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

Section 224, Pages 6691 - 6720

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Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

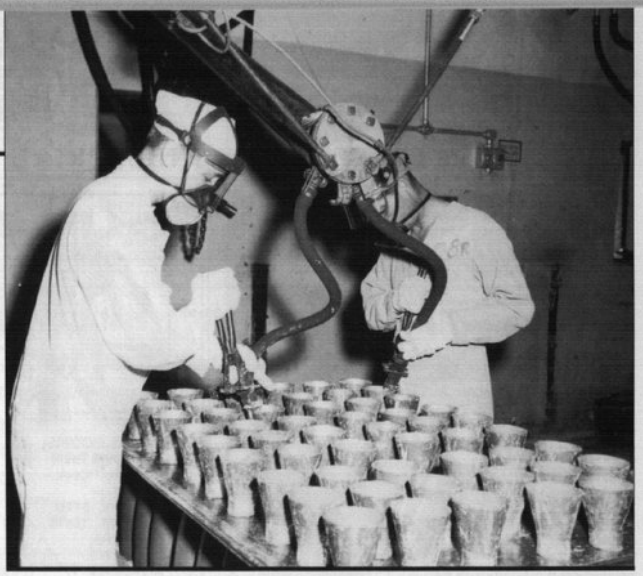
Date: 1978-2009

Callnumber: SP 906 K13qh

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 217226

Item Identifier: 217226

www.kansasmemory.org/item/217226



Opening new industries in Kansas, such as the Kansas Ordnance Works near Parsons, had major impacts on local economies. Here employees of Kansas Ordnance Works are photographed while loading shells.

Wichita residents were without jobs and actively seeking work. In addition, 443 persons without any work experience were available for employment and 1,677 others were engaged on public emergency work that included the Work Progress Administration (WPA), National Youth Administration (NYA), and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) projects. Unfortunately, not many of these jobless residents had the skills or the aptitude to make them suitable for employment in Wichita's burgeoning aircraft plants. Of the males who were actively seeking work, for example, nearly 30 percent had been unemployed for more than a year and were not considered attractive recruits. Even the availability of WPA workers, who did at least have current work experience, failed to present a lifeline to aviation employers drowning under a tidal surge of orders as a mere 15 percent of the total were skilled and most of those individuals had experience only in the construction industry.[13]

A report on Kansas by the Federal Works Agency (FWA)/WPA in January 1941 highlighted the difficulties facing WPA officials, who were frustrated by the failure of the expanding defense sector to absorb more of the state's unemployed. Boeing was identified as the key to defense employment in Kansas, but when the company recruited machinists, welders, woodworkers, and sheet metal workers few WPA workers made their way onto the payroll. The situation at Boeing was replicated in the other aircraft plants. Fortunately, construction work at Fort Riley had provided jobs for some WPA employees, but the current contract was due for completion in March 1941. The report noted that the depressed coal mining district of southeast Kansas, which carried one-third of the total WPA load for the entire state, would be little affected by defense work. It also pointed out that in December 1940 ninety-one hundred men and women who had been declared eligible for WPA work could not obtain it because of a shortage of funds. In that same month Kansas had twenty-five thousand general relief cases, and more than sixty-four thousand Kansans were registered with the state employment service because they were seeking work. Therefore, in early 1941 the Kansas labor market experienced a considerable amount of slack, and the compilers of this report were confident that defense activities during 1941 would not greatly reduce the need for WPA activity in the state.[14]

In the early days of the defense build-up, the industry did not worry about failure to systematically utilize the unemployed, since the policy of hiring unskilled labor at the factory gate provided firms with a more than adequate supply. Recruiting those with essential skills relevant to aircraft production was, however, a more taxing proposition. What were the possibilities of training some of Wichita's unemployed to fill these jobs? One would have thought quite good, since 80 percent of the aviation industry's semiskilled needs were provided by the Wichita National Defense Training School. Sadly, the relief rolls proved of little help. Of the sixteen hundred persons enrolled in training courses in April 1941, only 166 had come from WPA rolls, of whom 80 percent had been recruited from outside Sedgwick County. The problem for relief workers was that recruiters had imposed impossibly high standards. They not only desired a minimum educational attainment of completed seventh grade but also gave priority to youth. The great majority of those hired were fit unmarried men in their twenties. By contrast, fewer than 30 percent of WPA workers were under the age of forty, and most were family heads who could not easily migrate for defense work. In addition, the WPA gave work to those with physical defects who were unacceptable to the defense industry.[15] As a result, the aircraft companies did not

13. Clarence G. Nevins to Ernest C. Marbury, December 27, 1940, Central Files, Kansas; U.S. Department of the Interior, *Sixteenth Census*, Table 25, 123.

14. Industrial Activity and the Need for WPA Employment (Kansas), Report by FWA/WPA Division of Research, February 3, 1941, Central Files, Kansas.

15. Clarence G. Nevins to Malcolm J. Miller, August 7, 1942, ibid.

These promotional drawings appeared in issues of Kansas Labor and Industrial Bulletin, *January 1941 (left) and May 1941.*

absorb WPA workers in great numbers and looked instead to youthful migrants to satisfy their labor needs. WPA employment in Wichita did decline, partly because the general creation of new job opportunities continued but also because of a shortage of funds for projects from sponsors whose attention had been diverted to more urgent war related activity. [16]

By fiscal 1942 more than one-third of the national WPA program was devoted to defense and war activities. Although the emphasis had shifted, construction still was the dominant activity. Highways for the armed forces and construction work at military bases, which included hospitals, mess halls, and barracks, provided many jobs.[17] In addition, the WPA, under sponsorship of the War Production Board, became closely involved in training workers for the war effort.

In the spring of 1942 a buoyant Clarence G. Nevins, the state administrator for the FWA/WPA, wrote that Kansas had been more fortunate than many other states in securing war contracts. He listed the U.S. cavalry post at Fort Riley, the U.S. military post at Fort Leavenworth, the Johns–Manville shell loading plant at Parsons, the Ammonia-Nitrate plant operated by Jayhawk Ordnance at Baxter Springs, North American Aviation's bomber assembly plant in Kansas City, a naval air base at Gardner, and the expanding Wichita aircraft plants. In addition, the U.S. Army was about to construct a bomber base in Topeka. Because this industrial expansion coincided with favorable farm conditions, Nevins proposed closing down WPA programs in central and western Kansas to avoid the accusation that his organization was hoarding labor needed by farmers.[18]

It was unrealistic to assume that all of Kansas's unemployed could have been absorbed by the rapidly expanding defense sector. Part of the problem was the attitude of employers, but another reason was the obvious deficiencies in the WPA work force, which steadily declined in quality as those most capable secured private sector jobs. Nor was the attitude of state officials always as positive as it should have been. A federal official visited Topeka in April 1942 with the message that opportunities for female power machine operators were expanding and women on WPA sewing projects could be trained for these more highly paid posts. Local re-employment representative Cornelia Edge was dismissive, claiming that many of the "WPA women on sewing projects are too old, some too fat, some physically unfit and the negroes are not acceptable."[19] This harsh judgment reflected the reality of the situation. In early 1942 aircraft companies sought to employ young white women who not only were high school graduates but who also were under five foot two inches tall and weighed less than 135 pounds. Employers wanted intelligent highly motivated agile workers who would be able to gain access to every nook and cranny in an airframe.[20]

16. Labor Market Survey Reports, Wichita, May 9, 1941; ibid., May 11, 1941.
17. *Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Works Agency, 1942), 1, 6–12.
18. Clarence G. Nevins to Howard Hunter, February 7, 1942, Central Files, Kansas.
19. Cornelia Edge to John J. McDonough, Report on visit to Topeka, April 10–11, 1942, ibid.
20. Johnson, "Uncle Sam Wanted Them Too!" 40. Twelve months later these stringent physical requirements had been relaxed.

Since neither the city nor surrounding counties could provide all the labor needed, outsiders found great incentive to migrate to Wichita, although reliance on migrants was not without its costs. In 1941 a flood of young workers, far in excess of the jobs available, descended upon Wichita. Some erected temporary shacks outside the city limits and others, stranded and without means of support, applied for relief. Stories of their discomfort did not act as a significant deterrent. Between April 1, 1940, and November 1, 1943, the net civilian migration from other parts of Kansas to Sedgwick County had reached 57,880. The next highest, Johnson County, registered a gain of only 8,157 persons, providing a clear indication of the war's impact on Wichita and of the leading role it played in Kansas.[21] During September 1941 a detailed investigation was carried out into the migration that was rapidly transforming Kansas's second largest city. Since October 1, 1940, 12,800 families had moved into the city, increasing the population by approximately 20 percent. The state of Kansas supplied 54 percent of the newcomers, neighboring Oklahoma 18 percent, and Missouri 9 percent. In general the migrants had not traveled a great distance, their average journey being only 135 miles. Just over half the migrants were from rural places or settlements, and a further 38 percent previously had lived in towns of between twenty-five hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants. The migrants were overwhelmingly white, their average age was 24.9 years, and women made up 13 percent of all workers in migrant families. More than half of the migrants were single persons. Only 10 percent of these newcomers had employment experience in the manufacturing industry, while nearly 70 percent were from farms, had previously worked in trade or the service sector, or had been students.

The aircraft industry absorbed 52 percent of the influx, but investigators found in the fall of 1941 that a surprising 13 percent of migrants were unemployed and seeking work during the week prior to being interviewed. Unemployment was most prevalent among the young, those who had held no jobs in their previous places of residence, farm workers, domestic service workers, women, and students. Those who had some experience in the manufacturing sector or in construction fared relatively well in the job market, and, in general, as the size of their place of origin rose so the extent of unemployment decreased. In other words, a positive correlation existed between employment opportunity and recent urban experience. What these figures show, however, is that being available for work was no guarantee of employment in Wichita at this time and that the uncoordinated inflow of people was too great for the city to absorb.[22]

Clearly, the greater the reliance on local labor the less strain would be exerted on Wichita's housing sector, educational resources, and utilities.[23] This would prove especially important as the new plants being constructed for the aircraft companies began operation and the demand for labor increased. Early in 1941 a federal program approved the construction of a four-hundred-dwelling-unit defense village on the southeast edge of Wichita. Completed during August and September, Hill Top Manor was a new community mostly for aircraft factory workers. Although welcomed by families who moved there, this project made only a small impact on a growing housing problem.[24]

A growing emphasis on the recruitment of workers who lived within commuting distance of the aircraft plants necessitated significant changes. The most important was close cooperation between business and government officials, which included a new willingness to coordinate efforts so employers were fully aware of local resources and potential operatives knew the employers' requirements. In the middle of 1941 the Kansas State Employment Service assigned special staff to Boeing, Beech, and other companies.[25] These representatives kept in daily contact with plant officials and received up-to-date information about the numbers of workers required and their training needs.

