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Section 336, Pages 10051 - 10080

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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

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

"Hold the Line": The Defense of Jim Crow in Lawrence, Kansas, 1945–1961

by Brent M. S. Campney

It is time that racial discrimination was ended," opined an editorial writer for the *University Daily Kansan* in 1952. "It is time we ended it here at the University of Kansas." Not everyone, of course, shared this view. Edwin F. Abels, the conservative editor of the *Lawrence Outlook*, was among the most vocal and intransigent critics of the civil rights movement, believing that "our 'Do-Gooders' . . . are suffering from 'a rampage of sentimentality.'" A former state legislator prominent in local, state, and national affairs, Abels was a perennial critic of efforts to foist social change upon a resistant population. "They want to correct all the wrongs of the world . . . by a simple method, such as passing a law," he complained in 1948. Prejudice, he believed, could only be eroded gradually, "like the weathering of a block of granite where the change made through a century is almost imperceptible." He was also skeptical about the gravity of racism locally, reminding his audience in 1960 that black professionals had in the recent past called Lawrence home. Their current absence, he suggested, revealed more about black sloth than white prejudice. "Progress depends on the individual and his qualifications," he maintained. "There is [now] no Negro lawyer in Lawrence and no amount of social legislation will bring one. There is no law, prejudice or anything else preventing a Negro from becoming a lawyer." In a later meditation he added that Lawrence did not have a black doctor either. Yet, he noted, "Both the law school and . . . the school of medicine are, and have been, open to all who care to enter."[1]

Brent M. S. Campney *is assistant professor of history at the University of Texas-Pan American. He is currently preparing a manuscript on white supremacy and racist violence in Kansas between 1854 and 1920.*

1. *University Daily Kansan* (University of Kansas, Lawrence), May 13, 1952; *Lawrence Outlook*, November 1, 1956; March 25, 1948; April 22, 1948; July 21, 1960; and January 12, 1961. On Edwin Abels, see *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, April 22, 1985; Rusty L. Monhollon, *"This is America?": The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 30–32.

Abels reflected the views of white racial conservatives living in Lawrence and/or working at the University of Kansas (KU) in the years immediately following World War II. Repeatedly, they found themselves at loggerheads with civil rights activists who were conducting a spirited campaign to dismantle discrimination. Nonetheless, they undertook a vigorous defense of the status quo and enjoyed remarkable success in their efforts to "hold the line," even though they were compelled to retreat on some issues. In addition to Abels, prominent conservatives included members of the "business oligarchy," who not only owned the restaurants, theaters, and services targeted by civil rights activists, but exercised as well considerable political influence "since they control . . . all the city offices." Less prominent conservatives—residents and students alike—articulated their views through their actions or through letters to the various local newspapers and to KU administrators.[2]

Historians have chronicled voluminously the civil rights movement that emerged after World War II and ultimately and profoundly transformed American society. Some have explored this movement within Kansas. Gretchen Cassel Eick, for instance, found that black activists led a vigorous assault against discrimination in Wichita from the 1950s through the 1970s. Both Kristine M. McCusker and Rusty L. Monhollon focused their studies on Lawrence. The former charted the growth of the civil rights movement from the start of World War II through the early 1960s; the latter examined the struggle for and against black equality during the 1960s.[3] This study fills a remaining gap by examining the white resistance that developed against the movement in Lawrence between 1945 and 1961. Drawing on newspaper accounts and on the papers of university officials and of citizen and student activists, it identifies the conservatives who led this resistance, the arguments and tactics that they employed in pursuit of their objectives, and the consistency with which they pursued their cause throughout this relatively narrow window of time.[4]

After the Civil War, white Kansans created a "free-state" narrative that cast their state—and themselves—as staunchly committed to racial equality. Ignoring the fact that many territorial Kansas settlers opposed slavery to ensure an all-white state, they reframed the antislavery struggle as a romantic campaign for human liberty. Those in Lawrence, the territorial hotbed of abolitionism, subscribed to this narrative with particular fervor. "The 'free-state' narrative is an identity that the town always has embraced," concluded Monhollon. "The narrative exerted a powerful influence on the town that to its nineteenth- and twentieth-century residents exemplified the triumph of good over evil, freedom over slavery, justice over inequity, and virtue over materialism."[5]

