[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

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WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID

Official—by the U. S. Office of Civilian Defense

1. STAY HOME

The safest place in an air raid is at home

If you are away from home get under cover in the nearest shelter. Avoid crowded places. Stay off the streets.

The enemy wants you to run out into the streets, create a mob, start a panic. **Don't do it!**

If incendiary bombs fall, play a **spray** from a garden hose (never a splash or stream) of water on the bomb. Switch to a stream to put out any fire started by the bomb. Switch back to a spray for the bomb. The bomb will burn for about 15 minutes if left alone and about 2 minutes under a fine water spray. A jet splash, stream or bucket of water will make it explode.

Under raid conditions keep a bathtub and buckets full of water for the use of the fire department in case water mains are broken.

If you have a soda-acid extinguisher (the kind you turn upside down), use it with your finger over the nozzle to make a spray. Don't use the chemical kind (small cylinders of liquid) on bombs. It is all right for ordinary fires.

But above all, keep cool, stay home.

Choose one member of the family to be the home air raid warden who will remember all the rules and what to do. Mother makes the best.

2. PUT OUT LIGHTS

Whether or not black-out is ordered, don't show more light than is necessary. If planes come over, put out or cover all lights at once—don't wait for the black-out order. The light that can't be seen will never guide a Jap. Remember a candle light may be seen for miles from the air.

If you have portiers, overdrapes, or curtains, arrange a double thickness over your windows. Blankets will do. If you have heavy black paper, paste it on your windows. Don't crowd or stampede stores to get it, however. You probably have everything you need at home. Be ingenious—improvise.

Should you get an air raid warning, remember to shut off gas stoves, gas furnaces, and gas pilot lights, as well. Bomb explosions may blow them out from blast effect. Gas that collects may be explosive later.

Prepare one room the one with the lead window glass in the strongest part of your house, for a refuge room. Put food and drinking water in it. Put a sturdy table in it. Put mattresses and chairs in it. Take a magazine or two and a deck of cards into it. Take things like eyeglasses and dentures with you when you go into it. Take toilet facilities, paper, a screen. If you have a portable radio, take that too. Above all, **keep calm. Stay at home. Put out lights.**

3. LIE DOWN

If bombs start to fall near you, lie down. You will feel the blast least that way, escape fragments or splinters.

The safest place is under a good stout table—the stronger the legs the better.

A mattress under a table combines comfort with safety.

Too enemy may use explosive bombs or incendiary bombs, or both. If incendiaries are used, it's more important to deal with them than to be safe from blast. So defeat the incendiary with a spray (never a splash or stream) of water, then go back to safety under a table in a refuge room.

Most raids will likely be over in your immediate neighborhood in a short time. However, stay under cover till the "all clear" is sounded.

Know your raid alarms. Know the "all clear." Official news of these will come to you from your Air Raid Warden. Don't believe rumors. Watch this paper for air raid alarm description. Ask the warden when he comes.

Should your house be hit, keep cool. Answer tappings from rescue crews if you are trapped. (You may likely won't be either hit or trapped, but if you are, you can depend on rescue squads to get after you). Again—keep cool, and wait. Don't yell after you hear them coming to you, unless they tell you to. **Keep cool!**

Just keeping cool hurts the enemy more than anything else you can do. **Keep calm. Stay at home. Put out lights. Lie down.**

4. STAY AWAY FROM WINDOWS

Glass shatters easily, so stay away from windows.

Don't go to windows and look out, in an air raid. It is dangerous thing, and helps the enemy. The Air Raid Warden is out there watching for you. Again we say, get off the streets if planes come over.

At night, there is danger of being caught in blast from explosives.

Antiaircraft fire means falling shrapnel. You are safe from it indoors, away from windows. It's more important to shelter than it is to see it from a window.

Stay in your refuge room, away from windows. That is the safest place. Go there at the first alarm, stay there until the "all clear."

Above all, **keep calm. Stay home. Put out lights. Lie down. Stay away from windows.** Do not forget we are repeating: we would rather repeat until we are sure than have you forget.

You can do all those things without any special equipment other than what you have now in your home.

You can help lick the Japs, with your bare hands, if you will do just those few, simple things.

Be a good fellow and follow instructions and keep well. Do not be a wise guy and get hurt.

Review of New City Air Raid Regulations

Wichita is under full wartime regulations, with a black-out ordinance and authorized air raid warden service and auxiliary fire and police corps, as a result of adoption of new city statutes.

An air raid warning signal, under the new law, will consist of a series of short blasts from sirens, whistles or other noise-making devices continuing for approximately three minutes. The all clear signal shall consist of one long blast continuing for approximately three minutes.

There are stringent penalties for violations of the black-out ordinance — specifically, $500 or six months in jail, or both.

Here, briefly, is what you are expected to do when the air raid alarm is given:

MUST STOP CARS

Drivers of all vehicles shall pull to curb or roadside, turn off engines and leave cars standing until all clear signal is given. This does not apply to emergency vehicles such as fire equipment, ambulances or police cars.

If the warning comes between sunset and sunrise, lights on vehicles must be turned off.

All lights on trams and locomotives shall be turned out.

All lights outside or visible from outside of any building, either thru doors or windows, shall be put out immediately and kept out until all clear signal is given.

No door or window shall be opened if it allows light to be visible from outside.

TURN OUT LIGHTS

All signboard lights shall be turned out. All street, traffic and beacon lights and other public lights shall be turned out. Even warning or danger signals must be put out.

In case of black-out warnings, all persons on streets and sidewalks shall get off streets and no one will be permitted to go out of buildings onto streets during black out.

These Firms Join Together in Making This Announcement Possible. They Urge You to Co-operate With the Air Raid Wardens and to Keep This Message for Future Reference.

McCormick-Armstrong Press
Aircraft Products Co.
Southwest Cracker Co.

The Aircraft Steel and Supply Co.
419-421 N. Water

B-R-C Bearing Co.
A Friend
Davis-Westholt Aircraft Products Company

American cities faced with the unknown, took seriously the precautions against injury and destruction by air raids. This Wichita Beacon *announcement of July 1942 encouraged civilian preparedness and explained the effects of incendiary bombs and falling shrapnel.*

and it was only by expert use of his cane that he was able to make the turn at all. There are no outside lights this Christmas. Perhaps that is another indication that Christmas is being celebrated "on the inside" this year. The real Spirit of the Season is there and from every house a bit of it manages to leak out in the form of lights through a window or a sprig of holly on the door. This is not a season of light hearted gayety. The children will be thrilled with their toys. Those of us who are face to face with events are sobered by the realization that there can be no gay Christmases until Victory has brought every one of you home from all corners of the world.

My first letter from North Africa was from Dick Wellman. A few days later Bill Chapman's letter to the class arrived. The news was of a very general nature for perfectly understandable reasons. Like the news commentators on the radio who are able to make so very much out of so very little, we concluded that they were safe and sound, that they have seen action, that they have quitted themselves in a manner of which we are all proud, and that they more than ever love the good old U.S.A. We were disappointed to learn that mail has been slow in reaching them. The members of the Newell Class have been especially faithful in their letter writing.[38] Please know that letters are on the way and that eventually they will arrive. Perhaps at times other supplies are considered of more importance than mail.

Wichita has been organizing its Civil Defense for more than a year now. Last week we participated in a blackout which covered several of the Midwestern States. Since most of our affairs these days seem to be patterned after the British way of doing things we imported a thick fog for the night of the blackout. With the fine cooperation of the citizens and with the visibility at less than five hundred feet, the test was a complete success.

Gas rationing has gone into effect and after several weeks we are able to see something of its workings. Non-essential driving is out. Those who need gasoline in order to conduct their business are able to get it. If the business is essential to the war effort they get all that they actually need. If it is non-essential they get only a portion of the gas which they actually need. Perhaps this is the place to say a word in defense of that very much discussed citizen John Doe. You may have heard that there is considerable grumbling because of rationing and other war measures on the home front. There is no grumbling because every man and woman is willing and anxious to give or to do anything which will contribute to the safety and well being of our men and bring victory as quickly as possible. There is criticism of the blundering and shortsighted manner in which many of the war measures are initiated and carried out. We believe that this is an "all out" war and that the very first place for the effective operation of the "all out" principle should be in the government itself, with politics and slick schemes for getting votes completely out until after the war. It is this criticism of failure in high places which our controlled news refers to as grumbling. Remember that there is a great difference between grumbling and criticism.[39] KH

38. Letter writing was a part of Newell class activities on Sunday evenings and after Sunday breakfasts in Linwood Park. A letter to each serviceman would be passed from person to person until all had written.

39. Carpenter states, "Without being maudlin, I wanted to tell these men we knew what they were doing for us, that we were grateful, and that we were responding in the proper manner."

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Book Reviews

Mapping the North American Plains: Essays in the History of Cartography

edited by Frederick C. Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, and Gary E. Moulton

xiii + 239 pages, maps, photographs, notes, catalog of exhibition, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, cloth $39.50.

MAPPING THE NORTH AMERICAN PLAINS is a deceptive title for this collection of essays from the Center for Great Plains Studies, University of Nebraska, because the book accomplishes more than the title promises. Written by a diverse cadre of scholars and cartographers, the essays do not form a systematic corpus of cartographic information but rather an interesting collection of articles about the cartography of the Great Plains from early to recent times. In the process it also records much social and cultural history of the exploration period, and reproduces numerous maps of the region. Together the volume provides information and fascinating reading.

The book owes much to Ralph E. Ehrenberg, assistant chief of the Geography and Map Division in the Library of Congress, whose essay, "Exploratory Mapping of the Great Plains Before 1800," begins the series of essays and whose catalog of maps, exhibited at the "Mapping of the North American Plains" symposium, concludes the volume. Ehrenberg's catalog presents summaries of seventy-seven maps, charts, and diagrams. More than one-third of the maps are reprinted in the text. The volume thus transcends being a collection of essays about map making, and has been made a repository for the reproduction of many of the most significant historical maps of the Great Plains.

Geographers, historians, and cartographers will find much to increase their understanding of the historical mapping process and the instruments available to assist that effort. Silvio A. Bedini's discussion of the scientific instruments used in the Lewis and Clark Expedition would assure that. But in the essay, "Patterns of Promise," by John L. Allen, the expansion of the map maker's craft from the scientific reproduction of what was found in the field to a culturally derived expression of what mappers wanted to find in the field was discussed. Allen observed that for many who mapped: "Their work was a mapping of the geography of hope and expectation rather than the geography of reality—a mapping of patterns of promise." G. Malcolm Lewis, in "Indian Maps," discusses the same kind of a theme about the maps of nonliterate people which were cognitive expressions about a people's spatial structuring and understanding of the earth's surface. James P. Ronda, in "A Chart In His Way," also discusses the notion that Indian maps must be appreciated and understood in whatever form they were created. Some Indian maps were ephemeral—spoken or drawn on the ground—others were drawn on hides. Few were preserved except as they were incorporated into "explorer's" maps. In most cases the Indian maps were not oriented in the European way but were a chart composed in the "Indian way" and the world view of their surroundings. The point which emerges from these discussions is that cartography is more than the faithful scientific rendering of what is in the vision of the cartographer. It is this broader viewpoint by the essayists that lifts the book above an arcane tome on cartographic technique and creates a series of fascinating explorations with cartographers.

Several of the essays explore the role of applied cartography with respect to the activities of military cartographers prior to the Civil War, the General Land Office surveys of Kansas and Nebraska, and mapping the quality of agricultural land in Canada. Of special interest to Kansas and Nebraska readers will be the application of the federal government's rectangular survey system to the Kansas-Nebraska territories and the publication of township maps.

The essays of this excellent volume are not uniformly valuable and instructive, but they are broad enough in scope to provide something to satisfy the interest and taste of most readers. Occasionally the subject matter of one essay duplicates some material of another. This is not obtrusive, however, and does not distract the reader. Whether your appetite is whet by technical aspects of mapping or cultural considerations of the history of plains cartography, *Mapping the North American Plains* provides a feast of good reading.

Reviewed by Edwin C. Moreland, *professor of geography, Emporia State University.*

Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method

by John Collier, Jr., and Malcolm Collier, foreword by Edward T. Hall

xvii + 248 pages, photographs, bibliography, index. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986, cloth $35.00, paper $14.95.

THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF FIELDWORK has been a perennial problem for anthropologists. As the goal of the discipline is the comprehensive documentation of a culture, the anthropologist is confronted with the very real problem of how to accurately record all that is encountered during the course of research. Although one might assume that visual documentation would be a standard component of most research designs, in truth photography is largely overlooked in many ethnographies. Most often photographs are employed only to illustrate the text of an ethnography rather than as sources of information in their own right. Often this is a result of an unfamiliarity with methods of visual research on the part of the fieldworker.

Since its publication in 1967, *Visual Anthropology* has become a standard text for introducing students of the social sciences to the methods of photographic documentation. In this edition which was issued in 1986, the authors have drawn upon two decades of additional experience to revise and expand their original work. Included are new chapters concerning the use of motion pictures and videotapes for documentation and education.

One of the greatest values of this book is that very little space is devoted to the technical aspects of photography as this subject is dealt with at length in other sources. Although the authors are excellent photographers in their own right, they avoid burdening the reader with expectations concerning the production of artistically valid images. Instead, the book focuses on the means by which photography can be employed for the gathering, analysis, and dissemination of data encountered in the field. Since the demands of research emphasize content above form, work of this sort can be adequately performed by an amateur using the simplest equipment.

