People of the New Frontier

Kansas Population Origins, 1865

by James R. Shortridge

Where are you from? This question is basic when strangers meet because place of origin usually conveys rich information about a person's behavior and values. These associations between place and culture were especially strong before the twentieth century's revolutions in transportation and communication, and many studies have been able to link regional and ethnic heritage with various forms of political behavior, economic practice, and social custom. From a geographer's perspective, knowledge of the population origins of early settlers is essential for understanding a place's personality, its people's collective pattern of behavior. Pioneers usually establish the cultural tone. Later settlers, even if from quite different locales, typically adopt many of the earlier values and practices.

As an initial step toward understanding the cultural patterns of Kansas, this article explores the population origins of early-day residents. With its central location, Kansas was in a position to receive settlers from the four major subcultures of eastern America (Northern, North Midland, South Midland, and Lower Southern) plus a share of the foreign-born immigrants who had begun to move in large numbers at mid-century (Fig. 1). Statewide population data reveal that people born in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois eventually dominated this migration and, consequently, scholars usually classify Kansas culture as North Midland.[1] The situation may not be so simple. Yankees, Southerners, and other distinctive groups were common in Kansas too, especially in the initial decade after the territory was opened for settlement in 1854.

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1. Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), 97, 118-19; Raymond D. Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 29.

People of the new frontier.

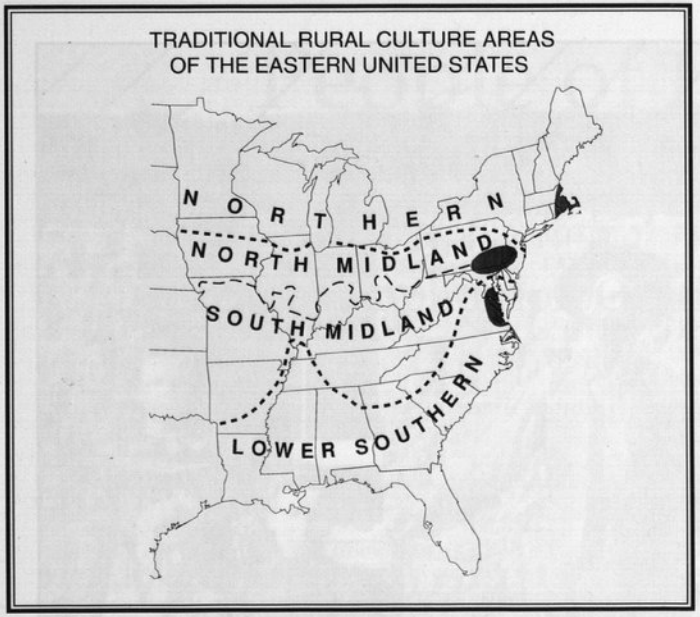

Fig. 1. *Based on maps in Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree,* The Human Mosaic, *4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 10, and in John C. Hudson, "North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations,"* Annals of the Association of American Geographers *78(1988):411.*

Missourians were the largest state contingent in 1865. Was this early dominance strong and enduring enough to leave a cultural mark on the state? A similar immigration pattern from both the North and South into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois produced a distinctive series of banded regional cultures within these states. Is this the Kansas reality too?[2] At the other extreme, it is possible that the mixing of these different peoples in Kansas was sufficient to create a new overall personality for the state, one that could not be adequately described with the old Eastern labels.

One might expect that nearly a century and a half of historical inquiry would have revealed the true nature of Kansas society, but the state's cultural beginnings have long been obfuscated by propaganda. As a national focus for the slavery and general states' rights issues in the 1850s, Kansas was rarely discussed in rational terms. Credit for the free-state cause was popularly attributed to the influence of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and later writers continued to emphasize this Yankee theme. Kansas was the "child of Plymouth Rock," a shining example of the triumph of Puritan virtue over base Southern influences from Missouri and elsewhere.[3] Missouri and Arkansas settlers, one assumes from this rhetoric, returned across the border once the free-state forces were ascendant. Foreign and North Midland settlers were rarely mentioned. The symbolism of New England heritage and Puritan ideals was used repeatedly by William Allen White in his influential interpretations of Kansas culture and the idea continues down to the present; a recent history calls it the state's "longest-standing" image. James C. Malin began a probe into the realities behind this perception in 1961. It is time to extend his work with a detailed geographic look at the basic population data.[4]

Theoretical Expectations and Reality

Given the veil of uncertainty surrounding the peopling of

2. Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, "The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio: 1850" (Department of Geography, Ohio University, 1982, Mimeographed); Gregory S. Rose, "Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana's United States-Born Population in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History 81* (September 1985): 201-32; Douglas K. Meyer, "Illinois Culture Regions at Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Illinois Geographical Society* 18 (December 1976): 3-13; Douglas K. Meyer, "Native-Born Immigrant Clusters on the Illinois Frontier," *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers* 8 (1976): 41-44. The possibility of banded cultures in Kansas has been suggested by Albert B. Cook III, "Perspectives for a Linguistic Atlas of Kansas," *American Speech* 53 (Fall 1978):203.

3. The phrase is that of John J. Ingalls. It was quoted by William Allen White, "Kansas: A Puritan Survival," in *These United States: A Symposium*, ed. Ernest Gruening, 3 vols. (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923), 1:1.

4. Robert Smith Bader, *Hayseeds, Moralizers, and Methodists: The Twentieth-Century Image of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 129; James C. Malin, "Kansas: Some Reflections of Culture Inheritance and Originality," *Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association* 2 (Fall 1961): 3-19. Bader provides a good summary of William Allen White's Kansas imagery.

Kansas it seems wise to begin from a theoretical perspective. How many settlers would one expect each state to contribute to the Kansas total if the only criteria were simply their respective populations and their distances from Kansas? This model implies that economic motives underlie most migration. In the words of pioneer demographer E. G. Ravenstein,

> bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects.[5]

Any deviation from the model's predictions, a proportionately large or small number of New Englanders, for example, would be a measure of special motivations or inhibitions on their part. The results should shine some light through the old propaganda screen and help to focus further examination.

A question on state or country of birth has been included since 1850 on the federal census forms and was present throughout the 1865 to 1925 existence of the Kansas state census. Many Kansas studies have used the easily available statewide figures for 1860, but this census is suspect as a cultural base. The population of the territory was still in great flux during this survey, as raiders despoiled the Missouri border region, new settlers and adventurers arrived in large numbers, and a major drought was underway that would cause thousands of people to abandon their claims. Although the free-state forces were dominant in 1860, believers in a Southern-style constitution had not completely lost hope. For the purpose of assessing the continuing cultural heritage of Kansas, 1865 is a better date for study. By then the free-state/proslavery issue had been settled and the wartime opportunistic transients had left the region. The 1865 census should best enumerate the "first effective" settlers, the ones most likely to have permanently molded the raw Kansas landscape (Table 1).[6]

A prediction model for early immigration can be implemented by calculating the percentage of the Kansas population in 1865 contributed by each state, excluding for the moment those born in Kansas and in foreign countries. These observed percentages are plotted against predicted percentages calculated by summing the ratios of population to distance from Kansas for each state and dividing each individual state ratio by this sum total (Figs. 2, 3). Distances are taken from a standard guide and measured from state capitals to Kansas City, Kansas, the most common point of entry for the territory and early state. Two separate models were completed to encompass the years of Kansas immigration, one using 1850 as the population base, and the other using 1860.[7]

The results of the prediction models for 1850 and 1860 are similar except for Illinois, Iowa, and a few other places that were little more than frontiers themselves at this time and whose populations had risen dramatically between the two census years. Using Illinois as an example, the state sent more people to Kansas than one would project based on its small 1850 population of 851,470, but fewer than one would project using its 1860 population of 1,711,951. A more realistic expectation would employ a population base somewhere between these two extremes and would yield a figure close to the number of Illini who actually migrated to Kansas. Settler numbers from Arkansas, Iowa, and Minnesota are also about as expected based on this logic. Two other states in this growth category, Wisconsin and Texas, sent fewer people to Kansas than expected on both graphs.

Popular mythology predicts that the states of the Lower South would be underrepresented in Kansas, and the graphs bear out this stereotype. Missourians made several appeals in the late 1850s for the people of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and other states to aid them in the quest for Kansas.[8] Clearly the Southerners either did not respond in the numbers their populations and distances would predict or they had retreated quickly from the state once the slavery issue had been resolved

5. E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52 (June 1889): 286.

6. Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (December 1965): 551; Zelinsky, Cultural Geography, 13.

7. W. A. V. Clark, Human Migration, vol. 7, *Scientific Geography Series* (Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 1986): 56-58; *Standard Highway Mileage Guide* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1982). In the cases of Arkansas and the Indian nations, an entry point on the southern Kansas border nearest each of these places was assumed for the prediction models, instead of Kansas City. Federal censuses had to be used for the models to insure consistency across the nation.

8. Elmer L. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1919-1922 15 (1923): 360-61.

locally and civil war was a reality. Only 2,022 natives of the Lower South were in 1865 Kansas, too few to be a factor in the emerging state culture. Their numbers were sufficient to influence values locally, however, if they happened to be clustered.

The second category of states somewhat underrepresented in early Kansas challenges stereotypes rather than supports them. Nearly twelve thousand people from New England, New York, and other Northern states came to Kansas (Table 1). This number was six times the total from the Lower South but still modestly less than predicted by the model. Only Vermont and Connecticut sent settlers at or above the expected levels. Although the failure of Yankees to dominate Kansas numerically is well-known to scholars, an assumption that these people were zealous in colonization activity considering the distance of the migration has been implied in many studies. The discrepancy between image and reality can be lessened a little if one works with 1860 census figures instead of the figures from 1865. The Northern culture states contributed 12.3 percent of the Kansas population for that earlier date compared with 8.8 percent in 1865. The over-representation of New Englanders as government officials, newspaper editors, and similar people of influence in the young state is a more important factor; New Englanders, in fact, wrote many of the early Kansas histories.[9] This situation deserves closer study, including geographic inquiry. A concentration of New Englanders in urban areas, for example, would help to increase their visibility and influence; a dispersed pattern would suggest a lesser role than is commonly believed.