Notwithstanding this narrative, many white Lawrencians never adhered to those high principles. In the aftermath of the Civil War, they imposed practices aimed at keeping blacks at the bottom of the social order. To enforce their dominance, they sometimes resorted

2. Beth Bell to George [Houser] et al., August 13, 1947; Beth Bell to George Houser, July 28, 1947; Beth Bell to George Houser, September 21, 1947, Series 3, Executive Secretary's File, file 55, the Papers of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 1941–1967, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library; available on microfilm at Watson Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Reel 13 (hereafter cited as "CORE Papers").

3. Gretchen Cassel Eick, *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954–1972* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Monhollon, *"This is America?"*; Rusty L. Monhollon, "Taking the Plunge: Race, Rights, and the Politics of Desegregation in Lawrence, Kansas, 1960," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 20 (Autumn 1997): 138–59; Bill Moyers, *Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovers His Country* (New York: A Harper's Magazine Press Book, 1971), 83–122; Kristine M. McCusker, "'The Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: Wartime Protests at the University of Kansas, 1939–1945," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (Spring 1994): 26–37; McCusker, "'The Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: The University of Kansas, 1939–1961" (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1993). On the civil rights movement generally, see, for example, Terry Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest and America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in America, 1945–1982* (New York: Macmillan, 1984); Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008).

4. Brent Stevenson Campney, "White Resistance in the Time of the Liberal Consensus: Lawrence, Kansas, 1945–1960" (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 2001); Amber Reagan-Kendrick, "Ninety Years of Struggle and Success: African American History at the University of Kansas, 1870–1960," (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2004). On racial conservatism, see Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Melvin J. Thorne, *American Conservative Thought Since World War II: The Core Ideas* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

5. Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 11; see also Rusty Monhollon and Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, "From Brown to *Brown*: A Century of Struggle for Equality in Kansas," in *Territorial Kansas Reader*, ed. Virgil W. Dean (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005), 353–71; Robert Smith Bader, *Hayseeds, Moralizers, and Methodists: The Twentieth-Century Image of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 29–30; Michael Lewis Goldberg, *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 9–17; Brent M. S. Campney, "'This is Not Dixie': The Imagined South, the Kansas Free State Narrative, and the Rhetoric of Racist Violence," *Southern Spaces: An Interdisciplinary Journal about the Regions, Places, and Cultures of the American South*, September 6, 2007, http://southernspaces.org/contents/2007/campney/1a.htm; Brent M. S. Campney, "W. B. Townsend and the Struggle against Racist Violence in Leavenworth," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 31 (Winter 2008–2009): 260–73.

Edwin F. Abels, the conservative editor of the Lawrence Outlook *and representative to the state legislature from 1937 until 1948, was among the most vocal and intransigent critics of the civil rights movement. Abels was a perennial critic of efforts to foist social change upon a resistant population, and he used his newspaper to voice his opinion that prejudice could only be eroded gradually, "like the weathering of a block of granite where the change made through a century is almost imperceptible."*

to violence. Just months after the war ended, a mob invaded the home of one of the town's black residents and, while one intruder held a cocked pistol to the owner's temple, the others plundered and demolished his home.[6] Whites grew more aggressive after the Exoduster movement, which brought thousands of southern blacks to Kansas in 1879 and swelled the black population of Lawrence from about 17 percent of the total in 1870 to approximately 23 percent by the next census. Responding to this influx, whites threatened to lynch black prisoners in four separate incidents between 1879 and 1883. "The death penalty . . . or lynch law, are believed to be the only terrors that will prevent the continual recurrence of such bloody affairs," a newspaper concluded after "a young colored man" killed a white man during a dispute near town in November 1879. When officials arrested an alleged rapist in 1880, the *Kansas Daily Tribune* claimed to oppose mob violence in principle but clearly coveted a lynching, which might "forever relieve the land of one hell hound, and lend a hint to others that would be heeded."[7]

