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

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El Mexicano denounced Danciger's heavy-handed advocacy of the Constitutionalist party in both his own newspaper and his personal dealings with Mexicans. The paper charged that his scathing denunciation of Carranza's political rivals and anyone who supported them fostered divisiveness and fear in the colonia. It alleged that Danciger accused his own critics of being subversive anarchists, magonistas, zapatistas, or villistas who opposed him only because he represented Venustiano Carranza. *El Mexicano* reported that in his attempt to silence malcontents, Danciger threatened to have his friends in the police department arrest and deport them to Mexico, where they would be shot by Danciger's Constitutionalist friends as soon as they crossed the border. The editors of *El Mexicano* declared that while many Mexicans in Kansas City were not Constitutionalists, their protest against Danciger did not represent veiled opposition to Carranza, subversion, or disloyalty to Mexico. They were merely exercising their right to speak freely on political matters that affected their welfare and interests. Critics, however, did impugn the sincerity of Danciger's avowed allegiance to the Constitutionalist cause. They remembered that when Danciger was reaping profits from the "beer monopoly" that Pancho Villa had granted him, he openly supported Villa and publicly expressed his aversion to Carranza. Danciger, they recalled, became a "frenzied Constitutionalist" only after associating with Sebastián Carranza, whose political influence secured exemption from Mexican customs duties and other privileges for their mutual business interests.[34]

El Mexicano also warned that "Consul Bernardo Danciger/Jack López" had concocted a scheme to exploit and manipulate Mexicans. "In order to give a crystal clear demonstration that the Jew who hides himself behind these aliases is nothing but a vile exploiter . . . and overcoming the nausea it produces," the editors described a flier in which "Danciger/López" announced the formation of a new Mexican society, the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López." The circular exhorted Mexicans to submit applications for membership and promised to award "a club button of great value!" to those who recruited three others. As a special inducement, Harvest King Distilling Company general manager


EL COSMOPOLITA

Semanario Independiente, de Literatura, Información y Anuncios.

EL C. PRIMER JEFE MUY PRONTO SERA RECONOCIDO

¡16 DE SEPTIEMBRE!

CONTESTO EL SR. CARRANZA A LOS CONFERENCISTAS

CARRANZA ES UN PATRIOTA

D. MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA

A NUESTROS LECTORES

34. Ibid., October 31, 1915. No copies have been found of the flier or of other materials related to the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López."

"Bernardo López" announced that Mexicans who enclosed applications with an order for Harvest King liquor would receive membership at a reduced rate (twenty-five cents instead of one dollar) and a watch fob adorned with the junta's emblem. The flier encouraged Mexicans to join immediately because "later the membership fee [would] increase to at least five dollars." The founder and namesake of the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López" proposed to create a social and recreational center in the colonia, foster racial harmony and good will, and furnish members free legal assistance and other benefits. *El Mexicano*, however, condemned the whole promotion as nothing more than a crudely conceived subterfuge to sell liquor and "to swindle Mexicans who are ignorant of the knavery that cheats, thieves, bandits, and misers commonly employ to obtain money that does not belong to them."[35]

When the controversy in Kansas City came to the attention of Carranza's ambassador to the United States, Eliseo Arredondo, he dispatched Special Agent Luis A. Peredo to investigate the situation. On February 5, 1916, Peredo submitted his report. He related that upon his arrival in Kansas City, he first "went to those places most frequented by Mexicans, such as the billiard halls and cantinas." After interviewing many Mexicans, he found that the colonia was offended by and, to a degree, hostile to Danciger's appointment. He stated, however, that the principal cause of discontent was the fact that Danciger was not a Mexican. He also noted that many Mexicans did not believe that a beer and whiskey salesman was a suitable representative of their country. He added that some had complained that Danciger was responsible for exacerbating Mexican workers' problems. After buying his liquor, they frequently got drunk, were absent from work, and lost their jobs. Peredo reported, however, that prominent Kansas City Anglos assured him that Danciger's reputation was above reproach. He also observed that Danciger's intimate association with local governmental authorities and powerful private citizens enhanced his ability to assist Mexicans in the district. The agent surmised that complaints would cease if Danciger removed the consulate from the offices in which he also conducted his beer and liquor businesses.

35. *El Mexicano*, November 6, 1915.

Peredo closed his report with especially damning information concerning "the most prominent Mexicans in Kansas City . . . Pedro Osorio . . . and Dr. Jaime." He declared that at the time both men were hiding from local authorities. Osorio had apparently engaged in some kind of fraudulent activity in the consulate, and Jaime, through "his ignorance of medicine," had fatally poisoned a female patient. Although Peredo did not reveal the identities of Mexicans he interviewed in Kansas City, he seemingly did not contact those who most strenuously opposed Danciger. While not entirely gratuitous, his negative depiction of two prominent Danciger foes tacitly tainted the credibility of other critics as well. Obviously, the carrancista agent investigating a well-connected carrancista official at the behest of a carrancista ambassador endeavored to minimize the problems in Kansas City and place Danciger in the most favorable light.[36] Ambassador Arredondo forwarded the report to the secretary of foreign relations with a recommendation that Danciger remain as consul. Apparently all higher authorities accepted his endorsement.[37]

The following month, however, an international crisis rekindled the controversy. In March 1916, Pancho Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico, destroyed the town, and killed a number of Americans. Woodrow Wilson dispatched a punitive expedition under the command of Gen. John J. Pershing into Mexico and ordered national guard units to the border. The fact that the United States and Mexico were on the verge of war provoked renewed demands in the colonia for Danciger's dismissal. Telegrams and petitions reiterated previous concerns and levied new charges of misconduct.[38]

After this new round of complaints, Secretary of Foreign Relations Cándido Aguilar ordered Ambassador Arredondo to reevaluate the situation in Kansas City.[39] Arredondo responded that he had heard all the accusations before and had determined that they were baseless. Danciger, in his opinion,

36. Luis A. Peredo, "Memorandum Para el Lic. Eliseo Arredondo," February 5, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 53-54, AHSRE.

37. Eliseo Arredondo to Jesús Acuña, February 7, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 55, AHSRE.

38. Guillermo Escobar et al. to Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, May 21, 1916; G. Vizcarra to Herminio Pérez Abreu, May 5, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 64, 66-68, AHSRE.

39. Cándido Aguilar to Eliseo Arredondo, May 22, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 72-73, AHSRE.

had done a good job. He noted, however, that in view of the strained relations between the United States and Mexico, it was unwise to allow a North American to remain as consul. He suggested that Aguilar simply close the office. If the secretary chose that course of action, Arredondo recommended that he tell Danciger only that pressing financial and political exigencies dictated the consulate's temporary suspension and thank him for his service to Mexicans in Kansas City. He added that the notification should be couched in terms that would not offend Danciger, who had been a staunch supporter of the Constitutionalist government and could continue to be a valuable friend in the future.[40]

Aguilar concurred with the recommendations, informed Danciger of his decision, and apparently allowed him to exit gracefully. On June 22, 1916, Danciger submitted brief letters of resignation to Carranza and Arredondo. Making no reference to criticism levied against him, Danciger merely lamented that friction between the two governments obliged him to resign. He added that Emile S. Brus, French consul in Kansas City, had agreed to oversee consular affairs until the Mexican government named an official replacement.[41]

Given the vibrant nationalism of Mexican immigrants, the volatile climate in a community of expatriates whose homeland was racked by revolution, and the degree of alienation that they experienced in Kansas City, it is understandable that the colonia elite resented the influence and intrusion of an "outsider" into colonia affairs. Clearly, nationalist, ethnic, political, even personal and religious motives played a role in the controversy. The tenor of letters, telegrams, and petitions protesting Danciger's appointment as consul affirm the degree to which the elite's nationalist sentiments and ethnic pride


EL COSMOPOLITA

SEMANARIO INDEPENDIENTE, DE LITERATURA, INFORMACION Y ANUNCIOS

Kansas City, Mo. Sáb. Oct. 16 de 1915

Los Conferencistas acordaron dar su apoyo al Primer Jefe

EL REPRESENTANTE DE LA CRUZ ROJA SALIO DE LA CAPITAL DE LA REPUBLICA

Alberto García Granados fué pasado por las armas

Guaymas fué tomado por las fuerzas de Carranza

42. Eliseo Arredondo to Cándido Aguilar, June 4, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 73-74, AHSRE. It is notable that at no time during Danciger's tenure as consul and his attendant problems did any individual or group from the Kansas City colonia write to support his appointment, commend his service to Mexicans, or defend him from the numerous accusations. His file in the AHSRE contains two supportive telegrams written on September 30, 1915, from Juan T. Burns, Mexican Consul in Galveston, Texas, to Rafael E. Múzquiz. One telegram declared that Danciger was accepted by the great majority of Mexicans in Kansas City; the other conveyed the message from Sebastián Carranza, Jr. stating that he gave Danciger his unqualified support. Danciger's standing with members of the Constitutionalist government obviously outweighed any arguments that the colonia elite could muster against him.

41. Jack Danciger to Venustiano Carranza, June 22, 1916, "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," p. 76, AHSRE.

were offended when the Constitutionalist government did not name one of their own "brothers" to the position. By establishing the consular desk in the midst of his liquor operations, Danciger unwittingly demeaned the office and insulted Mexican's sense of national dignity.

It is more difficult to assess the validity of charges impugning Danciger's character and behavior. Although his posing as a Mexican businessman may be excused as merely a clever ploy to further his commercial interests, one can appreciate that Mexicans found it insulting and duplicitous. Their anti-Semitism, however, is unmistakable. Such religious bigotry revealed a baser quality in Danciger's foes, both Catholic and Protestant, and reflected prevailing attitudes towards Jews in Mexico and the United States. Furthermore, Danciger's commercial interests in the colonia apparently alienated Mexican entrepreneurs, and infelicitous business ventures may have embittered his relationship with several of his most vocal opponents. The charge that Danciger promoted the establishment of the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López" as a reprehensible swindle, however, remains unproven. No evidence implicates Danciger in any illegal activities, and the special investigator's report made no reference whatsoever to any fraudulent behavior on his part. Peredo either found no evidence of such misconduct, did not interview those who made and could substantiate the allegations, or, for some reason, chose to disregard them.

Political sectarianism and competition for leadership and status in the colonia lay at the heart of the elite's opposition to Danciger. The revolution had unleashed a degree of political activism and rivalry unprecedented in Mexican history, and members of the colonia elite held widely diverging political philosophies and sympathies. In Kansas City they had sought to minimize political differences and promote national pride and ethnic unity by establishing the UMBJ as a non-partisan society. They viewed Danciger's aggressive advocacy of Venustiano Carranza, the unremitting pro-Constitutionalist tone of his newspaper, and the creation of the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López" as divisive and dangerous.

Equally appalling to the colonia elite was the threat that Danciger posed to their status within the Mexican community. He was a significant economic player in the colonia; he was the publisher and editor of its major newspaper; and he was the highest ranking local representative of the Mexican government. The elite interpreted the creation of the Junta Patriótica "Bernardo López" as a direct challenge to the UMBJ and, consequently, to their own preeminence as colonia spokesmen. Given their exclusion from the broader community, they properly recognized that the UMBJ was the only vehicle available to offer them an opportunity to establish their position and exercise influence in the colonia. They refused to jeopardize their elite status by surrendering leadership to a rival organization controlled by a North American who could manipulate the society to serve his personal interests and those of the Constitutionalist party. The hundreds of signatures on petitions demanding Danciger's removal attest to the elite's ability to rally working-class support for their cause. It is worthy of note, however, that Mexican officials were markedly unresponsive to colonia manifestations of dissatisfaction. The Constitutionalist regime sought Danciger's resignation only after a crisis in United States-Mexican relations made his continuation in office a potential embarrassment.

