**KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY** 

RURAL AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES, THRIVING AND PERSEVERANT: WABAUNSEE TOWNSHIP, WABAUNSEE COUNTY, KANSAS—1865-1925

RESEARCH PAPER SUBMITTED TO DR. M. J. MORGAN IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COURSE AFRICAN-AMERICAN KANSAS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY JAMES "JC" C. RIVERS JR.

MANHATTAN, KANSAS

Cover is an author's picture of the present day landscape east of Alma, Kansas in Wabaunsee Township; note, this landscape is rather representative of that encountered by pioneers arriving in Wabaunsee Township.

Copyright MMIX

James C. Rivers, Jr.

Anyone wishing to cite information in this paper, please cite the Author, title and the following:

Original Research of the Chapman Research Center for Rural Studies Kansas State University 2009

For information concerning the Chapman Center for Rural Studies contact:

Kansas State History Department 208 Eisenhower Hall Manhattan, KS 66502 885-532-6730 chapmancenter@ksu.edu

## CONTENTS

List of Figures	6
Introduction	7
Background	8
Wabaunsee Township, Wabaunsee County, Kansas	10
Dicy Nichols	13
Allen Family	15
Bradley Family	17
Beard Family	18
Conclusion	21
Appendix 1 Dicy Nichols' Homestead Certificate	24
Appendix 2 Dicy Nichols Family Tree	28
Appendix 3 Frank Allen's Homestead Index Entry	30
Appendix 4 Allen Family Tree	33
Appendix 5 Bradley Family Tree	35
Appendix 6 Beard Family Tree	37
Bibliography	39

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1- Geography of Wabaunsee Township	12
Figure 2- Dicy Nichols' Half-Section Homestead	14
Figure 3- The Nichols' Homestead as Seen Today	14
Figure 4- Mary Beard at Congregational Church Anniversary	21

#### INTRODUCTION

Some cloudy days in Wabaunsee Township, Wabaunsee County, Kansas one can see a ray of sun bursting through and illuminating a portion of the Flint Hills. Our discussion shines a ray of light through published history's omission to discover African Americans resolve and the display of flourishing kindred features, such as growth, successive generations, and maintaining a family unit. Their previous experiences in the Reconstruction/Redeemer South made them tenacious at employing social networks. These social networks are represented by four families, for the purpose of this paper, in the township during 1865-1925—Allen, Beard, Bradley, and Nichols (Nicholas or Boydston). There will be a brief familiarization with the nature behind African Americans streaming into Kansas during 1870-1882 followed by a discussion of the four families and a brief landscape description that they encountered.

David Lowenthal, Emeritus Professor of Geography and Professor Heritage Studies, said, "Heritage is not our sole link with the past. History, tradition, memory, myth, and memoir variously join us with what has passed, with forebears, with our own earlier selves."<sup>1</sup> We will link the township's African American families' ambitions, persistence, and social contact with historic record, allowing for reconstruction of broad patterns and making inferences. Virginia R. Dominguez, an anthropologist studying social identities and culture in Louisiana, said,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996; Cambridge University Press 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2005), p. 3.

Social identities, like material objects, become public 'knowledge' when they are named. Without a label to capture our conception of them, they have little social relevance because there is no 'knowledge' of their existence in the first place. The emergence of a new social label, therefore, carries with it the elevation of a new social identity to the domain of the public 'knowledge.'<sup>2</sup>

There are many accounts of white Americas' migration in local historic societies throughout rural Kansas. Recently, historians and the historic societies are adding another voice to the public knowledge base, African Americans cultural experiences and their lives in rural Kansas. Therefore, their lives and social identity contribute to the rural American discussion and add to the public knowledge domain.

## BACKGROUND

The havoc in the former Confederate States after the Civil War influenced all aspects of Southern society. The freedom of former slaves infuriated many whites. White Southerners could not abide by Reconstruction's rules and laws, which the Republican majority in Congress began to place on them in 1865. Historian William Gillette noted, "Southern whites wanted above all to regain local power, regardless of the national outcome."<sup>3</sup> The Reconstruction laws wrenched from white planters their influence at the state level, and many of the planters became impoverished due to the unstable nature of the labor force, the former slaves. The drive to regain the labor force and local power led whites to murder, violence, intimidation, and election fraud. Their actions compelled the United States Congress gave President Ulysses S. Grant powers "to use the military

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Virginia R. Dominguez, White By Definition, Social Classification in Creole Louisiana, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 256
<sup>3</sup> William Gillette, Retreat From Reconstruction, 1869-1879, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> William Gillette, *Retreat From Reconstruction, 1869-1879*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), p. 334.

when necessary to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment" with the passage of First and Second Force Acts (1870 and 1871) and the Ku Klux Act of 1871.<sup>4</sup> President Grant ordered federal troops into the South to restore order, and protection of blacks in 1871. Federal courts and officials maintained a semblance of freedom with United States troop's encouragement and for several years in South Carolina following the withdraw of troops.<sup>5</sup> The consensus among American historians is that President Rutherford B. Hayes' removal of the last troops from the South in 1877 marked the end of federal efforts to protect the freedmen. For example, the leading Reconstruction historian Eric Foner wrote, "Reconstruction came to an irrevocable end with the inauguration of Hayes."<sup>6</sup> Richard Zuczek agreed with Foner, "Reconstruction had already begun its final chapter long before that winter" (1877). <sup>7</sup> Nell Irvin Painter noticed a loss of hope among the freedmen during Reconstruction's demise and the Redeemer's rise.<sup>8</sup>