The compilers of federal labor market survey reports were quick to seize on the problem and to suggest solutions. Among these were a greater emphasis on training to upgrade the skills of those already working, encouragement of voluntary transfers of key workers between plants, and the retention of those who were trained. The latter initiative reflected anxiety caused by migration of prized workers who had moved to California. Federal representa-

21. Labor Market Survey Reports, Kansas General, Estimated net inter-county urban migration, April 1, 1940–November 1, 1943, RG 183.

22. Labor Market Survey Reports, Migration to Wichita, 1–9.

23. On March 5, 1943, L. W. Mayberry, superintendent of Wichita Public Schools, wrote to Arthur Capper begging for financial relief as the schools under his charge had nearly three thousand additional pupils. *See* Federal Works Administration—Wichita, box 8, Capper Papers, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, hereafter cited as Capper Papers.

24. *Wichita Eagle*, February 5, 1941; *Kansas City Times*, September 16, 1941.

25. The United States Employment Service was a nationwide system operated by the states under federal grants-in-aid. In December 1941 the state services were brought under direct federal control. *See The United States at War. Development and Administration of the War Program by the Federal Government* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Budget, 1946), 176–82.

In 1942 Kansas had been more fortunate than many other states in securing war contracts, among them the Jayhawk Ordnance at Baxter Springs. Here employees of Jayhawk Ordnance work at control panels to ensure the production of five hundred tons of ammonia per day.

tives noted that very few women were employed in the plants, even though large numbers of females were available and could be used to supplement the male work force or to replace men who could then move to more essential employment. Black labor in Wichita and in the surrounding area was even more marginalized than female labor in the early stages of the war. The African American employee, apart from those employed as janitors and in similar unskilled activities, was a rarity. A serious stumbling block to the maximization of local labor participation was the rigidity of employers' specifications, and it was not until late 1942 that significant changes were apparent. By that time training requirements had been relaxed as had age limits and some restrictions; at the Boeing plant, for example, both husband and wife could be employed. However, high physical standards, which the aircraft companies believed essential for their workers, were maintained.[26]

Even if all available local labor were fully utilized, recruitment from outside the area, especially of skilled workers, was inevitable. That necessitated a more planned system of hiring to minimize resultant regional dislocations, for example, in labor from northeast Kansas being targeted toward the aircraft subcontractors and arms plants in Kansas City rather than the more distant Wichita. Consideration also had to be given to farmers' needs, especially during wheat harvest. Careful planning to increase recruitment of student or other casual labor to work on the land released farmhands for permanent work in war plants.[27]

One of the most interesting and in the long run economically influential effects of the pressure on labor was the impact exerted on industrial training throughout the state. Wichita made an early start in vocational training owing to an extraordinary initiative by James C. Woodin, L. W. Brooks, and L. W. Mayberry who were, respectively, commissioner of industrial education, principal of East High School, and the superintendent of schools. In late 1938 a sheet metal department was established at East High School primarily for pre-vocational training, but soon evening courses were available for men who sought employment in the aircraft industry. As early as April 1939 the public school system responded to the aircraft industry's need, opening its vocational training facilities every evening and on Saturdays.[28] By the fall of 1940 refresher courses in sheet metal work, welding, woodworking, and drafting had been organized in Wichita and Kansas City under the joint supervision of the U.S. Office of Education and the Kansas Board for Vocational Education. About half of the applicants for places in these courses came from WPA rolls while those not on relief were selected by the Kansas State Employment Service.[29]

By February 1941 the Wichita National Defense Training School had conducted refresher classes for nine hundred trainees who had the requisite skills or academic qualifications. Several of these courses were available on a twenty-four-hour schedule. Five pre-employment courses in welding and aircraft sheet metal work had commenced in Coffeyville with applications being taken through the local office of the Kansas State Employment Service. During the following month the state employment service began a campaign to register every unemployed worker who could be used or trained for a defense job and every worker who had defense related skills but who was not using them in his current job.[30]

The growth of training programs was extraordinarily rapid. In May 1941 nearly one thousand Kansans were enrolled in national defense training courses; by January 1942

26. Labor Market Survey Reports, Wichita, December 1, 1942, 6.
27. Ibid., June 1941, 5–10.

28. Shelby Collum Davis, "Wichita—Boom Town," *Current History & Forum* 52 (January 10, 1941): 9–11, 30.
29. "Defense Program Increases Work of State Employment Service," *Kansas Labor and Industrial Bulletin* 10 (August 1940): 5.
30. "Kansas State Apprenticeship Council Created to Assist With the Training of Apprentices in Kansas," ibid. (March 1941): 3–6; "Expanding National Defense Program Continues to Add to Activities of Kansas State Employment Service," ibid. (February 1941): 4.

The increase in the numbers of employees in Wichita called for additional housing. In 1941 a four-hundred-dwelling-unit defense village, Hill Top Manor, was constructed on the southeast edge of Wichita. This photo, taken on V-J Day, depicts Boeing Plants I and II in the foreground and wartime housing, including Hill Top Manor, in the background.

nearly four thousand were taking part in government and private training schemes.[31] Supplementary training also was carried out on a large scale. For example, the University of Kansas's extension division offered courses in engineering, shop mathematics, and shop management. Reports noted that during the following month ten thousand people were being trained every day in Kansas for jobs in war industries. Some thirty-five hundred were enrolled in training programs organized by the state's vocational education department, twenty-two hundred others were engaged in pre-employment classes, thirteen hundred were enjoying supplementary training, nearly one thousand young people were enrolled in courses organized by the NYA, and more than twenty-eight hundred released by their employers were attending courses at the University of Kansas and Kansas State Agricultural College. In addition, the state vocational education department held classes for 1,250 boys in rural schools to provide workshop skills, and fourteen hundred people were being privately trained, mostly in the aviation area.[32] Nevertheless, not all aircraft work required highly skilled individuals, and the introduction of new capital equipment together with a further division of labor significantly cut the level of training required for workers on assembly line operations, which included industrial relations, production control, material inspection, and transport.[33] It is clear, however, that within a few years the employment qualifications of thousands of Kansans had been dramatically improved. By 1945 sixty thousand workers had received the benefit of training and work in aircraft plants. This not only helped resolve problems facing war industries, especially aircraft manufacturing, but also laid the foundation for Kansas's industrial future in the postwar world.

In February 1942, however, an investigation into vocational training for women in Kansas City and Wichita found little cause for enthusiasm. In Kansas City training was available for radio assemblers but only for women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six who had a minimum of two years' high school education. Electrical and radio assembly, which required concentration and dexterity, gave some women an early opportunity in the aircraft industry.[34] But in January 1942 when North American Aviation Inc. proposed a training program for females, the company was overruled by the Regional Labor Supply Committee, which wanted displaced male automotive workers to be given first preference. In Wichita, after an announcement that training was available for up to two hundred females in wood and sheet metal work, women flocked indiscriminately from restaurants, stores, and domestic work only to be faced with age, marital, family responsibility, and educational restrictions. This report stressed that if more women were trained, the opportunities should be available to those who were not only married but who also had responsibilities for dependents. Furthermore, because of serious housing problems in Wichita, preference had to be given to local women.[35] The WPA was closely involved in defense training for women but found

31. "Placements by Kansas State Employment Service Surge Upward as Claims for Unemployed Compensation Benefits Decline," ibid. (May 1941): 5; "Job Insurance Benefit Claims Increase as Kansans Feel Impact of War-Effort Program," ibid. 11 (January 1942): 3.

32. "Employment Conditions in Kansas Show Effects of Government Curtailment Programs and Seasonal Trends," ibid. (February 1942): 3–4.

33. Waters, *Postwar Employment in Kansas*, 22–24.

34. Chester W. Gregory, *Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights* (New York: Exposition Press, 1974), 69.

35. Clarence G. Nevins to W. McDonagh, Division of Training and Re-employment submits this report on FWA/WPA in Kansas on training and placement of women, February 12, 1942, Central Files, Kansas.

The National Defense Training School in Wichita provided pre-employment courses for hundreds of trainees wanting to join the work force.

the participation of relief workers disappointing. In Kansas City, North American Aviation did not want to employ anyone who, in its view, had languished on WPA payrolls for several years. In Wichita, however, federal officials believed that the failure to put more WPA workers into training programs often was the fault of local WPA officials. It is not surprising that the race barrier was even more effective than the gender barrier. Although a strong demand existed for in-plant training for female power machine operators, white women clearly were preferred even by the most hard-pressed employers. In fall 1942, for example, Clarence Nevins reported that during the previous two weeks he had provided businesses in the neighboring state of Missouri with fourteen African American women from Kansas as regrettably "there is no demand for colored inplant trainees in the state [of Kansas]."[36]

The acceptance of black workers by Kansas employers was slow and difficult. In late 1940 a shortage of carpenters at Fort Riley forced employers to hire workers who lived a considerable distance away. The Colored Builders Association naturally sought union cards for their members so that they too could be employed but found that union officials at Fort Riley refused to accept them. Senator Arthur Capper took up this case, and the military authorities responded by trying to explain that although blacks were accepted as members of labor organizations, contractors refused to employ them at both Fort Riley and Camp Funston. The placement and supervision of all civilian labor, it was alleged, was the responsibility of the contractor, not the military.[37] Further information provided to Capper revealed that Long Construction Company of Kansas City, Missouri, refused to hire African American carpenters on the grounds that white workers would strike. Capper's pressure eventually paid off. On January 13, 1941, he was informed that black workers were now employed at Fort Riley and that in future all labor from the Kansas Employment Service would be used, regardless of race and subject to elimination only after trial at the job. The Negro National Defense Committee quickly confirmed the employment of twenty-five carpenters and noted that others were being added daily.[38] This case is a vivid illustration of the difficulties faced by black workers even during a period of labor scarcity. In April 1941 no African Americans could be found among the sixteen hundred recruits who were taking courses at the Wichita National Defense Training School to provide semiskilled workers for the aircraft industry. Beech Aircraft had no pre-employment training for black workers, and because the company recruited workers exclusively through the state employment service vocational schools, racial minorities were not able to find positions even as janitors or porters.[39]

Arthur Capper was aware of the exclusion of black youths in the defense training program at Wichita, but his

36. Clarence G. Nevins to W. McDonagh, Activities of Training and Pre-employment in Kansas, October 20, 1942, ibid.; Fred J. Wilt to Bruce Uthus, Defense Training Program, Kansas, February 21, 1941, ibid.