In 1882 whites put this theory into practice when a mob secured three black prisoners accused of murder. "They were marched to the bridge, and on the middle pier a halt was made. Prayers were short then," reported the *Lawrence Daily Journal*. "Pete Vinegar, George Robertson and Isaac King were each swung over the bridge and their bodies left dangling over the muddy Kaw." With this spectacular exhibition, whites struck terror into blacks, a large number of whom stayed away from a protest meeting called by black leaders in response to the lynchings. "Many a man who wanted to attend did not dare to," reported the *Lawrence Daily Journal*; "all sorts of rumors were afloat." Purveyors of the free-state narrative faced great difficulty in reconciling this event. "Lawrence stands for Kansas, and the best in Kansas," worried former-abolitionist and early settler, the Reverend Richard Cordley. "This deed will go abroad to our shame."[8] Evidently, most whites disagreed. "The lynching of the last summer has only served to keep up a spirit of mob law in our midst," lamented the *Lawrence Daily Journal* after crowds threatened to lynch yet another prisoner in 1883. "Whenever a crime is committed of any magnitude [by a black man] the cry among a certain class of men is 'Hang him!'" In that case, a businessman provided a glimpse of white attitudes. Black criminality had "caused a general feeling of indignation to prevail against the whole class. . . . Some day a regular war will follow some outrage committed by them."[9]

Building on this legacy, whites introduced increasingly rigid, if largely de facto, Jim Crow practices that excluded or segregated blacks in restaurants, theaters, schools,

6. (Lawrence) *Kansas Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1865. The victim of this "dastardly outrage" was "a poor colored man named Geo. McGee, living in Winthrop street."

7. *Lawrence Standard*, November 20, 1879; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, quoted in *Lawrence Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, August 25, 1880, evening edition. See also *Spirit of* (Lawrence) *Kansas*, November 19, 1879; *Lawrence Standard*, November 27, 1879; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, November 18, 19, and 20, 1879; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 24 and 26, 1880; Brent M. S. Campney, "'Light is Bursting upon the World': White Supremacy and Racist Violence against Blacks in Reconstruction Kansas," *Western Historical Quarterly*, forthcoming (expected: vol. 41, Summer 2010).

8. *Lawrence Daily Journal and Daily Kansas Tribune*, June 10 and 13, 1882; Cordley to the editor, *Lawrence Daily Journal*, as printed in the *Daily Kansas Tribune*, June 15, 1882.

9. *Kansas City Times*, reprinted in *Western Recorder* (Lawrence), August 10, 1883; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 7, 1883.

After the Civil War, white Kansans created a free-state narrative that cast their state—and themselves—as staunchly committed to racial equality. Those in Lawrence, the territorial hotbed of abolitionism, subscribed to this narrative with particular fervor, fusing it with the story of the 1863 sacking of their town by William Clarke Quantrill. Survivors of the raid, photographed here at an April 1925 reunion outside Strong Hall at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, met to remember the deep legacy of the event sixty-two years after its occurrence.

housing, and employment. "Isn't it a burning shame?," asked the *Historic Times*, the city's black paper, in a report on the expansion of these practices in the 1890s. "Right here in the city of Lawrence, 'the Athens of the West,' 'neath the eaves of the great State University, and mid churches that preach 'out of one blood God created all nations,'" white men were permitted to "defile the good name of the fairest city in the West." Over subsequent decades, whites consolidated Jim Crow. A longtime resident later remembered that "a lot of the discrimination around here seems to have cropped up" in the years from "the early 1900s until about World War II."[10] Although they did not invoke lynch law after 1882, whites continued to threaten it. In 1898, for example, Douglas County farmers armed with ropes hunted for two black youths accused of assault. "Had the people in the neighborhood found the wretches they would have made short work of them," reported the *Lawrence Daily World*. When officers finally captured the accused, they prepared for a siege. "There was strong talk of lynching . . . but no mob appeared at the jail, although one was expected." Again in 1909 law officers had to be vigilant in the case of Underwood Taylor, accused of "an attempted assault on a five year old [white] girl. . . . Excitement in Baldwin last evening reached fever heat over the crime," reported the *Lawrence Daily Journal*, and "it was found necessary to hurry him [to the county jail in Lawrence] as soon as possible. The child's father declared that he