Upon his resignation as consul in Kansas City, Danciger maintained his commercial relationship with the Mexican community in Kansas City for the next several years. He retained ownership of *El Cosmopolita*, which continued to reflect his unwavering support of Venustiano Carranza, until 1919. He apparently closed the Bernardo López Mercantile Company in August 1918, while Prohibition soon forced the closing of the brewery, distillery, and liquor-distributing company. In the meantime, the growth and profitability of the Danciger oil interests increasingly monopolized his attention. In 1920, he moved to Fort Worth, Texas, where the Danciger Oil and Refining Company reestablished its base of operations, but he maintained his interest in Mexican affairs. In October 1942, the Mexican government appointed him honorary consul in Fort Worth, a position he would hold for four years. In recognition of his longtime service to Mexico, in May 1945, he was granted the Aguila Azteca (Aztec Eagle) award, the highest honor that Mexico bestows upon a foreigner.[42] KH

42. Richkarday, *Jack Danciger*, 239-66; "Jack Danciger, su expediente personal," "Segunda Parte," AHSRE.

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

BOOK REVIEWS

The Dashing Kansan: Lewis Lindsay Dyche, The Amazing Adventures of a Nineteenth-Century Naturalist and Explorer

by William Sharp and Peggy Sullivan

xiv + 223 pages, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography. Lawrence: Harrow Books and the Museum of Natural History, the University of Kansas, 1991, cloth $19.95.

The enduring memorial for Lewis Lindsay Dyche is the Museum of Natural History in Dyche Hall at the University of Kansas. Far less well known is Dyche's career which prompted that monument. For the first time, the story of the man who created the museum and designed the building that bears his name, is told in detail in this biography by Bill Sharp, a history doctoral student, and Peggy Sullivan, an instructor in English, both at the University of Kansas.

Born in Virginia in 1857, Lewis Dyche was brought to the now defunct town of Ridgeway (near present Overbrook), Kansas Territory, when only a few months old. In 1866, the family moved about fifteen miles west to a farm near Auburn, Shawnee County. As a child and youth Dyche did not attend school; instead he worked on his father's farm, trapped and hunted, saved his money and acquired a small herd of cattle. He later would describe himself as a sixteen-year-old illiterate, but he was a skillful hunter and was interested in collecting and dissecting all kinds of birds.

Using an extensive collection of Dyche letters and other writings, the authors delve deeply into the professional story. Without prior basic education but with six hundred dollars in savings, Dyche enrolled at Kansas Normal School in Emporia, graduating in 1877. He was then admitted to the preparatory department at the University of Kansas, where, under the tutelage of Prof. Francis H. Snow, he established himself as an avid collector of wild fauna in the Lawrence area and on summer-long collecting expeditions to western Kansas and out of state. By 1882, as a member of the junior class, Dyche was given an instructor's position in the Department of Natural History where he taught laboratory courses in zoology.

Lewis Dyche graduated from KU with two bachelor degrees in 1884, and he continued on its faculty. Arrangements in 1886 enabled him to serve as a volunteer assistant to William Temple Hornaday, chief taxidermist for the National Museum in Washington, where he added to his hunter skills by becoming a capable taxidermist. Dyche's dream of a Kansas museum of natural history was supported by KU's Chancellor Snow. Almost every school vacation found Dyche out collecting. Time during the school year was provided to prepare specimens for exhibit, and Dyche's mounted North American animals for the Kansas exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago attracted much attention.

Dyche gained additional notoriety through his strenuous journeys to the far North, his presentation of magic lantern lectures to a wide constituency, and his acquaintance with leading Arctic explorers. The authors suggest that Dyche had the potential to be the first man to climb Mt. McKinley or the first to reach the North Pole, but such was not to be.

In 1901, the Kansas legislature appropriated $75,000 for the building known now as Dyche Hall. Lewis Dyche was involved in the planning of the structure. After the building was constructed, a long delay came in installing the exhibits—Dyche never declared it complete.

The remainder of the story is anticlimactic. Late in 1911, Dyche was appointed warden of the state fish and game department, while still retaining his professorial position at KU. Through his efforts the state fish hatchery at Pratt was greatly enlarged, and Dyche developed an interest in environmentalism. His whirlwind activities now centered between his Lawrence home, an office in Topeka, and another in Pratt. By then it was evident that the stalwart Dyche physique had disabling heart disease, and he died in Topeka early in 1915, at age fifty-seven.

The authors indicate early that Dyche "got religion" while in Emporia, but leave it at that. They mention his wife and his children, but there is little on his family life. Perhaps his long absences from home affected his personal relationships, but the authors leave this point unexplored. Their emphasis instead is on the last three words in the title, *Naturalist and Explorer*.

Reviewed by Homer E. Socolofsky, *professor of history at Kansas State University and member of the Kansas State Historical Society executive committee.*

A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson

edited and with an introduction by W. David Baird

xvii + 181 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, paper $12.95.

A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy is the autobiography of Chief George Washington Grayson (1843-1920), Confederate soldier, statesman, and Creek chief from 1917 to 1920. The autobiography has been in family hands with a copy at the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma. Deemed of merit for publication by the premier Oklahoma historian, Edward Everett Dale, and later by LeRoy Fischer, it was not until W. David Baird took on the painstaking work of editing the manuscript that the project was completed. Baird's work culminated in the publication of this exceptional autobiography.

It is exceptional because Grayson's work is an eyewitness account of the most significant engagements in Indian Territory after 1862, from the perspective of a Creek Indian warrior in the service of the Confederate States of America. Nothing comparable exists in the literature of the Civil War. Over a span of half a century, Grayson's account gives observations and comments upon the political and social factionalism in the tribe before and after the Civil War. It is particularly unusual that a Creek metis, or mixed-blood, recorded his personal views of the full-blood majority whom the metis tended to lead.

The autobiography, which Grayson began around 1908, covers his family genealogy, birth and childhood, education as a young student and being sent away to college, his efforts as a supportive son to his family, his escapades as a Confederate warrior, his efforts as a treasurer and delegate for the Creek Nation, and ends with the demise of tribal government and allotment of Creek tribal lands in 1906. Grayson was appointed by President Wilson as chief of the Creeks in 1917 but he does not continue his autobiography. Baird suggests that perhaps Grayson felt that the end of the Creek tribal government was the rightful end of his account.

As a youthful Confederate soldier, Grayson was eager to prove his bravery. Grayson felt some criticism when he did not sign up earlier because of family obligations. His pride is evident in the manuscript; he was angered when a "blonde-haired" soldier took the credit for a ride through enemy territory, failing to mention that it was Grayson's woodsman skills and "cool head" that saw them safely through the perilous journey.

Grayson put himself in danger under fire and often saw himself as a representative of the Creeks in battle. When he would look around and not see other Creeks leading out, he took this as a challenge to himself to maintain the honor of the Creeks and set forth. After the engagement at Pleasant Bluff where General Watie and his men took the vessel *J. R. Williams*, Watie needed someone to stay as sentinel to give warning if Union soldiers arrived to give chase. Captain Grayson, finding that no one would volunteer to be left behind in the dangerous assignment, took the task on himself.

One disturbing incident occurred after a battle at Flat Rock Creek around September 16, 1864, when Grayson's men hunted down Negroes hiding in the weeds. Grayson was sickened by the "hunt" but was powerless to stop the unnecessary butchery. He was only able to save a white prisoner who emerged out of the weeds. The position of the southern Creeks as slave owners is definitely evident in this account.

After the Civil War, as treasurer of the Creek funds, the evident trust that tribal leaders placed in Grayson was obvious from the funds he oversaw. In one instance he was required to pick up over $70,000, in a politically dangerous situation, and was able to bring the money back to Okmulgee where the Creek national council was in session.

Grayson was proud of his reputation in the tribe. He served as secretary at the International Council where thirty-four tribes were represented. Later, members of several "blanket Indian" tribes came to him for advice, seeing in him a man of leadership.

For those uninitiated in Creek history, some background reading on the Creeks and the Five Civilized Tribes is advised before tackling Grayson's autobiography. Grayson's descriptions are not that detailed and a wealth of understanding could be gained by the reading of a few books such as Angie Debo's *Road to Disappearance* and others of Baird's references.

Baird did an excellent job and was well prepared to take on this project in view of his excellent scholarship in Indian history. In his preface, he gives a detailed account of the existing manuscripts and his efforts to verify the existence of others. His editorial method leaves a clear story to be read, yet assuredly gives us a picture of G. W. Grayson and his style of writing.

Baird's footnotes add greatly to the autobiography and most end in a reference for the student willing to pursue a better understanding. Baird traced almost every individual mentioned in the account, attempting to place the person into Grayson's account of the time. He also gives brief information about the significance of Grayson to Indian or U.S. history. His notes provide guidance in dating Grayson's text (as Grayson provided few dates), identify locations, people and events, note if Grayson's memory served him correctly or not, and in general guide the reader somewhat through the political intricacies of the times or at least refer the reader to appropriate references.

The photographs, many provided by the family, add greatly to the book. Unfortunately, only a few photographs are available of Grayson himself. The book's two maps could have been better placed at the front of the volume so as to be more accessible to the reader trying to gain a bearing. A map tracing Grayson's Civil War movements also would have been helpful.

Grayson, although writing in his sixties, was able to clearly remember and describe his feelings as a young man and yet analyze them with the wisdom and reflection of the older man looking back. This book is a unique resource and will be of interest to those studying Native American or Civil War history.

Reviewed by Ms. Daryl Morrison, *department head, Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.*

BOOK NOTES

The Americanization of a Rural Immigrant Church: The General Conference Mennonites in Central Kansas, 1874-1939

by Dennis D. Engbrecht

vii + 331 pages, photographs.
New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990, cloth $68.00.

This photocopied dissertation (University of Nebraska) studies the acculturation of a large group of Dutch Mennonites who emigrated from South Russia to the United States beginning in 1874. Most of them settled in Kansas and helped give that state a distinctive characteristic. In lore, if not in fact, they brought from Russia the "Turkey Red" hard winter wheat that proved especially suited to the southern Great Plains. These new settlers were so different from most other natives and immigrants in speech, dress, and customs that they were set apart, along with the Catholic and Lutheran Volga Germans, by their neighbors as "Rooshians." Concentrated in a large area north and west of Newton, the Mennonites made a surprisingly swift adjustment to American life and became a generally successful, prosperous, and stable element of the population. They had the advantages of relative initial affluence, the assistance of American Mennonites, and the purchase of good, cheap land. Yet the circumstances of their settlement and the particular nature of their Americanization remains little known.

In Russia they had lived in large, self-contained colonies relatively isolated from the rest of the country where they could preserve a distinctive religious and community life. But in Kansas they were spread thinly over several counties, where railroads and market towns had already been built and where an individualistic legal system, public schools, and market economy forced them into regular contact with the larger world. Rapid economic and social adaptation naturally threatened the loss of their particular religious identity.

The subject of this book is the special contribution of the churches themselves to this process with the focus narrowed to those that belonged to the Western District of the General Conference Mennonites, mainly the Alexanderwohl, Hoffnungsau, and Emmaus congregations and their various satellites and split offs. Engbrecht clearly documents the gradual conformity to American Protestant customs from the conduct of services in English and baptismal practices to the dropping of traditions such as foot washing and the adoption of musical instruments and a typically American church architecture. The Kansas Mennonites seemed especially vulnerable to new American Protestant trends such as revivalism, the temperance movement, and the Masonic lodge.

This is a valuable contribution to an understanding of a neglected aspect of acculturation and to Kansas social history. For Mennonite history, it supplements the excellent work of Cornelius Krahn, James Juhnke, Clarence Hiebert, David Rempel, John B. Toews, and others. The reader may wish for a larger scope that would add a comparative dimension, rescue these particular Mennonites from isolation, and illustrate the distinctiveness that remains, such as the "Russian" Mennonite missionary impulse that is barely mentioned. The book is a good, basic beginning for an understanding of the role of religious institutions in acculturation. We appreciate the effort of Garland Press in making this dissertation more readily available, but it merits a more professional publication—with copy-editing, better maps and illustrations, an index, and, most of all, an expanded frame of reference.