According to the authors, research progresses from general to specific observations as the fieldworker collects sufficient data to direct his attention to relevant questions. The fieldwork experience is concluded with the final analysis of the resulting information. This book is organized to follow this chronological progression, giving useful suggestions for each stage of investigation. The authors illustrate the means by which photography can best be put to use for the recording of events too complex for written documentation. Included are topics such as technological processes, proxemics, and the material inventories of houses. The authors also demonstrate the value of photography for recording data in the early stages of fieldwork. During this phase a researcher might not yet have enough background to accurately interpret all that is seen. The camera can therefore be used to record full scenes of activities which can be analyzed at a later date.

A common objection raised to the use of photography in fieldwork is that the camera simply takes in too much information without selecting especially important features. It is argued that in the final stages of analysis the fieldworker will be overwhelmed by a mass of details, much of which will be of marginal value. In this volume the authors demonstrate how visual records can be systematically analyzed to provide pertinent information for the anthropologist. This section of the book should prove to be especially useful for historians who so often must glean information from large collections of poorly documented photographs.

The authors also show that photographs can be used to elicit responses from informants. For example, a researcher could document a particular community event as it progresses. Later participants could be asked questions to gain an insider's view of the activity. In addition, the authors point out that the taking of photographs can be an excellent technique for establishing rapport with members of a community.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is that the authors characterize fieldwork as an ongoing creative process. So often fieldwork texts make research appear to be an orderly sequence of investigation. In truth, fieldwork is a process of inquiry which demands a constant negotiation between the researcher and his informants. This point is brought out admirably as the reader is exposed to a series of short case studies that illustrate the need for innovative solutions to an ever changing research environment.

Reviewed by Carl R. Magnuson, *a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Kansas.*

Emily: The Diary of a Hard-Worked Woman

edited by Janet Lecompte

viii + 166 pages, notes, index. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987, cloth $18.95, paper $7.95.

EMILY IS THE DIARY OF EMILY FRENCH, a spunky, middle-aged, Colorado woman, trying desperately to earn enough to support herself and her family. Her regular diary entries throughout 1890 give us a glimpse into life lived on the very edges of survival and allow us to see that life from the perspective of one who lived it. Such an account is an important contribution to our understanding of the past, but it is not an account which is easy to read and to interpret.

This volume has been published by the University of Nebraska, which is to be commended for its commitment to bringing out books explicitly concerned with women's lives in the trans-Mississippi West, despite the press' somewhat degrading practice of using the first names of female authors as titles for its books. Janet Lecompte is also to be commended on her meticulous editing of Emily French's diary and for the detailed background information which she provides about French's family and the communities in which she lived. This

information is obviously the result of long hours investigating census records and early city directories, and is helpful when reading the diary itself.

Problems remain, however, chiefly because of the difficulty in reading French's prose and trying to generalize beyond her individual experience. There is little continuity in the diary, as there was little continuity in its author's life. Entries are often chaotic, jumping from highly emotional topics to mundane, concrete realities of food and clothing. It may well be that Emily French wrote in an attempt to bring order to her life, but that order is often difficult for the reader to discern.

Elizabeth Hampsten in *Read This Only to Yourself: The Private Writing of Midwestern Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) offers some clues for dealing with writings such as this. In particular she suggests that such works ask of their readers "a special inventive patience" (p. 4) which will enable us to learn from the style itself something of the lives of working-class women of the nineteenth century. From the literalness and concreteness and the lack of generalization or flowery metaphor, Hampsten claims we can learn the texture of the lives these authors lived.

Such a textual approach suggests a way of understanding French's diary. Although she herself made few generalizations, we can generalize, from both what she says and how she says it, about what it meant to be female and poor in the past and get clues about what it means to be female and poor today. The chaotic style of the diary reflects the chaotic life its author was living and enhances our sense of the insecurity of poor women's lives. Other than regularly writing in her diary, French had few points of consistency or stability in her life. Newly divorced from her husband of over thirty years, she moved frequently in search of decent jobs. Her fleeting hopes for a home for herself and her two youngest children or for love and remarriage were continually dashed.

In addition, neither family nor friends were able to give her ongoing support. French made friends easily, and the physical and moral support she received from others typifies the networks in which those unable to survive alone sometimes help each other. But French's frequent moves in search of jobs made such support undependable. Even more importantly, French had few family members to whom she could turn. Both her parents' and her own marriage had ended in acrimonious divorces. Her immediate family was either scattered or too dependent on her to be of assistance. Annis, French's sister, was handicapped, crotchety, and, although able to do some small chores, was a major burden. French had lost touch with her older children or seen them take their father's side against her in court. She longed to be with and able to support her two youngest children, both of whom were in their early teens during the year the diary covers. Her own struggles to survive left her little time and energy, however, to develop close ties with her children.

The constant references in French's diary to concrete objects like food, clothing, and a place to sleep also reinforce the sense of the fragility of the life she was living. In her listings, objects are not simply impersonal items, but a reflection of a life where a few potatoes or a blanket could literally make the difference between life and death. The meagerness of her diet, dress, and housing gives an immediate sense of the quality of life among the poor which is impossible to grasp from statistical accounts of standards of living.

While this edition of French's diary is not easy reading, despite the background supplied by its editor, it is a significant book. It forces us to reach beyond simple platitudes about the desirability of such works being published to a consideration of how they can be used to enhance our understanding of the past. The availability of such works requires historians to read and think in new ways. At the most basic level, *Emily* asks us to consider the heroic nature of a chaotic life devoted to the struggle to survive.

Reviewed by Marilyn Dell Brady, *a graduate of the University of Kansas and currently in the history department at Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina.*

Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier

edited by Paul Andrew Hutton, introduction by Robert M. Utley

xiii + 276 pages, maps, photographs, notes, index.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987, cloth $19.95, paper $9.95.

PAUL HUTTON HAS GATHERED into *Soldiers West* brief scholarly biographies of fourteen of the most exemplary officers pivotal in wresting the trans-Mississippi West from its aboriginal inhabitants. These soldiers were, to a man, extraordinarily capable, and in their diverse talents—logistical, tactical, administrative, and literary—demonstrated the multiform role of the U.S. Army at the saber edge of American civilization.

An introductory essay by Robert Utley examines the contribution of the frontier experience to the American military tradition and finds, paradoxically, that the army, trained for conventional warfare, faced an unconventional foe for almost a century, always convinced that the next conflict would be the last. If there is any common theme to the lives of the fourteen officers under consideration in this book, it is that they more or less successfully, later in their careers, adapted new and unconventional methods of dealing with the foe out of their earlier conventional training.

Jerome Steffen's sketch of William Clark shows how his colonial and mercantile view of the West, gained in his pre-1804 fur-trading years, put him "out of touch" with the agrarian-settlement movement he oversaw in his last two decades of public service in Missouri Territory. But Stephen H. Long of the Topographical Engineers, according to Roger L. Nichols, rounded off an early career of geographical exploration of western river basins with later work on engineering problems of railroad and riverboat transportation.

Most of the other officers discussed in the book spent a majority of their careers dealing directly with Indians, initially as aggressor and later as peacekeeper. Headstrong William S.

Harney, a fighter's fighter who proved his mettle in the Seminole and Mexican wars, matured into a strategist and negotiator in the Sioux Wars of the 1850s and 1860s, writes Richmond Clow. Lt. Col. James S. Carleton's military sovereignty in the volatile southwestern stew of Apache and Navajo was, unfortunately, not matched by a comparable political acumen among the New Mexican Anglos. This "military automaton," this "zealot," says Arrell M. Gibson, was nevertheless a naturalist and a writer. Similarly, Capt. John G. Bourke was famous in his lifetime as a highly literate and far-ranging ethnologist, primarily among southwestern tribes. He is better known today, according to Joseph C. Porter, for his three histories of Indian wars of the 1870s and 1880s. Bourke's confidant, Gen. George Crook, was, writes Jerome Greene, almost alone in introducing two tactical innovations to the army: the extensive use of pack animals and the regular employment of Indian scouts. By putting his Apache scouts on salary, Crook believed he was introducing them to capitalism—another instance where acculturation was eventually seen as a better solution to the Indian problem.

Two of the officers included in the book ended their careers at comparatively young ages. Ranald S. Mackenzie, a brilliant combat tactician regarded by Grant as the finest young officer in the post-Civil War army, suffered a mental collapse at age forty-three and died at age forty-eight; his twenty-two year career in Mexico, Texas, and Colorado has only recently received adequate attention, observes J'Nell L. Pate. Brian Dippie examines the life of George Armstrong Custer and relates, in addition to the now-familiar litany of the Boy General's Civil War and western exploits, the now obligatory attempts to explain his continuing fame.

Custer, Mackenzie, and Crook all launched their careers in the Civil War, as did Philip H. Sheridan, Nelson Miles, William Hazen, Benjamin Grierson, and Frank Baldwin. Hutton's essay on Sheridan reveals that from 1867 to 1884 troops under Sheridan, who for most of that time commanded the vast Division of the Missouri, fought 619 engagements with Indians. An ambitious, competitive career spent fighting the Nez Perce and the Northern Sioux, recounted dramatically by Utley, achieved for Miles his 1895 appointment as Sheridan's successor to the post of commanding general of the army. Instructive, too, is Baldwin's rise in the ranks, partly a result of sheer ability and partly because of correctly cultivated political connections, as summarized by Robert C. Carriker. Additionally, essays by Marvin E. Kroeker and Bruce J. Dinges show how national debates on the agricultural potential of the Great Plains and the rights of Indians and blacks shaped the fortunes of Hazen and Grierson.

Ironically, it was the literary career of Charles King, as related by Paul L. Hedren, that has most shaped our national view of these "soldiers west." An 1866 graduate of West Point, King in 1874 took an Apache bullet in the right arm that led to his retirement from federal service in 1879. In the next thirty-four years, however, King produced sixty-six volumes and hundreds of shorter works, mostly fiction, about the regular army during the Indian wars. These have imprinted upon us, through Frederic Remington's paintings and John Ford's movies, "an enduring image of rugged men in dusty blue manning far-flung outposts," in Hutton's phrase—the final propagandistic defeat of the aboriginal foe.

At least ten of these fourteen officers were familiar faces on the Kansas military frontier, notably at Forts Leavenworth and Hays. A comparative biographical study such as this shows also how these officers, elbowing each other through the crowded ranks of the post-Civil War army, tripped and were tripped by each other's ambition. This book is a good introduction to a colorful and still controversial era, belonging equally in high school libraries and in the collections of advanced students of that era.

Reviewed by Rodney Staab, *curator for the Kansas State Historical Society's historic site, Grinter Place, Kansas City, Kansas.*

Land Fever: Dispossession and the Frontier Myth

by James M. Marshall

viii + 239 pages, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index.
Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986, $21.00.

IN MARSHALL'S WORDS, *Land Fever* "is an analytical study of the relation between the autobiography of a dispossessed homesteader and a pioneer culture's resistance to the loss of the frontier promise of Jeffersonian democracy in the harsh natural and economic wilderness of the expanding West." The book consists of the autobiographical reminiscences of Omar Morse (Marshall's great-grandfather), three chapters by Marshall, and appendixes containing excerpts from Morse's letters, an essay by Morse, and a genealogy of Morse's family.

Morse grew up in Oswego County, New York, and worked on his father's farm until his father lost the farm in 1839. Morse then went West to live with a brother, first in Michigan and then in Wisconsin. Once in Wisconsin he decided to buy a farm, marry, and start a family. The Morse reminiscence is a unique document in that it candidly tells of his dispossession from the Wisconsin farm and from two more in Minnesota. According to Marshall, Morse was drawn ever westward in search of the mythic garden owned free and clear of debt. Each time Morse succumbed to crop failures, medical bills, debts, and mortgages.

The central theme Marshall conveys is the inevitability of dispossession and the frontier folk culture which developed as a response to dispossession. His first chapter is an attempt at "an objective study of the economic, demographic, and geographic conditions that contributed to dispossession. He concentrates on the economic burden of mortgage payments, taxes, debts, foreclosures, and tax sales which led to tenancy or dispossession for thirty to forty percent of the pioneers. Stressed is "the tragic nemesis of an ineffectual land policy and insensitive usury and tax regulation." He also chronicles other afflictions which could befall homesteaders—crop failure or low yields, illness and medical expenses, adverse

weather or other natural disasters, scarcity of help at harvest time.

In Morse's case, one disaster seemed to follow another: low crop yields, his wife's medical problems and consequent expenses, a baby being born during harvest time causing Morse to desert the fields to care for his wife and baby. Morse was forced to find work away from the farm as well as to take out loans to buy seed and supplies. When medical costs ate up his meager earnings, he was unable to make his mortgage and loan payments and lost his farms.

