

HISTORIC OVERVIEW

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Historic Development of Lawrence

Chapter Four — Historic Overview

PREHISTORY

Historians and anthropologists organize the study of human occupation in the Central Plains according to a cultural chronology that spans the period from about 10,000 years B.C. to the present. Paleo-Indian hunters who roamed the area were the earliest inhabitants during the period from 10,000 to 6000 B.C. The Archaic people were the next major cultural group; they predominated during the period 6000 B.C. to A.D. 300. Later cultures included the Plains Woodland people who lived from A.D. 1 to 1000, the Plains Woodland Village Farmers who lived from A.D. 1000 to 1450, and the Proto-Historic people A.D. 1450 to 1700. A westward advance of Woodland people into this area during the late Archaic period also provided evidence of a parallel Early Ceramic culture, A.D. 1 to 1000; a Middle Ceramic culture, A.D. 1000 to 1500 (Kansas City Hopewellian); and a Late Ceramic culture, A.D. 1500 to 1800. When European explorers and traders began to travel regularly through what is now Kansas, the documentation of this cultural interaction defined the Historic Period from about A.D. 1700 to the present.²⁶

HISTORIC NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE

The historic period of Native American culture began with the arrival of European-American traders on the Missouri River, which established an era of relatively regular contact with the native populations of northeastern Kansas. What is now Douglas County was part of the Kansa Indian Territory during the early historic period. The Kansa first lived along the Missouri River in the St. Joseph-Kansas City area. They later moved to the Big Blue River along the upper Kansas River near present-day Manhattan, and then to lower Mission Creek and the middle reaches of the Kansas River. Generally, the Kansa territory was the northeast corner of Kansas from the Missouri River to the Big Blue River and from the Nebraska line south to the Kansas River. In their last years in Kansas, the Kansa lived around Council Grove. In 1873, they moved to Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma. Investigations have not identified any Kansa camps or special activity sites in Douglas County, although they may be present.

²⁶ William E. Unrau, *Indians of Kansas* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1991), 9; and Patricia J. O'Brien, *Archaeology in Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1984), 27-79.

In an effort to open more land to settlement, the United States government implemented a policy of "Indian Removal" of Native American nations from the Great Lakes region and Ohio River Valley to "vacant" lands west of the Missouri River and the Missouri and Arkansas borders. Through a series of treaties initiated in 1825, the federal government promised reserved land as a permanent home for the emigrant tribes. As a result of these treaties, the Kansa accepted a much diminished reservation west of Douglas County and the so-called "emigrant Indians" from the East received land reserves that extended into what is now Douglas County.

Both the Delaware and Shawnee nations lived along the Kansas River, hunted buffalo to the west, developed farms, and raised livestock. The Delaware reservation extended along the north side of the Kansas River while the Shawnee reservation extended along the south side, including most of present-day Johnson and Douglas counties. The Delaware settled in present-day Wyandotte County in 1830. A Baptist mission established there for the Delaware continued to serve the Wyandotte nation until 1867. Shawnee tribes began arriving in the area in 1828 and more arrived in later years. Euro-Americans established a trading post for the Shawnee in Johnson County as well as Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, and Quaker missions. In 1848, missionaries established a Methodist Episcopal mission near the mouth of the Wakarusa River, possibly in extreme northeastern Douglas County.

To those accustomed to exploitation and appropriation of the public lands for their own purposes, "Indian Country" offered unusual opportunities. Productive soil, potentially valuable town sites, and railroad right-of-way became more important than treaty promises. As one reporter observed when Kansas Territory opened in 1854, "It required no spirit of divination to foresee that, in opening the territory to a white population, the semi-barbarous occupancy of the finest lands by the Indians would inevitably terminate in some manner."²⁷

One of the steps to dispossession was the federal statute of July 22, 1854, which allowed all Indian lands to which title had been or should be extinguished to come under the very liberal provisions of the Preemption Law of 1841. Preemption meant that the actual settler on unclaimed public land had the first right to buy it from the federal government. White settlers argued that – without preemption – the new country would be in the hands of monopolists and not the small yeoman farmer. Besides, the land-hungry settlers insisted that the federal government could hardly expect strict compliance with the rules governing land when federal policies toward Native

²⁷ 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), 4. The quotation is from William Phillips, a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* in his book, *The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and Her Allies*.

Americans were filled with deception.²⁸ The Delaware and Shawnee treaties of 1854 also stated that the emigrant tribes must allow rights-of-way for railroad development through their land.²⁹

During the conflicts of the territorial period and particularly after the outbreak of the Civil War, white settlers challenged Indian land claims. The emigrant tribes came under continual harassment. By 1858, reports of squatters resorting to force became increasingly common. They physically abused Indian agents and forced some to abandon their agencies. As late as 1863, Native American nations still held almost four million acres in the State. Euro-American settlers complained that the government should extinguish the Indian titles completely, not just to negotiated concessions for traders, land speculators, and railroad men.³⁰

The demand for public land eventually led to the removal of more than ten thousand Kickapoo, Delaware, Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Kansa, Ottawa, Wyandot, Miami, and Osage, in addition to a number of smaller nations, from the State. After 1866, many Native Americans ceded their Kansas lands to the federal government and most moved to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. By 1875, fewer than one thousand – the Prairie Band of the Potawatomis, a few Kickapoos, and even fewer Sacs and Foxes – remained.³¹

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, 1820-1854

From the early to the mid-nineteenth century, many Euro-American travelers and emigrants moved through the Kansas River valley along several commercial and overland emigrant trails. Both the Oregon-California and Santa Fe trails ran through what is now Douglas County.

As early as the late eighteenth century, French and Spanish explorers traveled between Santa Fe and St. Louis. Eventually, the Santa Fe Trail took its name from its destination, the capital of Mexico's northernmost province. Before 1821, Spain prohibited overland trade with the United States, but after Mexican independence, trade flourished between Mexico and merchants from the United States.

In March 1825, Congress authorized a survey of a road from Missouri to New Mexico and negotiations with Indian nations for safe passage across the plains. The survey party signed treaties with the Osage and Kansa for permission to mark the road and

²⁸ Ibid., 113.

²⁹ Ibid., 14, 27.

³⁰ Ibid., 24, 107.

³¹ Ibid., 5.

use it freely. At first, traders left from Franklin, then Fort Osage, and, later, Independence and Westport in Missouri and Leavenworth in Kansas. Most of the trail branches joined near what is now the town of Gardner in southwestern Johnson County, Kansas. The Santa Fe Trail overland route from Missouri, entered Kansas in Johnson County, passed the Shawnee Indian missions, and followed a route through Douglas, Osage, and Lyon counties to Council Grove and on westward to Santa Fe.

Not only did Euro-Americans leave the western frontier of the United States to trade goods for silver species in Mexico, during the 1830s, Mexicans brought in silver amounting to as much as \$300,000 per trip and furs and mules to trade for manufactured goods. The trade was very profitable for American merchants. In *Commerce of the Prairies*, Santa Fe trader, Josiah Gregg, reported that the volume of trade between 1822 and 1843 usually produced profits from 20 to 40 percent. During the Mexican War of 1846-1848, the Santa Fe Trail served as a military road. After the war, the U.S. military began to establish forts near the trail to protect travelers and to maintain peace among the various Indian nations.

During the 1850s, commerce and emigration increased. In 1860, more than three thousand freight wagons used the trail. Six years later, the number grew to between five thousand and six thousand wagons. The volume of trade encouraged railroad developers and work began on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1868. The company completed the Kansas section in late December 1872. Overland stage and wagon freighting on the trail ended after 1878 when the railroad line reached Santa Fe, New Mexico.³²

Compared to the Santa Fe Trail, the Oregon Trail ". . . was known primarily as the emigrant's highway." It also served military and commercial traffic. The Oregon Trail was the longest overland trail, stretching from near Independence, Missouri to Oregon or California. It was never a single route but consisted of a series of alternate routes. In Kansas, the major routes began with the Santa Fe Trail at Independence or Westport, Missouri, diverged from the Santa Fe Trail near present-day Gardner, Kansas and followed the Kansas River valley, turned northwest through present-day Westmoreland and crossed the Blue River near Marysville, and continued on into Nebraska.³³ In Kansas, the route originated at the landing at Fort Leavenworth and also passed through or near the towns of Olathe, Gardner, Eudora, Lawrence, Big Springs, Topeka, Silver Lake, Rossville, St. Marys, and Westmoreland.