37. C. A. Franklin to Arthur Capper, December 20, 1940, Negroes, box 41, Capper Papers; Capper to E. B. Gregory, December 31, 1940, ibid.; Capper to Gregory, January 9, 1941, ibid.; Gregory to Capper (n.d.), ibid.

38. C. A. Franklin to Arthur Capper, January 9, 1941, ibid.; A. Thomas to Capper, January 10, 1941, ibid.; E. B. Gregory to Capper, January 13, 1941, ibid.; Negro National Defense Committee, Kansas City, Missouri, to Capper, January 20, 1941, ibid.

39. Labor Market Survey Reports, Wichita, Industrial Activity and the need for WPA employment April–May 9, 1941; ibid., memo to S. Hillman re production difficulties, June 3, 1941, Problem Areas: Wichita, Kans.

complaint, directed to the commissioner at the U.S. Office of Education, was ignored. Nevertheless, Capper's determination in pressing this Wichita issue was applauded by black Kansans. The senator also advanced the case for a federal grant to establish a training school for young African American females, but his request was refused on the grounds that unemployed males should be absorbed before the needs of women workers could be recognized.[40]

Some progress was reported in June 1941 when refresher classes in welding and machine shop practice in Kansas City that did not exclude nonwhites were introduced. Nevertheless, federal labor market surveys were conscious that employment in the manufacturing industry, especially in aviation, was restricted to white males, and they were keen to encourage employment of racial minorities and women.[41] In spite of the escalating demand for labor, in the fall of 1941 blacks still were not employed on production lines in Wichita's aircraft plants nor did employers expect this situation to change in the foreseeable future. Labor recruiters were convinced that the supply of nonwhites who had the qualifications necessary to gain admission to training programs was negligible. They justified this view by pointing to an intensive drive in Sedgwick County that had found only sixteen nonwhites who could be referred to the defense training school. However, R. B. Brown, president of the Kansas City Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, informed Capper in early 1942 that African Americans who had successfully completed defense training school courses were still not being employed in his city.[42] More than a year later, when industrial labor was in greatest demand, it was claimed that Cessna Aircraft woodwork plants would hire blacks only as janitors. Moreover, an African American employee was informed that Cessna could not hire a black foreman to supervise janitors because the company had a maximum wage for black employees and foreman rates exceeded it. Capper's correspondent also cited Wallace Brothers, Inc., and the Monarch Food Company as companies where black Kansans were especially disadvantaged. Brown ended with the bitter observation that in some of the plants where blacks were refused employment, people who could hardly speak English were working.[43]

The view of the airplane industry was that the exclusion of black workers from the production line had not adversely affected output, and the availability of black workers would not materially improve the supply of labor in the future. It is likely that firms used the excuse of high recruiting standards to exclude certain categories of workers from their payrolls. For example, union representatives in the Tri-State District, which had a recent history of bitter labor disputes, claimed that employers blacklisted men on the basis of union activity but used as a subterfuge the failure to meet minimum educational and physical standards.[44] Such accusations were, of course, extremely difficult to substantiate.

War pressures, however, eventually led to a change of attitude. By 1943 black workers had begun to move into positions that previously had been closed to them. One inevitable result was white resistance. In May 1943 white workers at the Brand and Puritz Garment Company in Kansas City staged a walkout in protest at black women's promotions to positions of power machine operators. Objections also were voiced to hiring black women at the Loose–Wiles Biscuit Company in Kansas City, but the company reported that in spite of these difficulties it was determined to integrate its work force. Black males at the Lathrop Trade School claimed racial discrimination, but a report by North American Aviation protested, disingenuously, that a newly decorated basement provided for nonwhite workers was the "best room" in the building. In Wichita, Boeing Aircraft experienced a sit-down strike called by some black employees who were deeply dissatisfied with the pace at which they were being upgraded.[45] In a significant move, officials of North American Aviation agreed to place black welders in their plant, to fill vacant places with black trainees as a matter of urgency, and even to appoint a "Negro Personnel Counselor" at the factory. The Aircraft Accessories Corporation of Kansas City agreed to hire additional black female

40. J. W. Studebaker to Arthur Capper, May 22, 1941, Capper Papers; Mrs. W. G. Proctor to Capper, June 19, 1941, ibid.; Studebaker to Capper, July 25, 1941, ibid.

41. *Kansas Labor and Industrial Bulletin* 10 (June 1941): 5; Labor Market Survey Reports, Summary of Labor Market in Wichita and the Surrounding Areas, June 1941.

42. R. B. Brown to Arthur Capper, January 22, 1942, Capper Papers.

43. George E. Van Hoote to Arthur Capper, October 13, 1943, ibid.

44. Labor Market Survey Reports, A Survey of the Labor Market, October 4, 1941, Problem Areas: Wichita, Kans.; War Manpower Commission, Records of Management-Labor Policy Committee, Summary of Minutes, Region 9, box 17, RG 211.

45. War Manpower Commission, Regional Director's Report, Region 9, Weekly Activities Report for week ending May 15, 1943, 5, 11; ibid., Weekly Activities Report for week ending May 22, 1943, 3.

production workers. By 1943, too, Sunflower Ordnance, which was operated by the Hercules Powder Company at DeSoto, was contemplating the use of black production workers but not racially integrated production work.[46]

Such was the shortage of labor that companies were driven to hire those that managers, and their white male work force, would have rejected out of hand only a year previously. In early 1944 Phillips Petroleum of Kansas City had completed arrangements for integrating its work force, a move that had been long delayed because of white workers' objections. There were signs too that black workers were becoming more forceful in their approach to employment opportunities. African American pressure groups in Kansas City appealed for assistance when they sought to press Southwestern Bell Telephone to integrate its female labor force. However, in December 1944 the War Manpower Commission (WMC) reported that in the region including Kansas, few major employers utilized black labor in any professional or technical capacity. The picture in Kansas was similar to that for the whole nation.[47]

Nevertheless, during the war years progress was made on which African Americans could build an effective Civil Rights movement. As early as 1941 Kansas governor Payne Ratner supported full participation of black Kansans in defense programs. This move has been described by historian Patrick G. O'Brien as "the first small breech in the [state's] racial system."[48] Powerful influences for change were not merely the result of labor market pressures. Black voices demanding equality became more strident and confident. A new culture, positively influenced by the introduction of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, created a framework within which attitudes could change. State and federal policies combined with labor market demands to help break down strongly constructed racial barriers.

Labor scarcities also led to the acceptance of relocated Japanese Americans and even prisoners of war for approved work. In early 1943 the employment division of the War Relocation Authority set up a regional office in Kansas so that some Japanese Americans held in location centers could assist on the farm or in Kansas households.[49] A few did so. The employment of POWs was, initially, contentious. The Regional Management–Labor Committee, established under the auspices of the WMC, was vehemently opposed to the use of POWs in food processing plants and in manufacturing generally. This labor therefore was confined to farm work and road construction, which meant that POWs were idle during the winter months. In general, trade unions were opposed to all foreign labor employment in manufacturing, although the placement of one hundred Jamaicans at Sunflower Ordnance was deemed a success by the company.[50] Kansas farmers much appreciated the POWs' work, and by early 1944 farmers were anxious to retain the camps at Salina, Concordia, and Fort Riley. For the most part POWs harvested row crops and undertook general farm work. A few actually were employed in Salina's flour mills when no free labor was available. The fear that POWs would reduce wages does not seem to have materialized, and trade unions and their members gained comfort from the promise that when free labor became available, the POWs would be replaced.[51] As will be discussed later in this article, farm labor shortages could not be resolved by the casual use of POWs or interned Japanese Americans alone.

Women eventually were to play an important role in the Kansas war effort. However, as late as the spring of 1941, a federal report claimed that no female trainees were taking courses for welding, woodwork, sheet metal, and machine shop practice. The reason given for this exclusion was that women were not in demand for any of these occupations. The few women who were found in the aircraft industry were employed on sewing, fabric cutting, small parts assembly, and some doping work. Personnel staff did not anticipate any change in the duties of female employees because they believed the supply of males was sufficient to cope with all production work. By the summer of 1941, however, federal officials were anxious to explore the possibility of using women in production work. Indeed, by year's end defense centers reported that women were equal or even superior to men on some production jobs.[52]

46. Ibid., Weekly Activities Report for week ending May 29, 1943; Labor Market Survey Reports, Labor Market Developments, Lawrence–Eudora–DeSoto, June 24 1943, RG183.

47. War Manpower Commission, Survey of Regional Director's Report, January 16–February 15, 1944; Karen Tucker Anderson, "Last Hired, First Fired: Black Women Workers During World War II," *Journal of American History* 69 (June 1982): 82–97.

48. O'Brien, "Kansas at War," 15

49. *Kansas City Times*, February 11, 1943.

50. War Manpower Commission, Survey of Regional Director's Report, November 16–December 15, 1943; ibid., Regional Director's Report, December 15, 1944.

51. Patrick G. O'Brien, Thomas D. Isern, and R. Daniel Lumley, "Stalag Sunflower: German Prisoners of War in Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 7 (Autumn 1984): 191, 193; War Manpower Commission, Monthly Field Operating Report exclusive of Wichita and Kansas City Administrative Areas, January 1944.

52. Labor Market Survey Reports, Wichita, Kans. Industrial Activity and the need for WPA Employment, April 1941; ibid., Survey of Labor Market in Wichita, May 11, 1941; ibid., Summary of Wichita and Sur-

During the early years of World War II manufacturing companies refused or were reluctant to hire blacks or women for major wartime production jobs. By 1943 attitudes were beginning to change; Sunflower Ordnance, which was operated by Hercules Powder Company in DeSoto, eventually hired blacks and became a major employer of women. This 1943 photo is taken at Sunflower Ordnance near Lawrence.