Marshall leans heavily on Henry Nash Smith's garden myth that the West was a veritable Garden of Eden waiting to transform the homesteader into a superior being, and the subsequent disillusionment of those pioneers who lost their farms. Marshall makes the statement that "prairie homesteaders like Morse knew farming was a gamble against weather and soil conditions. Like most farmers, he accepted the risk as part of his way of earning a living, but he did not expect to risk virtual starvation caused by an economic climate that daily threatened to dispossess him and his family. He had accepted the promise of the West as a statement of his right to an opportunity unhampered by the privileges of wealth." Yet Morse himself never really talked about the garden myth or what he expected in the West. As he does so often, Marshall reads more into Morse's account than is really there. Morse did describe the area around Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, by saying, "I emerged from the timber and grubs and found myself on—as I thought—the most beautiful spot of country on Gods green Earth. The prairie grass was then about 4 inches high and the whole face of the country had the appearance of an everlasting grainfield." Marshall takes the phrase "everlasting grainfield" and uses it as the basis for Morse's supposed garden expectations. Marshall uses the phrase over and over as his only proof that Morse believed in a mythic ideal.

Marshall goes even farther by claiming that Morse's "communal and tragic statement" is "significantly representative" of the majority of homesteaders. He proves this, not with quantitative historical data, but with an analysis of American writers. Marshall's second chapter contains his main thesis, the emergence of a cultural countermyth which he calls the unweeded garden. He examines nineteenth-century traditional songs and humorous stories which reflected the vernacular culture. He goes on to do an extensive analysis of American writers, such as Mark Twain, Charles Dudley Warner, Hamlin Garland, Ignatius Donnelly, Frank Norris, Joseph Kirkland, and Edward Eggleston, who wrote about the frontier from their own experience. Marshall postulates that these writers represent the true picture of the ordinary homesteader as someone caught between the disparities of the frontier ideal or garden myth and the painful realities of the unweeded garden of dispossession. Marshall is a professor of English and in this chapter is obviously in his element.

The third chapter is a summary essay. Marshall again puts forth his contention that "dispossession was as inevitable as weeds in wheat." Even if dispossession was not that widespread, he claims homesteaders came to feel themselves victims of unscrupulous land speculators and mortgage holders. Those feelings fostered a folk culture which "became the individual farmer's strategy of defense against the loss of moral direction and purpose, as well as the central metaphor of a group of writers who may be appropriately described as prairie realists." He also chides historians for not having done a definitive study of dispossession from Colonial times through the Gilded Age. He suggests a ten-year history of land sales, resales, mortgages, and foreclosures be done for representative counties across the country.

Ray Allen Billington has written that it has been amply demonstrated that the frontier/garden myth persisted in the imagination of Americans and was perpetuated by novelists, poets, and politicians throughout the nineteenth century. Marshall's analysis of the countermyth or unweeded garden, both in the minds of dispossessed pioneers and the novels and folklore of the period, is a valuable counterweight. Perhaps he should have stopped there and not wandered out of his field of expertise. Much of his book is a mere reiteration of Paul Gates, Fred Shannon, and Henry Nash Smith's work and adds nothing of substance. He dismisses Alan Bogue and Robert Swierenga's work without providing sufficient refutation, other than he does not personally agree with them. He assumes the mission of the reminiscence writer to be the same as that of a novelist. He critiques Morse's work from a literary viewpoint and then tries to make it historically representative. His writing is often less than objective, full of unsubstantiated assumptions, and repetitive, as if bludgeoning the reader with his thesis will make it convincing. He also constantly interrupts Morse's poignant tale with an excessive use of footnotes which merely set forth pieces of the thesis he develops in following chapters. Even necessary information contained in some of the footnotes could have been better conveyed in several well-done maps. As for editing, someone should tell the folks in Kentucky that the Cherokee Strip land rush took place along the border of Kansas and Oklahoma, not in Dakota Territory, and that a Morse letter about the Spanish-American War could not have been written in the 1880s.

Reviewed by Kathryn Otto, *a librarian with the Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.*

Book Notes

Researching the Germans from Russia: Annotated Bibliography of the Germans from Russia Heritage Collection. *Compiled by Michael M. Miller.* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University, 1987. xxii + 224 pages. Paper, $20.00.)

This annotated bibliography is made up of three sections. The first includes listings of the books, tapes, maps, newspapers, etc. available through the North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies' Germans from Russia Heritage Collection. Material available on interlibrary loan also is noted. Section two lists materials available at the Germans from Russia Heritage Society Library, Bismark, S.Dak., and the last section provides three indexes for easy reference to the annotated material.

Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide. *By Kelly Kindscher.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987. x + 276 pages. Cloth, $25.00. Paper, $9.95.)

This volume is comprised of forty-nine chapters, each devoted to a particular plant species with significant food use. Drawings of each plant, maps showing geographical distribution, and short descriptions of plant use by Indians, early travelers, and explorers are included. A glossary, bibliography, and index are provided.

Prose Sketches and Poems Written in the Western Country. *By Albert Pike. Edited by David J. Weber.* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1987. xxxii + 300 pages. Cloth, $27.50. Paper, $14.95.)

Albert Pike's *Prose Sketches and Poems* was first printed in 1834, presenting the first detailed accounts by an Anglo-American of New Mexico and the Mexican borderlands. The 1987 edition, with an introduction by editor David J. Weber, includes eight Pike stories that did not appear in the original volume.

Historic Dress of the Old West. *By Ernest L. Reedstrom.* (Dorset, England: Blandford Press, Link House, distributed in U.S. by Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1986. 160 pages. Cloth, $19.95.)

Illustrated with photographs and the author's own drawings, this volume is a presentation of the clothing and weapons worn and used by inhabitants of the Plains and the West from 1840 to the turn of the century. Among the in-depth treatments are the clothing of the emigrant, Plains Indian, soldier, and miner.

Prairie Smoke. *By Melvin R. Gilmore. Introduction by Roger L. Welsch.* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1987. xxviii + 225 pages. Paper, $6.95.)

A revised edition of a volume originally published in 1929, the material, gathered by the author during many years of fieldwork, deals with the customs and folklore of the Plains Indians. The new introduction serves as an examination of both the author and his work.

The Oregon Trail: Yesterday and Today. *By William E. Hill.* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1987. xvi + 179 pages. Paper, $9.95.)

This volume presents a historical overview of the trail using emigrant diaries, maps, and guideposts; numerous photographs and drawings depict the trail as it was and as it is today. There is also a section devoted to the historic sites along the trail, a readings list, a bibliography, and an index.

Fort Snelling: Colossus of the Wilderness. *By Steve Hall.* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987. 44 pages. Paper, $5.95.)

To tell the fort's story from its beginning in the early 1800s to its restoration after 1960, the author uses travelers' accounts, correspondence, and military records. Areas of interest are the fort's role in Indian-white relations, its use as the frontier closed, and its restoration. Over sixty illustrations, some in color, accompany the text.

Editorial Policies

Kansas History carries scholarly articles, edited documents, and other materials that contribute to an understanding of the history and prehistory of Kansas and the Central Plains. Manuscripts dealing with political, social, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional history are welcomed, along with biographical and historiographical interpretations and studies of archeology and the built environment. Articles emphasizing visual documentation such as photographs or paintings are also appropriate, as are material culture studies. Originality, quality of research, significance, and presentation are among the factors that determine the suitability for publishing in the journal. Generally, genealogical studies are not accepted, although exceptionally well done reminiscences or other autobiographical writings will be considered.

The Edgar Langsdorf Award for Excellence in Writing, which includes a plaque and an honorarium of one hundred dollars, is given for the best article published each year.

Kansas History follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press (13th ed., rev., 1982), and a style sheet is available on request. Manuscripts and other editorial queries should be addressed to the editor, *Kansas History*, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612.

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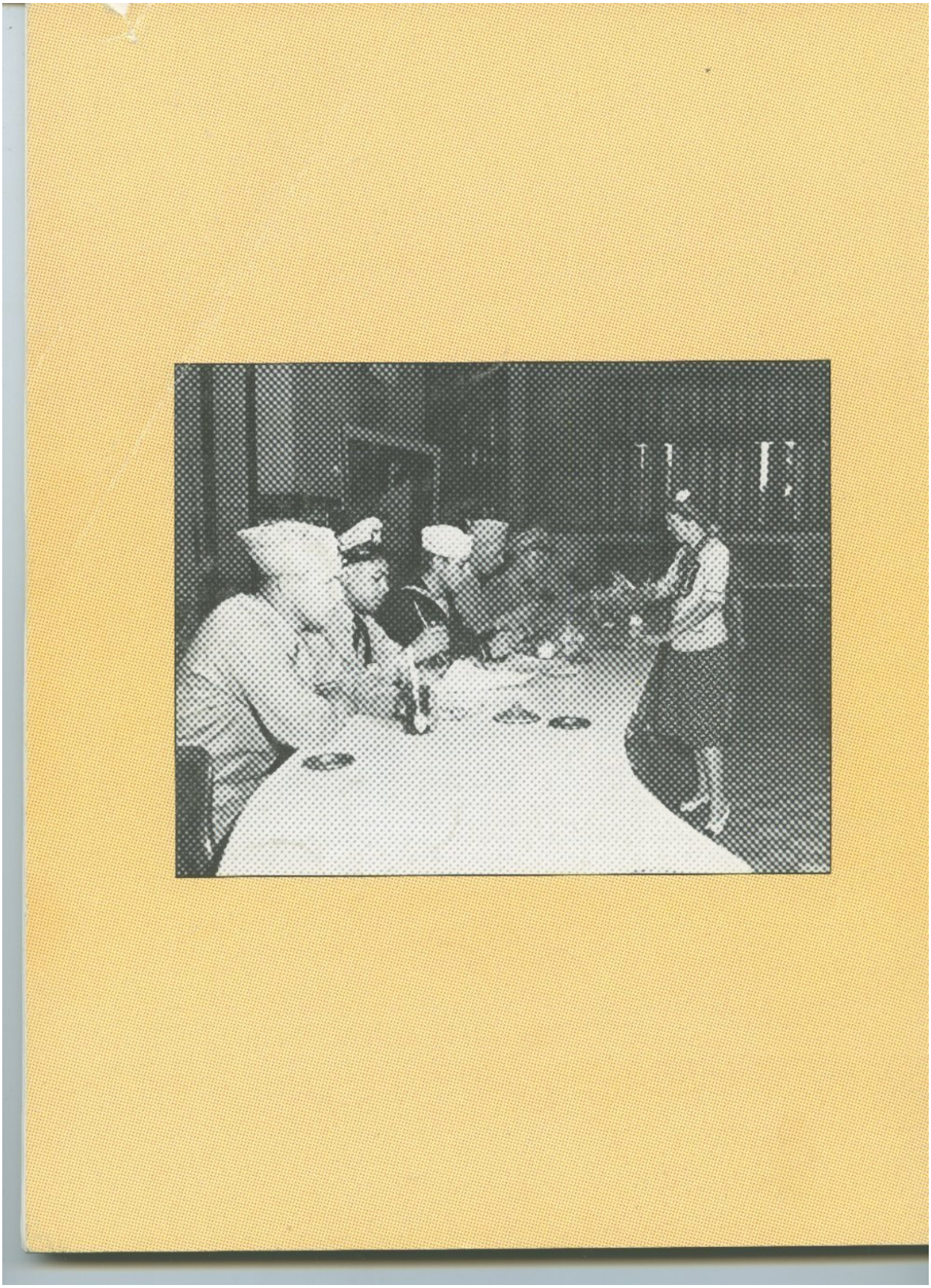
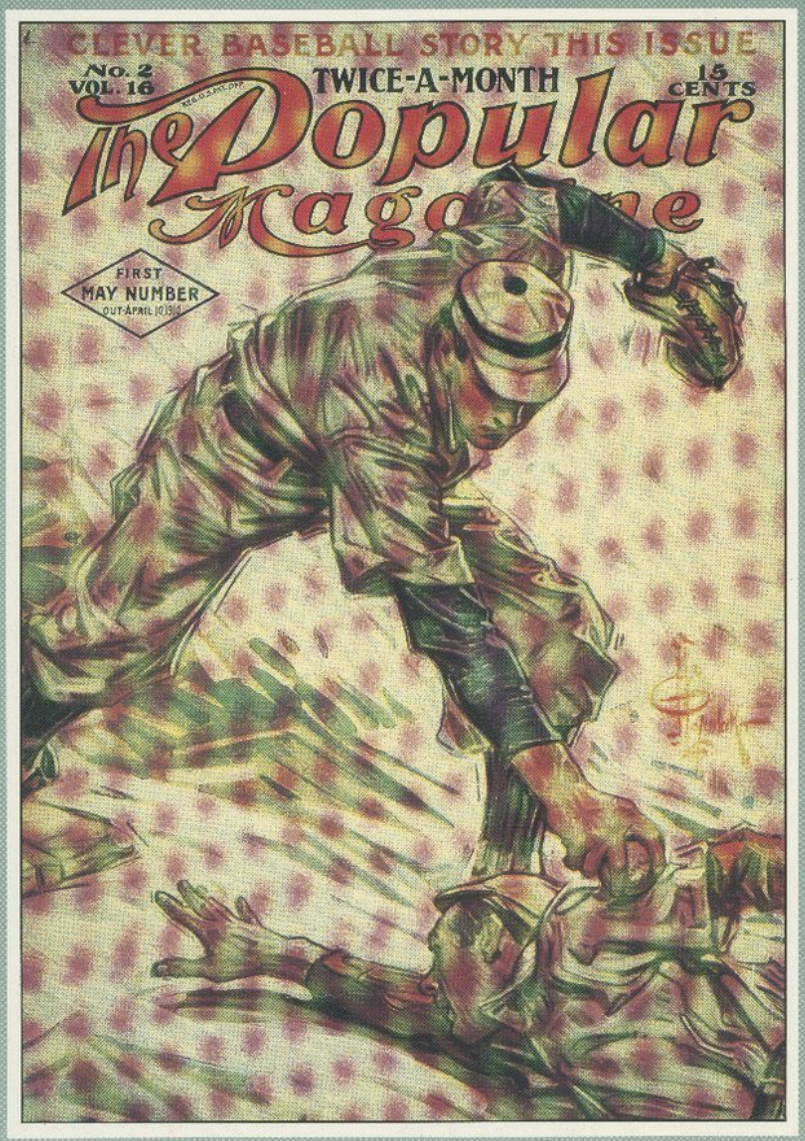


[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

KANSAS HISTORY

A Journal of the Central Plains

Volume 11, Number 2
Summer 1988



Kansas State Historical Society

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized in 1875 by the newspaper editors and publishers of the state, and four years later it became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since then, the Society has operated both as a non-profit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas.