³² *Kansas Preservation Plan: Study Unit on the Period of Exploration and Settlement* (Topeka: 1987), 7-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

From the 1840s through the 1860s, an estimated 250,000 emigrants, prospectors, traders, and other travelers used this overland route to get to the Rocky Mountains, Utah, Oregon, and California. Already significant by the mid-1840s, traffic escalated with the discovery of gold in California in 1849.

At first, travelers had to ford the rivers and streams. As travel increased, several individuals started ferries. In 1850, guidebooks listed five ferries or bridges along the Oregon Trail in Kansas. Activity on the Oregon Trail declined as the railroads built transcontinental lines in the 1860s and 1870s.

The Kansas River was another important travel route through what is now Kansas. Early traders moved up and down the river in pirogues or keelboats. The first steamboats traveled the Kansas River in 1854. In the spring of 1855, several boats docked at Lawrence. This supported the belief that the settlement could become the western freight terminal for the new territory. The belief was contradicted by extreme variations in the flow of the Kansas River. The river was barely navigable in 1856. Drought in 1857 and again in 1860 made steamboat travel impossible.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE KANSAS TERRITORY AND DOUGLAS COUNTY

After the Mexican War, the issue of the expansion of slavery into thousands of acres of new territory created a national controversy. In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which opened the unsettled region west of the Missouri river and the western boundary of Missouri to white settlement. Departing from the earlier Missouri Compromise, Congress mandated that whether the former "Indian Country" would be slave or free would be determined by settlers' votes.

Abolitionists and other opponents of the extension of slavery organized to make Kansas a free state. Southerners, especially residents of Missouri, expected that their neighboring territory would become a slave state. The abolitionists of New England assisted anti-slavery emigrants planning to settle in Kansas. In July 1854, the first emigrant party left Boston to establish a town some forty miles west of the junction of the Kansas and the Missouri rivers. The emigrants named their newly established town Lawrence. Before the end of the year, five emigrant parties, including a total of about five hundred people, made their way to Kansas and Lawrence. The emigrant aid company sponsored groups that traveled to Topeka, Manhattan, and several other towns in 1854 and 1855.

When pro-slavery voters elected a territorial legislature in the fall of 1854, northerners organized a rival legislature. Both provisional governments petitioned Congress to be admitted to the Union. For the next several years, the political situation remained

confused. During the years from 1855 through 1857, frequent violent outbreaks in Eastern Kansas, particularly in Douglas County, made national headlines. Raids by pro-slave Missouri forces and abolitionist groups occurred on both sides of the Missouri-Kansas border and resulted in murders and the destruction of property. Because of such incidents, the territory became known as "Bleeding Kansas." By the end of 1857, the presence of federal troops and effective gubernatorial leadership began to control the violence. Many Missourians left the territory and in the fall of 1857, free-state voters gained control of the territorial legislature. Their leaders held a convention in 1859 at Wyandotte where they drafted the constitution under which Kansas, in January 1861, entered the Union as a free state.³⁴

Some of the earliest towns founded in Douglas County were Lawrence, Franklin, and Lecompton. Located a few miles southeast of Lawrence, above the bottomlands where the Wakarusa joins the Kansas River, Franklin was the first stagecoach stop west of Westport, Missouri. When Kansas became a territory, many Missourians moved into Kansas, and Franklin became a town popular with southern sympathizers. Other early Douglas County communities were Black Jack, Big Springs, and Lone Star.³⁵

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF LAWRENCE³⁶

Settlement Period, 1854-1863

From the first year of settlement in 1854, Lawrence was a "planned community with metropolitan aspirations." Following the early years of settlement, activity during the "city-building" period from 1864 to 1873 defined the central commercial axis of Lawrence and the related network of residential districts. Industrial development in the late nineteenth century and the growth of the University in the early twentieth century were also important determinants of the urban environment. For each period, the local population, institutions, activities, and artifacts formed a characteristic pattern.³⁷

³⁴ Ibid., 39-40.

³⁵ Daniel C. Fitzgerald, *Ghost Towns of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 73, 71-86; and Daniel C. Fitzgerald, *Faded Dreams: More Ghost Towns of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, c1994), 55-56.

³⁶ Interpretation of the historical development of Lawrence is based on the chronology in a 1984 study, "Living With History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas," by Dale Nimz. This study outlined a distinctive sequence of chronological periods in the history of the City's urban design, architecture, and landscape. Each period has an overall theme and associated geographical area. Since almost all of the existing historic buildings in Lawrence have associations with the periods after 1865, that study did not develop a context for the prehistoric period, exploration period, or for the post-World War II period from 1945 to 1965. As buildings and structures in Lawrence from that period age, an additional context for evaluating their historical and architectural significance will be necessary.

³⁷ Nimz, "Living With History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas" (Urban Studies Project for the City of Lawrence, Kansas, 1984), 59. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

A majority of the historic buildings surviving in Lawrence date to the periods of slow, gradual growth and replacement dating from 1873 to 1945. This pattern contrasts with the rapid and extensive growth of the city-building period (1864-1873) and the modern period of prosperity, dramatic population growth, and building construction from 1945 to the present. The interpretation of significance in local history, then, must account for this tension between continuity, growth, and decline.

Agents for the New England Aid Company, an anti-slavery organization formed to counter the political influence of southern slaveholders in Kansas, selected a town site located on an area of relatively level ground between the two valleys of the Kansas and Wakarusa rivers. The first party of emigrants from Massachusetts camped on Mount Oread on August 1, 1854. Given the perception in 1854 that steamboat travel was practical on the Kansas River, the Lawrence site seemed to have the potential to become the regional metropolis serving a vast territory.³⁸

Earlier, overland travelers to California, Achilles B. Wade and Charles Robinson, camped near the future site of Lawrence in 1849-1850. The distinctive configuration of features at a point where the Kansas River turned northwest opposite a prominent ridge (later named Mount Oread) impressed both men and they returned to settle in Lawrence.

Oriented along a linear north-south main street perpendicular to the Kansas River, the original town plan created a regular grid street pattern including reservations for parks, schools, and public buildings that remained a significant aspect of the core of the City and its community. A. D. Searle's revised plat of 1855 established Lawrence's urban design. The original area of the town site was reduced from a tract extending for 2½ miles along the river and 1½ miles from the river south to an area one-mile square.³⁹

In 1855, the pro-slavery territorial legislature established Douglas County. Later in 1857, Lecompton, a pro-slavery settlement west of Lawrence, became the first county seat. Residents of Lawrence then adopted their own town charter by acclamation rather than accept one from the hostile legislature. When free-state settlers gained control of the legislature, one of the first bills considered was a charter for Lawrence, which gained approval on February 11, 1858.⁴⁰ From a settlement of approximately four

³⁸ Ibid., 59-60.

³⁹ Holland Wheeler, *City of Lawrence with its additions*, map. (New York: T. Bonar, lith., ca. 1858), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas and A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 313.

⁴⁰ David Dary, *Lawrence Douglas County Kansas: An Informal History*, ed. Steve Jansen (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982), 43; Andreas, 310; and Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1895), 159.

hundred in 1855, Lawrence grew to be a town of 1,645 residents by 1860, but it was smaller than other towns in the region. Kansas City had a population of 4,418 and Leavenworth was the largest city in Kansas with a population of 7,400 residents.

The initial settlement area between Mount Oread and the Kansas River was relatively small. Most buildings were simple and impermanent. At the end of 1854, Lawrence had ". . . about fifty dwelling houses, some of shakes, some grass-covered, some sod and log, some of tarred canvas, and one or two covered with oak boards." There were two boarding houses, a saw and planing mill, a butcher's shop, and two stores.⁴¹ Reverend Richard Cordley reported that construction began of several substantial brick buildings on Massachusetts Street late in 1857 and completed in the following year. When Cordley first arrived in autumn, however, the prospect was disappointing.

