Fe, the transformation of the landscape has been especially profound. The corner was once the site of Burlingame’s impressive First
National Bank (Figure 6.12). Along other stretches of main street, dry goods stores have been replaced by groceries which themselves have been followed by antique shops and thrift stores. The changes have been as subtle as the disappearance of a sign or an awning and as jarring as the boarding up or demolition of a building. Throughout the past 140 years, however, this unusually broad and open stretch of Santa Fe Avenue (Figure 6.13) has served as the social and economic center of town.

Commercial Buildings

Burlingame has many common commercial buildings that have had numerous occupants over the decades. Most of the second stories in these buildings are now vacant and the ground floors have undergone substantial changes as different businesses have modified the interiors to suit their needs.

The Rulison (Godderz) Building located on the southwest corner of Topeka and Santa Fe is one of the largest and most accessible of Burlingame's commercial buildings (Figure 6.14). It occupies a site that had served in the 1800s as the location for the Burlingame post office, a restaurant, blacksmith shops and offices. Built in 1900, it originally contained a clothing store which, by 1913, also included a shoe shop. A drugstore occupied the ground floor of the building after the clothing shop closed, and several dentists set up offices on the second floor. Today, the Godderz law firm occupies the building.

Like most other commercial buildings it has little exterior ornamentation showing only some brick-laid patterns around the cornice. The first floor windows are framed in metal and all others have wood frames. The recessed entry sits between two typical plate glass display windows and an iron beam is visible splitting the ground and second floors along the facade. Rosettes decorate parts of the facade and the date of construction is prominently displayed above all other facade features. In these and other ways, the Rulison building was highly representative of small town commercial construction in the early 1900s.

Over the years, the interior of the building has undergone several changes. Conversion of the ground floor into law offices has removed any sign of the drugstore that previously occupied the first floor. Before the office conversion was started, wooden shelves and cabinets were found in the front of the building and a soda fountain (now at Parker's Cafe across the street) lined the wall. The rear portion of the ground floor contained an office and working area accessible from Topeka Avenue through a side entry. This same entry was used by the public to gain access to the dentists' offices upstairs.

At the height of the quarter-landing on the rear stairway an intermediate floor once stood, providing an overview area of the entire first floor and an additional space underneath. At a very early stage of the building's occupance, the area under the intermediate floor might have been unused, since there was a basement entry at the far end of the building. Later, this intermediate floor contained a small apartment in the rear of the building.

The second floor of the building is divided into several spacious rooms that run along the north and east walls. All rooms are accessible through each other, with a wide, open floor running along the west wall. Detailed ornamentation on the doors and windows of this floor as well as on the stairway (and newel post) is common for the period.
As we head south and west out of Burlingame, we enter a part of the prairie plains where mixed farming begins to give way, more and more, to cattle raising. The need to enclose, divide and protect the vast grazing lands and pastures becomes significant as we approach the Flint Hills.

Fences

All along our way there have been fences, other enclosures and gates of many kinds (Figure 7.1). Since the late 1850s, this part of the landscape has represented a complex story of property in land and animals and the legal rights that attend this property, of separation between cultivated fields and ranch land, of battles won and lost over the right to makes these barriers, and of revolutionary changes in agriculture and the farming and ranching economy.

Before fences came, Kansas was wide-open territory. There was little need for fences, except around gardens, since the native inhabitants could not conceive that anyone could own land, as in the European idea of property. They thought it absurd to mark off one piece of ground from another. Rather than puny property, the Kansa, Osage and Pawnee Indians recognized large domains in thousands of square miles in which they could lead their tribal, semi-nomadic lives. The only demarcations of these domains were natural boundaries, almost always rivers that made up a vast hydrography these Indians memorized and passed on in oral tradition generation after generation. Trails marked the most frequent routes across the grasslands, but the European and American pioneers who followed those ancient routes, pulling their Conestogas with oxen four-hours at a stretch, saw the fences built by Indians who had been moved in from the East. Most people who came to Kansas after 1867 came by rail, and there still were few fences at that time but fencing was on their minds.

Fencing was so much on their minds that by 1885 the pioneers had fenced up the wide-open prairie plains with a combination of stone, board, hedge, woven wire and barbed-wire. If the fence was not a solid wall of stone, wood or live trees, it was wire strung tight to wood and stone posts stretching out in seemingly endless lines along roadsides and railroads, between farms and ranches from
Figure 7.1: Common Types of Fencing on the Prairie Plains
five-acre plots to 11,000 acres of ranch land, within farms to separate fields from pastures, barnyards, hog lots, lanes, yards, and gardens, and around schools, churches, and cemeteries. The fenced-up landscape of the late 19th century lasted until just after World War II, after which time there has been a persistent movement to unfence the landscape up to this day, beginning with the slow elimination of hedge fences. Stone fences were ground up for gravel. Wire fencing was rolled and cast aside to rust. Richard Nixon's "fence-row-to-fence row" farming policies of the early 1970s accelerated the elimination process.

However, no matter the expansion or contraction of the fenced landscape, fences and their maintenance have been an important concern of community life on the prairie plains. The act of enclosing a space with fence is still governed by common law, the fence law of 1855, and the Herd Laws of 1929. Kansas fence law developed because fencing was a very expensive business and had enormous consequences. Of all the undertakings required to convert the prairie to a farm or ranch landscape, fencing demanded by far the biggest outlay funds. It was much more expensive than the land itself, and easily more expensive than the farmhouse or the barn. Because of this expense, who in the landscape was responsible for fencing and therefore liable for injuries that animals, crops and people incurred, if proper fencing did not perform its role of restraining roving animals and marking property lines, was an important question. This question was often decided in a court of law or arbitrated on the fence line by viewers appointed by the county commission to resolve disputes.

In common law or "fence-in law," owners and keepers of livestock were required to restrain their animals from trespassing and were liable for all damages, no matter what. The fence law of 1855, the "fence-out" law, largely superseded common law practice and reversed the responsibility for fences. Owners were required to protect themselves from damages and fence in all their fields. They could only recover damages, if they had built a legal fence, and a legal fence had specific characteristics. The fence-out law was cheaper to implement since relatively small fields of crops were easier and cheaper to fence than fencing in large herds of cattle on big pastures and prairies. Under the fence-out law, herds of cattle, sheep and swine ruled the roads and even roamed towns like Lawrence untethered and wild. This worked until the automobile revolution required drastic changes in road conditions, particularly the removal of animals that caused serious injury and death to unsuspecting drivers on roadways. The Herd Law of
Figure 7.2: Common Corral Configurations on the Prairie Plains

**CORRAL TYPE**
- L - loading/unloading
- P - processing
- B - breaking (horses)

**CORRAL ELEMENTS**
- a - portable chute site
- b - permanent chute
- c - alley
- d - receiving pen
- e - crowding pen
- f - wing fence

**Cattle Flow**

**Location of Highway**
1929 stated “that it shall be unlawful for any neat cattle, horses, mules, asses, swine or sheep, to run at large.” Further, “any owner whose livestock shall run at large...shall be liable to the person injured for all damages resulting therefrom, and the person so damaged shall have a lien on said livestock for the amount of such damages.” With this law, Kansas eliminated its open-range completely.

The definition of a legal fence was precisely related to the type of fence employed but these definitions changed over time. By 1872, the standard height for all legal fences was four feet high, except for the worm fence which was 4.5 feet tall. Stone walls had to be at least 18 inches wide at the bottom and 12 inches wide at the top. All posts had to be sunk 2 feet into the ground and be not more than 12 feet apart. Today, a legal barbed wire fence cannot have less than 3 wires with the bottom wire not more than 24 inches or less than 18 inches from the ground and the top wire not more than 48 inches or less than 44 inches from the ground. The center wire must be equidistant between the upper and lower wires, the wires must be fastened with staples to posts, and the bars may not be more than 9 inches apart. You will see a lot of illegal fences along our route.

We have divided most of our fences into four categories: metal fencing, wire fencing, stone walls and miscellaneous and decorative fencing (Figure 7.1). There are four types of metal fencing: painted metal pipe, shaped metal wire, chain link topped with barbed and electrical wire and chain link with decorative wood posts. The five types of wire fencing include two-pronged barbed wire (3 to 5 strands) with hedge or milled posts, three-pronged barbed wire with hedge or milled posts, two-pronged or three-pronged barbed wire with steel posts, woven wire topped with barbed wire and often a barbed wire below the woven wire, and electric fence consisting of one strand of wire. Stone walls can be divided into tightly-packed dry walls, loosely-pack dry walls, ashlar walls with mortar, and stone walls topped with wire reinforcement. In the category of miscellaneous and decorative fencing we find milled board fences, milled board fences with brick endcaps, wrought iron fences with cobblestone endcaps, chain fences with cut stone posts, and accretive fences composed of wood, wire, pipe, and other materials. In addition to these fences, there is still the almost ubiquitous full-size hedge fence that once was manicured annually to about four feet in height. The trimming process also helped create a thick, thorny barrier that was almost impossible for domestic animals of any kind, including swine, to cross.

The most important early hedge fence was the Osage Orange imported from Arkansas, planted in rows as seeds until seedlings had come up, and then planted in rows along the intended fence line. Hedge was the cheapest fencing (although it took time to grow, often died in harsh conditions when small, and had to be trimmed to be effective) until barbed wire became available in the late 1870s. In 1875 in Willow Springs Township there were about 89,000 rods of fence (16.5
feet equals a rod), of which about 57% were hedge, 37% rail or board, and 6% stone. By 1915 the number of rods of fence had grown to 130,000, and the percentage of hedge had dropped to 39%. Rail and board had dropped to less than 1%, while stone remained about the same at 5%. No barbed wire was reported in 1875 but by 1915 it accounted for 56% of all fencing. Without barbed wire and other manufactured wire such as woven wire, it is unlikely that the West, especially in the Flint Hills, could have been fenced even by 1915. Barbed wire was especially inexpensive in Lawrence because it was manufactured in Lawrence. A. C. Henley, whose house at 713 Louisiana is on our Friday tour, started manufacturing barbed wire in Lawrence in 1878, consolidated his company with the Western Steel Fence Company and the Frye Fence Company in 1883 into the Consolidated Barb Wire Company, and was shipping some 1,800 tons of the pronged stuff in 1893 throughout the West. Henley was forced to close his company in 1899, when the Federal Steel Company in league with American Steel and Wire cornered all raw materials for making wire in the United States.

**Corrals**

Although Texas and Kansas are historically tied together through cattle drives, through the shipment of cattle by rail and now entirely by trucks, Kansas has its own ways of handling cattle. The corral (also called loading or cattle pens) is a case in point. In a Texas round-up, corrals were often not employed at all, and throughout the year longhorn cattle were relatively untended, unpenned and untamed. However, on the prairie plains the corral is considered essential, an idea more central to the Anglo-Celtic system in which animals were usually penned, not only to protect them but also to tame them and feed them. Although we have adopted the Spanish name and corrals exist in all the Old World cattle raising hearths and in Texas, why and how we use a corral in Kansas probably relates more to cultural practices in the cattle hearth of “South Carolina by way of the Upland South and Ohio Valley” than to Texas, according to Terry Jordan.

The corral is a complicated, varied and expensive structure that helps gather, protect and process cattle before they are shipped (Figure 7.2). It is a landscape of transition, and a movable one, in which cattle are taken from pasture to truck or truck to pasture, where they are tagged, branded, sorted by sex, age, or ownership, weened, vaccinated, de-horned and castrated. The corral just south of Burlingame (4-P) is as big and complex as any we will see along our way, or as any of the fourteen we have measured and drawn for your review (Figure 7.3). In combination with its attached feedlot, this processing corral and feedlot is about 78 feet wide and 350 feet deep or over 27,000 square feet of space. Its gigantic size indicates how big the pastures are it serves and therefore how many cattle it can process. If cattle are pastured the full season from April to October, the rancher needs 5 acres of range per head to keep them growing. If the rancher chooses to double pasture, that is bring in twice as many cattle only half as long from April to mid July, he or she will need three acres per head. If the pasture is 3,000 acres, it can

![Figure 7.0d: Route Map](image-url)
handle 600 or 1200 head of cattle, depending on what the rancher decides the pasture can feed based on tradition and rain.

The cattlemen who built and rebuilt this corral used many materials reinforced to their strongest configurations — wide posts and boards, woven wire, pipe, corrugated metal, six-strand barbed wire, and wire cable — to hold back the enormous potential weight that excited cattle can bring to bear on any enclosure. A processing corral — as opposed to the simpler loading/unloading corral — always contains a narrow alley (c) from 2 feet 7 inches to 3 feet 4 inches wide that squeezes cattle one by one past the cowboys and veterinarians who may need to perform several complex physical operations on the cattle before they are actually loaded or sorted or sent to different pastures. It's not so easy to get cattle into this position, and it can be dangerous. The cattle may be herded into the front receiving pen (d) of this corral from either the east gate or the south gate. Here the cattle are settled down with water which is drawn from the well and hay before they are herded into the crowding pen (e), squeezed through the alley (c), processed, and then either sent back to pasture or loaded onto trucks at the south gate. As is often the case, the loading chute is a movable part of the landscape and is brought in only when needed so that cattle rustlers, if they chose to come in the night, have the added problem of getting frightened cattle on trucks without a loading chute. You wouldn't want to try it.

A second corral type along our way is the simpler loading-unloading corral, such as 7-L just east of Strong City. The pastureman who uses this corral takes in cattle from Texas or Mexico, is not responsible for any veterinarian services, and doesn’t need the more complex processing corral. Needing only to get the cattle safely to pasture in April and then on to a truck at the end of the grazing season, the pastureman has built only a receiving pen and an alley, at the end of which a portable chute is connected when the cattle are moved. This corral also has a wing fence to help gather the cattle into the receiving pen. Railroad tie posts with telephone pole corner posts hold up wire, pipe and rebar that enclose the corral.

A third corral type is the circular breaking corral (8-B) just north of the Z-Bar Ranch. Cowboys use horses to count cattle periodically, to round them up at the end of the grazing season and to bring them into a loading corral. These are quarter horses that are trained to cut (separate) cattle and maneuver even the wildest animal out of a draw and towards its destiny. These horses are also trained to help the cowboy rope cattle and hold them tight while the cowboy ties them for branding or vaccinating. These skills are practiced in roping arenas throughout the prairie plains, and a roper and partner can make $500 to $1,000 in prize money and win a saddle on a good weekend of professional roping. A good high school roper can get a full scholarship at Kansas State University to pursue this working sport. A responsive and reliable horse is an essential asset, whether working cattle in the pasture or roping them in a contest, and this takes not only a lot of training but a special rapport between horse and rider.

This rapport begins in a breaking corral. The strength of a two-year old horse that hasn’t been ridden is enormous, and the breaking corral is built to withstand even the most powerful and wildest animal. The circle is nearly 50 feet in diameter and the trainer keeps the horse moving around this corral. Being thrown off a kicking and bucking horse into a corner that the horse can’t get out of is dangerous for both horse and rider. The enclosure is composed of 25 telephone poles with 6 to 7 boards that reach at least 6 feet 3 inches high to prevent the horse from seeing anything beyond its boundaries. The gate opens into the corral and does not swing in the other
direction. No wild bronc can get out of this enclosure until it is tamed and led out by its new cowboy master.

Cattle

Just south of Burlingame we pass the first big corral which signals our definitive crossover into cattle country. Cattle country on the prairie plains is a deep landscape, as William Least-Heat Moon explains in *Prairyerth*, and not in the least because three regions of the Old World — Iberia, the British Highlands, and the sub-Saharan steppes of West Africa — ultimately influenced — through Mexico, Texas, the Carolinas, and the West Indies — how cattle are raised in Kansas. No one covers the American cattle frontiers more comprehensively than Terry Jordan in his books, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers* and *Trails to Texas*. Jordan’s work challenges Walter Prescott Webb’s thesis that the Spanish-Mexican-Texan cattle hearth centered in south Texas was the most important cultural stream and had the greatest influence on cattle ranching throughout the Great Plains.

The heady days of cattle drives from Texas to Kansas, especially to Abilene, Ellsworth, Dodge City, Wichita and Caldwell did not last long, and the Texas form of cattle raising these drives brought along also came to an end by the mid-1880s. Up from the center of the cattle raising in north central Texas between 1867 to 1885, a mixed rabble of cowboys drove several million head of longhorns, reaching Abilene on the Chisholm Trail by 1867 and Garden City on the Western Trail by 1872. As Jordan reports, “in all over five million Texas cattle were reportedly driven north between 1866 and 1884, involving the largest short-term geographical shift of domestic herd animals in the history of the world.” The grass was good, so good that Texas drovers began to winter over their cattle for rail shipments east to Kansas City in the spring. From there, these cattle could be sent live to Chicago and on to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. This worked until 1885, when the Kansas Legislature, fearing Texas fever, passed a law prohibiting Texas cattle from entering Kansas. The Texas Longhorn was immune to this splenetic fever but the blooded English breeds died from it. Fear, plus the harsh winters of the mid-1880s when thousands upon thousands of Texas cattle that were allowed to run free died in the howling winds of Kansas blizzards, changed cattle ranching. However, the cowboy cultural connection between Texas and Kansas remains, particularly at rodeo time.

Clearly, Kansas was not Texas, and to succeed on the prairie plains with cattle, a whole different system of cattle raising was essential, and cattle types other than the wild longhorn were needed. Wintering over cattle was only possible if plenty of hay was laid away, and it would be nearly impossible to have enough hay for large herds in a bad winter. Kansas was much colder than Texas, and eventually it became apparent that moving cattle in and out seasonally was the best way to adapt cattle raising to this harsh climate. If cattle were going to be shipped by rail, tamer, English cattle with short horns were needed, and they were introduced into the prairie plains from the Ohio River Valley cattle hearth that reached back to earlier cattle traditions and cattle breeds in South Carolina. These tamer cattle slowly replaced the longhorn in Kansas and none of the Texas and Mexican cattle trucked annually to the Flint Hills today have long horns.

It is impossible in this space to explain all the kinds of cattle that farmers and ranchers raise on the prairie plains. Thirty years ago not many breeds were raised in Kansas. Among beef cattle, only the Hereford, the Shorthorn and the Black Angus breeds prevailed. During the last twenty years the number of other breeds feeding on the rich grasses of Kansas has grown considerably, including Black Angus, Red Angus, Brangus, Charolais, Gelbvieh, Hereford, Limousin, Maine-Anjou, Polled Hereford, Salers, Shorthorn, Simmental and South Devon. The influx of new breeds and crossbreeds responds to an increasingly competitive national market, different demands in the foreign market, and volatile consumer attitudes that seem to change with every
new dietary report out of Washington. The most important factor in cattle raising is the genetics of the animal, and the advantages of one cattle breed over another are measured out in the comparative statistics of fertility rates, maturity rates, feed-to-meat conversion rates, milk production rates, calving ease, birth weight, weaning weight, yearling weight, range hardiness, average size when ready for the feedlot, disposition, disease resistance, longevity, carcass measurements, pelvic size, and scrotal size, among others. In your packet you will find a copy of the Kansas Stockman, which illustrates many different breeds of cattle. On January 1, 1995, cattle raisers reported over 6 million cattle in Kansas.

The cattle business is big business in Kansas with approximately 32,000 jobs directly related to beef production, and these jobs generate about 100,000 other jobs in Kansas. The Kansas Livestock Association estimates that there are approximately 32,000 cattle operations in Kansas, 288 of which are run by women. These operations include heifer-calf farms, spring-fall grazing ranches, dairy farming, and feedlots. There are 88 feedlots in Kansas, each with a capacity of 8,000 cattle or more. Todd Domer, Director of Communications of the Kansas Livestock Association, reports that the Kansas beef industry generates over $12 billion annually. In 1994, meat packers processed almost 7 million head of cattle, and exported in 1993 almost $640 million in meat. The value of hides in that same year was almost $212 million. In spite of the growing interest in vegetarianism, beef remains a big part of the food chain, and Kansas represents a significant link in that chain. No Mad Cow Disease either.
No trip through the prairie plains landscape is complete without at least 15 minutes cruising the open four lanes of the turnpike—the landscape that most land travellers from outside the region can identify as the prairie plains.

The Kansas Turnpike

When the Kansas Turnpike opened on October 21, 1956, "Gene Autry, astride his horse Champion, burst through a huge paper map of the turnpike to open the eastern terminus." (Milestones by Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Theodore A. Wilson, Kansas Department Of Transportation, 1986). Through this public relations extravaganza, the big shots hoped to connect the past with the future, to bring together cowboys and horses with automobiles and the superhighway Kansans were supposed to use now to "save time." Designed by engineers, developed by Wall Street money, and completed at a cost of $160 million, this 240-mile, four-lane toll road with a 20-foot median strip and a 300-foot right-of-way to keep the billboards back was edged with a chain-link fence. Its lanes were separated from all crossings by bridges or underpasses, and designed with a 725-foot sight distance, curves not tighter than 3 degrees and grades not steeper than 3 percent.

The Kansas Turnpike was the earliest, biggest, most expensive, clearly modernistic, non-vernacular landscape in Kansas. The turnpike fit the two-tone elegance of a '55 Chevrolet or the gigantic fins of the '56 Dodge, automobiles that sparked the imagination of city people, farmers and ranchers who drove them merrily up and down the turnpike at sweptback speed (Figure 8.1). The turnpike fired the imagination of Kansans because more than anything else it ignored the past and avoided the place as it sliced through the prairie plains between Kansas City, Lawrence, Topeka, Emporia, and Wichita. The point of the toll road was speed, safety and comfort. When crossing Kansas, such luxuries were unheard of. To cut 60 miles off the trip from Topeka to Wichita was the dream of every legislator and businessman who wanted to avoid the dangerous two-lane highways and all the small towns that only slowed them down. Imagine how fast, fast could be on a turnpike with an uninterrupted, speed limit of 80 m.p.h. Not only that, the turnpike stops were open 24 hours per day, and you could get a pass to go out to the restaurants and come back without paying the toll (Figure 8.2). It represented an escape from the...
small and isolated place we lived in. This is what Kansans had longed for way out here in the middle of nowhere: hamburgers and french fries in a modernistic environment at 3 in the morning any day of the week! But to have the modern, the prairie plains would have to be largely ignored, fields and pastures separated, farms divided, towns bypassed, and many of the old layered landscapes in between set aside for the new.

**Feedlots**

Speaking of hamburgers, just before we leave the turnpike at Emporia, there is a big feedlot on the right. After cattle have been fed on the lush grasses of the Flint Hills from April to October, they should be about 800 pounds. At this weight they are trucked to a feedlot where they will be fed intensively in a confined space so that the conversion from feed to meat is as efficient as possible. Trucks augur a scientifically mixed feed into long concrete feeding troughs that line the heavy fencing. At the beginning of the 120-day feedlot cycle, the feed is about 20% grain and 80% silage, and at the end of the percentage is reversed. The north fence of a feedlot is often completely enclosed to form a windbreak, but that’s about all there is, other than the piles of manure that transmogrify the landscape. About eighty-eight feedlots in Kansas can handle over 8,000 head of steers at any given time. After the cattle weigh about 1200 pounds, they are sent to the slaughter house and eventually to your tables by way of refrigerated freight car or truck. It’s brain food, they say.
Now that we've reached Emporia and all of its packing plants we're clearly in the heart of the Flint Hills, even if the physical landscape still denies it. We're in the heart of cattle country and from here on the landscape will open up big and wide.

The Folk Culture of the Flint Hills (by Jim Hoy, Center for the Study of the Flint Hills, Emporia State University)

The Flint Hills of Kansas run in a north-south band some 50 miles wide from near the Nebraska border in Marshall County down through Chautauqua and Cowley Counties, where they merge into the Osage Hills of Oklahoma (Figure 9.1). This region is widely famed for its rich bluestem grasses, (Figure 9.2) as well as for its fertile river-bottom farmland. Although many cattle are bred and raised here, the major use of these grasses is to fatten transient cattle, to put a quick and economical gain on steers shipped in from Texas and the south for the pasture season, a continuing practice that has been followed since as early as the late 1850s. This practice is part of a distinctive folklife that has developed among the agriculturists who live in this island of grass surrounded by a sea of farmland, the remaining one percent of a tallgrass prairie that once stretched from Canada to Texas, from Indiana to the High Plains.

Because the Flint Hills are more rolling than rugged, the region is neither physically isolated nor culturally insulated from external influences in the way that, say, the Ozark Mountains have been. Nor is it comprised of any single dominant folk group — occupational, religious, or ethnic. Thus in many ways Flint Hills folklore shares in the customs and traditions of similar groups (e.g. oil-field workers or grain farmers or cowboys) from other parts of the prairie plains.

Once these commonalities have been acknowledged, however, the fact remains that Flint Hills denizens, in adapting to the environmental (and thus economic) strictures of the tallgrass prairie, have developed a folklife distinctive to their region. Because this is the last of the tallgrass prairie (protected from the plow — if, sadly, not from the developer) much of the folklife of the Flint Hills involves the cattle industry. There exists here, for instance, the singular figure of the "pastureman," an entrepreneurial cowboy (or sometimes a rancher or a farmer) who "fills pasture" (to use the vernacular) by leasing "grass," often from one of the many absentee landlords who own much of the Flint Hills, then contracting for cattle with Kansas or Texas or other out-of-state cattle owners. The pastureman is accountable, by custom that has nearly attained the force of law, for the welfare of the livestock under his charge, providing salt and water and often ensuring the "count" at shipping time with either live bodies or the brands cut off dead ones; the pasture owner pays taxes and provides major capital improvements (such as fences, windmills or ponds); the cattle owner delivers the cattle at the beginning of pasture season (mid-April),

Figure 9.0a: Route Map
Figure 9.1: The Flint Hills: Location and Formation
receives them at the end (mid-October), and pays the pasture fee to the pastureman, who, in turn, pays rent to the landowner.

Another characteristic of Flint Hills folk culture is the annual spring burn-off of dead grass from the previous year's pasture. Once practiced throughout North America (by Indians as well as by Europeans), the deliberate burning of old grass encountered strong popular opposition in the late nineteenth century and equally strong popular opposition among agronomists in the next. By mid-twentieth century, in fact, the only place in the nation where controlled pasture burning continued on a regular basis was in the heart of the Flint Hills—Chase, Greenwood, Butler, Wabaunsee, and Morris Counties. At about that same time, range management experiments proved scientifically what Flint Hills folk wisdom had held for over a century—that regularly burned pastures had healthier grass (with fewer weeds and woody plants) and produced better livestock gains than did unburned grass. Today, controlled intentional range burning is being encouraged throughout the country (although Kansas, with over 1.5 million acres deliberately burned each year, still leads the nation). Had pasture burning not survived in the folk culture of the Flint Hills, however, the rediscovery of this economically effective and environmentally sound practice might have been long delayed.