9. Malin, "Kansas: Some Reflections," 6, 12-13.

PLACE OF BIRTH OF KANSANS, 1865

Collection Unit	Number	Percentage	Percentage Excluding Kansas-born	Percentage Excluding Kansas & Foreign-born
New England Culture Area (Northern)				
Connecticut	673	0.5	0.6	0.7
Dakota	4	-	-	-
Maine	645	0.5	0.6	0.7
Massachusetts	1171	0.9	1.1	1.2
Michigan	931	0.7	0.8	1.0
Minnesota	90	0.1	0.1	0.1
New Hampshire	440	0.3	0.4	0.5
New York	5847	4.3	5.3	6.1
Rhode Island	169	0.1	0.2	0.2
Vermont	791	0.6	0.7	0.8
Wisconsin	1174	0.9	1.1	1.2
Total	11935	8.8	10.8	12.4
North Midland Culture Area				
Delaware	79	0.1	0.1	0.1
Illinois	8555	6.3	7.7	8.9
Indiana	9041	6.7	8.2	9.4
Iowa	3302	2.4	3.0	3.4
Nebraska	147	0.1	0.1	0.2
New Jersey	437	0.3	0.4	0.5
Ohio	11264	8.3	10.2	11.7
Pennsylvania	5724	4.2	5.2	5.9
Total	38549	28.4	34.7	40.0
Upper South Culture Area (South Midland)				
Arkansas	3200	2.4	2.9	3.3
Cherokee Nation	795	0.6	0.7	0.8
Dist. of Columbia	72	-	0.1	0.1
Kentucky	8196	6.0	7.4	8.5
Maryland	799	0.6	0.7	0.8
Missouri	20735	15.3	18.7	21.5
North Carolina	1673	1.2	1.5	1.7
Tennessee	4088	3.0	3.7	4.2
Virginia	4178	3.1	3.8	4.3
Total	43736	32.2	39.4	45.4
Lower South Culture Area				
Alabama	423	0.3	0.4	0.4
Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Nations	134	0.1	0.1	0.1
Florida	50	-	-	0.1
Georgia	452	0.3	0.4	0.5

(Continued next column)

Table 1.

One of Ravenstein's "laws" states that "the great body of our migrants only proceed a short

(Continued from previous column)

Collection Unit	Number	Percentage	Percentage Excluding Kansas-born	Percentage Excluding Kansas & Foreign-born
Louisiana	133	0.1	0.1	0.1
Mississippi	295	0.2	0.3	0.3
South Carolina	309	0.2	0.3	0.3
Texas	226	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	2022	1.5	1.8	2.1
The West				
California	21	-	-	-
Colorado	50	-	-	0.1
Idaho	1	-	-	-
New Mexico	50	-	-	0.1
Nevada	1	-	-	-
Oregon	5	-	-	-
Utah	42	-	-	-
Total	170	0.1	0.2	0.2
Kansas	24828	18.3		
Foreign Countries				
Austria	42	-	-	
Belgium	80	0.1	0.1	
British America	1034	0.8	0.9	
Denmark	79	0.1	0.1	
England	1625	1.2	1.5	
France	465	0.3	0.4	
German States	5134	3.8	4.6	
Holland	96	0.1	0.1	
Ireland	4421	3.3	4.0	
Italy	20	-	-	
Mexico	12	-	-	
Moravia	40	-	-	
Norway	176	0.1	0.2	
Poland	63	-	0.1	
Scotland	409	0.3	0.4	
Sweden	186	0.1	0.2	
Switzerland	439	0.3	0.4	
Wales	148	0.1	0.1	
Other Countries	18	-	-	
Total	14487	10.7	13.1	
Grand Total	135727*	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Manuscript Kansas state census, 1865.

*This total does not include 4443 residents for whom no place of birth was recorded.

distance."[10] Missouri's role in early Kansas settlement bears out this principle. Its 20,735 migrating people exceeded the total for the next two largest contributing states combined, and Missouri sent settlers at a rate far higher than predicted. Considering its population size, the Cherokee Nation, also on the Kansas border, was another important source of settlers. Missouri's population in the 1850s derived largely from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, the core of South Midland or Upper South culture.[11] When the immigrants to Kansas from this entire group of states are summed, the Upper South emerges as the single largest culture represented in the new state. These South Midlanders likely were concerned less with slavery, rhetoric, and political affairs than is commonly assumed. New farms and businesses beckoned, and they were in the best position to see and to take advantage of the possibilities. Sheer numbers suggest a tremendous potential for cultural impact by these people, an impact heretofore unexplored since Kansas imagery has never acknowledged a Southern presence after the late 1850s.

Ohio and Indiana complete the list of states sending more people than expected to Kansas. Both of these states border the Ohio River, the major east-west transportation artery of the time. Movement by this route to St. Louis and Kansas City was probably easy enough to have encouraged more people to migrate than the numbers predicted by the simple distance measure used in the model. When such an adjustment is made mentally, and the graphs examined in overview, it is remarkable how well the prediction model "explains" the gross

10. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48, pt. 2 (June 1885): 198.

11. Russel L. Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins, With a Wall Map* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 22-23.

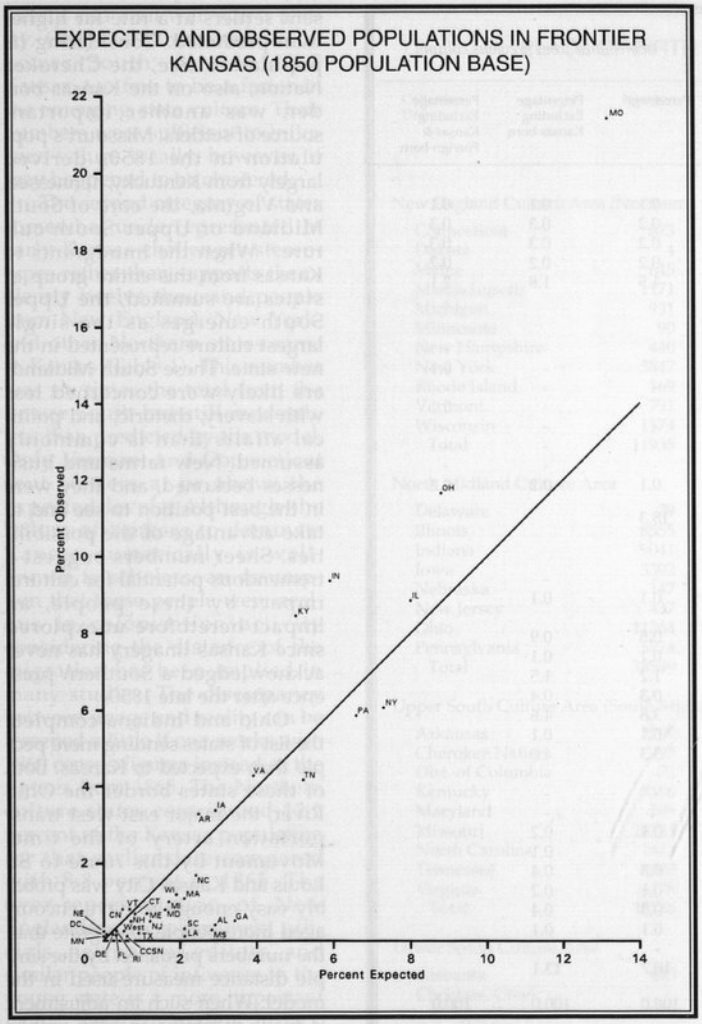

Fig. 2. *Observed data from Kansas 1865 state census; expected data from 1850 federal census and* Standard Highway Mileage Guide *(Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1982). CN denotes the Cherokee Nation, CCSN the combined Choctow, Creek, and Seminole Nations.*

Kansas settlement pattern. Most states, including the New England ones, sent settlers in about the expected numbers. The Lower South is one exception, but this is easily attributable to the Civil War devastation. Missouri is the other anomalous place, and special knowledge of economic opportunities would seem an adequate explanation for its expanded role. The rhetoric of 1850s Kansas and the longstanding beliefs derived from this age have made people assume that the migration to the state was more political and complex than it was.

Geographical Strategies for Occupance

Although the population origins for Kansas as a whole prove to be largely predictable, these gross numbers fail to answer the basic questions of regional identity posed at the outset of this study. One cannot speculate intelligently about the personality either of the state or of its various sections without carefully examining where different peoples chose to live. A uniform mixing is possible, but migration theory as well as frontier studies in other states suggest that clustering of the various culture groups is more likely to be the case.[12]

Travel books and newspapers told people about the general possibilities of the Western frontier, but surviving diaries and map patterns alike argue that specific routes and destinations were products of family and community information networks each operating more or less independently. In other studies this "channelized" migration occurred despite the difficulties of obtaining land in large, contiguous blocks, and was

12. Clark, *Human Migration*; Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3 (April 1966): 47-57; Curtis C. Roseman, "Migration as a Spatial and Temporal Process," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61 (September 1971): 589-98; William A. Bowen, *The Willamette Valley: Migration and Settlement of the Oregon Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978); Terry G. Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," *Geographical Review* 59 (January 1969): 83-103; Michael J. O'Brien, *Grassland, Forest, and Historical Settlement: An Analysis of Dynamics in Northeast Missouri* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

greater for some peoples than for others. Such studies lead to the expectation that people who either came long distances to Kansas or who felt alienated from the emerging or expected cultural mainstream would be the most likely to settle in clusters. These two categories of people were largely one and the same for Kansas: Lower Southerners, New Englanders, blacks, and the foreign-born.

Competition in the pursuit of economic opportunity also could produce clusterings of culture groups. Extreme eastern Kansas is the most favored part of the state climatically and was also the region best suited for early urban growth. The Missouri and Kansas river valleys obviously would control water transportation and provided the most logical places to establish the trading centers that would link this frontier with settled America. Missourians knew these facts well and were positioned geographically to take advantage of them immediately after Kansas Territory was opened in late 1854. Missourians, and to a much lesser extent Arkansans, should thus be concentrated in the east, especially along the two major valleys. It is possible that other peoples, also seeking economic advantage in Kansas, may have formed a series of increasingly faint concentric arcs about the Missouri cluster.[13] Rings of Illini, Hoosiers, and Ohioans may exist, each located as a function of the time it took for these peoples to hear about Kansas opportunities and to plan and make their journeys.