The town seemed smaller than I had expected to find it, and had a more unfinished look. There were not only no sidewalks, but no streets, except in name and on the map. The roads ran here and there, across lots and between houses, as each driver took a fancy. This gave a scattered appearance to the town. . . There were scarcely any fences or dooryards, and gardens were almost unknown. There had been hardly a tree or bush planted on the town site.⁴²

One of the greatest impediments to early commercial development was the problem of transportation. Originally, town planners envisioned Lawrence as a river town like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, but steamboating on the Kansas River was a failure. The pioneer ferry across the Kansas River became a critical link in the local transportation network. Along with building and transportation, the development of agriculture was the most important economic activity during this period.

Disputes over land claims in 1854-1855 signified the area east of Massachusetts Street as a "contested site" first associated with pro-slavery squatters. Environmental problems also delayed development in East Lawrence. Early issues of the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom* warned against settling in the edge of the timber near the Kansas River because of resulting sickness (possibly malaria).⁴³ Although early settlers did not understand disease patterns, they considered the property in the low-lying area of East Lawrence less desirable.

A bird's eye view of Lawrence in 1858 shows only scattered residential development, with the greatest number of buildings near the Kansas River. An area west of

⁴¹ Andreas, 317.

⁴² Richard Cordley, *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1903), 58.

⁴³ Cathy Ambler, "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood," (unpublished paper, University of Kansas, 1991), 7, 10-12. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas,

Massachusetts was fairly well developed, but houses east of Massachusetts were scattered. Present-day 14th Street is the southern limit of street development. Typically, such promotional views included proposed street and properties as well as developed areas; but the Lawrence view suggests the early spatial differentiation of commercial and residential areas.⁴⁴

Quantrill's raid in 1863 was the most dramatic event of the settlement period. Although both Union and secessionist troops ranged back and forth across the border country of Missouri and eastern Kansas during the Civil War, the most publicized raid occurred when about three hundred Confederate guerrillas under the leadership of William C. Quantrill surprised Lawrence residents early in the morning of August 21. Meeting no organized resistance, the raiders looted banks, stores, and saloons. They killed approximately 150 men and burned most of the buildings in the central part of town.

The majority of business houses of Lawrence lined both sides of Massachusetts Street between 7th and 9th streets. Quantrill's men destroyed about seventy-five buildings in this area. As the Lawrence *Daily Journal* explained in 1880, "The entire business part of the town was burned and a large number of private residences. The town, as we now see it, has mainly been built since that date."⁴⁵

From the 1850s through the 1950s, the two-part commercial block was the prevalent commercial style in downtown Lawrence. This central commercial area also included churches, residences, and civic buildings representative of the popular styles of each period.⁴⁶

The destruction of Quantrill's raid in 1863 retarded residential development for only a short time. A witness to the raid recalled that ". . . nearly one-half of the residences were also burned [—] almost all those in the central portion of the town. Along the banks of the river, and around the outskirts, most of the houses were left." According to a list compiled on the fiftieth anniversary of the raid in 1913, eleven houses in East Lawrence survived the raid. Three of those listed remain today, but at least three other standing buildings identified in survey appear to date to a time prior to 1863, and four other houses date to the 1860s, possibly before the raid. In West Lawrence, only five houses constructed during the settlement period remain.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Deon Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Historic Resources Reconnaissance Survey Report," (cultural resource report prepared for the City of Lawrence, Kansas, 1995), 6. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

⁴⁵ *Lawrence Daily Journal* "City of Lawrence," special edition (January, 1880), 2; and Andreas, 323.

⁴⁶ Deon Wolfenbarger, "Lawrence Downtown Historic Building Survey," (cultural resource report prepared for the City of Lawrence, Kansas 1994), 17-19. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

⁴⁷ Cordley, *Pioneer Days*, 230; Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey Report," 7; David Benjamin and Dennis

City-building Period, 1864-1873

Rebuilding the town after Quantrill's raid, the completion of a railroad branch, and the end of the Civil War contributed to a notable, but short-lived boom in Lawrence. An influx of settlers increased the town's population to 8,320 by 1870. Most of this increase occurred in the last five years of the decade. After 1873, the town never experienced such a surge in growth until 1945.

Construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad to North Lawrence in November 1864 and the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston to East Lawrence in 1867 created jobs in construction, associated businesses, and eventually in local manufacturing for immigrants and new residents of Lawrence. Overshadowing the earlier territorial conflict between New Englanders and Missourians, the emigration of new groups of Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, and African-Americans to Lawrence created a bustling western town. Population diversity was a significant theme during this city-building period. According to the 1865 State census, only 23 percent of the people in Lawrence were from New England, 29 percent were from the North Midland (Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana), 29 percent were from the Upper South, and 18 percent were from Europe.⁴⁸

Railroad construction also created a new town north of the river. Geographic separation meant that North Lawrence developed as a distinct community with its own schools, churches, and businesses. This community organized after the Kansas Pacific Railroad began operation. S. N. Simpson laid out a town site of 320 acres in 1866. Immediately after its incorporation a year later, ". . . building began in earnest, and many of the buildings constructed during this period still remain standing." An attempt in 1869 to annex the new town to Lawrence failed, but on March 17, 1870 the citizens of North Lawrence and Lawrence voted to consolidate. North Lawrence comprised the 5th and 6th wards of the City with the boundary between the two on what is now North 6th Street.⁴⁹

Rapid growth and unfulfilled ambition were themes of this period. Mud on Massachusetts Street was a problem during the wet years of 1868-1869. Late in 1870, a group of property owners petitioned the City council for permission to pave at least one block of the principal street. Instead of macadam (paving with crushed rock or gravel),

Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence Report," (cultural resource report prepared for the City of Lawrence, Kansas 1991), 13. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

⁴⁸ James Shortridge, *Peopling the Plains: Who Settled Where in Frontier Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 24.

⁴⁹ *Early History of North Lawrence*, (Lawrence: North Lawrence Civic Association, 1930), 13, 16. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library. University of Kansas.

the lot owners decided to use a patented system of wooden blocks. Since this technique failed after only two years, a solution to the paving problem required municipal intervention. From 1875 on, the City assumed responsibility for the main street and regularly repaved with macadam until they installed more permanent brick paving in 1899.⁵⁰

The City's first streetcar line was an unsuccessful venture inspired by the rapid growth of Lawrence. In 1870, the City awarded a franchise for a horse-drawn line from the railroad depot in North Lawrence down Massachusetts Street. Although the franchise never paid expenses, the streetcar line continued to operate until 1879.

In 1869, the Lawrence Gas and Coal Company built a plant to manufacture coal gas for cooking and lighting. Because Lawrence did not develop as hoped, this plant ". . . proved to be larger and more expensive than the town and consumption than warranted, and for some years it was an unprofitable investment for its promoter."⁵¹

Before 1869, the City and County transacted business at different locations in Lawrence. Quantrill's raid destroyed the County building and most County records; County clerk George Bell was a casualty of the attack. The City purchased lots at the corner of 8th and Vermont in 1865 that they leased to a group of businessmen who planned to build a large city market. After the investors ran out of money, the City finally completed a large brick "Market House" in 1869. This downtown building housed all the County offices and courtroom as well as the City offices, council chamber, and the police and fire departments.⁵²

Since most of the extant buildings in the Lawrence downtown area date to the periods after Quantrill's raid in 1863, the downtown development patterns reflect building construction after the Civil War period. A. D. Searle's revised 1855 plan laid out the basic character-defining elements of streets and building lots to maximize the commercial potential of the downtown. At both ends, the linear commercial area had definite boundaries with the Kansas River to the north and South Park to the south.

Commerce

Extension of the Kansas Pacific Railroad to North Lawrence in November 1864 marked the beginning of a new stage of Lawrence's commercial history. Under construction at the time of Quantrill's raid, the railroad finally completed a permanent bridge across

⁵⁰ Cathy Ambler, "Mastering Mud on Main Street: Paving Technology in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 17 (1994): 43, 45.

⁵¹ James C. Horton, "Two Pioneer Kansas Merchants," *Kansas Historical Collections* 10 (1907-1908): 615-616; E. F. Caldwell, *A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas, 1898* (Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1899), n.p.