Upon gaining freedom, two of the foremost hopes of the former slaves were land ownership and education. Freedmen had a dire need to survive; many knew no other means of gaining continued existence other than farming. They knew that education was one path to remedy their plight. Nevertheless, education was not a channel for day-to-day feeding, clothing, and housing of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lou Falkner Williams, "Federal Enforcement of Blacks Rights in the Post-Redemption South: The Ellenton Riot Case," in *Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth Century South*, eds. Christopher Waldrep and Donald G. Nieman, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001), p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), p. 587.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1996), p. 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc. 1977; Norton Books, 1992.), p 44.

freed people—farming fulfilled these needs. The former slaves dearly loved freedom, and knew that "farming one's own land on one's own account meant being one's own master."<sup>9</sup> As previously discussed, the collapse of Reconstruction in 1877 and the rise of Redemption between 1874-1880 resulted in intimidation and violence perpetrated by whites on African Americans, which caused a realization among the African Americans that their hopes of freedom education and owning land-were bashed.

The trouncing of freedmen's hopes was a forerunner to emigration fever. One of the emigration efforts was the Exodus to Kansas, which began as a trickle in 1874 and grew to the "Kansas Exodus Fever of 1879."<sup>10</sup> An outcome of the Exodus to Kansas was some Redemption refugees beginning homesteads and renting or leasing land in Wabaunsee, Wabaunsee County, Kansas. There was some irony of former slaves choosing the town and county site of the Beecher Bible and Gun Church to settle, a product of fighting in Kansas as a free versus a pro-slavery state before the Civil War.

## WABAUNSEE TOWNSHIP, WABAUNSEE COUNTY, KANSAS

African Americans in Wabaunsee Township were never the majority group, six percent in 1895; yet, they were able to own land, work as they saw fit, travel the township and other areas as they wished, and see their children attend school.<sup>11</sup> There were approximately the same number of males as females and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 147.
<sup>11</sup> Kansas State Historic Society, "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County," (available
<sup>12</sup> Kansas State Historic Society, "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County," (available from http://www.kshs.org/genealogists/census/kansas/census1895ksresults.php?surname= &fname=&city=Kaw&county=WB&submit=SEARCH), Internet, Accessed 6 March 2009.

adults as children in 1895.<sup>12</sup> The main source of employment, 1870-1925, was day labor, although domestic help, railroad, janitorial, ranch hands, and teamsters were other forms of work.<sup>13</sup> African Americans arriving to Kansas found a drastic contrast compared to their pervious homes. The obvious change was the absence of physical harm and intimidation which they experienced in Southern states. Yet, as all races of pioneers moved westward, they took their 'hearth culture' or their values, intolerances, and traditions.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, during 1865-1920, Wabaunsee, Kansas had the appearance of racial tolerance, which is apparent by the black homesteads, interracial marriages, and integrated schools. The subtle change, guite often overlooked by outsiders, was the landscape of their former homes, compared to Wabaunsee Township.

A majority of African American emigrants to Wabaunsee Township, 1870 -1895, came from Missouri and Tennessee, with a few from Kentucky, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.<sup>15</sup> These portions of the South had mild winters and sultry hot summers. Wabaunsee Township, on the other hand, had cold winters and dry hot summers with winds sometimes reaching hurricane force. The upper-southern states have fifty inches average annual rainfall, 62 degrees mean annual temperature, and five inches average snowfall. Wabaunsee Township has 33 inches average annual rainfall, 54 degrees mean annual temperature, and 21 inches average annual snowfall.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> As noted from Federal and Kansas State Census data of 1870-1925.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> M. J. Morgan, "African Americans in Kansas," (from a lecture, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, 4 February 2009). <sup>15</sup> As noted from Federal and Kansas State Census data of 1870-1895.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Richard A. Wood, ed., *The Weather Almanac* 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Gale , 1984)

The similarities of the two areas geography are a river, alluvial plain, some springs, rolling hills, and valleys. However, this visual perspective is deceiving because the alluvial soil was not as vast as those in southern areas southern

areas. In Kansas, the substructure underneath the thin layer of soil rising up from narrow flood plains was limestone and flint hills as seen in figure one (as well as the picture on the cover).<sup>17</sup> These climate and geography conditions dictated the flora and fauna that the African Americans were leaving and those of their new homes.

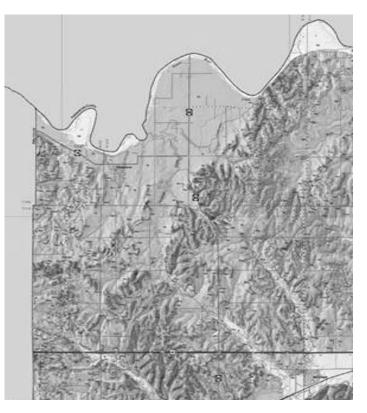


FIGURE1 Geography of Wabaunsee Township (U.S. Department of Interior, *Geologic Map of Wabaunsee County, 1959*).