Distinctive forms of material culture in the Flint Hills include cattle guards on the roads of open-range pastures and pole-barn hay sheds on the farms and ranches. Of particular interest are the structures made from native limestone, such as arched bridges, houses, barns, and other outbuildings. Many of these structures are well over a hundred years old and still in everyday use. The best-known of these is the magnificent Second Empire Baroque Chase County Courthouse in Cottonwood Falls.

An apparently unique item of material culture connected with Flint Hills ranching is a peculiar type of fence post made of a free-standing base of limestone rock (roughly cubic in shape and weighing several hundred pounds) into which a hole has been drilled and a piece of two-inch pipe driven. This type of post was apparently first developed at Dunlap, a site of an Exoduster settlement after the Civil War. Tradition has it that a crew of ex-slaves from Dunlap, located a few miles southeast of Council Grove, would camp out for a week at a time in Flint Hills pastures, quarrying stone and manufacturing these posts on site for twenty-five cents each. At that time, the 1880s, barbed wire fencing was just coming into the West, while in Kansas fence law was being implemented on a county-option basis with some counties actually subsidizing the building of fences. Digging post holes was particularly onerous in the rocky Flint Hills, but a
post made partly of native limestone and sitting on top of the ground was relatively easy to construct. Thus this type of post is an excellent example of a cultural response shaped by both economic and environmental pressures in the Flint Hills during the pioneer era.

One example of custom and tradition in the Flint Hills concerns cattle shipping. This work practice, which represents the culmination of the year’s labor for a pastureman, has over the years undergone three major changes: 1) open-range cattle drives in the nineteenth century; 2) shipping by rail from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1960s; and 3) shipping by truck. Another example is to be found in the customary folk arts of the Flint Hills: boot and saddle makers, rawhide braiders, and makers of the horsehair ropes. The rodeo, a folk festival indigenous to the plains region, had manifestations in the Flint Hills as early as the 1880s. In fact, six of the ten world champion rodeo performers who have come from Kansas have an association with the Flint Hills, including Marge Roberts, champion lady bronc rider in 1940.

Oral lore includes cattle-working stories, cowboy poems, hunting and fishing tales (the largest surviving flock of Greater Prairie Chicken is found in the Flint Hills, as are record whitetail deer), and legends of murders and cattle-country justice (nearly a dozen places are called Dead Man’s Hollow or Dead Woman’s Canyon or Dead Man’s Gulch), of Indians (chiefly the native Kansa and Osage), and of exceptional individuals (such as Bud Gillette, the “world’s faster runner”; Gene Lowry, a black cowboy from Greenwood County; and Slim Pickering, a colorful cowboy from the northern Flint Hills).

In recent years the Flint Hills have become the focus of national and international attention. The Konza Prairie Research Natural Area, for instance, situated on the old Dewey Ranch south of Manhattan and administered for the Nature Conservancy by Kansas State University, is the pre-
mier tallgrass laboratory in the world. William Least Heat-Moon’s best-selling PrairyErth is considered to be one of the best examples of its particular genre of nonfiction in twentieth-century American literature. And finally, the possibility of establishing a Prairie National Park on the historic Spring Hill Ranch (Z-bar) has resulted in heightened public awareness of, and a sometimes-heated debate about, the tallgrass prairie, its use and its preservation.

Buffalo and the Indians

As the pioneers pushed their way down the Santa Fe Trail past Burlingame, many of them peeled off from the long march to the West and settled here in the grasslands. They saw possibilities in Kansas early on, but not until after the Civil War and the penetration of the Kansas Pacific into the tallgrass in the late 1860s could ranching become a profitable business. Before that time in the late 1860s, the buffalo roamed and blackened these hills in huge numbers, perhaps as many as forty million of them. The railroad landscape split this enormous herd into a northern and southern herd, and with the perfection of buffalo hide tanning in Philadelphia in 1870, the buffalo became nothing more than easy money. Commercial hunters and their skinners used the railroad as a shooting platform, and from 1870 to 1873 they annihilated most of these animals in Kansas, leaving millions of carcasses and bones to rot on the grasslands. As Richard Irving Dodge remarked in 1877, “the buffalo melted away like snow before a summer’s sun.” The massacre was an ecological disaster of monumental proportions, and besides effecting the near extinction of the buffalo, it put a knife into the heart of the semi-nomadic Siouxian tribes that had operated synergistically with these prairie beasts for centuries. Without the buffalo and the Indians, the culture of the Kansa, the Osage and the Pawnee made no sense. With the elimination of the buffalo and the Indians, the railheads that led to the urban markets of Chicagoland could receive thousands of cattle driven up from Texas on the Chisholm and Western Trails. With these drives a railroad-cattle landscape replaced the Native American landscape that had been only lightly managed up to that time by burning.

Strong City: A Flint Hills Rail Town

The open and rolling landscape of the Flint Hills contains few towns and even fewer main roads that lead outside the region (Figure 9.3). Rail connections have been the vital link for settlements here and it was competition for the railroad that often determined which settlements would survive and which wouldn’t.

As we turn south off Highway 50 and travel the last few miles along Highway 177 into Cottonwood Falls, we pass through one of the towns that got its start with the extension of the rails

![Figure 9.0d: Route Map](image-url)
Strong City, a town of about 600 people, is known today as the home of both the Flint Hills Rodeo and the Roberts Family, world champion rodeo riders. It's also known far and wide as one of the unusual "Twin Cities" of Kansas. It's growth in such a sparsely settled area and in such close proximity to Cottonwood Falls, the seat of Chase County, is worth discussing, for it reveals just how quirky and irrational settlement can be.

**Origin.** The town got its start in 1871 when a rail stop and a small depot were established by the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe on the north bank of the Cottonwood River. Cottonwood Station, as it was originally known, had gained an important economic edge over its competitor south of the river, Cottonwood Falls. In the following year, however, the future of Cottonwood Falls was secured when construction began on the Chase County courthouse. In an unusual move, the economic and political functions of a single settlement were split between these two young towns.

Cottonwood Station managed to attract settlers and commerce and by 1880, 500 people lived in the railtown that had eight stores, a restaurant, a hotel, a saloon, a post office and a blacksmith shop. Cottonwood Falls was growing as well, so to secure their own future, the residents of Cottonwood Station renamed their town Strong City, after William B. Strong, the vice president and general manager of the Santa Fe Railroad. Soon after this change of identity, Strong City was selected as the site for a new 6-stall roundhouse and its quarry contractors' businesses expanded to the point that they were providing crushed rock for ballast on the new Santa Fe rail lines in New Mexico. The economic base of quarries, cattle, and railroad repair and construction attracted a large population of workers from outside the region and, by the 1880s, blacks made up 15% of the Strong City population and many Mexican
railworkers had resettled in the town.

At the town’s height, 20 trains per day sped through Strong City. The population grew to a high of 848 in 1940 and a bustling main street and business district extended from the tracks to Highway 50. Like other small rail towns, however, Strong City’s growth slowed after World War II and it remained the smaller of the twin cities in Chase County’s urban anomaly.

Buildings. Our drive through Strong City takes us by several notable buildings that remain from the town’s booming rail days. Saint Anthony’s Roman Catholic Church stands on the left side of the main street as we turn off Highway 50 and head south. Constructed in 1881 of cut native limestone, this 35-by 50-foot church has undergone several modifications. In 1890, the belfry was added and in 1931, the large limestone supports were put in place to contain the side walls of the church. St. Anthony’s parish includes Catholics in Cottonwood Falls and its congregation benefited greatly from the street railway that extended between the two towns at the turn of the century. Opposite St. Anthony’s on the west side of the street is the Strong City Auditorium, a 50- by 80-foot public building also constructed of limestone from the local quarries. Built in 1901, the auditorium has sloping main and gallery floors with seating for 1,000. Just south of the auditorium, we pass the Strong City United Methodist Church, an unusual mission-style church designed by the architect C.W. deLana of Hutchinson, Kansas, and built in 1912. It replaced a smaller wood-frame church constructed in 1892. The 40- by 68-foot building is organized in the Akron plan with a semi-circular arrangement of pews and a corner pulpit (Figure 9.4). The Santa Fe Depot, located along the tracks to the west of main street was built in 1913 (Figure 9.5). Its construction was completed in seven months at a cost of $20,000. This mission-style brick depot replaced the earlier frame structure erected in 1871.

The Consolidated Street Railway. By the mid-1880s, it had become painfully obvious to the residents of Strong City and Cottonwood Falls that if their businesses were to survive, they needed to link the county seat to the rail center. In December, 1886, the Consolidated Street Railway
Company was formed by local investors and it secured a right-of-way between the two communities. The horse-drawn interurban rail cars started carrying passengers between the two towns in August, 1887, and for more than 30 years, one of the shortest interurban lines in the country linked the twin cities. The tracks ran just over two miles from the courthouse in Cottonwood Falls down Broadway, across the river at the steel bridge built in 1885, and straight into Strong City where the line intersected the Santa Fe tracks and continued to a loop at St. Anthony’s church (Figure 9.6). The 14-foot long metal cars seated 12 passengers for the half-hour trip (Figure 9.7) and followed a tight schedule that provided rides from 7:00 a.m. until dark, seven days a week, for a nickel a ride. The railway had no turntable to move the cars around each other; instead a 30-yard long passing track was built halfway between the two towns (Figure 9.8). The system worked well until 1918, when it was replaced by a gasoline-driven trolley. Within a year, the company was out of business because of the competition provided by paved roads and automobiles.
Our stop in Cottonwood Falls will involve lunch and time to explore the Chase County Courthouse and the commercial buildings that line Broadway. We’ll break into two groups for lunch; some will eat at the Presbyterian Church and some at the Methodist Church. Both churches are located just southwest of the Courthouse and the two-block main street. If you’re part of the group that lunches at the Presbyterian Church, stop by the Methodist Church on your way to the Courthouse and have a look at the interior of this beautiful Akron plan church.

There are numerous buildings to visit along Broadway, so leave some time after you’ve studied the Courthouse. We’ll regroup at the intersection of Main and Broadway, two blocks directly north of the Courthouse. That’s our departure point for the Z-Bar Ranch.

A Brief Historical Introduction

Cottonwood Falls predates Strong City and the arrival of the railroad by more than a dozen years. The townsite on the south bank of the Cottonwood River was originally settled in 1858 by Samuel Wood and other Free-Staters out of Lawrence. The Cottonwood Falls Town Company was incorporated by the Free State Territorial Legislature in 1858, and the new town was proclaimed the temporary county seat, on the organization of Chase County, in 1859. Cottonwood Falls was voted permanent county seat in a county election of 1859.

The confusion that characterized many early settlement attempts was present in the establishment of Cottonwood Falls. There were two towns platted as Cottonwood Falls: Woods’ plat to the north fronted the Cottonwood River; another plat was filed covering a site on the southern edge of Woods’ plat. The two were eventually joined, but the legacy of the competing plats is seen today along Union Street, which skirts the southern edge of the Courthouse square. The north-south streets undergo a significant jog as they cross the early boundary between the two plats. The different alignments are plainly visible in a 1901 plan of the town (Figure 10.1).

Cottonwood Falls continued to grow after the Civil War as cattle ranching became firmly established in the Flint Hills. Residents of the county seat expected the railroad to run its line along the south bank of the Cottonwood River.
Cottonwood River and connect with the main town in the county. When the shorter route to the north was selected and Cottonwood Station (Strong City) was founded, a fairly intense rivalry was established. The thriving cattle industry and the nationwide demand for cut limestone created enough wealth to sustain both towns but, as Strong City slowly evolved into a working class town of railroad laborers and quarrymen, Cottonwood Falls became the home of Chase County’s established families, many of whom owned sizeable land and cattle interests.

This social gulf between the two towns was widened somewhat by an influx of outsiders who quickly developed ties to Cottonwood Falls. As Jay House, a newspaper columnist wrote in the 1890s, “In the long ago, younger sons of the British aristocracy were as thick around Cottonwood Falls as bass in South Fork. The county actually boasted two or three British titles.” He goes on to describe how “Frederick Remington, the artist, served an apprenticeship as a cowhand. He was one of the Plum Creek outfit, and when they came to town business picked up for everybody. The British invasion had a distinct influence on the speech, intonation and nomenclature of the country.”

As Strong City developed into a booming rail stop in the 1870s, with a rutted main street and a constant flow of loud freight trains and dusty, rattling quarry wagons, Cottonwood Falls was growing into a more genteel seat of county government and retail trade. Its neat, frame shops of the 1870s lined a main street that was watched over by the most imposing building in the Flint Hills, the Chase County Courthouse (Figure 10.2).

Cottonwood Falls continued to profit from the limestone and cattle industries and it gradually added the infrastructure needed to support a small town in the Flint Hills. The construction of a bridge, a railroad spur line, an interurban railway, a flour mill and grain elevator (Figure 10.3) all took place before the turn of the century. The most significant achievement, however, remained the County Courthouse itself.

The Chase County Courthouse

Completed in 1873, this Second Empire/Baroque courthouse was designed by John Haskell of Lawrence, Kansas, and built by James Bannon of Leavenworth, Kansas. It dominated the downtown of Cottonwood Falls in the late nineteenth century (Figure 10.4) and its presence is still overwhelming on Broadway today. All three stories of this native limestone building are filled with interesting details ranging from the pressed metal ceilings, walnut winder staircase and quarter-sawn oak flooring to the hand-cut black walnut balustrade, embossed brass hardware and spiked-wood and metal cells in the second-floor jail.
This is the oldest courthouse still in use in the region. The extensive use of local craftsmen and local materials in its construction make it especially interesting. Many free, illustrated brochures and building histories are available at the courthouse. We’ve included a plan (Figure 10.5) in your field guide.

**The Development of Broadway**

In *PrairyErth*, William Least Heat-Moon recounts an experience that will make sense to all of us before we head off to the Z-Bar Ranch. As he described it, “A few days ago at the crossing of Broadway and Friend Street, I stood with an 1878 birds-eye-view engraving of the town in my hands and compared it to what I saw, and it was plain that history in Cottonwood proceeds at about the rate of an hour a year.”

We provide four pieces of evidence that you can use to draw your own conclusions about the rate of historical change in Cottonwood Falls. The first item, a photograph of Broadway looking north in about 1900, shows horses, carriages, frame buildings, trees, interurban tracks and a railcar and many other common features of the nineteenth century, only a few of which might have appeared on the 1878 birds-eye view (Figure 10.6). The exact, same view of Broadway can be yours for comparison if you climb the central staircase in the courthouse and peek out the portal. The second and third items, another 1900 view of Broadway (Figure 10.7) and a later 1927 view of the same street (Figure 10.8) can be compared with similar perspectives as you explore the buildings of Broadway.

The fourth item is a redrawing of selected features shown on the 1884 and 1928 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of the four blockfaces that front Broadway north of the courthouse (Figure 10.9). The impact of the automobile is clearly noticeable in the block farther from the courthouse, but the increased number, size, and density of buildings is undeniable.

The landscape of Broadway has changed much and changed rapidly—but mostly with buildings and activities that seem to fit the scale and tenor of this small and welcoming nineteenth century main street. And, as long as the courthouse continues to stand at the southern terminus of Broadway, façade changes, vacancies, turnovers, and building renovations will have a difficult time capturing attention on main street.

**Some Buildings Worth Visiting**

Great efforts have been made in recent years to save and reuse a number of commercial buildings on Broadway. On the way to the bus you’ll notice the results of these efforts in such buildings as The National Farm and Ranch Headquarters (220 Broadway), the local offices of the US Department of Agriculture, and the Grand Central Hotel (215 Broadway). Each of these buildings has a rich history. In addition to these saved buildings, however, we want to point out a few others, some of which have been transformed to meet new demands, but all of which contain some unique and curious element of their original construction (Figure 10.10).

Bell and Sons Western Wear (322 Broadway). This was one of the first reinforced concrete and fireproof buildings in Kansas. Constructed in 1910, it contained a clothing store until 1928.
Figure 10.5: Plan: Chase County Courthouse
It later served as a grocery store and, in 1954, it was sold to James Bell and Son. The Bell family later renovated the building, opening up the balcony and second-floor gallery that had been closed for years. Jim Bell’s is one of the best known western wear stores in this part of the country. This is the place to pick up the lizard-skin boots and duster you’ve been looking for.

Croy’s, Inc. (314 Broadway). This furniture store has a delightful interior with pressed metal ceiling and an impressive gallery.

Cotton Wood Works Antique Store (319 Broadway). Professor Bones Ownbey, noted ragtime piano player, singer and craftsman is the owner of this establishment. The building is in fairly original condition with pressed metal ceiling and an abundance of furniture and other artifacts well worth your inspection.
Figure 10.9: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, Broadway, Cottonwood Falls, 1884 and 1928
The Chase County Historical Society (301 Broadway). This two-story stone building was constructed in 1882 and served as the Chase County National Bank until 1928. It was occupied by several businesses in the years that followed. In 1934, an interior staircase was built to make the second floor available for office space. The building became the property of the Chase County Historical Society in 1977, the same year it was entered on the National Register of Historic Places. The extensive collection of Chase County artifacts and antiques is worth a visit.

Zeredetha Lodge No. 80 (Southwest Corner, Friend and Broadway). This brick Masonic Hall is typical of lodge halls found in prairie plains towns. Rebuilt in 1925, it appears in the redrawn Sanborn map shown in Figure 10.9. The front offices that were included in the ground floor of the 1928 plan are occupied today by beauty shops.

Flint Hills Art Gallery and National Farm and Ranch Headquarters (220-226 Broadway). The renovated interior in this building includes an intricate pressed tin ceiling.

Volunteer Fire Company (south of Duckwall’s). This tile-sided, one-story building sits next to a tiny park that overlooks a ravine. A nice place for a slow game of horseshoes.
Duckwall’s and the Cottonwood Falls City Offices. It’s rare to find a Duckwall’s discount variety store in an Art Deco Quonset hut. This building was constructed in 1939. It was built by the WPA and once served as an armory.

The Fiber Factory (209 Broadway). This building appears on the 1884 Sanborn map (Figure 10.9) as a bakery. It was partially destroyed by fire and has since served as a shoe shop and a woven goods shop. The antique looms in the store are impressive and the owners have many photographs and anecdotes that relate to the building’s history.

The Cottonwood Falls Methodist Church

Most of the Methodist churches constructed in Kansas during the second half of the nineteenth century were conventional in their form. They usually consisted of the traditional rectangular wooden frame building with a double-door entry at one end, a pulpit facing the entry from the other end, rows of pews lined up squarely facing the pulpit, a peaked roof, and a small steeple centered over the entry.

When the building committee for the Cottonwood Falls Methodist congregation met in 1871, it was this type of structure that they favored. The frame building that was constructed that year cost $2,500 and was used by the congregation for 40 years (Figure 10.11).

As Church activities expanded and took on more of an educational focus, and as Sunday School classes became more popular and increasingly segregated by age, the spatial demands exceeded the capabilities of the conventional church plans. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States provided sample plans and design sketches for congregations and, beginning in the 1890s, these included a sample “Akron” plan designed by Lewis Miller for a Methodist church in Akron, Ohio. In Miller’s plan, the pulpit was moved to a corner of the sanctuary and the pews were arranged in a semi-circle around it on a floor that sloped gradually upward from the pulpit. Larger churches also included a low, sloping, semi-circular balcony above the main sanctuary. In addition, the church basement provided room for a kitchen and social-oriented meeting room. Classrooms with folding- or sliding-door partitions were located around the sanctuary, and could be opened for seating overflow crowds.
In 1911, the Cottonwood Falls congregation decided to replace the original church with a larger, limestone structure (Figure 10.12). The second United Methodist Church of Cottonwood Falls was built according to the Akron plan (Figure 10.13).

Shortly after this, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States abandoned the Akron plan. A Bureau of Architecture was created within the Church in 1915, and subsequent church design and construction guides advised against the Akron plan, instead favoring departmentalized buildings which resembled traditional churches with separated rooms around the sanctuary, each with soundproof floors, walls, and hinged doors.

The Cottonwood Falls Methodist Church stands as an excellent example of a plan that enjoyed great popularity in Kansas and throughout the prairie plains in the early twentieth century.
11. THE Z-BAR RANCH

As we cross Highway 50 on our way to the Z-Bar Ranch (Spring Hill Ranch), there is a large feed-lot to the left and on the right, St. Anthony’s Cemetery. In the northeast corner of the cemetery segregated from other graves are Mexican-American grave sites that are easily identified with their colorful decorations. These people were laborers who came to the Flint Hills to work in the cattle/railroad economy.

The Spring Hill Ranch, Then and Now

Stephen F. Jones, originally from Tennessee, had diverse business interests, including a plantation in Alabama and ranches in Texas and Colorado. In Colorado, he had farmed and raised steers and gained experience there as a dealer and shipper of cattle. In 1876 he came “with money sticking out of every pocket” to Strong City, and just north of the city he purchased a 160-acre farm for $12.50 per acre. Shortly thereafter he bought another 640 acres of land from the Santa Fe Railroad, and later more land from the Sheriff of Chase County, the Texas Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe. By 1882 Jones had amassed 7,000 acres of ranch land. This amounted to about 17 square miles. In 1881 the ranch house, dependencies and barn were completed, and he moved his wife, two daughters and eight servants on to the ranch.

Jones had become excited about the prospects of raising fine European cattle on Flint Hills grass and supplementing his cattle’s feed with corn and other grain he could grow in the rich bottom lands of the numerous rivers and creeks that passed through his property. Jones, in contrast to many who purchased ranch land in these parts, was not an absentee owner, and he also preferred English breeds of cattle — Shorthorn, Hereford, Devon— over the Texas Longhorn that had been driven into Kansas pastures near railheads through the 1870s. In 1878, Jones shipped in 2,000 head of these tame English cattle by rail from Colorado to Cottonwood Station.

Exactly how Jones organized his ranch is unknown, but the Whitney Ranch a few miles to the west near Hymer, has a nearly complete set of records dating back to 1882. These documents are

Figure 11.0a: Route Map
instructive about general ranching practices of the time. The Whitney Ranch was originally purchased by the Western Land and Cattle Co., an English syndicate that owned ranches in Texas and New Mexico. It had a perimeter fence to keep the cows away from scrub range bulls, and it was divided by fences into smaller sections that different foreman were assigned to superintend. In 1882, H. R. Hilton managed the ranch with 1,100 grade cows, 350 of which were bred to purebred Herefords and 750 of which were bred to purebred Shorthorns. Calves were shipped to their Texas ranches to upgrade the stock. Cattle were wintered over in those days, but again this kind of ranching was a poor adaptation to the Flint Hills’s micro-climate and the practice was replaced with the transient grazing of cattle during the spring, summer and fall months of the year. When the season was over, most of the cattle were ready for shipment, and they were driven to the Strong City Stockyards and loaded onto cattle freight cars.

Today ranching in the Flint Hills has evolved somewhat from the original ways of doing business. Most ranching here is based on three principles that have their roots in the early days: the transient grazing of cattle, the deliberate burning of grass in the spring, and the combination of farming and ranching. Some stocker cattle are wintered over as yearlings, and then pastured in the second season before shipping to feedlots. Transient grazing began as early as the late 1850s, and completely replaced other grazing systems by the 1890s. The earliest deliberate burning began in 1863, and is now practiced by all owners and their cowboys. Grain farming and ranching co-existed from the beginning, and are now an essential pairing in the formula for success in the Flint Hills. There are four ways these pastures are managed: by a manager pastureman, by an owner-lease pastureman, by a lease pastureman, and by an owner/owner-lease rancher. The situation on each ranch depends on who owns what and who works for whom.

Currently the ranch consists of virgin tallgrass prairie, including Big Bluestem (Andropogon gerardii), Little Bluestem (Andropogon scoparius), and Indian Grass (Sorghastrum nutans), with 459 acres of brome grass in the low lands used for hay. The lowlands east of the ranch house are also cultivated to produce grains for winter feeding.

Ownership History of the Ranch

Owing to the harsh winters of the mid-1880s, Jones had only 450 cattle by 1885, and he sold out in 1888 to Barney and Bridget Landry for $95,000, who consolidated the Spring Hill Ranch with 5,800 additional acres to make a ranch of over 13,000 acres. The Landrys never lived on the ranch. They made their fortune in the stone-cutting business in which they supplied crushed and

Figure 11.1: Site Plan: Main Buildings on the Z-Bar Ranch
building stone to the railroads and the county. Over the years, the ranch has gone through a number of owners. In 1907, it was disaggregated into 9,682 acres that Charles Patten bought and in 1909, Otto and Flora Benninghoven purchased 1,080 acres along with the ranch house, its dependencies, barns and pens. In 1935, the ranch was reconsolidated by George Davis. The Davis-Noland-Merrill Grain Company merged with Davis’ Z-Bar Ranch in 1955. By the 1980s the ranch had become a trust held and managed by Boatman’s Bank in Kansas City, and during that time Knight Feed Lot Company grazed cattle there on a transient basis.

The Ranch House

The ranch house and its dependencies were begun in 1880 and took approximately one year to complete at a cost of $25,000 (Figure 11.1). Stephen Jones had plenty of money, and he wanted an extravagant house for these parts, so that he and his wife and two daughters could entertain (Figure 11.2). David Rettiger, a Strong City contractor, directed the construction of this eleven-room, 4,455 square feet house and the nearby buildings, including the barn. The house bears a striking resemblance to the Cottonwood Falls courthouse designed by John G. Haskell from Lawrence. L. P. Jensen, a carpenter from Cottonwood Falls, worked for Mr. Rettiger and did all the millwork on this house and on the courthouse. Rettiger had the native white limestone quarried just north of Strong City, and each stone is square cut on the bearing surfaces, but projects a rough hewn face. Quoins, handled in a tooth-hammered fashion, set all the corners off from the wall surfaces.

Facing east, the house stands three stories tall against a bluff overlooking Fox Creek Valley (Figure 11.3). Built against a slight incline, the house exposes only two stories on the upper side, and all three on the lower. The mansard roof projects dormer gables with mixed details on each end of the front elevation. Originally the roof was painted with red oxide paint. It was repainted in 1960 with aluminum paint. A crenulated cornice separates the roof from the stonework. The original guttering was wood lined with tin plate, and it was replaced with copper sheets. Centered above the entrance at the third level is carved “A.D. J 1881.” The “J” inside the crest stands for Jones.

The large porch with classic columns carrying a dentilated entablature extends along the lowest floor. Large cut stones at the entry way are flanked with a concrete floor that reaches away from the entry stones the full width of the porch. Above is a flat metal walkout porch and side balconies, now resealed with a thick, fibrous sealant.

The hand-carved front doors open into a hall that leads to parlor and music rooms with limestone hearths and faux marble finishes, and floor-to-ceiling windows that open onto the
Figure 11.4A: Plan: Z-Bar Ranch House
Figure 11.4B: Plan: Z-Bar Ranch House
porch (Figure 11.4A). The floors are red oak and the rest of the appointments are walnut. The walls are plaster, and the intersection of floor and ceiling is covered with an elaborate plaster of Paris cornice mold. The ceiling medallions originally may have carried gaslight fixtures but new electrification in the mid-1980s uncovered no indication of this 19th-century technology. The current fixture was added in the 1940s. The newel post and stair are also walnut. Behind the staircase is a door that leads to a service floor containing a bathroom, cellar way, cave, and the 27-foot tunnel to the spring house.