Reviewed by Norman E. Saul, *professor of history, University of Kansas.*

Sixty Million Acres: American Veterans and the Public Lands Before the Civil War

by James W. Oberly

xii + 222 pages, illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography.
Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990, cloth $28.00.

Military land warrant grants have been one of the least well-known aspects of public land history. Professor Oberly has filled that gap by examining decisions to reward veterans with grants of free land before the Civil War, the administration of land warrants, and the resulting patterns of land use. Divisions in Congress over land grants to veterans, a significant national issue, closely followed splits over major issues such as immigration restriction and slavery, according to Oberly. The debates over grants to veterans significantly changed the terms of the national debate over cash sales for revenue and the speed of change toward a policy of free lands and rapid expansion and settlement as well. Between 1847 and 1860, 550,000 veterans and their widows received land from the government as a reward for military services, a policy Oberly characterizes as the nineteenth-century equivalent of the modern welfare state in which the federal government gave free land to one in nine households. Only about 5 percent of the recipients actually used the warrants to obtain land. Their selections were concentrated in Iowa and the upper Mississippi Valley states and were a microcosm reflecting the steady push westward of frontier settlement in the period.

The rest sold for cash. Oberly's conclusion that most military land warrants were used, however, to create farms is supported by an excellent quantitative study of data in general land office records. From samples of preemption entries in Wisconsin and Minnesota, Oberly shows that from 29 to 90 percent of all

claims were paid for with military land warrants. Settlers could buy warrants with which to purchase farms for less than the $1.25 government preemption price. This finding must be weighed against the depiction of New York City brokers securing 95 percent of the warrants and reselling them to frontier land agents who resold to farmers or land claimants and to "land sharks" who used the warrants and the time-entry loan system to extract very high interest rates from farmers needing loans. These agents secured interest rates from 25 to 70 percent in this way in territories that had usury statutes holding interest to rates of around 12 percent. Only a few of the warrants, about 9 percent, were used by big buyers to build up large holdings or to speculate.

What Oberly fails to explain is why, in some areas, settler use of warrants was so low (39-40 percent), except to say "in retrospect, one must wonder about their [settlers'] business sense." (p. 151) Since the samples are from selected land districts in Wisconsin and Minnesota only and Oberly does not examine availability of warrants to settlers, his conclusion seems premature, at the least. One also should note that, though the author uses quantitative methods and places the book in the context of the new economic history, he does not discuss policy or use in the context of recent historical questions about the character of environmental attitudes or land use.

Reviewed by Rita G. Napier, *professor of history, University of Kansas.*

BOOK NOTES

Native Americans: Five Centuries of Changing Images. By Patricia Trenton and Patrick T. Houlihan. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990. 304 pages. Cloth, $49.50.)

With 192 illustrations, many in color, the authors—an art historian and an anthropologist—contrast contemporary artists' (George Catlin, Frederick Remington, and many others) portrayals of the American Indians and their culture since the beginning of the European invasion of the continent. The images are contrasted with reality as the authors, with a relatively limited narrative presentation, cover all major cultural areas in North America with the use of artifactual, as well as documentary, evidence.

The Cherokees: A Population History. By Russell Thornton. With the Assistance of C. Matthew Snipp and Nancy Breen. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. xvi + 253 pages. Cloth, $35.00.)

Despite a tragic history, the Cherokees are the largest "self-identified [Indian] tribe in the nation." Thus it is fitting that this first full-length demographic study of a Native American group should focus on this people and the impact that "disease, warfare, genocide, miscegenation, removal and relocation, and destruction of traditional lifeways" has had on its population during the past three centuries. The author, a professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, has included many maps and tables containing much of his most important data, and an appendix, "Cherokees in the 1980 Census."

The Journal of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, November 2, 1805 — March 22, 1806. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. xii + 531 pages. Cloth, $40.00.)

The most recent volume in this new edition of the Lewis and Clark journals covers the party's journey from the Cascades to the Pacific Coast, its time at Fort Clatsop near the mouth of the Columbia River, and the explorers' interaction with the various Indian tribes of the region. It also includes considerable annotation and many reproductions from the original journals.

Maps of the Oregon Trail. By Gregory M. Franzwa. (St. Louis, Mo.: The Patrice Press, 1990. Third edition. x + 296 pages. Paper, $18.95. Spiral edition, $24.95.)

First published in 1982, this impressive collection of detailed maps—133 of which are full-page—traces the historic overland trail through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon. This new edition, which continues as an indispensable reference for trail buffs and scholars, has been significantly enhanced with new data and "up-to-date county maps."

Special Collections of the University of Arkansas Libraries: Manuscript Resources for the Civil War. Compiled by Kim Allen Scott. (Fayetteville: Center for Arkansas and Regional Studies and University of Arkansas Libraries, 1990. x + 49 pages. Paper, $7.00.)

With over 200 annotated entries, this useful reference serves as a "comprehensive guide to manuscript collections pertaining to the Civil War" held by the University of Arkansas libraries. The collections include only a limited amount of material directly related to Kansas or Kansas troops, but they are of much importance for students of the war in the West. Microfilm copies of the papers of three U.S. presidents—Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln, and Andrew Johnson—who had a direct bearing on the struggle over slavery and its aftermath, are also available.

Indian Heroes & Great Chieftains. By Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa). (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. 241 pages. Paper, $8.95.)

Charles Eastman, himself a Santee Sioux, was born in 1858, attended Dartmouth University, became a government physician at the Pine Ridge Agency in 1890, and was the author of many books. This volume was first published by Little, Brown and Company in 1918 and includes biographical sketches of fifteen famous Native American leaders including Red Cloud, Dull Knife, Roman Nose, Crazy Horse and Little Wolf, some of whom the author had known.

To the Land of Gold and Wickedness: The 1848-59 Diary of Lorena L. Hays. Edited by Jeane Hamilton Watson. (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988. Second printing 1990. xvi + 486 pages. Paper, $14.95.)

Still nicely illustrated with modern and historic photographs, and effectively edited, the Lorena Hays diary, first published by Patrice in 1988, is now available in paperback. Divided into three parts, each of which is preceded by a spacious introduction, "Part two—The Trip to California" provides a brief but fascinating glimpse at a portion of what would soon become Kansas Territory.

The United States Infantry: An Illustrated History, 1775-1918. By Gregory J. W. Urwin. Illustrated by Darby Erd. (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1988, 1991. 176 pages. Paper, $14.95.)

A paperback edition of Urwin's profusely illustrated history of the American foot soldier, first published in 1988. Thirty-two full-color paintings and 105 black-and-white photographs and drawings highlight this fascinating little volume which should delight the buff and be a handy reference for the scholar.

Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette. By Sally Foreman Griffith. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, 1991. viii + 291 pages. Paper, $12.95.)

This is the first paperback edition of Griffith's important and insightful study of small-town journalism in an age of transition, and of the Emporia editor who became America's representative voice from the Midwest.

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

THE SOCIETY was organized by Kansas newspaper editors and publishers in 1875 and soon became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since that time, the Society has operated both as a not-for-profit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas. A ninety-nine-member board of directors, through its executive committee, governs the Society which is administered by an executive director and an assistant director.

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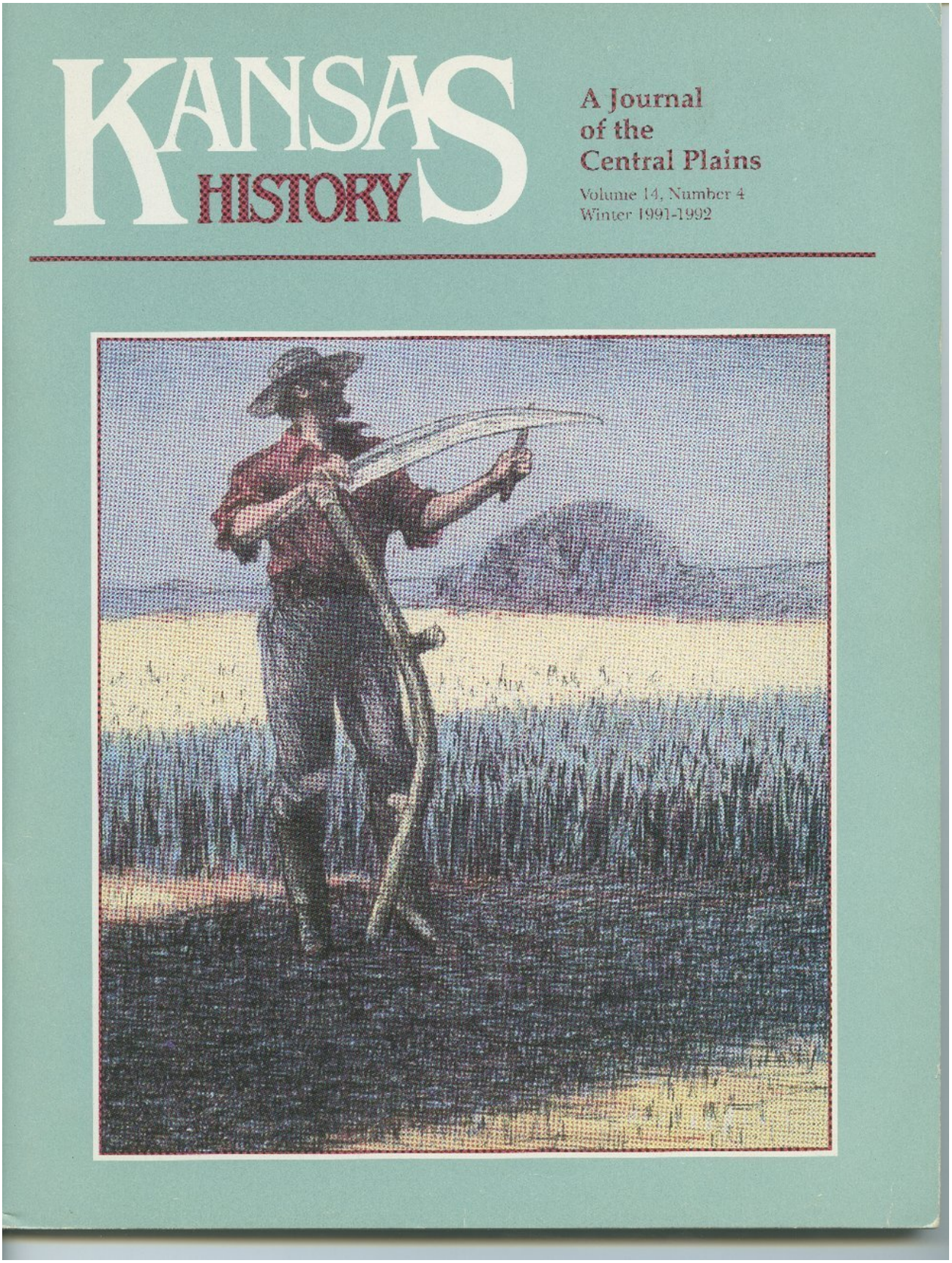
Blazing a Trail

Flint Hills Folklife

Desperate Characters

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



Cutting Ice. *With his camera, Garden City photographer Henry L. Wolf captured the varied ordinary and extraordinary activities of many of his fellow western Kansans. At the turn of the century unlike today, many of these chores were seasonal. Before refrigeration had made its way onto the farm and into the homes and businesses of the community in the form of refrigerators and freezers, ice harvesting was a critical winter time job. In rural areas, ice for farm and household use was harvested from frozen rivers, lakes, ponds, and reservoirs and stored in well-insulated icehouses. When carefully packed in saw dust or straw, ice could be preserved well into the summer.*

Many Finney Countians depended on Israel Lewelling Diesem (1852-1934), a prosperous and well-known area businessman and agriculturalist, for their cooling needs. Diesem operated an ice business on his farm near the northwest edge of Garden City (soon known as the Diesem Addition), where he had moved in 1885, and "Diesem Pure Well Water Ice" was delivered to area kitchens for many years. The men in this photograph, using special ice saws and other tools designed for the job, are "Cutting Ice" on one of two reservoirs that Diesem built for the irrigation of his orchard, alfalfa, and grain crops in the summer. The surface of the ice was marked off in large blocks, which were cut out and floated to a wooden ramp. Once on the ramp, the 300-pound chunks were attached to a pulley and hoisted up the ramp and into the icehouse for storage. During the following six to eight months, the ice was delivered and sold to residential and commercial customers in whatever size "cake" they cared to order.