The settlement history of Kansas during the territorial period has been cast for so long

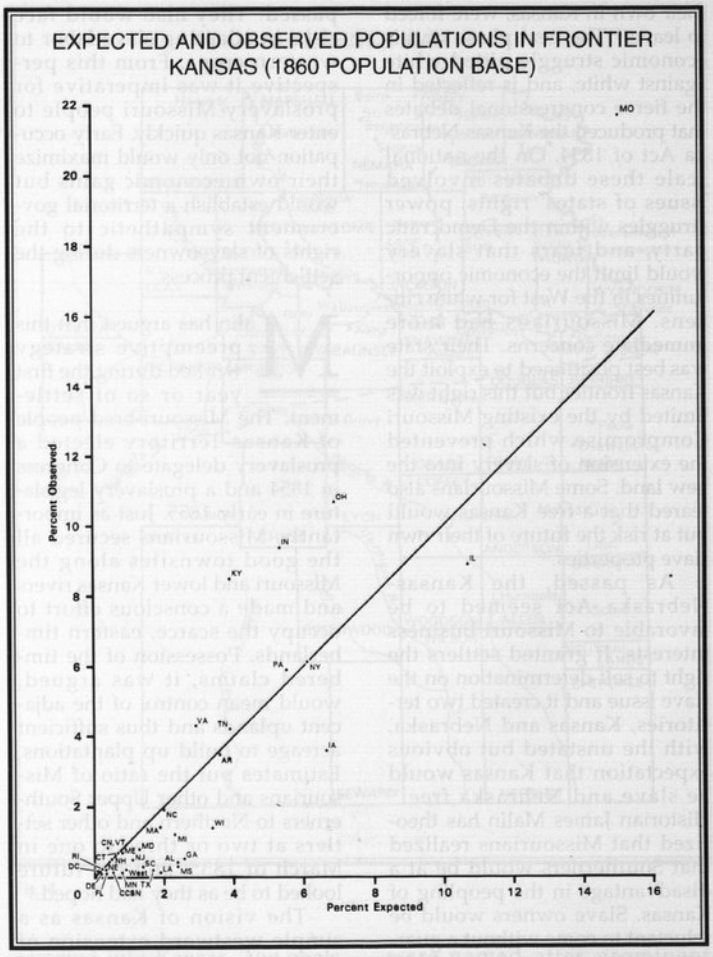

Fig. 3. *Observed data from Kansas 1865 state census; expected data from 1860 federal census and* Standard Highway Mileage Guide *(Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1982). CN denotes the Cherokee Nation, CCSN the combined Choctow, Creek, and Seminole Nations.*

solely in terms of the free-state/proslavery issue that it is still difficult for people to accept the more complex truth about motivation. Clearly, morality was subservient to greed.[14] White Americans wanted agricultural lands, railroad rights of way, and townsites. Their desire was overweening enough by 1850 to extinguish a series of solemn treaties made with eastern Indians between 1825 and 1843. Some ten thousand people, who had been promised a permanent country of

13. The concentric zones idea was suggested by Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 56-57.

14. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 342; Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, 4.

their own in Kansas, were forced to leave.[15] The next phase of this economic struggle pitted white against white, and is reflected in the fierce congressional debates that produced the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. On the national scale these debates involved issues of states' rights, power struggles within the Democratic party, and fears that slavery would limit the economic opportunities in the West for white citizens. Missourians had more immediate concerns. Their state was best positioned to exploit the Kansas frontier but this right was limited by the existing Missouri Compromise which prevented the extension of slavery into the new land. Some Missourians also feared that a free Kansas would put at risk the future of their own slave properties.[16]

As passed, the Kansas-Nebraska Act seemed to be favorable to Missouri business interests. It granted settlers the right to self determination on the slave issue and it created two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, with the unstated but obvious expectation that Kansas would be slave and Nebraska free.[17] Historian James Malin has theorized that Missourians realized that Southerners would be at a disadvantage in the peopling of Kansas. Slave owners would be reluctant to come without a guarantee that a slave code would be passed. They also would face risks in adapting slave labor to western crops. From this perspective it was imperative for proslavery Missouri people to enter Kansas quickly. Early occupation not only would maximize their own economic gains but would establish a territorial government sympathetic to the rights of slaveowners during the settlement process.[18]

Malin has argued that this preemptive strategy worked during the first year or so of settlement. The Missouri-bred people of Kansas Territory elected a proslavery delegate to Congress in 1854 and a proslavery legislature in early 1855. Just as importantly, Missourians secured all the good townsites along the Missouri and lower Kansas rivers and made a conscious effort to occupy the scarce, eastern timberlands. Possession of the timbered claims, it was argued, would mean control of the adjacent uplands and thus sufficient acreage to build up plantations. Estimates put the ratio of Missourians and other Upper Southerners to Northern and other settlers at two or three to one in March of 1855, and the future looked to be as they had hoped.[19]

The vision of Kansas as a simple westward extension of Missouri was put in doubt by the summer of 1855. The most visible challenge was the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company (later the New England Emigrant Aid Company), a group founded for the avowed purpose of recruiting Northern settlers to counter the Southern presence in Kansas. The plan gave hope to some but anxiety to others. Proslavery Missourians cried foul at the intrusion of Eastern influence into Western affairs and sent requests to other Southern states for settlers. These Missourians soon realized, however, that the most likely immigrants to Kansas were neither Yankees nor Southerners, but people from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These states were relatively close at hand, had agricultural systems that could be expected to work in Kansas, and were populous enough to have many young people eager to seek opportunities on a new frontier.[20]

The outcome of this three pronged immigration in a political sense is a familiar story. Told in terms of the leading personalities of the territorial years, James Lane and most of the other settlers from the Old Northwest sided with Charles Robinson and his fellow New Englanders to ban slavery from the new state. David Atchison and other heretofore vocal Missourians became silent. This single alliance masks significant cultural differences between the two Northern groups, however, and raises

15. H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 3-5.

16. James C. Malin, *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence, Kans.: 1953); Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 340; Lloyd Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (October 1939): 9-10.

17. William E. Parrish, *David Rice Atchison of Missouri: Border Politician* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1961), 150.

18. James C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 10 (December 1923): 285-305. For overviews of the possibilities for slavery in the West see Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 16 (September 1929): 151-71; and Charles D. Hart, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion: Kansas-Nebraska, 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 34 (Spring 1968): 32-50.

19. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 344; Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 29; Gary L. Cheatham, "Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 11 (Summer 1988): 93. For overviews of the Missouri perspective see Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," 3-17; Parrish, *David Rice Atchison*, 161-91; and Floyd C. Shoemaker, "Missouri's Proslavery Fight for Kansas," *Missouri Historical Review* 48 (April 1954): 221-36, (July 1954): 325-40, and 49 (October 1954): 41-54.

20. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 437-48.

again the question of settler geography within Kansas. What follows is a series of township-level maps designed to reveal these patterns together with discussion of some cultural distinctions among the major groups. The frame of reference throughout is the state census of 1865.

Missourians and Other Upper Southerners

About a third of Kansas was occupied by 1865 (Figs. 4, 5). Four towns had more than a thousand people: Leavenworth (15,409), Lawrence (4,424), Atchison (3,318), and Fort Scott (1,382); but the zone of moderate population density extended south only to Fort Scott and scarcely beyond the first two tiers of counties west from the Missouri line. The middle reaches of the broad Neosho River valley from extreme northern Neosho County upstream to Lyon County held an important outlier of settlement. Rough areas in Wabaunsee and other Flint Hills counties were largely avoided as were several recently vacated Indian lands in Osage, Franklin, and Miami counties. Variations in land availability and in land quality throughout the 1854 to 1865 period, as partly reflected in Figure 5, had important impacts on the emerging cultural geography of the state. Groups came at different times, and whereas most sought the best agricultural and commercial land available, a few sought isolation.

The initial push by Missourians into Kansas Territory lasted from 1854 until early 1857. During most of that time they were challenged for dominance in the new land only by Kentuckians and other Upper Southerners, nearly all of whom had lived in Missouri before

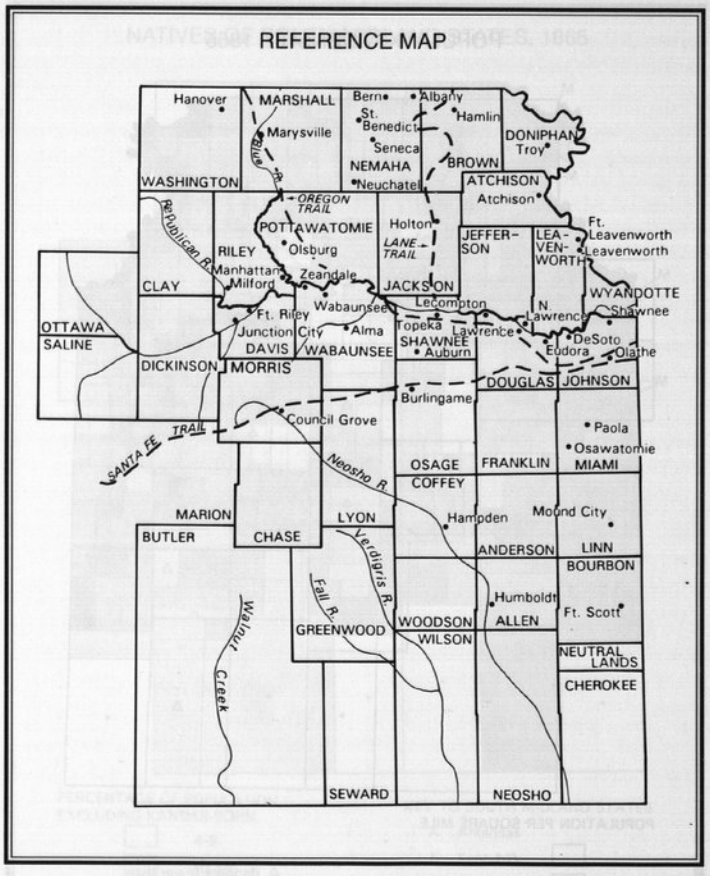

Fig. 4.

crossing into Kansas. The goals of securing townsites and timbered lands usually were accomplished by short migrations, often from an adjacent Missouri county. Thus, Leavenworth was founded by businessmen from nearby Weston, Missouri, and Atchison by other Platte County people.[21] It is not surprising that Doniphan and Atchison counties were named after prominent leaders from northwestern Missouri and that Bourbon County bears a Kentucky namesake. As an early historian has described the process, "almost every gentleman in western Missouri had a claim upon which he had moved, intended to move, or designed to hold."[22]

21. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, 55; Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 350.