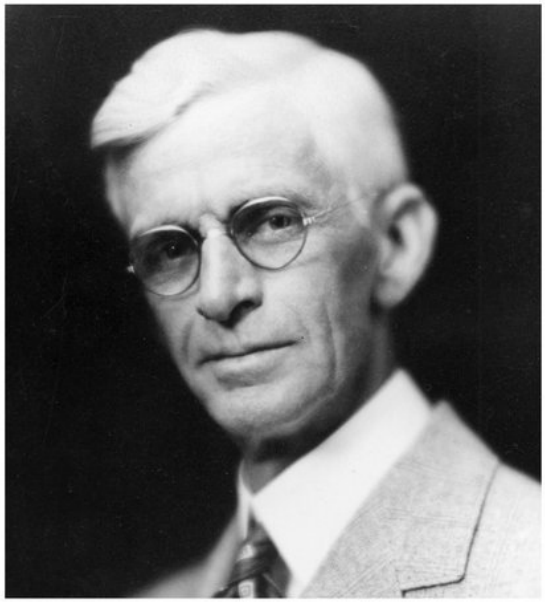
10. *Historic Times* (Lawrence), September 26, 1891; *University Daily Kansan*, February 25, 1993; Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1974), 209–10, 626–27; William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Separate but Not Equal: African Americans and the 100-year Struggle for Equality in Lawrence and at the University of Kansas, 1850s–1960," in *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, eds. Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins (Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001), 139–51; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 21–71; Campney "White Resistance," 3–17; Reagan-Kendrick, "Ninety Years of Struggle," 24–84.

would kill Taylor and other men in Baldwin were ready to serve him justice from the hands of fathers instead of waiting for it to be meted out by the law."[11]

As these incidents suggest, the police had begun to act proactively and successfully to suppress mob violence by the turn of the century. To some degree, however, they and their supporters in the justice system may also have assumed the role of the mob as the enforcers of white supremacy. In 1913, for instance, an officer engaged in a shootout with two blacks who were attempting to catch a free ride on a passenger train. One of the blacks—Jack Walker—was killed; the other—Walter Peterson—was apprehended with minor gunshot wounds. The latter had recently received an acquittal for killing a white man, a verdict that was evidently unpopular among whites. Consequently, officials labored to ensure that Peterson would not avoid the consequences of his alleged criminality a second time. Although it seemed likely that the officer had shot Walker, the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* reported that "there is a strong suspicion . . . that Walker was [accidentally] killed by Peterson." When physical evidence did not support this claim, authorities contemplated new charges that, in their absurdity, indicated their obsession with ensuring the prisoner's conviction. "It is quite probable that Walter Peterson . . . will face prosecution by the United States government," reported the *Journal-World*. "The train which the negroes attempted to board was carrying government mails. As a result of the clash with the train crew the mail was delayed." In a December 17 editorial, the paper left little doubt that whites harbored a grudge against Peterson, recognized the officer's role in the killing of Walker, and strongly supported the message of vengeance expressed by the shooting and by the response to it. "Juries do not always do the public a service when they strain at an effort to acquit," it declared. "A policeman is said to have fired the shot [which killed the black man]. If he did it was in the line of his duty. A policeman who will not shoot is not worth much to the public."[12]

11. *Lawrence Daily World*, August 23, 1898; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 23, 1898; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, May 6, 1909. The 1909 *Journal* report suggests that the whites in Baldwin used questionable assault charges against Taylor in an effort to deter black migration prompted by new employment opportunities there. "Taylor vows that he is innocent of the crime and that he had been merely playing with the child, but the constable says that he is guilty," the newspaper reported. "Taylor is a stranger in Baldwin having come there with a number of men to work at the waterworks plant, which is just being put in there."

12. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, December 15, 16, and 17, 1913; see also *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 11 and 12, November 12, and December 17 and 18, 1913; *Lawrence Daily Gazette*, December 15, 1913; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 11 and 13, and December 15, 1913.