On the second floor a hall divides a parlor, bedroom, and dining room (Figure 11.4B). A large butler's pantry was converted in 1938 to a kitchen. The original kitchen was on the service floor with easy access to the spring house and the cellar. The enclosed back porch is now used as an office.

There are two large bedrooms on the third floor and a smaller bedroom that was reduced in size to make way for a bathroom about 1938.

Triple terraced gardens front the setting, once lined with lilacs, roses, trees and bushes. Twenty laborers who built the house, the barn and the other dependencies used the same white limestone of the house for the terrace work. The lowest terrace is topped with wrought iron grillwork, which also crowned the dormers of the house. A large underground spring fed water to the house, as well as to a fountain on the highest terrace.

The Dependencies

The spring house joins the first floor by way of a tunnel, and on the second floor turns into a stone smoke house with oculus openings. The spring not only cooled food but provided water to the house. Usually a spring house covers the spring, but in this case, the spring is up on the hill, and the water is piped down. Near the smoke house is a three-seater stone privy. On the hill above the house is a covered stone ice house (20 feet by 20 feet), and just east of the ice house is a stone cistern that stored water for the dry season. Down the lane a few hundred yards is a stone chicken house with a vaulted ceiling covered with turf, a blacksmith shop and a carriage house.

The Barn

In 1885 Stephen Jones had 30 horses, 8 milk cows, 4 mules, 200 swine, and 450 head of cattle, and if he wintered all these animals, it took a lot of feed, and a lot of space to hold all that feed. Jones tried to build a big enough storage and feeding structure for his most essential and expensive animals in this three-story, 60-by 110-foot stone bank barn (Figure 11.5). It is probably the biggest barn in the state, and was built in 1880-1881 at a cost of $15,000. Its rubble stone walls with smooth quoins are as square and plum as on their first day. The gigantic quarter-hipped, gambrel roof and cupolas are supported on the third floor by 2-feet by 6-feet sawed boards built up to 6-feet by 6-feet posts and beams, and on the first and second floors with 2-feet by 8-feet boards built up to 8-feet by 8-feet posts and beams. The structure is bolted together. The roof was originally sheaths of tin, and reportedly it took 5,000 pounds of the stuff to cover the roof.

The barn is three-storied and tripartite in plan. The ground floor, like the forebay and bank barns of Pennsylvania that are found frequently on the prairie plains, is reserved for animals and their feeding — in this case, horses, milk cows, and swine. Horses were usually kept either in separate horsebarns, or, if in the same barn with cattle, they were separated by a center feedway or thrashing floor. The ranch hand’s horses that were so essential to the herding, counting, and gathering operation had to be kept year round, and also had to be sheltered and fed in stalls during the winter. A tack room is included in the middle bay, and stalls in the end bays. Cow milking stanchions — note the difference between the horse stalls and cattle stanchions — and pens for swine can also be found on this level. There is a grain drop from the third floor in the
northeast corner, and it took a heap of oats for 30 horses and 4 mules, and tons of corn and rye for 200 pigs and 8 cows, not to mention the hay.

On this ranch cattle — as opposed to milk cows — were seldom brought inside the barn, although in this type of barn on the prairie plains cattle and cows would usually be kept on the ground floor. Not sheltering cattle from blizzards in the Flint Hills turned out to be a big mistake, and to expect the pasture to take care of cattle over the winter, as in Texas, invited disaster. The tallgrass that is so nutritious in the spring and summer begins to lose all its protein and is practically worthless as food in the winter. Unfortunately Jones, lost many of his prize cattle herd in the disastrous winters of 1884-1885 and 1885-1886 because he didn’t shelter them and probably didn’t have enough feed for them either. This experience was widespread, and it changed the cattle industry in the Flint Hills to a spring-summer-fall operation.

The second floor held a lot of hay and grain that was moved in and out with wagons that conveniently could drive in one door and out the other without turning around. A concrete water tank at this level was supposed to provide enough water for 500 head of cattle in a dry spell.

Two 52-foot ramps lead to the third floor dormer doors which were also big enough that a wagon could drive in one ramp and come out the other. This floor was the granary, threshing floor, and hay storage space, and it still possesses a grain bin (this one added in the 1950s during the Z-Bar Ranch period), a special support base for a cross-drive shaft, and a grain drop in the northeast corner. Most of the wheat, oats, corn and rye was stored here to feed throughout the year.

A sketch of the barn in Everts Atlas of 1887 (Figure 11.2) shows the 30-foot wingspan, double-header windmill that once sat on the roof of the barn on the north side. Besides pumping water and moving grain, it operated a hay chopper, rootcutter, oil cake crusher, cornsheller, and a pair of cornburns, according to the Independent in 1882. After a few years of operation in the incessant Kansas wind, the windmill was removed from the barn for fear of damage because its vibration shook the barn.

Pens, Other Structures, Landscape Features, Springs and Gas Wells

Surrounding the barn on the south and west are pens of various kinds that aid in the loading, unloading and separating of cattle and horses. There are two stone corrals attached to the south and west sides of the barn. They were built in 1881, and 30 miles of stone fence on the ranch that were also built during the Stephen Jones era. There is a pit silo and a concrete stave silo (circa 1910). Barbed wire fencing with steel and Osage Orange fence posts can be found throughout the ranch, and one line leads west up the hill. Anyone is welcome to follow that fence west all the way to the knoll. Numerous springs still run on the ranch, and many of them are dammed to make water ponds. Dirt roads crisscross the ranch and run to the water sites, and to distant corral sites, such as the one in Township 19 South, Range 8 East, Section 7 that includes a stone springhouse, concrete water trough, a wood and barbed wire holding pen, and the ruins of another stone building which was possibly a bunk house. About 30 abandoned gas wells and their pipelines also exist, primarily in the north part of the ranch. Other buildings include a post-World War II Quonset on the top of the hill, a metal shed northwest of the barn, and a foreman's house (that is not open) on the west side of the hill.
Fox Creek School

In 1882, one year after Jones completed his homestead, he donated land and asked David Rettiger to build the Lower Fox Creek School of limestone walls 18” thick (Figures 11.6 and 11.7). This building, 24 feet by 30 feet, is typical of one-room schoolhouses of the period with a pine floor, cypress woodwork, windows on three sides, a stove with its long pipe that radiated heat throughout the room, plaster walls and long blackboards on three sides for writing and arithmetic (Figure 11.8). Apparently the class faced the teacher who stood at her desk near the entrance of the room. The school yard, usually about an acre of land, was always fenced, and the privy still stands in the back. The school closed in the early 1930s, was restored in the late 1960s, and placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

"Keep Grasslands Free  No Government Acquisition"

This is the message on signs along Highway 177 in front of the Z-Bar Ranch. The very idea of a Tallgrass National Park in Chase County has caused a number of fights on the streets of Cottonwood Falls and Strong City. The question has divided longtime friends, perhaps forever. Those who oppose the park exhibit the region’s inherent distrust of government, and the worry that almost 11,000 acres of the Z-Bar could be taken off the tax rolls has caused quite a political stir. There is also a concern that all kinds of outsiders will be coming into Chase County to visit the park, and that the park will spin off the undesirable development that often edges national parks. Those who favor the park want to protect the tallgrass prairie, which is now only 2% or less of what is used to be, and they want to bring the tourist dollars into the county.

Getting to a somewhat propitious point on this matter has taken more than 30 years of discussion. In June 1994, the National Park Trust, a non-profit organization that supported the controversial conversion of the ranch into the Tallgrass Prairie National Park, bought the property for $4.8 million. Since the NPT is a private, not a government-owned concern, much of the opposition to a government purchase has subsided. Also, the NPT has decided...
to keep most of the ranch on the tax rolls. Edward P. Bass of Fort Worth signed a 35-year grazing lease for $2 million and donated another $1 million to the NPT to buy only 180 acres of land for the tallgrass prairie park. In 1995, Senator Nancy Kassebaum, supported by Senator Robert Dole, Representative Pat Roberts, and now U. S. Agricultural Secretary Dan Glickman of Wichita, sponsored a bill that would allow the National Park Service to purchase these 180 acres of the total 10,734 acres for a national park. The bill is still pending before the U. S. Senate and has yet to go over to the U. S. House of Representatives. There will not be unanimity of opinion on this issue, but supporters and politicians are optimistic that there will be a Tallgrass National Park here within the next few years.
12. HIGHWAY 177: Z-BAR RANCH TO COUNCIL GROVE

The drive from the Z-Bar Ranch to Council Grove takes us through some of the most open ranges and widest vistas of the Flint Hills. As settlement becomes especially sparse, the story behind the landscape becomes even more detailed.

The Kansa Indians and the Great Landscape Heists

Just a few miles north of the Lower Fox Creek School you will see on the right a long row of trees running east-west; this is the southern boundary of the Neosho Valley reservation set aside for the Kansa Indians in 1846. The “Old Indian Treaty” border goes unnoticed by the casual traveler and probably by those who live here, because it just looks like a fence line. This reservation — the “permanent” home of the Kansas in the state — was originally 256,000 acres but was diminished by treaty in 1860 to 80,000 acres, and by an act of Congress in 1872 was taken away completely. In 1873, without any domain left in a region where they had made their home for at least 250 years, the Kansa Tribe marched out of Kansas to a new reservation in Indian Territory, Oklahoma. So this row of trees really marks the end of the line for the Kansa people in our state. The reservation was a landscape reputedly designed to protect them, but actually it was used to isolate them, to eliminate their culture, and since squatters occupied most of the good land almost from the beginning, to starve and kill them. William E. Unrau, in his book titled The Kansas Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673-1873, tells the story of this Siouxian tribe in splendid detail.

The sordid history of greed, deception, and cynicism that the French, the Spanish, the British, the Canadians and the Americans all exhibited in their interaction with the Kansa Indians was initially about the fur trade and money, European politics, and then finally after 1803, about owning the land itself. The Kansa were semi-nomadic people who built villages of earth lodges along the Missouri and Kansas Rivers and to which they returned following their annual spring and fall buffalo hunts in the central and western parts of their domain. This domain included nearly all of the present state of Kansas, although the Osage to the south and the Pawnee to the north also hunted large parts of Kansas and made war with the Kansa Indians over territory and trade. The main Kansa village from about 1750 to 1825 was near Leavenworth, Kansas.

Figure 12.0a: Route Map
By 1825, the United States understood the economic implications of the Santa Fe Trail. The government needed to make that passage safe for freight haulers, and to reduce the potential for battles between the Osage and the Kansas. To this end the government negotiated a treaty with the Kansas that limited them to a reservation 30 miles wide from about 45 miles west of the mouth of the Kaw to about 35 east of the current Kansas-Colorado border (Figure 12.1). For this confinement the Kansas were given a $3,500 annuity for 20 years, and were promised agricultural machinery, cattle, swine and chickens, as well as a blacksmith and farmer to help them in their transition from a hunting, trapping, gathering life to the sedentary life of farmers. The Kansas could still hunt in the large reservation for the time being, but the government hoped to contain these old practices. The Kansas were promised that their children would be educated, and the right to navigate the rivers and streams in their reservation. Finally, and in some ways most important of all, the government gave fee-simple titles of 640 acres along the Kaw River from approximately Lecompton to Topeka to each of the 23 half-breed Kansas. This land transaction was executed to introduce the idea of land ownership to the tribe, to introduce jealousy into the tribe, and to unravel the old culture of community life that was the key to the Kansa social organization. This treaty worked ruinous effects, because the government did not fulfill its promises, and nothing could keep the hoard of incoming Euro-american settlers off the demarcated reservation.
By 1846, the Kansa Indians were a destitute and starving people. Unable to till the soil for cultural reasons and lack of knowledge, sick and dying from cholera or smallpox, devastated by war with the Pawnees who sought the same trapping grounds as the Kansas, deceived by incompetent missionaries, bamboozled by the continual change in the fur trade, defeated in their last hunt for buffalo in the Smokey Hill/Arkansas River region, flooded out of their villages by heavy spring rains in 1844, and in debt to traders who had loaned them money to buy food, the Kansa Indians were finally at the mercy of the federal government. In this condition they ceded 2 million acres of their Kaw River reservation to the federal government for $202,000, or ten cents an acre, to be paid in 30 payments. This money was supposed to be enough to pay off their debts, and buy provisions until they got on their feet. For this the President of the United States agreed to “cause to be selected and laid off for the Kansas a suitable country, near the western boundary of the land ceded ... which shall remain for their use forever.”

This was the reservation in the Neosho Valley that was removed forever in 1873 (Figure 12.1). The Neosho Valley expe-
rience was also an unmitigated landscape dis-
saster. Squatters were impossible to keep out of the reservation. They fenced grazing land that belonged to the Kansas. The city of Council Grove expanded on reservation land without permission of the Kansas. The Kaw Mission built stone houses for the Indian families who were not used to that kind of structure (Figure 12.2). The white settlers and business people in Council Grove used plenty of whiskey to befuddle and take advantage of the susceptible Kansas. The Kansas could not make their corn grow, and they could not hunt any longer in western Kansas, where the Cheyenne aggressively ruled. In the end, the tribe simply could not sustain itself on this reservation either, and the young men took to stealing from wagon trains on the Santa Fe Trail that passed through the reservation. Finally, the squatters, the townspeople, and the railroads that wanted to lay tracks through the reservation demanded that the Kansas be banned from the Neosho Valley. Together these forces brought enough political pressure to bear to bring about the march to Oklahoma on June 4, 1873.

In 1846 there were 19 reservations in Kansas Territory, where Native Americans from the East had been moved on the authority of the Congress after the treaty of 1825 with the Kansa Indians. Three reservations remain today in northeastern Kansas for the Kickapoo, the Potawatomi and the Sauk and Fox Tribes. All the other tribes were removed to Indian Territory, Oklahoma, in the late 19th century to make way for thousands of settlers who streamed into Kansas after the railroads finished their first lines in 1867.
Council Grove has a rich history and a main street that reflects it. We'll be here for 30 minutes. Please plan to reboard the bus at the east end of Main, just east of the Hays House.

Council Grove History

Council Grove was one of the most important cities on the Santa Fe Trail. In fact, the trail goes right down West Main, which is much straighter than the old ruts of the wagon trail. The Hays House sits cockeyed on the street and is supposed to indicate the different orientations of the old and new roads.

Council Grove is a place of significant Indian history, which William E. Unrau reveals in his book, The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673-1873. An important treaty with the Osage Indians was signed here in 1825, opening up this part of the southwest passage to Santa Fe. The Neosho Crossing on the trail became part of the Kaw Indian Reservation that the federal government gave to the Indians in perpetuity by treaty in 1847. During the 1850s, however, squatters streamed into the reservation and settled at the river crossing along the Santa Fe Trail. There was money to be made from the passing pioneers who came this way until 1866, and there was a town to be built in order to make that money (Figure 13.1).

The main street of Council Grove expresses a vigorous eclecticism and is the product of many builders and entrepreneurs. From the 1880s on West Main was faced by rows of one-, two- and three-story buildings that offered the goods and services of a regional trade center (Figures 13.2A and B). The first generation of buildings were balloon frame with flat and gable fronts (Figure 13.1). What you see today is the second generation of buildings that replaced the wood with brick. Some of these replacements were made out of new business ventures, and others were made to fill in gaps made by fires. One of those significant fires was in 1886, when all the buildings west of the Hays House to Neosho Street burned. These current buildings present an outstanding 19th-century business district of mostly a two-part commercial, Italianate architecture.
Figure 13.2A: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, West Main Street, Council Grove, 1885 and 1914
that has proven to be highly adaptive to change both inside and out over a period of about 100 years.

Some Main Street Buildings

While this main street merits a great deal more attention than we can give today, you will probably have time to look at one building in detail or take a quick walk through some others. We suggest looking at the following buildings along this main street (Figure 13.3).

The First Congregational Church. 1898. See Figures 13.4 and 13.5. C. W. Squires, Architect. Squires was also the architect of the Farmers and Drovers Bank. This late 19th-century stone church building replaced the original brick, rectangular, aisle church with a corner Wren tower that was built in 1872. In 1925, the north addition was attached to provide a dining room and kitchen. The north wall of the stone church was taken down, and it became the east wall of the new addition. The fellowship hall to the west came in 1988. Although the interior space of this Congregational Church is similar to the spaces in several Methodist churches we will be seeing, the Congregationalists rejected the Akron plan.

The First Baptist Church. 1909. See Figure 13.6. Now the future home of the community center, the eclectic First Baptist Church sits on a tall stone base that becomes red and beige brick exterior walls at various heights. The sanctuary is 49' x 38', and the ceiling is held by 2" x 6" ceiling joists that hang from a so-called scissor truss that crosses over the center of the space. If you want to spend all your time checking out this problem, you should be able to observe this structure by climbing the ladder in the East Meeting Room. Figure 13.2A shows a lumber yard on this property in 1885.

Ritz (Stella) Theater. 1919. See Figures 13.7 and 13.8. T. W. Whiting, a wealthy entrepreneur, built this opera house turned theater for his daughter, Stella, for a Christmas present. Its Mission Revival front is nearly unchanged from the initial design, and the marquee was added with the name change as a part of the renovation of 1947. The Art Deco interior of this theatre is almost unchanged from the 1947 period. The current capacity is about 480 persons. At one time more than 1,000 people could find seats inside. The cost of a ticket to a traveling minstrel show was 50 cents in 1920. Vaudeville, silent movies accompanied by organ or piano, and then the talkies all found their way to this theater that still operates. In 1922 you could have seen D. W. Griffith's "The Fall of Babylon." There was a wagon shop on this property in 1885, and in 1914 a machine shop (Figure 13.2A).
Carnegie Library. 1916. We know very little yet about this building, except that we don’t think it has changed much since its inception. The downstairs still has a pressed metal ceiling, the door and window details are apparently original.

Farmers and Drovers Bank. 1892. Addition to the west, 1902. C. W. Squires, Architect. Lewis Peterson, brickmason. Jack Jones, stonemason. See Figures 13.9 and 13.10. The bank was founded by W. H. White, a buyer and shipper of cattle who drove cattle from Council Grove to Lee’s Summit,

Figure 13.4: First Congregational Church, Council Grove, 1898

Missouri, before the railroad was established. This two-part commercial building is one of the most ornate examples of a corner bank in Kansas with its expressive stone and red brick facade, Romanesque arches with stained glass windows, square stained glass windows on the second floor, Byzantine minarets, corner tower, and pressed metal cornice. Two engaged marble columns mark the main entry at the corner, and the entry steps lead to a raised first floor over a full basement that housed a newspaper office and the Summit Cafe.

Figure 13.3: Key Buildings on West Main Street, Council Grove
Many changes have been made to the interior since 1892. See Figure 13.10 for an idea of the changing interior layout in 1892, in the 1940s, and in 1995. The interior teller areas were paneled wood with marble counters. The pressed metal ceiling was added sometime in the early 1900s. On the second floor were offices for dentists and a law firm. The 1902 addition was occupied by the Indicator Store on the first floor. Upstairs the bank rented space to a fraternal lodge, the Knights and Ladies of Security which later grew into a large insurance company — Security Benefit Life — that is now in Topeka. The bank was extensively renovated in 1940. It was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1971. The 1902 Indicator Building joined it in 1981.
Council Grove National Bank. 1887. See Figure 13.11. Kenneth W. McClintock, who owns the building and has done extensive research on it, reports that the first building — once the Morris County State Bank, organized in 1878 — was destroyed by the fire of 1886 along with seven other buildings in that block. The bank was rechartered in 1901 as the Council Grove National Bank. The Italianate exterior is “substantially unaltered from the original construction with two exceptions. In 1916 the outside basement stairwell and entrance were relocated from the south side of the building to the west side. In the late 1930s, the front entrance was lowered to ground level by removing the exterior stone steps and by constructing an entryway recessed into the elevated first floor, providing interior steps. The plan was also altered in the 1930s. The public area of the lobby originally extended in an "L" shape along the west and south sides of the room. The counter was repositioned in a straight line extending from the south wall up the center of the room to near the north wall. The tellers’ cages above counter height were removed and replaced by low, wooden dividers with several teller window openings utilizing the original grillwork cut down to size. During the renovation following the 1978 fire, some of the tellers’ cages and other materials removed during the 1930s renovation were returned to the lobby and the counters were realigned. A number of historic photographs and memorabilia pertaining to Council Grove and the bank are on display in the restored lobby.

Council Grove Apothecary. 1863 and 1873. Behind this Italianate facade is a soda fountain, installed in the 1920s and still in operation. The display cases are also original. The cabinets and fixtures on the fountain are unchanged. Most soda fountains in Kansas were built in the first two decades of the 20th century, according to Marci Penner and Milfred Penner in their article, “In Search of a Sarsaparilla,” Kansas Heritage, Winter 1993. They report that the prohibition amendment of 1919 forced many Kansas saloons to close or be converted to soda fountains. Cherry phosphate, black cow, or chocolate malt, anyone? There is a great pressed metal ceiling too.
Hays House. 1857. The fight to save this building and get it on the National Register of Historic Places was one of the cause célèbres for the creation of the Kansas Preservation Alliance. Supposedly, this is the oldest restaurant west of the Mississippi. It was heavily renovated in 1974-75. In the cellar you can examine the walnut, oak and stone construction of the original building. In the Seth Room on the second floor is a wall with the hand-hewn cottonwood lathes exposed. In the Hays Tavern on the second floor you will find a change in the roof line that resulted from the 1886 fire.

At this point, find your bus quickly and get on it!

Figure 13.8: Plan: The Ritz Theatre
Figure 13.9: Facade Changes: Farmers and Drovers Bank: 1892 and 1905
Figure 13.10: Interior Views: Farmers and Drovers Bank: 1897, 1940s and 1995
Madonna of the Trails Monument. 1928. August Leimbach, Sculptor. On our way out of town we cross the Neosho River, and as we turn north toward Alta Vista, the Madonna of the Trails Monument stands to our left, a 10-foot pink Algonite sculpture dedicated to pioneer women. This is one of twelve casts of this sculpture, Pamela Simpson reports, that the Daughters of the American Revolution placed along various pioneer routes throughout the United States. Arlene Nichols Moss of the DAR stated in 1922 that, "Just as Sacagawea was rightfully honored for her valuable contribution to America, so should the women who endured so much in settling this land be honored and immortalized." Pamela describes the statue as "a mother who clutches a baby in one hand and a rifle in the other. A little boy clings to her skirts as she strides forth, crushing a cactus." She goes on to say that, "Many scholars have suggested that in the face of waves of new immigrants in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, white, Anglo-Saxon Americans felt the need to assert their primacy and define the history of the country. In a sense, monuments like these were a form of public history. They taught the newcomers the version of history championed by the dominant social group."
14. HIGHWAY 177: COUNCIL GROVE TO ALTA VISTA

Council Grove Lake, the Profligate Psychology and Atrazine

Water, along with the land itself, is the infrastructure of the prairie plains, and it has driven the development and shape of our landscape even before Stephen Long mistook these grasslands for a “Great American Desert.” The Kansas History journal in your packet provides a thorough analysis of water in the Kansas landscape. However, just north of Council Grove we drive across the dam of Council Grove Lake, a 3,235 surface-acre federal reservoir built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from 1960 to 1964. Some places on the lake are called “Kansa View,” “Kit Carson Cove,” and “Custer Park,” introducing toponyms as yet another of the crucial elements in the transmogrified landscape (Figure 14.1). Nearby is the smaller, 500-acre City Lake, built in 1942 to provide water for Council Grove. The Council Grove Lake is part of a huge landscape undertaking that has occurred in Kansas over the past 35 years — the building of some 26 reservoirs in response to the devastating 1951 floods that inundated numerous Kansas cities, including Topeka, Lawrence, Kansas City and Council Grove (Figure 14.2). These gigantic earthen dams were created for flood control, recreation and water storage. The dam at Council Grove Lake is 6,500 feet long, and 96 feet high above the stream bed (the Neosho River). It allows water to flow through a 17 feet-in-diameter outlet conduit, and has a spillway 500 feet long. The lake drains 246 square miles, and has a shoreline of 40 miles. The normal control pool is 3,235 surface acres and the flood control pool is 5,400 surface acres. This water

Figure 14.0a: Route Map
landscape project, built at a cost of $11.5 million, provides water to Emporia 20 mile to the southeast.

These reservoirs across Kansas, besides holding back the floods, providing fishing and boating recreation, and supplying water, create a predictable water future within their areas of influence. A predictable water future is essential for a more intensive development of the land than anyone had considered possible in Kansas during the 1950s. Once a frugal water psychology ruled the prairie plains, but these reservoirs have created a profligate water psychology of "there's always more." Unfortunately, Kansas has the lowest water quality of any state, owing to

Figure 14.0b (left) and 14.0c (right): Route Maps
Figure 14.2: Surface Reservoirs and Lakes in Kansas
agricultural pollutants, pesticides, insecticides, and herbicides. Atrazine is one of the biggest problems because with the first big rain it immediately washes away into the streams and watertable. Recently, a petroleum engineering professor at the University of Kansas developed a time-release capsule of corn starch for atrazine, and this inexpensive method will eliminate atrazine runoff in the future. Drink up!

On to Alta Vista

The sparsely settled area north of Council grove is typical of much of the Flint Hills. Besides the eye-catching cowboy and Conestoga sculpture overlooking Council Grove on the hilltop to the east, you’ll also notice some of the corrals, houses, fences and barns we’ve discussed earlier in the Field Guide. This section of Highway 177 is the last paved portion of our tour.
Along Skyline Drive we are driving through what in average years are some of the lushest grasslands in the United States. These are uplands and rich bottomlands along Mill Creek (Figure 15.1). You are not seeing one large ranch here; rather, these lands are a series of smaller holdings — 320 acres here, 180 acres there — that belong to different owners and leasers. These owner-leasers, often through familial ties, work together to clip not necessarily contiguous pieces of land together in a quilt-like fashion. In this way together they can create several thousand acres of choice pasture for their transient grazing operations. Exactly how many acres of pasture a family group or business entity can bring together in any given year depends on who’s leasing, selling, or subleasing grazing rights. Ranch sizes here expand and contract annually. They are always more or less in the making. These ranch families own cattle, graze cattle that are trucked in and out, and plant hay or grain crops in the bottomlands. The number of cattle these small ranchers can handle in their transient pastures depends on how much grassland and bottomland they put together, how they decide to use it, and an old formula for grazing. Pasturemen need about 5 acres of pasture for every cow, or 3 acres per head if they double pasture. To improve their pastures, pasturemen burn them when the wind is right in late April or early May, unless it is a dry year and the governor has placed a ban on burning. Burning increases the diversity of tallgrass flora, and diversity is directly linked to the overall health of the range.
came land-use specialists who responded to the specific qualities of their American environment, ecology and market economic system. They bought up land over time, quarter-section by quarter-section, here and there, and became ranchers primarily.