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KANSAS HISTORY

Front and back cover *sketches are from a series of early-day agrarian scenes produced in 1929 by Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan. Agricultural folklife during the pioneering years in Kansas is the subject of this issue's "A Window on Flint Hills Folklife" edited by James F. Hoy.*

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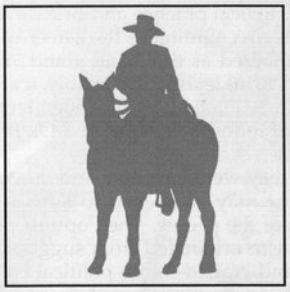

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The Wizard of Milford

Dr. J. R. Brinkley and Brinkleyism

by Francis W. Schruben

An appraisal of Dr. J. R. Brinkley's medical practice and Brinkleyism (the doctor's political movement) necessitates a recounting of the career of the "Wizard" of Milford, Kansas, usually remembered as the "goat gland" rejuvenation surgeon. At present, who really remembers Brinkleyism? Debatably, scarcely anyone. But as an independent write-in candidate in 1930 and as an independent on the ballot in 1932, low-income Kansans by the tens of thousands supported Dr. Brinkley's quest to become their governor.

In its appeal to those who believed they were forgotten and downtrodden, Kansas Brinkleyism of the 1930s to some degree may be likened to Kansas Populism of the 1890s—both sprang from the demands of the people. The Populist platform was presented by an organized party; Brinkleyism originated from suggestions mailed in by his followers, organized by advisors, and crafted into a political credo. Both offered relief and reform, carried some of the same counties, and eventually saw many of their proposals co-opted and enacted through the Democratic and Republican parties.

Historians and others have scarcely noted the similarities of Brinkleyism and Populism.[1] Some writers have been so eager to exploit the sensationalism attending the flamboyant Dr. Brinkley's surgical endeavors, they have neglected serious consideration of Brinkleyism as a political movement.

Francis W. Schruben *received his B.A. and M.A. from the Municipal University of Wichita, his Ph.D. in history from UCLA, and was professor of history at Pierce College, Woodland Hills, California, from 1958 until his retirement in 1989. His numerous literary contributions include* Kansas in Turmoil, 1930-1936.

1. For comparisons *see* Francis W. Schruben, "Who Speaks for Brinkleyism," *Kanhistique* 4 (November 1978); and Schruben, *Kansas In Turmoil, 1930-1936* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), viii, 44, 46, *passim*.

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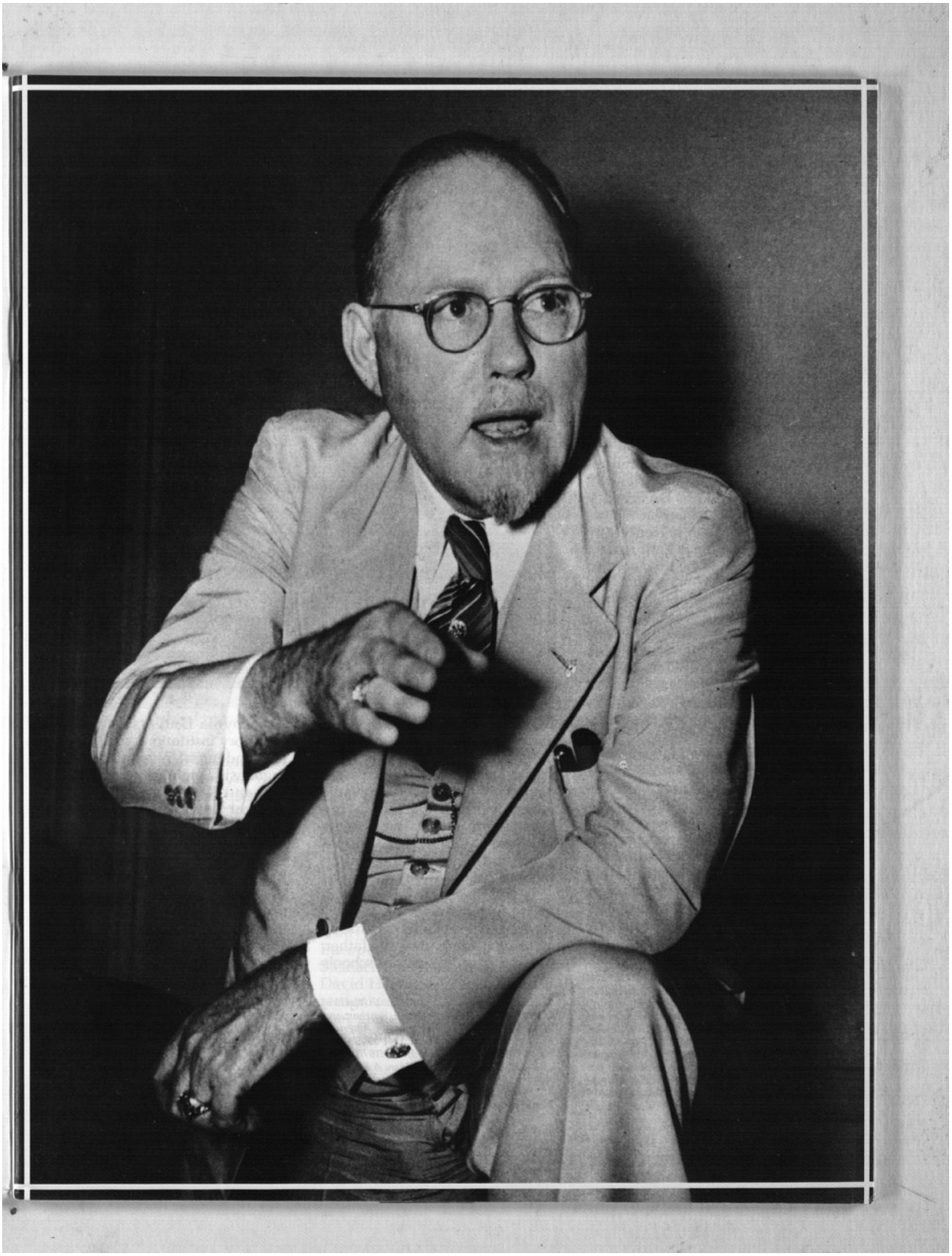

John R. Brinkley at an early age in North Carolina.

At the same time, the more exotic aspects of his medical and surgical theories and practices should not be overlooked, in themselves and in relation to other efforts toward sexual revitalization. Notice is also due Dr. Brinkley's procedures in light of modern-day advancement in organ transfers. Was Dr. Brinkley an innovative pioneer in rejuvenation? Did he experience any success? Was he a genius or a quack? Or could he be placed in both camps?

Born at Beta, North Carolina, in 1885, according to one account, John Romulus (later Richard) Brinkley was the son of John Richard Brinkley, a country physician, and his fifth wife, Sarah Candace Burnett. Another version holds that he was "apparently the illegitimate son of Dr. John Richard Brinkley and his wife's niece, Sarah Candace Barnett [*sic*]."[2] Orphaned as a small boy, Johnny Brinkley, who knew grinding poverty, was fortunate in being raised by his loving Aunt Sally. Their humble cabin, near the verdant banks of the Tuckasegee River, provided scarce shelter from the elements. But Aunt Sally's solicitude and guidance, pride in his heritage, and the rugged highland life developed unyielding tenacity and tremendous ambition in the lad. It may be that believing himself to be a natural child created empathy for the lower economic classes and also helped bring about his rise through ambition, willpower, cunning, and intelligence to international attention in the 1920s.[3]

After shadowy early years, including employment as a telegrapher in Memphis, Brinkley attempted to emulate his father. He studied in recognized schools like Loyola University and in transitory institutions such as the Midlandensis Universitatis Chicagoensis Seminarium Scientarium and Kansas City's Eclectic Medical University. About 1915, if we accept tradition, he received a medical license in Arkansas and, through reciprocity, one in Kansas.[4]

Following short-lived attempts to begin practice elsewhere in the state, Dr. Brinkley and his second wife, Minnie Talethea Jones Brinkley, located in tiny Fulton in southeast Kansas, where he became mayor. Returning in 1917 from brief service as an army

2. William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 4 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 1:228. That he was a natural child is seen on the inscription Dr. Brinkley placed on his mother's large "Angel" gravestone in a cemetery near Sylva, North Carolina: SARAH CANDACE BURNETT.

3. Gerald Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), 11; *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three, 1941-1945* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 103; Clement Wood, *The Life of a Man: A Biography of John R. Brinkley* (Kansas City, Mo.: Goshorn Publishing Co., 1934), 16-22. Wood asserts Aunt Sally's last name was Mingus.

4. Carson and Wood discuss Brinkley's acquisition of eclectic degrees. Apparently no record exists of his Arkansas medical license. Joe Verser, M.D., Harrisburg, Ark., to author, July 17, 1990.

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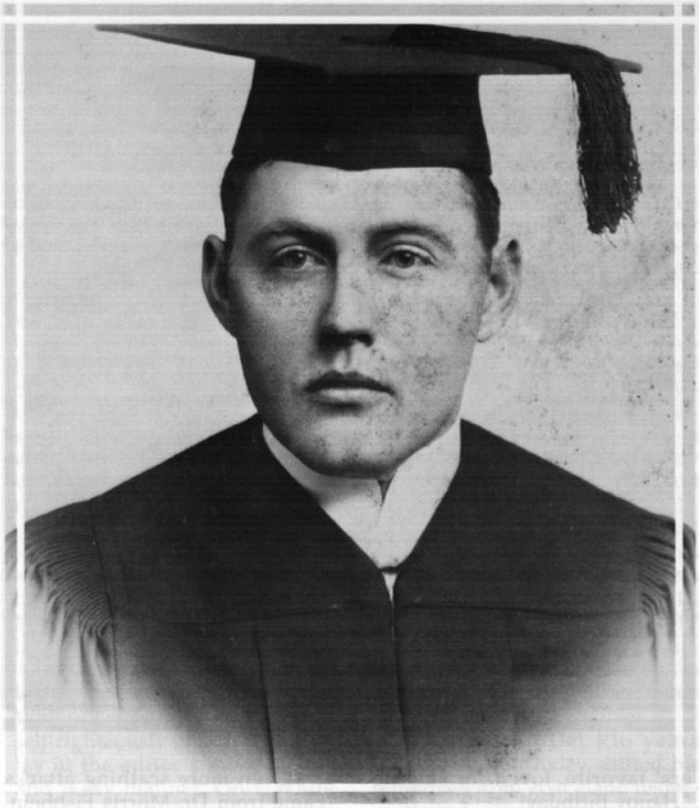


This portrait was possibly taken at Brinkley's graduation from the Eclectic Medical University of Kansas City, Kansas, ca. 1915.

physician, he found the town had acquired another doctor. Answering a newspaper advertisement for a general practitioner, he resettled in Milford, a small town close to Junction City. In Milford, Brinkley's reputation as a physician grew from seeing his patients through the devastating 1918 influenza epidemic. Mrs. Brinkley recalled in March 1978 that the doctor, by encouraging patients to eat, use trusted old remedies, and take plenty of laxatives, never lost a one to flu.[5]

With this enhanced reputation, Brinkley soon embarked upon the career for which he is remembered. He hit upon the possibility of human sexual rejuvenation by implanting testicle segments from vigorous young billy goats into aging but appetitive men. The idea may have occurred to him while studying the research of such European scientists as Eugene Steinach and Serge Voronoff. Dr. David Hamilton's recent treatise recognizes that Brinkley's use of goat glands as a means of rejuvenation predated Voronoff's use of monkey testicle implants for the same purpose. Brinkley came to use such terms as the 4-phase compound for his operations.[6] Whatever the procedure's name, place of origin, or actual results, using glands from inodorous young Toggenburg billy goats, Brinkley's acclaim and bank account grew throughout the 1920s.