By that time it was reported that increasing numbers of women, often former waitresses or servicemen's wives, were being trained successfully as welders. They joined farmers and cowboys on a new program at the Wichita National Defense Training School that dramatically increased the speed of training. After learning elementary welding in 150 hours these students joined seasoned operatives in the plant to continue learning on the job. Previously between four hundred and seven hundred hours of training were required before the trainee became a productive worker.[53] Using local sources, history professor Judith R. Johnson has found that some seven hundred women had put their names on a waiting list to undergo training at the Wichita National Defense Training School in early 1942. She also reported, however, that even twelve months later Boeing managers were not convinced that women could discharge a full range of duties in an aircraft plant.[54]

A greater degree of uncertainty existed in calculating the supply of female labor than of males. Potential employers and recruiters believed that women would find night shifts unattractive, that the range over which they would commute was significantly more restrictive than for males, and that as full employment for men became the norm, the incentive for their wives to work would be significantly reduced. The lesson was that war provides a powerful motivation to change habits. Once Kansas women became aware of the new employment opportunities awaiting them, they responded with enthusiasm. In part that response reflected patriotism, but high pay and the excitement of the workplace also were powerful motivators. Unlike many other occupations, most women entered the aircraft plants on the same pay scale as did men. Type of work, not gender, determined pay.[55] However, few women progressed to the more highly paid supervisory positions and, as many had houses to run, overtime opportunities were not as great as for their male colleagues.

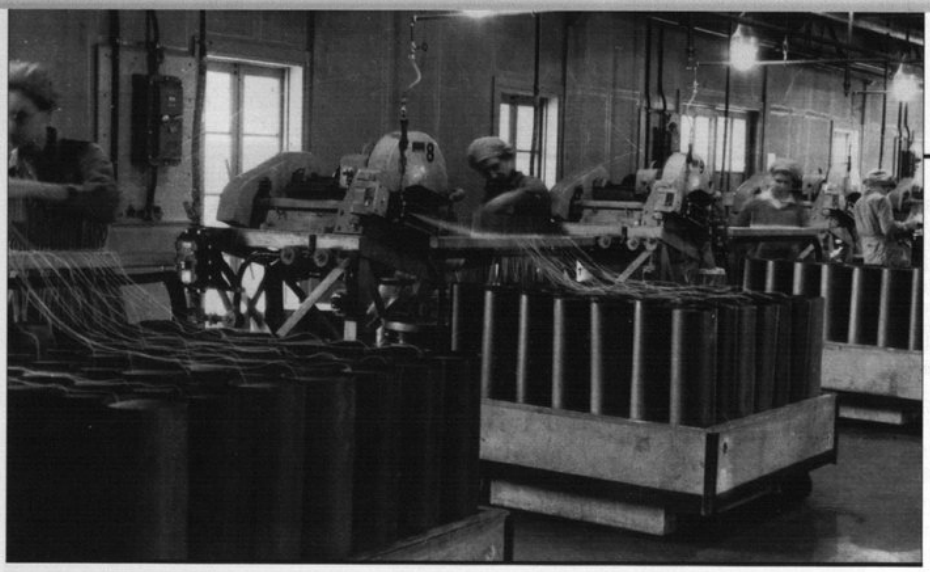
After Pearl Harbor employers in war oriented industries throughout America turned more toward women and away from young men coming into the labor market who, they assumed, would soon be called up for military service. Unfortunately, data on the number of females employed in particular occupations were not systematically collected, and thus we have to be content with isolated bits of information. In late 1942 Boeing anticipated that between 40 and 60 percent of its payroll would soon be female. Federal officials monitoring the labor market believed that the time had come to register women workers in Wichita as was currently being done in Lawrence. In the Lawrence–Eudora–DeSoto area, Hercules Powder Company, frantic to fill military orders, became a major employer of females hired explicitly to replace men called to military service. Although many were taken on as office and administrative personnel and thus they discharged traditional female roles, the company was forced, by manpower shortages, to experiment with

rounding Areas, June 1941, 9; *Kansas Labor and Industrial Bulletin* 11 (November 1941): 4.

53. *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 28, 1942.

54. Johnson, "Uncle Sam Wanted Them Too!" 40–42

55. Labor Market Survey Reports, Problem Area: Parsons, Kans. Survey, October 15, 1941, 9; Gregory, *Women in Defense Work During World War II*, 77–78



In this 1944 photo women operators are seen cutting .30 caliber single-base rifle powder at Sunflower Ordnance near Lawrence. During the final years of the war women supplied 40 to 50 percent of the work force in major Kansas defense industries.

women in tasks that they never had done before. This proved to be a commercial success. Whereas Hercules officials had previously assumed that the number of female workers on the double base power line, the most grueling and dangerous, could not exceed 15 percent, this figure soon was revised to 50 percent. The company's personnel department lagged behind in assessing women's ability to use technical equipment. A Hercules personnel report quaintly argued that "women in general have not had sufficient mechanical background to be responsible for the operation of such equipment." In spite of ingrained male skepticism throughout Kansas, by December 1944 women formed 39.2 percent of the labor force in Kansas City and 43 percent in Wichita.[56]

Not surprisingly, labor market planners and private companies were slow to see the advantages of exploiting underutilized female labor. The costs of this failure is evident when examining the situation in Wichita. Between April 1940 and March 1943 Wichita's total manufacturing employment rose from 7,750 to approximately 50,000. Migrants accounted for just over 60 percent of this increase in employment because the aircraft companies preferred to employ outsiders with some experience rather than train local women. One result was that scarce resources had to be used to construct 11,950 housing units, provided by both public and private agencies. If greater emphasis had been given to persuade women to become war production workers—"defensettes," as the press called them—the need to provide services for migrants would have been significantly reduced. In April 1943 federal authorities urged Wichita's aircraft companies to change their hiring practices and to target women who were not then a sufficiently significant part of the labor force.[57]

The efforts of one special group of women to resolve war labor shortages have gone largely unrecorded. Farmers made up a sizeable proportion of the aircraft factories' work force. Because many agricultural laborers had experienced working with power machinery, they were highly prized workers in war plants. Wheat farmers, in particular, have their main activities concentrated upon planting in the fall and a few weeks of intensive harvesting in June. Unlike the drought-devastated Thirties, plentiful rain in Kansas kept yields high during the war years. It was essential that all crops, whether food or feed, be successfully harvested. Wives often ran farms when their husbands were employed in war work or serving in the armed forces, and at harvest their labor proved crucial.[58] Although impossible to quantify, the impact of female labor on the farm was of great significance: directly it kept the enterprise going, and indirectly it released manpower for vital nonfarm duties.

Before the wheat harvest of 1941, farmers approached the state employment service for assistance. The response of the employment service was to organize a cooperative plan engaging the county agents in all Kansas counties so

56. Labor Market Survey Reports, Wichita, Report as of November 1942, 6, 8; ibid., Lawrence, Kans., Report for Lawrence–Eudora–DeSoto Area June 24, 1943, 19, 23–24; War Manpower Commission, Report of Regional Director, December 15, 1944, 3.

57. Labor Market Survey Reports, Special statement on Wichita, April 26, 1943; *Wichita Eagle*, April 5, 1942.

58. *See*, however, Caron Smith, "The Women's Land Army During World War II," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 14 (Summer 1991): 82–88; *Wichita Beacon*, October 25, 1942.

that farmers in districts having no local employment office could be helped. The employment service provided to county agents in the seventy-eight counties with no employment office a list of available farm workers, which the agents then passed on to local farmers. In counties that had employment offices, farmers could obtain information directly from the staff. The employment service contacted by mail some thirty-six thousand farmers throughout the state to secure numbers and types of workers needed. Detailed information on the acreage of grain planted and the likely yield had been collected for many years; this provided an invaluable guide to the number of harvest hands who would be sought. Finally, educational institutions were contacted to secure the labor of their students; the WPA and the NYA also were informed of vacancies.[59]

During 1942 the farm placement service in Kansas was absorbed into a national scheme to mobilize labor. The placement service mailed questionnaires to approximately eighty thousand farmers, and after the information was processed by Agricultural Adjustment Administration committees, the results were given to the state employment service. During wheat harvest, tents were erected at designated centers where skilled interviewers could quiz hands seeking work and direct them to farms where they were most needed.[60] The WPA and the NYA continued to cooperate by referring clients on their rolls; university and high school students registered with the employment service so they could be directed to harvest work. A systematic registration of all unemployed farm workers, even if they were available only for part-time work, was begun in 1942. Townspeople who could work even for short periods during harvest season also were listed. A register of farm equipment operators available for custom work was compiled and distributed. An indication of labor supply flexibility can be gleaned from the fact that in the fall of 1942 about three thousand high school and college students were employed on Kansas farms each weekend.[61]

The production struggle was won with a mixture of planning, improvisation, and hard work. Two examples illustrate this observation. The first refers to the B-29, which dominated Boeing production by the end of the war, and the second relates to the importance of subcontracting. The B-29 Superfortress was one of the outstanding airplanes of World War II, some 1,664 of which were built at the government-financed Boeing Plant 2 in Wichita until June 1946. These B-29s were produced in such a rush that the planes were removed unfinished from the production line so output would not be delayed. Three modification centers were then established in Kansas where the planes were made airworthy. But a shortage of tools, combined with the army's lack of experience with the plane and adverse weather delayed the program. Dramatic intervention was necessary. Production staff came from Boeing plants in Seattle and Wichita to reorganize the modification program and prepare the first B-29s for overseas service. This period, a time of enormous difficulty between March 10 and April 15, 1944, became known locally as the "Battle of Kansas."[62] The battle was won.

All plane manufacturers relied heavily on subcontractors. A *Collier's* journalist was deeply impressed by the remarkable ingenuity displayed by Wichita subcontractors in 1942. Old machinery, adapted buildings, learning by doing, and technical skills learned on the farm combined to produce high quality work.[63] The ability to respond rapidly to pressure was a priceless Kansas war asset. These gifts were present before Pearl Harbor; they materialized when the nation needed them most.

The war enabled Kansas to create a well-trained labor force and an industrial plant far in excess of what was in place in 1940. For four years the population enjoyed both high manufacturing wages and buoyant prices for agricultural products, and as a result, many Kansans became accustomed to a highly desirable lifestyle. As early as the spring of 1942 a journalist reported that a mechanic, machinist, or press operator working in one of Wichita's defense plants was as likely as a white-collar worker to attend a semiformal dance in one of the city's swanky dance halls. Golf, a sport that before 1940 had not been part of the

59. *Kansas Labor and Industrial Bulletin* 10 (May 1941): 4–5.

60. Ibid. 11 (January 1942): 4; War Manpower Commission, Records of Bureau of Placement, Rural Industries Division, General Records of Farm Placement Service 1939–46, Kansas 1942.