The flora in Tennessee included many species of trees as well as berries and other indigenous edible and medicinal plants. Kansas, during the late nineteenth century had few species of trees, and fewer stands of tree. The hills were vast open prairie, with little resource for building a home that the African American emigrants utilized from previous experience. Some of the plants were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Homer E. Scolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas,* 2d ed., (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), maps 3-5.

edible and others possessed medicinal properties, but they were not known to the arriving families.

The fauna was not an issue for the Wabaunsee Township African Americans, unlike other black communities in Kansas. The Kaw (later Kansas) River provided fish, but none of the other shell fish they had grown accustomed to eating. Deer, raccoon, and turkey were in the area, but they would require different hunting techniques. The climate, geographic, flora, and fauna differences the African Americans encountered did not stop their drive and adaptability to provide a safe, prosperous, and thriving environment for their families and the families of later arrivals.

#### **DICY NICHOLS**

Dicy Nichols was the first African American to homestead in Wabaunsee Township c. 1867.<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Dicy Boydston traveled through Missouri with her family and Mr. James Boydston. Mr. Boydston probably found another wife, Mrs. Charlotte Boydston, a white woman. James Boydston continued to Kansas with his new wife, later settling in Newbury Township, Wabaunsee County.<sup>19</sup> Dicy met a gentleman, Mr. Nichols, somewhere in Missouri during the trip with her four sons and two daughters, who may have survived the journey to the homestead, but he died or left the family shortly afterwards as he is not recorded in the 1870 Federal Census.<sup>20</sup> Mrs. Nichols was lost to history, due to census enumerators errors, except for a brief mention in Mrs. Ethel Morgan's memoirs, "She [Dicy]

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Census records and memoirs record Dicy's name as Nichols, Nicholas, or Boydston.
<sup>19</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Newbury Township, (Series M593,

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Newbury Township, (Series M593, Roll 442, Page 276).
<sup>20</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Wabaunsee Township, (Series

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Wabaunsee Township, (Series M593, Roll 442, Page 281, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas).

claimed the ½ section was unusual that black people homesteaded land at that time."<sup>21</sup>





FIGURE 2 Dicy Nichols' Half-Section Homestead (*Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas*, Chicago: Gillen and Davy, 1885. Microfilm LM 497, no. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.)

FIGURE 3 The Nichols' Homestead as Seen Today (Author's Photograph)

Dicy Nichols received a United States Homestead Certificate, No. 1595, for the half section as seen in appendix one page 24, "the North East quarter of the South East quarter and the South East quarter of the North East quarter of Section Four in Township Eleven of Range Ten."<sup>22</sup> In addition, the 1870 Census records a five-hundred dollar property value for Nichols' land. She managed the land, shown in figures two and three, according to the Homestead Act of 1862 requiring improvements on the land. Dicy worked the land and built a stone home

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan, "Early Black Families," (Wabaunsee Town Folder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, KS., 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wabaunsee County Register of Deeds, 1880-1883. (Microfilm, AR5658, Vol. O, "Deed Records," p. 524. Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, KS). Dicy's name was misspelled once more, 'Disa Nichols.'

with her family and two other boarders; the family tree can be seen in appendix two page 28.<sup>23</sup> Dicy sold the land to the Hart-Enlow partnership c.1883, which later became the Robert Enlow Ranch.<sup>24</sup> Later, the home became the ranch's headquarters, and Dicy's family moved to the tenant house near the center of the half-section. Dicy's sons were accomplished native stone builders as they assisted German builders with the stone barn located on Stone Barn road today. One can only assume the tenant house was also built of stone due to the lack of wood and the craftsmanship of Dicy and her family. Only one of her descendants, John Boydston, could be found in county by 1920.

This Kansas pioneer African American woman and her family deserve further research in Tennessee and Missouri to help unravel her marriages to James Boydston and Mr. Nichols or Nicholas. Dicy Nichols, also, should have further Kansas research to help resolve the sale of the land to Hart-Enlow as there were no grantor-grantee records recording the sale.

#### ALLEN FAMILY

The Allen family's presence in Wabaunsee began c. 1865 with the arrival of Frank Allen. Mr. Allen was born in Missouri, and he married a white woman, Sarah Jane Johnson, born in Missouri, too.<sup>25</sup> One can not accurately ascertain the actual place of the marriage; nevertheless, a good assumption is that Kansas was a better place for an interracial marriage than Missouri. Frank and Sarah homesteaded a place in Wabaunsee, and they owned eighty acres, "Western

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 1875 Kansas Census Agricultural Schedule, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Wabaunsee Township. <sup>24</sup> Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Wabaunsee Township, Series T9, Roll 398, Page 352, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas.

corner ½ of NE of Section Four in Township Eleven of Range Ten;" the index entry is in appendix three page 30 (The only available record for this transaction is the index entry).<sup>26</sup> Frank Allen realized his dream, working his land for himself and not as a tenant, much like Dicy Nichols. The Allen family became a center for social activity among the Wabaunsee Township African American community. There is evidence of two of Frank and Sarah Allen's daughters marrying men from later arriving black families, the Allen family tree can be seen in appendix four page 33. Cora Allen married Augustus Bradley and Lila Allen married Archie Beard; both of these marriages and families will be discussed later.