In 1922, the Brinkleys traveled to Los Angeles where the doctor operated on Harry Chandler, the influential publisher of the *Times*, and many of his companions and employees. Taking his cue from Chandler's radio station KHJ, Brinkley, upon returning to Milford some months later, developed his own station, KFKB (Kansas First Kansas Best), to draw patients to his hospital. A variety of musicians from the Fort Riley Band to western, folk, ballroom orchestra, and semi-classical attracted a wide listening audience.[7] In 1928, he began his "Medical Question Box" replying to listeners who wrote KFKB describing their sundry ailments in the hope of finding relief. After filling some prescriptions from his Milford

5. Interview with Minnie T. Brinkley, Del Rio, Tex., March 1978. *See also* Harold Mehling, *The Scandalous Scamps* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1959), 43; Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 27; *Pratt Union*, March 16, 23, 1916.

6. *Wichita Eagle*, May 26, 1942; W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy: A Case Study of Popular Government* (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1940), 149; Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 52-65; Don B. Slechta, "Dr. John R. Brinkley: A Kansas Phenomenon" (Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1952), 7-10. For a full-scale study of attempted male rejuvenation, especially the work of Voronoff *see* David Hamilton, *The Monkey Gland Affair* (London: Chatts and Windus, 1986).

7. Schruben, "Early Kansas Radio Station," *Kanhistique* 12 (December 1986). WAAP (Wichita), not KFKB, was Kansas' first commercial station.

Dr. and Mrs. John R. Brinkley.

drugstore, Brinkley soon advised his correspondents to visit a local affiliate pharmacy and ask for a numbered formula. For each he received a substantial fee.[8]

The late 1920s and early 1930s marked Dr. Brinkley's high flight. His manner became grandiose and flamboyant. His striking goatee and his piercing but friendly eyes caught and held attention. His attire, sparkling with enormous diamonds (rings, cuff links, tie clasp, and stick pin), bordered on the garish. Yet somehow these did not seem out of place on the doctor, at least not to his devotees. At his disposal were numerous automobiles, including a "block-long" Cadillac and a custom-built Lincoln. Mrs. Brinkley sported a Stutz Bearcat that she drove to nearby Junction City to pick up medical supplies. When he desired or was in a hurry, Brinkley traveled in his own Wichita-built Travel Air (later Beech Aircraft) monoplane.[9]

Mrs. Brinkley and their son, Johnny Boy, became well known to KFKB's vast radio following. The doctor was proud of them. His wife, a "doctor" herself, was his chief assistant, and Johnny Boy was the darling of their hearts. The tot became a listeners' favorite, loved for singing "Happy Birthday!"[10]

But Brinkley's golden decade was not to continue. He was beset by tormentors who had professional, economic, and personal motives. Naturally, the Kansas Board of Medical Regulation and Examination assailed him. Although its members had professional reasons, jealousy likely prompted many grievances. Possibly the orthodox doctors were joined by pharmacists not fortunate enough to belong to KFKB's prescription network. Perhaps many envied the high-flying Dr. Brinkley, the opulent Wizard of Milford.

Even more scathing attacks came from Dr. Morris Fishbein, executive secretary of the monopolistic American Medical Association. Beginning in 1928, Fishbein devoted a large part of his career to hammering Brinkley. When the Milford specialist was stripped of his license by the Kansas Medical Board, Fishbein pursued Brinkley to Del Rio, Texas, and in time provided court evidence that helped destroy the doctor financially.[11] Reminiscing in 1978, Mrs. Brinkley recalled that her husband had attended university classes with Fishbein, whom she described as having

8. Slechta, "Dr. John R. Brinkley," 30; Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 29; and Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 99-100, 104.

9. Interview with H. G. Hotchkiss, Yates Center, August 31, 1958; "Dr. J. R. Brinkley," *Kansas City Journal-Post*, April 27, 1930; interview with Minnie T. Brinkley, March 1978; *Junction City Telegram*, December 24, 1930; Ethel J. Hunt, Paola, to author, October 12, 1970.

10. John R. Brinkley III (Johnny Boy) recalled difficulty pronouncing "Happy Birthday." He did not even know what the words meant.

11. Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 221-28; *The Case of Brinkley vs. Fishbein: Proceedings of a Libel Suit Based on an Article Published in Hygeia* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1939). The suit was brought first before the U.S. District Court in Del Rio, Tex., March 1939.

been a "poor Jew boy." Fishbein, she said, was simply jealous of Brinkley's success.[12]

Another hard-hitting antagonist was the *Kansas City Star*, whose radio station had lost an important popularity contest to Brinkley's KFKB. In 1930, the *Star*, conducting what today would be termed investigative reporting, sent A. B. Macdonald, its award-winning feature writer, to interview Brinkley. Macdonald's stories belittled and slashed the doctor and his goat gland operations, diamond-studded affluence, self assurance, and style of life. Brinkley seemed to relish Macdonald's onslaught, chuckling that he got "fat on fights."[13]

An indignant William Allen White also joined the hounds. White's *Emporia Gazette* editorials self-righteously chastised Brinkley in the editor's most caustic and witty manner. Only White could use such philippics, similar to those he used in the 1920s to help rid Kansas of the noisome Ku Klux Klan.

In mid-June 1930, these and other onslaughts resulted in the Federal Radio Commission's (FRC) voting three to two not to renew KFKB's permit. In September, after a hearing before Kansas doctors—including Wichita's Dr. E. S. Edgerton, president of the Kansas Medical Society—to determine if Brinkley should be stripped of his license, Attorney General William Smith arbitrarily cut off available testimony from a large number of pro-Brinkley witnesses. Smith's motives were perhaps more political than judicial. The license was revoked.[14]

Wounded, Brinkley was by no means defeated or suppressed. Although he could no longer practice in Kansas, he carried on at Milford, using surgeons already on his staff plus those he could employ when needed. In addition, the groundwork already had been laid that would lead to his move to Del Rio, Texas. There his organization utilized much of the recently-opened Rosswell Hotel.[15] Family-style medicine was available—for those wishing to accompany a patient, rooms were available on a separate floor.

During the Del Rio years (1933-1938), Brinkley shifted his emphasis from goat gland rejuvenations to prostate removals or treatments. Moreover, transplants gave way to purported sexual renewal by injections of glandular essences. This new focus resulted in part from the actions of a cut-rate surgeon who sometimes sidetracked Rosswell Hotel-bound patients. Brinkley had experienced similar difficulties in Kansas. Warnings were given over XER (Brinkley's radio station across Mexico's border) to beware of these body snatchers. Meanwhile, radio messages urged sufferers from painful prostate blockage to come to Del Rio where a Brinkley surgeon could skillfully treat or extract the enlarged gland. Make haste! And, the ads cautioned, be sure to avoid the predatory doctor or his agents on the way.[16]

The Brinkleys purchased the Paul Edwards mansion along Hudson Drive in south Del Rio, elaborately refurbishing it and the grounds. Gold-colored letters displayed Dr. Brinkley's name on the wrought iron gates. A custom-made pipe organ, manufactured by the Reuter Organ Company of Lawrence, Kansas, was installed. This remarkable instrument could be played manually or by prepared rolls. The doctor loved organ music and used it as background for his broadcasts. There were lighted tennis courts, a swimming pool, and a sumptuous rose garden. Fountains played in the lawn, and statues were emplaced. Accessible within a few hours by automobile was the family yacht, at anchor in the Gulf of Mexico. The luxuriously appointed *Dr. Brinkley II* was soon joined by the larger and more elegant *Dr. Brinkley III*.[17]

12. Interview with Minnie T. Brinkley, March 1978.

13. For examples of Macdonald's work *see Kansas City Star*, April 13, 1930, and *New York Times*, May 5, 1931. *See also* David A. Dary, "Alexander Black Macdonald, Reporter" (Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1970), 130-45.

14. Brian J. Moline, "Bill Smith: The Jurist as Politician," *Journal of the Kansas Bar Association* 57 (November-December 1988): 32-34.

15. Interview with Bess Bradley, Del Rio, Tex., March 1978; Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 180, *passim*.

16. Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 180, *passim*. For cut-rate rejuvenation and prostate competitors *see* Jan Orton, "New Life in Rosalia: A Tale of the Goat-Gland Doctors of Kansas," *Kanhistique* 12 (July 1985). *See also* radio broadcast recordings, 1939, Brinkley Collection, Manuscripts Dept., Kansas State Historical Society; and, for a negative view, Albert J. Schneider, "'That Troublesome Old Cocklebur': John R. Brinkley and the Medical Profession of Arkansas, 1937-1942," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1976): 27-46.

17. Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 208-10; Schruben, *Harry H. Woodring Speaks: Kansas Politics During the Early Depression* (Los Angeles: 1963); "Brinkley Cruises," Public Television documentary, Washburn University, 1977.

Dr. and Mrs. Brinkley and staff at the Milford hospital, 1922.

After Mexican federal government obstacles were lifted (with the aid of Vice-President Charles Curtis), and after the doctor faced down blackmail attempts by area politicos, Brinkley began building his radio station directly across the Rio Grande. XER, the "Sunshine Station Between the Nations," with one of the world's most powerful transmitters, burst on the air in early 1931 with a joyous personal greeting from Dr. J. R. Brinkley to his friends everywhere.[18]

Previously, Brinkley's greatest counterstroke came back in Kansas when he ran for governor in 1930 as an independent, write-in candidate. With his medical practice under attack, the Milford practitioner enlisted the aid of the wily Levand brothers and their impetuous *Wichita Beacon*. In response to Dr. Brinkley's call for help, Max Levand sent H. G. Hotchkiss, a skillful publicist, to Milford. After studying the difficulties, Hotchkiss strongly suggested that Brinkley take the offensive by running for governor. On his lawyer's advice, he initially rejected this strategy. But later, when he decided to run and the campaign began, the *Beacon*, although not endorsing him, ran Brinkley political advertisements and lent Hotchkiss as a full-time publicist and tactician.

Enthusiastic help also came from the Rev. Harry A. Boone, a Wichita barber and preacher; from journalist and linotype operator Ernest A. Dewey, who reportedly came from California in response to an advertisement; and from Cash Davis, an all-out supporter from rural Augusta. As the drive got underway, others answered the call, including the aggressive, former Norton County Populist Elmer J. Garner, an editor and publisher destined for a large role in Brinkley's subsequent career.[19]

After first circling the area—a crowd-pleasing maneuver popularized by Charles A. Lindbergh—Brinkley's sleek cabin monoplane swooped down onto Cash Davis's pasture, halfway between Augusta and Wichita. There, on October 26, 1930, he addressed the largest political assemblage, estimated at twenty thousand or more, in Kansas history.[20] Accompanied, as usual, by Mrs. Brinkley and Johnny Boy, the doctor landed promptly at 2:00 p.m. but did not speak until 2:45, when most of the immense crowd had finally arrived. By automobile they had driven from twenty-five Kansas counties to hear the radio doctor turned politician.