61. Intervention in the harvest labor market was not new in Kansas. Attempts to match labor demand and supply date from the early years of the century. In 1918, 1919, and 1920, at a time of rapid inflation, Kansas farmers attempted to establish a uniform wage for harvest hands in the hope that it would bring order to a chaotic wage situation. *See* H. Umberger and E.L. Rhoades, *Kansas Handbook of Harvest Labor*, Kansas Extension Service Circular 23 (Manhattan: Kansas State Agricultural College, March 1921), 1–10; E.L. Rhoades, "Harvest Labor," in Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Twenty-second Biennial Report, 1919–1920* (Topeka: Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1920): 204–15; War Manpower Commission, Records of Bureau of Placement, Rural Industries Division Farm Labor Market Reports, Region 9, Kansas, October 1942.

62. Bowers, *Boeing Aircraft Since 1916*, 275–79.

63. Denver Lindley, "War in the Heart of Kansas," *Collier's* 110 (November 14, 1942): 16, 38–40.

blue-collar worker's leisure program, was enthusiastically taken up by airplane workers. Leisure was important to workers toiling under constant pressure, and its value was recognized by major employers. Beech, Boeing, and Cessna organized social and recreational events for their employees. Indeed, these companies attached such importance to these initiatives that full-time directors, assisted by support staff, were hired to coordinate out-of-work activities. On average defense workers were youthful, and many were enthusiastic participants in sports teams. Each plant was able to form baseball and basketball teams that played before passionate crowds. Apart from team games, defense workers enjoyed fishing and duck hunting. Bowling became so popular that some alleys remained open all through the night so that those on shift work could play regularly.[64]

Defense work was more than the experience of regular high-pay employment. It often meant being part of a lively community, forming new friendships, and participating in a range of interesting activities that would have been closed to "ordinary" people before the war started. Once hostilities ceased, however, this prosperous life, which had been bolstered by extraordinary but temporary circumstances, was threatened. The joys of peace must have been tempered with the realization that the excitement of bustling urban centers such as Wichita could not be maintained for all. Many Boeing workers had come from small towns and rural communities.[65] The prospect of a returning to relative isolation cannot have appealed to all those who had chosen to leave that environment. Women, and some African Americans, had experienced striking economic advances during the war and had made significant inroads into jobs previously closed to them. Any feeling of well-being was, however, tinged with apprehension as the rumors of war contracts being terminated proliferated. Would these groups be the first casualties of the peace on the basis of last hired, first fired? If that happened, how would previously marginalized groups accept being pushed to the sidelines again? Having tasted the fruits of a regular manufacturing wage, the prospect of casual employment whether in Wichita, Kansas City, or Salina, or back home on farms and stores in such places as Wellington and Sublette, had little appeal.

Observers opined that the state faced grave problems during the inevitable conversion, or using the term then generally espoused, "reconversion," to patterns of peacetime demand.[66] War-inspired economic development had not been distributed evenly across Kansas; nearly all gains in manufacturing employment were in just ten war plants. By far the greatest concentrations of war industries were in Kansas City and Wichita. However, while the former had seen the establishment of several civilian-based industries, this had not been the case in Wichita where during World War II no factory producing goods directly for civilian consumption had been founded. At the end of the war, the numbers employed in aircraft production in Wichita had reached half as many again as were employed in that industry in the whole country in 1940. Moreover, seventy-seven subcontractors with a substantial work force relied on the aircraft companies for their survival. Little wonder that Sedgwick County was viewed by both state and federal policymakers as the number one problem area for peacetime conversion. By far the greatest concentrations of war industries were in Kansas City and Wichita.[67]

As historian Craig Miner reported, by the fall of 1945 some twenty thousand Wichita residents had lost their jobs. However, the contraction in the city's population was not as significant as had been feared, and it actually began to increase during the following year. The city, which owed its wartime prosperity to federal expenditure, soon received an unexpected boost to its fortunes from that same source. The Korean War and the subsequent Cold War led to a significant increase in defense expenditure from which Kansas aircraft plants benefited. In addition, Beech and Cessna came to dominate the market for light aircraft while also engaging in military contracting and subcontracting. In Miner's words, "the city hardly had time to notice the transition from one war to the next."[68] Wichita avoided the postwar economic slump feared by pessimists. Instead aviation, especially military aviation, continued to fuel the Wichita economy in the post-1945 world. KH

64. *Wichita Eagle*, March 8, 1942.
65. *Wichita Beacon*, October 25, 1942.
66. Waters, "Postwar Employment in Kansas," 43–46.
67. For an attempt to place Kansas in a national setting, *see* "Wartime Changes in Regional Concentration," *Survey of Current Business* 25 (March 1945): 14–20.
68. Miner, "The War Years in Wichita," 272–75.

EDITOR'S NOTE

As we close out the twenty-second year of *Kansas History* and enter the twenty-first century, I thought I would exercise my editorial prerogative and take this opportunity to say thanks and to mention a few items of interest for the record. First of all I would like to express my appreciation for the support and assistance rendered to me and the journal by the members of our editorial advisory board and to all those "anonymous" scholars who generously give of their time and expertise whenever called upon. Theirs is a vital if often thankless task that makes it possible for us to maintain high standards for determining what is appropriate for publication in the pages of our journal.

Second, we should mention that the annual Edgar Langsdorf Award for Excellence in Writing was presented to Professor Jerry Bergman for "Steeped in Religion: President Eisenhower and the Influence of the Jehovah's Witnesses," published in the autumn 1998 issue. The awards committee selected this particular article from a strong field, which made the decision a difficult one. The decade's previous committees have found themselves in similar circumstances, and we are proud of all the winners and runners-up. These articles include "'Advocate the Freedom of White Men, As Well As That of the Negroes': The Kansas Free State and Antislavery Westerns in Territorial Kansas" by the late Bill Cecil-Fronsman (Summer 1997), "'Our Schools Must Be Open to All Classes of Citizens': The Desegregation of the University of Kansas School of Medicine, 1938" by Nancy J. Hulston (Summer 1996), "A Pioneer in Civil Rights: Esther Brown and the South Park Desegregation Case of 1948" by Milton S. Katz and Susan B. Tucker (Winter 1995/1996), "Kansas At War: The Home Front, 1941–1945" by Patrick G. O'Brien (Spring 1994), "The Bittersweet Tale of Sorghum Sugar" by Homer E. Socolofsky (Winter 1993/1994), "Hard Times—Hungry Years: Failure of the Poor Relief in Southwestern Kansas 1930-1933" by Pamela Riney-Kehrberg (Autumn 1992), and "People of the New Frontier: Kansas Populations Origins 1865" by James R. Shortridge (Autumn 1991).

Our readers should know that on occasion, our overall efforts are given special recognition. This year on September 23 the Kansas State Historical Society received the Santa Fe Trail Association's "Award of Merit" for its significant contribution to the preservation, protection, and promotion of the trail, and *Kansas History*'s special winter 1996–1997 issue, which was devoted to trail scholarship, was named as an important contributing factor. Last spring's special issue on Kansas barns also received much favorable comment and attention.

Next, I can honestly say that the year 2000 promises to be as good or better. We are working on a new feature and have several fine articles already scheduled for publication late in the year. In conjunction with a major exhibit opening at the Kansas Museum of History in January 2000, *Kansas History* decided to publish a special issue focusing on the wheat culture of the Central Plains. As used here, culture means not only the production of this important commodity but, perhaps more importantly, the integrated pattern of human behavior that depends upon a people's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations. This will be a double issue (spring and summer) featuring an edited reminiscence about the wheat harvest, a photo essay about grain elevators, a literary look the Kansas harvest, and six fine scholarly history articles exploring ways in which the dependence on and identification with wheat production has affected the way we have lived our lives in Kansas and on the Plains, especially during the twentieth century. For more information on this and other future issues visit our web site (http://www.kshs.org/products/kshist.htm).

Finally, the publications department would like to note the recent passing of two individuals whose lives and careers made a real difference to Kansas history. Dudley Cornish (1916–1999), professor of history at Pittsburg State University, past president of the Kansas State Historical Society, and author of such publications as *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (1956) and *Lincoln's Lee: The Life of Samuel Phillips Lee, United States Navy, 1812–1897* (1986), and Forrest Blackburn (1920–1999), the longtime editor of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* and *Kansas History*. Mr. Blackburn oversaw the birth of the latter in 1978 and edited a fine bicentennial anthology for the Society entitled *Kansas and the West*. Both of these men will be missed by their colleagues and friends, but their contributions to the history of the state and nation will endure.

Virgil W. Dean

REVIEWS

Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874–1899

by Thomas R. Buecker

xxvii+ 265 pages.
Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999, cloth $40.00.

Thomas R. Buecker's *Fort Robinson and the America West* is a well-crafted institutional history of Fort Robinson, Nebraska, which served as an important frontier garrison in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. With the assistance and support of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Buecker provides a detailed account of the foundation, growth, and significance of Fort Robinson between 1874 and 1899. He notes that this is the "first of a two-volume history of Fort Robinson" (p. xii), and the forthcoming work will chronicle events in the twentieth century.

The text is divided into eight chapters that provide decennial developments at Fort Robinson as well as in-depth analyses of important historical events that involved this army post—the Great Sioux War (1876–1877), the death of Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson (September 1877), and the Cheyenne Outbreak (1878–1879), which "proved to be the bloodiest chapter in the fort's history" (p. 148). In broad terms, the mission of Fort Robinson in the 1870s was to subdue the Native Americans by means of military conquest; the 1880s involved sustained negotiations to "concentrate" the native population on (ever-shrinking) reservations; and the 1890s witnessed the irony of black soldiers, "nicknamed 'buffalo soldiers' by the Indians who saw a similarity between the black troopers' hair and that of the American buffalo" (p. 170), who were garrisoned to protect the property rights of white settlers. Buecker does a fine job of synthesizing a wide range of primary and secondary sources on Fort Robinson into a very readable narrative.

Fort Robinson and the American West provides important insights for historians of the American West, scholars of Native America, those interested in military history, and anyone attracted to happenings on the Northern Great Plains in the late nineteenth century. While the entire text is well researched and relatively balanced, the most compelling arguments are made in the last chapter, which deals with the buffalo soldiers. These black cavalry soldiers experienced racial prejudice on the frontier and were present at "Drexel Mission (Pine Ridge, South Dakota) [which] was the last major engagement between the Sioux nation and the United States Army" (p. 178). This chapter is an excellent resource for those interested in people of color in the American West.

Fort Robinson and the American West is well researched, carefully documented, and provides a compelling argument for the continued importance of institutional history. This text will be on the syllabus the next time I teach western American history. I hope volume two (1900–1948) will be as impressive as this effort.

Reviewed by James T. Carroll, *professor, Iona College, New Rochelle, N.Y.*

Americans View Their Dust Bowl Experience

edited by John R. Wunder, Frances W. Kaye, and Vernon Carstensen

xiv + 429 pages, tables, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999, cloth $34.95.