George Allen, Frank's son, was the only remaining Allen family member on the homestead in 1895.<sup>27</sup> He married Ollie Gardenhire, daughter of a well known black family in Wabaunsee County. By 1920, Lila Allen Pinchem Beard and Cora Allen Bradley were the only Allen descendants in Wabaunsee County.<sup>28</sup> The Allen's exhibited a prosperous family, first by homesteading the Kansas Flint Hills prairie, then maintaining a family farm, and finally, establishing a social network with other black arrivals. The white neighbors' demonstrated racial tolerance, because Frank and Sarah Allen probably passed away on the family farm. The incidences of interracial marriage in Wabaunsee County were high, which deserves further research. The movement from the county by African

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Wabaunsee County Register of Deeds, 1872-1878. (Microfilm, AR5652, Vol. 3 "Grantee," p. 2, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, KS).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Kansas State Historic Society, "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County," (available from http://www.kshs.org/genealogists/census/kansas/census1895ksresults.php?surname=& fname=&city=Kaw&county=WB&submit=SEARCH), Internet, Accessed 6 March 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Wabaunsee Township, (Series T625, Roll 553, Page 155, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas).

Americans in the nineteen-teens and nineteen-twenties is another topic for continued research.

#### BRADLEY FAMILY

The marriage of Albert Bradley and Emily Roberts in Tennessee, c. 1866, lasted until Albert's death in Paxico, Kansas June 25, 1925.<sup>29</sup> Emily gave birth to Nancy, George, and Augustus in Tennessee; meanwhile, Cicero, Labon and Liby were born in Kansas.<sup>30</sup> Cicero's birth was in April, 1883, which suggests Albert Bradley, Emily, Nancy, George, and Augustus were a part of the Kansas Exodus Fever.<sup>31</sup> Unlike Dicy Nichols or Frank Allen, Mr. Bradley did not homestead land nor did he buy any property. The census data from 1885 through 1920 suggest that Albert Bradley was a day laborer; the primary day labor in the township was farming or ranching. Therefore, Mr. Bradley might be one of the numerous tenant farmers or day labor for farms in the county during the late nineteenth century.

Nancy Bradley married a Mr. Sax (first name unknown). They had three children in Colorado, but due to Mr. Sax's death, divorce or abandonment, Nancy moved back to her parents' home. She later went to live in Manhattan. Augustus and Cora Bradley, and their daughter, Ada, lived with Cora's brother, George Allen, in Wamego during the marriage's early years. Mrs. Ethel Morgan'sremembered, "Gus and Cora Bradley were farmers and lived south of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Kansas State Historic Society. "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County." (available from http://www.kshs.org/genealogists/census/kansas/ census1895ksresults.php?surname =&fname=&city=Kaw&county=WB&submit=SEARCH. Internet. Accessed 6 March 2009).; Ancestry\_com, Albert Bradley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Nell Irvin Painter's *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* is an excellent source for further understanding of the Exodus.

the grammar school [in the Town of Wabaunsee]. He rented or leased farm land."<sup>32</sup>

Gus and Cora had at least seven children. Ada died in childhood. The remaining six children—Orville Jones, Verda V., Leona E. Merle Kenneth, Cora Lavonne, and Lovalle Allen—were all born in Wabaunsee Township, probably in town. The Bradley children all attended the integrated primary and grammar school in District One Wabaunsee Township; their great-grand parents' dream, which was an education for their children, was realized.<sup>33</sup> The Bradley family tree can be seen in appendix five page 35. Lovalle Allen Bradley moved to Manhattan with her parents, where Gus and Cora later died.<sup>34</sup> Employment may be one reason some African Americans moved to the black community in Manhattan as railroad construction was complete c. 1900-1905.

The Bradley home location in the Town of Wabaunsee deserves further research, but it will probably never be found as no rent records could be found, and the land, which might be the home site, is now a milo field.<sup>35</sup>

## **BEARD FAMILY**

The information search for African Americans escaping the South to Kansas in the late nineteenth is tedious and sometimes no information exists. However, some searches provide enough information to deduce economic,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Names students listed in School District #1 Binder, (Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas); "Teacher's Monthly and Term Report to Superintendent and Clerk, 1909-1921," (School District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Cora died March 27, 1956 and Gus died c. 1964; ancestry.com.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The author surveyed the Wabaunsee community for signs of previous home sites, none were found, 3 March and 14 March, 2009.

education, and social conditions; one such family is the Beards. William Beard married Mary J., last name unknown, and then they left Tennessee to live in Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Alma Township, Alma with their children, Alice and Archie, c. 1874.<sup>36</sup> Ode, Rufus, and Emma were born in Alma Township before Mary Beard died; the Beard family tree can be seen in appendix six page 37. William remarried Jane, last name unknown, sometime before 1890. Their family grew as Mary's children lived with Jane's, Walter and Ernest.<sup>37</sup> William Beard continued to live in Alma where he was a day laborer. There were day labor jobs for people in Alma, which included working at ranches, salt works, Portland cement factory, loading freight on the trains, and domestic work. Jane Beard died sometime before 1910, and William Beard lived until c.1925.<sup>38</sup>