The early settlers had to give up or decided to give up many of their German ways to survive in the Flint Hills. Most of the owners here in Washington Township are the progeny of German settlers who came to this part of the Flint Hills in the late 1850s. They began as small subsistence farmers without knowledge of large scale ranching, and for nearly three decades they struggled with the mixed-grain and cattle farming ideas they brought with them from the East and Europe. They eventually had to relinquish these old ideas, having observed the wealth large-scale, Anglo ranchers and companies were amassing in cattle ranching. The Prairie Land and Cattle Co., for example, was a Scottish syndicate in the area that owned 150,000 head of upbred cattle in 1885 and specialized in grazing. The coming of the railroad in the 1880s and the establishment of Volland as a railroad/stockyards town in the center of Washington Township accelerated the obvious. By the 1890s, the once small-scale German farmers, rather than remain impoverished land-use generalists, be-
There are German stones in the East Templin cemetery that almost nobody who lives here can read. If there is anything German left here, other than names, it would be subtly embedded in the material culture of buildings and other structures in the landscape. However, by the 1870s, when these Germans had prospered enough to begin to replace their log cabins with more substantial houses, they frequently chose the I-house with a central hall, a distinctly non-German house type. Even their log houses were not necessarily Germanic — we have no direct evidence of any Flurkuchenhaus or Wohnstallhaus, which is more likely — although we do know that the cornering in these log houses was often dovetailed. The barns here — even the stone ones that have changed the least — are also not generally Germanic types, although there are a few bank barns recalling Pennsylvania Dutch models that string from the Mid-Atlantic hearth through Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri into Kansas. The wooden, mortise-and-tenon, “Y” brace structural systems that help hold the roofs of many of the stone barns, however, are medieval in origin and are similar to the structural systems found in most areas to the east of Kansas where Germans settled. The stone spring houses, smoke houses, lean-tos and other buildings are also not distinctly Germanic, although they certainly have their antecedents in German life and in other countries in Europe. In spite of the loss of most ethnic qualities in this landscape, the old Germanic ways of hard work and frugality still continue to operate.

The favored material for the earliest buildings was log replaced soon by stone, but not necessarily because the “German mind” favored stone. What else was there to use? There wasn’t much timber available, especially hardwood. Further, it was difficult to get any lumber since the railroads bypassed the area until the landowners bought railroad bonds in the hills. There are German stones in the East Templin cemetery that almost nobody who lives here can read. If there is anything German left here, other than names, it would be subtly embedded in the material culture of buildings and other structures in the landscape. However, by the 1870s, when these Germans had prospered enough to begin to replace their log cabins with more substantial houses, they frequently chose the I-house with a central hall, a distinctly non-German house type. Even their log houses were not necessarily Germanic — we have no direct evidence of any Flurkuchenhaus or Wohnstallhaus, which is more likely — although we do know that the cornering in these log houses was often dovetailed. The barns here — even the stone ones that have changed the least — are also not generally Germanic types, although there are a few bank barns recalling Pennsylvania Dutch models that string from the Mid-Atlantic hearth through Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri into Kansas. The stone spring houses, smoke houses, lean-tos and other buildings are also not distinctly Germanic, although they certainly have their antecedents in German life and in other countries in Europe. In spite of the loss of most ethnic qualities in this landscape, the old Germanic ways of hard work and frugality still continue to operate.

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1880s to build track and small towns about every 8 miles. The railroad service Stephen Jones had in Chase County to build his huge ranch didn't come to this part of the Flint Hills until a decade later. By that time, however, most of these Germans had already built their second generation houses — I-houses less elaborate than the one Jones built but I-houses just the same — and barns of stone. Any frame structures you see are likely to be later than 1885, and most of them were built in the 20th-century.

Volland: A Vanished Flint Hills Railroad Hamlet

About three miles north of Alta Vista the road bends to the east and we pass through the remnants of the old German hamlet of Templin—a small clustering of farmsteads, two cemeteries, an

Figure 15.0d: Route Map
with shops, but just ahead, almost one mile beyond the Schultz Ranch, we'll pass by Volland, one of the most interesting rail hamlets that popped up in the late nineteenth century.

The settlement that developed south of Skyline Drive where a dirt road crossed Mill Creek and the Kansas Pacific tracks was originally called Grafton. In 1888, the name of the railstop was changed to Volland, after Henry Volland, the owner of the surrounding lands.

Volland got its start as a place where Washington Township stockmen could bring their cattle and have them penned and boarded on railcars for shipping to market (Figure 15.2). The Volland stockyards, located midway between Alta Vista and Alma, were situated at a point that had two other advantages. It was here, in the middle of Washington Township, that the railroad would place one of its section crews. The crew, consisting of a foreman and several section hands, had responsibility for maintaining an eight-mile length of track along Mill Creek between Alma and Alta Vista. The railroad also needed to construct water and coal towers for its locomotives. Consequently, a freight depot was built here and farmers could ship eggs and other farm products into Alma. This same point was also the natural retail trade center for a growing rural population that found the trip into the shops of Alma and Alta Vista too time-consuming on the ungraded and rutted section roads of the county. It was no surprise that these combined forces made Volland a perfect site for the development of commerce, trade and social exchange.

The first store in Volland was situated next to the stockyards (Figure 15.3). It offered a variety of goods for the families of Washington Township and for the railroad workers who lived in the boxcars and rental houses of Volland (Figure 15.4). It dominated retail trade until 1913 when a much larger, two-story general store with a post office was constructed across the road (Figures 15.5 and 15.6). A blacksmith shop, houses, and other railroad buildings and commercial structures filled out the railroad hamlet in the early twentieth century, making it a center of activity in the township. The Volland store stayed open
on Sundays, and people came here for Sunday picnics, baseball games and a chance to view the locomotives barreling through Mill Creek Valley at 60 miles per hour.

The decline of Volland began with graded roads and the cars and trucks that made Alma much more accessible than it ever was in the nineteenth century. By the 1970s, the Kratzer Store, Volland’s nod to 20th century commercial architecture, stood vacant and surrounded by weeds. The railroad workers had long ago moved on and the only signs of the town’s vibrant past were the two odd buildings that sat out in the middle of Washington Township.

Figure 15.0e: Route Map
The Leland Schultz Ranch in Washington Township, although it operates today as transient grazing land just as the Z-Bar Ranch does, initially was a small farm of about 300 acres that a German immigrant, Henry Grimm, homesteaded in 1857. Grimm conceived his homestead as a

**Figure 16.1: Site Plan: The Schultz Ranch**
mixed grain and cattle farm, and by 1875 he had erected 60 rods of stone fence and 500 rods of rail fence on 380 acres of land for his 9 horses, 16 milk cows, 35 cattle, 17 hogs, 25 acres of winter wheat, 4 acres of rye, 15 acres of spring wheat, 40 acres of corn, 6 acres of oats, 7 acres of millet and 2 acres of orchards. The census reveals that Grimm and his family also produced 350 pounds of butter in that year. In response to the land that had mostly shallow soils and rich grasslands, Grimm slowly turned away from mixed farming over the next 30 years and adopted the transient grazing ranching that is still typical today.
By 1905, Grimm had amassed some 2,000 acres that were divided by 200 rods of stone fence, 5,000 rods of barbed wire, and no rail fence. He planted no wheat or rye. He cultivated 100 acres of corn, 15 acres of oats, and 45 acres of alfalfa, cut 200 acres of tame hay and 680 acres of prairie hay, and kept 9 horses, 4 milk cows, 186 cattle, and 50 swine. He pastured many cattle shipped in and out of Volland by rail. Grimm’s immediate successors, Lincoln B. Willets and Charles Horne, carried on the ranching business in about the same manner as Grimm.

During the 1930s, Gustav Schultz began putting together his large patchwork ranch — big enough to give each of his five children at least 1,000 acres — and he purchased the old Grimm place for his son Bill and his wife, Mary. Leland Schultz, the grandson of Gustav, and his family have lived in the Grimm I-house since 1981. He operates a specialized, transient grazing ranch that he owns or leases in partnership with his brother Ron, who has adjacent lands he owns and leases. In some years their ranch might come to over 3500 acres.
Figure 16.4: Elevations: The Schultz Home
There is almost no tillage of bottomland anymore, nearly all of which has been planted back to brome or alfalfa for cattle and horse feed. Grains are purchased at the elevator in Alma, when needed. Four large loading corrals strategically located around the township and available to Leland and his family underline the priority of gathering and dispersing cattle safely for shipment in and out by truck every spring and fall.

If all the grasslands owned and leased by all members of the Schultz family are counted together, this family controls the grass on somewhat more than 10,000 acres of the Flint Hills. This is nearly the size of the Z-Bar Ranch but the process of putting and holding all these acres together in a loose network of ownership relationships is considerably more complex than at the Z-Bar, which has been held by one owner or company during most of its existence.

The process of turning Grimm’s mixed grain and cattle farm into the Leland Schultz ranch over the past 140 years has left a richly layered landscape of the old and the new, as illustrated in the site plan (Figure 16.1). The sequence of the construction of this landscape is laid out in four stages of development from 1875 to 1981 (Figure 16.2). From 1875 to 1888, Henry Grimm built the stone I-house (Figures 16.3 and 16.4), the cattleshed and stone barn (Figures 16.5 and 16.6), and the spring house (Figure 16.7), wash house and the first corncrib (Figure 16.8). This is the enduring backbone of a changing landscape. In the transforming stage from mixed farm to the ranching, Grimm added to his barn, granaries (Figure 16.9), and he put a kitchen ell and front
Figure 16.6: Elevations: Main Barn, The Schultz Ranch
Figure 16.7: Plan and Elevations: Spring House, The Schultz Ranch
Figure 16. Plan and Elevations: Wash House and Corn Crib, The Schulz Ranch

WEST: WASH HOUSE & CORN CRIB

NORTH: WASH HOUSE

SOUTH: CORN CRIB
Figure 16.9: Plan and Elevations: Granary Complex, The Schultz Ranch
porch on his house. His successors from 1908 to 1938 rebuilt granaries, put up a tile chicken house, constructed a hay barn, added on to the house, and put in electricity and indoor plumbing. In the next period — now the property of the Schultz family — the ascendance of cattle is clear with the addition of concrete feedbunks and two pole barns.

The environmental systems on the ranch were also changed numerous times during this period: Orangeburg sewer system in 1947, wood stove to propane heat, chimney relocation, upstairs bath, and finally the installation of a radiant heat system. Since 1981, when Leland and his family moved into the I-house, a wood stove was reintroduced, a bathroom was added on the first floor, the wall between the hall and the living room was removed to decompartmentalize and casualize the space for late 20th-century living, and on the second floor the two original north bedrooms were opened up to make a large family room. Finally, a large metal building was erected northeast of the house to accommodate large expensive farm implements and to create space for a machine shop.
After a long day on the road we arrive at Alma, to meet the people of Alma who will be our hosts. In this charming small Kansas town we will see a third main street, visit a few stone residences, eat “Mulligan” and “mountain oysters,” drink beer, be entertained by the Kansas Folklore Society, and watch the dusk make day into night in the Flint Hills.

For those who wish to begin the merry making early, go to the City Park. Beer will be served until you get on the bus for the beeline home.

For those who wish to stroll through a residential landscape, there are six stone houses open and a number of commercial buildings. Five others are marked on your map to view from the exterior. There are plans for all of these houses in your field guide.

Restrooms are found at Palenske Hall, the Museum and in the City Park.

Peopling Alma

In the 1850s and then again in the late 1860s, German immigrants streamed into the Flint Hills, many directly from Germany, settled farms that became ranches, and built trade centers that were interlocking links in the long economic chain back to Chicago. Alma was built almost entirely by German families: Schmitz, Treu, Steinmeyer, Metzger, Cline, Brasche, Schroeder, Zwanziger among many others. A significant number of these Germans were also stonemasons, and Alma became famous for its stone and stonemasons in the last quarter of the 19th century and into the 20th century. Today, Alma has a population of about 1,000, and most of these people have a German ancestry.

County Seat Town, 1867

In 1856, Gottfried Zwanziger was the agent and surveyor for the St. Louis Town Company that sent him to survey a town in the Mill Creek Valley, not far from the Potawatomi Indian Reservation in Wabaunsee County. The company had decided to benefit from the pre-emption law that allowed a town company to claim 160 acres for a town site. However, the St. Louis organization failed to make any improvements in their town, and Zwanziger was entitled to claim the 160 acres himself in 1857.

No one dared think of founding a town again until 1866, when Henry Schmitz, Joseph Treu, John Gleich, Augustus Brasche and Edward Krapp created the Alma Town Association to lay out a 40-acre townsite that might become the county seat. The site was on Zwanziger’s land, which the association divided into 80 parts and shares. The value of the land was $200. In 1867, the association succeeded in bringing the county seat to Alma, even though there was only a small boarding house there: Mother Dirker’s Place. We are told that Mother Dirker served a good German dinner on the day the county seat came to town.

An 1868 photograph, taken by a traveling photographer shows a county courthouse (the two-story Kaufman building), two dwellings, the new Schmitz and Meyer store, the Winkler Hotel, F. C. Simon’s blacksmith and harness shop, a few other barns and sheds, and whitewashed rail fences. In that same year, Alma incorporated to form its own government, and sent out for more settlers. Many Germans continued to come, and in 1870, Zwanziger’s First Addition was platted and lots were sold.

However many came, the county seat was still not secure in Alma, since the frame Kaufman building was not considered permanent. Keeping the county seat could mean the difference between life and death for a town on the prairie plains, and several towns were lobbying the state government in Topeka for this prize in Wabaunsee County. The County Herald, the town’s
first newspaper, did its bit by encouraging the town's residents to plant trees and shrubs, cut weeds, clean their yards, and beautify their town. But the Alma people were also enterprising. To keep the county government, they raised the money to give the county "on a lot 200 feet by 160 feet a courthouse of stone construction which shall be two stories high and of dimensions 40 feet by 50 feet. It shall have five rooms, one of these to be a large courtroom and the others to be used for county offices, and there shall be constructed three fireproof vaults. It is to be conveyed to the county by deed on November 1, 1871, and to become permanent county property provided the county seat not be removed within 21 years." This was enough to convince the Kansas Legislature to give Alma the county seat permanently, and in 1872 the new stone courthouse opened for business.

Railroad Commercial Town, 1880

The railroad breathed new life into Alma when it finally reached the county seat town in 1880. Burlingame put in a line of tracks via Alma to Manhattan, and mail came twice a day! In 1886 the Rock Island built its tracks along the southeast corner of town (Figure 17.1). By 1885, however, we can already examine how Alma responded along its main street to the railroad trade by looking at Sanborn maps. Figure 17.2, which compares the buildings along Missouri Street in 1885 and 1922, shows the largest number of buildings in 1885 clustered between 2nd and 4th Streets. Between 2nd and 3rd, there were two hotels, two clothing stores, a grocery store, a jewelry store, a bank, two drugstores, a hardware store, a pool hall, a paint store, and a barber shop. Between 3rd and 4th, there was a bank, a land office, a clothing store, a harness shop, an opera house, a barbershop, wagon shop, livery, two furniture stores, a clothing store, a jeweler, and a pool hall. By 1922, the number of buildings between 2nd and 3rd had thinned out, and the block between 3rd and 4th had filled in considerably. This evolution may suggest the slow weakening of the railroad by the 1920s, and the emergence of the automobile as a significant new transportation factor in the development of towns.

Stone and Stonemasons

The number of stone commercial buildings and residences is astounding in Alma, and there are several reasons for this. First, very little timber grew in Wabaunsee County, and the railroad
did not reach Alma until 1880. Second, limestone was readily available in the Flint Hills for those who could expertly quarry it out of thick, single-layered beds just under the surface of the prairie. The stone in the Flint Hills comes from a limestone formation laid down in the Permian period which predates the Cretaceous period and is quite hard. Third, the early settlers had experienced the ferocity and destructiveness of prairie fires in the Flint Hills, and they wanted a building material to resist an eventual conflagration. Finally, among the people who came from Germany were trained stonemasons who worked their fields and ranches during the spring and summer, and plied their stone cutting and stone laying skills during the winter.

The Diehl family of stonemasons came from Hamburg, Germany, and they built many of the limestone buildings in Alma and in surrounding communities. Limestone was superior to other kinds of stone in that it was not intermixed with deposits of clay and mud. This prevented it from crumbling. Also, as limestone weathers, its outside surface hardens and creates its own sealant. Further, this stone provided a more or less maintenance-free surface and was in harmony with the Flint Hills setting. Houses and commercial buildings of stone in Alma are usually 21 to 26 inches thick, and therefore are well insulated.

The Diehls knew how to separate this limestone from its layers underground which involved removing the soil with a horse-drawn slip, and measuring and marking the slabs by drilling 8 to 12-inch holes. The Diehls then inserted two feathers — a metal strip flat on one end and round on the other — into the hole and tapped a wedge in between them until they heard a warning “ping,” which indicated that the stone was cracking under the pressure of the wedge. Once cut, the masons hauled the 400-pound slabs on a “boat,” a sled used to transport rock. By the 1880s, the Diehls and other stonemasons from Wabaunsee county were famous and were in demand all over the state.

Viola Diehl Grunewald recalls that “My grandfather John Diehl, and my uncle Frank Diehl were all stonemasons. They all worked for 35 cents an hour and furnished their own transportation.” She remembers them building houses, churches, bridges, cisterns, silos and hotels. They went to Duluth to build a Roman Catholic Church. They built the Alma Hotel on Missouri Street and the Commercial Hotel that appears on the 1922 Sanborn Map but has been demolished. They built three stone churches in Alma: St. John Lutheran, Holy Family Roman Catholic, and the United Church of Christ.

Stone Houses To Visit

See Figure 17.3 for a tour map. While there are plans for eleven houses in your field guide (Figures 17.4, 17.5 and 17.6), our information about these houses is largely anecdotal. We have not carefully studied any of the houses or their builders, and they certainly warrant our research. We will offer basic information when we believe it is useful, but we are looking for your comments and evaluations of these dwellings.

318 E. 4th. 1888. Open. Ringel House. Many of the stone houses in Alma are similar in plan to this one. It is a central hall house and has a four-room plan on the first floor. The scroll work, flowers and hearts of stone were apparently carved by a vagabond mason who loved to drink.

400 E. 4th. 1885. Open. Eberwein House. This is also a central hall house with four rooms in the main space and a kitchen ell in the back.

211 E. 7th. Open. The Gronquist House. This is a large two-over-two with an entry hall and stairs. Perhaps the kitchen was originally in the family room, and then later a frame addition was attached in the rear to house a kitchen, dining room and bath.

724 Missouri. Open. The Meseke House. This house is quite similar to the Eberwein House but it has lost its hall perhaps through renovation.

Figure 17.2A: Building Arrangement, Occupancy and Type, Missouri Street, Alma, 1885 and 1922
Figure 17.2B: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, Missouri Street, Alma, 1885 and 1922
PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

1 WABAUNSEE COUNTY COURTHOUSE
2 WABAUNSEE COUNTY MUSEUM (open)
3 PALENSKE HALL (open)
4 ALMA CITY HALL
5 ALMA HOTEL

OPEN HOUSES ON TOUR

6 318 E. FOURTH, RINGEL HOUSE
7 400 E. FOURTH, EBERWEIN HOUSE
8 211 E. SEVENTH, GRONQUIST HOUSE
9 724 MISSOURI, MESEKE HOUSE
10 219 W. FIFTH, SCHROEDER HOUSE
11 405 KANSAS, JACOBSON HOUSE

OTHER HOUSES

12 403 E. FOURTH, LAVERTY HOUSE
13 411 E. FOURTH, MANKA HOUSE
14 325 OHIO
15 607 OHIO, TURNER HOUSE
16 401 KANSAS, ADOLPH HOUSE

Figure 17.3: Public, Commercial and Residential Buildings on Tour, Alma
6. 318 E. Fourth
Ringel House
Open

7. 400 E. Fourth
Eberwein House
Open

13. 411 E. Fourth
Manka House
Open

14. 325 Ohio
Not Open

Figure 17.4: House Plans: Southeastern Alma
Figure 17.5: House Plans: Northern Alma
Figure 17.6: House Plans: Western Alma
masons chiseled their names under the front door. This is another four-room, central hall plan that has had its partitions moved to meet new needs.

405 Kansas. Open. The Jacobson House. This appears to be a four-over-four house with a typical entry hall.

Commercial and Public Buildings to View

There are several buildings open for your inspection downtown. Please plan to visit the following.


Palenske Hall. Open. This building once served as the Gottlieb Noller Saloon. A bank moved in for 12 years during the prohibition period. A produce store followed until the mid-1960s. Fred Palenske bought the building and donated it to the Wabaunsee County Historical Society. One of the more interesting features is the arched "cave" in the basement that was once used to store water, food and wine.

Wabaunsee County Museum. Open. This building occupies the site of the first Wabaunsee County Courthouse. In 1906, that building was removed and replaced by the present cut limestone structure, built by the Feiden Brothers. The north half of the new building was occupied by the Alma post office for four years, until it moved to the rear of the building, where it remained until the 1950s. The building was then purchased by the Wabaunsee County Historical Society.

Alma Hotel. 1887. Open. One of the town's best-known structures this hotel got its start providing rooms for railroad workers and travelers. The hotel's restaurant gained nation-wide recognition in the mid-20th century. The building was recently purchased and the owners plan to develop a bed and breakfast in the old hotel.

Alma Bakery. Open until 8:00 p.m. Located on the west side of Missouri Street, the Alma Bakery occupies the south half of a large stone commercial building. This half of the building once served as the Wabaunsee County Bank and later, as the Alma National Bank. At one point, a barber shop occupied the ground floor of the building. The bank vault remains in its original location and it can be viewed by visitors.

Alma City Hall. Open. The City Hall building originally operated as a bank. The basement housed commercial enterprises that were accessible from a front stairway that led down from the sidewalk. The old stairway has been covered over and the sidewalk now abuts the building, but the original basement windows, below street level, are still visible within the structure.

Bus Departures:

Two buses will leave early, around 7:30 p.m., if we can fill them.
Two buses will leave late, around 8:30 p.m.
May 24, 1995

Tours of the Day:

Tour One: East Lawrence from 8:30 a.m. to 11:15 a.m. (guided)

Tour Two: Vinland from 11:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. (guided)

Tour Three: Old West Lawrence from 3:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. (guided)

Alternate Tour: Downtown Lawrence anytime (self-guided)
Alternate Tour: North Lawrence anytime (self-guided)
Alternate Tour: Alleys of Lawrence 8:30 a.m. to 11:15 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. (guided)

Opportunities

On Friday, May 24, we will study the making of urban landscapes on the prairie plains, particularly Lawrence—a university town on the Kansas River. Lawrence has well defined historic neighborhoods, a bustling 19th-century main street, and a burgeoning new suburban city growing at breakneck speed with power centers and sprawl on its southern and western edges. Lawrence is historically similar in its physical character to the smaller urban landscapes of Burlingame, Cottonwood Falls, and Alma; however from the beginning, Lawrence had a more diverse population than most small towns in Kansas and it had a university. Also, since the mid-1970s, Lawrence has undergone a second boom town phase that the three smaller towns only experienced once in their earliest histories.

Tour One: East Lawrence. In the morning (beginning at 8:30 a.m. at the Eldridge or you can go on your own) we will walk through the working class, pedestrian neighborhood of East Lawrence with its variety of small, primarily frame and brick, 19th-century public and commercial buildings and residences. East Lawrence has a history of contention and disappointment, a history that is still strongly felt today. Its early citizens were German, Swedish, Irish, and French Catholic settlers, and there was a large contingent of Black migrant Exodusters who came to Kansas out of the South in the late-1870s. This neighborhood is threatened on the west by encroaching growth from the downtown and by the possibility of the Eastern Parkway that would be the closing link in the controversial new trafficway being built around the western and southern edges of the city.

Alternate Tour: Alleys. For those who prefer, a tour of alleys in the merchant-class and working-class neighborhoods and behind the 19th-century storefronts this is an opportunity to see the lively vernacular landscape of our hidden and neglected spaces. Meet at the Eldridge Hotel at 8:30 a.m. or 3:30 p.m..

Alternate Tour: Downtown. Others may prefer to investigate the commercial buildings of Massachusetts Street, many of which still have their original pressed metal ceilings, sales cases and interior layouts.

Alternate Tour: North Lawrence. For others who desire, there is a mapped walk across the Kansas River bridge, a view of the Bowersock Mill, the Consolidated Barbed Wire Building, the
Riverfront Mall, and a trip to Johnny’s, where you can pick up the key to visit the crib elevator behind the tavern. You can take this walk in the morning or afternoon. Across from Johnny’s is the newly restored, 1889 Union Pacific Depot, and on down Locust street is the concrete grain elevator. If you want to go to the top of the grain elevator, you can take the ride up from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. or from 4 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday, May 24. Beyond the elevator are fragments of a railroad main street, including La Tropicana and El Matador, and beyond these two Mexican restaurants, the deliciously vernacular, rural-garden neighborhood of North Lawrence.

Tour Two: Vinland. At 11:15 a.m. (meet at the Eldridge House for an 11:30 a.m. departure) we board buses to visit the hamlet of Vinland, to see the fragments of a “failed” town with a Grange hall, two commercial buildings, the Coal Creek Library, the Vinland fairgrounds, and the Methodist and old Presbyterian Churches. We will have lunch in the Methodist Church there, and after lunch we will have an “Akron-plan” experience with Jan Jennings, Pamela Simpson and Herb Gottfried who will speak on the topic, “The Material Basis of Late 19th-Century and Early 20th-Century Vernacular Architecture.”

Tour Three: Old West Lawrence. At 3:30 p.m., our buses will arrive back in Lawrence, where we will visit the 19th-century merchant class neighborhood of Old West Lawrence. We will have access to 15 houses built from 1865 to 1910, many of which were once owned by the richest and most esteemed individuals of their day. Jan Jennings, Pamela Simpson and Herb Gottfried will discuss the details of the manufactured vernacular in 701 Louisiana (Herb Gottfried), 702 Louisiana (Pamela Simpson), and 713 Louisiana (Jan Jennings). The open house tour will end at 6:30 p.m.

In the evening, have dinner on your own somewhere downtown. Consult your field guide and packet for information. You may want to check out the movies or go to the Jazz House or to some other music spot. We’ll have shuttles for you until 10:30 p.m. to go back to the Holidome. Some Lawrence Preservation Alliance members will be downtown after that to take home stragglers. Look for them.

Lawrence Landscape Fundamentals

No “New England” Town. After the federal government ruthlessly eliminated the Native American on the prairie plains in the first half of the 19th-century, it became possible to settle cities west of the Missouri River, like Lawrence in Kansas Territory. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, an abolitionist group that founded Lawrence in 1854, had wanted a “New England town,” perhaps with a central town green, where government and religion could coexist peacefully on a square. Some wanted to call the city “New Boston,” and others preferred “Yankee Town.” However, no matter the name (Lawrence was named after one of the Emigrant Society’s leaders), the society’s preconceptions about town planning were never fulfilled, except in their imaginations. The Lawrence plan was closer to Philadelphia’s and Chicago’s than to Boston’s or New Haven’s.