22. John N. Holloway, *History of Kansas* (Lafayette, Ind.: James, Emmons and Co., 1868), 106.

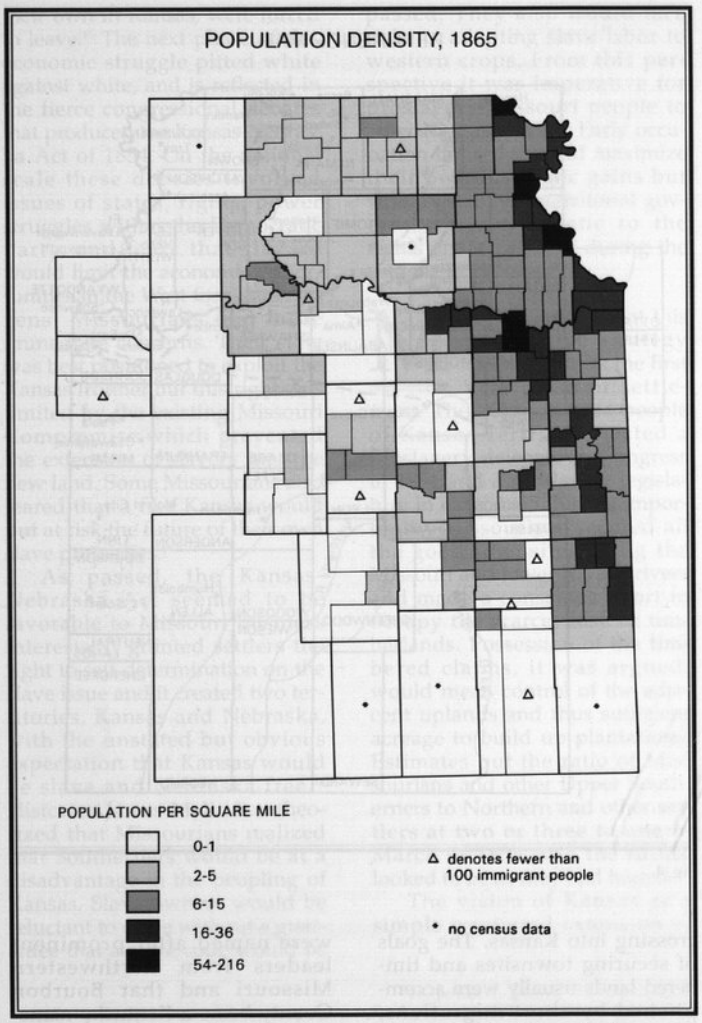

Fig. 5. *Data from Kansas state census. No returns were received from Lincoln Township in Jackson County and from the following frontier counties: Cherokee, Seward, Washington, and Wilson.*

The distribution of Upper Southerners in Kansas for 1865 resembled the general pattern that had existed for nearly a decade (Fig. 6). Despite a major immigration by other peoples, Southerners still dominated every county along the Missouri border plus the Kansas River valley upstream to Topeka. A greater concentration on the northern bank of the Kaw than on the southern was the product of speculation there for the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad, the first tracks to ascend the valley.[23] In the southeast, some three thousand overland immigrants from Arkansas were contributors to the surge of Southern settlement, especially in the Neosho and Verdigris valleys.[24] Small communities along two major trails produced an additional presence of Southern culture. The most concentrated cluster was at Council Grove and in Morris County generally, the famed last humid-land stop on the journey to Santa Fe. Since the trade route to New Mexico had been initiated by Missourians, it was natural that this key way station would be controlled by them. Both of the leading town promoters, Seth Hays and Thomas Huffaker, were Missourians.[25] Southerners were prominent early users of the Oregon Trail too and lived in modest numbers along its frontier from northern Shawnee County northwest across Pottawatomie and Marshall counties.

Historian Gary Cheatham recently has documented the survival of Southern political sentiment in Kansas into the early 1860s, but notes that by 1864, when the outcome of the Civil War was clear, the most ardent Confederates had left the state. Peter Abell, one of the founders of Atchison, was one such person.[26] For the most part, though, the Upper South immigrants

23. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, 109-41.

24. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 400-1.

25. David Dary, *More True Tales of Old-Time Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 17-23.

26. Cheatham, "Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas," 93-107.

stayed on. Scholars have argued that most of these people were not strongly proslavery at the outset and note the practical, rapid shift of their business communities to a pro-union stance. Leavenworth was the first to convert, by late 1857, and even reluctant Fort Scott and Paola had changed by the early part of the war.[27] New immigrants may have hastened these conversions to a degree, but only in rapidly growing Leavenworth did the percentage of Southerners in the population decline markedly.

Migration from the Upper South into Kansas nearly ceased for almost a decade beginning in 1857. Politics certainly were a factor, but important too were that the choice Kansas sites had already been claimed and that decent agricultural lands in Missouri and Arkansas still remained for the taking.[28] This temporal pause had spatial implications, with few Southerners present in the primary frontier zone of 1857 to 1860 north and west of Topeka. Interest in Kansas from the Upper South quickened again somewhat just prior to the 1865 census. The political climate of Kansas was stable by then and, more importantly, the frontiers in Arkansas and Missouri no longer offered the quality lands they had a few years before. Southeastern Kansas was now the destination of choice.[29] Its agricultural lands

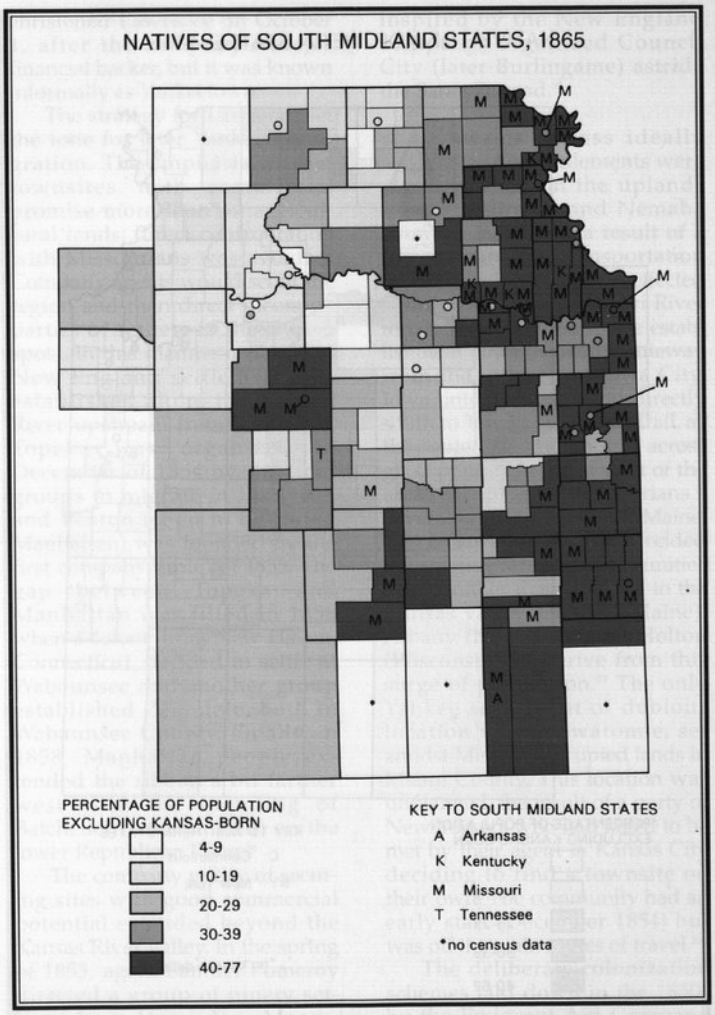

Fig. 6. *Data from Kansas state census. Letter symbols mark cities and townships in which people from a particular South Midland state constitute 20 percent or more of the immigrant population. The South Midland area includes Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, the Cherokee Nation, and the District of Columbia.*

were perceived to be the best available and they lay near the established paths of Upper South migration into Indian Territory and Texas. Some settlers ascended the upper Arkansas River valley from Tennessee while others came across the Ozark crest from St. Louis to Springfield. Upper Southerners were not the dominant culture in this portion of Kansas, but

27. Ibid., 103; Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," 443-46; Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," 10; Shoemaker, "Missouri's Proslavery Fight," 325.

28. James R. Shortridge, "The Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (October 1980): 82-86.

29. James R. Shortridge, "The Post Office Frontier in Kansas," *Journal of the West* 13 (July 1974): 89-91.

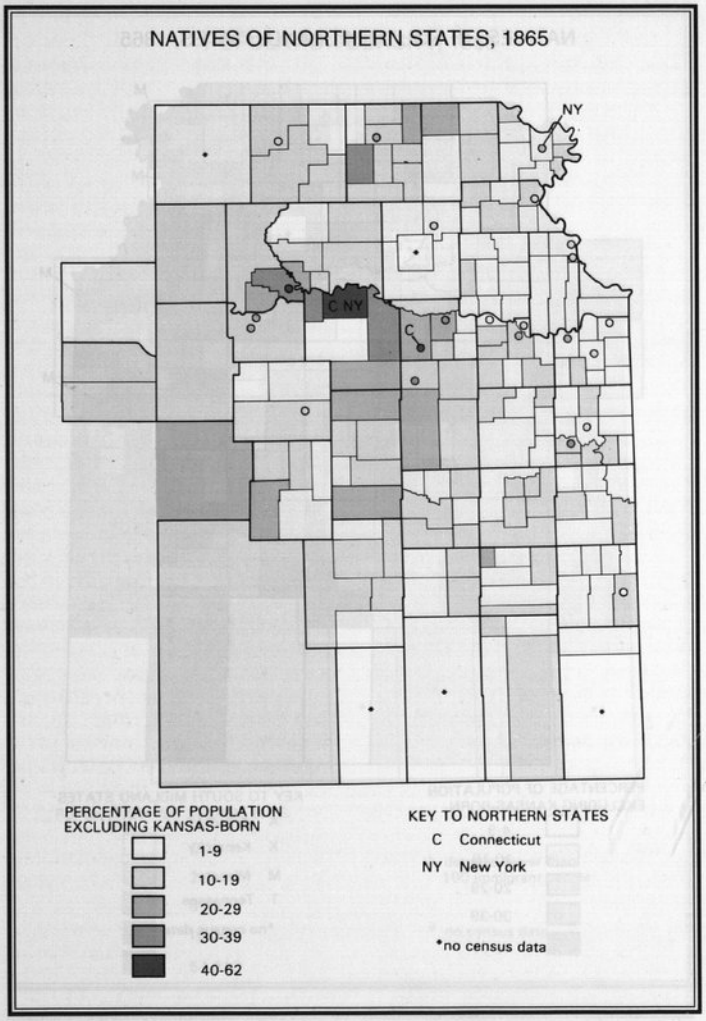

Fig. 7. *Data from Kansas state census. Letter symbols mark cities and townships in which people from a particular Northern state constitute 20 percent or more of the immigrant population. The Northern area includes the six New England states plus Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, and Dakota Territory.*

Missourians and Tennesseans, especially, constituted about a third of the group that occupied the Neosho, Verdigris, Fall, and Walnut valleys. The result was a more heterogeneous mixture here than could be found elsewhere in the new state.