In the late nineteenth century, KU's few black students participated in some interracial activities, including athletics. As racial lines hardened, however, they lost many of these privileges. By the 1920s and 1930s, whites overtly marginalized blacks, refusing to use "tainted" facilities and going out of their way to advertise their disdain. Summarizing the situation in 1928, Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley, pictured here, observed: "the bald social fact is that the Negro is not getting his full rights in the University, nor in Lawrence, nor in Kansas, nor anywhere else in this country, so far as I know."

At KU, administrators and students encouraged the development of overtly racist practices. In the late nineteenth century, the school's few black students participated in some interracial activities, including athletics, and enjoyed an integrated campus restaurant. As racial lines hardened, however, they lost many of these privileges. As a harbinger of things to come, white students in 1902 seized a black cadaver from the dissection laboratory and hanged it on campus. Over the next two decades, whites marginalized blacks, refusing to use "tainted" facilities and going out of their way to advertise their disdain. University of Kansas Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley offered an example of the problem to the editor of the *Crisis*, W. E. B. Du Bois, in December 1930. "Whenever colored girls use the rest rooms considerably," he noted, "the white girls make no protest but simply abandon these rooms to the colored girls." As the number of black students increased, the administrators felt compelled to impose a stricter "color line." In the 1910s and 1920s they segregated the

cafeteria; under the influence of legendary basketball coach Forrest "Phog" Allen they also began to exclude blacks from many sports.[13] "The bald social fact is that the Negro is not getting his full rights in the University, nor in Lawrence, nor in Kansas, nor anywhere else in this country, so far as I know," acknowledged Chancellor Lindley in 1928. In a passage published in 1934 by the liberal university publication, the *Dove*, a student again appealed to the free-state mythology, arguing that "all in all it does not seem that the Negro is getting all that is coming to him in the University of this state which was one of the pioneers in the fight for his liberty."[14]

By World War II, white Lawrencians had established a pernicious modus vivendi with the town's black residents. They allowed blacks to attend largely integrated schools and to shop in most retail stores (although employees monitored them closely and forbade them from trying on clothes), but they enforced segregation or exclusion in movie theaters, restaurants, bars, pools, and bowling alleys, among other places. Local blacks knew where they could and could not go; whites, however, did not shy away from drawing the color line explicitly for newcomers as circumstances warranted.[15] "An event of note occurred in the summer of 1944, and again focused attention on that perennial trouble spot, the Lawrence theaters," observed one student several years later in her report on "The Young Women's Christian Association in the Field of Race Relations at the University of Kansas." "Two Negro girls . . . and their dates one evening attempted to attend the Granada Theatre. They were immediately repulsed in no uncertain terms and with a great deal of unpleasantness." In enforcing these practices, whites freely violated the state's antidiscrimination laws. Reflecting on the nature of Jim Crow in Kansas in 1943, KU Chancellor Deane W. Malott mused that there was "a conflict between the legal rights and the established customs of the people of the state."[16]

On the KU campus at this same time black students continued to endure the stultifying effects of long standing Jim Crow practices. "Blacks then could not participate in intercollegiate athletics (this was true until the early 1950s), were segregated at the cafeteria in the union, [and] were not allowed to take part in activities like the orchestra or glee club," observed Monhollon. Nor could they mingle freely with their white counterparts. In 1945, for instance, Dean Donald M. Swarthout took strong measures to curb interracial sexuality, targeting student McKensie Ferguson, accused of "too close and frequent contacts with certain of the white students." The dean reported that "three young women were called in and warned of a growing amount of talk" because of their association with Ferguson, whose conduct came under closer scrutiny after reports surfaced that he had been seen with female students in his Hoch Auditorium practice room. At least once that fall, Swarthout warned Ferguson that if this happened again, he would be expelled. Within days, a watchman spotted a "colored boy"—alleged to be Ferguson—in another compromising position with "a young colored lady." The following day, a student reported that "Ferguson was in one of the practice rooms with a young woman or women in Frank Strong Hall with a chair braced against the door from the inside." In that case, the beleaguered Ferguson admitted that he had been talking with fellow students but insisted that "the door was well open." Not persuaded, Swarthout demanded that Ferguson withdraw from the university. "This he has already done."[17]