Surveyed as a grid, approximately 3.5 miles by 2.5 miles, A. D. Searl put Lawrence at a big bend in the Kansas River with a commercial center stretching south away from the river and residential blocks developing in all directions away from that center (Figure II.A). From the beginning a levee was built on the south side of the river to protect this center which was conceived for private, not public gain. Lots in and around this center — 117 feet by 50 feet and alleys of 14 feet — were created to sell the land as quickly, efficiently and profitably as possible. Not everything was for sale, though. Searl had some public space in mind in the parks he laid out in the south, central, west and north sectors of his grid and reserved the hill bordering the site on the west for county buildings, college grounds and public grounds. Searl’s plan was fairly typical of western frontier towns. An 1858 plan shows Lawrence and its additions, including Lane’s addition which is now Old West Lawrence (Figure II.B).
Lawrence did not have the socio-economic makeup of a New England town either. The society sent two groups from Massachusetts but when they arrived, squatters had already staked out large parts of the townsite, much of which still belonged to the Shawnee or Wyandot Indians. The squatters, who were from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee saw Lawrence for what it was — a frontier outpost where settlers came to decide whether Kansas would be enslaved or free. Lawrence was contested from the very beginning — the pro-slavery squatters vs. the abolitionist settlement society. Lawrence was a war zone on a harsh and beautiful prairie, and it possessed none of the sophistication and serenity of a New England town. The city was sacked and burned several times before the end of the Civil War. About 140 voters were killed — many of them New Englanders — and every downtown building but one was destroyed by raiding, pro-slavery forces in 1863. This last raid was reported throughout the nation, and Lawrence gained great notoriety from the tragedy.

Miraculously, the town rose from its ashes, but the new settlers the railroad brought in 1864 were not New Englanders with respectable white Yankee Protestant values. The railroad, with its center in Chicago 600 miles away and its tracks leading into nearly every city large and small on the eastern and southern seaboards, brought an ethnically and racially diverse people whose values often conflicted and whose religions differed. In the process of building their boom town, these people built a city that was racially, ethnically, economically, and socially stratified, and a city whose differences were mediated in the market place of its 19th-century commercial main street. Perhaps without this diversity and the opportunities main street afforded all kinds of people, Lawrence would not have become a reliable regional economic node in the grand commercial venture that was Chicagoland.

Christaller’s Central Place. The whole point of building Chicagoland was to exploit the land’s natural resources as efficiently and profitably as possible. Nothing was more important than making money, and to do this effectively on such a vast expanse of prairie and farmland, towns grew in a network of commercial collection and distribution points, where goods and services were exchanged. Walter Christaller and all other subsequent central place theorists have explored the nature of this economic network in numerous books and papers. The physical settings for these economic exchanges were large and small, with some very local in nature, such as Pleasant Grove and Worden in Willow Springs Township, and some more regional in nature with greater economic influence, such as Lawrence, Burlingame, and Council Grove. Lawrence’s center was important enough regionally to contain not only commercial, financial, and public buildings but also manufacturing buildings along its riverfront. Still larger centers, such as St. Joseph, Kansas City, and St. Louis, became intermediate manufacturing, financial and railroad entrepôts with extensive means to spread the goods from the central hub of Chicago to smaller regional and local centers, which in turn sent back the raw resources through these entrepôts for
refining there or shipment to Chicago manufacturers, meat packers, wheat dealers, lumber moguls, and so forth.

The High and the Low Ground. When Charles Robinson from Massachusetts saw the Lawrence site for the first time in 1849, he praised it, and no doubt it had good qualities with the river and the rich Wakarusa Valley to the south. However, as was usually the case in a river town, the site was by no means flat, and a deep ravine cut through it just west of what would become the main street, Massachusetts (Figure II.C). This ravine would be filled in by 1912 and eventually become Buford Watson Park.

The overall uneven terrain was not so easily remedied and remained a constant determining factor in decisions about who lived where. Having the high or low ground in a river city makes a big difference in the history of a place. Lawrence did not have the steep, step-like topography of the river sites at St. Joseph or Kansas City. Rather, the city’s site slopes more gently from east to west as well as north to south. East of Massachusetts, the elevation drops east to west from 820 to 860 feet above sea level. The Eldridge House is about 865 feet, and then the townsite rises slowly west of Massachusetts (falling abruptly at the old ravine to 820 feet) to about 1,010 on “The Hill.”

The higher ground west of Massachusetts was always more desirable than the lower ground east of Massachusetts, which early on was degraded as the “East Bottoms.” East Lawrence was more susceptible to floods than West Lawrence, and this lowered land values in the east. The people who bought property and built homes there had less money to spend, had blue collar jobs, and were more heterogeneous ethnically and racially than in West Lawrence. West Lawrence, closer to the highest ground — the University — became the neighborhood where commercial and professional leaders built their fashionable houses and yards. Many people who ended up in West Lawrence started out in East Lawrence and made their money from successful businesses in the downtown center. As soon as possible, Dale Nimz tells us in his thesis about Rhode Island Street, successful people sold their homes in the east for a better place in the west. To a certain extent, this is still happening today.

The differential effects of high and low ground play out clearly on the other side of the river in North Lawrence with an elevation of only 820 to 830 feet above sea level. Floods rolled into this low ground decade after decade, which gave it the least desirable image of all the sections of Lawrence to this day. The North Lawrence levee, a significant landscape project built after the devastating 1951 flood around the inside curve of the Kaw, has held back much of the water but in the wet years of 1993 and 1995, the main artery of North Lawrence was still impassable. When
there is so much water and it can’t flow down the channel fast enough, it backs up into North Lawrence from the east. After years of more or less malign neglect, Lawrence leaders are now giving this low ground considerable attention because it is the north entry from the Kansas Turnpike. It doesn’t hurt that Bob Moody, the last mayor of Lawrence, is a long-time North Lawrence resident.

The Landscape of Streets, Bridges, Water Systems, and Sewage Systems. Much of the investment in the commercial center in both the past and the present has been expended for roads and curbs, bridges, water systems, and sewage systems. These expenditures created and were created by significant technological and social changes not only in the commercial core but throughout the city.

Except for Massachusetts Street which was 100 feet wide, the streets of the central core were laid out as dirt roadways in 80-foot widths in 1854. These streets were so bad in wet weather that wagons bogged down in holes with locations so predictable they became famous. Dry weather was hardly better with dust and ruts that made going difficult at best. As Cathy Ambler reports in a 1994 article about streets in Lawrence (Material Culture PAS, Vol. 17, 39-48) macadamized surfaces (crushed rock) replaced some dirt surfaces in the early years but only for a while before the rocks disappeared in the mud. In 1871, Lawrence experimented with the Wyckoff Patent for wooden roadways in which cottonwood was cut to stand on end to provide a road surface. This didn’t work long either because cottonwood is soft, frays like cotton as it quickly wears away, and absorbs a lot of water. Then it was back to crushed rock, until finally in 1900, vitrified brick from John McFarland’s brick factory provided a long-term solution to the mud and dust. You can see examples of brick streets in the 600 block of Louisiana Street or in the 700 block of Mississippi that Michael Morley and his neighbors restored in 1995.

Two bridges across the Kansas River — the 690-foot, wooden Howe Truss toll bridge built in 1864 at the north end of Massachusetts Street which replaced the ferry, and the railroad bridge built in 1867 at the end of Delaware in East Lawrence — improved the efficient movement of people and freight in and out of the early central business district. Since that day the history of bridges over the Kaw at Lawrence reveals an expensive and politically volatile enterprise. Numerous bridges have gone up and come down where north Massachusetts Street meets the Kaw. The last replacement came in the 1980s when the city decided to tear down a solid, reinforced concrete bridge built in the 1930s and erect at a high cost the two new spans we have today.

In the early period of Lawrence, water was an individual matter. Owners of property had to
have their own wells and cisterns; however, individual water systems became more problematic with the increase in population and the number of businesses on main street after the Civil War. By 1887, Dale Nimz reports in his George Washington University thesis, “a franchised company was organized to distribute water pumped from wells near the Kansas River... but the company struggled with problems of water quality and supply. The municipal waterworks was not really satisfactory until it was taken over by the city in the twentieth century.” Today, the Kansas River and Clinton Lake, both with filtration plants, supply the downtown, all of Lawrence, and most of Douglas County with the water needed to make an urban landscape on the prairie work.

According to Nimz, sewage was a difficult problem for early Lawrence to overcome. The water-tight privy vaults that were pumped out at night did not work well after the influx of people following the Civil War. Cesspools were also unsatisfactory because of frequent leakage into the water table. The mounting issue was finally solved in a storm water sewer system that A. L. Selig, elected mayor in 1891, was able to complete. Today, Lawrence has a highly sophisticated sewage plant developed by engineers, such as those at the University of Kansas, who specialize in the research and development of water and sewage treatment systems.

**Bowersock Power and the Late Industrial Complex.** Brian Black’s article, “Mastering the Kaw: The Bowersock Dam and the Development of Lawrence Industry,” in the Winter 1993-94 edition of *Kansas History* outlines the fascinating details of power generation in early Lawrence. The Bowersock Dam created the industrial complex that lined up along the south side of the Kansas River and extended into the 700 block of Massachusetts.

In 1873-1874, the Land and Water Tower Company began added motive power to the urban landscape — making the manufacturing sector at the north end of downtown possible — by contracting with Orlando Darling to build a dam across the Kansas River. The dam would back up a pool of water, and channel it into a dam run, and speed it against the wheels of a mill that would transfer 2500 horsepower to cables leading above ground from pulley station to pulley station until the power reached individual industrial users. In this way the natural waters of the Kaw were turned into commodified water power. The *Republican Daily Journal* reported in 1873, that Lawrence “has decided that the heretofore idle stream which flows through her borders shall put its shoulder to the wheel and go to work for the town...”

At first, the only two users were the Douglas County Mill and the Delaware Flour Mill. J. D. Bowersock bought out the company in 1878 and repaired the dam. Between 1880 and 1889 he built a new race and mill building, added two more wheels, more cables, and extended cables to seven major Lawrence industries: the Lawrence Paper Company, the Pacific Flour and Grain Mill, Usher Salvage Iron Company, Leis Chemical Manufacturing Company, the Consolidated Barbed Wire Company, Wilder Brothers Shirt Manufacturing, S. B. Pierson and Sons Roller Mills and the Bowersock Opera House on 7th and Massachusetts. In addition, Bowersock attached the rear wheelhouse of his water power complex to the Lawrence Gas Fuel and Electric Light Company whose four dynamos turned water power into electricity. The Bowersock Dam provided both water power and electric power until the 1903 flood wiped out the turbine complex. After that, Bowersock only generated electricity for the general power grid, and the dam continues to sell electricity to this day. The only buildings left of the industrial sector are the old Consolidated Barbed Wire Building and the Reuter Organ Company building. The new Riverfront Mall, that takes its architectural image from the old industrial facades, has been a reasonably successful attempt to integrate the new with the old.

**Railroad Connections.** For Lawrence to become a regional distribution center in Chicagoland, it had to have a reliable connection to the great continental industrial city that was capable of shipping out tons of building materials, farm machinery, pressed sheet metal, wrought iron commercial fronts, glass, and so forth, hauling away tons of grain and beef, and depositing and receiving hundreds of businessmen and travelers on a daily basis. In addition to the rail connec-
tion, regular telegraph service was needed to send information about markets, purchases, and shipments back and forth between Lawrence and Chicago, Kansas City, and St. Louis. Establishing this reliable link took about a decade.

One of the expected advantages of a city site beside the Kaw was river transportation; however, the Kaw proved too unruly, unpredictable and too shallow for steamers that regularly plied the Missouri River from St. Louis to Omaha. The 1860s were so dry that not until 1866 could a side-wheeler make its way to Lawrence with 250 tons of freight. The last futile steamer came in 1867. In the 1860s, the Kansas Legislature also opened a number of new roads for mail and passenger stage service, including daily service to Leavenworth, Kansas City, Topeka, and Baldwin City. These roads were little more than trails, rough and rutted, and impassable in the mud.

The Chicago connection finally materialized in 1864 when the Union Pacific laid track and built a depot on the north side of the river (Figure II.D). Telegraph service was already established in 1863. The railroad bridge across the Kaw in 1867 created a frenzy of railroad building into Lawrence, supported in many cases by bonds sold to the city. The Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad, the St. Louis, Lawrence and Denver Railroad, and the Lawrence and Southwestern Railroad all established bases in Lawrence in 1867. By the early 1870s, the Kansas Midland Railroad built an east-west line south of the river, which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe acquired in 1875. By 1880, all of these railroads had been consolidated by the Union Pacific and the Santa Fe, firmly establishing the link to Chicago.

The Union Pacific Depot in North Lawrence (across from Johnny’s Tavern), designed by Henry van Brunt in 1889, indicates the significance of this railroad connection. It recently took a heroic effort on the part of a large coalition of people to save this outstanding example of Richardsonian Romanesque railroad architecture. In December 1984, the Union Pacific served notice that it would demolish the building in 30 days. We’ve come a long way from that day to the Lawrence Visitor’s Center the depot currently houses. The modern Santa Fe Depot in East Lawrence, built in 1955, is in pristine condition and still has its original furniture. Amtrak comes through very early in the morning but only a few people are riding. If you want to hear and feel the power of the transcontinental freight trains that go by about every 10 minutes, stand on the north side of the Union Pacific Depot and wait.

**Downtown Preservation: Put Your Money Where Your Mouth Is.** More public and private
money has been invested in the six core blocks of Massachusetts and its secondary blocks of New Hampshire and Vermont than in any other landscape in the city — other than the University's public campus. These six blocks and their wing blocks are also the most important politically in the city today. Any discussion of change here or any threat to this historic commercial center quickly creates a vigorous community debate. In the last 25 years, the main street has been protected many times through fierce battles between preservationists and the development community. In the 1970s, for example, developers proposed "cornfield" malls on the edge of the city that would have vitiated the economic significance of the commercial center. The city's long-term plan, "Plan 95," would not permit this. The developers then took another tack. In the 1980s, they proposed several downtown malls that one way or another would have destroyed the building fabric. A proposal to block off the north end of downtown with a massive mall resulted in a furious fight which culminated in a plebiscite. Over 80% of the voters rejected this proposal. Now, in the mid-1990s, yet another urban design scheme is being developed with city funds involving land along New Hampshire Street and the 1000 block of Massachusetts. If some design can be achieved that will integrate new buildings and businesses with historic buildings and businesses, then this downtown will be secure for yet another generation. The four design scenarios that have so far been developed by a local architecture firm for the 700 Block of New Hampshire would have serious consequences for the historically rich urban fabric of Lawrence. They leave much to be desired.
Walk the Walk Worth Fighting For

Your walking tour of East Lawrence will take you through one of the most historic sections of the original townsite (Figure 18.1). It will be an easy walk. Old Town East Lawrence, like the rest of the historic city, was and still is a pedestrian place, and this has many advantages for its 2,200 residents. The neighborhood is near downtown, and is affordable, historic, diverse and well defined along its boundaries: New Hampshire Street on the west, 15th Street on the south, the Santa Fe tracks on the east, and the Kaw on the north.

The historic streetscape is composed of brick sidewalks and brick streets throughout, and most of those brick streets and sidewalks still exist under an overlay of asphalt. The 1995 Old Town East Lawrence Neighborhood Plan emphasizes the importance of maintaining the pedestrian streetscape by properly renovating all brick streets and sidewalks, reducing speed limits, developing bicycle lanes, limiting truck traffic and through traffic, and by building a “true Eastern Bypass” that pulls traffic to the downtown away from the neighborhood.

Land use attacks on the neighborhood have been frequent. The East Lawrence Improvement Association formed in 1979 to deal collectively with the politics of the changing urban landscape, and the ELIA has become a neighborhood association to be reckoned with by our city politicians and development community who long have wanted to change Old Town East Lawrence into a non-pedestrian place. Residents of East Lawrence stood together in the early 1970s against the Haskell Loop that would have sliced the neighborhood in half, and they won out against the would-be road builders. In 1979, the neighborhood was outraged by the loss of residential homes along the west side of Rhode Island Street in the 700 block. More recently, the city has proposed the Eastern Parkway — better known as the Eastern Porkway — that is supposed to connect Highway 10 with the downtown and close the belt highway around Lawrence with the completion of the South Trafficway. The parkway is supposed to bring people downtown and keep it vital, and the downtown's vitality is very important to the neighborhood. The 1995 neighborhood plan addresses this and many other issues in an effort to show that it is not necessary to sacrifice Old Town East Lawrence for the downtown. Both can, should and must be preserved, particularly at a time when every other city in the United States has already recognized how critically important nearby residential populations are to the vitality of a downtown. Don't mess with East Lawrence.

Peopling and Building the Old Town

During the town building period from 1864 to 1873 and the manufacturing and marketing period from 1874 to 1899, a multi-cultural, multi-racial people streamed into the city. More people came from Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and other north central states than from anywhere else, and black migrants moved in large numbers into the historic city. In 1870, 34% of the population of Lawrence was either foreign-born or black, and most of the foreign-born were from Germany. Others came from Sweden, Scotland, Ireland, and Quebec. The number of foreign-born and blacks remained above the 20% level through the end of the 19th century. Most of these individuals had humble beginnings and settled on low ground in East Lawrence or North Lawrence. They took jobs with the railroad, in the burgeoning industrial complex along the river, or started up small businesses downtown or in the neighborhood. Relatively few people came from New England.

With the help of the railroad that brought an abundance of lumber, other building materials and interior appointments, the consolidation of the local brick industry that provided an afford-
OPEN BUILDINGS ON TOUR
1. Eldridge House Hotel
2. 724 Rhode Island, MclAlister House
3. 900 Rhode Island, Turnhalle
4. 905 Rhode Island, Bromelsick House
5. 945 Rhode Island, Eldridge House
6. 409 E. Seventh, Santa Fe Lunch Room
7. 847 Connecticut, Beatz House
8. 900 New York, St. Luke AME Church
9. 736 New York
10. 704 New York, Kershenbaum Home
11. 413 E. Seventh, Santa Fe Depot

OTHER BUILDINGS OF INTEREST
A. 702 Rhode Island, Fischer House
B. 941 Rhode Island, Hendry House
C. 839 Connecticut (shotgun house)
D. 822 Connecticut (shotgun house)
E. 416 E. Ninth, Messenheimer's Grocery Store
F. 512 E. Ninth, Reed Brothers Cider Mill
G. 936 New York, New York School
H. 1000 New York, German ME Church
I. 918 New Jersey (shotgun house)
J. 909 Pennsylvania (hall and parlor house)
K. 917 Delaware, (Italianate house)
L. 925 Delaware, (Hague hall and parlor house)
M. 927 Delaware, (Hague hall and parlor house)
N. 933 Delaware, (Hague hall and parlor house)
O. 808 Pennsylvania, Bangs Bros. Soap & Vinegar
P. 619 E. Eighth, Poehler Wholesale Grocery
Q. 1007 Rhode Island, Marks House
R. 612 New Hampshire, Wilder Bros. Shirt Factory

Figure 18.1: East Lawrence Neighborhood Tour
able alternative, and the availability of the balloon frame structure that made building quick and easy, the newcomers raised up many small houses that were only a short walk away from their jobs, the downtown, and a web of schools, churches, and grocery stores on the east side.

The image of East Lawrence as a disputed, less desirable place to live than some other early neighborhoods such as West Lawrence has its origin in initial settlement patterns. Members of Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, who came to establish an abolitionist town on the Kansas frontier, found themselves in an early dispute over the land in East Lawrence. Squatters, many of whom sympathized with the South in the conflict between the states, held the land when the New Englanders arrived. Eventually, the land east of Massachusetts was relinquished to the leaders of the anti-slavery movement; however, the inclination among the first settlers of East Lawrence to support the lost cause of slavery left a stigma on the area that helped establish the “other side of the tracks” image East Lawrence developed during the city building period. This image was reinforced by other factors, such as East Lawrence’s relatively low elevation and the general association of bottom land with ill health, its susceptibility to flood, its racial and ethnic diversity, its early relationship to the industrial district, and the socio-economic status of those who came to dwell there. However, early settlers of East Lawrence were not irreconcilably divided over slavery, national origin or race from the people of West Lawrence because everybody needed each other to succeed. Only a diverse city could effectively take a central place in Chicagoland. Further, as humble as life might have been in the bottoms, it was still possible through hard work, ingenuity and luck to move up and out of East Lawrence to the more desirable high ground of West Lawrence. Many individuals, although certainly not all who would become prominent people in the community, did that. Today, numerous individuals have moved to East Lawrence from other parts of the city because they prefer life there.

The Historic Fabric

There is still an extraordinary concentration of historic buildings in East Lawrence. One hundred ninety-six buildings in East Lawrence remain from the building boom between 1864 and 1873, after which the bottom dropped out of the economy and slowed new building to a crawl. About 130 buildings are extant from the manufacturing and marketing period of the 1880s and 1890s, and 338 come out of the University town period from 1900 to 1945. These houses and community buildings, owing to their large numbers, concurrent building dates, and high frequencies of certain house types, create an exceptionally coherent working class, pedestrian-oriented, urban landscape of the late 19th and early 20th century that is of great value to Lawrence.

Tour Stops and Walkbys

The Shared Area of Concern. Beginning at the Eldridge House walk east along 7th Street two blocks and turn south on Rhode Island Street. On your right you see the devastation of the late 1970s when historic houses were ripped down to create land that has yet to be redeveloped. The Old Town East Lawrence Neighborhood Plan calls this a “Shared Area of Concern” between Downtown and East Lawrence. It is an area of concern because another urban design redevelopment plan is being worked up for the land along New Hampshire and Rhode Island Streets, and any new development here must be compatible and integrated with the neighborhood. “For true integration, the ‘Shared Area of Concern’ should not be devoted to one single use, commercial, office or parking, but should include some residential as well as a mixture of the others.” So far the proposed scenarios do not respond to the principles of development.

702 Rhode Island. Not open. The Fischer House was built in 1869, and is a classic two-over two-house, the type that was built all over Lawrence. They exist in all sizes, both brick and frame
Mr. Fischer came to Lawrence, and became an influential member of the strong German-American community in East Lawrence that made critical contributions to the development of the business and social life of the city.

**724 Rhode Island. Open.** McAllester House. See Figures 18.2 and 18.3. This two over two, brick house is a survivor of Quantrill's raid and is in excellent condition. It was built about 1861 and received a frame kitchen and bathroom addition in the 1920s. The stairway follows immediately upon entry and leads to a landing and two bedrooms upstairs. This is typical. The basement originally housed the kitchen and coal storage. The setback of the house is particularly urban and friendly. Current owner: Tony Peterson.
900 Rhode Island. Open. The Turnhalle, built in 1869 by the German community, was the center of German-American life in East Lawrence until the early 20th century (Figures 18.4 and 18.5). The basement was a beer hall and restaurant, and there was a fenced beer garden in the back. On the main floor there were gymnastics, plays, and musical events. The Turnhalle also served as a kind of employment center for arriving German immigrants, and it once was the temporary location of a German church. Current Owner: Rod Ernst.

Figure 18.4: Turnhalle, 900 Rhode Island, 1869

Figure 18.5: Plan: Turnhalle, 900 Rhode Island
905 Rhode Island. Open. See Figures 18.6 and 18.7. The Bromelsick House (now the Social Services League). The original house, built in 1863, was a two-over-two house that received a stone addition between 1863 and 1880, and a frame addition between 1880 and 1890. Mr. Bromelsick was German, and was employed as a bank president and owner of a successful men’s clothing store downtown. The Bromelsick family did not leave East Lawrence after it achieved economic success, as was the case for many successful East Lawrence families. Bromelsick eventually used this house as a rental property, which was typical of many Germans here who were involved in the speculative housing market and were very entrepreneurial. Today, the thrift store occupies the original house and one-story addition. The downstairs of the side addition is used as a meeting room.
941 Rhode Island. Not Open. Hendry House. This five-bay, central hall I-house survived Quantrill's raid, and its building date is estimated to be in the late 1850s. This could be the oldest house in Lawrence. Five-bay, central hall houses are much less frequent on the prairie plains than their three-bay, hall/parlor cousin. Current owner: Aline Elf.

945 Rhode Island. Open. The Eldridge House. See Figures 18.8, 18.9 and 1810. The hotelier Eldridge had two houses: his hotel and his own house. The date of his residence — a variation of the two-over-two house — is about 1857, and is one of the oldest extant houses in Lawrence. This house has a complete stair-hallway which allowed the adjoining front room to be a classic, 19th-century parlor. The original L-plan of this house is unusual for a two-over-two house. It perhaps reflected Mr. Eldridge's higher status as well as his need to receive his guests more formally than working-class families. The house also received an early brick addition that telescoped out from the back, and of additional interest is the brick summer kitchen, now undergoing renovation. Mary Lisa Pike, the current owner, moved to East Lawrence several years ago from West Lawrence for a "reality check," and she has become an active member of the preservation community. Current owner: Mary Lisa Pike.
1007 Rhode Island. Not Open. Marks House. Before 1863. See Figures 18.11 and 18.12. This stucco-over-brick, two-over-two house was built for Alexander and Solomon Marks who opened jewelry store on Massachusetts Street. The entry-stair arrangement is another variation frequently seen in these vernacular houses. The six-inch, tongue-in-groove floors in the front room are original, as are the stairs, and upstairs floors and the window and door details. The date of the addition on the back that also wraps around the south side is unknown, but the addition itself looks like a commercial front, and may have been a neighborhood business at some time. The history of this house demonstrates the pattern that often occurred in Old Town East Lawrence. The Marks brothers made a lot of money in their stores in the commercial center; Sol’s store still retains its 19th-century layout and furniture. Their two over two became inappropriate for them by the early 1880s. In 1884, Alexander built a large house at 702 Louisiana, and moved from East to West Lawrence. In 1898, Solomon Marks and his wife, Ida, moved into 726 Louisiana, a very large house built in 1888 on the best street in town. Current (rental) owner: Paul Horvath, Robert Williams Family (renter).
1040 New Hampshire. Open. 1870. John Haskell, Architect. English Lutheran Church. This Gothic Revival Church became one of the most celebrated preservation cases in Kansas. The Kansas preservation law provides protection for buildings in the environs of historic buildings. In this case, the church was in the environs of the Douglas County Courthouse, also by John Haskell. The church was in relatively good condition in the late 1980s when the Allen Press decided to demolish it for a parking lot. The city decided to permit this destruction without duly notifying the Lawrence Preservation Alliance or the Kansas State Historical Society. After a number of court battles, all of which the preservationists won, Allen Press sold the church to Arthur Anderson who renovated it with law offices. The church was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1995.