The Yankees

From the perspective of the clergy and the business community in New England, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill symbolized the frustration they felt over Southern control of the federal government. The bill rescinded the government's pledge that Kansas would be a land for free labor and it prompted many influential people to action. Some were moved by the moral implications of an extension of slavery, more by the loss of business and settlement opportunities for themselves and their fellow Northerners, and at least a few by the potential for political gains by an exploitation of the general hysteria. All of these motives coalesced in the organization of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company in 1854, and its successor, the New England Emigrant Aid Company in 1855. The company planned to place twenty thousand free-state settlers in Kansas and to establish mills and other businesses that would return a profit to investors. Horace Greeley was an early publicist for the effort as was the poet John Greenleaf Whittier. John Carter Brown was named president and Samuel Cabot, Jr., John Lowell, Charles Higginson, and William Cullen Bryant were among the notables who served on the board of directors.[30]

It is little wonder that such an organization received widespread attention, both positive and negative. The company's friends have claimed it to be the force that saved Kansas for the Union, while detractors hold the group responsible for the bloody

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

guerrilla activities of the late 1850s and early 1860s, and even for the Civil War itself. Facts are harder to ascertain. Of the twelve thousand settlers from the Northern culture states present in Kansas in 1865, only some two thousand came under company auspices.[31] Moreover, the twelve thousand figure pales when compared with the total population of the state (Table 1). Still, Massachusetts and New York alone furnished two of the first ten governors of Kansas and five of the eleven most influential early newspaper editors.[32] Yankee influence was heightened by the advantages of education and financial backing over those of the average immigrant, and was aided further by their location in a tight geographical pattern astride the major transportation artery formed by the Kansas River valley (Fig. 7).

The initial party of twenty-nine settlers sent by the company reached Kansas City in late July 1854. Even at this early date they found most of the Kansas borderland either occupied or with title uncertain pending final removal of Indian groups. Since the New England colony wanted to remain cohesive, they traveled "to the first desirable location on the Kansas River to which the Indians had ceded their rights."[33] This place was christened Lawrence on October 1, after the company's major financial backer, but it was known informally as Yankeetown.

The strategy for Lawrence set the tone for later Yankee immigration. The emphasis was on townsites with commercial promise more than on agricultural lands; direct confrontation with Missourians was avoided. Company agents would scout the region and then direct incoming parties of settlers to the chosen spots. In this manner a ribbon of New England settlement was established along the Kansas River upstream from Lawrence. Topeka was organized in December of 1854 by the final groups to migrate in that year, and Boston (soon to be called Manhattan) was founded by the first company group of 1855. The gap between Topeka and Manhattan was filled in 1856 when a colony from New Haven, Connecticut, decided to settle at Wabaunsee and another group established Zeandale, both in Wabaunsee County. Finally, in 1858, Manhattan people extended the ribbon a bit farther west with the founding of Batcheller (later Milford) on the lower Republican River.[34]

The company policy of securing sites with good commercial potential extended beyond the Kansas River valley. In the spring of 1855, agent Samuel Pomeroy directed a group of ninety settlers from Hampden, Massachusetts, to a location in the middle of the rich Neosho River valley in Coffey County. The previous fall, New York and Pennsylvania settlers under the auspices of the American Settlement Company (a Philadelphia group inspired by the New England company) organized Council City (later Burlingame) astride the Santa Fe road.[35]

A series of less ideally located settlements were placed on the uplands of Brown and Nemaha counties in 1857 as a result of a forced change in transportation routes. Proslavery people effected a blockade on the Missouri River in late 1856. This led to the establishment of an overland routeway from the railhead at Iowa City, Iowa, into Nebraska and directly south to Topeka. The Lane Trail, as the route was known, ran across good prairie lands just west of the areas occupied by Missourians.[36] Several small groups from Maine, Wisconsin, and elsewhere decided to establish farming communities near it rather than continue to the Kansas valley. Hamlin (Maine), Albany (New York) and Holton (Wisconsin) all derive from this surge of population.[37] The only Yankee settlement of dubious location was Osawatomie, set amidst Missouri-occupied lands in Miami County. This location was unplanned, the result of a party of New Yorkers who had failed to be met by their agent in Kansas City deciding to find a townsite on their own. The community had an early start (December 1854) but was off the main routes of travel.[38]

The deliberate colonization schemes laid down in the 1850s by the Emigrant Aid Company remained prominent on the Kansas landscape of 1865 (Fig. 7). Lawrence, as a relatively cosmopolitan city of 4,424 people, still could count 23 percent of its

31. About three thousand people actually came but no more than two-thirds of them are thought to have stayed as permanent residents. *See* Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 296; Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (May 1943): 115-55, and "The New England Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1855," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (August 1943): 227-68.

32. Malin, "Kansas: Some Reflections," 12-13.

33. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 53.

34. Ibid., 79-85.

35. Ibid., 84-86.

36. William E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1913-1914 13 (1915): 268-79.

37. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 191-95.

38. Ibid., 82.

non-Kansas born population from the Northern culture states. This percentage increased to the west: 30 for Topeka, 35 for Burlingame (plus another 20 from Pennsylvania), 52 for Manhattan, and an astounding 62 for Wabaunsee. Along a sizable corridor from Milford to Burlingame, Yankees constituted a third or more of the immigrant population. Poorly located Osawatomie maintained its Northern identity as well (30 percent), as did the Brown and Nemaha county settlements. Most of the Hampden colony had dispersed, however, discouraged by the slow pace of commercial development there.

By 1865, Yankee settlers in Kansas no longer felt the need to travel and settle in groups; they constituted about 10 percent of the immigrant population throughout the frontier zone. Perhaps the only surprising aspect of their geography was a presence in Leavenworth and Atchison, the traditional Missouri strongholds. The explanation is business opportunity. Leavenworth, as the largest city in the state by a sizable margin, attracted entrepreneurs from everywhere. The Atchison presence was the product of one of the last investments of the Emigrant Aid Company. Its directors saw potential profit in having a port settlement on the Missouri River, and when a company agent scouted the area for sites in 1857, he found the Atchison town company short of capital and willing to sell a controlling interest in the city. The sale was made and, in a touch of irony, the agent (Samuel Pomeroy) personally bought the local newspaper that had been the leading voice of the proslavery forces only two years before.[39]

Lower Southerners and Blacks

The few Lower Southerners who came to territorial Kansas and stayed to be counted in the 1865 census scattered themselves widely across the landscape. With a single intriguing exception, no town or township had more than 9 percent of its immigrant population from this region, and the vast majority of places had less than 1 percent. Early accounts discuss only one organized colonization attempt from the Lower South. A widely publicized expedition of four hundred men from Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia was assembled in 1856 by Maj. Jefferson Buford. This effort was designed specifically as a moral crusade, a counter to the New England Emigrant Aid Company, but upon arrival in Kansas the men immediately became involved in military activities instead of business or agriculture. Most of the Buford company are thought to have returned home or otherwise left Kansas by 1857, but a few settled just south of Osawatomie.[40] Three adjacent townships there contained a total of forty-eight Lower Southerners in 1865; these people constituted 5 percent of the immigrant population in one township and 9 percent of the other two.

Neosho Falls Township in northeastern Woodson County formed the glaring exception to the otherwise inconsequential presence of Lower Southerners in Kansas. Thirty percent of its immigrant population in 1865 was drawn from this region, particularly from the Seminole Nation, the Creek Nation, Florida, and Georgia. There were 194 people in all, 188 of whom were classified as black. This unusual agglomeration must have been transient, for local accounts contain only hints of its existence.[41] Black slaves were numerous in both the Seminole and Creek nations, but it is also possible that these Woodson countians were misclassified Indians; many union-sympathizers of several races are known to have come to southern Kansas from the Indian nations even though no Indians are recorded in the 1865 census except in Johnson County.[42] Whatever their race, most of these people were employed as temporary farm workers in the Neosho valley where they were badly needed to relieve the chronic labor shortage of the war years.

Although the Indian nations contributed significantly to the black and other minority population of early Kansas, the vast majority of the state's 12,527 black settlers in 1865 were fugi-

39. Ibid., 245-46; Peter Beckman, "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1954), 148-63.

40. Walter L. Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," *American Historical Review* 6 (October 1900): 38-48; James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 122-24.

41. L. Wallace Duncan and Charles F. Scott, eds., *History of Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas* (Iola, Kans.: Iola Register, 1901), 21-24, 612; Richard B. Sheridan, "From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854-1865," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 12 (Spring 1989): 39.

42. Michael F. Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 53 (Winter 1975-1976): 501-6; Cheatham, "Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas," 96-99.

tives from Missouri. The influx began in 1857, once free-state forces had become dominant in Kansas Territory, and it increased rapidly after the beginning of the Civil War. The well-publicized raids of John Brown, James Lane, and others certainly stimulated the process, but since Missouri's slaves were heavily concentrated in the western counties, escape across the border was fairly easy on one's own during the chaotic war years. The black population of Missouri decreased by over 41,000 between 1860 and 1863, and enough of the escapees decided to cast their fate with Kansas so that by 1865 8.8 percent of the new state's citizens were black. This percentage has never since been matched.[43]

The location of black Kansans was dictated by a combination of transportation and safety considerations. Most of the people were ill-equipped to travel far, yet they needed protection from retaliatory raids by slave owners. Rural border townships with their Missouri-born populations were largely avoided (Fig. 8). Some settlers ventured as far west as the Neosho valley, as noted above, but most stayed closer to the Missouri border and clustered instead at urban sites that offered protection. Forts Leavenworth and Scott were obvious havens because of their union military forces, and the width of the Missouri River was perceived to be an effective barrier against raiders as well. The easternmost of the New England towns, places with reputations for abolition sentiment, were also popular sites.[44]

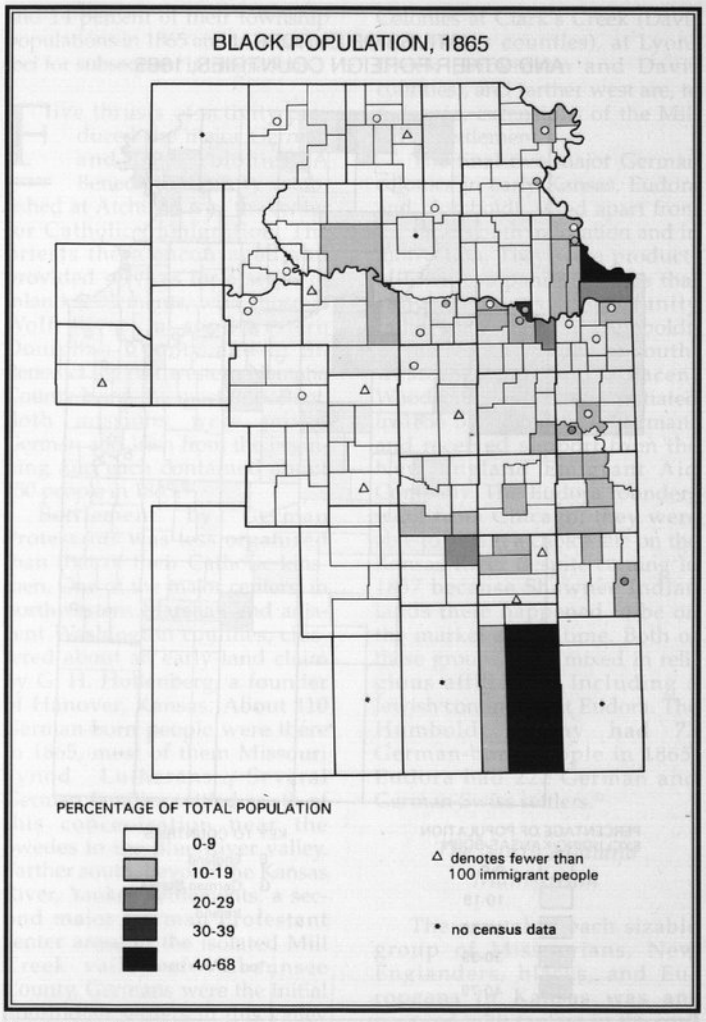

Fig. 8. *Data from Kansas state census.*

Eight urban areas contained 56 percent of the state's black population in 1865: Leavenworth (2,455), Wyandotte County (1,504), Lawrence and North Lawrence (1,464), Fort Scott (492), Atchison (432), Mound City (270), Osawatomie (192), and Topeka (170). All of these match one or more of the protection factors noted above. The assemblage of black settlers within or adjacent to these towns was apparently accomplished