This book is not about the Dust Bowl. Rather it is a collection of newspaper, magazine, and journal articles that primarily discuss depression-era agricultural problems in the Upper Midwest. Some selections come from the 1930s while others are scholarly considerations from the perspective of the late twentieth century. The Farm Holiday Movement in Iowa, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota receive particular attention. Yet the Farm Holiday Movement had nothing to do with the Dust Bowl, not only because of its geographic location but also because it essentially had dissolved before the drought and the federal government created the Dust Bowl in a portion of the Southern Great Plains. The editors' emphasis on the Upper Midwest and agrarian radicalism is particularly perplexing because it shows a surprising lack of knowledge about the region of the Dust Bowl as designated by the Soil Conservation Service and the people who lived on the Southern Great Plains during the 1930s. Mixed in this collection are sections on Arkansas sharecroppers, an agricultural march on the nation's capital by corn belt farmers, a teachers' riot in Chicago, and radicalism in northern Montana on the part of the Nonpartisan League and the Communists, none of which have anything to do with the Dust Bowl. Of thirty-three entries only six relate to the designated subject.

Certainly the Dust Bowl experience scared many people for life. But the reader gets little sense of that experience from this collection, either by firsthand accounts or from the secondary literature. To stress that the Dust Bowl played a major role in the development of agrarian radicalism by the choice of the selections reprinted here is to acknowledge a lack of understanding and familiarity of the major literature on the subject, to say nothing about primary sources. Part of the problem can be seen quickly in the front matter where a map labeled "General Map of the Dust Bowl Region" includes, among other things, all of Min-

nesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, although an insert shows the "Hardest Hit Area," which essentially was the region of the Dust Bowl. Other matters mar the text. On page 279, *The Plow That Broke the Plains* is dated 1939, and a subsequent note about the reissue of the film more than twenty years later does not address the portion deleted by the USDA that gave the film an entirely different meaning and purpose. The editors also label the historiographical literature on the Dust Bowl as schizophrenic in a subheading to Harry McDean's article on the subject, without giving any explanation about that judgment.

What is one to make of all of this? Not much. To the extent that this collection has value as a book, it comes from the reprint of several articles, such as those by Caroline A. Henderson that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* and by Margaret Bourke-White that were published in the *Nation* during the 1930s, and which can be difficult to locate in many libraries. But, anyone who wants to learn about the Dust Bowl will not do so here.

Reviewed by R. Douglas Hurt, *professor and director, graduate program in agricultural history and rural studies, Iowa State University.*

Daltons! The Raid on Coffeyville, Kansas

by Robert Barr Smith

xvi + 237 pages, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996, paper $12.95.

The Dalton gang's raid on Coffeyville, Kansas, on October 5, 1892, should have been just another daring bank robbery. It was indeed daring. Two banks were to be robbed simultaneously in broad daylight. The five overconfident members of the Dalton gang were sanguine in part because of their prior success at robbing banks—they were among the most wanted outlaws in Indian Territory, and this was to be their last robbery before fleeing the country. They also were confident of their success because Coffeyville was one of many places they called home, and they knew the town well. They knew the town so well, and it them, that when they rode into town at mid-morning, they disguised themselves with beards and mustaches. The five did not, however, count on a critical hitching post having been moved due to street repairs. Nor did they count on being recognized through their disguises. And they most certainly did not count on the resistance that was mounted by the banks' staff and by the people of Coffeyville.

Robert Barr Smith's account of this raid could have been just another tribute to the romance of outlawry. But instead it is also a tribute to such ordinary people as the bank clerk who refused to open the safe and the clerks of Boswell's and Isham Brothers' hardware stores who, when word spread that the Daltons were seen going into the banks, handed out new Winchesters, revolvers, and shotguns to everyone willing to put a stop to the robberies. In fact, Smith dedicates his book to the "Coffeyville defenders" who, while the clerks in both banks stalled the robbers, not only armed themselves but built fortifications.

Smith departs from other accounts of the raid by not only tracing the path followed by the Dalton gang that led them to their Coffeyville comeuppance but also tracing the background of events and people in Coffeyville. The reader knows not only town history but also what the bank clerks were laying on the line when they looked down the barrels of the gang's weapons and flaunted their requests to open safes and bring out money. The result is a refreshing departure from the usual account in which all participants, including the outlaws, are cardboard cutouts.

Daltons! The Raid on Coffeyville, Kansas is a good read, and Smith's use of extensive primary sources is to his credit. As history, however, it would have been strengthened by paraphrasing rather than quoting conversations that, realistically, were not recorded at the time. It would also be more useful if it were accompanied by a chronology. The map of Coffeyville is, however, very useful, as are the photographs of the town and its citizens. The fact that the book was issued in paperback as well as hardcover will assure that it has the broad consumption that it deserves.

Reviewed by Joyce Thierer, *independent scholar, Ride Into History, Admire, Kansas.*

REVIEWS

North American Windmill Manufacturers' Trade Literature: A Descriptive Guide

compiled and edited by T. Lindsay Baker

vii + 600 pages, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999, cloth $37.50.

Along about 1973, I found myself—as a novice in material culture research—digging through innumerable dog-eared card catalogs looking for something, anything, about the actual use of windmills on Great Plains farms in the nineteenth century. It was a frustrating and largely futile effort. Not much primary source material surfaced, but finally I did turn up one windmill supply catalog in the collections of a state historical society. And what a find it was—illustrations of the mill being assembled and maintained, testimonials by pleased customers, glowing descriptions of various attachments and refinements for the basic machine. I longed to see more of such treasures, but my research schedule allowed little time for ferreting out this apparently obscure ephemera.

If only I had had a copy of *North American Windmill Manufacturers' Trade Literature*! With the publication of this volume, T. Lindsay Baker has presented a wonderful gift to material culture researchers, particularly those interested in technologies related to wind power and water supply. Dr. Baker has distilled years of his own painstaking research into a comprehensive, informative, and easy-to-use guide to windmill-related trade literature in collections around the country. As the author notes, and my experience confirms, much of this kind of material is not listed as such in card (or on-line) catalogs. A guide of this type is invaluable to the serious researcher.

Baker has included in his guide all two-dimensional paper marketing materials issued by windmill manufacturers and distributors in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, as well as those issued by overseas windmill manufacturers marketing their products in North America. The products covered include windmills and related technology, such as towers, water supply equipment, and feed grinders commonly run by wind power. The publications listed dates from the 1840s to the 1990s and include everything from broadsides and catalogs to price lists and even a 1981 sticky-note pad advertising Friesen Windmill and Supply, Inc., of Meade, Kansas (p. 323).

Baker's succinct and informative introduction creates a context for both the history and study of this trade literature. Noting that printed promotional material was made to be discarded and has generally been neglected in library and archive collections, the author makes a case for the historical value of these publications. Baker notes that from such material, a researcher can learn about the available scope of technology at a given time, what makes and models of an item were available to consumers, what characteristics were prized in a given product, and what image the manufacturer wished to project to customers. Catalogs and other promotional materials can thus serve as a key to the study of mass-produced material culture. The introduction also includes a thumbnail sketch of the history of windmill use in the United States and a discussion of the content of windmill trade literature. Finally, the author gives some general advice for those wishing to research or collect such publications.

The main body of the book consists of item-by-item listings, in alphabetical order by name of manufacturer or distributor. A brief history of each company introduces the listing of its publications, which are arranged chronologically. The entry for each promotional item includes date of publication, title, number of pages, a note as to the presence of illustrations, and location and name of company. A one- or two-sentence description of each item names the type of publication (handbill, price list, etc.) and indicates contents in terms of products and models covered. Finally, a location code designates the collection or collections that include a copy of the literature described.

This reference work is well laid out and easy to use. Some of the print is of necessity rather small but still perfectly legible, even for aging bifocalists such as this reviewer. While the listings are organized alphabetically by business name, a full index also allows searching by geographic location and model name. Searching is facilitated by a keyword at the bottom of each page, which perhaps makes the table of contents, which lists a page number for every letter of the alphabet, somewhat unnecessary.

The section for each letter in the body of the book is headed by a black and white illustration of trade literature from a company beginning with that letter. These visual aids are of good quality and add interest. However, they may cause some minor confusion, as each is printed very close to the first company listing under that letter, but is not necessarily an ad for that company. For example, "C" is headed by an advertisement for Challenge windmills, while the entry immediately below it describes the firm of E.H. Caldwell and Sons.

However, any criticisms are minor. This volume is a wonderful resource that will be of great use to anyone interested in mass-produced material culture or the history of technology.

Reviewed by Anne Marvin, *curator of collections and exhibits, Johnson County Museums, Shawnee, Kansas.*

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

Kansas Central Narrow Gauge: Slim Rails Across the Midlands

by I. E. Quastler

104 pages, photographs, maps, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index.
David City, Neb.: South Platte Press, 1999, paper $25.95.

This slim book is an examination of narrow gauge days in Kansas, as exemplified by the brief (fewer than two decades) existence of the Kansas Central Railroad Company. As such, it encompasses a look at economic survival struggles in the 1870s and 1880s in Kansas, the relationship of small towns and counties to railroading, and railroad history as related to broader nineteenth-century business cycles. In addition, it provides a look at settlement issues during that period, all within the framework of the narrow gauge question. Its strength lies in the interweaving of these themes in a book that is an appropriate length considering the longevity of its topic. In particular it looks at narrow gauge railroading and why it did not succeed in Kansas.

Settlement was a concern along the Kansas Central route from the beginning and much is recounted about the relationship of the counties and small towns on the route from before the arrival of the railroad to after its demise. Town support for the construction of the line waxed and waned along with construction, opposition was encountered from a variety of sources, and the competition for the railroad's services along with the inherent difficulties present in the narrow gauge approach evoked the passions among people all along the line. Quastler carefully interleaves town feelings and railroad-related activity with financial issues facing the railroad's construction, thus giving a broader context to the brief little enterprise that is little known to most Kansans today.

We learn that people at that time mistakenly thought that narrow gauge travel was of necessity slower than that on broad, or standard, gauge. This was not the case, but the "Achilles heel" of narrow gauge proved to be the cost in time and money to transship freight between gauges. Any savings to be had in the construction process were in fact always victim to this failing. People could easily transfer themselves, but mail and freight and animals also had to be transferred by people and that expense proved costly.