One of William Beard's sons, Archie, left Alma to live in Wabaunsee with his wife, Lila Allen Pinchem Beard. Archie worked to build the railroad through Wabaunsee; he carried mail for the rail service from the depot to the post office and he did janitorial jobs at the school.<sup>39</sup> Archie died sometime before the census in 1910. Lila worked as a domestic, cleaning at the depot, and janitor at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> 1870 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Alma, (Series T9, Roll 398, Page 343, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Kansas State Historic Society. "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County, Alma Township." (available from http://www.kshs.org/genealogists/census/kansas/ census1895ksresults.php?surname =&fname=&city=Kaw&county=WB&submit=SEARCH. Internet. Accessed 6 March 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> 1900 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Alma, (Series T623, Roll 520, Page 91, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas); 1920 U. S. Census, Kansas, Wabaunsee County, Alma, (Series T625, Roll 553, Page 51, Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, Kansas).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan; Register of Orders No. 10 November 22, 1909, (District Clerk's Report, School District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas).

school after Archie passed away.<sup>40</sup> Lila was the janitor at the school until c. 1924.

Lila Beard was a member of the community who socialized with other black families, attended Juneteenth celebrations, and went to her children's, Edna, Frank, and Eugene, school events.<sup>41</sup> Eugene could remember his mother telling him stories of black farmers in the area, pointing out their former farms as they traveled through the township. Another memory may explain some of the reasoning behind African Americans leaving the area; Eugene recalled that "during the 1920's The KKK burned a cross upon the hill [a place located north of present day Wabaunsee]."42

Edna and Frank Beard left the area before 1920; whereas Eugene became "the oldest living resident in Wabaunsee, KS" in 1980.<sup>43</sup> Mr. Beard worked as a farm hand and lived with his mother until c. 1921. He married Mary Ann Bell of Holy Cross, Kansas in Wabaunsee County c. 1921. Eugene Beard continued his farm job, but he recalled "a great fascination for the early automobiles" and machinery as a child; he began to work on cars and tractors.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Register of Orders No. 10 November 4, 1910, (District Clerk's Report, School District #1 Drawer, School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas). <sup>41</sup> "Attendance of Visitors," (Last three pages, School District #1 1905-1915 Log, School

District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Wanda Beard Williams, "1980 Memoir of Eugene Beard," (secured by Dawn Fulton, Wabaunsee County School District One Binder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, KS., 1980). <sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Mary Ann Beard worked to make the place a home for their children, Lila, Wanda, Joann, and Thomas. She became a member of the church that was a center for the free versus pro-slavery state in the 1850s, the Beecher Bible and Gun Congregational Church. Mary and Joann Beard, seen in figure four, attended the Congregational Church's One Hundredth Anniversary in 1957.



**FIGURE 4** 

Mary Beard at Congregational Church Anniversary Back Row: Mary Beard, Nellie Green, Josephine Brown, Ethel Morgan, Maude Mitchell, Dawn Fulton. Front Row: Joann Beard, Marilyn Green (Wabaunsee Town Folder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society)

# CONCLUSION

This research began with Mrs. Wanda Beard Williams' 1980 transcription

of Eugene's Beards memories, which lead to Mrs. Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan's

memories of early African American Families in Wabaunsee Township,

Wabaunsee County, Kansas.<sup>45</sup> Mrs. Morgan remembered stories of Dicy Nichols

that resulted in the research of four families in the Township 1865-1925. There

are places in the county that are associated with the Under Ground Railroad, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid; Ethel M. Pinchem Morgan.

there is little scholarship involving the actual lives and sites of early African American families in Wabaunsee Township. Beth M. Boland wrote,

"Every state and locale can boost special places embodying the important stories of the past people and events. These places are sources of evidence that document how those who came before us lived and died, worked and played, expressed their creativity and beliefs, and governed themselves."<sup>46</sup>

The stories of Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Morgan help us realize that African Americans did live and thrive in the township, county, state and ultimately the nation. The stories included the interactions of the African American families as well as their relationship with white families such as Mary Morgan.

Mary Beard passed on c. 1971, yet she had a desire for religion and education for herself and the children. She was able to maintain her family unit. Mary Beard's feat was not unique for African Americans in Wabaunsee Township, Wabaunsee County, Kansas. Lila Pinchem Allen Beard, Mary Beard's mother-in-law, attended her children's school functions, and she was able to preserve the family, even after her husband's death. Dicy Nichols, an African American woman, is a western pioneer, which is an exceptional accomplishment. Mrs. Nichols came to the township with no land; she started a homestead, raised her family, and lived peacefully among her neighbors. Frank Allen married a white woman and began a homestead in the township, quite a remarkable event due to the conditions in a Jim Crow America. Augustus and Cora leased or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, "Visualizing History: Inquiring Minds Want to Know," By Beth M. Boland, Journal report, *Cultural Resources Management, Creative Teaching with Historic Places*, vol. 23 no. 8 (2000), p. 6.

rented land to farm. They had six children, who were educated in an integrated school.<sup>47</sup>