The purposes of the Society are the advancement of knowledge about and the preservation of resources related to the history and prehistory of Kansas and the American West, accomplished through educational and cultural programs, the provision of research services, and the protection of historic properties. The Society is governed by a ninety-nine-member board of directors, elected by the membership, and is administered by an executive director and an assistant executive director.

The new Kansas Museum of History features exhibits and educational programs based on the Society's rich artifact collections. It is located near the historic Pottawatomie Baptist Mission west of Topeka, adjacent to Interstate 70. All other Society departments remain at the Center for Historical Research, Memorial Building, across the street from the State Capitol in Topeka.

All persons interested in Kansas history and prehistory are cordially invited to join the Society. Those who would like to provide additional support for the Society's work may want to consider contributions in the form of gifts or bequests. A representative of the Society will be glad to consult with anyone wishing to make such a gift or establish a bequest or an endowment. Address the Executive Director, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612-1291.

Cover: In the summer of 1907, Walter "Big Train" Johnson pitched his first game with the Washington Senators; in early summer 1861, two Kansans with prosouthern sympathies raised a company to fight with the Confederacy; in 1943, E. Gail Carpenter reported on Victory gardens and the Sicily invasion; and in 1936, gubernatorial candidates defied the sweltering Kansas summer in a quest for votes.

Baseball, the game of summer, is illustrated on the cover and presented in this issue's article, "Sunflower Stars: Big Leaguers from Kansas," while the turmoil of the Civil War is featured in "Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas." The Newelletters, written by E. Gail Carpenter during the Second World War, are continued, and an examination of Kansas politics is presented in "Huxman versus West: The Gubernatorial Race of 1936." The winner, Huxman, is shown in the back cover photograph riding to the 1939 inauguration of his successor, Payne Ratner.

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Marilyn J. Holt, *Editor*
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Sunflower Stars: Big Leaguers from Kansas

by Thomas S. Busch

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL TRACES its origin to the Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey. It was there on June 19, 1846, that two amateur teams met and played a form of baseball no one had ever witnessed before. This seminal game between the Knickerbockers and the New York Nine was played according to rules devised by Alexander J. Cartwright, a surveyor and amateur athlete, who umpired the game.[1] Many would argue that it is he, rather than Abner Doubleday, who is the father of baseball. It was his game that served as the conceptual foundation on which organized teams throughout the country were built.

While the teams became organized, the game remained amateur. It was generally played by upper-class aristocratic types who intended baseball to be a genteel, polite recreation.[2] It remained that way, more or less, for twenty-three years.

In 1869, the citizens of Cincinnati formed the first all professional team. The players' salaries ranged from $600 to $1,400. The team was called the Red Stockings and the caliber of play was so superior to that of the amateurs that it paved the way for the first professional baseball league.[3]

On March 17, 1871, the National Association of Professional Baseball Players was formed. In 1876 it folded because of gambling and bribery problems, but it was soon supplanted by the National League, which is still thriving today. The senior circuit was formed on February 2, 1876, at the Grand Central Hotel in New York City. Although other major leagues would come and go, it was not until 1901 that the American League became a permanent rival.[4]

Baseball had reached Kansas long before these professional leagues were formed. Westward movement and the Civil War had helped to spread baseball beyond the Northeast and Midwest.

The Leavenworth Frontier Baseball Club was the first formally organized town team in Kansas by virtue of receiving its corporate charter from the state on January 29, 1867. The Frontiers were sponsored by a group of "Pioneer City" business and professional leaders, most of whom were veterans of the Civil War. The team initially played inter-squad games, but soon found competition as baseball fever gripped Leavenworth and spread rapidly westward up the valley of the Kansas River. Lawrence, Leavenworth, and Topeka had several organized teams by August 1867.[5]

Town teams were the symbols of civic pride. Intense inter-town rivalries would erupt on Saturday afternoons as the local "nine" played doubleheaders with visiting teams. To play for the town team was a highly sought after prize. Once obtained, it was not easily surrendered. Consequently, it was not uncommon to find a wide array of ages among the players. Teenagers played alongside fathers of four. This playing environment eventually produced players of major league caliber.

The evolutionary process was not a short one, however. The famous Forest Citys of Rockford, Illinois, and that team's celebrated pitcher, A. G. Spalding (who would later become a sporting goods magnate), came to Kansas on May 11, 1870, to play the state champion Lawrence Kaw Valleys at the Topeka fairgrounds.[6] The home team lost 41 to 6 to the "champions of the West." This was not so bad when one considers that the Forest Citys went 45-13 between 1867-1870.[7] After this shellack-

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1. Joseph L. Reichler, ed., *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1985), 11.
2. Jack Selzer, *Baseball in the Nineteenth Century: An Overview* (Cooperstown, N.Y.: SABR, 1986), 4.
3. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 12; Selzer, *Baseball in the Nineteenth Century*, 7.
4. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 12, 13, 15.
5. Harold C. Evans, "Baseball in Kansas, 1867-1940," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (May 1940): 175.
6. Ibid., 178.
7. Peter Levine, *A. G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 10.

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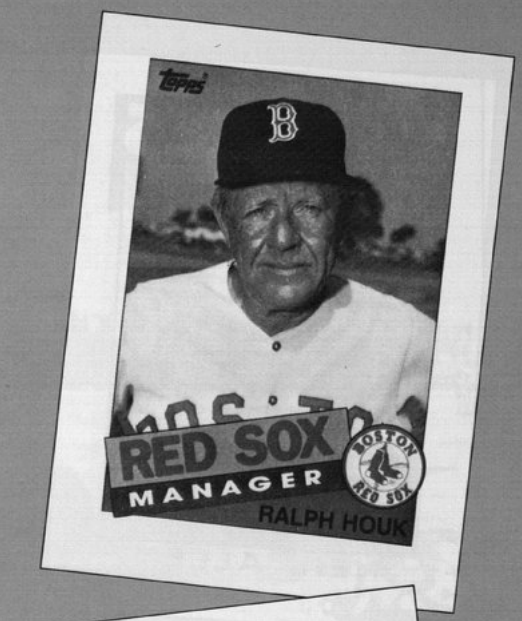
ing, however, Kansas teams confined their activities to intrastate competition for several years.

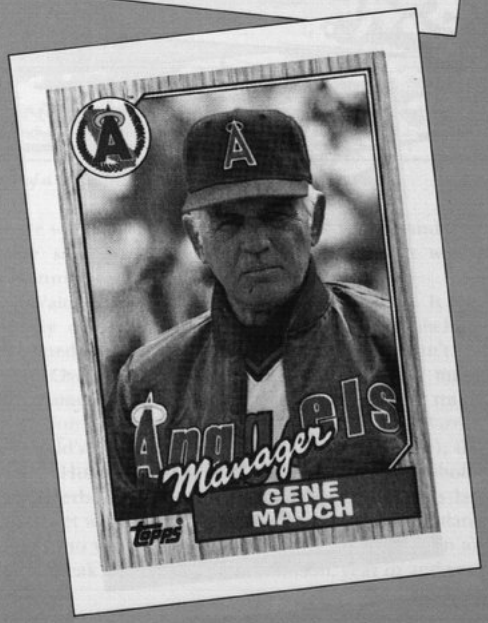
Kansas saw its first native son play in the big leagues in 1882. The young man to hold this distinction is Walt Kinzie who played shortstop for the Detroit club. He was born in March of 1856, but records do not reflect in what town he was born. For this reason, Leavenworth holds the distinction of being the first town to produce a major league player. His name was Bill Hughes, born on April 10, 1862. He would go on to play for Washington in the Union Association in 1884.[8] These two men were the figurative fathers of future generations of Kansas big leaguers. Their successors number nearly two hundred today.

Based on data contained in the sixth edition of *The Baseball Encyclopedia* and the *Official Baseball Register* for the years 1986, 1987 and 1988, 171 players have come from Kansas.[9] (For a player to be included in this group, he must have been born in Kansas or spent a significant part of his childhood—high school or earlier—in Kansas; and he must have been credited with at least one recorded appearance in a major league game.) In some respects, this number is surprisingly large. For decades most players came from east of the Mississippi. Until the 1950s neither the American nor National League had a franchise farther west than St. Louis. In other respects this number is disappointingly low. More than twelve thousand men have made it to the big leagues,[10] but Kansas has produced only about 1.5 percent of them.

While Kansas may be somewhat under-represented in the big leagues, it has produced some of the game's greatest names. Within this group are three Hall of Famers and another who most certainly would have been one had his pitching career lasted longer. The three Kansans in baseball's Hall of Fame are Walter Johnson, Fred Clarke, and Joe Tinker. The fourth legendary great was the remarkable "Smoky" Joe Wood.

Walter Johnson is a luminary in baseball's pantheon of stars. The fact that he was one of the original five players inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1936 (the other

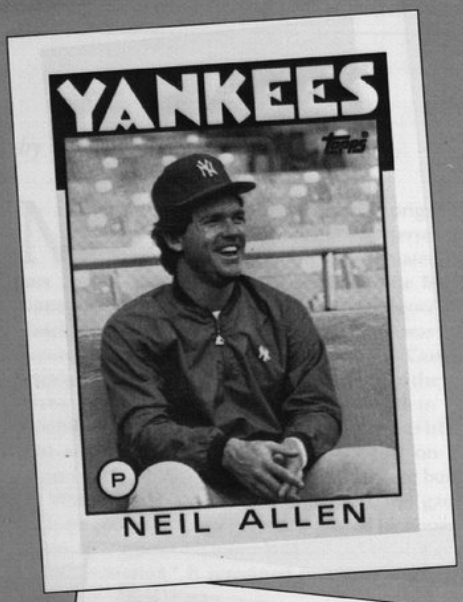




8. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 1040, 1088.

9. Ibid., 1040; Barry Siegel, ed., *Official Baseball Register* (St. Louis: The Sporting News, 1988). The author has included only those players who were born in Kansas or those who spent a significant part of their childhood there. This latter category for inclusion is imprecise because of lack of documentation. For this reason, it is probably incomplete. It is hoped this article will precipitate new names coming to light. The latter group is known to include Fred Clarke, Joe Wood, Jess Barnes, Skip James, and Steve Jeltz. The total number is effective through the 1987 season. *Editor's Note:* When *Kansas History* went to press, it had not been determined if Ted Power, of the Kansas City Royals and former Abilene High School student, met the criteria to be included as a "Sunflower Star."

10. *The SABR Bulletin* 17 (January 1987), 4.



four were Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, Honus Wagner, and Christy Mathewson) speaks volumes about his abilities.

He was born on November 6, 1887, to Frank and Minnie Johnson. The family owned a farm four miles outside of Humboldt. In 1901 the family moved to Fullerton, California, where Frank Johnson found business as a hauling contractor for drilling firms in the oil fields.[11] The Johnson family returned to Kansas in 1909 and bought a farm outside of Coffeyville. Walter bought his own farm a mile outside of Coffeyville in 1914 and wintered there with his wife and family until 1921.

Walter, who never played baseball in Kansas despite the fact that Coffeyville had a minor league team at the time, first played the game for his high school team in California. In a 1923 interview he described his baseball beginnings:

> I started my first game of baseball as catcher. Half-way through the game the kids thought I could throw pretty good so I was put in as pitcher—and I've pitched ever since.... I'll never forget that first game I pitched for the high school.... I got beat 21 to 0.[12]

In 1907 while playing for a Weiser, Idaho, semi-professional team, he fast became a local legend. In a series of twelve games, he managed to strike out 166 men and pitched eighty-five consecutive scoreless innings. His one and only pitch was a fast ball. The incredible speed of his pitches has been attributed to extra long arms (which almost hung to his knees) and his effortless delivery. His momentum at release carried him forward in a peculiar little jump. Righthanded, he threw just a little above sidearm and released the ball with a snap (not a turn) of his wrist that increased both the speed and the spin of the ball.[13]

Johnson was signed by the Washington Senators in July 1907. He pitched his first game on August 2, 1907, and lost 3-2.[14] He stuck, however, and never played a game in the minors thereafter. His career lasted for twenty-one years, and by the time it was over, he had set nearly a dozen major league pitching records.