⁵² Andreas, 311-312; and Dary, 170.

the Kansas River in December 1863. When the railroad reached North Lawrence, business boomed on both sides of the river. As the *Kansas Daily Tribune* reported on November 27, 1864,

*No man can stand an hour at the Lawrence bridge, and see the immense amount of merchandise constantly passing by teams, without being satisfied that a paying business will soon follow this new route, increasing day by day, until Southern Kansas will do all her business in Lawrence.*⁵³

At this time Lawrence was second only to Leavenworth among Kansas cities in commercial importance. The rise of Kansas City to regional dominance, however, began with the construction of a key railroad bridge across the Missouri River in 1867. Kansas City, Missouri became the regional railroad and urban center with a population of more than 32,000 in 1870 and more than 56,000 in 1880.⁵⁴

The period of greatest commercial construction activity on Massachusetts Street occurred during the years from 1864 to 1873. After Quantrill's raid, the City permitted only stone or brick buildings on Massachusetts Street because of the danger of fire in the close-packed commercial area. Merchants rebuilt their commercial buildings with stone or brick walls and cast-iron fronts.

The settlement pattern north of the Kansas River directly reflected rapid growth during the brief city-building period. Commercial and residential districts developed with the construction of the first permanent buildings north of the river and the districts established many of the enduring families and social institutions of the community. Two small intersecting commercial districts with residential districts paralleling the railroad tracks and the Kansas River evolved. Along with the businesses, North Lawrence consisted of residential neighborhoods, churches, homes, and gardens along with the Kansas Pacific Railroad repair shops and the Delaware grist and sawmill.

Sixty-two buildings remained on Massachusetts Street in 1994 that date to Lawrence's city-building period.⁵⁵ Many of these buildings underwent remodeling in later years and their present appearance no longer represents the architecture of the nineteenth century. On the south bank of the Kansas River, there are a number of nineteenth and twentieth century industrial and manufacturing buildings. Interest in the waterpower of the river began during in the mid-nineteenth century, but waterpower was not of practical importance until later in the century.

⁵³ Dary, 129.

⁵⁴ Kenneth Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence, 1854-1900" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 940), 19. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library. University of Kansas. ; and I. E. Quastler, *The Railroads of Lawrence*, (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1979), 180.

⁵⁵ Wolfenbarger, "Lawrence Downtown Historic Building Survey," 46, 48.

Residences

Throughout the history of Lawrence, development of platted additions and subdivisions provided an underlying geographical structure for urban growth. At the end of the settlement period, developers platted four additions in 1863 — Babcock's, Lane's First, Oread, and Solomon's additions. The post-war boom required additional subdivisions — 14 during the city-building period: Babcock's Enlarged and Lane's Second additions (1865); Simpson's and South Lawrence (1866); Earl's Addition (1867); West Lawrence (1869); Cranson's Subdivision (1870); North Lawrence (annexed 1870); Christian's, Lane Place, Northeast Central, and Wilson's (1871); and Smith's and Taylor's (1872).⁵⁶

During this period, the school board erected the first permanent public school buildings in Lawrence: Central in 1865; Quincy in 1867, enlarged in 1871; New York School in 1869; Vermont in 1870; and Pinckney in 1871. As community landmarks, schools helped to define the identity of residential neighborhoods. The Board of Education erected two public schools in North Lawrence in 1868. They were known as the Fifth and Sixth Ward schools until the names changed to Lincoln and Woodlawn in 1890. The board replaced Lincoln School in 1916; that year this new building, along with McAllaster and Cordley schools south of the river, all featured the same plan.⁵⁷

The most important educational institution in Lawrence was the University of Kansas, which held its first classes in the fall of 1866. Identified as a symbol of community pride and distinction from the beginning, the University became a dominant economic institution after the turn-of-the-century. Eventually, the demand for housing near the University of Kansas stimulated development near Mount Oread.

Examples of landscape architecture such as the City park system and Oak Hill Cemetery expressed significant community values and enhanced the pattern of residential development in Lawrence. The original Lawrence survey plat of 1854 reserved four large tracts for parks. Only South Park at the end of the Massachusetts Street commercial area and Clinton Park in the northwest part of the original town remain. Located in the center of historic Lawrence, South Park resembles a New England village green. As the central public space in the developing town, South Park was the site of baseball games, band concerts, and public speeches. Properties adjoining the park enjoyed higher property values than nearby property of equal size, testifying to the value of South Park as an amenity.

⁵⁶ Stan Hernly, "Cultural Influences on Suburban Form: With Examples from Lawrence, Kansas," M. Arch. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1985), Appendix B, 214. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

⁵⁷ Caldwell; and "Lincoln School is in 33rd Year," *Lawrence (KS) Journal-World*, 13 November 1948.

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the neighborhoods now known as Old West Lawrence and Pinckney formed one residential district. Similar economic, social, and architectural trends that developed after 1863 shaped the residential neighborhoods of East and North Lawrence and differentiated these districts from West and South Lawrence. During the brief period from 1865 to 1873, many new modest wood-frame houses in East and North Lawrence housed workers on the railroad and in associated manufacturing, agricultural processing, and business enterprises.⁵⁸

Agriculture and Manufacturing, Foundations of Stability, 1874-1899

City-building in Lawrence ended in the nationwide financial panic of 1873. The popular sentiment expressed in a *Lawrence Tribune* editorial on March 14, 1873 – that if more County bonds were approved, they should encourage manufacturing rather than railroads – reflects the end to the boom and the beginning of a shift to the development of local manufacturing. By this time, even the most optimistic booster realized that Lawrence was losing the competition with Kansas City for railroad connections, population, and economic growth.

The recession of the 1870s had its origins in the September 18 failure of the well-known New York investment firm of Jay Cooke and Company. Two days later, the New York Stock Exchange closed and credit became difficult to obtain. The impact on Lawrence was catastrophic. During the boom, the City and County issued a total of \$900,000 in bonds to support railroad construction. After 1873, this debt became a crushing tax burden. In 1874, a drought and grasshopper invasion devastated the farms of Douglas County. Residents began to leave for more secure settlements to the east or possible opportunities in the West. By the time of the State census in 1875, Lawrence showed a loss of 1,052 residents, while the population of Douglas County declined by 2,087. By 1877, all five banks in Lawrence either failed or reorganized.⁵⁹ Because of the recession, the population of Lawrence in 1880 (8,510) was only slightly larger than in 1870.

From 1874 to 1899, a pattern of slow population growth and building construction continued with an economy based on agricultural processing and manufacturing. Lawrence also functioned as a market town for agricultural businesses in Douglas County in a regional economy dominated by the nearby larger cities of Kansas City, Missouri and Topeka, Kansas. There was little increase in the overall population. The town's population in 1890 was 9,997. The rate of growth was even slower in the 1890s

⁵⁸ Benjamin and Enslinger, 15; and Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey," 11.