Because it was Sunday, Brinkley chose not to talk politics but spoke for half an hour about biblical passages. Brinkley biographer Gerald Carson noted that the doctor compared his troubles with those that had afflicted Jesus. No doubt, the Wizard felt persecuted, and with good reason. Often he deftly mixed scripture with political and medical messages.[21] His adoring audience hung onto his every word. Just seeing him captivated many, and those who managed to touch him or shake his hand were left elated.

18. William E. Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 167-68. *See also* Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 82.

19. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 45, *passim*; William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas: State and People*, 5 vols. (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1928), 3:1210.

20. Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 162; *Wichita Eagle*, October 27, 1930; *Wichita Beacon*, October 27, 1930.

21. Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 162; H. G. Hotchkiss, "Brinkley Campaigns," Wichita, 7; interview with Hotchkiss, August 31, 1958.

Brinkley-Jones Hospital, Milford.

Following an appeal of the FRC's ruling, Brinkley retained access to KFKB, but Hotchkiss, fearing the doctor was relying too much on radio, arranged for yet another late October rally, this one at Wichita's Forum. Here, on Tuesday, October 28, in what remains a masterpiece of political organization, Brinkley's KFKB musicians entertained the audience as it settled. Then, as he did throughout the campaign, Roy Faulkner, the station's "Lonesome Cowboy," put them in a receptive mood by singing "The Strawberry Roan." The auditorium was soon packed, and following orders from the Wichita Fire Department, the doors were closed, leaving hundreds to mill around on the sidewalk outside, among them local party politicians who had not taken Brinkley seriously. Stranded, they stood "rubbing their chins," baffled and bewildered.[22]

22. Hotchkiss, "Brinkley Campaigns," 7, and interview with Hotchkiss, August 31, 1958; interview with Roy Faulkner, Topeka, September 9, 1958.

Inside, just after Brinkley strode dramatically to the center of the stage, little Johnny Boy jumped from his seat beside his mother and stole the crowd's affection by rushing up to his father to demand a drink of water from the carafe on the rostrum. "He's the boss," the doctor joked, as the tyke's innocent upstaging brought a roar of laughter from exuberant onlookers.

Brinkley began speaking of his troubles with the medical and radio authorities, only to change suddenly and recount his impoverished youth. He identified with the poor, who had been neglected by budget-conscious politicians. He promised to pave the roads and take Kansas out of the mud. Commercial travel would be made easier; tourists would no longer wish to bypass the state. Changing focus again, Brinkley asserted that if the state failed to do so after he became governor, he would provide a free medical clinic at Milford for the needy. Taking a new direction, he assured the crowd he belonged to the American Legion, almost a prerequisite for office in those days, but asked his followers not to vote for him for that reason.

When the bearded Wizard finished, he thanked the faithful for listening and bade "each and everyone a good night." With that he turned, enervated from weeks of campaigning, walked out a side door, and vanished into the night. Brinkley partisans were left enraptured, and his presence lingered. One is reminded of the words ascribed to Homer: "He ceas'd, but left so pleasant to the ear, his voice, that listening still they seemed to hear."[23] The dispirited had found their leader, the one who would deliver them from humiliation and hardship. Brinkleyism gathered momentum.

As it took shape, Brinkley's 1930 platform included free schoolbooks, a gasoline tax that would help fund paving seven thousand miles of roads yearly, and a free clinic for the ailing needy (at his expense if not provided by the state). On October 23, the *Belle Plaine News*—the first newspaper to do so—set forth the entire J. R. Brinkley program:

> —require the use of Kansas-made products by state agencies wherever possible;
> —repeal the Industrial Court Law, which had hampered industry and labor;

23. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 32-33; Schruben, "Brinkley at the Forum," *Kanhistique* 7 (June 1981); *Wichita Eagle*, October 29, 1930.

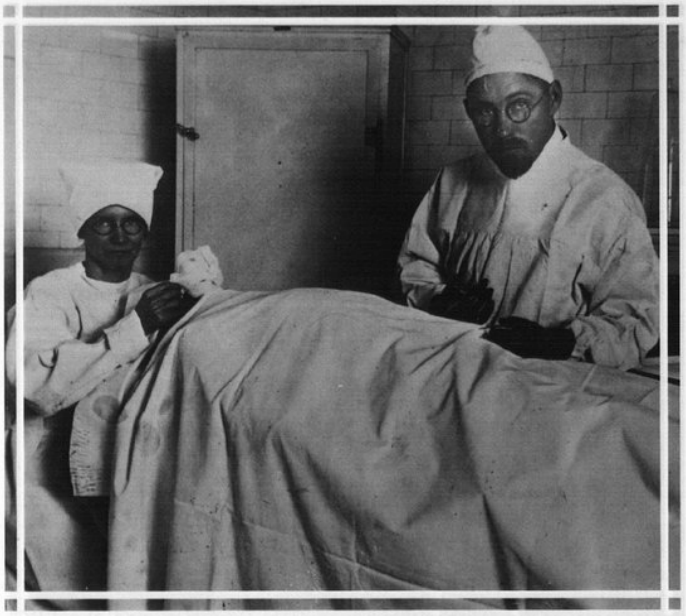
—set up an adequate compensation fund to cover industrial injuries and diseases;
—require convict-made products be sold only to state institutions and prohibit the sale of prison-made products from other states in Kansas;
—make available free medicines to the destitute and prescriptions at cost to the poor, these to be sold only through local druggists;
—provide state medical and surgical care for the poor;
—seek ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment;
—furnish free schoolbooks and eliminate the waste in the schoolbook business;
—reestablish a State Department of Labor and Industry, including as part of its function a survey of natural and industrial resources;
—lower taxes;
—allow the people ready access to the governor;
—create artificial lakes and ponds in Kansas in order to increase rainfall and provide recreational, vacation, and migratory bird facilities;
—require "short trains" as a safety factor for railroaders, and to maintain employment levels;
—establish state pensions for the elderly, the blind, and those unable to work;
—eliminate the "disgrace" of the county poor farms;
—eliminate the American Medical Association-controlled Basic Science Law, which favored "M.D.'s" over such "drugless healers" as chiropractors and osteopaths;
—oppose "corporation farming" as "unjust to the [family] farmer";
—use the radio to give "wide publicity" to constituent letters to the governor.[24]

Whoever drew up Brinkley's 1930 program evidently did not know that, although the law was still on the books, the Kansas Industrial Court had been rendered ineffective by the Wolff Packing Company decision of 1923 and abolished in 1925.[25] Brinkley's call, however, for pensions for the blind, poor, and those unable to work, predated the 1933 Townsend Plan which called for $200 monthly federal payments to those who retired at age sixty.[26] In addition to his broad agenda, Dr. Brinkley used the slogan: "CLEAN OUT, CLEAN UP, AND KEEP KANSAS CLEAN." His proposals went far beyond the modest reforms offered by the Democrats' Harry Woodring and the Republicans' Frank "Chief" Haucke who, like New York's Franklin D. Roosevelt and other gubernatorial aspirants at the time, called for a balanced budget, tax reduction, and fiscally responsible government.[27]

The doctor's chance for electoral success, however, was greatly hindered by his late September announcement which precluded his name being placed on the ballot. A conflict arose. A 1923 Kansas statute allowed voter intent, however a name was written in, to be used in determining a ballot's validity. Nevertheless, Attorney General William Smith dictatorially ruled that separate tallies be kept for ballots cast for J. R. Brinkley, Dr. Brinkley, Doc, Doctor Brinkley, John R. Brinkley, Dr. John R. Brinkley, and the like. Brinkley scored this as cruel obfuscation, and so it was, but a separate count procedure was followed. Thus, despite his efforts to have "J. R. BRINKLEY" (the name registered with the Kansas Secretary of State) penciled on the ballot and followed by an X in the proper box, enough ballots were invalidated and discarded by perhaps frightened, cynical, or dishonest recorders to possibly have cost Brinkley the election.[28]

The late John R. Peach, of Topeka and Emporia, who knew the inner workings of Kansas politics, once stated from first-hand knowledge that a Democratic or Republican counter would make an additional entry on a Brinkley ballot and then suddenly exclaim in effect, "Look here! Someone has made an extra mark and spoiled his vote!" Another reliable narrative has it that Riley County poll watchers would engage in conversation those who appeared unsure how to cast their ballots. The uncertain who intended voting for Brinkley

24. *Belle Plaine News*, October 23, 1930; Slechta, "Dr. John R. Brinkley," 101-2.
25. *Wolff Packing Company* v. *Court of Industrial Relations* 262 U.S. 522 (1923); Domenico Gagliardo, *The Kansas Industrial Court: An Experiment in Compulsory Arbitration* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1941).
26. *See* Townsend letter to the Long Beach, Calif., *Press-Telegram*, September 30, 1933. Apparently there was no Brinkley-Townsend communication and no detectable mass movement between the two camps.
27. Keith D. McFarland, *Harry H. Woodring: A Political Biography of FDR's Controversial Secretary of War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975), 31, 33; and Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 25, 27, 35, 37.
28. *Wichita Eagle*, October 5, 21, 1930; interview with Catherine Brandenberg, Topeka, September 9, 1958.



In 1920, Dr. Brinkley journeyed to New York to demonstrate his goat gland transplant surgery. He is assisted here by his wife.

were advised, "He's a fine man and he will want to know about your vote. Be sure you sign your name on the bottom of the ballot."[29] Everywhere marked or signed ballots were tossed into the Brinkley bone pile, and voter intent was overlooked.

In addition to the hurly-burly attending the Brinkley candidacy, the contest between Woodring and Haucke was hard-fought. The polls closed November 4, but the election was not decided until November 16 when Woodring was finally certified as having won. He received 217,171 votes, to Haucke's 216,920, and Brinkley's 183,278.[30]

Woodring won because the regular parties dropped counter legal actions over whether or not the votes from the residents in the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, located on federal property in Leavenworth, should be counted. In 1958, E. R. Sloan, federal referee in bankruptcy and a practicing attorney, recalled that in 1938 he had been able to persuade the Kansas Supreme Court to sustain a district court's ruling that votes from the National Home for Leavenworth County treasurer were not valid. Being on federal property in 1938 precluded the Home's residents from voting for state, county, and local offices. The Home was on the same federal property in 1930; therefore, by the same logic, the votes giving the election to Harry H. Woodring were illegal. But they were counted, and with them went the election.

Moreover, in recent years, key plausible evidence has appeared from Dennis Shockley's interview with the late Carl V. Rice, an early Woodring backer in 1930. Rice revealed that the Republicans, presented with irrefragable proof that they had been guilty of gross fraud in certain Kansas City precincts, decided they had no choice but to allow the National Home's votes to stand for Woodring. An accommodation was made, and both sides dropped their objections. Neither party wanted the returns examined at the state level. A review might have placed Brinkley in the governor's chair, an unthinkable proposition for either side.[31]

Evidence also indicates that Frank Haucke believed he too received a short count. In a 1958 interview, he indicated that perhaps the partisans of Governor Reed, whom Haucke had defeated in the bitter primary, had conspired to disallow enough absentee ballots to defeat

29. Conversation with John Peach, Topeka, July-August 1959; interview with Frank Haucke, Council Grove, August 29, 1958; Homer E. Socolofsky, Manhattan, to author, September 12, 1989; Donald R. McCoy, *Landon of Kansas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 95.

30. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 37-39; interview with Harry Woodring, August 29, 1958; Kansas Secretary of State, *Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report, 1929-1930* (Topeka: State Printer, 1930), 103; Homer E. Socolofsky, *Kansas Governors* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 14, 15, 18, 21, 166, 173, 176.

31. Interview with E. R. Sloan, Topeka, August 29, 1958; Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 39. The Kansas Supreme Court sustained the Leavenworth district court ruling that the National Home vote was illegal. *See Herken* v. *Glynn* in *Kansas Reports* 151 (Topeka: State Printer, 1940) 855. Shockley, Kansas City, interview with Rice, in letter to author, July 10, 1990; interview with Haucke, August 29, 1958; information on *Herken* v. *Glynn* from Fritz Snyder, School Law Librarian, University of Kansas, and Fred Knecht, Law Library, Kansas Supreme Court.