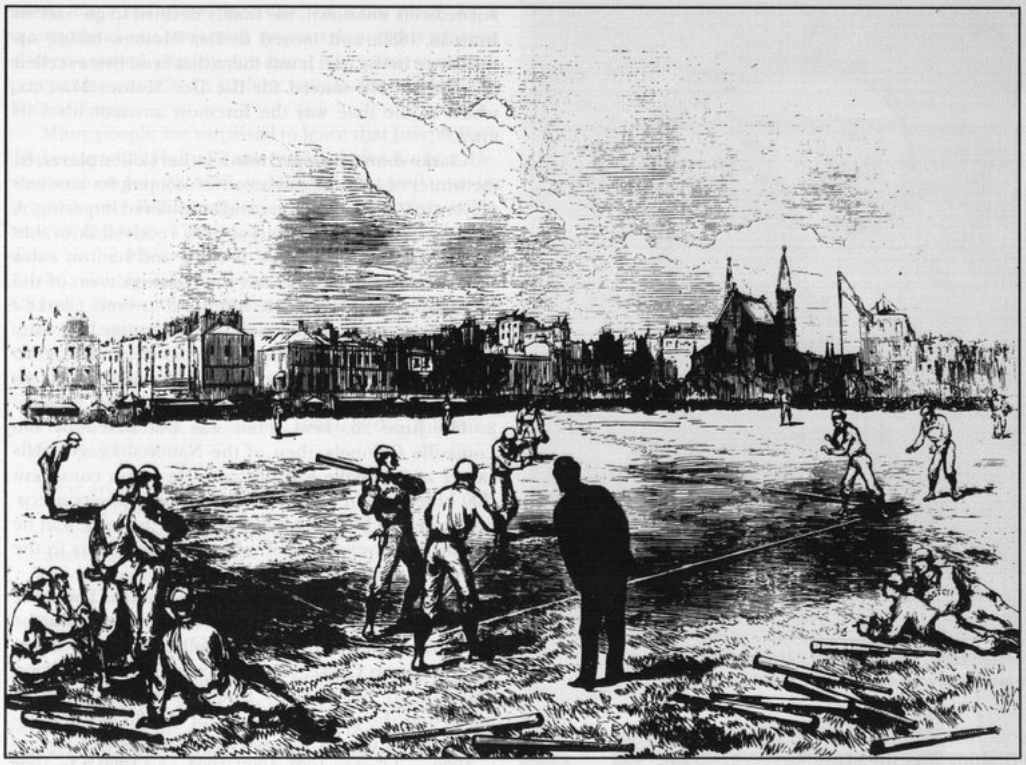
Not all of those records have survived over the last sixty years. Yet he remains in the top ten in eight dif-

11. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 1817; A Neighbor, "And What A Best It's Been These Sixteen Years! Walter Johnson Tells of His Career as a Big-league Pitcher," *Dearborn Independent* (October 6, 1923): 7; Roger L. Treat, *Walter Johnson King of the Pitchers* (New York: Julian Messner, 1948), 73; "Sport Special From Yesterday," *Sport* (January 1950), 51.

12. "And What A Best It's Been These Sixteen Years!," 7.

13. Walter Johnson, "Some Experiences of a 'Speed-King' Or, My Life-Story, *St. Nicholas Illustrated Magazine* 41 (October 1914): 1064; Martin Quigley, *The Crooked Pitch* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1984), 73.

14. Johnson, "Some Experiences of a 'Speed-King'," 1064-65; "Sport Special From Yesterday," 51.



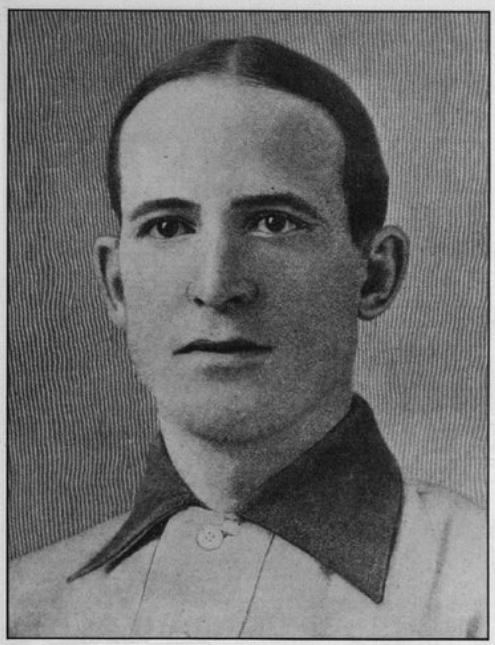
This Harper's Weekly *illustration of 1874 gave its reading audience a view of a sport that was fast growing in popularity.*

ferent categories of career pitching records. Amazingly, he still holds the record for most career shutouts with 110.[15] This is a record that may never be broken. No active player is even close, and it was just a few years ago that his all-time strikeout record was eclipsed.

On September 4, 5, and 7 in 1908, he pitched successive complete game shutouts against the New York Highlanders. This record has never been surpassed. In 1912, from July 3 to August 23, he won sixteen successive games, tying the American League record. In 1913 he pitched fifty-six consecutive scoreless innings.[16] Remarkably, all of these records were accomplished without resorting to the trickery of curves or doctored pitches. They were performed entirely in daylight, as there was no night baseball during his career, and they were supported by a Washington team that was a perennial loser.

Walter Johnson's hallmark was his speed. It was simply overpowering. A description of his pitching spawned the phrase, "You can't hit 'em if you can't see em." Over the years his fast ball earned him many nicknames: The Big Train (relating to the fastest transportation of the day); Barney (referring to Barney Oldfield's land speed records set in auto racing); the Idaho Hot Potato; the Kansas Cyclone; the Humboldt Thunderbolt; and the Coffeyville Express.[17] This last sobriquet was coined by the gifted sportswriter, Grantland Rice, who wrote in 1926: "It is my belief that, given an even break in team strength, Johnson, year in and year

15. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 92-93, pl. 93.
16. "Sport Special From Yesterday," 50; Quigley, *The Crooked Pitch*, 72.
17. Treat, *Walter Johnson King of The Pitchers*, 36, 50.



Fred Clarke, now in baseball's Hall of Fame, was a successful player and club manager.

out, was the hardest man to beat that ever sent a ball flashing over the plate."[18]

Also in baseball's Hall of Fame is Fred Clarke, a true baseball pioneer. He was exceptionally well-rounded in all phases of the game—hitting, fielding, and managing. At the age of twenty-four he became the first successful "boy manager."[19] His career as a player-manager lasted for twenty-one years, all but six of those years spent with the Pittsburgh Pirates.

He was born on a farm near Winterset, Iowa, on October 3, 1872. In 1874 he and his family moved to Kansas by covered wagon. Two older brothers had earlier settled in Winfield and urged the family to make the move to the beautiful valley of the Walnut River. The family settled on a farm four miles north of Winfield.[20]

For reasons unknown, the family decided to go back to Iowa in 1880, and moved to Des Moines, taking up residence in the city. It was there that Fred first excelled at baseball. He starred for the Des Moines Mascots, which at the time was the foremost amateur team in town.[21]

Clarke soon developed into a rather skilled player. In the winter of 1892, he saw an advertisement for baseball players in *The Sporting News* and considered inquiring. A friend of his, however, had already received favorable responses from a number of clubs and had an extra railroad ticket to try out with the Hastings team of the Nebraska State League. He offered it to Fred. Clarke's tryout went well and the club offered to pay him forty dollars a month.[22] Despite the urgings of his parents to stay in college, he accepted the offer and set out in pursuit of a baseball career.

On June 26, 1894, Fred was purchased by the Louisville Colonels, then of the National League. His career at Louisville was brilliant. He was a consistent .300 hitter and in 1895 hit safely in thirty-one consecutive games. In 1897 he hit .402; that was the same year he was made player-manager, after only four years in the National League.[23]

When Col. Barney Dreyfuss purchased the Louisville Colonels in 1900, he consolidated the team into the Pittsburgh Pirates. In that consolidation such future Pirate greats as Clarke, Honus Wagner, Deacon Phillippe, and Tommy Leach came from Louisville. Clarke remained as the player-manager for the Pirates and enjoyed almost instant success. His team finished second in 1900 and first in 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1909.[24] In 1903 the Pirates played in the first World Series and lost to the Boston Red Sox five games to three. However, in 1909, Clarke got his revenge on the American League by beating the Detroit Tigers and their star, Ty Cobb, four games to three. Clarke played a significant role in his team's success by hitting two home runs and driving in seven runs in the series.

Known as "Cap" or "Fearless Fred," Clarke was regarded as one of the greatest outfielders of his day and led the National League in fielding percentage for his position as a left fielder. He excelled with the bat as well as the glove as his .315 lifetime batting average

18. Grantland Rice, "The Coffeyville Express," *Collier's* 77 (June 5, 1926): 21.

19. Hall of Fame plaque inscription, Fred Clarke clipping file, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

20. Frederick C. Lieb, "Fred Clarke," *Baseball Magazine* (February 10, 1910): 47; Judy Welch, "Cowley County's Fred Clarke Brought Fame, Glory to Pittsburgh Pirates," *Arkansas City Traveler*, November 8, 1976.

21. Lieb, "Fred Clarke," 47. Clark lived in Winfield in later years and died there in 1960.

22. Welch, "Cowley County's Fred Clarke," 10; Fred Clarke clipping file, *The Sporting News*, St. Louis, Missouri.

23. Clarence W. Miller, "Fred Clarke—Ball Player, Ranchman—Kansan," *Kansas Magazine* 2 (November 1909): 47-48; "Fred Clarke Is Dead," *Kansas City Times*, August 15, 1960, Athletes clipping file, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

24. Lieb, "Fred Clarke," 48.

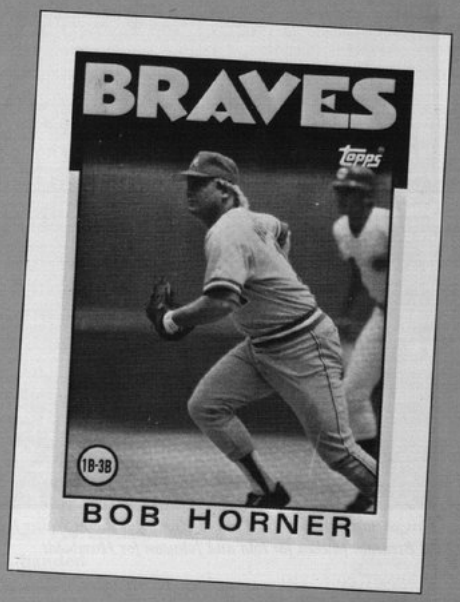
attests. In 2,245 games he collected 2,708 hits.[25] As a manager he was very well respected, and his players always enjoyed playing for him. His career winning percentage was .576. In 1945 he was elected to baseball's Hall of Fame.

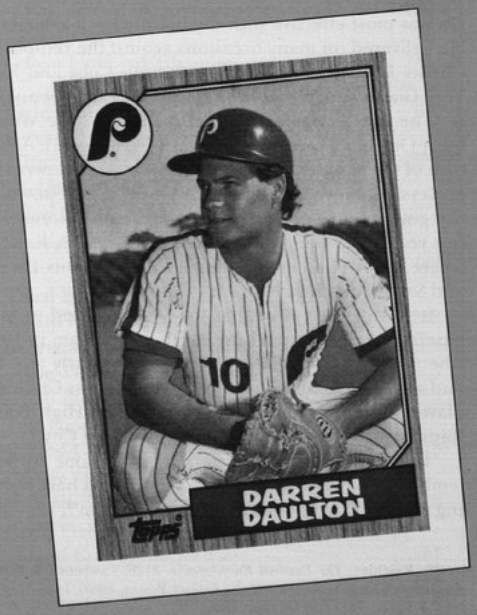
Many people are surprised to learn that Joseph Bert Tinker another Hall of Famer was a native Kansan. He was born on July 27, 1880, in Muscotah, a small town in northeastern Kansas approximately twenty-five miles west of Atchison. Tinker achieved his stardom and his ticket to the Hall of Fame by being a member of the famous double-play combination of Tinker to Evers to Chance. He was the shortstop on a Chicago Cubs team that won four pennants and two World Series during his eleven-year career with the team.[26] All three players in the double-play combination were elected to the Hall of Fame in 1946. Tinker's fame was fixed when New York journalist Franklin P. Adams penned the following eight-line lament:

> These are the saddest of possible words:
> "Tinker to Evers to Chance!"
> Trio of bear Cubs and fleeter than birds,
> "Tinker to Evers to Chance!"
> Ruthlessly pricking our gonfalon bubble,
> Making a Giant hit into a double—
> Words that are heavy with nothing but trouble.
> "Tinker to Evers to Chance!"[27]

Joe Tinker's family moved to Kansas City shortly after he was born, and it was there that he started playing baseball on the sandlots. Against the advice of his parents, who had outlined a paperhanger's career for him, he started playing semi-pro ball as a teenager. He broke into professional baseball with the Coffeyville team at age nineteen in 1899. From there he went on to play with Parsons and Denver in the Western League.[28]

Because he failed to excel as a second baseman with Denver, he was shipped out to Portland in the Pacific Northwest League in 1901. In 1902 he was signed for a tryout by Frank Chance of the Chicago Cubs.[29] It was Chance who turned him into a shortstop. Tinker was an excellent fielder and a reliable but not great hitter.





25. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 802-3.
26. Ibid., 1463; Associated Press release, July 27, 1948, untitled newspaper clipping, Joe Tinker file, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc., Cooperstown, N.Y.
27. Associated Press release, July 27, 1948, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.; Charles Einstein, ed., *The Baseball Reader* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1980), 1.
28. Associated Press release, July 27, 1948, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.; Wayne Oliver, "Joe Tinker, Sketch 3118," *The Associated Press Biographical Service*, April 15, 1944.
29. Associated Presss release, July 27, 1948, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.

This photograph taken in 1912 at Humboldt shows Walter Johnson at bat during an exhibition game between the teams of Iola and Humboldt. Ad Brennan pitched for Iola and Johnson for Humboldt.

He was most effective with the bat in clutch situations. He delivered on many occasions against the renowned Christy Mathewson during the famous Cubs and New York Giants struggles for the National League pennant.

The fourth legendary great is "Smoky" Joe Wood, born October 25, 1889, in Kansas City, Missouri. At the turn of the century, his father, who was a trial lawyer by profession, moved the family to Ouray, a little town in the gold mining country of southwestern Colorado. A few years later the family moved to Ness City, Kansas, where Wood's father represented the Missouri Pacific and Santa Fe railroads.[30]

It was in Ness City, that Joe Wood started to play baseball. He began pitching for the town team in 1906 when he was only sixteen.[31] Even at that early age, he had a great fast ball with a hop on it. The Ness City team played all the surrounding towns such as High Point, Ransom, Ellis, Bazine, WaKeeney, and Scott City.

The start of his professional career came in September 1906, when he was asked to finish a barnstorming tour for the Bloomer Girls baseball team[32]; yes—the Bloomer Girls. Although it was promoted as an all-girl team, there were four boys who played. All wore wigs, except for little Joey Wood.

Joe's actual start in organized ball came in 1907 when he was signed to play for Hutchinson in the Western Association. After the 1907 season he was sold to Kansas City in the American Association. He pitched there until the middle of the 1908 season when he was bought by the Boston Red Sox.[33] The Red Sox team he joined in August 1908 became one of the best teams of all time. His roommate for the next fifteen years was the legendary Tris Speaker, considered by many to be the best center fielder of all time. This was the team that had the "Golden Outfield" of Speaker, Harry Hooper, and Duffy Lewis. Their defensive exploits became the stuff of legends.

Joe Wood won eleven games for the Red Sox in 1909; twelve in 1910; twenty-three (including one no-hitter) in 1911; and thirty-four in his career year of 1912. In 1912 his record was 34-5. That year he won sixteen in a row to tie Walter Johnson for the American League record. His ERA was 1.91 on the strength of ten shutouts. In

30. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 2128; Lawrence S. Ritter, *The Glory of Their Times* (New York: Collier Books, 1966), 147.
31. Ritter, *The Glory Of Their Times*, 147.
32. Ibid., 149.
33. Ibid., 150.

addition, he won three games in the World Series to lead Boston to victory over the New York Giants.[34]

Nicknamed "Smoky" because of the speed of his fast ball, Wood's greatest career game occurred in the 1912 season when he was pitted against another legendary flamethrower in the form of Walter "Big Train" Johnson. Walter Johnson had recently fashioned a personal win streak that reached sixteen to set an American League record. His streak was broken on August 26, 1908.[35] As Johnson was working on his streak, Wood started one of his own.

When the Washington Senators came to Boston in September, Wood's streak stood at thirteen. Baseball fans and writers clamored for Johnson to have an opportunity to personally end Wood's streak and to protect his own record. On Friday, September 6, the match-up took place in an environment usually reserved for the seventh game of a World Series. The game was a scoreless tie until the sixth inning when Speaker scored for Boston. Although the Senators had men in scoring position in both the eighth and ninth innings, Wood was able to pitch out of these troubles and notch a 1-0 shutout.[36]

These two mighty Kansans had a mutual admiration for each other. Joe Wood once stated, "In my opinion, the greatest pitcher who ever lived was Walter Johnson. If he'd ever had a good ball club behind him what records he would have set!" Walter Johnson once said, "Can I throw harder than Joe Wood? Listen, my friend, there's no man alive can throw harder than Smoky Joe Wood."[37]

In addition to producing several legendary players, Kansans have made other contributions to professional baseball which are rich in their variety and degree of significance. Some are terrific while others are trivial. As a whole, they have had a surprisingly lasting effect on the game.

Nine Kansans have managed in the big leagues. Three have had considerable success. Bill Burwell of Jarbalo managed the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1947. Don Gutteridge of Pittsburg managed the Chicago White Sox in 1969 and 1970. Walter Johnson skippered the Washington Senators and Cleveland Indians for seven years. Joe Kuhel of Kansas City captained the Senators in 1948 and 1949. Bob Swift of Salina led the Detroit

34. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 2128; Ritter, *The Glory of Their Times*, 151.
35. Emil H. Rothe, "The War of 1912: The Wood-Johnson Duel," in L. Robert Davids, ed., *Insider's Baseball* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 127.
36. Ibid., 129-30; Ritter, *The Glory of Their Times*, 151.
37. Ritter, *The Glory of Their Times*, 146, 151.

The Author's All-Star Team

There is a degree of risk associated with naming an all-time all-star team of Kansas big leaguers. Some people may be offended if their favorites are left off. Selection criteria were strictly statistical. No player on the team played for less than eight years. Consequently, some players with better statistics may not have made the team if their careers were deemed too short for adequate comparison. Lastly, this is not a team of the best nine players. Rather, it is a team of the best players at their position. Certain positions had fiercer competition than others. As they say, those are the breaks of the game. In only one case (shortstop), was it too close to call. With these caveats in mind, my all-time all-star team is as follows:

Pitchers	W	L	Pct.
Right-handed			
Walter Johnson, Humboldt	416	279	.579
Joe Wood, Ness City	116	57	.671
Mike Torrez, Topeka	185	160	.536
Left-handed			
Ross Grimsley, Jr., Topeka	124	99	.556
Ray Sadecki, Kansas City	135	131	.508
Reliever			
Paul Lindblad, Chanute	61	46 (64 saves)	.570

Fielders	BA
Catcher	
Ray Mueller, Pittsburg	.252
First Base	
Joe Kuhel, Kansas City	.277
Second Base	
George Grantham, Galena	.302
Third Base	
Bob Horner, Junction City	.282
Shortstop	
Joe Tinker, Muscotah	.263
Bill Russell, Pittsburg	.264
Left Field	
Fred Clarke, Winfield	.315
Center Field	
Beals Becker, El Dorado	.276
Right Field	
Fred Brickell, Saffordville	.281

Tigers in 1966, and Joe Tinker managed four years in the big leagues, for Cincinnati and Chicago.[38]

The big three in terms of managing consist of Fred Clarke of Winfield, Ralph Houk of Lawrence, and Gene Mauch of Salina. Each of these men managed for at least nineteen years. Clarke's years with the Pirates have already been related. Houk managed the New York Yankees for eleven years and finished with Detroit and Boston. He managed the great Yankee teams of 1961, 1962, and 1963, winning the World Series in 1961 and 1962.[39] Mauch holds the longest tenure of any Sunflower State manager. After managing the California Angels for twenty-six years, Mauch announced his retirement in the spring of 1988. Considered a brilliant tactician, Mauch has lived with the reputation of not winning the big ones. The Angels' loss in the 1986 American League Championship Series to the Boston Red Sox was perhaps the toughest loss of his career.

Besides being a brilliant player and manager, Fred Clarke was responsible for several very significant contributions to baseball. He is credited with helping to originate the World Series in 1903, when, as the manager for the National League champion Pirates, he challenged the American League champion to a playoff. He also invented and patented the flip down sunglasses used by fielders. He was the first to wear sliding pads, and he was the first to use infield tarps.[40]

Few people realize that it was a Kansan who brought the spitball to the big leagues. The spitter was actually the invention of an outfielder by the name of George Hildebrand, but he taught it to pitcher Elmer Stricklett in 1902 when both were playing for Sacramento in the Pacific Coast League. A native of Glasco, Kansas, Striklett was about to be released from the Sacramento team because of a sore arm. He practiced throwing the spitter for four days. He then won eleven straight games, kept his job, and pitched two more years for Sacramento. Stricklett was called up to the big leagues in 1904 and pitched there for four seasons, the last three with the Brooklyn Dodgers. He is also credited by many with developing the first slider or "nickel curve."[41]

Eldon Auker of Norcatur is credited with developing the modern "submarine ball." After hurting his shoulder playing football at Kansas State University, he could not throw hard overhanded. The underhand pitching motion he developed gave him several strong years with the Detroit Tigers in the 1930s.[42]

Perhaps the strangest contribution Kansas provided big league baseball was Charles "Victory" Faust who left Marion in the summer of 1911 at age thirty to join the New York Giants as a pitcher on the strength of some advice from a fortune-teller. The soothsayer told Faust that if he joined the Giants he would become a great pitcher and the father of future generations of baseball stars. Not a skilled player by any means, he did manage to stay with the Giants as a mascot. He became quite well known by performing before games, clowning around in uniform, and by being the Giants' good-luck charm when the team won the 1911 and 1912 pennants.[43] Research indicates that he should be credited as the first white, paid team mascot, the historical equivalent of the San Diego Chicken.

Many people felt that Faust was not in charge of all his faculties and had perhaps wandered into the Giants club from the wilderness, but there is reason to believe that there was method to his madness. Through the persons of Tex Jones and Beals Becker he may have known more about the big time than people thought. In 1911, Tex Jones was playing for the Chicago White Sox. Tex was also from Marion, and Charley surely knew him. That same year another Kansan was playing for the Giants. He was Beals Becker and his hometown was El Dorado.[44] There may have been more envy than soothsaying propelling Faust toward the big time.

Kansas has sent two sets of brothers to the big leagues and two father-son combinations. Hall of Famer Fred Clarke had a brother named Josh who played for five years as an outfielder at the turn of the century. The Barnes brothers, Virgil ("Zeke") and Jess, from Ontario both pitched in the major leagues from 1915 to 1928. They also played together on the pennant-winning Giants teams of the early 1920s. Ross Grimsley from Americus pitched for the White Sox in 1951. Twenty years later, his son, Ross, started an eleven-year pitching career; his first three years with the Cincinnati Reds. The younger Ross was born in Topeka. Fred Brickell of Saffordville played from 1926 to 1933 in the National League as an outfielder, and he played in the 1927 World Series for the Pirates. Thirty years later, in 1958, his son, Fritzie, from Wichita began a three-year career as a shortstop for the Yankees and Angels.[45]

George Washington Zabel, better known as Zip, who hailed from Wetmore, pitched only three seasons in the

38. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 616-55.
39. Ibid., 632.
40. Dan Schlossberg, *The Baseball Catalog* (Middle Village, New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1980), 70, 220; Welch, "Cowley County's Fred Clarke," 10.
41. Quigley, *The Crooked Pitch*, 102, 153-54; Ron Fimrite, "The Pitch of the '80s," *Sports Illustrated* (June 9, 1986): 75; Schlossberg, *The Baseball Catalog*, 274.
42. Quigley, *The Crooked Pitch*, 74.
43. Thomas S. Busch, "In Search of Victory: The Story of Charles Victor ("Victory") Faust," *Kansas History* 6 (Summer 1983): 96-109.
44. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 709, 1065.
45. Ibid., 749, 803, 1578-79, 1756.

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Two of Kansas' best known big league stars are Smoky Joe Wood (left) and Walter Johnson.

National League for Chicago, from 1913 to 1915. His career record was 12-14 as a starter. As a reliever he was 4-2. In one of those relief appearances on June 17, 1915, he managed to set a major league record that still stands. He beat the Dodgers 4-3 after 18 1/3 innings of relief work.[46]

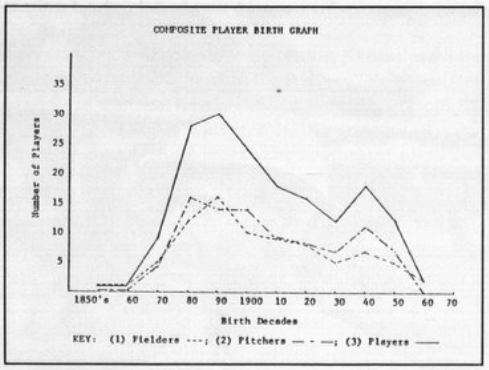
Luther "Dummy" Taylor, born in Oskaloosa in 1875, pitched for the powerhouse New York Giants from 1900 to 1908. He was one of only two deaf mutes to play in the big leagues.[47] After retiring from the game, he coached at the Kansas School for the Deaf in Olathe for many years.

On August 19, 1951, St. Louis Browns' owner, Bill Veeck, unveiled his newest acquisition, Eddie Gaedel.[48] Standing forty-six inches small, he was the shortest player ever to appear in the majors. The Browns were playing Detroit that day and the Tigers' battery consisted of two Kansans: catching was Bob Swift from Salina; pitching was Bob Cain from Longford. Cain walked the midget, who was then replaced by a pinch runner. Gaedel returned to the dugout to the cheers of a crowd bored from watching a game between the two worst teams in baseball. He would never play again. The Jayhawkers were more fortunate.