⁵⁹ Nimz, 81; and Dary, 186-187.

and by 1900 the population was only 10,682. In 1895, the editor of the *Lawrence Daily Journal* admitted that Lawrence was ". . . a little slow and conservative."⁶⁰

When completed in 1879, the dam on the Kansas River provided waterpower for small manufacturing concerns. Among them were the Consolidated Barb Wire factory and the Wilder Brothers Shirt Factory. The dam and these two factories are surviving structures that represent the late nineteenth century period of industrial development in Lawrence. Although the Lawrence dam was unique as a power source in Kansas, manufacturing in Lawrence was fairly typical of local industry in the State and region. As industry consolidated in the late nineteenth century, the dam helped Lawrence retain enterprises that might have moved away or been abandoned.⁶¹

Barbed wire manufacturing became the most important industry in Lawrence when the Consolidated Barb Wire Company completed a large new building in August 1884. In later years, ". . . more of the wire used by Kansas farmers came from the Lawrence plant than from all other sources combined, and the company sent miles of wire to Indian Territory, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah." Despite its success, the company ownership changed in a forced sale in January 1899 to the American Steel & Wire Company. When the Lawrence plant closed on March 21 that year, more than two hundred men lost their jobs. The *Topeka Capital* referred to the closing as one of the greatest misfortunes that had happened in Kansas.⁶²

Except for the administration of limited police and fire protection, the City provided few municipal services in the nineteenth century. Inadequate water supply and sewage systems resulted in recurring sanitary problems. Gradually, an effort grew to address these problems. The *Lawrence Journal* on April 5, 1888 noted growing interest in ". . . an intelligent and complete storm water sewerage of the whole city." A. L. Selig, elected mayor in 1891, became known locally as the leader who provided Lawrence with "the best system of sewage of any city its size in the West." When individual wells and cisterns proved to be inadequate, a franchised company organized to distribute water. Although the central water supply system went into operation in 1887, the privately capitalized utility struggled to solve the problems of quality and supply. Water quality and distribution were not satisfactory until the City took over the system in 1916.⁶³

Electricity was first generated in Lawrence in 1885 at the Pierson and Sons' flourmill. This mill was near the Kansas River at the north end of downtown. Planning for electric services began on July 13, 1887 when a Professor Marvin surveyed the

⁶⁰ *Lawrence Daily Journal* 23 January 1895, cited in Quastler, 343.

⁶¹ Middleton, 179, 189-191, 194.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Nimz, 85.

businesses on Massachusetts Street to determine their demand for electrical power. Later in 1888, the Lawrence Gas, Fuel, and Electric Company acquired the Pierson dynamos along with another plant installed by the waterpower company. By August 31, 1888, Lawrence had fifteen electric streetlights along its main thoroughfares. Although the University had a few electric lights in 1888, engineering students installed the first lighting system in 1891.⁶⁴

Commerce

Most of the significant commercial buildings associated with this period survive in the downtown, others are in North Lawrence, and a few are in several residential neighborhoods. Most of the commercial buildings on Massachusetts Street had been completed by 1873. Economic recovery from the recession began in late 1877 and continued through 1884. Information from the downtown survey indicated a period of modest prosperity during the 1880s. During this period, commercial construction occurred at the south end of Massachusetts, on New Hampshire, and on the cross streets. Commercial and institutional buildings were usually brick and/or stone. Masonry was more durable and fire-resistant. Before the advent of concrete, builders used stone in large quantities because it was locally available.

Detached from the Massachusetts Street business district by just two blocks, the neighborhood commercial buildings at 14th and Massachusetts include two generations of businesses. Neighborhood businesses were particularly common in East Lawrence, but such businesses also appeared in the West Lawrence and Oread neighborhoods. This pattern of mixed commercial and residential uses preceded later, segregated patterns dictated by automobile routes and zoning. At the end of the century, more commercial specialization occurred. In North Lawrence, for example, businesses provided goods and services only to the surrounding neighborhoods and the agricultural hinterland north of the river. By that time, clothing, drug, furniture, and hardware stores as well as attorneys and physicians were concentrated south of the river.⁶⁵

Residences

Platting in Lawrence depended on local economic and population growth trends. The street railway reorganized in 1884 extended south to 19th and Massachusetts and down Tennessee to 17th Street. There were connections to Bismarck Grove in North Lawrence and to the Santa Fe Railroad Depot in East Lawrence.⁶⁶ The dates of the seventeen

⁶⁴ *Lawrence (KS) Tribune*, 13 July 1887, cited in Robert Taft, *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1941), 34, 175; and *Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal*, 19 April 1888.

⁶⁵ Barbara Anderson, "North Lawrence Survey Report" (cultural resource report for City of Lawrence, Kansas 1996), 12. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

⁶⁶ Carl Thor, "Chronology of Public Transit in Lawrence, Kansas" (unpublished paper, May 1980.), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

additions recorded in the last decades of the nineteenth century reflect years of relative prosperity during the 1880s followed by slower growth in the 1890s. These included Bew's Addition, Doane's Addition, Sinclair's Subdivision (1881); Frazier's Addition in North Lawrence, Sinclair's Addition, Steel's Addition (1884); Walnut Park in North Lawrence (1885); Moreland Place (1886); Haskell Place, Logan Place, Raymond Place, South-view, University Place (1887); University Place Annex (1888); Rhode Island Street Extension (1891); and, Wilder's Addition (1897).⁶⁷

The construction of several large houses on multiple lots in the area of West Lawrence south of Sixth Street reflects the accumulation of wealth by a few leading residents of Lawrence. These homes now form the key contributing buildings in the Old West Lawrence Historic District. New architectural styles introduced during this period and earlier styles continued to be constructed. While a few of the prominent late nineteenth century residences are of brick and stone, most residences were of wood-frame construction. Residential construction also incorporated a wide variety of materials and new services into more elaborate and sophisticated homes. Machine-produced ornamentation, window glass, terra cotta, brick, plaster, and paint were available in varied and durable forms. "Sanitary" plumbing, forced-air furnaces, and gas and electric lighting were innovations that made up a higher percentage of the cost of a home.⁶⁸

Both East and North Lawrence depended on their proximity to the riverfront manufacturing district on the south bank of the Kansas River. The surviving buildings constructed in East Lawrence during the 1880s and in the 1890s reflect a departure from the inactivity of the late 1870s. The same pattern of population stability and slow growth occurred in North Lawrence.

Compared to East and North Lawrence, there was much more residential construction during this period in the Oread neighborhood between Massachusetts Street and the University campus. The Oread neighborhood developed from the edges inward with early commercial development on Massachusetts and university-related development on Louisiana Street. Reportedly, Oread had residents of "diverse racial makeup" and families of all economic and social classes ranging from laborers and dressmakers to physicians and university professors. Students at the University of Kansas rented rooms in the adjacent neighborhood, although some complained, as one did in 1884, ". . . it is a long, cold climb to get to the university, especially hard on young women." The university did not build its first campus dormitory until 1923.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Hernly, Appendix B, 214.

⁶⁸ Benjamin and Enslinger, 17-18; and Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 89.

⁶⁹ B. Allison Gray, "The Heart of Oread: Historic Resources of the Oread Neighborhood, Survey Report"

Established on the east edge of town in 1865, after the large number of deaths resulting from Quantrill's raid in 1863, Oak Hill Cemetery formed a significant cultural landscape in Lawrence. The new cemetery augmented Oread, the community's first cemetery on the west side of town. The beautifully landscaped and maintained Oak Hill Cemetery demonstrated a civic pride and cultural sophistication appropriate for the new post-war "city." And, although Lawrence did not develop as expected, the new cemetery still ". . . provided a sense of social order and continuity" from the city-building period to the early twentieth century.⁷⁰

*The curving lanes and paths took advantage of the natural rise and fall of the land. The circular drive at the top of the main hill provided a northern panorama of the Kansas River valley. Their arrangement of large lots were planned to emphasize family monuments, and they [the designers] used the natural beauty of the location, along with the trees, shrubs, and flowers that they added, to create the effect they desired.*⁷¹

As residential neighborhoods expanded, other public spaces and landscapes, such as Bismarck Grove and the Haskell Institute, developed during the late nineteenth century. Bismarck Grove was a tract in the countryside originally associated with the Kansas Pacific Railroad repair shops on the east side of North Lawrence. The grove became a popular community gathering place and hosted such formal meetings as the Odd Fellows Lodge convention in 1876, a national temperance convention in 1878, and regional fairs held by the Western National Fair Association from 1880 to 1888. Because of management problems and low farm prices, the association discontinued the fairs. Eventually, Captain W. S. Tough purchased the grounds in 1900 for use as a supply station for his horse and mule sales business in Kansas City.⁷²

Just beyond the southern City limits, the Haskell Institute, a national Indian Training School, opened on September 1, 1884. By January 1885, the boarding school had 280 students. The Institute erected three stone buildings in the late 1880s. Because the school founders envisioned a self-supporting institution to train Native American youth in the skills of agriculture, the property included cropland and pastures. The campus setting in a pastoral landscape survives to the present.⁷³

(cultural resource survey for the Kansas State Historic Preservation Program, Kansas State Historical Society, 1987), 3, 4, 10. Kansas State Historical Society.