847 Connecticut. Open. Before 1873. See Figures 18.13 and 18.14. We have little information about this early hall/parlor house. This housetype with a balloon frame and single story was constructed in large numbers during the first building period, 1864 to 1873. At some time it received a kitchen and bathroom addition on the back side of the house. Current owner (rental): Bruce Banning.

900 New York. Open. St. Luke AME Church. 1910. See Figures 18.15, 18.16 and 18.17. The exodus of blacks from the South after the Civil War brought many people from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee,
This church has been an important religious and social center for the black community for over 130 years, and the church is a likely candidate for the National Register of Historic Places.


512 E. 9th. Not Open. circa 1885. Purportedly used once as a cavalry stable, this stone building was the Reed Bros. Feed and Cider Mill into the early 20th century. It housed the C. D. Edmonson & Co. from 1911 to 1929. The east porch and north addition appeared after 1927.


704 New York. 1912 and 1913. Drop by Refreshments. Jennifer Lattimore, Ph.D. and Richard Kershenbaum. This house is composed of two 4-over-4 houses, both of which were moved here. Richard and Jennifer will tell you all about it.

413 E. 7th. Open. 1955. Santa Fe Railroad Depot. See Figure 18.20. This modern depot was constructed on the site of the first Santa Fe Depot which was a large Italianate depot/hotel building. This current structure is in excellent condition, and the furniture is still of 1955 vintage.
Across the street, with chamfered corners, is the old Santa Fe lunch room. This was the first “separate-but-equal” cafe in Lawrence, with one door for whites and one door for blacks. The counter on the west served blacks and the counter on the east served whites. This 19th-century building’s technology is clearly visible in the old kitchen and the three layers of covering in the side doorway.

612 New Hampshire. Not Open. 1882. Reuter Organ Company. This L-shaped industrial building was once the Wilder Brothers Shirt Factory and was one of the most successful industries in Lawrence. It is actually a complex of four buildings. A 1911 tornado reduced it nearly to rubble with the roof and fourth floor gone and the northeast corner bulging and cracking. Reuter Organ Company moved into the building in 1919. The outside was stuccoed. In the 1950s three stories and a basement were added.
Figure 18.17: West Elevation: St. Luke AME Church, 900 New York

Figure 18.18: 736 New York
**Riverfront Mall.** Cross into the mall parking lot just north of the Reuter Organ Company and walk over the bridge to the Riverfront Mall. You can see the back side of the Consolidated Barbed Wire Building from the bridge. This mall, built in the early 1990s, is small and working well in conjunction with the downtown. It was designed to fit the industrial context and to take advantage of the Kaw.

**Return to the Eldridge Hotel**
19. THE OLD WEST LAWRENCE NEIGHBORHOOD

On our return from Vinland, the buses will drop you off at 7th and Louisiana in the heart of Old West Lawrence (OWL) (Figure 19.1). OWL covers 15 blocks and runs north to south from 6th to 9th Streets, and east to west from Tennessee to the alley between Mississippi and Illinois Streets.

The 700 block of Louisiana Street is the widest residential street in Lawrence at 41 feet, and is the focal point of the merchant class landscape. All other residential streets in OWL are 36 feet wide. Louisiana Street — and to large extent most of the streets in OWL — is characterized by brick streets, stone curbs and hitching posts, street stoops, a verge, brick or concrete sidewalks, a lawn, and a sidewalk leading to houses of many types that are set well back in their lots. The grandest of the houses often had fenced lawns in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The lots are 50 feet by 150 feet to the middle of the alley. Alleys 14 feet in width run north and south in the middle of all the blocks, and there is an unusual cross alley that runs from east to west across OWL and beyond in the 600 block. The blocks are 300 feet by 660 feet.

A Short Development History

Old West Lawrence has always been on high ground compared to Old Town East Lawrence. First, it is up and away from the river. That made it more valuable land. Second, until 1912 it was also separated physically from the crass but necessary commercial center by a barrier, a deep ravine lined with trees that was filled in and is now Buford Watson Park.

1855-1863. OWL was part of the 640 acres that William Lykins purchased for $1,000 in 1855 from Robert Rotaille, a Wyandot Indian who had owned the property since 1842. Lykins then sold his new property to the trustees of Lawrence for $1, although some of this property was already settled by squatters on the east side and had to be renegotiated. James Lane purchased 120 acres of town lots between Louisiana and Mississippi Streets in 1862, and in “Lane’s First Addition” (followed then by Lane’s Second Addition) he began selling the lots on a barren prairie 50 feet by 150 feet. Only five houses remain from the early period which ended with the destruction of most of Lawrence in Quantrill’s raid: a stone upright and ell house at 646 Louisiana (1862), a stone two-over-two house at 1008 Ohio (1862-63), a brick bent house at 623 Indiana (1862), a frame two-over-two, now Italianate house at 615 Tennessee (1857), and a brick, cross-gabled, I-house with Italianate details at 743 Indiana (1860-61).
1864-1873. In the rebuilding period after Quantrill’s raid in 1863, OWL became “perhaps the most desirable place for residences” in town, according to the Lawrence Republican, April 28, 1869. “Several large lots have been set out to trees. Several small lots have been laid out with a view of building in the early day. In a few months the beautiful hights [sic] and slopes on that side, which are the admiration of all, will be adorned with tasteful residences and attractive yards. No wonder, in view of the fact, that it is so beautiful for situation and that lots are offered there on such reasonable terms, many citizens and new-comers have an eye on West Lawrence as their future place of residence. Real estate over there is changing hands rapidly.”

The railroad’s connection to Lawrence in 1864 fueled building on Lane’s real estate with all manner of lumber, nails, and manufactured interior appointments out of Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis and St. Joseph. From 1864 to 1873, numerous frame and brick houses, sheds, carriage houses, fences, sidewalks and dirt streets were built in Lane’s Addition (which was brought into the city in 1863), and by 1991 there were 89 extent dwellings in OWL from this second period. Greek Revival upright and ell houses, such as 720 Louisiana (1869), and 800 Louisiana (1865-67), and various Italianate houses at 743 Louisiana (1865), 723 Louisiana (1872), 624 Louisiana (1870), and 603 Ohio (1871) are representative of this period.

1874-1899. After 1873 there was a lull in building for nearly a decade, but another building boom started in the 1880s during the city building period when the development of the industrial manufacturing center along the Kansas River just north of the commercial downtown kicked it off. Flour mills, the Bowersock Dam, the Lawrence Canning Company, the Lawrence Paper Company, Consolidated Barbed Wire, Leis Chemical, Griffin Ice, and other enterprises were created. The merchants who led these companies and the bankers and professionals who facilitated the exchange of goods and capital made West Lawrence into the “aristocratic end” with their grand Queen Anne houses on Louisiana Street: 608 Louisiana (1890), 615 Louisiana (an 1870, two-over-two with a banker’s, 1880 tower, dining and living room additions), 713 Louisiana (1884), 701 Louisiana (1887), 702 Louisiana (1888), 726 Louisiana (1889), and 620 Ohio (ca. 1888). Also built during this period were Italianate houses, bent houses, upright and ell houses, and a mix of eclectic Victorian structures. Most of the residences from this era were balloon frame houses. The grandest were brick. There are 68 extant houses in OWL built between 1874 and 1899.

1900-1945. A third wave of building in OWL occurred from 1900 to 1945. According to David Benjamin and Dennis Enslinger, who last surveyed OWL in 1991, “many of the styles built during the previous period continued to be built,” but “most of the houses built during the University Town Period were either Prairie or Craftsman...” In 1991 there were 118 houses extant from the first half of the 20th century, and our surveyors counted them as 30 Prairie style, 35 Craftsman style, 14 Colonial Revival, 14 “Folk National,” 10 Queen Anne, 7 Tudor, 5 modern, 2 Italianate, and 1 Neo-Classical. The residence at 809 Louisiana (ca. 1927), our surveyors say, is a typical house of this period. It is “a one and a half story, end-gable, craftsman dwelling on a stucco covered foundation. It was during this period that stucco began appearing more frequently in residential construction.” The term airplane bungalow is another housetype that can be applied to this structure.

According to Benjamin and Enslinger, “also effecting development, south of Sixth Street was the filling in of several ravines in the area. A large ravine ran through the area east of Tennessee extending into the 800 block of Tennessee Street, Ohio Street, Louisiana Street and Indiana Street. When filled in, new land became available for construction. A smaller ravine was also converted to usable land in the 600 block of Indiana Street and Mississippi Street. In addition, more buildable land became available in the area as several large estates sold their landholdings. This accounts for dense new areas of construction during this period.
Figure 19.2: Old West Lawrence Neighborhood Tour
The streetscape also changed during this period. With the introduction of the automobile at the turn of the century, street traffic changed from horse and buggy to the motor car. Brick was the preferred method for paving streets... Uniform street grades were established and curbing installed. Outbuildings once used as stables were converted to garages.

It was during this period of time that the commercial district began to develop along Ninth Street. Several businesses built then are standing today. This development continued to the present. The increase in commercial development and the university's expansion prompted the city to create zoning ordinances for Lawrence. The first planning commission was created in 1925.

1946-present. Benjamin and Enslinger report little building during this period in which only 26 structures are extant. They have divided these houses into "Modern," (23 of them) and "Neoeclectic," (3). During this time commercial development has continued along Ninth Street with the construction of a gas station, a fast food restaurant, and several one-story office buildings. In addition, the 800 block of Tennessee (east side) and Kentucky (west side) Streets were demolished to build the Douglas County Bank. This non-residential development contributed to the establishment of distinct district borders to the south, at Ninth Street, and to the east, at Tennessee. Although little commercial development has occurred along Sixth Street in the survey area, Sixth Street has become a major trafficway between downtown and the developing west side of Lawrence. This increase in traffic flow helped establish Sixth Street as a boundary for the Old West Lawrence District.

Perhaps the most important development during this period was the creation of the neighborhood organization — OWL — in 1960. The neighborhood, as inviting and significant as it had been for nearly a century, "was going downhill," according to Jim and Sally Postma, long-time residents on Louisiana Street. Jim Postma was OWL’s first president, and he and his neighbors lobbied successfully to stop the further encroachment of commercial development into Old West Lawrence and to end the creation of apartment houses by cutting up the old merchant class mansions. OWL was the first, really effective neighborhood organization, and their success spawned a number of other neighborhood organizations, including the Oread Neighborhood Association, Hillcrest Neighborhood Association, University Place Neighborhood Association, and the East Lawrence Improvement Association. All have worked effectively to preserve the historic nature of their areas in Lawrence. The Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods is now very large and politically powerful, owing to the leadership of people like Steve Lopes, Arthur Anderson and others.

The Houses to See

On your map (Figure 19.2) you will find fifteen OWL houses open within a block of Seventh and Louisiana. Nine houses are on Louisiana: 608 Louisiana, 615 Louisiana, 701...
Figure 19.4: Plan: 701 Louisiana
ana, 701 Louisiana, 702 Louisiana, 713 Louisiana, 720 Louisiana, 723 Louisiana, 726 Louisiana, and 743 Louisiana. There are two houses on Indiana: 710 and 737. There are three houses on Ohio: 620, 626, and 630. One house on Tennessee is open until 5 p.m.: 615 Tennessee.

**701 Louisiana.** 1887. See Figures 19.3 and 19.4. This grand Queen Anne was built for George Innes, a dry goods merchant who started a thriving business that is now Weaver’s Department Store. The entry-hall-stairway is an exceptional example of manufactured architecture of the late 19th century that Jan Jennings, Herb Gottfried, Pamela Simpson, and Kenneth Ames, among other scholars, have written about. This entry hall, with its formal presentation of a hearth, seat, paneled stairway and stained glass windows along with a threshold to the parlor, is the politest of Victorian spaces in OWL and was theatrically planned with the elaborate interior architectural pattern to receive people in an impressive way. Jennings and Gottfried have analyzed the mill-work of these reception halls and found four dominant aesthetics for the reception ensembles: ornamental, classical, artistic and the colonial. Herb Gottfried will be in the reception hall to greet you about the ornamental aesthetic of this ensemble. This house has four hearths on the first floor, all with a different aesthetic, and more hearths in the string of bedrooms on the second floor. The fixtures in the bath are also a late 19th-century/early 20th-century ensemble. On the third floor, the Loomis family put in a post-modern family room, art gallery and bath. The art in this house is outstanding. See the historic carriage house in back, now converted to a garage. Current Owners: The Loomis Family.

**702 Louisiana.** 1884. See Figures 19.5 and 19.6. The Lawrence Journal, Sunday Morning, May 18, 1884, reported that “one of the finest among the many elegant residences in course of construction in this city is that being constructed by Ira Brown for Mr. Alex. Marks on the beautiful lots of Louisiana and Winthrop streets. It will be a large frame house with all the modern improvements, including hot and cold water and steam heating. We believe this will be the only steam heated dwelling in the city.” Alexander Marks moved from east Lawrence to this residence, having made his money downtown. His reception hall was not as elaborate as the Innes reception hall but was nevertheless impressive with its 12-foot doorways, the fine trim, and long winding stair with a muscular newel post. The painted slate hearths in the parlor and study as well as the cut-glass windows and steam heaters are noteworthy on the first floor. There are two additional hearths on the second floor as well as other steam heaters. Pamela Simpson will be in this house to discuss it with VAF visitors. Current Owners: The Shumway Family.

**713 Louisiana.** 1884. See Figures 19.7 and 19.8. Albert and Eleanor Henley had Alexander Shaw build this fabulous Queen Anne house. Shaw came to Lawrence after the raid and established a successful lumber yard. Mr. Henley headed the Consolidated Barbed Wire Company down by the river, one of only three barbed wire manufacturing companies west of the Mississippi by 1880. By 1884 he was wealthy. His wife, Eleanor, was a respected

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*Figure 19.5: 702 Louisiana*
community leader and long-time board member of the Lawrence Public Library who purportedly got the 700 block of Louisiana widened so that she could make a u-turn in the automobile that she bought in 1902. Mrs. Henley’s bust is carved into the front door. Henley was forced to sell this profitable company in 1898 to American Steel and Wire Company after it cornered the steel market. Henley went on to found the American Cement and Plaster Company, served as mayor of Lawrence and was elected to the Kansas Senate and House of Representatives.

The Henleys bought two and one half lots on Louisiana and moved from their more common house on Tennessee to this location when Shaw had finished it in 1884. Stephanie Roper, who studied the biographies of Mr. and Mrs. Henley, remarked that “fitting for their new social standing, the Henleys observed the Gilded Age prescriptions of having high ceilings and large windows in the elaborately decorated parlors complete with grand fireplace as a focal point and a
the stained glass bay window as a light for the earlier stair that rose from the south side of the hall and climbed in a turn before the bay window. The trim on the second floor is unusual, and the hearth in the bedroom is outstanding. The sleeping board, now a study, was a response to the TB craze of the 1920s. Scott Roper reports that between 1884 and 1939, Mrs. Henley hired at least six live-in servants who occupied the servants’ room at the back of the house near the servants’ stair. Jan Jennings will greet you in the reception hall and discuss this house. Current Owners: The Tuttle Family.

720 Louisiana. See Figure 19.9. 1869. Ed Jennings, a blacksmith, built this chaste, brick, upright and ell house. The entrance leads to a stair hall with a parlor immediately on the right. A living room is directly behind the parlor and entry hall. The first kitchen may have occupied the wing which is now an office. A bath, kitchen and porch accretion was added sometime in the early 20th century. Current Owners: The Postma Family.

723 Louisiana. See Figure 19.10. 1872. This beautiful Italianate house was built for Alexander Lewis, a wealthy lumber yard and building materials businessman. It was extensively renovated in the 20th century, including the dining room in 1905, which has outstanding modern details. The entrance was also moved from its original place on the south end of the front facade to the north end of the front facade. Particularly noteworthy are the cut-glass and leaded windows, the hearth, and the trim details both upstairs and down. Current Owners: The Carttar Family.

726 Louisiana. See Figures 19.11 and 19.12. circa 1888. Greenbaume Hardy & Sons, Architects. Purchased in 1889 by Solomon Marks, brother of Alexander who lived at 701 Louisiana. Once an Italianate house with a flat metal roof, this house with colonial revival details was extensively renovated and enlarged in 1933 by Hare and Hare Architects of Kansas City. Part of the renovation changed the entry hall stairs, that originally went up the side of the north wall similar to the stair condition at 701 Louisiana. The slate hearth in the back parlor is noteworthy as is the colonial revival hearth in the library upstairs. The upstairs hall exhibits a colonial curve as it stretches along bedrooms on the south side. The sleeping porch was added in the 1920s owing to the TB scare. Current Owner: Barbara Waggoner.
Figure 19.8: Plan and East Elevation: 713 Louisiana
Louisiana. See Figures 19.13 and 19.14. circa 1861. John Sutliff purchased three lots of Lane’s First Addition in 1859. Sutliff and his brother, William, owned the W. E. Sutliff and Company which was a merchant clothing business. The first part of this once simple, brick Italianate home was built around 1861. It was not burned in the 1863 raid. It is estimated that the Sutliffs added the dining room, kitchen and sitting room before 1874. The Steinbergs, who owned the Steinberg and Brothers Clothing and Dry Goods store at 739 Massachusetts, bought the house in 1881 and made no changes as far as we know. Elias Summerfield, who had made a fortune in utilities and railroad business, bought the house in 1897 and added the downstairs living room and the tower. Current Owners: The Miller Family.

710 Indiana. See Figures 19.15 and 19.16. Circa 1905. Walter C. Root and George M. Siemens, Architects. This residence has three full floors, rusticated and buttressed front porch, limestone foundation, built in gutters, a large entry hall with impressive stairs and stair space that leads to a landing and then winds to an enormous u-shaped hall on the second floor. The brick hearth with classical columns holding up an entablature is noteworthy in the back parlor. Note the cast-iron grate heating ducts on first and second floors. The sleeping porch was added in the 1920s. The cistern in back is still used for watering the lawn. Current Owners: The Petr Family.

737 Indiana. See Figures 19.17 and 19.18. 1906. Root and Siemens, Architects. Walter C. Root was the younger brother of John Wellborn Root of Chicago. The younger Root worked for his brother and was sent to Kansas City in 1886 to supervise construction projects there. Later, he entered into practice with George Siemens. This Craftsman house was built for A. D. and Gertrude Weaver who owned Weaver’s Department Store on Massachusetts. This is a three-story, stone and frame dwelling on a rusticated stone foundation. Compare this house to 710 Indiana. Current Owners: The Winter Family.
Figure 19.14: Plan: 743 Louisiana
Figure 19.16: Plan: 710 Indiana
608 Louisiana. See Figure 19.19. 1890. See the builder's mark on the projecting front bay. This house of octagons was once chopped up into student apartments and is now being restored to its earlier Queen Anne condition. This is a modified four-over-four house with octagon projections at three of the four corners. The sun room has its original wainscoting and stained glass windows. The kitchen space is arranged nearly as it was originally, and the enunciator system for servants is still attached to the kitchen wall. We don't yet understand this system very well. The hearth in the parlor is noteworthy for its gigantic columns and Ionic capitals. The floors are yellow pine as is much of the woodwork in this house. The stair is original and a particularly brilliant yellow pine. Steam heaters and lead windows are found throughout. The original trim renovations are in the parlor and the dining room. On the second floor, there are maple floors, and fluted oak trim around the doors and windows. The southwest bedroom has a notable, load bearing, classical threshold. The northeast bedroom was the old servants' quarters and was where the back stair led. Current Owners: The Nitcher Family.
615 Louisiana. See Figure 19.20. 1870. Additions 1880 and 1930s. Take a careful look at this house before you go in. It’s one of those accretive jewels that went from rags to riches over its lifetime. Dr. and Mrs. Johnston, the current owners, have tried to piece this history together, and Dr. Johnston has a research report about the evolution of the place.

We have found no way yet to document exactly how this structure came into being but something like the following may have happened. W. H. Abrams, a land agent and pig farmer, owned the original structure and two lots. He had a two-over-two house, similar to the one just to the south. The plan was composed of an entryway stairs, parlor, and kitchen with a large central hearth open to both the parlor and kitchen. By 1880, the neighborhood had become such a fashionable place that Alexander Monroe, a banker, contractor, and politician, bought the property and converted it to his mansion with a fenced lawn and fountain. To make a mansion out of a humble two-over-two core, he added the large 9-foot by 9-foot tower with a mansard roof which functioned as his reception hall and winding stair to the second floor. Behind the reception hall, he added a living room, dining room and a new kitchen. He modified the original two-over-two, which we found to be brick nogged, first, by adding 4 feet to the old kitchen and converting it into a bedroom with hearth, and second, by making a passageway between the new dining room and old parlor. He then wrapped a porch around the east and south sides. In the 1930s, Monroe’s daughter who inherited the house, added 15 feet to the living room, took off the second kitchen and built a third kitchen with a back stairs for a servant’s quarters upstairs. When the Johnstons bought the house in 1962, it had been cut into various student apartments, and these apartments still exist on the
second floor. We look forward to your views on this intriguing house.

When the Johnstons and their children moved in, Jim Postma and his fledgling OWL organization had won one more battle against cutting up the stately Queen Annes into multi-family, student units. It was a magical place for their children to live, and although they live elsewhere, they want to keep 615 Louisiana. Current Owners: The Johnston Family.

620 Ohio. See Figure 19.21. Circa 1888. This small Queen Anne has a typical four-room floor plan and a kitchen-porch addition that happened around 1890. Gordon Grovenor, a prominent lumberyard dealer, owned the property from 1885 to 1910, and this perhaps explains the use of different trim woods and frequent remodeling. A new stairs and leaded glass windows were added sometime in the second decade of the 20th century. Various pieces of old wall paper have been preserved by the current owners, who were masterful with wood and careful with history, as they brought this house back into shape. Sleeping porch. Current Owners: The Gaeddert Family.

626 Ohio. See Figure 19.22. 1910. This is a typical four-over-four house with a hall/entry way, parlor, dining room, and kitchen on the first floor. The small extension to the kitchen makes this "the deluxe model." Yellow pine trim and floors are found throughout. The sleeping porch was added in the 1920s and has windows that drop into the wall. On the third floor the plaster walls on lathe over studs remain as does the early insulation held by chicken wire (see the cubby hole). This house originally had gas lights, as most of these houses did, and fixtures are extant on the second and third floors. Current Owners: The Kressin-O’Malley Family.

630 Ohio. See Figure 19.23. 1923. This old bungaloid house originally belonged to Alice Sparr and Charles Sparr, Assistant Cashier of Citizens State Bank, 701 Mass. It is stuccoed with exposed rafter tails under the eaves. This structure also has a partial airplane tail sleeping porch which is unusual on a bungalow with the entry in the long side. Usually the airplane bungalow has a gable entry. The plan follows the typical living room, dining room, kitchen arrangement down one side and a line of sun rooms, bedrooms and bath down the other side. Current Owners: The Sympson Family.

615 Tennessee. See Figure 19.24. 1857-59. Open until 5 p.m. First Floor Only. The original 1857-59, two-over-two house belonged to Charles E. Miner, and was purchased in 1860 by B. W. Woodward who owned the Round Corner Drugstore on Massachusetts. According to Professor Ingemann, "in 1870 a vacated alley on the north side of the house was acquired and an Italianate front was added to the house." About 1913 a back porch was added. The 10-foot high front door is of one piece and unusually massive. The ceilings in this house are 12 feet high and the windows are 10 feet. At one time this house functioned as the local headquarters of the SDS. Current Owner: Professor Frances Ingemann. Hand-out available at door.
20. DOWNTOWN: MASSACHUSETTS, VERMONT AND NEW HAMPSHIRE STREETS

General Townscape

Through Sanborn maps we have explored the rhythm of main street building development and replacement in Burlingame, Cottonwood Falls, Council Grove, and Alma. The same general evolutionary process was at work in Lawrence; however, Quantrill’s raid in 1863, which left probably only the House Building standing, accelerated the transformation of its commercial center from primarily frame buildings to overwhelmingly stone buildings faced by brick or brick buildings.

A 1994 survey reports the following numbers of buildings on Massachusetts Street by their building dates: 2 from 1854-63; 62 from 1864-73; 19 from 1874-1899; 27 from 1900-45; 14 from 1946-1994. The commercial district grew 300% in length during the boom period of 1864-1873, and reached its full length in 1888 with the erection of Watkin’s National Bank at 11th and Massachusetts. The Douglas County Courthouse, built in 1903 and designed by John Haskell, reinforces the south end of main street, and the river and City Hall cap the north end. Figures 20.1, 20.2 and 20.3 show the evolution of the streetscape into the early-20th century.

Most of the structures along main street today are two-part commercial structures with Italianate brick or cast-iron fronts. Richard Longstreth’s The Buildings of Main Street is a good reference for analyzing store fronts. The lots are 50 feet wide, are often divided into two stores of 25 feet, and are 117 feet deep. Most building fronts have three-bays on the ground floor, a cornice or bulkhead indicating the end of the first floor, a line of vertically proportioned windows on the second floor, and a crowning cornice of pressed metal or corbeled brick at the top. The buildings are connected by party walls which together form a horizontal streetscape for each block. Second story fenestration is designed to accentuate the vertical and to balance the horizontal effect.
of a long line of buildings facing each other across concrete sidewalks and a paved street. Visu-
ally each block is anchored on every corner by a significant building that often is more massive,
wider, or taller than other buildings in the block and faced with a material that is different than
other buildings in most of the block. The entrances to these stores were “a special design prob-
lem,” as Jennings and Gottfried point out in American Vernacular Interior Architecture, 1870-
1940. These authors divide main street entrances by single-store, double-store, and multiple-
store arrangements. The store entrances on Massachusetts display many of the flush entries,
canted entries, recessed entries and stepped entries found in typical main streets on the prairie
plains.

Behind the buildings are 14-foot alleys that provide for shipments of goods, trash removal,
electricity lines and poles, parking, walking, and driving. The alleys are intriguing landscapes
for poets, such as Patrick Sumner who will lead tours of these expressive passageways.

Inside these buildings are many successful businesses, most of which are stores that sell mer-
chandise inside long, thin, universal spaces. In the 19th century, there were designs for the
interiors of certain stores, such as drugstores, banks, jewelry stores, and cigar stores. Don’t miss
George’s pipe shop in the 700 block, or the 19th-century arrangements and furniture in McQueen
Jewelers and Mark’s Jewelers in the 800 block of Massachusetts. The schematic drawing of Mas-
sachusetts in Figure 20.4 indicates where buildings have special architectural details of interest
either inside or out. There are impressive pressed metal ceilings at 615, 638, 701, 723, 733, 809,
814, 820, 823, 918, 919, 929, 939, 1029, 1113, and 1119 Massachusetts.

The street itself has been redesigned many times. The diagonal parking scheme with Linden
trees was developed by Lawrence Halprin in the early 1970s with urban renewal funds. More
recently, brick crosswalks have been added.