In the fall of 1945, white conservatives confronted the first post-war challenge to the racial status quo when activists protested the police ejection of Corporal Wesley S. Sims, Jr., and his wife, Rosa, from a theater for refusing to sit in the "colored" section. Civil rights activists seized on the case because of its symbolic value. They hoped that this treatment of a decorated veteran who had received a Purple Heart might shame the majority into recognizing

13. Ernest H. Lindley to W. E. B. Du Bois, December 11, 1930, General Correspondence, A–W, 1930, folder "C," Chancellor's Office, Ernest H. Lindley, University Archives, RG 2/9/1, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence (hereafter cited as "Lindley Papers, UA, RG 2/9/1"); *Topeka Plaindealer*, January 31, 1902; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 6, 24, 28, 32–33.

14. "Negro Students Given Bad Break By Administration," *Dove* (University of Kansas, Lawrence), October 24, 1934, in University Archives, RG 69/6/1, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence; Lindley to H. C. Herman, May 11, 1928, folder "G–I," Lindley Papers, UA, RG 2.9.1.

15. Scott Schudy, "A History of Segregation: City no different from others in discrimination," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 14, 2007, http://www2.ljworld.com/news/2007/jan/14/history_segregation/.

16. Deane W. Malott to Governor Andrew Schoeppel, March 19, 1943, General Correspondence, 1941/42–1942–43, folder "Governor 1942/43," Chancellor's Office, Deane W. Malott, University Archives, RG 2.10.3, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence (hereafter cited as "Malott Papers, UA"); Mary Wisner Lees, "The Young Women's Christian Association in the Field of Race Relations at the University of Kansas," [1948], 40, University Archives, D423, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

17. Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 45–46; D. M. Swarthout to Carl F. Haynie, November 12, 1945, General Correspondence, E–J, 1945–46, folder "F," Malott Papers, UA, RG 2/10/1.

the contradiction between the war against fascists abroad and continuing racism against blacks at home. As Sims put it, "Just what was I fighting for?" In this case, conservatives deftly neutralized the threat to Jim Crow by rushing "through a revocation of the city ordinance requiring a city license for theaters." This move, an activist noted, "was obviously to attempt protection for the theaters in case of suit under the Civil Rights statute, since the law states that there shall be no distinction made in 'any place of entertainment or amusement for which a license is required by any of the municipal authorities of this state.'" While they won this round easily, conservatives would soon face more daunting challenges because the Sims case proved to be a catalyst for civil rights activists who worked earnestly, if intermittently, to topple Jim Crow over the next decade and a half.[18]

Most white Lawrencians, like most white northerners generally, adhered to the comfortable and overlapping fictions that "racists" were uneducated "rednecks" who lived in the South and that the South was the only section of the country where white supremacy was an organizing principle. Given their own relative lack of Jim Crow laws, they rarely recognized the brutal racial inequalities in northern society or considered their own role in perpetuating them. A student epitomized this position in a 1958 editorial in which he lambasted the "bigotry" of white students in Arkansas while simultaneously applauding race relations in his own community. "Here at KU we do not [need to] call ourselves integrated," he cheered, because "we are simply free, as we should be." Another student, however, took issue with this rose-colored characterization. "In Arkansas, at least, they can claim a southern tradition of intolerance and tyranny," he wrote. "In Lawrence we have our own version, home-grown and free-lance, just as vicious, and just as stupid."[19]

Whether they chose to admit it or not, most white Lawrencians were "ill-disposed toward racial equality." Had they not been, Jim Crow would quite simply have withered and died. A KU student scolded his fellow citizens on this score in 1956, reminding them that "it isn't the KKK that retards desegregation, but good loyal American citizens like yourself, who are continuously seeking the line of least resistance—the comfortable adjustment to a problem that is by its very nature unadjustable [*sic*]." That same year, another student articulated the popular views of many white residents: "Few people believe in interracial marriage, few believe in dealing with a so-called racially 'inferior' group in business, few believe in socializing with an unacceptable race, few believe in worshipping in the same church and pew with a member of another race."[20]