As if the narrow gauge issue were not burden enough in and of itself, the Kansas Central also had to contend with the greater economic picture during its lifetime. The bad news began with the grasshopper plague in the early 1870s, but then terrible weather and financial panic added to the grimness of the financial landscape. The depression then came and persisted and cast its spell over every enterprise, and the small towns as well as the small railroad struggled to survive, let alone thrive and grow. Quastler spells out the details of daily existence for both town and railroad in such an economically depressing scene in an unrelenting manner. One marvels in the end that the railroad survived as long as it did. The reader is left with the feeling that this is a classic example of the stubborn persistence of the early pioneering folk in the early days of Kansas.

Of special note in this book is the attention to the saga of Leavenworth throughout the Kansas Central's existence. Leavenworth's tenacity in overcoming obstacles in the path of the Kansas Central was striking, and its large ego more than compensated for its mediocre location as a rail terminus with limited potential for traffic interchange. The fact that Leavenworth was a small market with limited potential for growth impinged upon its stature but not in the minds of its citizens. And so they persisted in their efforts to best Kansas City.

The pluses of this book are its extensive end notes, good bibliography, and index. Quastler also includes numerous photographs (hard to come by where the Kansas Central is concerned) and nice extras such as timetables, operational data for the 1880s, an equipment roster, a map of the route, and a locomotive roster. A big minus for this reviewer was the author's failure to relate his subject matter to the activity of the developing Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad during the same period. But to give credit where credit is due, the involvement of the Union Pacific with the Kansas Central is clearly spelled out. All in all, this is a good evening's read.

Reviewed by Connie Menninger, *volunteer, Kansas State Historical Society.*

Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry

by Richard W. Etulain

xiii + 174 pages, photographs, notes, index. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999, paper $17.95.

In this brief volume, Richard Etulain examines western literature, film, and historiography. Eschewing theory, he tells a straightforward story about the fascinating world that the mythmakers have made. His book, which represents a volume in the *Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture* series, provides a practical guide to the seemingly never-ending stories about the mythological frontier after the Civil War. Tactfully, Etulain organizes his story about stories under the rubric of four distinct storytelling categories: creation, untold, traditional, and new.

For Etulain, Buffalo Bill Cody more than any other figure "is responsible for what has become known as the myth of the American West" (p. 2). Competition was Cody's primary focus in the popular Wild West shows, a theme repeated in the widely circulated pulp fiction of the dime novelists and in the celebrated essay of historian Frederick Jackson Turner. However, the purveyors of creation myths on a national scale seldom included women and minorities among the fittest to survive.

In another chapter, Etulain explores the stories of Mary Hallock Foote, Martha Canary (Calamity Jane), and Christine Quintasket (Mourning Dove). Because he focuses upon published words, he observes that Stephen Barret's edition of *Geronimo's Story* (1906) furnishes an ethnographic account of the captive's world from the inside out. However, a more appropriate exemplar of that world might be found in the autobiography of Sitting Bull, which remains encoded in pictographic accounts recorded in the 1880s after his surrender to the U.S. Army. Unfortunately, Etulain does not consider such captivating stories, which exist outside the text of a published narrative. Moreover, his brief treatment of the subaltern fails to explain how and why their stories were "untold." It seems to me that their stories were told, and, in the case of Canary, in many different ways.

Etulain cites Owen Wister's *Virginian* (1902) as a nostalgic rendering of a traditional story that drew upon earlier frontier narratives and developed familiar landscapes. In fact, western films followed paths of storytelling remarkably similar to the ones novelists traveled earlier in the twentieth century. Etulain skillfully dissects the classic film *Stagecoach* (1939) and its artistic use of a familiar cast of outlaws and prostitutes along the trail. However, he incorrectly claims that director John Ford and actor John Wayne also were responsible for *The Alamo* (1960), which actually was a product of Wayne's own ill-conceived direction.

In his longest and most complete chapter, Etulain insists that the work of regionalists devised a counter-narrative to the frontier myth. Unlike Louis L'Amour and the authors of frontier romance, Wallace Stegner in the *Angle of Repose* (1971) was interested in tracing continuities and changes over time within the West. Etulain praises Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977), which makes "story" both restorative and a way of healing. He finds that Silko's experimental design represents a clear break from the simple tales of the past. Likewise, the historiographic emergence of anti-Turnerian scholars such as Patricia Nelson Limerick complemented the trends of revisionism. Finally, Larry McMurtry epitomizes those authors "who re-imagine the West as a complex, unromantic region rife with flawed characters, uncertain values, and dangerous myths" (p. 138). In fact, Etulain asserts that McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove* (1985) may be the model for a new gray story of the American West.

Western stories constituted not only tales of adventure and courage but also disasters and disappointments. Ranging from simple to complex, the permutations of characters and plot lines make the western film a difficult genre to examine in only 152 pages of text. Nonetheless, this book deserves to be read by audiences seeking an accessible introduction to a complicated subject.

However, it is unfortunate that Etulain did not mine the rich resources of quintessential western songwriters from Sitting Bull to Garth Brooks, who have sustained fresh but familiar stories through an oral tradition. It is also unfortunate that Walter Van Tilburg Clark's *The Oxbow Incident* (1940) rated only a passing reference by Etulain, even though contemporary critics of it did not know what to make of the puzzling story. He casts Louis L'Amour's fiction in the lot with traditional stories, despite complex characters such as Hondo Lane, who not only was part Indian but also expressed a sensitive appreciation for Apache culture. While convinced that failure and defeat must be significant themes of new histories, he mistakes the controversies stirred by anti-Turnerian historians for historiographical innovation. Historians would do well to remember how Tayo, the questing Pueblo of Silko's remarkable novel, learned that all stories fit together—the old stories and the new stories—and that a greater story is still being told.

Reviewed by Brad D. Lookingbill, *assistant professor of history, Columbia College, Missouri.*

From the Old Northwest to the Pacific Northwest: The 1853 Oregon Trail Diaries of Patterson Fletcher Luark and Michael Fleenen Luark

edited by Howard Jablon and Kenneth R. Elkins

xv + 215 pages, maps, photographs, notes, appendix, bibliography, index.
Independence, Mo.: Oregon–California Trails Association, 1999, paper $14.95.

The publication of the 1853 overland diaries of brothers Patterson and Michael Luark is volume three of the *Emigrant Trails Historical Studies* series published by the Oregon–California Trails Association (OCTA). According to the editors, the "Luarks parallel diaries are one of only two such sets by brothers known to exist" (p. 2), the other being Philip and Sylvanus Condit who emigrated in 1854. The two brothers are somewhat unusual in that they kept diaries before and long after their westward journey, although only entries related to their trip along the Oregon Trail are included here.

Patterson, his wife Mary, and their four children left Illinois during March 1853 and headed for Oregon Territory. Upon their departure he wrote: "this morning we rolled wheels for the land of promise" (p. 38). Michael, Patterson's younger brother, accompanied them, having left his family with his father-in-law. Michael had tuberculosis. In 1850 he attempted to join others headed to California in search of gold, but only reached the Missouri River before illness forced him to return to his home in Indiana. Three years later he was hoping to find a healthier climate in Oregon. Even though he was not exhibiting any signs of tuberculosis in 1853, he took some precautions, fearing he may not survive the trip. Before leaving he contracted with John M. Pherson, who agreed to travel to Oregon the following year with his and Michael's families if Michael settled there.

The brothers' diaries document the five-month trip that ended with them in Washington Territory, not Oregon. The diary entries are presented in a "parallel format," with Patterson's first. Michael's entries are usually longer and more descriptive. The brothers always recorded the mileage traveled daily, the weather, and the crossing of the many waterways, as well as their encounters with Native Americans. They also chronicled the cholera and mountain fever they witnessed along the way. Michael often was sick, although he never belabored the point or complained about his condition. The two most dramatic moments on the trip were when Patterson's fourteen-year-old son Marcellus attempted to return to the Midwest, and when a Mr. Gregory in another party pistol-whipped a German teamster then traveling with the Luarks. Marcellus rejoined his family within two weeks. However, the German teamster died several days after being attacked. Several members of the party wanted to hang Gregory. The Luarks "chose to dissent and recommended a more moderate course" (p. 111). Nothing resulted from this attempt at frontier justice.

The diary entries end in early September with the brothers headed to Portland. The editors briefly describe their lives in the West. Patterson took a Donation Land Claim in Washington and farmed as he did in Illinois. He and his family moved several times and ended up in California. He was active in church and political affairs. He died in 1901 at the age of eighty-six. Michael also took a Donation Land Claim, but he also worked in the Washington logging industry. His family and John Pherson did not join him. In 1855 Michael traveled to California where he boarded a ship that took him to Nicaragua. A month later he passed through New York on his way to Indiana to rejoin his family. After several years farming in Iowa, Michael prospected for gold at Pikes Peak in 1860. The following year he took his family to Washington where he farmed and operated a mill. Michael also died in 1901, at the age of eighty-two.

The book is a worthy addition to the literature documenting westward migration. The editors present the entries as they were written, with the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization intact. The footnotes provide much valuable information and allow the reader to follow the Luarks' exact route. The maps are excellent. OCTA certainly should be commended for publishing these primary sources and bringing them to a wider audience.

Reviewed by Rick Ewig, *associate director, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.*

Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri

by Robert Kelly Schneiders

xiv + 314 pages, tables, figures, references cited, indexes. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Inc., 1999, paper $19.95.

A well-established formula for sociopolitical and historical analysis is careful attention to a people's struggle with implacable Nature. The assumption is that a people's efforts to adapt to or increasingly transcend the limits of climate, topography, soil fertility, or scarce natural resources constitutes the bulk of their history. Judging from Robert Kelly Schneiders's *Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri River*, the formula continues to bear fruit. In Schneiders's study, the struggle is with flowing water, with the Missouri River's unique ability to invite yet consistently undo control by humans.

Unlike other studies of the lower river valley, Schneiders's account emphasizes change across two hundred years of human (mainly European American) interaction. If the goal is as Schneiders presents it—a more complete knowledge of how and why "the Missouri changed from a broad, meandering river to a partially regulated stream consisting of dams, reservoirs, and thousands of channelization structures"—then analysis cannot restrict itself to a few decades or even the twentieth century.

Schneiders covers these two centuries thoroughly and meticulously. His analysis builds from a wide array of both original and secondary sources. Schneiders's reconstruction of the virginal Missouri River in chapter three ("The Missouri River Yesterday") is particularly important. Following his description of "The Modern Missouri" in chapter two, Schneiders's reconstruction vividly highlights the kinds of changes wrought and justifies his call for an environmental, not just a social, economic, or political, history.