43. Sheridan, "From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas," 28-38.
44. Ibid., 37-43.

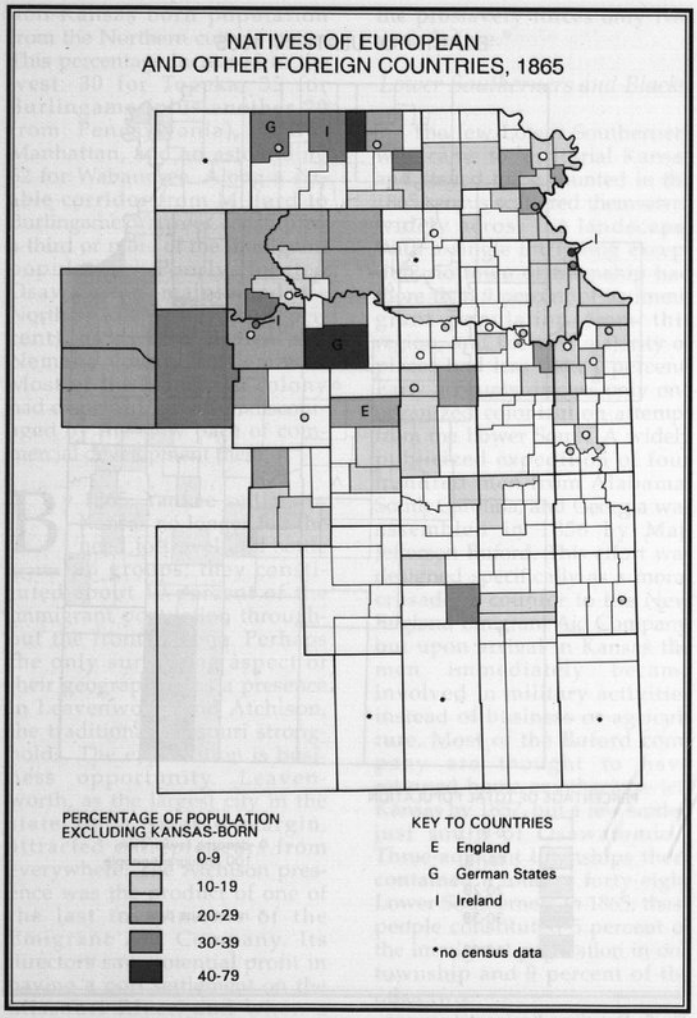

Fig. 9. Data from Kansas state census. Letter symbols mark cities and townships in which people from a particular foreign country constitute 20 percent more of the immigrant population.

with a minimum of tension.[45] Nevertheless, the sizable presence of Missouri-born blacks necessarily modifies the cultural image of eastern Kansas as was suggested on Figures 6 and 7. If one assumes that the black social system functioned largely apart from that of the adjacent white population, the effective South Midland influence within the dominant white society was smaller than that suggested on Figure 8; similarly, influences from New England and elsewhere were larger.

45. Ibid.

The Europeans

A widespread "America fever" swept across the British Isles and the middle Rhine valley in the 1850s.[46] By 1857, a portion of the resulting emigrant German, Irish, English, French, and other peoples reached the Kansas frontier. Over fourteen thousand foreign-born settlers lived in the state in 1865, adding greatly to the local cultural diversity and constituting nearly 11 percent of the population (Table 1). Surviving documents suggest that these peoples generally opposed slavery, a fact that may explain their near absence from Kansas during the proslavery years of 1855 and 1856.[47] Somewhat paradoxically, many of them, especially the Catholics, also were leery of the free-state party; they perceived it to be "fanatically abolitionist," too closely identified with the "distinctively Protestant character" of the Emigrant Aid Company.[48]

The geography of the foreign enclaves in early Kansas was determined in large part by time of arrival and by the negative perceptions these settlers held of both Missourians and New Englanders (Fig. 9). Immigrants from England and British America spread themselves nearly evenly across the state, but the others formed clus-

46. J. Neale Carman, "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1954), 172.

47. Ibid., 194.

48. Peter Beckman, *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1943), 42.

ters. Some, following a familiar historical pattern, sought anonymity and/or employment opportunities in cities. More than a quarter of them (3,853) lived in Leavenworth, where they constituted 31 percent of the city's non-Kansas born population. Atchison's population was 23 percent foreign-born and most of the other towns ranged between 10 and 19 percent. Altogether, 41 percent of the foreign-born lived in the immediate vicinity of Kansas's four major cities (Leavenworth, Lawrence, Atchison, Fort Scott).

The other major locational strategy was to seek physical isolation on the frontier. These trekkers tended to follow the Kansas valley and other major routes across the territory rather than to attempt extended backcountry travel, but then they selected land several miles distant from these routes.[49] Through this procedure, holdings were obtained in relatively contiguous blocks at relatively cheap prices; they also were settings where people could maintain traditional value systems.

Germans and Irish together accounted for nearly two-thirds of the foreign-born Kansans in 1865. They completely dominated the foreign presence in Leavenworth and in the other major towns and were the leading rural colonists as well. Only two other national groups formed concentrated settlements: Swedes in the Blue River valley upstream from Manhattan (fifty-seven people in and near Olsburg) and Swiss at two Nemaha County sites (forty-six people in and near Bern and Neuchatel). The numbers in both cases were small but they were enough to constitute between 10 and 14 percent of their township populations in 1865 and to serve as foci for subsequent immigrations.

Five thrusts of activity produced the major German and Irish colonies. A Benedictine priory established at Atchison was the center for Catholic immigration. The priests there encouraged and provided services for a series of inland settlements, with those at Wolf River in southwestern Doniphan County and at St. Benedict in northwestern Nemaha County being the most important. Both missions were mixed German and Irish from the beginning and each contained about 150 people in 1865.[50]

Settlement by German Protestants was less organized than that of their Catholic kinsmen. One of the major centers, in northwestern Marshall and adjacent Washington counties, clustered about an early land claim by G. H. Hollenberg, a founder of Hanover, Kansas. About 110 German-born people were there in 1865, most of them Missouri Synod Lutherans. Several German families settled south of this concentration near the Swedes in the Blue River valley. Farther south, beyond the Kansas River, Yankee settlements, a second major German Protestant center arose in the isolated Mill Creek valley of Wabaunsee County. Germans were the initial non-Indian settlers in this valley and, with 160 people, they constituted 79 percent of the population of Alma township in 1865. The Alma site prospered and similar locations were soon sought along other south-bank tributaries of the Kansas River. Colonies at Clark's Creek (Davis and Morris counties), at Lyons Creek (Dickinson and Davis counties), and farther west are, to a degree, extensions of the Mill Creek settlement.[51]

The final two major German colonies in early Kansas, Eudora and Humboldt, stand apart from the others both in location and in motivation. They were products of town companies, groups that sought business opportunity rather than isolation. Humboldt, in the Neosho valley of southwestern Allen and adjacent Woodson counties, was initiated in 1856 by Connecticut Germans and received support from the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The Eudora founders were from Chicago; they were able to obtain a choice site on the Kansas River despite coming in 1857 because Shawnee Indian lands there happened to be on the market at the time. Both of these groups were mixed in religious affiliation, including a Jewish contingent at Eudora. The Humboldt colony had 73 German-born people in 1865, Eudora had 222 German and German-Swiss settlers.[52]

The North Midland Mainstream

The arrival of each sizable group of Missourians, New Englanders, blacks, and Europeans in Kansas was announced with fanfare in the contemporary press. In contrast, immigration from the North Midland states took place in near silence. This silence was certainly not because the movement was small. As of 1865, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois ranked behind only

49. Carman, "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas," 165.

50. Beckman, *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier*, 34, 49.

51. Carman, "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas," 184-95.

52. Ibid., 176-79.

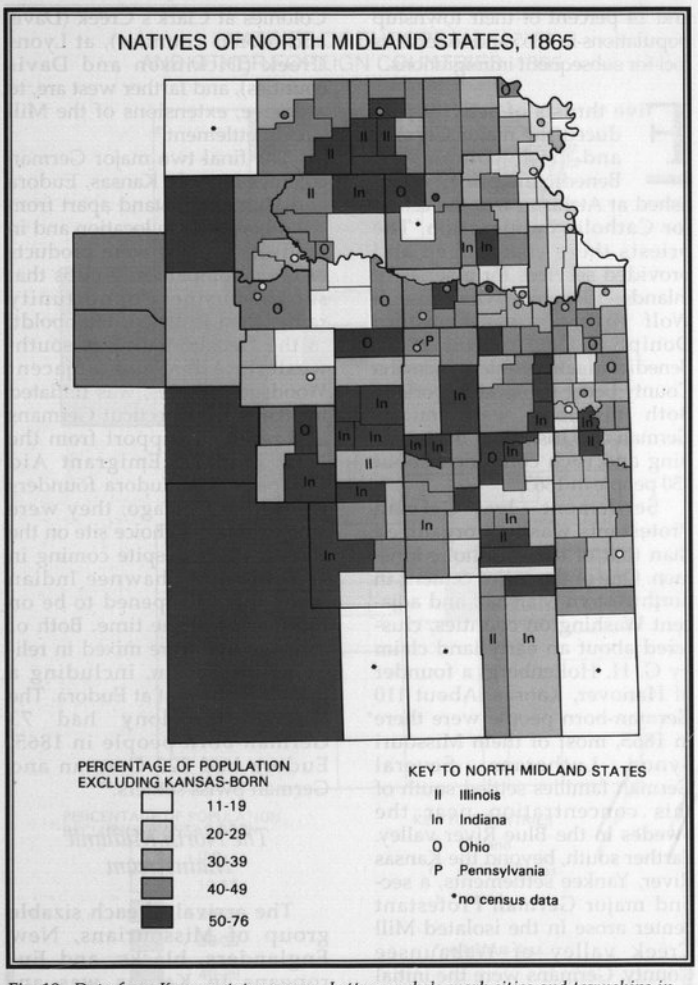

Fig. 10. *Data from Kansas state census. Letter symbols mark cities and townships in which people from a particular North Midland state constitute 20 percent or more of the immigrant population. The North Midland area includes Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Nebraska Territory.*

Missouri as source areas for the new state, and over a third of the immigrant population was from the North Midland states as a group (Table 1).