⁷⁰ Cathy Ambler, "A Place Not Entirely of Sadness and Gloom: Oak Hill Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement," *Kansas History* 15:4 (Winter 1993-93), 243, 253.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁷² Dary, 207-208; Jimmie L. Lewis, "Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, Kansas, 1878-1900," (M.A. thesis, University of Kansas 1968), 134. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

⁷³ Thelma Haverty, *Buildings on the Haskell Campus: Past & Present* (Lawrence: Haskell Press, 1975), 3.

A Quiet University Town, 1900-1945

In the early twentieth century, the town's population grew at a slow, gradual rate. There were 12,374 Lawrence residents in 1910; only 12,456 in 1920; 13,726 in 1930; and 14,390 in 1940. While Lawrence did not lose population, the town's rate of growth was much slower than the larger urban centers of Kansas City and Topeka.

By the turn-of-the-century, Lawrence had matured; its commercial and industrial interests were stable. In 1910, a promotional issue of the *Lawrence Daily Journal* boasted that the town was ". . . the trading metropolis for a rich and populous agricultural county."⁷⁴ During this period, there was a trend toward centralization of some types of businesses in the downtown, although small neighborhood businesses also proliferated. At the same time, the town lost many of its most important manufacturing establishments. A 1940 assessment of manufacturing in Lawrence revealed four of the surviving nineteenth century enterprises depended on agricultural products (flour and feed milling, vegetable canning, vinegar and dairy products).⁷⁵

During this period, City leaders made some long overdue improvements in the urban infrastructure. Local publisher, E. F. Caldwell, boasted in 1898 that, ". . . a complete system of water works has been put in, uniform street grades have been established, a number of streets have been macadamized, a great mileage of curbing and guttering, and stone and brick sidewalks laid." Despite Caldwell's boast, macadam or gravel paving had never been satisfactory. During the 1890s, there was simultaneous agitation for paving the streets and for building up a fund for an electric trolley transportation service. Paved streets were necessary for efficient trolley operation and brick was the preferred paving material if it could be obtained locally. After the City made a commitment in the summer of 1899 to pave Massachusetts Street, the McFarlane brick plant in Lawrence expanded to provide durable paving brick. John and Ben McFarlane, along with other prominent citizens, became directors of the Lawrence Vitrified Brick and Tile Company that operated into the 1920s.⁷⁶

The transportation system matched improvements in public facilities. Beginning first with the downtown commercial area, the system encouraged the development of outlying residential neighborhoods. After the great 1903 flood, the horsecar street railway ended its operations. Six years later, the Lawrence Light and Railway Company organized to build an electric trolley system for Lawrence. Besides the main

⁷⁴ Middleton, 109.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 194, 197.

⁷⁶ Caldwell; and Middleton, 165, 167.

route from the Union Pacific Railroad Depot to the southern end of Massachusetts Street and branches on Indiana and Mississippi streets to Kansas University, in 1910 a new line extended to Woodlawn Park in East Lawrence. Later, in 1916, an electric interurban railway, the Kansas City, Kaw Valley and Western, began business. This line ran from the North Lawrence depot along the north side of the Kansas River to Kansas City, Missouri. The streetcar system in Lawrence reached its maximum extent during the years from 1922 to 1927. After that, the company gradually replaced trolleys with buses. In 1935, passenger service on the Kansas City interurban ceased.⁷⁷

In 1909, Lawrence had about one hundred automobiles; the owners formed an auto club. Later, in the 1920s and 1930s, growing use of the automobile stimulated the dispersal of retail services along traffic corridors.⁷⁸ By the end of 1927, two paved roads connected Lawrence to Topeka, Kansas and to St. Joseph, Missouri. Along with the proliferation of automobiles during this period, the opening of a municipal airport in 1929 represented another new transportation trend.⁷⁹

In 1921, the Kansas legislature passed the first State zoning enabling act, which authorized cities with a population over 20,000 to implement zoning classifications. Although having a much smaller population, the leaders of Lawrence also wanted zoning authority and, in 1927, the revised State law allowed towns of all sizes to zone land uses. During this period, public concern about the commercial development along 9th Street and adjacent to the University of Kansas led to the appointment of the Lawrence Planning Commission in 1925 and the institution of the first City zoning ordinance in June 1926. Community leaders responded to a general alarm "Kansas University would be completely surrounded by 'business houses' unless some sort of regulations were adopted."⁸⁰ By 1930, the first Lawrence City plan pointed out,

. . . the city has spread from the original site to the hills on the west beyond the promontory on which the University is located on the south, and to the tributary on the east, with some population beyond the valley outside the corporate limits. It has also covered a portion of the flat land to the north of the Kaw River.⁸¹

That same year, 15 percent of the population of Lawrence (13,708) was north of the river; 35 percent was north of 12th Street and west of Massachusetts Street; 17 percent

⁷⁷ Thor, 1.

⁷⁸ This phase of urban development has not been researched and documented.

⁷⁹ Dary, 263, 326.

⁸⁰ Hernly, 133; and Bartholomew and Associates, *Comprehensive Plan: Lawrence, Kansas*, volume 1 (St. Louis: Bartholomew and Associates, 1963), 40-41.

⁸¹ *A City Plan for Lawrence, Kansas: Report of the City Planning Commission* (Kansas City, MO: Hare and Hare, 1930), 6.

was north of 12th Street and east of Massachusetts Street; 17 percent was south of 12th Street and east of Massachusetts Street; and 16 percent was south of 12th Street and west of Massachusetts Street. Planners recommended construction of a major thoroughfare system to provide for ". . . the increasing demands of present day automobile traffic. . ." but did not implement a system. They also noted that there was ". . . no direct or convenient approach to the University of Kansas from the growing district on the south side." Following the planners recommendation, a street opened later along the south route of the streetcar line.⁸² This new access to the University facilitated the development of University Place and other residential additions south of the campus.

Like other Kansas communities, the Great Depression profoundly affected Lawrence. Enrollment dropped at the University of Kansas in the early 1930s and the University cut faculty salaries. Enrollment later increased and, by 1939, the *Lawrence Journal-World* pointed out the importance of the University as "one of the city's major industries." Beginning in 1929, there was virtually no construction for years except for those projects financed by the State and federal governments. In the 1930s, federal programs assisted in improving the municipal water system, enlarging the public library, enhancing parks, and paving streets. Between 1933 and 1937, the Public Works Administration initiated twelve projects in Lawrence and Douglas County.⁸³

Commerce

The first two decades of the twentieth century were years of prosperity and modest growth in Lawrence as manifested in the public buildings constructed during this period. In downtown Lawrence, the Douglas County Courthouse, the old Public Library (1904), and the old Post Office (1912) are landmarks from these years. Of the surviving downtown buildings dating from this period, almost twice as many date to the years from 1900 to 1920 as compared to the next twenty-five years. These different phases of commercial development reflect a stable local economy and gradual population growth followed by the national financial depression of the 1930s.

Residences

As the *Lawrence Journal* boasted in 1910, "Lawrence is conceded on all hands to be the most beautiful residence city in Kansas. Its homes present uniformity in good architecture, a tasteful construction and delightful surroundings." Few of these homes were for rent, ". . . most of them having been built up to be occupied by the owners, which means good construction, and well-kept grounds."⁸⁴ Larger residences replaced

⁸² Ibid., 10, 18, 38.

⁸³ Nimz, 95; Dary, 331-334.

⁸⁴ "Live Lawrence," *Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal*, November 1910, 1.

many smaller houses in the Oread neighborhood.⁸⁵ From the late nineteenth century, younger and more prosperous residents tended to move to new residential districts in West and South Lawrence. The 1922 *School Survey* reported,

*. . . the desirable vacant lots available for future residences are for the most part west of Illinois street and north of the University, and in the territory south of the vicinity of 15th street . . . It is an interesting fact that Lawrence is only about 50% occupied. Not more than one-half of all the lots in the city are occupied.*⁸⁶

The most densely settled area of the City was a zone three blocks wide on either side of Massachusetts extending south to the vicinity of 19th Street. During this period building continued in West Lawrence and Oread.