**Buildings on Massachusetts Street**

**609 Mass.** 1938-1939. This is the last car dealership to have been built on Massachusetts
Street. The dealer vacated the building in 1950.
615 Mass. 1889. This old photography studio, now a restaurant, has a recessed entry with its original bulkheads and cast-iron columns. Its metal cornice has large brackets, a paneled architrave, and dentils. Note the pressed metal ceiling that is only four years old.


623 Mass. 1936. Also an auto dealership; built for Bullene-Skinner Motors Dodge-Plymouth. The front setback was for a gas pump island.

632-634 Mass. Late 1920s. Yet another auto dealership with a 22-car capacity.

636 Mass. 1916-17. This Mission Revival building was originally the Kaw Valley Interurban boarding concourse. After the trolleys stopped in 1935, the building was used as a Greyhound and Continental bus depot. In 1989 it became the Free State Brewery.

638 Mass. 1912. This is the Kaw Valley Interurban Station, and from 1912 into the 1930s it was the station for the electric interurban railway to Kansas City. A restaurant and newsstand were also in this structure. The storefront has a recessed central entry with stucco bulkheads. Again, a nice pressed metal ceiling.

642-646 Mass. 1912. See Figures 20.5 and 20.6 The original building was constructed in 1869, and was named Liberty Hall in 1870, reportedly because Abraham Lincoln called Lawrence "the cradle of Liberty." J. D. Bowersock converted the hall into an opera house in 1882. After the structure burned, the current Beaux Arts building was constructed twice as big as the original building. Ethel Barrymore, Irene Dunne, Theda Bara, and Otis Skinner performed here.

647 Mass. 1950. This building replaced the original 1872 bank building.


701 Mass. 1925-28. See Figure 20.7. This is the fourth hotel on this site. The first building was destroyed in the 1850s; its replacement, the Free State Hotel was destroyed in 1863, and the original Eldridge House was built in 1866. It was replaced in 1928 with the current building. This is a five-story, L-shaped building. See the pressed metal ceiling in the bar.

Figure 20.3: View of Massachusetts Street, Looking South from Ninth, 1913
712 Mass. ca. 1865. Cast-iron frame front with off-centered entry and display windows divided by iron bracketed columns. Molded stone sills and pedimented crowns.

714 Mass. Late 1860s. Off-centered entry flanked by cast-iron columns.


722 Mass. 1860s. Double-wide storefront with off-centered entry. The bulkheads and corner posts are covered with metal siding. Flat metal canopy.

723-725 Mass. 1856-1858. This is one of two buildings that might have survived the 1863 raid. It was constructed in stages, beginning as a single-story structure in 1856. A three-story structure was added in 1858 to 723 Mass., and in 1863, 725 Mass. became a two-store building. Originally this was Josiah Miller's general merchandise store and David Praeger's jewelry store. This building served as the state's first capitol. It is a two-part commercial building with Victorian details and a corbeled brick cornice and brackets.

727 Mass. ca. 1865. Once Alexander Marks's Jewelry Store. Mission Revival cornice and parapet with tile coping, decorative brackets, and lion's head. Centered display windows with marble bulkheads. Now George and Doug's pipe shop. When the Indian is out, George and Doug are in. Don't talk to the Indian.

728-730 Mass. ca. 1868. Paradise Cafe. Italianate two-part commercial building with three storefronts. On the second story are engaged, fluted pilasters that support a full-width entablature, a metal cornice with decorative brackets, an architrave with diamond motifs, and a dentil band on the overhanging cornice.

729-731 Mass. 1858-1860. John Haskell, Architect. This building is the only building on main street that certainly survived Quantrill's raid. See Carol Buhler Francis's exhaustive book, The House Building: My Search for Its Foundations. Double-
wide brick front with two stores and recessed entries. Check the upstairs that was recently renovated. Carol Francis will tell you all about this building in her upstairs office.

733-735 Mass. ca. 1866. Italianate two-part commercial building. Metal cornice with decorative end brackets, swags, dentils and modillions. Pressed metal ceiling. The most noted owner was Alexander Marks who came to Lawrence from Germany in 1858 and lived with his brother, Solomon, at 1007 Rhode Island in East Lawrence until they made their fortune and moved to West Lawrence.

801 Mass. ca. 1865. See Figure 20.8. Round Corner Drugs is reportedly the oldest drugstore in Kansas. Tile roof supported by scrolled brackets.

802 Mass. ca. 1865. Pressed metal ceiling.


809 Mass. 1865 & 1912. McQueen’s Jewelers. Pressed metal ceiling and original display cases.
812 Mass. ca. 1870. One-part commercial building with projecting metal cornice.

814 Mass. ca. 1864. Large, projecting metal cornice with end brackets, paneled architrave, and diamond patterned bed molding.

815-817 Mass. 1860s. Mark’s Jewelers. Original display cases. See the early photo of the interior layout on the north wall. Pressed metal ceiling.

820 Mass. ca 1866. Cast-iron columns divide the display windows. Pressed metal ceiling.

823 Mass. ca. 1865. Pressed metal ceiling.

824 Mass. ca. 1865. Eastlake segmented pediments over second story windows. Wide cornice with paneled brick architrave and metal overhanging corona with brackets and dentils.


826 Mass. ca 1880. Ernst & Sons Hardware. The layout of this historic hardware store is original, as are the built-in green drawers on the outside wall and the cash register that is still being used.


841-843 Mass. ca. 1870 with ca. 1890 front. Double-wide brick building with elaborate metal cornice supported by large brackets.

901-905 Mass. 1911 & 1971 (901-903); 1870 & 1971 (905). Weaver’s Department Store. From 1911 to 1928 this store belonged to George Innes whose house you will visit at 701 Louisiana. If you go in 903, you can see the pneumatic tube system that still sends tickets and money to a cashier on the third floor.

907 Mass. ca. 1880. Elaborate metal cornice with brackets, dentils and paneled architrave.

918 Mass. ca. 1872. Roof edge has a double row of corbeled brick brackets, and an overhanging metal cornice. Pressed metal ceiling.

919 Mass. ca. 1880. Pressed metal ceiling.

928 Mass. ca. 1878. Three stories. Off-centered door and display windows separated by cast iron columns.

929 Mass. ca. 1901. Pressed metal ceiling. Below the cornice are eight oval attic vents. Projecting metal cornice with brick dentils.

933 Mass. ca. 1870. A cast-iron column divides the storefront. Elaborate cornice with a peaked parapet gable, flanked by a projecting entablature, scrolled brackets and dentils.


1001-1003 Mass. 1911. William Griffith, Painter and Architect. Contractor, John T. Constant. This is a rare example of a three-story, Egyptian Revival building in Kansas. The temple front has two hollow stone columns representing papyrus bundles with binding cords. The building is brick and stone, with a full basement under the building. It has an assembly hall, club rooms, a banquet hall, offices and other facilities for masons.

1005-1007 Mass. ca. 1911. The second story contains four oriel windows that have metal hipped roofs and dentils under their eaves.

1013-1015 Mass. 1915 & 1967. Varsity Theater. Lee Cohn’s New Vaudeville Theater opened here, and shortly thereafter Cohn sold the building to L. L. Ware who converted it to a movie house. In 1927, the theater got a sound system for talking movies; it was restored in 1967. The modernistic facade covers a Moorish Revival facade.


1029 Mass. ca. 1896. Pressed metal ceiling. The upper portion is covered with stone-patterned metal sheeting and has an overhanging metal cornice, dentils under the eaves, and decorative brackets.


1113 Mass. ca 1924. Pressed metal ceiling.


Buildings on Vermont Street

725 Vermont. 1951. An excellent example of a Modern building. Once the police station and the fire station. Now a fire station and adult center.

925 Vermont. 1868. John Haskell, Architect. Plymouth Congregational Church. A Romanesque and Byzantine Revival church that has been extensively renovated.


Buildings on New Hampshire Street


735 New Hampshire. 1889. Two-part commercial with a metal veneer that is scored to resemble stone. Wide, overhanging metal cornice with brackets.


1040 New Hampshire. 1870. John Haskell, Architect. English Lutheran Church. This Gothic Revival Church became one of the most celebrated preservation cases in Kansas. The Kansas preservation law provides protection for buildings in the environs of historic buildings. In this case, the church was in the environs of the Douglas County Courthouse, also by John Haskell. The Allen Press wanted to demolish the church for a parking lot. The city decided to permit this destruction without duly notifying the Lawrence Preservation Alliance or the Kansas State Historical Society. After a number of court battles, all of which the preservationists won, Allen Press sold the church to Arthur Anderson who renovated it with law offices. The church was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1995.
Some Other Downtown Buildings

123 West 8th. 1930. Two-story, Classical Revival building on a basement of rusticated stone. The entrance has a large classical pediment supported by stone pilasters. Tile hip roof. Cornice band with cut-stone floral motifs.

"Rear Entry"

Patrick Sumner, an American Studies undergraduate student, will be guiding interested people on a tour of alleys in the historic city.

The tour begins with a brief documentary film at 8:30 a.m. and again at 3:30 p.m. on Friday at the Eldridge House (Figure 21.1). Patrick will concentrate on three alleys: one in Old West Lawrence between Louisiana and Indiana, a second one in the commercial center between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and a third alley in the East Lawrence Neighborhood between Rhode Island and Connecticut Streets. Figure 21.2 provides a detailed listing of structures in the Old West Lawrence alleyscape.

Most of the following discussion comes from two papers about alleys Patrick wrote during his year-long study of vernacular architecture. Patrick is a poet, and for him alleys express the essence of the urban experience. As a part of his study, he wrote 18 poems about alleys in a collection entitled "Rear Entry." The following work is one of them.

alleyways run through the heart of neighborhoods, cities women and men
a little bit of country in this raw urban space where a broken down barn or some funky sculpture garden might at any time come into view with the quacking from some old woman's backyard petting zoo
a little bit country and a little bit rock n' roll for artists and dancers and boys with their 40's ancient old men their names you'll never know even if you spoke their language and some men you just better not look in the eye at all these are a few alley denizens and the crew taking a short cut or a break to take care of bodies functions or on the prowl for some deep city buck and all this under a pale sun and not only under the owl's watchful eye
in the bright blue and the yellow golden
beams breaking through
it's the round faced dark haired kids
little ones and beautiful
    boys and girls just laughing
over some funny thing said
or some goofy turn of the head

these little angels
impaled as they are in memory
not their own
eternally my alleyways they roam
barefoot amid the broken glass
my friends their feet were tough
but their souls
    just so lofty and pure

Excerpt from "Space of Duality: Lawrence Alleyways, Legacy of the Gridiron" by Patrick Sumner.

The contemporary city has much to thank its planners for, a broad and long mercantile district, integral parks, and a series of north by south oriented alleyways that correspond to the grid system. By the time Lawrence stopped building neighborhoods with alleys, as an integral part of the urban landscape in the 1920s, Lawrence would be crisscrossed with an alley network of over 17 miles of linear space. Lawrence has relatively few east-west oriented alleys — only about 1.03 miles. They extend along the Sixth Street corridor west of Tennessee Street, and along East Lawrence river levee lots, east of New Hampshire Street. In sharp contrast with that small number are the north-south oriented alleys with 87,800 feet or about 16.62 miles.

Massachusetts Street was a lively place during its early period with much commercial activity concentrated in the rear. Located along alleys were many establishments and structures that catered to and were specifically designed for the horse-oriented transportation system, including livery stables, blacksmith shops, private barns, carriage houses, and sheds of various kinds, including the outhouse.

The merchant class neighborhoods that developed west of Tennessee Street required their alleys for a variety of reasons. The picturesque and spacious tree shaded lots of Victorian and Italianate homes couldn’t have aspired to such a tranquil and visually cohesive demeanor without their corresponding alleys that provided access for horse and vehicle, and enabled the various supply deliveries that made life in those grand homes possible. It would never have done to have rag pickers or coal deliveries at the front of respectable homes, nor to have domestic servants entering through, or entertaining themselves in decent front parlors. The alleyway contributed to the glorious whole effect of such homes and neighborhoods, though you’ll be hard-pressed to glean that from the written and pictorial records of the period.

Due to its proximity to the rear of the house, the alley became, by Victorian standards, the antithesis of respectability. While necessary to the home’s maintenance, it wasn’t considered a good topic for dinner conversation. Where the ice man cometh, where the trash is deposited, where the foraging person or undomesticated animal carouse, this space became, by association, unmentionable in polite society. So it remains the domain of the working person, making deliveries or picking up trash, the domain of the itinerant, the dumpster diver or homeless per-

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son looking for a seldom disturbed spot, and the realm of the cultural outlaw, the neighborhood kids playing war, their older brothers and sisters, getting stoned out of their gourds, and breaking bottles amid shouts of acclamation.

By far more difficult to get a theoretical grasp of is the alley as a symbolic space, the alley as perceived by children on bikes, by different gendered or generational perspectives, as to how the alley changes, for instance, by day versus by night. How does a commonly used, daytime thoroughfare, universally acknowledged as a practical easement that allows these older sections to be maintained, become by night a haunt of every lurid sort, and one that gives rise to various justified and unjustified suspicions? This is where the value and meaning of socially perceived landscape comes to the fore, and where such unquantifiable feelings as love and dread, take the place of spatial and architectural appraisal.

The historic factor that ushered out the alley as a part of the evolving urban plan was the rise of the automobile. In the wild boom of the 1920s, lots were laid out around cities in the cheapest, most easily platted form possible. This was a time when the fastest bucks could be made by plating with a minimum of utilities and access. Alleys were out. This trend is entirely evident on the local scene. In maps published from the 1930s onward this shift in the layout of Lawrence is everywhere apparent. During this era of sweeping technological and social change the alleyway, in both its utilitarian and social function, would be lost to generations of suburban Americans, wiped away but not entirely obliterated from the American popular consciousness.

Alleyways, because of their quiet and tranquil feel, have become for many residents of the original pedestrian city desire lines, primary routes of access in the going about of their daily lives. These preferred back routes belie the planned routes of pedestrian travel indicated by paved sidewalks that line both sides of most streets within the original townsite.

In stark contrast to this are new areas of development that have been built in the last five decades. In many suburban developments alleys as well as sidewalks were deemed unnecessary conveniences, and the abandonment of alleys eased the rapid development of new neighborhoods. The post-World War II housing crisis and ensuing federal patronage of the building industry can be cited as historic causes of this mediocrity in urban planning. The building of curvilinear streets, lacking sidewalks or including them on but one side demonstrates the technological and psychological shift that occurred during this era. The spatial sprawl of these newer areas implies automobile ownership as requirement of residence. In the absence of alleys, cars, garages, trash and storage must all be pushed to street side, giving working class suburbs like those found south and east of 19th and Haskell Streets a cramped and crowded feel that undercuts the get-away-from-it-all atmosphere that exists at the heart of the suburban ideal. Even more affluent older suburbs that have mushroomed to the south and west of the old townsite cannot entirely shake the aesthetic corruption of this design shift. As carports, and more importantly garages, became the cornerstones of suburban housing design, these areas typified by large homes and lots couldn’t escape the trash going to curb. These affluent enclaves attempted to dissuade the aesthetic corruption of frontal parking and storage by creating neighborhood covenants that dictate acceptable modes of automobile storage and garage use.

More devastating than all of this is the privatization of lives within neighborhoods. The development and universal acceptance of the automobile and television drew persons indoors and away from neighborhood interaction. As the driveway became the individuated design element that displaced the alleyway, neighborhoods were denied an easement that had traditionally lent social cohesion and group consciousness to older urban areas. Furthermore, suburban developments, based upon housing stock that fit specific income requirements, became enclaves of economic and cultural exclusivity. This, coupled with spatial sprawl, has contributed to an ever widening social polarization that has only recently been perfected through urban planning.
In this work, alleyways have become an avenue of investigation that has encompassed a wide array of thought and emotion. The rural and funkified feel that alleyways create because of their vernacularized character are far more than merely a narrow slice of modern urban life. Through a myriad of discussions, arguments, and interviews I came into contact with a wide variety of perceptions and attitudes. The alleyway became a symbol of something lost to modern America, but in so being became a potential symbol of America’s cultural renewal. As I began to realize how many people shared my enthusiasm for the alley, I became enamored with alleys in a deeper way. I also got in touch, for the first time, with a community of people who love Old Lawrence, a place where they feel comfortable and confident in going about their various versions of the pursuit of happiness. Old Lawrence with its manageable size and neighborhoods, and its streets and alleys based on pedestrian scale, has become the vehicle through which many seek their way back to a lost America.”
North Lawrence contains a rich vernacular environment that has been relatively protected from the unruly Kaw River since the 1970s when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built a series of reservoirs and the Lawrence levee which the Corps constructed in three stages.

Before that, North Lawrence, laid out by S. N. Simpson in 1865 on the inside bend of the river, was frequently subjected to floods, the most devastating of which came in 1951 when the waters were 12 feet over the banks (Figure 22.1). Sarcoxie, the Chief of the Delaware Tribe that owned the land of North Lawrence from 1829 to 1854, warned settlers of flood danger. He told them about the flood of 1844, when he paddled in his canoe from the north bluffs of valley to Blue Mound south of the Wakarusa. They didn’t listen, but no flood was recorded from 1854 to 1903. Then came the gigantic flood of 1903, 9 feet over the banks, followed by the floods of 1904, 1905, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1915, and finally the last straw, 1951 (Figure 22.2). Tuttle Creek, Perry, Clinton and numerous other reservoirs were built to control the waters of the Kaw. They held back the 500-year rains of 1993 and 1995 that brought the water almost to the top of the levee. Even so, North Lawrence was still flooded. Water and North Lawrence will probably never be separated, no matter the landscape we build (Figure 22.3).
North Lawrence was originally called Jefferson and was in Jefferson County. The Kaw Valley Town Company had applied for a charter and incorporated the town in 1867. During the county seat competition period of the 1860s, Lawrence was able to have Jefferson transferred into Douglas County, and with that transfer the county seat was established in Lawrence. In 1870 the citizens of North Lawrence voted to consolidate with Lawrence.

Jefferson was the main transportation and communication hub that connected Lawrence to Chicago by way of Kansas City and St. Joseph. The railroad connection for Lawrence was completed in 1864 when the Kansas Pacific Railway Company laid the first tracks to Jefferson and built a small wooden depot — 100 feet by 26 feet. The KPR Co. connected their telegraph lines from Kansas City to Jefferson. The ferry, run by John Baldwin until the toll bridge was built in 1863, ran out of Jefferson (Figure 22.4). In 1869, the Kansas Pacific Railway Company put in
permanent repair shops and developed a switching area. The Union Pacific continued this activity, and built a substantial depot in 1889.

The late 1860s became a boom time for North Lawrence. The small commercial center along the railroad down Locust Street burgeoned during this period. There were groceries, harness shops, barber shops, meat stores, drugstores, churches, schools and newspapers along Bridge Street (now North Second Street) and Locust Street (Figures 22.5 and 22.6). Bismarck Grove, an early fairgrounds that attracted more than 50,000 people in 1878 for a National Temperance Meeting, became a famous place of leisure throughout the region. But after the 1903 flood and subsequent inundations, North Lawrence went into decline. Under the leadership of Mayor Moody, the city began to make major investments in the North Lawrence landscape, especially along North Second and North Third. Through the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, the Union Pacific Depot was saved, and it is an important indication that North Lawrence will be taken seriously. Unfortunately, along with “progress” comes destruction. The Union Pacific Freight Depot was destroyed to make the Passenger Depot more visible. In Figure 22.6 you can see this brick structure on the right.
Figure 22.5: Building Arrangement, Occupance and Type, Bridge Street, North Lawrence, 1912
Figure 22.7: Tour of North Lawrence

POINTS OF INTEREST

1. SHUNGANUNGA ROCK
2. NORTH LAWRENCE LEVEE
3. JOHNNY'S TAVERN
4. METAL-SHEATHED GRAIN ELEVATOR
5. UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD DEPOT
6. FARMERS' COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION GRAIN ELEVATORS
7. LA TROPICANA AND EL MATADOR
8. VIEW OF BOWERSOCK MILL AND POWER PLANT
Shunganunga Prayer Rock. Begin the Tour (Figure 22.7) at the Shunganunga prayer rock in Robinson Park just across the street west of City Hall (Figure 22.8). This is an example of a transmogrified landscape that is a monument to the tragic and brutal consequences of Euro-American settlement for the Indians of the prairie plains. The Shunganunga prayer rock of the Kansa Indians, with an attached plaque honoring the pioneers, now stands on its end in Robinson Park across from City Hall on north Massachusetts Street. The Kansa Indians routinely visited this rock on the Kaw River near Topeka and sang to Waconda, their water spirit god, with gladness and thanksgiving. However, in 1929 the Lawrence city fathers stole in the night to Topeka with a railroad car and carted the 20-ton, red granite boulder from the ice age back to Lawrence to make a park and praise the pioneers whose policies and positions had helped to eradicate the Kansa Tribe. O’ Pioneers!
Crossing the Bridge. Then cross the bridge to view the Bowersock Dam, the electric generation plant, the Consolidated Barbed Wire Factory and the Riverfront Mall. See the discussion of this industrial complex in II. Second Day Overview, Lawrence Landscape Fundamentals (Figures 22.9, 22.10 and 22.11).

Johnny's. The building that now houses Johnny's has been here since the 1860s (Figure 22.6). It was originally a grocery. Johnny's is a classic Kansas redneck bar, and very friendly. Great hamburgers, french fries, and beer. Ask for the key to the frame elevator at Johnny's.

Frame-Crib Elevator. Behind Johnny's go into this small wood frame elevator covered with sheet metal. The drawings in your field guide should be instructional (Figures 22.12, 22.13, 22.14 and 22.15).

Union Pacific Depot. 1889. Henry van Brunt, Architect. See Figures 22.16 and 22.17. Restoration Architect, John Lee. Cross North Second and walk to this Richardsonian Romanesque building. This is the newly renovated depot that had only 30 days to destruction before a large coalition of Lawrence citizens saved it.
Farmer's Coop Association Elevator. Walk down the block east to this slip-form, concrete elevator. On Friday, May 24, from 10 to 11 a.m. and 4 to 5 p.m. you can take a ride to the top of this elevator (Figure 22.18).

La Tropicana and El Matador. Walk on east to a fragment of the commercial center that grew up in North Lawrence in the late 1860s. These two Mexican restaurants have been here a long time. They are favorite eating establishments.

North Lawrence Residential Neighborhoods. On east you will find all manner of late 19th-century and 20th-century houses and sheds. The streetscape is simple, often without sidewalks. There are numerous churches and schools as well.
Figure 22.13: Plans: Metal-Sheathed Grain Elevator, North Lawrence
Figure 22.14: Elevations: Metal-Sheathed Grain Elevator, North Lawrence
Levee Walk. Just south of La Tropicana, towards the river, walk to the top of the levee. In the past five years the levee has become a favorite place for bikers and walkers (Figure 22.3).

Return to Lawrence. Walk west down the levee until you reach North Second and then go back south across the Kaw River bridge to the Eldridge.
Figure 22.17: Plan: Union Pacific Depot, North Lawrence

Figure 22.16: Union Pacific Depot, North Lawrence, 1920s
23. VINLAND

Board busses at 11:15 a.m. at the Eldridge Hotel.

Our short 15-minute journey to Vinland, our lunch there and the hamlet itself will be one to remember. Many towns on the prairie plains were little more than attempts to urbanize, and most resulted in failure. We have hundreds of ghost towns in Kansas, and while Vinland is certainly not one of them, it also did not achieve the place in urban history its founders had hoped for. Yet, even though it did not work as a city, it continues to work as a community.

On our way out of Lawrence we will take Massachusetts Street to 23rd Street. On 23rd, on your right, you will see the triumphal arch of Haskell Indian Nations University (Figure 23.1a).

Haskell Institute (now Haskell Indian Nations University)

No one has written a comprehensive history of this institution, an early off-reservation boarding school for Indian children who were brought here to be “civilized” (Indian “Civilization” Act of 1819). Nothing has been published about the actual conditions at Haskell Institute from its founding in 1884 into the 1930s either. The government has not encouraged an analysis of Haskell’s early days, except discussions about the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This school, during the first 50 years of its existence was a small concentration camp, a landscape of genocide. There is no way around this conclusion.

Haskell Indian Nations University is not the same as Haskell Institute; in passing Haskell on our way to Vinland, we only comment on the earlier institution. We cannot do the early Haskell landscape justice here.

Dr. Charles Haines, Professor of Biology at Haskell who is one of the leaders in the fight to save the Haskell-Baker Wetlands, has begun the search for a history of the early institute, a place of suffering and sorrow. Not all of his data have been corroborated. Martha K. Robinson has just completed a thesis at the University of Kansas under the direction of Professor William Tuttle entitled “Assimilation, Ambivalence, and Rebellion: Students at Haskell Institute, 1920-1930.” This thesis details the conditions at Haskell during one decade, and backs up many of Haines’ contentions. The Robinson thesis needs to be published, but cannot be quoted here since at the time of this writing it has not been defended. There are other documents, including Frank W. McDonald’s John Levi of Haskell that indirectly analyze the Haskell landscape, including the curious “Arc d’Triumph” at

Figure 23.1a: Route Map: Downtown Lawrence to Vinland

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Haines writes that "the founding mission of Haskell Institute in 1884 was to enforce an educational policy based upon European agricultural traditions and farming methods. Government policy makers were consumed with directing every aspect of the Indian's life and this need to control and to define the lives of Indian people excused all manner of cultural destruction. At the very heart of the government's Indian policy was the belief that turning Indians into farmers would end their dependence on the vagaries of the chase and the starvation cycle of native subsistence systems. Policy makers believed that reservation agriculture and allotment policies were the best steps in accomplishing those goals. Thousands of Indian children who went to Haskell between 1884 and 1933 were forced to go through the agrarian-based education program."

"An important aspect of the mission of boarding schools was reformation of a culture by a policy of brutality and strict military discipline against Indian children. The harsh and abusive mistreatment Indian children suffered at boarding schools has been documented in a number of government investigations. The children who were forced to attend Haskell in the early years suffered from physical and mental abuse, inadequate food, poor health, overcrowding, and child labor."

"Starting with 280 acres in 1884 (which Congressman Dudley C. Haskell of Kansas and others donated), Haskell's land base grew to 1,011 acres by 1902. Acquisition of the land was directly related to the agrarian education program, which consisted of the school's farm and livestock operation. On the farm, children were taught the full range of farm and garden operations, wagon and harness making, dairy production, blacksmithing, field drainage, crop and fruit production, and harvesting. The children also performed well-digging, stone quarrying, hauling, excavating for buildings, draining, masonry and carpentry. During the time period of 1884 through 1933, the children were the labor force that constructed the beautiful stone buildings, farm and instruction buildings, and staff residences on campus.

"Haskell was dedicated to its mission of cultural breakdown. While education was the state goal, child labor was its institutional focus. Although the full scale of utilizing children as a labor force may never be known, we believe that the policy of child labor and its impact on native culture are historically significant.