Eugene Beard became the oldest person in the county in 1980; yet this distinction has a sad note. Eugene's death, c. 1987, marked the end of any descendants of the late nineteenth century refugees from Reconstruction and Redemption living in Wabaunsee. Nevertheless, these families are representative of African Americans in Wabaunsee Township. The first arrivals experienced brutal hardships in their former homelands, the reason for their migration to Kansas. They established an environment that provided calm, education, religion, and prosperity—thereby encouraging flourishing and thriving family units. Their descendants were able to maintain successful family units until the 1920's.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> "Teacher's Monthly and Term Report to Superintendent and Clerk, 1909-1921,"

# DICY NICHOLS' HOMESTEAD CERTIFICATE

APPENDIX ONE

V1 nted States The United States of anterica, To all to m presents shall come, Greeting; 谷 Disa Hicholo Non ad Certificate No. 1595 Whereas, applicatio 22128 been de 10 ice of the H Es. igioter of cate and Office at 2 the 2 by it appears to Rasi where. at, pursuant 2 approved 20th Conque May, 1862, ic actual settles 20 Dublia -0 ta the acto en tal thereto the les

Dicy Nichols' Homestead Certificate Entry Page 1 of 3

The United States of anterica, To all to whom these mesente shall come breiting. to Nomestead Certificate to 1595 Whereas, There has application 2128 1 been deposited in the General Land Office of the United States a Certife the legie ter of the Land Office at Topeka, Ka sus merety it appears that, pursuant to the act of bongies approved 20th May, 1862, "To secure Home. steads to actual settlere on the Oublic Domain" and the acto supprimental thereto, the claims Isa pechole has been established and duly con summated in conformity to law, for the North & quarter of the South East quarter and the South Eas quarter of the roots Such quarter of Section Four in Formship Eleren of Range Ten in the District de subject to sale at Topeka, Kancas, contain. ing Eighty acres according to the official Plat Whe Survey of the said Land returned to the Gener I Land Office by the Surveyor General: on know ye That there is, therefore, quante States unto the said Disa Nice Shite above described : Johare an A of Land the said track of Land, with the appurten thereof, unto the said Disa Hickols and & e and again ane forcour hereof 9. Mysses S. Grant. attatus farherica h ite

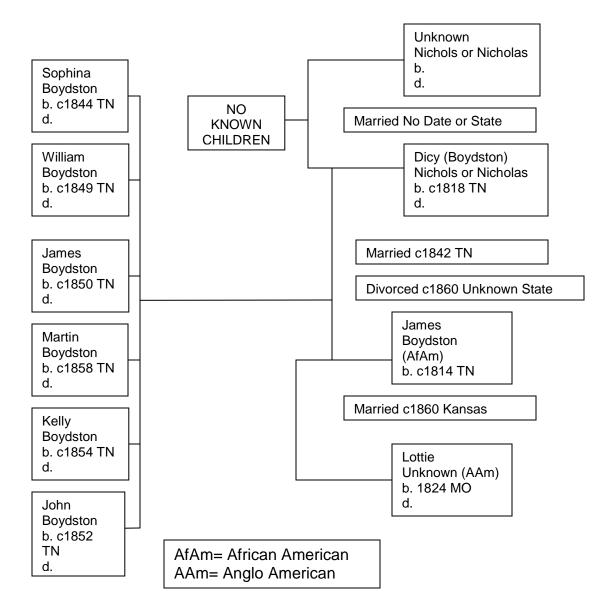
Dicy Nichols' Homestead Certificate Entry Page 2 of 3

Dicy Nichols' Homestead Certificate Entry Page 3 of 3

the General Land Office to be hereinsto a my hand at the les Given under May in the ton the men ht hundred usandu Tana the United e & the me dependence Hundredth By the President e becretary deal J. M. armstrong Recorder of the keniral Land office ad inter corded , Vol4, Palge 37. Filed for record May 27th 1881 at 11 a.M 03 Prila 1 1 MX all

# **APPENDIX TWO**

# DICY NICHOLS FAMILY TREE



### DICY (BOYDSTON) NICHOLS or NICHOLAS FAMILY TREE

# **APPENDIX THREE**

# FRANK ALLEN'S HOMESTEAD INDEX ENTRY

WWManly 2 THE ohn & an mple townsham maon JSW United States mild when math Chim Real CALLER