In 1895, the removal of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston railroad bridge over the Kansas River hurt economic prospects in East Lawrence. Another blow to economic vitality and residential property values was the closing of the Barb Wire manufacturing plant in March 1899. The loss of jobs in the manufacturing enterprises located on the Kansas River also contributed to the neighborhood's decline.⁸⁷ New residential construction continued in the south part of the neighborhood with few new homes constructed in the older, north part of the neighborhood.

Beginning in the early twentieth century; downtown businesses as well as residential neighborhoods in West and South Lawrence benefited from the growth and increasing importance of the University of Kansas while East and North Lawrence did not benefit from the university's growth. The "great floods" of 1903 and 1951 damaged North Lawrence. When the Kansas River inundated North Lawrence in 1903, residents fled across the bridge south into Lawrence and, after the bridge washed away, most were evacuated by small boats. On June 1, "The river was ten miles wide just east of Lawrence." The flood destroyed part of the original North Lawrence town site. The river geographically and socially separated Lawrence. According to the *Lawrence Social Survey* published in 1917, the floods of 1903, 1904, and 1908 intensified the "social and economic chasm between the two sections of the community."⁸⁸

The development of new residential districts south of 15th Street was a significant trend during this period. In the movement toward southern and western development, C. B. Hosford was a leader who began developing real estate in 1906 and incorporated his

⁸⁵ Gray, 10. Early in this period, the City assigned numbers instead of names to the east-west streets. See Lawrence City ordinance #973, "Renaming certain streets in Lawrence, Kansas," 13, December 1913.

⁸⁶ *School Survey of Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1922), 56.

⁸⁷ Quastler, 344, 347.

⁸⁸ F. W. Blackmar and E.W. Burgess, *Lawrence Social Survey* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1917), 8.

investment and mortgage company in 1910. Later, the *Lawrence Journal World* concluded that, ". . . one of the principal contributions to the city has been the residential development carried on by this firm. Eight additions and sub-divisions have been developed and placed on the market by them."⁸⁹ Charles E. Sutton developed Breezedale Addition at the southern end of Massachusetts Street and the streetcar line where the street intersected with 23rd.⁹⁰ On the site of the Poehler estate, Elmhurst, Sutton built five homes of noticeable architectural character between 1906 and 1913. This was the first attempt in Lawrence to create an identifiable suburban neighborhood. However, the addition, situated far from the center of Lawrence near the pastoral landscape of Haskell Institute, grew slowly over the next three decades. To the east, at the terminus of the streetcar route in far eastern Lawrence, developers platted the Fairfax and Belmont additions at the intersection of 13th and Prairie streets.⁹¹

South of the University, the platting of University Place Addition, in 1887, resulted from a proposed streetcar route on Louisiana, Illinois, 17th, and 18th streets. Development in the addition did not occur until after 1910. E. W. Sellards promoted University Place in 1914 as a neighborhood offering ". . . a beautiful view, fresh air, near the University — an Ideal spot for a home."⁹² The oldest extant residence is the Benjamin Akers residence constructed in 1874. Another landmark is "The Outlook," built by banker J. B. Watkins in 1913. The mansion is now the University Chancellor's residence. Several other homes constructed from circa 1910 to the 1930s were the homes of University professors

Although Professor F. O. Marvin presented the first plan for the original University of Kansas campus in 1897, the 1904 George Kessler plan for long-range campus development was more significant. Kessler proposed organizing future building around a huge central administration building. The construction of Strong Hall created this focal point. Kessler also projected the development of "Dormitories or Other Buildings," "Club Houses," and "Homes of Faculty" on the west ridge of Mount Oread.⁹³ In this respect, the Kessler plan foreshadowed the eventual development of both University facilities and residential districts west of the campus. Individual professors in the School of Engineering and the Department of Architecture influenced campus planning and the design of residences west of campus.

In the chronological development of residential subdivisions in Lawrence, there was a

⁸⁹ *Lawrence (KS) Journal-World* October 10-11, 1929, 8.

⁹⁰ *Lawrence: Yesterday and Today* (Lawrence: *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, 1913), 41.

⁹¹ Hernly, 112, 110.

⁹² "University Place Homes Tour," (brochure, 1992) Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

⁹³ Marvin's plan was discussed in the *University Weekly* 13 November 1897; and Taft, 164-165, 188-189.

pause between the prosperous early decades and modest growth during the 1920s and 1930s. Twenty-nine additions and subdivisions recorded between 1901 and 1919 were primarily in the south part of Lawrence. Only seven new plats date to the period after 1920 — the first in 1925 and the last two in 1938. These included some of the first residential developments adjacent to the University to the west and the first to break out of the western grid pattern. Given Court, platted in 1926, had the first looped and curving roads. Westhills Number 1, platted in 1931, had the earliest winding roads with lots that not strictly oriented to the four cardinal directions. Colonial Court, platted in 1935, had the first true cul-de-sac in the City's residential development.⁹⁴

With an innovative curvilinear street pattern and irregular building orientation, the development of University Heights west of the campus demonstrated modern trends in suburban design and residential architectural styles. Originally subdivided in 1909, the subdivision underwent re-platting in 1928 and its main street was renamed Crescent Road. The City of Lawrence annexed University Heights in 1947.⁹⁵

In the period after World War I, a number of factors imposed controls on suburban development. Covenants became commonplace, particularly restrictive covenants that prevented the sale of property to ethnic and religious minorities came into widespread use across the nation. In Lawrence, some properties were subject to deed restrictions, which prohibited sale or occupancy by "any other than a member of the Aryan race." The 1948 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Shelley v. Kramer* outlawed the restrictions regarding the sale of property to a person of a minority race.⁹⁶

After the war, developers began to set standards relating to lot sizes, street frontage, house dimensions, placement of outbuildings, architectural styles, and other landscape features. At the same time, the advent of zoning ordinances further defined the newly developing areas of towns. As previously mentioned, the City established the first zoning ordinances in Lawrence in 1926. The purpose of the ordinances was to mitigate nuisances, provide protections to increase property values and to address health and safety issues. Zoning routinely established "single family residential" as the highest zoning classification. By separating commercial, industrial, and residential uses, zoning prevented multi-family, industrial, and commercial development from harming the property values of single-family neighborhoods.⁹⁷ Subdivisions platted after World War I reflected this trend; usually they were entirely residential. In Lawrence, for example,

⁹⁴ Hernly, Appendix B, 215.

⁹⁵ Elaine Warren, "University Heights Part Two, 1906 to 1996," (unpublished paper, Architecture 600, 1996), 15-16, 25. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

⁹⁶ Charles and Molly Baer, "The History of Westwood, Lawrence, Kansas," (unpublished paper, 1995), 75. Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas; and Warren, 2.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Rosin and Sally Schwenk, "South Lawrence Survey Report," (cultural resource report prepared for the City of Lawrence, Kansas, 1999), 18. City of Lawrence, Kansas.

several subdivisions platted west of the University allowed only single-family residences and excluded apartments, boarding houses, fraternity buildings, and sorority houses.

While such social and legal factors influenced the development patterns, advances in technology also shaped the built environment of Lawrence. August 22, 1922 marks the date of the completion of the first paved road between Lawrence and Topeka. Street improvements for automobile traffic divided West Lawrence. In 1944, the proposed plan to make 6th Street a through route for east-west traffic on Highway 40 to reduce congestion at 7th and Massachusetts created controversy. Although the PTA and Board of Education opposed this routing in front of Pinckney Elementary School, in 1950 the State highway commission authorized the relocation. To solve the traffic hazard, the commission agreed to construct a pedestrian underpass with ramps opposite the school.⁹⁸ Construction of this trafficway divided the Pinckney neighborhood from what is now known as Old West Lawrence. The paving of the intersections of highways 10, 73W, and U.S. Highway 40, just north of the city limits, affected the North Lawrence neighborhood. This improved the connection between the road leading out of Lawrence and the main road linking Kansas City and Topeka.⁹⁹

Post-World War II Lawrence

The outbreak of World War II brought dramatic changes in the City's fortunes. Sunflower Ordinance Plant, which opened in nearby Johnson County in May 1942, brought three thousand new workers to the area. Most of them lived in Lawrence. After the war ended, the large number of veterans returning to finish their education at the University of Kansas launched the modern era in local history. Dramatic population growth and economic development characterized the post-World War II period in Lawrence. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, the population grew by more than 26 percent — from 14,390 to 18,638 residents. The student population increased from 3,412 in 1945 to 4,713 in 1950. By 1960, the town's population reached 32,858.¹⁰⁰

Commerce

New industrial enterprises and remarkable growth at the University ignited a modern boom. To compensate for the inaction of the depression and war years, a Civic Action Committee organized in 1945 to promote the "Lawrence Victory Plan" for community improvements. The plan provided for seventeen projects including new facades on downtown business buildings, an improved airport, additional city parks, city water improvements, and an effort to attract more visitors.¹⁰¹ As the *Lawrence Journal-World*

⁹⁸ *Lawrence (KS) Journal World*, 22 May 1944; 7 November 1944; 4 September 1950.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14 January 1930.