"Haskell was organized along strict, harsh military lines. The preferred method of controlling students was the platoon system of organization for mass movements of children from the dormitories to the dining halls, dining halls to classrooms, and classrooms to work details. In 1886, a cadet battalion organization (5 companies) was established to break up tribal organizations."
"Many of the children were overworked, suffering from malnutrition and communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, trachoma, typhoid, and pneumonias. Students with communicable diseases were not segregated or put on special treatment until the 1910s. During the first twenty years, Haskell did not have an adequate hospital or medical staff to treat and care for sick and injured children. During this time children were not allowed to be treated or admitted in the City of Lawrence hospital. Ultimately, Haskell created a school sanitarium because reservation agents did not want children returned to their homes.

"Many of the problems related to the children's poor health were directly related to poor diet. Because the school was not adequately funded for the first 20 years, many times children were fed hardtack rations turned in from Army units and a little butter from the school's dairy cows. Children were found emaciated, and this led to dormitory epidemics of tuberculosis, typhoid and dysentery. During the first 20 years, in the winter time, the children had few warm clothes or shoes, and bedding consisted of a small sheet. Many of the children were constantly sick during winter time and during the wet season. During the wet season children did not have raincoats or overshoes and field inspectors cited Haskell numerous times for keeping the children out in the cold and rain. The children were forced to wear canvas shoes which typically did not fit and easily got wet. In the early years, children were forced to make their own clothes.

"Dormitory life consisted of overcrowded barracks, with mattresses aligned side by side, windows nailed down and fire escapes were locked. In the boys' dormitory, 2 to 4 boys slept on the same 36-inch by 40-inch mattresses. Inadequate toilet facilities and sewage disposal resulted in numerous illnesses. There were no night toilets. In a 1928 site inspection, investigators stated that the one toilet in the basement of the boy's dormitory could not be flushed by children, . . . a fact which probably explains the conditions found there." (See L. Meriam, The Problem of Indian Administration. The Institute for Government Research. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928; D. W. Adam. Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1995.)

"To segregate students with behavioral problems, disciplinarians locked children in confinement rooms located in the dormitories or the guardhouse. The guardhouse was used until 1910. A new three-room jail was built in 1910 and was in use until the early 1930s. In the early years, if the guardhouse was full, punishment for delinquent behavior resulted in being locked in an empty root cellar overnight. During classroom hours, students were forced to stand in corners for hours for minor offenses. Corporal punishment for major violation of rules resulted in floggings with a belt or harness strap administered by staff.

"Some children were forced to wear chains or a harness to keep them from repeatedly running away. Metal rails along the walls of the dormitories were used to chain problem children to their mattress. There are also reports of sterilization of young adults who exhibited what the authorities considered vulgar behavior.

"At the present time, the number of children who died at Haskell can only be estimated because of a lack of complete records. Health records and official death certificates from the early years have apparently been lost. However, one source of information on deaths has been found in correspondence files between Haskell's superintendents and the reservation agents. These records are still being searched; however, at this time we estimate that 700 children died at Haskell between 1888 and 1935. Part of this estimate is based upon tribal records. Some of these deaths involved runaways and were reported in the local newspapers. There are reports of wagon trains leaving Haskell and traveling to reservations carrying small caskets.

Haskell "Indian" Cemetery. See Figures 23.2 and 23.3. Although you cannot see it from your bus, there is a cemetery for 103 people at Haskell that contains the bodies of children who came to Kansas to be "civilized." They died with no family to mourn them, except perhaps by siblings who also died. They died in a foreign land and without their traditions to prepare them for the next world. Under the rule of a militaristic Christianity they were carried here to rest.
They came from tribes all over the United States: Arapaho, Osage, Ponca, Wichita, Piute, Kickapoo, Cheyenne, Shawnee, Caddo, Quapaw, Sioux, Seminole, Chippewa, Mojave, and Potawatomi. At an average age of 15 years they went, one by one, and in epidemics of tuberculosis, cholera and pneumonia. The 1880s were big years — the winters were wet and cold and the dormitories unheated: 1 in 1884, 13 in 1885, 9 in 1886, 7 in 1887, 16 in 1888, 5 in 1889, 3 in 1890, 5 in 1891, and so on. The gravestones stand at military attention, much like at Arlington National Cemetery, perhaps to reflect their "civilized" state. The names of these children have been anglicized on the gravestones, as in life. Andrew Williams, Pawnee; Fred Sumner, Kaw; George Clark, Pawnee, Thomas Tuttle, Osage, Ollie Walker, Cheyenne, Susie Walker, Cheyenne, and on down the line.

Haskell-Baker Wetlands—an Irreplaceable Landscape. Yesterday, we saw the wetlands from its northeast corner and the South Lawrence Trafficway — the road to nowhere. Today, we pass along the east boundary of the wetlands from the north end. Here they are called the Haskell Wetlands, to the south at the Wakarusa River, they are called the Baker Wetlands. On the left are "mitigated" wetlands, created to replace the wetlands that the South Lawrence Trafficway will destroy.

Once there were 18,000 acres of these wetlands in the Wakarusa Valley, and all but this section has been drained and turned to rich farmland. The Indians at Haskell consider these wetlands a sacred place where Mother Earth speaks in a clear voice. It was also a place of refuge, where many runaways hide from disciplinarians, families secretly visited their children or spirited them away, and Indian people were buried. If the current estimate of at least 700 deaths at Haskell is correct, where are the graves?

Environmentalists consider these wetlands to be an ecologically sustainable habitat that is critically important to the lives of many species, includ-
ing human beings. For that reason, the wetlands are scientifically important, having been studied and encouraged for years by the late Dr. Ivan Boyd of Baker University, his son Dr. Roger Boyd who replaced him at Baker, and Dr. Charles Haines in the biological division of Haskell Indian Nations University. A number of rare plants and numerous species of birds, animals and reptiles live here. High school teachers consider the wetlands educationally irreplaceable resources.

Even though they were disturbed by early Haskell farming operations and other attempts to drain them, the Secretary of the Interior named these wetlands a National Historic Landscape in 1968. They have historic significance, not only because of Haskell but also because the Oregon Trail went through them. This trail is still visible.

**Vinland**

In 1994 Betsy Wilson wrote a thesis entitled “Vinland, Kansas: Survival of a Vernacular Settlement,” and the following essay represents a distillation of her argument.

“The village of Vinland, settled originally in the late 1850s by members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, has survived as a collection of vernacular buildings and as a community during a period in which other rural small towns have failed. The settlement is a remarkable one in several respects, but the most obvious is the large number of institutional buildings. Three churches, a meeting hall, three business buildings, a library, a school and a collection of fairground structures just to the north seem excessive for a village whose dwellings number fewer than fifteen. In each of these community structures there has been an extraordinary interaction between people and buildings, and the unifying effect of this interaction has contributed substantially to the stability and continued survival of the village.

“When the first settlers arrived at Coal Creek in the mid-1850s, they found a flat valley surrounded by gentle hills. The valley was covered with bluestem prairie, and woodlands of oak and hickory followed the streams. Walnut and cottonwood provided building material for log cabins, and sufficient limestone and sandstone could be quarried locally for foundations and chimneys. The Santa Fe Trail ran two miles south of Vinland, and the Oregon Trail was a few miles north, near the Kaw River. The first settlers gradually came to call their community Coal Creek for the small stream that ran north to the Wakarusa River. The creek had received its name because of the deposits of soft coal along its banks. In 1854, Kansas Territory was opened for permanent settlement, and the next year Douglas County was established.

“The Coal Creek Valley was soon filled with farms and a rudimentary commercial economy (Figure 23.4). A sawmill was already in operation by 1857. An aspiring businessman was William E. Barnes, a nurseryman, who established a nursery and farm in the valley to grow apples, pears and grapes. The holdings of William Barnes’, north of the future Vinland, consisted of three hundred fifty-five acres, of which one hundred seventy-five were planted in miscellaneous trees and vines, and one hundred in apple trees. Barnes’ stone “apple barn” still stands today, one of the oldest examples of the bank barn type in Douglas County. The earliest settlers gave their farms fanciful names, some from nostalgia for the East, others expressing their hopes for their new home. The Cutters called their home “Island Prairie,” and the Soules’ place was “Coopersville.” Others were “Watch Tower on the Hill,” “Cottage Glenn,” “Melrose,” and “Pleasant Prospect,” and “Root Hog or Die”.

“The sequence of the village’s settlement was unusual in that businesses and institutions were established there before the town’s formal platting in the 1880s. There was a flurry of organizational and construction activity in the years surrounding the arrival of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad in the Coal Creek Valley in 1868. A public school for the Coal Creek district was first built in 1867, and the Vinland district erected its own school in 1870. In homage to horticulturalists, the name of “Vineland” was chosen, but because of clerical error on the postal application it became known as Vinland.
Meanwhile the Vinland Methodist Church had organized, and was meeting at the Vinland School. In 1872 the Vinland Methodist Church constructed a parsonage. Eight years later a church was built. As the area became more densely settled with farmers, the little town grew as well. In 1870 Vinland’s first store was opened, where the post office was located for a time. The Presbyterian Church was built in 1878, and is today the oldest structure surviving in the town. On May 24, 1873, thirty-three charter members met at the schoolhouse to organize the Vinland Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry Number 163. Farmers came from a six-mile wide region. They began meeting twice a month, and soon elected a committee to plan a fair, to be held in October. The first Grange fair, a fruit exhibition, was held at the schoolhouse in 1874.

"Having established himself as a businessman and local "squire," Barnes dedicated about forty acres of level prairie in the valley to the south of "Birds’ Nest," his hilltop farm, to enlarge the settlement into an actual town. Perhaps his idea was to attract a labor force, or maybe he simply wanted to enjoy society. In any case, he was determined to formalize the small community that was organizing. The platting did not become official until 1884, by which time there was already a collection of houses, two churches, a grange hall, at least one store, and a blacksmith shop. In 1878 Barnes had given the land for the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, and for the second Grange Hall, larger and more substantial than its predecessor. Their constructions took place in 1878, 1880, and 1884, respectively.

"A plat map was drawn up, streets and lots decided and the town of Vinland was dedicated on June 18, 1884, about two weeks after it had been registered. Originally there were to be four streets: Main, Summit, First and Second (Figure 23.5). Since much of the institutional building in Vinland occurred in the 1880s, the little town was well established by the last decade of the century as a marketing, social, and ritualistic center for its rural environs. Stock farms in addition to the established orchards were also in evidence around the turn of the century."

"The first one-third of the twentieth century witnessed only a few modifications of Vinland’s built form. A high school was built in 1916, devastated by fire only seven years later, and rebuilt the following year. In 1923 the town consisted of three churches, two stores, an elevator, a hall, a bank (in the Grange hall), a cream station, a garage, a telephone office, a depot, a barber shop and several residences. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches, whose Sunday Schools had been meeting together, and who even had held joint church services on occasion, alternating between buildings, decided to separate completely in the late 1930s. Thus, on the eve of World War II, the Vinland of the 1880s had changed little and still resembled the rural community center that had emerged after the Civil War.

"The latter half of the twentieth century saw the demise of many rural settlements in Kansas, as economic advantages offered by urban areas lured struggling farmers to cities and larger towns."
Figure 23.5: Plats of Vinland, 1902 and 1921
Vinland, too, suffered from this epidemic, as the business focus turned toward Baldwin City and Lawrence, and other institutions were affected by the lessening of importance of the little town as an entity. In 1954 the post office was discontinued.

“The Santa Fe railroad spur from Lawrence was discontinued in 1962, and in 1964 a small airport was established on a hill south of the town. The following year it was moved to the area west of the railroad tracks, and the runway was placed on the level ground where the tracks had run. North of the runway, it is still possible to see the slight rise in the road where the railroad crossed it. Metal hangars are now located not only west of the runway, but at the south end of Vinland as well, and provide the most extensive covered storage for small aircraft in the county.

“Interestingly, in a county that is experiencing an explosion of exurban residences, the village of Vinland itself has seen very little new construction since World War II. One mobile home has been installed just west of the airport, and a travel trailer sits temporarily on the lawn of the Presbyterian Church building. A new grade school was constructed in 1956. Today the village has only twenty-seven residents, but the community, which comes together in events relating to the churches, the school, and the Vinland Fair, draws many more.

“The lasting significance of several key structures within this century-old village gives the community a physical focus and provides the crucial setting for the exchange and interaction that nourish Vinland’s second century of existence. During the late nineteenth century, the establishment of Presbyterian and Methodist churches in the Vinland community and the construction of their buildings provided spiritual foci for the hamlet as well as opportunities for cooperation and fellowship. Although all the churches in Vinland provided a religious and social direction for their members, the Methodist Church, particularly after the Presbyterian Church’s closing in 1949, has made a special effort to function as a community social center. In recent years, with the loss of the Grange Hall and high school as sites for public meetings, the Methodist Church has assumed that logistic role as well.”

**The Presbyterian Church.** 1878. Open. See Figure 23.6. “One of the first religious sects to be organized in the vicinity was Presbyterianism in 1869. Services were held at the Coal Creek schoolhouse (1867) for the first few years, and a charter for the church was obtained in 1878, the same year the building was erected. The new church was one of a collection of buildings which together were beginning to take shape as a proper village.

As Betsy Wilson writes, “the church was ornate. The rectangular gable-end frame building was designed with a center steeple. The four-sided spire with flared walls sat over an exposed belfry, decorated with simple stickwork. Carved brackets supported the overhanging box-like base of the steeple. Below it was a Gothic window and below this, the entrance, which led into an enclosed porch covered by a shed roof. The paired front doors were together lancet-shaped, and made of diagonal batten, adding to the suggestion of Gothic verticality. Barnes contributed a small organ, and an anonymous donor obtained two stained-glass windows for the east side. The membership continued to grow until more space was needed, and, in 1910, money was donated to construct a square annex on the south side, to be utilized as a meeting place for the Sunday School and other groups. In the 1930s, after decades of sharing services and other activities with the Methodist Church, the congregation decided to operate autonomously. The effect of this schism was to decrease the membership to an untenably low level, as not only Methodists were eliminated from the flock, but also some Presbyterians, who then opted to join the Methodist Church. The few remaining Presbyterians were no longer able to support the church, and it was forced to close in the late 1940s. The building was eventually sold, but for several years it sat vacant. During this time, the stained-glass windows were stolen and deterioration of the frame building became apparent.

“The Presbyterian church building was attractive, even while empty, and any suggestion of demolition would have met certain opposition. The solution was to sell the building privately in 1953, for conversion into a dwelling. The present owner, a carpenter and musician, has enlarged
the annex, where he lives, and uses the former sanctuary for storage and a workshop, as well as for a rehearsal space. He was able to recover one of the missing windows, and has installed it in its original position on the east wall. The picturesque structure now stands as the oldest surviving building in Vinland. It has assumed the role of an icon or landmark for the village. The removal of its distinctive silhouette would alter the profile of Vinland markedly, and its successful adaptive re-use has been another boon to the survival of the village.

**Vinland Methodist Church.** 1940. Open. See Figure 23.7. "Served by itinerant circuit preachers at the beginning of its history, the Vinland Methodist Church has grown to become one of the community's strongest institutions. Today it has transcended its role as a purely religious facility, and is a true and active center for the entire community. The congregation organized in about 1863, and met at first in the schoolhouse. It grew rapidly, and in 1872, a large frame parsonage was built, south of the lot on which the church was to be built eight years later. 1873 brought the chartering of "The Society of the Vinland Methodist Episcopal Church at Vinland, Kansas." Four years after that, the parsonage had been paid off, and by 1878 the society was able to add some improvements.

"The construction of a parsonage several years prior to the building of the church structure itself would appear at first glance to be a reversal of logical sequence, but attracting a minister to a rural post was more easily accomplished if a comfortable living situation was offered. The Vinland congregation united in 1879 with a group from Coal Creek and began meeting in the first Grange Hall, upstairs over the Cooperative Grocery. The church structure, completed in 1880, was a simple one-room frame building. It was a typical American rural church building, simple and functional.

"One of the organizations within the Methodist Church that was intimately involved with the building's physical structure was "The Women's Society of the Vinland Methodist Church," also known as the "Ladies' Mite Society." Early projects included financing a cistern for the parsonage and improvements to the manse itself. As long as they remained actively involved in the mundane maintenance of the church's physical structure, they continued to invest themselves into this aspect of the community, and reaped the rewards of fellowship. Probably the fact that the parsonage had been built by amateur carpenters ensured the continuing need for maintenance, and improvements and repairs for the parsonage continued over the next decade. By
1907 the old parsonage had become outmoded, and church members decided to demolish it and build a large new two-story house. This four-square frame structure remained in service until 1938. After that it was sold, and has been a private home since.

"When the sixty-year-old church building was destroyed by fire, ignited by a lightning strike in a 1940 thunderstorm, services were moved across the street to the Grange Hall, already used by the church for youth activities. Two oak pews were at the Hall for repair, and the carved pulpit was on loan to the high school for commencement, and these items are the only artifacts that survived from the former structure.

"Rebuilding the church was another opportunity for united effort. The active membership at that time was only twenty-five. After months of discussions, a building committee discovered that a Methodist church in Lecompton had been closed and was for sale. Although the exterior masonry blocks of this church were not substantial enough to survive a move to Vinland, the interior offered a wealth of useful materials. The new building had a full basement which could be divided into several Sunday School rooms, and was large enough, unpartitioned, to accommodate church-wide dinners. The old church bell, damaged from the fire and thought to be ruined, was repaired and hung in the belfry of the new church. Today it remains atop the church, a symbol of the old tradition. The main floor of the building echoed the plan of the Lecompton church, with dressing rooms off the stage, and the windows, arch and altar rail occupied the same relative placement. The arch was topped by a wooden plaque designed, carved and painted by Charles Olson. The pews were bought from another Methodist Church, and the carved pulpit from the original building was installed. One of the building committee members donated a table and chair for the altar. The members of the church, especially those on the building committee, contributed time and effort as well as funds and materials for the rebuilding.

"When other local churches closed, the Vinland Methodist Church gained more members. Due to overcrowding by 1990, it became necessary to hold two services on Sunday mornings. Earlier that year, increased membership had indicated the need for an addition, and a fund drive had already begun. A building committee contributed ideas for a plan to
increase space in the basement, and double the area of the main floor. From the outside, the addition, is obvious but well-integrated, using the same white siding and a side-gabled roof that adjoins the older one. While the configuration has been altered from a traditional rural rectangular church building to a slightly more complex massing, the result is still appropriate for a country church.

"The new sanctuary provided some controversy. The standard configuration for a small rural Protestant church was rectangular, with all the pews facing forward toward the altar, but here a an Akron plan was presented, which would not only place the altar in a corner of the large square room, but fix the pews facing it in a modified semicircle. The minister would be half-surrounded during services, and no congregant would be far away. In addition, worshippers would be in sight of one another. Some conservatives were unhappy with the plan, but they were overruled and the sanctuary was built with the semicircular arrangement. The effect is one of intimacy and inclusiveness.

"The church membership has continued to increase to a 1994 total of one hundred and sixteen people, most of whom live within five miles. The sense of tradition remains strong as several members, including the woman who serves currently as president of the Vinland Methodist Women’s Society, are descended from nineteenth-century members. Members who came later find themselves rapidly involved in the organization.

"Certainly the effect of Vinland’s location, just three miles from Baldwin City with its Methodist Baker University, has strengthened that denomination in the community. The United Methodist Church today is the center of the whole community. Vinlanders turn without hesitation to it for a meeting place, for spiritual help, for a social center of sorts. It is clear that if today the church fell on hard times, citizens of the community would cooperate to rescue the building and the institution.

Coal Creek Library. 1900. Open. See Figure 23.8. “From its inception, Vinland has placed a high value on literacy and education. Some of the early Coal Creek Valley settlers had the benefit of formal education in New England. Throughout the history of Vinland, local residents have been educated at Baker University. Today there are several writers, artists and musicians living in the Vinland community.

“When two Vinland teenagers decided that there were not sufficient recreational activities, they decided to form a literary and social club. Out of this 1859 effort, the Coal Creek Social Library Association was established. The purpose of the organization was for “the moral, social and intellectual improvement of its members.” Initially the members ordered ten volumes to be shipped from the East, and exchanged books from their own personal libraries while awaiting the inaugural collection. By the end of 1860, the members had acquired over one hundred books. The collection was kept in the frame home of the librarian. By 1874 there were 450 books in the library, and it was becoming too large for a private home. The collection first moved in 1879 to

Figure 23.8: Plan: Coal Creek Library
the original Grange Hall, a two-story building three doors south of the present library building. When the Grange completed a new stone hall in 1884 south of their original location, the books were moved there.

"The frame building sheathed in brick-design red metal siding was completed in 1900, built by local men. The one-room structure sits on a stone foundation, and is covered by a pyramidal green metal roof. The shed porch is supported by six hand-turned posts. In addition to the door, a large double-sash window faces west. The north side has five double-sash windows, and there are two more on the south. The original wood-stove is still used on the rare cool days the library is open, in early spring or late autumn. Inside, the original, locally-milled oak floors, wainscoting, and oak bookshelves are intact, and display cases exhibit early books. Rather than a lending institution, the Coal Creek Library stands now more as a symbol of the settlers' aspirations. It is also an interesting example of a frontier library, perhaps unique in a town of Vinland's size.

Commercial Buildings. "The earliest businesses in Vinland were set up by blacksmiths and small shop-keepers. One of the first commercial establishments in the town was a little store in a home, with a tinsmith and cobbler shop at the rear. In 1868, the railroad was routed through Vinland. Doubtless the easier availability of shipped goods encouraged merchants, and local commerce was soon diverse. A stone building across from the railroad tracks, first built as a Grange Hall in 1878, became a general store after the second Hall was constructed. The earlier building was a simple front-gable structure, with a vent under the gable. A central entrance door was topped by Queen Anne lights and flanked by two broad windows. On the second story, there were three windows, with stone lintels and sills, at the front and on the sides.

"An early businessman had a blacksmith shop east of the Presbyterian Church. Early in this century, the shop was turned into a garage. Also situated facing west toward the railroad tracks, the Star Cash Grocery was built and first operated in the 1920s. This store concentrated more on foodstuffs and poultry feed than had the general store, and temporarily served as the post office. Today the small frame structure is a workshop. Like the Vinland Mart next door, Star Cash is easy to identify as a grocery because of its distinctive false front and rectangular shape.

Grange Hall. 1884. Open. See Figure 23.9. "With the advent of commerce in the rural community, farmers began to feel a loss of autonomy. As independent traders they had enjoyed a modicum of power, and the agent system removed them a step from the market. It was not surprising that when the National Grange movement became widely established in the 1870s, local agriculturalists enthusiastically embraced it; for the farmers it was a vehicle for making themselves heard once again.

"The Vinland Grange was established in 1873. The upper floor of the two-story square stone store across from the railroad depot served as their meeting place until the present building was erected in 1884. Eleven years later, the larger Grange Hall was built. A fire later destroyed the upper portion of the building, and it was rebuilt as a one-story store.

"A four-hundred dollar loan and donations paid for the two-story business and meeting hall. The building was erected by members using native limestone and sand hauled from the Kansas River. The simple plan and local materials mark the hall as a good example of vernacular architecture. It is a two-story front-gable stone building, with stone lintels and sills. There is a double entrance door topped by a transom and decorative lights and a single door on the north side. A stone door sill and lintel in the south wall indicate the former presence of a door on that side as well, perhaps leading into a bank vault or private office. Access to the upper floor is through an exterior stairway and rear door (on the east side). The fenestration downstairs consists only of the two wide front windows and a smaller one on the south side. Upstairs, with three windows at the front, and three more on the side walls, it is considerably lighter.
Figure 23.9: Plan and Elevations: Vinland Grange Hall
“Like other Grange halls of its period, the Vinland structure was custom-designed, probably by a builder or architect in the National Grange office. During the first decade the Vinland Grange operated a cooperative store on the first floor, as they had in the older structure. When the store closed in 1910, the lower area was used as a bank. About this time the stone exterior walls were covered with stucco, marked to resemble stones or blocks. A concrete front porch with a metal shed roof was added later, perhaps to provide another informal meeting place. Other businesses that once located on the first floor included a creamery, a barber shop, and another store. When fires or other calamities rendered the schools and churches unusable, the Grange Hall was utilized as a meeting place or classroom.

“Because of the Grange Hall, Vinlanders had an unofficial community center, a place to meet, to discuss, to organize. It was much more than a hall solely for the Grange. That organization, earlier so active, finally closed locally in 1979.

“In 1980 the hall became the home of the Kansas Grassroots Art Association Museum. It was deeded to the Santa Fe Trail Historical Society in 1985, and is currently being restored by this group. The KGAA Museum houses a collection of midwestern folk art; the pieces fill only the lower floor of the hall. The second story is used solely for storage now, but still contains some of

Figure 23.10: Site Plan: Vinland Fairgrounds
the furniture that belonged to the Grange, along with other memorabilia. An eight-foot-high structure, the "rituals room," at the rear of the hall contains crates of Vinland Grange notes and records.

**Vinland Fair.** 1874. Open. See Figure 23.10. "Over the years, Grange members had rendered a great number of public services to the community, but the most important annual undertaking was the Vinland Fair. The first Grange fair was held in 1874 in a grove east of the town, but for many years it has been on the present site, north of the current school grounds. Constructed on a concrete slab in 1926, the main building, or exhibition hall, is a barn-like structure with a clerestory. The frame building has white vertical siding and wide double doors on the north and south ends and a corrugated metal monitor roof. The space inside is open with kitchen facilities to one side. Picnic tables are used inside the building for a spring supper, and in August moved outside for three days of meals at the fair.

"Other structures on the fairgrounds include a concrete performance stage, a storage shed, a livestock exhibition structure, a free-standing restroom building, a concession stand, and a kitchen and serving facility equipped with running water and electricity. The kitchen is a rectangular frame building with two sides of windows that may be raised for serving meals to the outside. All these buildings are white-painted frame structures on concrete slabs, with metal corrugated simple gableroofs. None is older than forty years, and the storage building adjacent to the kitchen, a former brooder house, was recently moved from a farm to the site.

"This new road represents the cooperative change over the years. One departure from tradition, however, has not been tolerated. Organizers of the fair, originally the Grange but now simply a group of concerned Vinlanders, long ago determined that the enterprise would be non-commercial, and so it has remained. This is a large measure of its charm, and one reason a large annual ritual attendance from outside assures its success year after year.

"Each of the commercial institutions in Vinland has ceased operation. With nearly universal ownership of motor vehicles, and the better shopping opportunities in nearby towns, residents prefer to go outside the community for their business transactions. Improved mobility also lessens the need for communal economic ventures, and the social functions of the Grange, the general store, and the garage, have been supplanted by the community activities of the churches, the school and the Fair Association.

"It is difficult to imagine a village continuing to exist with no economic center, and yet, because of other social institutions, Vinland demonstrates no signs of losing its identity, or even deteriorating sufficiently to threaten its existence. The old commercial buildings, now adapted for other uses, add to the architectural variety in the hamlet and provide even more evidence about its unique character.


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