Frank Allen's Index Homestead Entry Page 1 of 2

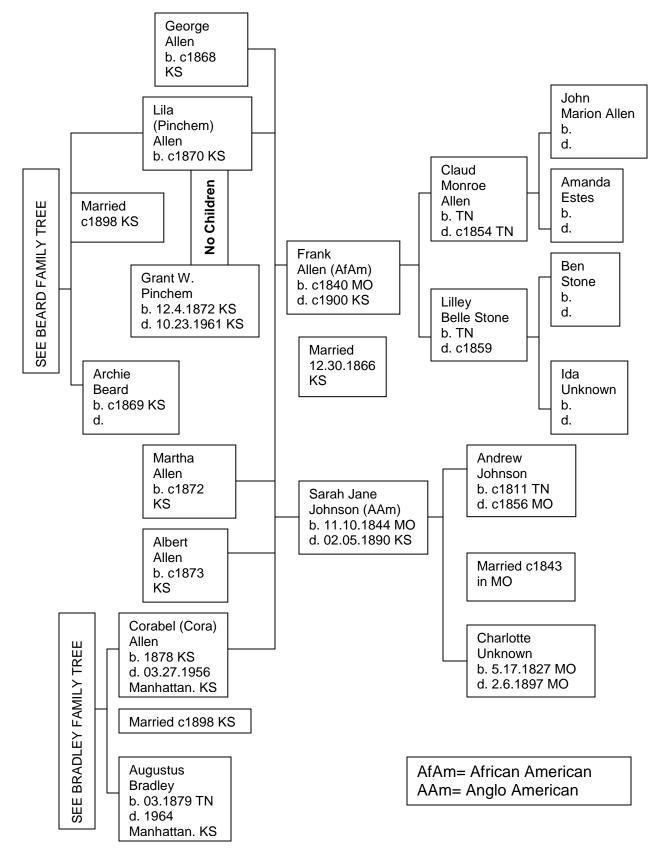
29. 15. Solo 68 7-38 34 m Chrya addutes 28/13 Late 54 7 B 31 & Late 10, 114 12 - B-32 MC Clay 5 to 4. 5. 64 7. B. 11. coly of Alma 9.7 WE 14 2 B. - 29. MElmye. 6 2 4 S. N. of A. M. 16. 10. 10 12.84 20-12-11 12.12 14-13-11 5, 20, MW 128.11.11 S. le. War 310 1876 Sal La from deord M 1440 Lel. 2 20. Nutinied (1 et Wall Uland