¹⁰⁰ Nimz, 95; Hernly, 158; and Wolfenbarger, "Lawrence Downtown Historic Building Survey," 51.

¹⁰¹ Dary, 343-344.

reported on August 19, 1948, "The city of Lawrence is having its face lifted." On Massachusetts Street, some storefronts were "completely torn down and modern structures put in their place." The expected value of construction surpassed \$1 million by the year's end.¹⁰² In 1949, the City revised its original zoning ordinance. This change instituted segregated uses and rezoned portions of the older residential districts; the revisions discouraged investment in the City core.

The construction of the Kansas Turnpike between Kansas City and Oklahoma further stimulated the economic development of Lawrence, particularly north of the river. The route for the high-speed toll road roughly paralleled U.S. Highway 40 on the north side of the Kansas River and linked the capital city of Topeka with the business centers of Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas. The completed turnpike just north of the Lawrence city limits opened to motorists on October 21, 1956.¹⁰³

In 1951, the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce boasted a 60 percent increase in the City's population since 1940. From 1949 to 1951, the industrial payroll increased 40 percent. A Chamber brochure promoted Lawrence as a site for plant relocation because the federal government recommended that ". . . industry move inland from heavily industrialized coastal areas." Lawrence offered a mid-America location, construction sites on mail-line transportation, proximity to markets, and ". . . a ready pool of skilled craftsmen and dependable labor."¹⁰⁴ A Westvaco sodium phosphate plant and Cooperative Farm Chemicals nitrogen fertilizer plant opened in 1950 and 1951 east of Lawrence. In 1951, FMC Phosphorous Chemicals built a plant on the east edge of North Lawrence. Stokely Foods operated a canning plant on the east border of East Lawrence. During the Korean War, the federal government reactivated the Sunflower Ordinance plant in western Johnson County. Because of the plant, the National Defense Production Administration designated Lawrence as a critical defense area in 1952 and relaxed wartime economic controls on building materials.¹⁰⁵

Residences

After 1945, suburban residential development in Lawrence resembled that of other communities throughout the nation. Home ownership, particularly for white middle-class families, became a public policy goal. Federal programs such as the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which revolutionized home loan financing with the long-term, low-interest, amortized mortgage; the G.I. Bill, which allowed home purchase

¹⁰² Nimz, 95.

¹⁰³ Sherry Schirmer and Theodore Wilson, *Milestones: A History of the Kansas Highway Commission and the Department of Transportation* (Topeka, KS: Department of Transportation, 1986), 22-23, 26.

¹⁰⁴ Chamber of Commerce, *Look to Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence: *Lawrence Journal World*, 1951). Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

¹⁰⁵ Hernly, 151.

without a down payment; and the introduction of personal income tax deductions for mortgage interest provided a foundation for extraordinary residential construction and suburban expansion.¹⁰⁶ The Housing Act of 1949 stimulated investment in large housing developments. A prominent example in Lawrence was Park Hill, a subdivision with one hundred homes located southwest of the intersection of 23rd and Vermont streets. On October 3, 1949, City leaders proposed the annexation of West Hills, Belmont, and Fairfax Additions in order to reach the population of fifteen thousand necessary for State designation as a first class City.¹⁰⁷

During the post-war period, residential developers platted over 145 subdivisions and additions between 1945 and 1964, and from 1953 through 1959, the City averaged fifteen additions per year.¹⁰⁸ Most of this new development occurred to the south, southwest, and west of the town center and included commercial centers as well residential areas. Sixth, Iowa, and 23rd streets became the main commercial arteries, serving the growing suburban developments.¹⁰⁹

After 1945, suburban planning dramatically changed the pattern of residential development so that developers laid out subdivision with long blocks, curved streets, T-intersections, and cul-de-sacs rather than streets arranged on a grid. In South Lawrence (south of 19th Street), Owens Addition (1951); Olmstead Subdivision (1953); Mitchell Addition (1953); Edmonds Addition (1954); Meadow Acres (1954); Southwest Addition (1954); Schaake Subdivision (1954); University Terrace (1955); and the James-Farr Addition (1956) demonstrate this trend. All of these developments contrast with the pre-war grid pattern apparent in the University Place additions north of 19th Street. However, most of the post-war additions retained an axial orientation, dominated by long, parallel east-west streets. Each subdivision plan incorporated extensions of major streets. Arterial and secondary streets run north and south at varying intervals. The most striking difference is the variety of lot sizes found both within and between the post-war additions.¹¹⁰

During the 1960s, the population of Lawrence grew from 32,858 in 1960 to 45,698 in 1970, and to 53,029 in 1980. Nearly two thousand new industrial jobs were created in the 1960s. During this period, the platting of 266 subdivisions surpassed that of the 1950s building boom.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 157; and Stan Hernly Architects, "West Lawrence Historic Resources Survey Report," (Cultural resource survey for the City of Lawrence, 1997), 5.

¹⁰⁷ Hernly, 144, 149-150, 159; *Lawrence Journal-World* 3 October 1949.

¹⁰⁸ Hernly, 166.

¹⁰⁹ Rosin and Schwenk, 24.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 26.

¹¹¹ Hernly, 174, 198.

By the mid-1960s, the plan of suburban residential subdivisions began to change from the form of the post-war suburb. "Planned Unit Development" became important. These medium-density developments grouped apartments, townhouses, and single-family houses together and reserved green space and other areas for common use. Super blocks, served by winding streets and cul-de-sacs emerged as the most common design pattern.¹¹²

City leaders responded to this growth and development by engaging one of the most prominent urban planning firms of the time, Harland Bartholomew and Associates, of St. Louis, Missouri. Beginning in 1963, the firm prepared a comprehensive plan, *Guide for Growth: City of Lawrence, Kansas, 1965-1985*. The plan consisted of six preliminary reports and a final report of some 130 pages. While the future projections of needs developing from population and transportation growth were valuable, the emphasis on efficiency allowed little consideration for the significance of existing buildings and neighborhoods and historic preservation. For example, the Bartholomew plan focused on the central business district, stating ". . . remodeling and revitalization of its central area will surely increase the trade element of our city's economy." Characteristic of a firm whose founder had extensive experience in the process of rebuilding cities through an approach known as urban renewal, the planners argued for physical improvements. "The present downtown, properly remodeled, can easily accommodate three or four times as many customers as it does today. It does not require a greater area; instead it demands a more intensive and efficient use of a smaller but more convenient area."¹¹³

If the changes to traffic patterns and to Massachusetts Street suggested by Bartholomew and Associates had been implemented, the historic downtown district would have been very different. Instead, the effects of zoning instituted at this time affected the adjacent residential neighborhoods. In the land use plan section, the Bartholomew plan sought ". . . to encourage density in population in the central part of the city near the central business district and the University (preferably between them)." The planners went on to propose that high-density residential uses be concentrated between the University campus and the central business district." Actually, the land use plan adopted in 1964 provided for multi-family residential zoning on three sides of the Kansas University campus. That area extended to 9th Street on the north, Vermont on the east, and to 19th Street on the south.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *Guide for Growth: City of Lawrence, Kansas, 1964-1985* Summary of the comprehensive plan adopted by the Lawrence City Planning Commission, December 8, 1964. 1, 3, 7.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 3-4.