A statistical analysis of the 171 players from Kansas yields several interesting facts. Eighty-two fielders and eighty-nine pitchers make up Kansas' 171 big league players. The number of pitchers would seem to be disproportionately great and may reflect at first glance some validity to the stereotype of the hard-throwing farm-boy pitcher. These players came from all over Kansas, but the vast majority were born in the eastern half of the state.

Population centers have in fact produced the greatest number of players. Wichita holds the distinction of producing the greatest number, with sixteen. Kansas City is close behind at thirteen. Topeka and Leavenworth follow with seven and four, respectively. Coffeyville, El Dorado, Hays, Lawrence, and Pittsburg have sent three players each to the big leagues. The remaining 116 players have come from 100 towns. (See Appendix I.)

The careers of the fielders lasted an average of 5.12 years. Pitchers' careers lasted an average of 4.8 years. Both of these figures compare well with the modern major league career which averages six years.[49] Fred Clarke of Winfield enjoyed the longest career for a



fielder with twenty-one years in the major leagues.[50] Tom Wilson of Fleming had the shortest career with the dubious distinction of playing in the big leagues for one game, never to be heard from again. The great Walter Johnson from Humboldt had the longest pitching career with twenty-one years. Clarence Beers from El Dorado did not stay long enough even for a cup of coffee. His career lasted .2 of one inning.[51] You do not want to know his ERA.

The vital statistics of a composite Kansas fielder are: height, 5′11 1/2″; weight, 176 pounds; six times more likely to throw right than left; twice as likely to bat right than left. The composite batting average is .228. This is lower than the respective current league averages of .261 and .252 in the American and National leagues.[52]

The vital statistics of a composite Kansas pitcher are: height, 6'1"; weight, 182 pounds; .510 won-loss percentage; and three times more likely to throw right than left.

The most interesting statistical information about Kansas players concerns when they were born. Grouping players' birthdates by decades beginning with the 1850s reveals an interesting, if not disappointing graph. (See graph.) The number of fielders born in Kansas peaked in the 1890s, with sixteen, and has fallen every decade since, except for the 1940s. The number of pitchers peaked in the 1880s, with sixteen, and has fallen every decade since except for the 1940s. A composite graph of both fielders and pitchers reflects that the number peaked in the 1890s, with thirty, and has declined every decade since, except for the 1940s. It is the author's conjecture that the 1940s is an aberration because of the post-war baby boom.

46. Ibid., 2136; Schlossberg, *The Baseball Catalog*, 53.
47. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 2073.
48. John Grafton, *Sports Picture Quiz Book* (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), 41.
49. Arthur Shack, Counsel to Major League Baseball Player's Association, telephone interviews with author, September 25, 1986.
50. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 802-3.
51. Ibid. 1527, 1586, 1817.
52. Arthur Shack interview.

APPENDIX I

KANSAS BALLPLAYER BIRTHPLACES/ CHILDHOOD HOMES

Abilene—Harold "Hy" Vandenberg
Agenda—Herb Bradley
Altoona—Tom Hamilton
Americus—Ross Grimsley
Arcadia—Carroll "Deacon" Jones
Argentine—Joe Bowman
Arkansas City—Darren Daulton, Lorenzo Claire Patterson
Atchison—Carter Elliott
Belleville—Larry Cheney
Beloit—George Darrow
Benton—Ralph Winegarner
Berlin—Otis Lambeth
Brownell—Elon "Chief" Hogsett
Cambridge—Clay Smith
Caney—Charlie Rhodes
Castleton—Larry Foss
Chanute—Paul Lindblad
Cherryvale—Bill Phebus
Clay Center—Judd "Slow Joe" Doyle
Clearwater—Ernie Maun
Clyde—George Dockins
Coffeyville—Charles Oertel, Paul "Shorty" DesJardien, Rudy May
Delphos—Archie McKain
Dexter—George Hale
Douglass—Jimmy Durham
El Dorado—Beals Becker, Clarence Beers, Tom Borland
Ellinwood—Lee Dressen
Emporia—Ray Pierce
Eureka—Johnny Butler
Fleming—Frank Wayenburg, Tom Wilson
Fort Riley—Enos Cabell
Fort Scott—Louis Ury
Fredonia—Claude Willoughby
Frontenac—Antone "Andy" Pilney, Joe Rabbitt
Galena—George Grantham, Willis "Bill" Windle
Garden City—Gary Krug
Glasco—Elmer Stricklett
Goodard—Ed Siever
Gordon—Tom Sturdivant
Grantville—Josh Billings
Hays—Otto Denning, Willard Schmidt, Ron Schueler
Herkimer—Elmer "Butch" Nieman
Hiawatha—Joe Wilhoit
Highland—John Misse
Holyrood—Fay Wesley Thomas
Hoxie—Urbane Pickering, Les Barnhart
Humboldt—Walter Johnson
Hutchinson—Phil Ketter, John "Jack" Banta
Iola—Rick Kester
Independence—Herm Merrit
Jarbalo—Bill Burwell
Junction City—Bob Horner, John Wells
Kansas City—Gilly Campbell, Jim Clark, John Peters, Keith "Kite" Thomas, James "Cotton" Tierney, Leo Wells, Neil Allen, Mike Dupree, Ray Sadecki, Paul Edmondson, Joe Kuhel, Paul Penson, Steve Renko
Kingman—George Alton
La Cygne—Elias "Liz" Funk, High McMullen
LaHarpe—Addison Brennan
Lamar—Blaine "Kid" Durbin
Larned—Mitchell Webster
Lawrence—Bobby Henrich, Ralph Houk, Steve Jeltz*
Leavenworth—Bill Hughes, Fred Raymer, John Hetki, Jack Killilay
Linden—Zeriah "Rip" Hagerman
Lindsborg—Ebin Delmar "Del" Lundgren
Little River—Carl Manda
Lone Elm—Dale Gear
Longford—Bob Cain
Longton—Jess Howard "Andy" Rush
Manhattan—Brian Giles
Maple City—Ferrell Anderson
Marion—Tex Jones, Charley Faust
McPherson—Bill McGill
Mineral—Jack Ryan, Orval Grove
Muscotah—Joe Tinker
Ness City—Joe Wood*
Norcatur—Dewey Adkins, Eldon Auker
Norton—Bob Randall
Olathe—Claude Hendrix
Ontario—Virgil "Zeke" Barnes, Jess Barnes*
Oskaloosa—Luther "Dummy" Taylor
Overland Park—Skip James
Palmyra—Pat Hardgrove
Parsons—Gil Britton, Fred Bradley
Pfeifer—Monty Basgall
Piqua—Fred Kipp
Pittsburg—Don Gutteridge, Ray Mueller, Bill Russell
Pratt—Bill Marriott
Reamsville—Ray Boggs
Rosedale—Charlie Wheatley
Rose Hill—Josh Swindell
Saffordville—Fred Brickell
Salina—Gene Mauch, Bob Swift
Scammon—Fred McMullin
Severance—Harry Chapman
Spring Hill—Charles "Curly" Brown
Stafford—Roy Sanders
Topeka—Art Griggs, Ross Grimsley, Jr., Clarence Heise, Ken Johnson, Larry Miller, Don O'Riley, Mike Torrez
Udall—Nick Allen
Uniontown—Don Dennis
Valley Falls—Freddie Marsh
Walnut—Don Songer
Wamego—Wiley Taylor
Weir City—Joe Kelly, Pete Kilduff
Wellington—Mardie Carnejo
Wetmore—George "Zip" Zabel
Wheaton—Frank Bushey
Wichita—Fritzie Brickell, Gail Henley, Rod Kanehl, Don Lock, James "Ike" McAuley, Ronn Reynolds, Galen Pitts, Daryl Spencer, Danny Thompson, Bob Thurman, Art Weaver, Larry McWilliams, Roger Slagle, Duane Wilson, Clay Christiansen, Lloyd Bishop
Williamsburg—Louis McEvoy, James Willard "Willie" Ramsdell
Winchester—Jerry Robertson
Winfield—Fred Clarke,* Josh Clarke
Unknown—Walt Kinzie

*Childhood towns included for Fred Clarke, Joe Wood, Skip James, Jess Barnes and Steve Jeltz.

This decline in the number of Kansas ballplayers has been so sharp that only two Kansans born in the last twenty-eight years have made it to the majors. Of players born in the 1960s, Kansas has produced only two players so far. Before then, at least a dozen players from Kansas from each decade had made it to the big leagues since the 1880s.

There is little reason to believe that the trend will reverse itself. Except for a baby boom echo that might have occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s, climate and demographics in Kansas cannot compete with those found in the Sunbelt and on the West Coast.

As it now stands, Arkansas City holds the distinction of producing the youngest big leaguer: Darren Daulton, born January 3, 1962,[53] entered the major leagues at the age of twenty-one.

In spite of the downward trend in the production of big leaguers, Kansas can claim several noteworthy post-World War II players. These are players who were born in 1940 or later. Of the ten who merit mention, seven are pitchers. These seven, however, do not appear to have spent much time on any farm and, thus, do not support the farm-boy pitcher stereotype.

Ray Sadecki from Kansas City pitched in the majors for eighteen years. He pitched in the 1964 World Series for St. Louis and the 1973 World Series for the Mets. Paul Lindblad of Chanute was an excellent reliever for fourteen years, spending most of his time with Kansas City and Oakland. Steve Renko from Kansas City was a solid pitcher for fifteen years and had his best seasons with Montreal. Rudy May of Coffeyville pitched for sixteen years and appeared in the 1981 World Series for the Yankees. Mike Torrez of Topeka was a very strong pitcher during his eighteen-year career and appeared in the 1977 World Series for the Yankees. Ross Grimsley, Jr., also of Topeka, had an eleven-year career and pitched in the 1972 Series for the Reds. Neil Allen from Kansas City is still pitching after eight years in the majors. He currently plays for the Yankees.[54]

The non-pitchers are a surprising lot. Only one is easily identified with Kansas. Bill Russell from Pittsburg retired in the fall of 1986 after eighteen years in the big leagues. He is one of a select few who were career players for only one team. His years with the Los Angeles Dodgers were some of their greatest. He played in four World Series and set a World Series record in 1981 for the most assists by a shortstop. He currently holds the second position on the Dodgers' all-time games-played list with 2,181. The other two fielders are Bob Horner and Enos Cabell. Horner was born in Junction City and spent eight years with the Atlanta Braves before playing one year for the Yakult Swallows in Japan. The 1978 National League Rookie of the Year has returned to the States and is playing with St. Louis for the 1988 season. Enos Cabell, from Fort Riley,[55] was a hard-hitting first baseman/third baseman. He spent fifteen years in the major leagues, eight of which were with the Houston Astros.

Baseball's evolutionary change from polite recreation to big business began with the westward movement of the nation over a century ago. This migration led by Civil War veterans was largely responsible for bringing baseball to Kansas. In towns such as Leavenworth, Lawrence and Topeka, baseball found a generous but untrained supply of participants. Young men eager to play, however, soon caught on to the intricacies of the game, and Kansas ballplayers gradually excelled and began to enter the major leagues in 1882.

Kansas players gained a place of prominence within the national game, and during baseball's Golden Age (1910-1930), several legendary players came from the Sunflower State. This was not a coincidence. The seasonal climate of Kansas allowed baseball to be played much longer during the year than in the cold and short-summered Northeast. This, coupled with the size and strength advantages of its farm-bred boys produced a winning combination that was hard to match east of the Mississippi.

However, climate and demographics soon became a foe for Kansas baseball as the nation's population continued to push south and west. Kansas springs and summers could not compete with the mild year-long climates of the Sunbelt and West Coast. In addition, as America became urbanized in the 1900s, so did baseball. Baseball's rural roots soon became entangled with city diamonds and the competitive strength in numbers of able bodies. It would seem that this produced a double whammy with climate and demographics primarily responsible for the gradual downward trend in the production of Kansas big league ballplayers that has persisted since the early 1900s.

Although the number of Kansans in the big leagues may have peaked nearly sixty years ago, Kansas will continue to send players to the majors. They just may be fewer and farther between. Trolley Line Butler, Bald Eagle Isbell, Shotgun Peters, Weeping Willie Willoughby, Smoky Joe, and the Big Train will be watching.[56] KH

53. Reichler, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 849.
54. Ibid., 1564, 1756, 1865, 1891, 1993, 2015-16, 2084.
55. Ibid., 773, 1033, 1354.
56. These players, known to fans and sportscasters by their nicknames, were Johnny Butler, Frank Isbell, John Peters, Claude Willoughby, Joe Wood, and Walter Johnson.

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Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas

by Gary L. Cheatham

When Kansas Territory was carved out of the Central Plains in May 1854, only a few hundred persons of white descent resided there. Shortly after the territory was opened for settlement, population began to increase. An early territorial census reveals that, by early 1855, immigration had increased the population to more than eight thousand white settlers and two hundred black slaves. Immigration during this early period was largely from the South. Appoximately two out of every three voting-age white males were natives of southern states. Political and monetary support from the South bolstered southern settlement in the territory, and appeared to be leading Kansas toward admission to the Union as a slave state. However, emigration aid societies in the North were determined to bring Kansas Territory into the Union as a free state. The political tug-of-war was exemplified for a time by competing proslavery and abolitionist territorial authorities.[1]

As the 1850s progressed, southern control over Kansas Territory lost momentum. Increased immigration from the North did much to eventually ease Kansas away from southern political control. Bogus elections and a declining commitment from the South were equally significant in ending southern dominance in the territory. By 1859 southern political influence had largely declined, and in October of that year the antislavery Wyandotte Constitution, which was later adopted by the state, was ratified by two out of three Kansas Territory voters.[2]

Despite ratification of the Wyandotte Constitution, slavery continued to exist in Kansas Territory on a limited scale. Attempts to abolish the institution met resistance from a minority of territorial legislators and Gov. Samuel Medary. In 1860, Medary vetoed the "Personal Liberty bill," that would have abolished slavery in the territory. Opponents of the bill referred to it as the "unfriendly legislation."[3] The issue of slavery was finally put to rest when Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state in January 1861.