"On the air" in his Milford radio station, KFKB (Kansas First Kansas Best).

him. Haucke also believed he would have won if the Old Soldiers' vote had not been awarded to Woodring. From newspaper accounts, Haucke does not appear to have protested and, though disenchanted, he remained a party man.[32]

For six decades the Brinkley short count has been rehashed. Several years ago in answer to letters and interviews, Republicans generally—with Haucke the notable exception—firmly asserted that Brinkley had not been unjustly denied the governorship. Although terming the write-in vote a remarkable tribute, Alf Landon stated flatly that Brinkley "got every vote that was coming to him." But the Democrats, including Woodring who was no friend of Brinkley's, insisted just as emphatically that had all ballots intended for the doctor been properly tallied, he would have become governor.[33]

Reportedly, because of the expense involved, Brinkley did not demand a recount. Some historians have contended that because his name was not on the ballot, he could not legally have obtained a new tally—an erroneous conclusion according to many present-day authorities.[34] Whatever the case, Dr. Brinkley, so Hotchkiss believed, had achieved his purposes of "saving his medical business" and "scaring hell out of" the American Medical Association, the orthodox Kansas doctors, and the party politicians.[35]

Be that as it may, why Brinkley did not demand a recount remains a mystery. At the time, political writer W. G. Clugston and Cash Davis stated that the expense was too heavy, but in 1930 most of the Brinkley fortune was intact. No doubt, the doctor was concerned about the many unresolved problems created by the Kansas medical authorities and the FRC, which would demand his closest attention. And perhaps he did not really want to be governor. In 1958, Hotchkiss pointed out that Brinkley could have earned more in a month with his medical enterprises than he could have in two years as governor. He had realized lasting fame, achieved martrydom with his followers, and gained sympathy from many fair-minded observers. Doubtless he would have found great satisfaction and vindication in reading his name in gold letters over the door of the governor's office, but, to repeat, the lack of a recount has never been fully explained.[36]

Following the 1930 short count, Brinkley continued formulating plans. The Milford hospital was functional, but Dr. Brinkley,

32. Socolofsky to author, September 12, 1989; interview with Haucke, August 29, 1958.

33. Interview with Woodring, August 29, 1958; McCoy, *Landon of Kansas*; interview with Haucke, August 29, 1958; interview with Federal Judge Walter A. Huxman (governor of Kansas, 1937-1939), Topeka, August 29, 1958. For views on short count *see* Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 39-46; James A. Reardon, "The Year the Election was Stolen," *Kansas City Star*, November 7, 1982.

34. Fritz Snyder, University of Kansas Law Library, to author, October 10, 1989, indicated that Brinkley was entitled to a recount; Lissa Holzhausen, School of Law Library, Washburn University, Topeka, memorandum to author, 1990.

35. Hotchkiss, "Brinkley Campaigns," 7, and interview with Hotchkiss, August 29, 1958; Stan Moore, "The Goat-Gland Election: Kansas 1930," *Historicus: A Journal of History* 1 (1969): 124-63, provides a critical evaluation.

36. Hotchkiss, "Brinkley Campaigns," 7, and interview with Hotchkiss, August 29, 1958; Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 166-67; Ralph O. "Joe" Cassity, Norman, Okla., to author, May 14, 1990. Carson's assertion that Brinkley "even polled 20,000 votes in Oklahoma" is in error. Write-in voting has never been legal under that state's constitution.

Campaigning for governor in 1930, Brinkley "swooped down" and landed his monoplane near Wichita where he addressed a crowd of twenty thousand eager listeners.

who had lost his Kansas medical license, felt victimized, and his followers continued to believe he had been defrauded. As their anger mounted, Brinkleyism hardened into a fighting crusade. Led by Mollie Vosberg of Hutchinson, the movement continued to grow. Mrs. Vosberg, a superb organizer, began forming Brinkley Clubs all across Kansas.

In addition to Mrs. Vosberg's dedicated hard work, *Publicity*, a pro-Brinkley Wichita tabloid, brought out its first issue on November 20, 1930. Published by fire-spouting, hard-bitten E. J. Garner, *Publicity* continuously blistered Brinkley's foes and sang the doctor's praises.[37] During the 1930 campaign, Garner had been the secretary of Wichita's Brinkley Club.

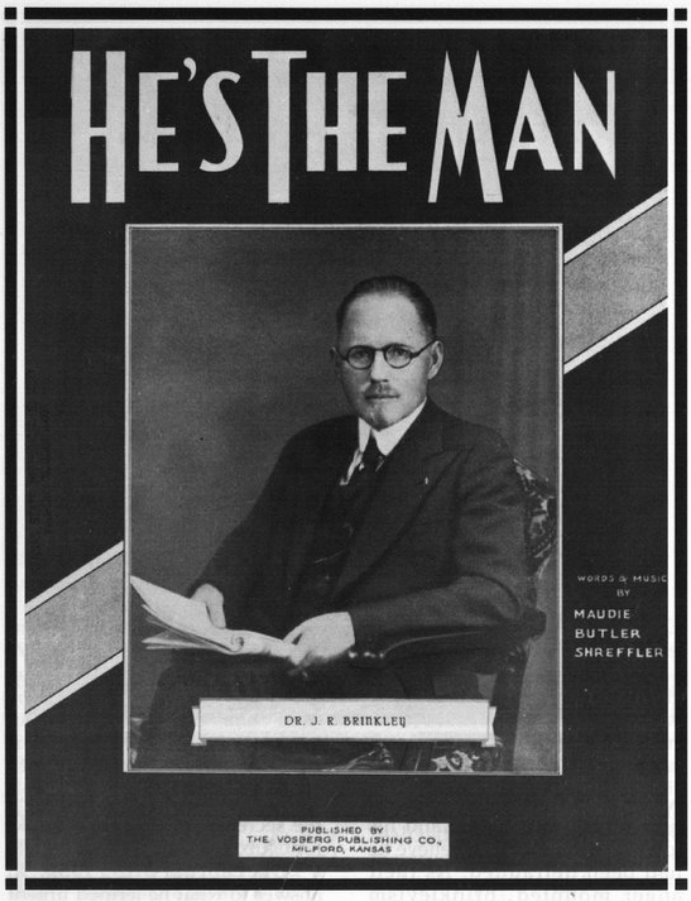
On February 15, 1932, in answer to what he termed urgent requests from his followers, Dr. Brinkley announced he would again seek the governor's office. Ernest Dewey, now of Hutchinson, would continue as campaign director; but Hotchkiss, disturbed by Brinkley's reliance on such persons as Evangeline Adams, nationally-known astrologer, dropped out only to return upon request to help guide publicity and stratagems. In addition, Burt Comer, a disgruntled Wichita lawyer, leaped into the struggle as candidate for attorney general on the doctor's ticket, as did Ella S. Burton, who ran for state superintendent of public instruction. In 1930, Burton had unsuccessfully sought the office as a Democrat.[38]

This time Brinkley's name was on the ballot as an independent. In addition to the team of Comer, Burton, Dewey, Hotchkiss, Cash-Davis, Garner, Vosberg, and the Rev. Boone, the doctor's supporters included hosts of activists, exemplified by the statewide Brinkley Clubs, and just plain people. Brinkley's commoners were determined to see their champion in the statehouse. He would help them in their sorrow and see them through their distress. They were thrilled and stirred by his mellow, confident, southern voice, his piercing blue eyes, his reddish-blond goatee. Everywhere at his rallies, their campaign song proclaimed, "He's the Man!"

In 1932, many of Brinkley's personal messages came from an innovative, attention-getting, carefully crafted Chevrolet sound truck with AMMUNITION TRAIN NO. 1 painted in large letters on its panels. Complete with a microphone and platform that could be adjusted into position, AMMUNITION TRAIN NO. 1 announced its approach with a blast from its five-mile horn. Again, Brinkley traveled in an ostentatious Cadillac. Again, a Methodist minister opened the rallies with a prayer. Again, Roy Faulkner cast his spell with "The

37. *Publicity*, November 20, 1930; Lydia S. Bishop, Norton, to author, October 6, 1989.

38. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 91-92.



During Brinkley's 1932 bid for governor, his campaign song proclaimed the sentiments of his adoring fans: "He's the Man!"

Strawberry Roan" and often added a hymn or two.[39]

Brinkley's 1932 platform—drawn up and revised by Dewey, who again had analyzed suggestions from thousands of letters—differed somewhat from that of 1930. It included a state income tax if the people approved; vastly cheaper car license tags; consolidation of schools; a renewed call for free textbooks; ratification of the federal child labor amendment; investigation of the state highway commission; physical fitness tests yearly for physicians, plus a five-year examination of their qualifications and skills; assisted by state aid, a "colored" hospital that would be used to train "colored" nurses and doctors; continued opposition to the discriminatory Basic Science Law; and support for various programs Brinkley's constituency had requested.[40]

During the campaign, the doctor was often belittled about his goat gland operations and the mental qualities of his followers. But he gave better than he received. Brinkley once told an audience that it would be far better to turn Kansas into a goat farm than a skunk farm. He silenced a heckler who kept interrupting with the "baa-a!" of a billy goat by saying, "A little louder, please! I might be able to use you."[41]

39. Ibid.; interview with Faulkner, September 9, 1958.

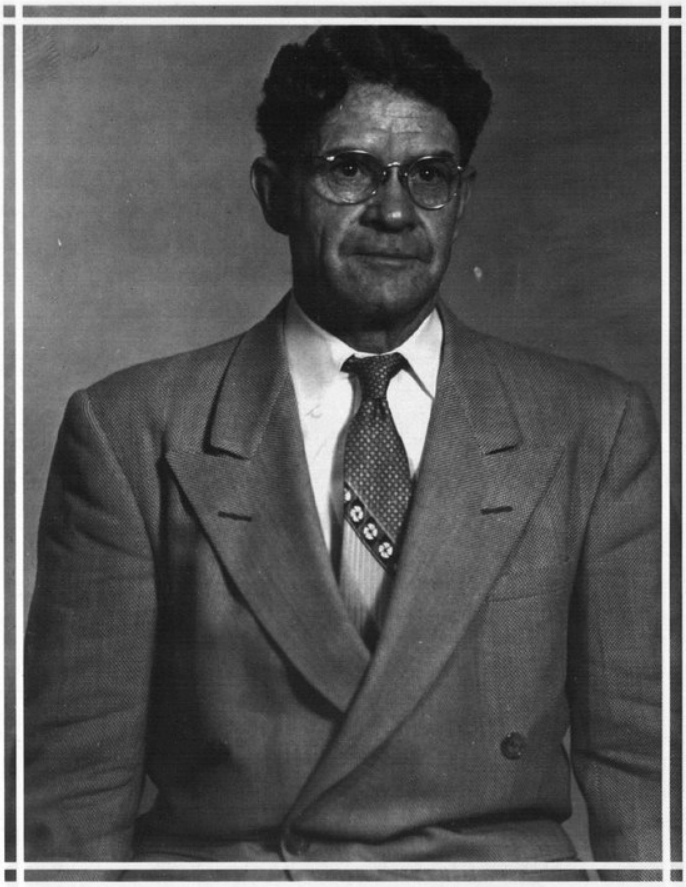
40. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 79-103; Slechta, "Dr. John R. Brinkley," 140-66; Schruben, "Who Speaks for Brinkleyism?"

41. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 79-103; Schruben, "Who Speaks for Brinkleyism?"