Frank Allen's Index Homestead Entry Page 2 of 2

# **APPENDIX FOUR**

# ALLEN FAMILY TREE

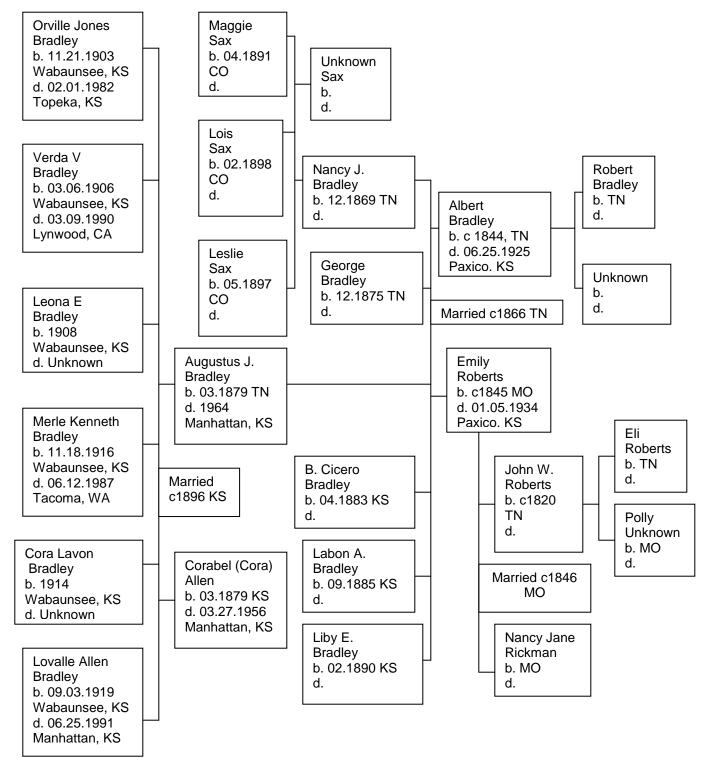
#### **ALLEN FAMILY TREE**



# **APPENDIX FIVE**

# **BRADLEY FAMILY TREE**

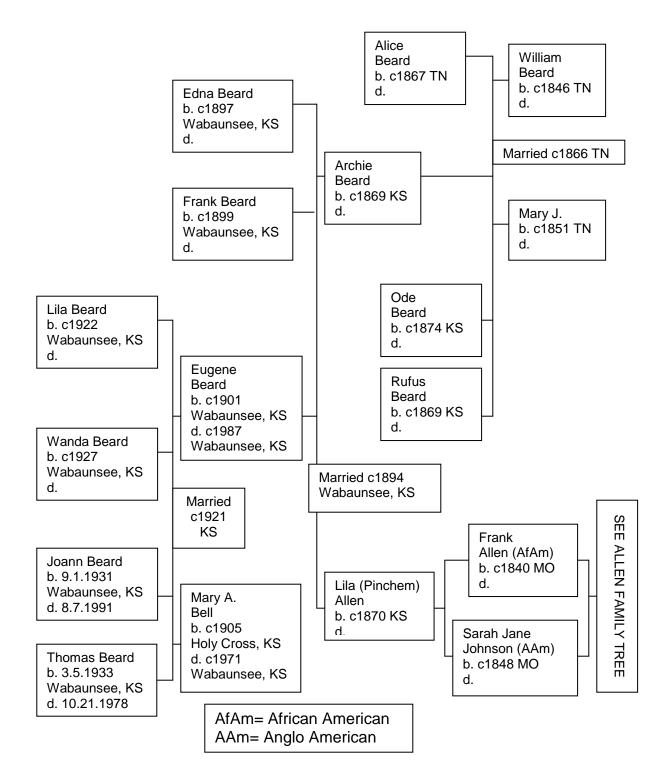
### BRADLEY FAMILY TREE



# **APPENDIX SIX**

# BEARD FAMILY TREE

#### **BEARD FAMILY TREE**



#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### PRIMARY

- "Attendance of Visitors." Last three pages, School District #1 1905-1915 Logs. School District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas.
- Leonard III, Edward. "Wabaunsee Community: as Remembered." Wabaunsee Town Folder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, KS., 1993.
- Morgan, Ethel M. Pinchem. "Early Black Families" Wabaunsee Town Folder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, KS., 1987.
- "Register of Orders No. 10 November 22, 1909." District Clerk's Report, School District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas.
- "Register of Orders No. 10 November 4, 1910." District Clerk's Report, School District #1 Drawer, School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas.
- Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas. Chicago: Gillen and Davy, 1885. Microfilm LM 497, no. 7, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.
- Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas. Chicago: George A. Ogle and Company, 1902. Microfilm LM 497, no. 8, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.
- Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas. Chicago: George A. Ogle and Company, 1919. Microfilm LM 497, no. 9, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.
- "Teacher's Monthly and Term Report to Superintendent and Clerk, 1909-1921," (School District #1 Drawer School Districts Cabinets, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, Kansas).
- Wabaunsee County Register of Deeds, 1880-1883. Microfilm, AR5658, Vol. O, "Deed Records," Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, KS.
- Wabaunsee County Register of Deeds, 1872-1878. Microfilm, AR5652, Vol. 3 "Grantee," Kansas State Historic Society, Topeka, KS.

Williams, Wanda Beard. "1980 Memoir of Eugene Beard. "secured by Dawn Fulton, Wabaunsee County School District One Binder, Wabaunsee County Museum, Wabaunsee County Historic Society, Alma, KS., 1980.

### CENSUS DATA

1870 U.S. Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1875 Kansas State Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1880 U.S. Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1885 Kansas State Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1900 U.S. Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1905 Kansas State Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1910 U.S. Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1915 Kansas State Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1920 U.S. Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

1925 Kansas State Census. Kansas State Historic Society. Topeka, KS.

Kansas State Historic Society. "Kansas 1895 Census Wabaunsee County." available from http://www.kshs.org/genealogists/census/kansas/ census1895ksresults.php?surname=&fname=&city=Kaw&county=WB&su bmit=SEARCH. Internet. Accessed 6 March 2009.

### MAPS

U.S. Department of Interior. *Geologic Map of Wabaunsee County (1959).* by Melville R. Mudge and Robert H. Burton. U.S Geologic Survey. Adjustment by Lawrence R. Brady, et al., 2007.

## SECONDARY

Cox, Thomas C. *Blacks in Topeka Kansas, 1865-1915: A Social History*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Dominguez, Virginia R. *White By Definition, Social Classification in Creole Louisiana*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988.
- Gillette, William. *Retreat From Reconstruction, 1869-1879.* Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.
- Jack, Bryan M. *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2007.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. New York: The free Press, 1996; Cambridge University Press 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2005.
- Moreland, Edwin C. *The Land and People of Kansas*. Fenton, MI: McRoberts Publishing, Inc., 1976.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc. 1977; Norton Books, 1992.
- Petreycik, Rick. *It's My State, Tennessee*. New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, 2006.
- Scolofsky, Homer E. and Huber Self. *Historical Atlas of Kansas,* 2d ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.
- Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Thompson, Matt. *Early History of Wabaunsee County with Glimpses of Our Western Border.* Alma, KS: privately printed, 1901. Reprint, Alma, KS: Alma Signal Enterprise, 2001.
- Wabaunsee County Historical Society. Stories of the Past: Third Edition of Wabaunsee County History. Manhattan, KS: Ag Press, 2000.
- Williams, Lou Falkner. *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871-1872.* Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Wood, Richard A. ed. The Weather Almanac. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Gale , 1984.
- Woodward, C. Vann. American Counterpoint, Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

## ARTICLES

- Cosgrove, Denis. "Environmental Thought and Action: Pre-Modern and Post-Modern." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol. 15, No. 3. (1990), pp. 344-358.
- Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources. "Visualizing History: Inquiring Minds Want to Know." By Beth M. Boland. Journal report. *Cultural Resources Management, Creative Teaching with Historic Places*, vol. 23 no. 8 (2000). p. 6.
- Meinig, Donald W. "The Continuous Shaping of America: A prospective for Geographers and Historians." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83 No. 5 (Dec. 1978): pp. 1186-1205.
- Schein, Richard H. "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 87, No. 4. (Dec., 1997), pp. 660-680.
- Williams, Lou Falkner. "Federal Enforcement of Blacks Rights in the Post-Redemption South: The Ellenton Riot Case." *Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth Century South*. eds. Christopher Waldrep and Donald G. Nieman. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

### INTERNET

- Heritage Quest, [database-on-line] http//www.heritagequest.com. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census.
- Ancestry.com, [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2004. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census.

### UNPUBLISHED

Edwards, Linnie Baker. "Alma: Community, and Shire Town of Wabaunsee County, KS: Its First Fifty Years, 1855-1905." MA Thesis, Kansas State University, 1950.