The Wyandotte Constitution may have symbolized an abolitionist victory, but its ratification in 1859 did not end internal conflict between northern and southern sentiments in Kansas. The months preceding Kansas statehood were marred by reports of disturbances in the territory. For example, several proslavery Kansans were killed by abolitionists in late 1860.[4]

As the winter of 1860-1861 approached, reports of conflict resembling the days of "Bleeding Kansas" emerged from southern Kansas,[5] but distinctions between rumors of disturbances and actual events were not made clear. On November 27, 1860, the *New York*

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1. Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 18, 22; "Executive Minutes: Minutes Recorded in the Governor's Office During the Administration of Governor Andrew H. Reeder," *Kansas State Historical Publications* 1(Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1886):59; R. H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868*, ed. E. W. Williams (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1907; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 82.

2. William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 86.

3. *New York Times*, March 2, 1860, p.2.

4. Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas*, 243. One of the more notable incidents surrounded the lynching of Russell Hinds in November 1860. Hinds, a resident of Linn County, was accused of kidnapping black refugees in Kansas for later sale as slaves. J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas: From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, To Its Admission into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind.: James, Emmons & Co., 1868), 573-74; D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886; New York: Arno Press, 1975), 307.

5. During this period southern Kansas was generally accepted as including that part of the state south of the Kansas River. Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 6.

The Osage were divided in loyalties during the Civil War. Among the supporters of the Confederacy was the Osage chief, Black Dog, who resided in southern Kansas.

Times printed an article in response to a series of confusing reports on civil unrest in southern Kansas.

> It is evident, however, that trouble is brewing in that quarter,—and whether it has yet actually broken out or not, we may expect to hear of acts of violence and outrage. It is clear, too, that they have their origin partially, at least, in the old troubles and domestic feuds of the Territory. Our correspondent states that they are directly connected with the divisions of the Pro-Slavery and the Liberty Parties, and that the old animosities in that section of the State are by no means healed.[6]

The resurgence of uneasiness in southern Kansas came from a lingering element of support for the proslavery party among some residents. Political campaigning allowed a forum for this element to resurface in the fall of 1860. This resurgence may have had more to do with prosouthern political and social ideals than with the institution of slavery alone. Nonetheless, some Kansans still clung to the hope that Kansas would be admitted to the Union as a slave state.[7]

An example of popular support for proslavery politics during this time can be found in Linn County, Kansas, where J. H. Barlow was the proslavery candidate for probate judge during the fall 1860 political campaign. Barlow, a native of Kentucky, was a prominent lawyer and slave owner in the county. At a Linn County political rally one of Barlow's supporters cheered for the election of Abraham Lincoln for President and Barlow for judge. In reaction, the crowd grabbed Barlow's apparently confused supporter to convince him that he had made an error in equating an abolitionist presidential candidate with their political sympathies.[8]

The significance of events such as the Barlow incident was downplayed by abolitionists, who viewed the proslavery party in southern Kansas as a lingering reflection of a lost cause. The *New York Times* summarized events as only sporadically explosive: "The embers of the fires of '56 and '57 are not completely smothered in Southern Kansas, and they seem to break forth here and there, at intervals, like the pent-up volcano." Opponents excused any political successes of the proslavery faction by suggesting that "the slave party have seemed to imagine themselves the victors of Southern Kansas."[9]

As January 1861 approached it became apparent that Kansas statehood would soon become a reality. Regarding statehood, the Leavenworth daily *Conservative* summarized the mood of many Kansans by proclaiming, "Long and impatiently have we waited for admission into the Union." However, not all Kansans viewed statehood with zeal. A newspaper correspondent in Lawrence reported that "The people of Kansas are comparatively indifferent to the question of admission, and a majority will be disappointed, if we are not kept out by some dodge on the Southern boundary; or some other question growing out of the Slavery issue."[10]

These reports illustrate the varied responses of Kansans toward the matter of statehood. In view of the

6. *New York Times*, November 27, 1860, p.4.

7. Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911), 15.

8. "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1911-1912* 12 (1912):430; William Ansel Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History* (Kansas City: Campbell-Gates, 1928), 81; W. A. Mitchell, "Historic Linn: Sketch of Notable Events in Its First Settlements," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1923-1925* 16 (1925):630.

9. *New York Times*, November 27, 1860, p.4.

10. *Conservative* (daily), Leavenworth, January 30, 1861; *New York Times*, January 9, 1861, p.3.

impending conflict between North and South, the issue of statehood elicited a radical proposal from acting Kansas governor George M. Beebe in January 1861. Beebe proposed the secession of Kansas, in order to become an independent nation, if the Union was dissolved.[11] The proposal failed to receive popular support among Kansans. Their loyalties were too deeply intertwined with the rest of the country and the national fervor over the impending crisis.

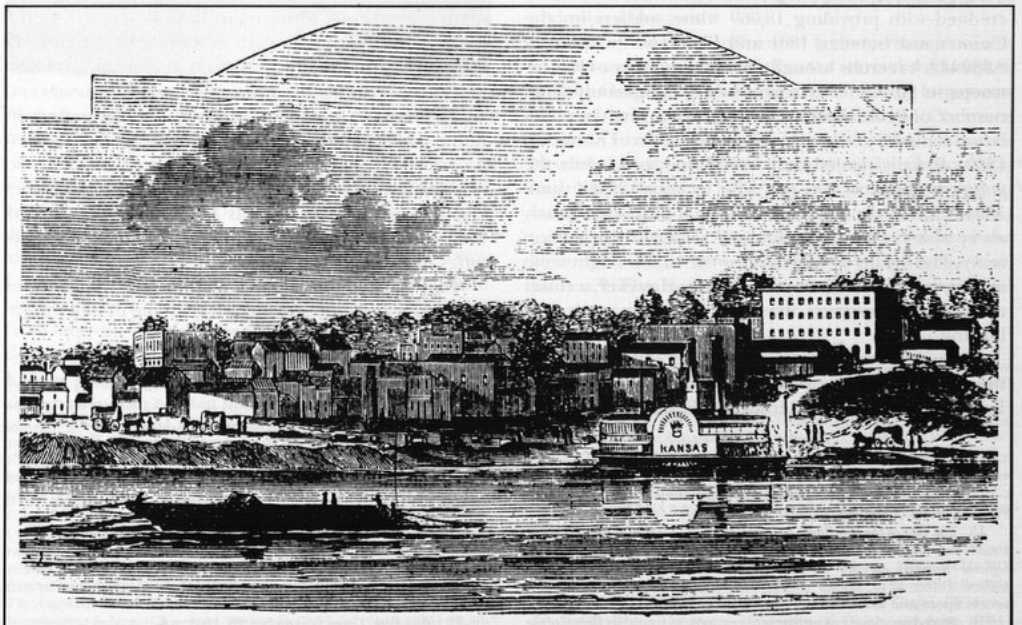
The birth of Kansas as a state coincided with the ongoing secession movement of slave states. When hostilities between North and South began several weeks later, Kansas was clearly against secession and for the Union. However, Kansas was unique among pro-Union states. Settlement patterns and social characteristics in Kansas left a distinctive mark upon the state. White settlement was largely confined to the eastern third of Kansas. The relatively small black population included freedmen, refugees from other states, and some slaves. American Indians could be found in every section of the state, but were varied in their cultural heritage. At the time of statehood, Kansas settlers represented both northern and southern backgrounds.

Geographically Kansas was also in a unique position. Surrounding states and territories were a reflection of the mix of social characteristics found in Kansas. On the eastern border of Kansas was the slave state of Missouri, which was particularly divided in sympathies along its border with Kansas. Seven of the twenty-five most ardent prosouthern Missouri counties were in the western part of the state.[12] South of Kansas were native American Indian tribes and white residents of Indian Territory (Oklahoma), as well as the dominant regional slave state of Texas. To the west and north were the pro-Union territories of Colorado and Nebraska.

At the time of statehood, Kansas was at the crossroads of northern, southern, and western elements in the expanding nation. In celebration of the new state, a newspaper writer gave the following description of

11. *New York Times*, January 18, 1861, p.3.

12. Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), 236.



Leavenworth when six years old.

The town of Leavenworth was fervently pro-Union, although some county residents sympathized with the South.

Kansas in January 1861: "Located in the geographical centre of the continent—with a population made up of elements the most varied and vigorous, combining in an admirable mosaic, the intelligence of New-England with the energy of the West and the heartiness of the South . . . the young State starts on the career of empire after having had a training in the school of adversity which has given strength to its character and consistency to its courage."[13]

On the eve of statehood, the ratio of northern versus southern-born Kansans had reversed from that of early territorial days. By 1860 approximately one out of every three white adults was of native southern descent. Most of these native southerners were from what became the divided border region of the South. Predominately this included emigrants from Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina.[14] Many of these Kansans would support the Union.

Kansas is generally remembered in history as one of the more vigorous Union states during the Civil War. This reputation was largely earned as a result of the military support the state gave the Union cause. Kansas supplied an inproportionate number of soldiers for the Union army, in comparison with other states. Kansas is credited with providing 18,069 white soldiers for the Union cause between 1861 and 1865. The inclusion of 2,080 black recruits brought the total number of Kansas troops to 20,149. This represents a significantly large number of Federal troops, when considering the population statistics of the state. The population of Kansas in 1860 officially totaled only 107,204 persons, while the voting population was not able to equal 20,000 until 1864.[15] Based on numbers alone it appears that nearly every able-bodied male Kansan served in the Union army. The loyalty of Kansans for the Union might seem to have outshined much of the North. However, a closer consideration suggests that such a conclusion is misleading.

A study of enlistment records reveals that nearly twenty-five percent of white Union army recruits in Kansas units were not from the state.[16] Out-of-state recruits came from many states and territories, as well as a small representation from Mexico. Kansas drew on a very diverse population to fill its military ranks, and even a careful study of enlistment records fails to account for the total number of enlistees from outside Kansas.

By 1863, Union enlistments in Kansas were swelling the ranks of newly formed units. In September 1863 a newspaper correspondent reported, "It is surprising to see the rate at which recruiting progresses in Kansas." The correspondent concluded that much of this recruiting resulted from "Union refugees from Missouri and Arkansas who have flocked into the State."[17] Missouri supplied many out-of-state recruits for Kansas regiments.[18] In fact, some Kansas regimental companies were mostly comprised of Missourians. Some of these refugee enlistees misleadingly recorded Kansas as their home, even though they were only temporary residents.

William Rider, a direct ancestor of the author, may be a typical example of a Missouri refugee who became a Kansas soldier. In 1863, Rider became a refugee by moving his family from Cass County, Missouri, to Kansas. When Rider enlisted in the Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry in 1863, he listed his home as Paola, Kansas.[19] However, he was only a temporary Kansas resident and returned to Austin, Missouri, in 1865. When accounting for refugee enlistments, such as Rider's, the proportion of out-of-state recruits in Kansas regiments probably well exceeds twenty-five percent.

Missourians were not alone in seeking refuge in Kansas during the Civil War. The struggle between American Indian factions in Indian Territory also brought many refugees into the state. Indian refugees began appearing in Kansas in significant numbers following early Confederate political and military victories in Indian Territory.

In December 1861 a devastating military defeat of pro-Union Indians, under the leadership of Opothleyo-

13. *New York Times*, January 30, 1861, p.5.

14. Wallace Elden Miller, *The Peopling of Kansas* (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Fred J. Heer, 1906), 44.

15. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [hereafter cited as *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*], ser.3,4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 1270, ser.3,5 (1900), 623; *Kansas Senate Journal* (Lawrence: Speer and Ross, 1866), 22.

16. Based on a study of enlistment records, as found in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, vol. 1 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Co., 1896); *Roll of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the Third, Fourth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Volunteers, 1861* (Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, 1902). Approximately forty-five percent of those recorded as enlisting from other states were from Missouri, nineteen percent from Illinois, twelve percent from Arkansas, seven percent from Iowa, five percent each from Nebraska Territory and Ohio, and the remaining seven percent in declining order from Texas, Indian Territory, Indiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Colorado Territory, New Mexico Territory, New York, Mississippi, Louisiana, California, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, Michigan, District of Columbia, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Mexico. Not all recruits listed in the two above sources are accompanied by a place of residence upon enlistment. The twenty-five percentile figure is based on a compilation of 4,413 identifiable out-of-state recruits. Enlistees from the Cherokee Neutral Lands are included as in-state recruits.

17. *New York Times*, September 20, 1863, p.3.

18. George W. Martin, "Memorial Monuments and Tablets in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1909-1910* 11 (1910):278.

19. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, 484.