William Allen White again waded into the fray with stinging editorials like "Save Kansas!"—save Kansas from the shame of being belittled as the home of the demagogic Brinkley and his platform. "Save Kansas!" ranks with White's 1896 polemic, "What's the Matter with Kansas?", an assault on Populists that brought the Emporian national attention. In 1932, White asserted the Brinkleyites were morons and riffraff. Brinkley countered by greeting his next gathering with "Fellow morons and riffraff!" They howled with derisive laughter. White, Brinkley snapped, should quit worrying about the cost of schoolbooks and start worrying about the needs of the poor.[42]

Scarcely noticed in the 1932 Brinkley campaign were blessings sent by the Rev. Dr. Gerald B. Winrod. Brinkley's reported associations with Winrod, William Dudley "Silver Shirts" Pelley, and others who have been designated as American nativists

42. Schruben, "Who Speaks for Brinkleyism?"; interview with Hotchkiss, August 31, 1958; *New York Times*, August 31, 1932.



Sent in 1930 by the Wichita Beacon *to aid Brinkley's career, publicist H. G. Hotchkiss recommended that the doctor enter the race for governor. Hotchkiss returned to the campaign team in 1932, but in 1934 unsuccessfully tried to dissuade Brinkley from embarking on a third campaign.*

or fascists remains to be assessed as part of Brinkley's turbulent post-Kansas career.[43] Despite his championing the oppressed and his philanthropies, Brinkley is not to be whitewashed. But it is to be remembered that he became an outspoken radio pacifist in the late 1930s during a time of approaching war, a time when pacifists came to be monitored and severely frowned upon by the Roosevelt administration and its interventionist adherents.

In 1932, Governor Woodring, who like Brinkley had a good speaking voice, accused the doctor and the *Wichita Beacon* of receiving sizeable campaign "slush funds" from Henry L. Doherty, the aggressive president of the Cities Service gas and oil empire and publisher of the *Kansas City Journal*. The *Wichita Eagle* ran facsimiles of some of the checks, the first numbered "62." In addition to "62," allegedly ten more were drawn from a special bank account "number J-329" for use by Doherty operatives in their efforts to defeat Woodring. Earlier, Woodring had started action against Cities Service in an attempt to lower natural gas rates. He also believed Cities Service in some cases had cheated well owners by devices that largely bypassed meters and registered a trickle of gas flow from wells to the main lines.[44]

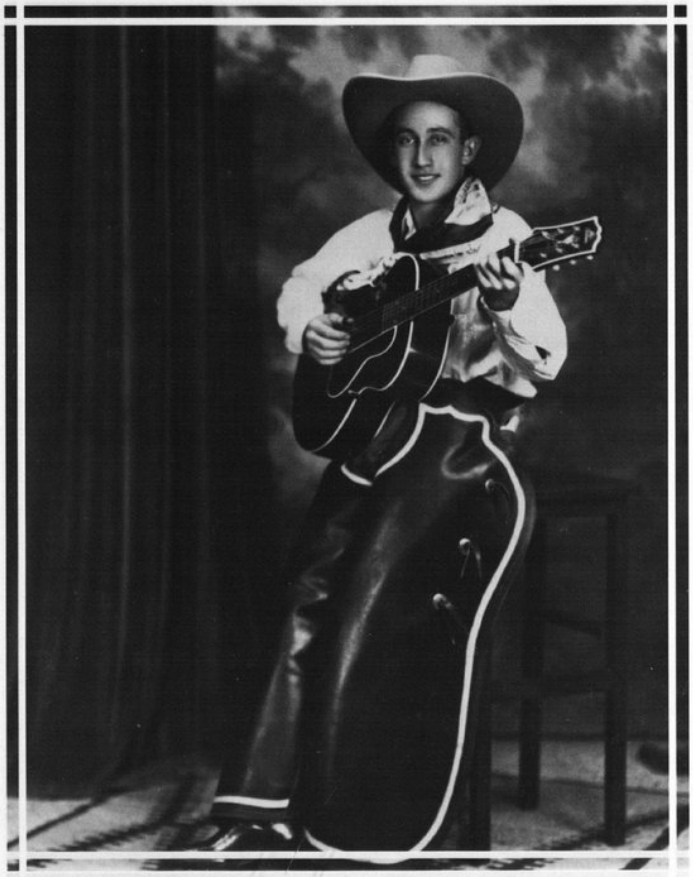
Electioneering in Hill City, Brinkley termed the "slush fund" charges "the wildest Jackass story I ever heard." Woodring stated he intended to present the evidence of wrong-doing to the federal district attorney, but apparently nothing came of this. At least Woodring's promise to call in the federal district attorney does not appear in contemporary news accounts.[45]

Alf Landon, the politically astute Republican gubernatorial

43. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 89, cites Winrod's letter of September 3, 1932, published in *Publicity*, September 22, 1932; Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 198-261; Carson, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, 246-47; Morris Schonbach, *Native American Fascism During the 1930's and 1940's: A Study of Its Roots, Its Growth, and Its Decline* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 442; Clifford R. Hope, Jr., "Strident Voices in Kansas Between the Wars," *Kansas History* 2 (Spring 1979): 59, concludes that "the evidence which has been studied indicates at least a mutual admiration society between" Brinkley and Winrod, and "Brinkley either owned or controlled [Garner's] *Publicity*."

44. *Wichita Eagle*, October 21, 1932; Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 94-95; interviews with Woodring and Hotchkiss.

45. Schruben, *Kansas in Turmoil*, 61.



Roy Faulkner, "The Singing Cowboy" who starred during the 1920s on KFKB radio, warmed up audiences during Brinkley's 1930 and 1932 campaigns with his rousing rendition of "The Strawberry Roan."

nominee whose campaign was ably managed by Frank Carlson of Concordia, decided to let Brinkley and Woodring kill off one another. Most useful to Landon's campaign was the waspish *Pink Rag*, published by Charles Trapp of Topeka. This cartoon-filled scandal sheet heckled Brinkley without mercy or let up. On one occasion, Trapp dared Brinkley to bring suit if he did not like the *Pink Rag*'s saucy potshots.

Landon's group had correctly set his opponents at each other's throats, and the overall strategy was successful. Landon won in 1932 with 278,581 votes to Woodring's 272,944, and Brinkley's 244,607.[46] With his name on the ballot, the doctor had drawn more votes than he had in 1930, but again he and his crusaders had fallen short of victory. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., asserted that if Dr. Brinkley had not entered the 1932 race, Woodring would have returned as governor. Schlesinger credits the "Goat Glands" doctor with taking "enough votes away from Woodring to give Landon the election."[47]

In the months following the 1932 defeat, Dr. Brinkley continued to build up his medical and radio interests at Del Rio and Villa Acuna. But in 1934, Brinkley, still a citizen of Kansas even though he lived in Texas, returned to enter the Republican primary against Governor Landon. He did so against the wishes of Mrs. Brinkley and the advice of H. G. Hotchkiss.

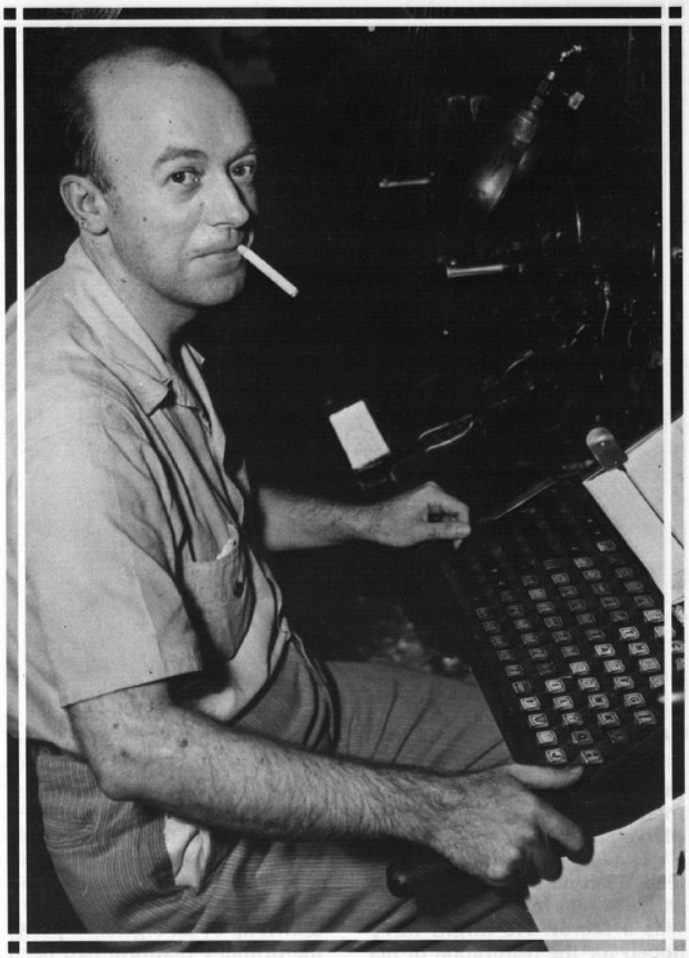
Despite endeavors by James W. Densford, Salina Democrat and typewriter dealer, and Dan D. Casement, well-known Manhattan area cattleman and conservative Republican, to prevent Brinkley's running, a ruling by the Kansas Election Board allowed his candidacy to stand.[48]

Why did Dr. Brinkley run in 1934 as a Republican? Mentioned has been his craving for notability and self-esteem. In addition, he was no quitter. A little reasoning by Brinkley should have made plain that his platforms of 1930 and 1932 had been more attuned to wide-ranging Rooseveltian New Deal programs ongoing in 1934, than to Landon's cautious but positive approach.

46. Kansas Secretary of State, *Twenty-Eighth Biennial Report, 1931-1932* (Topeka: State Printer, 1932), 130-31. W. G. Clugston told Don Schlecta that Trapp's "mean streak" prompted the *Pink Rag* attacks on Brinkley and helped boost Trapp's circulation and printing business; Slechta, Hays, to author, August 14, 1990.

47. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), 530-31.

48. *Wichita Eagle*, July 3, 7, 1934; K. C. Spaeth, Glasco, to author, October 24, 1990.



Journalist Ernest A. Dewey joined the Brinkley political team in 1930 and served as manager of the ambitious 1932 campaign.

Brinkley, however, undoubtedly realized that the Democratic primary already was congested with six contestants—Omar B. Ketchum, Thurman Hill, George E. Rogers, Charles E. Miller, Kirk Prather, and Walter Eggers. And, as one longtime Brinkley observer suggested, perhaps he thought it possible to "beard the lion [Landon] in his own den."[49]

Brinkley evidently knew or cared little about Landon's accomplishments. Before becoming governor, he had led the fight against major oil companies that saved "stripper" (low production) wells from closure and extinction. As governor, he had pushed through a state conservancy and pipeline control law. Under Interior Secretary Ickes' aegis, he had helped draw up the National Recovery Administration oil code, establishing a prorata system, a fair market price for crude, and forbidding interstate shipment of "hot oil," oil produced beyond assigned quotas. For Kansas during the early New Deal, Landon had secured federally funded dams and waterways, obtained a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, and urged aid to education. He welcomed Agricultural Adjustment Administration attempts through domestic allotment payments to hold down production and increase farm income. He aided drought-stricken cattle counties by obtaining lower freight rates on incoming feed and outgoing breeding stock. He had plans to use oil line pipes to carry water to parched herds. Beyond this, under Landon, Kansas' costs for administering New Deal relief were perhaps the lowest of any state. Landon handled his state's difficulties fairly and with dispatch, receiving national attention as a governor and budget-balancer.[50]

In 1934, Brinkley ignored Landon's record and lashed out with a whirlwind radio campaign. He tried to make an issue of the state bond scandal that had surfaced in Landon's administration. The *Wichita Eagle* reported that Brinkley's intended radio remarks about this fraud had been censored.[51] He would have sought to capitalize on a reported $10,000 check to Mrs. Landon from Ronald Finney, the thoroughly corrupt Emporia con-

49. Mildred Wilson, Milford, memorandum to author, 1990.

50. McCoy, *Landon of Kansas*, 67-90, *passim*.
51. *Wichita Eagle*, August 4, 1934.