According to Schneiders, the modern Missouri is the product of three closely intertwined factors: human self-interest, changing perceptions of the Missouri River, and the river itself. Human self-interest is the one constant throughout Schneiders's history, the river in effect little more than an ever present foundation for residents' various schemes for economic gain. Historically significant plans for gain reflect in turn evolving and not always compatible perceptions of the river. Schneiders's chapters trace residents' perceptions of the river as a provider of valuable commodities and services (food, wood, and transportation), vital artery for steamboat and barge traffic, threat (because of floods) to farms and cities, resource for irrigation, and generator of electricity. Human perceptions and endeavors, however, are but one half of an environmental history. To Schneiders's credit he emphasizes the Missouri River's role in its own development. Broken levees, abandoned channels, repeatedly inundated towns, and stranded boats attest to the river's unruliness; they prove what is for Schneiders the most important finding of his study—the shortsightedness and folly of human arrogance.

Another finding concerns the politics of water, a prominent and lively issue among a growing number of scholars. For many of these scholars, two critical questions stand out: Just what kind of politics is required to develop water on a large scale? Just what kind of politics is produced? Schneiders disagrees with those who find the politics of water inevitably closed, elitist, arbitrary, and/or bureaucratic. Along the Missouri, he claims, water politics have long been and remain open, grassroots, and democratic. Schneiders's argument is less convincing than his history. He does not take fully into account the substantive and symbolic characteristics of distributive policies. These policies, distinguished by triangular relationships between special interests such as the Kansas City Commercial Club, programmatic agencies such as the Army Corps of Engineers, and key members and committees of Congress, are well known for their self-serving and nonmajoritarian outcomes. One cannot safely assume that distributive relationships such as these automatically or even accurately "reflected the wishes and political power of lower valley residents."

Reviewed by Thomas Clay Arnold, *associate professor of political science, Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas.*

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

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Film Series

Kansas State Historical Society

In the early 1920s the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) debuted a presentation of glass lantern slides entitled "Travelogue of the Santa Fe Route." The slides illustrated the great wonders of the American Southwest that could be viewed by passengers as they traveled the Santa Fe route. The success of this production eventually led to the creation of the Santa Fe Film Bureau. The bureau oversaw the production and distribution of promotional films that encouraged tourist travel and commercial development of the American Southwest.

The films that were distributed by the Santa Fe Film Bureau compose the film series of the AT&SF Railway Archives, which is now in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society. The film series contains more than one hundred individual titles. Some examples include: *Southwest Indian Dances*, *Along the Santa Fe Trail*, *Super Chief*, *El Navajo*, *Navajo Sandpainters*, *Fresh for Your Health*, and *Assembling a Freight Train*. Subjects addressed include tourism, railroad freight service, and railroad safety issues. During the film bureau's existence all films were provided to groups and individuals at no charge from one of six bureau locations. From the 1940s through the early 1970s film bureaus were located in Chicago, Amarillo, Galveston, Topeka, Oklahoma City, Los Angeles, and Dallas.

Two of the more interesting titles in the series are *Loaded For War* and *Super Chief*. Both of these films were released during the 1940s but for sharply contrasting reasons. *Loaded for War* was released in 1945 as World War II was coming to a close. The wars in the European and Asian theaters had changed in favor of the Allies, and victory was within sight. For more than four years, the railroads of the United States had met or surpassed the expectations placed on the industry by the global conflict. However, as the war shifted in favor of the Allies, rumors of war profiteering were being cast at this nation's railroads. Santa Fe produced this twenty-three-minute film to illustrate all of the work being accomplished by the railway "at very little profit" for the nation. Soldiers and armaments were transported on the system on a priority schedule at reduced freight rates, bumping paying passenger and freight customers. Old steam locomotives were kept in service long after retirement, and other units were brought off the scrap heaps to be refurbished and refitted for war-time service. This practice was not profitable but was necessary because new locomotives were not being manufactured in sufficient numbers to meet demands. Even with all the additional demands placed on the railroad industry, time schedules were maintained, and the railroad to victory was fueled by Santa Fe and her competitors.

The *Super Chief* film was released in 1948 after the conflicts in Europe and Asia had ended. The soldiers had returned home, and the nation was looking for ways to have fun. This twelve-minute short film fits right into the happy atmosphere of the late 1940s following the war. What could be more enjoyable than traveling onboard a hotel on wheels? It provided all the perks of a four-star hotel, which included private dressing and sleeping compartments, luxurious dining facilities, and the backdrop of the American Southwest right outside the window. In just thirty-nine hours one could travel from Chicago to Los Angeles. Upon arrival the traveler disembarked, refreshed from fine dining, comfortable sleeping arrangements, and good company. No hassles with highway traffic or crowded airline passenger service—travel onboard the *Super Chief* was the height of luxury, comfort, safety, and it was fun.

Thirty-four titles from the AT&SF film series have been transferred from 16mm motion picture format to VHS videotape. Just as when the Santa Fe Film Bureaus were open, these films can be borrowed at no change through the Kansas State Historical Society's interlibrary loan program. The tapes also are lent directly to groups and individuals at ten dollars per tape. For more information on this collection of films visit the Society's web site at http://www.kshs.org/photos/atsf.htm. The reference staff will be glad to answer any questions you have about these or any other archival files. Please call 785-272-8681, ext. 116 or 117, or e-mail reference@kshs.org. The Society's research room is open to the public Monday through Saturday from 9:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

Reviewed by Darrell Garwood, *preservation officer, Kansas State Historical Society.*

BOOK NOTES

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Volume 12. Herbarium of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. xiv + 359 pages, cloth, $75.00.)

In this oversized, twelfth and final volume (a comprehensive index will round out the project) of this monumental series, students of the Corps of Discovery are treated to 239 illustrations of plant specimens collected by Meriwether Lewis, the expedition's most skilled botanist. Also included is a useful introduction, a "Calendar of Botanical Specimens" that provides much pertinent information on each, and six appendixes; included among the latter are a "Table of the Herbarium . . . Sorted by Date Collected," and a "Table of Lewis's Plants in Pursh's *Flora Americae Septentrionalis.*"

Public History: Essays from the Field. Edited by James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia. (Melbourne, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Co., 1999. xv + 422 pages, cloth, $48.50, paper, $39.50.)

The work of public historians has elicited considerably more attention and professional scrutiny during the past decade or so than at any previous time. This collection of essays builds upon a rapidly expanding body of literature and should be of interest especially to those *Kansas History* readers who are full or part-time practitioners. *Public History* contains twenty-five essays by a diverse group of professionals, including Constance B. Schultz, "Becoming a Public Historian"; Jennelle Warren-Findley, "Contract Historians and Consultants"; Mark Howell, "Interpreters and Museum Educators"; George W. McDaniel, "At Historic Houses and Buildings"; and Charles F. Bryan Jr., "In State Historical Agencies, Museums, and Societies."

George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843–1920. By Mary Jane Warde. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. xvii + 334 pages, cloth, $25.95.)

Although this volume contains relatively little "Kansas material," Creeks were longtime neighbors, not far across the border in Indian Territory (present Oklahoma), and readers of *Kansas History* should be aware of this "first extended study of Creek history since Angie Debo's 1941 classic *The Road to Disappearance.*" George Washington Grayson lived a full and fascinating life as "a frontier merchant, livestock dealer, rancher, town builder, amateur linguist and newspaper publisher," but according to the author, an Indian historian at the Oklahoma Historical Society, his life also "offers opportunities to explore several areas of current research in addition to Grayson's brand of Creek nationalism."

Covered Wagon Women: Diaries & Letters from the Western Trails, 1864–1868. Edited and compiled by Kenneth L. Holmes. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. xi + 258 pages, paper, $13.00.)

First published in 1983 by Arthur H. Clark, *Covered Wagon Women* contains the diaries of seven women who, writes Sherry L. Smith in the introduction to this Bison Books edition, "took part in perhaps the most quintessential American experience: migration." The individuals represented here made their treks from Iowa to Oregon, along the Oregon and Mormon Trails and to the Idaho mines, from Liverpool to Utah, and from Texas to California and visa versa; their writings—and a host of other still recently published women's diaries—continue to enrich our understanding of the female perspective of the overland journey, an American story about which we never seem to tire.

The Exploits of Ben Arnold: Indian Fighter, Gold Miner, Cowboy, Hunter, & Army Scout. By Lewis F. Crawford. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. 324 pages, cloth, $22.95.)

The Exploits of Ben Arnold, volume 64 in Oklahoma's Western Frontier Library, was first published in 1926 as *Rekindling Camp Fires* and "is the lively autobiography of Ben Arnold, a member of that colorful class of northern plains roustabouts." Arnold's Kansas experience was brief but memorable and is described in chapter 1, "Morgan and Quantrill." As Arnold told it, he moved west in 1863 with Company E, Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, and participated in the futile pursuit of Quantrill after the August 21 raid on Lawrence; exhausted Union troops tried but failed to significantly engage the Confederate guerrillas and were ordered to break off pursuit: "On the western horizon a column of smoke still ascended over the ruins of Lawrence, while back in Missouri Quantrill's band rested safe and almost unpunished. Such is war."

Spans in Time: A History of Nebraska Bridges. Edited by James E. Potter and L. Robert Puschendorf. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society and the Nebraska Department of Roads, 1999. v + 106 pages, paper $21.95.)

"Generally the most sophisticated components of any overland transportation system, . . . bridges are also the most prominent, serving not only as gauges of technological advancement in design and construction, but as singular indicators of the tenets, values, and ambitions of the people who built them." Thus, it stands to reason that their documentation is an important undertaking, and this nicely illustrated volume, which should serve as a model for other states including Kansas, offers a substantial history and rather extensive if "selective" inventory of historic Nebraska bridges. The history essay contains many fine photographs of bridge construction and use, and the inventory provides the location, type, and dates of construction, plus some brief narrative for many of the individual bridges.

The Mountains We Have Crossed; Diaries and Letters of the Oregon Mission, 1838. Edited by Clifford Merrill Drury. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 336 pages, paper $15.00.)

This volume, published first by Arthur H. Clark in 1966, contains the letters and diaries of Sarah and Asa Smith, William Henry Gray, Elkanah Walker, Cornelius Roger, and Marcus Whitman, all missionaries to Nez Perce and Spokane Indians in the late 1830s. Of additional interest are Cushing Eell's "Overland Travel Experiences of 1838" and Bonnie Sue Lewis's introduction to this Bison Books edition. Professor Lewis finds this material of value in part because of what it tells us about "the complicated relationships among the Native Americans and the missionaries."

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