The indifference accorded the North Midlanders was probably a product of these people's relatively moderate character. In attitudes toward abolition, states' rights, the Democratic party, and a host of other cultural issues they were a mixed lot but tended away from the extremism of the other major groups in Kansas; they thus neither angered nor especially pleased these other residents.[53] The North Midlanders did not arrive as early as the Missourians, settle as cohesively as the Europeans, or function as efficiently and methodically as the New Englanders. With the exceptions of the Pennsylvania party that came to Burlingame and an Ohio one to Manhattan, they did not immigrate in organized colonies. The movement was by individuals or small groups with settlement biased neither toward urban nor rural destinations. With all these somewhat bland characteristics, North Midlanders were the invisible people of the Kansas frontier.

In keeping with their moderate social temperament, North Midland peoples dispersed themselves over a broader area than did any of the other culture groups (Fig. 10). They formed the largest cultural community in most political units and their numbers fell below 20 percent of the immigrant population in only five townships. North Midlanders constituted the closest approximation to a mainstream that could be found in early Kansas. Not only did they mediate among New Englanders, Missourians, and Europeans in culture, they did the same in space. North of the Kansas River their area of greatest concentration lay in southwestern Nemaha County, a medial or buffer zone west of the Missourians, south of the

53. No single source deals directly with the North Midland peoples in Kansas, but perhaps the best point of departure is the biography of James Lane by Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *The Political Career of General James H. Lane, vol. 3, Kansas Historical Publications* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1930). Lane, however, was atypical; he obviously does not fit the "moderate character" representation described here.

Germans and Irish, and north of the Yankees. Similarly, in southern Kansas they formed the majority of settlers along an irregular zone extending west-southwest from Franklin County, again separating a mix of South Midland and other peoples to the south and east from Yankees and Germans to the north and west.

North Midland settlement took the shape of an irregular arc about the core of Missourians and New Englanders. Within this arc, however, the pattern was different from the one suggested by the distance arguments given earlier. Ohio and Pennsylvania natives were the first North Midlanders to arrive in Kansas if one is to judge from their settlement geography. Their greatest concentration occurred in a long oval band on either side of the Kansas River settlements. Flanking this band, Indiana-born people created another, broader arc with particular concentration in the Neosho River valley of Coffey and Lyon counties. Finally, the destinations of Illini and Iowans formed additional arcs with the Iowans concentrated in the newest Kansas frontiers such as the Verdigris and Fall River valleys in Greenwood County and in the western outposts of Clay and Ottawa counties. These patterns make clear that, among the North Midland states, distance to Kansas was not nearly as important a factor in the timing of emigration as was the stage of their own local economic development. Mature Ohio sent settlers earlier than did frontier Iowa and Illinois.

Culture Regions

Given the varied but generally moderate culture that contemporary and modern observers alike have attributed to the North Midland peoples in Kansas, it seems that any attempt to discern culture regions for the state should concentrate initially on the location of the most distinctive peoples. The generalized patterns shown on Figure 11 are based on this logic. It is a striking regionalization.

South Midlanders, Yankees, and Europeans each formed the dominant culture in certain well-defined sections of the state, and even the Lower South held sway temporarily in Woodson County. Larger zones, what may be termed the spheres of these respective cultures, surround each of the core areas; there the people in question constituted between 30 and 50 percent of the immigrants. Smaller scale differentiation occurred in the cities and in other places where large numbers of black people lived.

How does one interpret this map of regional cultures? It is interesting to note that virtually no overlap occurs between the spheres of foreign, Northern, and Upper Southern society. This suggests that isolation of the three groups from each other was considerable in 1865 and that each traditional heritage could be maintained fairly easily. Such an inference needs to be tempered by remembering that North Midland peoples are not depicted on this map. Did their "buffer" culture rapidly mediate between the extremes to create a hybrid society in Kansas or was the North Midland role more that of a referee among three antagonists? Thorough analysis of this question is daunting, but the degrees of cultural distinctiveness deserve assessment here in at least a preliminary way. Somewhat arbitrarily, I omit the obviously singular European and black enclaves, for which several good studies already exist, to focus instead on the lesser understood Anglo-American subcultures.[54]

Contemporary observers most certainly believed that Yankees and South Midlanders possessed different value systems. These perceived differences formed a major underlying motif for the newspaper stories of the bleeding Kansas era. One example from a North Midland source will suffice to give the flavor of the two stereotypes:

> [Eastern immigrants] come to Kansas for the purpose of instructing the Western people how to build up a model New England State. They are advised, from headquarters, to avoid the use of all Western vulgarisms, and cherish their New England habits and customs. They hear and conceive a great many tales about Western life and manners. . . . They work themselves into a belief that Western men, and especially Missourians, are of an inferior order of people, unfit for social intercourse; and unless a man agrees with them in all their peculiar notions about building up a model State, he is charged as a "Missourian"—as this is the worst epithet, in their opinion, they can apply to anyone they dislike.[55]

54. In addition to the sources cited above *see* J. Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas*, 3 vols. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1962, 1974); and Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 146-59.

55. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, February 7, 1855, quoted in William E. Connelley, *An Appeal to the Record* (Topeka: 1903), 123. *See also* Lewis, "Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," 3-17; and Bernard A. Weisberger, "The Newspaper Reporter and the Kansas Imbroglio," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 36 (March 1950): 633-56.

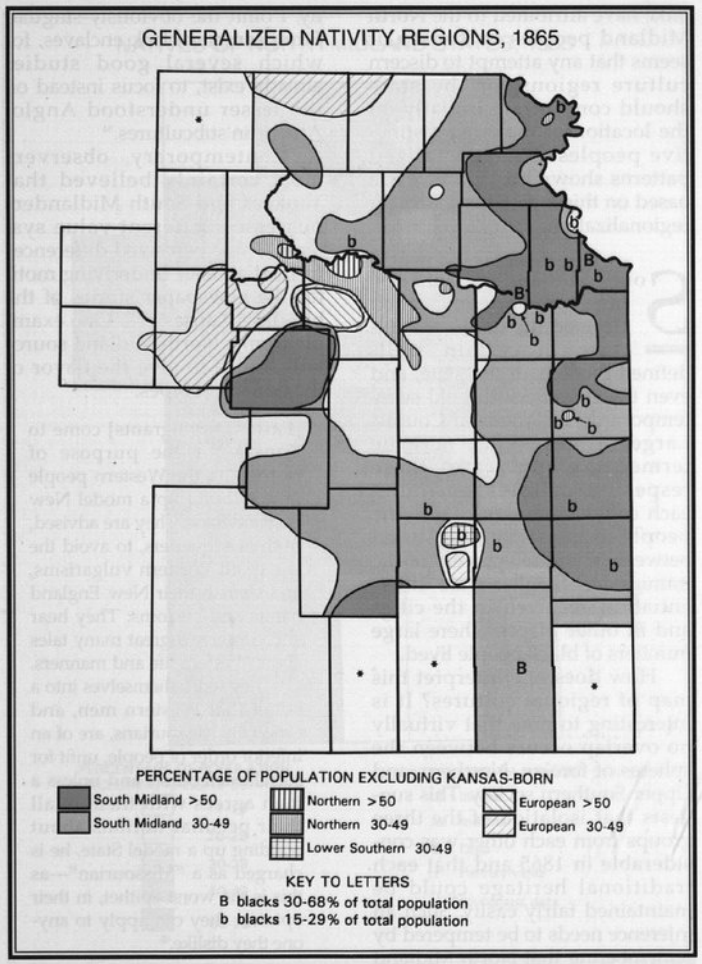

Fig. 11. *Data from Kansas state census. Areas left blank are generally those in which people from North Midland states form the dominant immigrant group. Asterisks mark locations without data.*

The portraits drawn of the two groups clearly were exaggerated for political purposes, but each stereotype does have a basis in fact. Consider first some place-name testimony. Townships in the eastern two tiers of counties were named Kentucky, Ozark, Alexandria, Paris (Kentucky), and Potosi (Missouri). In contrast, the principal street in Lawrence was called Massachusetts, and those in Wabaunsee echoed the names of parent New Haven, Connecticut: Grove, Temple, Trumbull. North and South met literally in Marshall County, where an early Southern settlement called Palmetto (Calhoun and Carolina streets) abutted newer, and Northern, Marysville along a half block of commercial buildings. One could enter the stores from either the Palmetto or the Marysville side, without having to set foot in the other town, and both communities were able to claim a "main" street.[56]

Although place-names are suggestive of cultural differences, they are hardly conclusive. The stereotypes can be evaluated better by a comparison of Kansas evidence with an abbreviated list of distinctive traits and orientations compiled from dispassionate modern studies:[57]

Yankees	South Midlanders
urban settlement	dispersed rural settlement
pro-business	distrust of big business
fastidious	rough-hewn, simple tastes
centralized political power	personal freedom, local political power
organized religion	informal or no religious beliefs
pro-education	anti-intellectualism
permanence	mobility
temperance	hard-drinking
Republican	Jacksonian Democrat
"blue-nosed"	"backward"

56. I thank Sally Hayden for bringing the Marysville geography to my attention.

57. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 76-78, 287-303; Frank R. Kramer, *Voices in the Valley: Mythmaking and Folk Belief in the Shaping of the Middle West* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 63-104; Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1-7, 64-127.

Attitudes toward cities and the centralized social institutions associated with urban places are difficult to measure objectively, but the Yankee penchant for settling in cities has already been noted. Early accounts also suggest that their basic concept of what a city should be differed from that of the South Midlander. The clearest statement I have found for Kansas describes a pair of communities in the late 1850s:

> Two different ideas underlaid the founding of Manhattan and Junction City. In the case of Manhattan the original scheme comprehended a finished community; schools, churches, college, libraries and literary societies all existed in embryo, ready to be launched forth at the earliest opportunity. In Junction City a town-site was platted, hotel and saloon started, and the rest was expected to follow by a process of natural evolution. In the one, social, intellectual, and moral needs of the people were anticipated; in the other those needs were left to call into existence the means for their own satisfaction. Manhattan bore the image and superscription of New England—Junction City of the frontier.[58]

Three of the traits said to distinguish Yankees and South Midlanders on the Kansas frontier can be easily quantified: politics, religion, and education. It is tempting, but risky, to interpret such measures as surrogates for a composite culture. A political election necessarily incorporates economic and personal concerns along with cultural ones, and data for religion and education are not pure measures of culture either. Since the biases are each different from one another, though, the patterns common to all three measures can perhaps be cautiously viewed as culturally based.

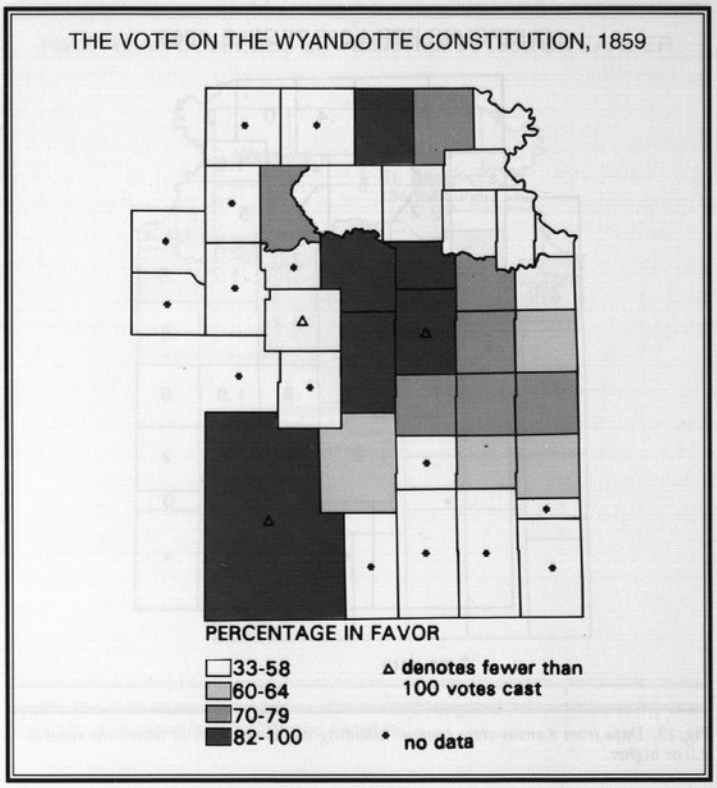

Fig. 12. *Data from Daniel W. Wilder,* The Annals of Kansas *(Topeka: T. Dwight Thatcher Publishing Co., 1886), 227.*

With regard to politics, the vote whether or not to accept the Wyandotte Constitution on October 4, 1859, may be the most appropriate as a cultural indicator. This election was the final test of the free-state/proslavery issue for Kansas, and it was the only vote in the territorial period not boycotted by some sizable faction of the electorate. The Wyandotte document was modeled after Ohio's constitution, a wise compromise choice for the territory, but it nevertheless polarized the people. Democrats opposed adoption not only on the slavery question (which most had already seen as a lost cause) but because by defeating the proposal Kansas would remain a territory and thereby in control of appointees made by the Democratic administration in Washington. Republicans characterized the Democrats as border ruffians (i.e. South Midlanders),

58. Quoted by Carolyn Jones, *The First One Hundred Years: A History of the City of Manhattan, Kansas, 1855-1955* (Manhattan, Kans.: Manhattan Centennial, 1955), [40].

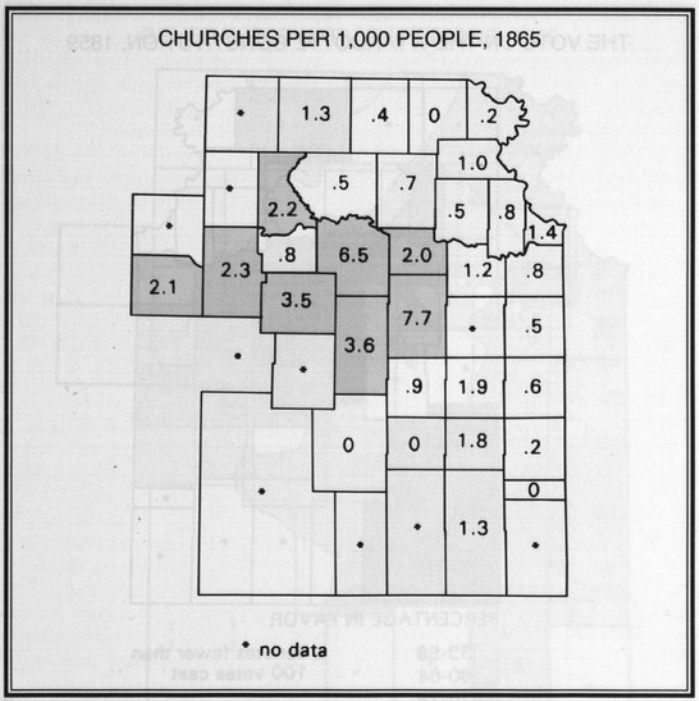

Fig. 13. *Data from Kansas state census. Shading marks counties in which the ratio is 2.0 or higher.*

men without scruples who were pawns of Washington, D.C. The voting was overwhelmingly in favor of the new constitution, 10,421 to 5,530, with majorities in all but Morris and Johnson counties.[59] Nevertheless, when the county "in favor" percentages are compared with the proportion of the population born in South Midland and Lower Southern states, the correlation is high (r= -.67). Beyond the obvious Yankee/South Midland dichotomy, the mapped pattern shows that voters in predominately North Midland counties such as Nemaha, Lyon, and Osage clearly aligned themselves with those from the New England-dominated places (Fig. 12).

The common accusation that Missourians were "'down on' schools, churches, and printing offices, and revel in ignorance and filth" can be partially explored through a church inventory taken as part of the 1865 census and through the location of early colleges.[60] The number of churches is not as sensitive a measure of religious affiliation as membership would be, but a ratio of congregations to population may serve as a general indicator of the role of organized religion in people's lives (Fig. 13). Similarly, a map of four-year colleges founded in 1865 or before, a time when Kansas was still a frontier, would seem to be a reasonable measure of community commitment to higher education (Fig. 14). Both maps reveal sharp regionalization. Of the South Midland counties, only Morris had a high ratio of churches per capita, and this figure may even be misleading since none of that county's four churches had buildings of their own. The South Midland counties were generally the most populous in the state, yet only Atchison possessed a college, and it was a product of Benedictine priests, not the city's Missouri contingent.

New Englanders, in contrast to the Missourians, were truly committed to the early construction of churches and colleges. The Emigrant Aid Company had a policy against direct aid to religious groups, but company officers and settlers privately established Congregational and Unitarian churches in Lawrence within the first year of settlement, and similar progress occurred in the other Yankee towns. The Emigrant Aid Company freely provided money and building lots for elementary schools and, nearly as quickly, attention was focused on higher education. Amos Lawrence endowed a college in Lawrence in 1855. Two years later, the company donated twenty lots in Manhattan to help start Bluemont Central College, and in 1858, the state's Congregational ministers advertised for bids for the church-affiliated college that became Washburn, in Topeka.[61]

59. G. Raymond Gaeddert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1940), 34-76.

60. Quoted by Weisberger, "The Newspaper Reporter," 651.

61. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 88, 248-50, 298; Peter McVicar, *An Historical Sketch of Washburn College* (Burlington, Kans.: Republican-Patriot Printers, 1886), 2.

That two of these three institutions became the major public universities in the state is also a direct result of early promotions by Yankee settlers. Of the remaining colleges extant before 1866, the short-lived Western Christian College was also in a New England settlement (Ottumwa, near Hampden), whereas the other three (Baker, Ottawa, and Wetmore) were located in areas of North Midland influence.

Implications

Detailed mapping of the population origins of early Kansans documents the assertion that "cultural differences were more fundamental than the New England and eastern inspired histories . . . give any hint."[62] South Midland, Yankee, and European peoples each settled in well defined areas, and were isolated from one another not only physically but by the presence of people from the somewhat neutral North Midland states. Alliance between North Midland and Yankee interests on the free-state political issue, together with control of early image making in Northern hands, have led to an underevaluation of the South Midland contribution to the Kansas cultural heritage and, perhaps, to an overestimation of similarities between North Midland and Yankee values.

This article has defined the early regionalization of Kansas culture groups but has explored only a few of their actual values. If work elsewhere can be a guide, the nativity regions may function as touchstones, partial explanations for the variations in many aspects of regional culture and development. Assessments are needed of the cultural geographical components of historical issues such as degree of mobility, temperance, populism, and agricultural systems. Implications for modern Kansas may be considerable too. The continuing presence of early place-names may seem trivial, but the localization of major universities and the state capital in the small New England zone of settlement has had profound consequences for the state's pattern of development. The degree of persistence of the various cultures and cultural values is another important issue. One could examine the historical geography of particular traits or focus on places having differing heritages. In the latter vein, Fort Scott or Council Grove would be good South Midland candidates for closer study; Manhattan, Holton, and Alma typify early Yankee, North Midland, and Germanic heritage, respectively. KH

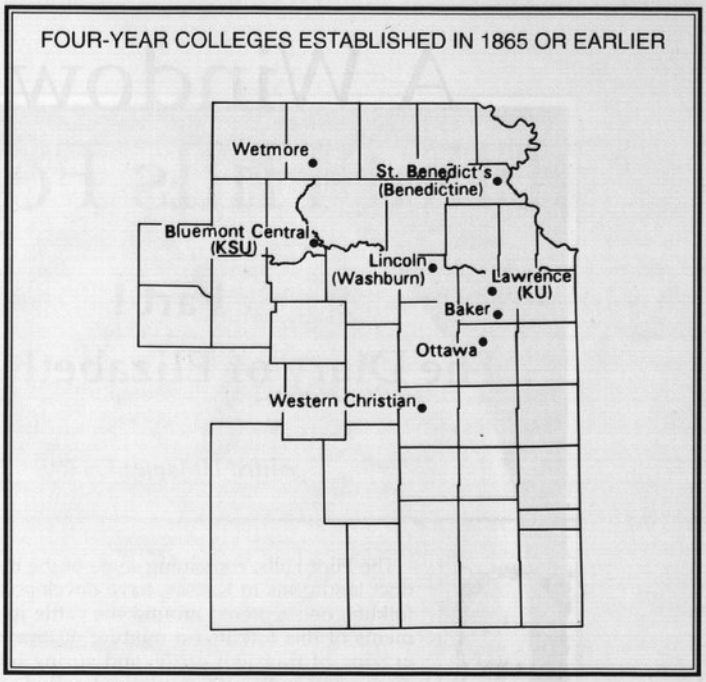

Fig. 14. *Data from Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self,* Historical Atlas of Kansas *(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), maps 45 and 46.*

62. James C. Malin, "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," in *Territorial Kansas*, 38.