Governed by prejudice, whites enforced their racist practices despite the fact that the black population was both small numerically and shrinking proportionately. In 1940, only 1,352 blacks resided in town and they accounted for only 9.4 percent of the total population. By 1960, they would increase in numbers by 305 but decline to only 5.0 percent of the total due to the disproportionate growth in the white population. At the university, black students remained small in absolute numbers and never reflected their proportion of the population generally. Even though "KU's enrollment, like that of most state universities, shattered record after record" after the war, black students would still only number around two hundred annually. During the 1948–1949 and 1949–1950 school years respectively, when the GI bill was encouraging education for returning veterans, black students accounted for only 221 and 201 of the 7,209 and 8,758 students, or 3.1 and 2.3 percent.[21]

Throughout the brief period under investigation, conservatives repeatedly employed a limited number of politically palatable arguments to justify the status quo. Only in rare cases, however, did they resort publicly to those based on the crudest sort of racism. When a writer for the *University Daily Kansan* condemned what he viewed as the immorality of Jim Crow in 1956, Abels wrote him a letter, portions of which were soon published,

18. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 1, 1945; Beth Bell, "Recent Activities of K.U. CORE," [July 1947], CORE Papers. For more on this incident see Lees, "The YWCA in the Field of Race Relations," 43–44; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 27, 1945; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 72–73.

19. *University Daily Kansan*, September 22 and 26, 1958.

20. *University Daily Kansan*, February 7 and January 12, 1956; Bell to Houser, September 21, 1947, CORE Papers.

21. Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland: Politics, Culture, and the Sexual Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 83; *Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II: Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 144; *Census of Population: 1950, Volume II: Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), 16–55; *Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1961), 18–59. Archivist Letha Johnson at the University of Kansas indicated that the university does not have firm records for black students for most of these years. However, she did provide those available for 1948–1949 and 1949–1950 in correspondence with the author, January 2 and January 13, 2009.

A crowd gathers at the Granada Theater in September 1936 to take in a matinee. By World War II, the town's white residents enforced segregation in movie theaters, restaurants, pools, and bowling alleys, among other places, making such venues in Lawrence racial trouble spots. Local blacks knew where they could and could not go; whites, however, did not shy away from drawing the color line explicitly for newcomers as circumstances warranted. At the Granada in the summer of 1944, for example, two black couples were barred from seeing a film and sent away "with a great deal of unpleasantness."

expressing his view that white supremacy was ordained by the highest of powers. "What do you mean?" he asked, arguing that "God made both races—was he immoral?"[22] Increasingly, however, local conservative leaders were becoming much more circumspect about expressing such views in public forums. They seemed to understand the serious concerns articulated by national leaders over, first, the incongruity between the country's opposition to fascism and communism abroad and its tolerance of white supremacy at home and, second, the potential impact of blatant racism on American claims to leadership among the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Undoubtedly, whites continued to employ flagrantly racist rhetoric in their daily lives. In 1947 a businessman, railing against civil rights activists, reportedly blurted out his concern "that 'the next thing you know the niggers will be taking out the white girls.'" In fact, as late as 1970, a gas station attendant freely used this sort of language in a discussion with a visitor to the city. "Hell, I don't even know what a racist is," he told him nonchalantly. "I do a lot of business with niggers."[23]

In most cases, conservatives dressed their opposition to black equality in more respectable garb. Conditioned by the free-state narrative, many flatly rejected any assertion that black Kansans endured hardships, claiming, as an integrationist minister summarized, that

22. *University Daily Kansan*, March 6, 1956.

23. Quoted in Moyers, *Listening to America*, 92; Bell to Houser, August 13, 1947, CORE Papers. See also Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), 126–28; Nick Bryant, *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 219–22; Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 55–58.

"there isn't any racial discrimination at all and we have no problem to worry about."[24] In a letter to the *Journal-World* in 1960, a woman expressed incredulity over recent demands for an end to Jim Crow. "It is a mystery to me, after living in Lawrence most of my life, [that] all of a sudden there has developed a prejudice against Negroes." Surveying his town the following year, a KU student saw little to contradict the city's cherished mythology. "If conditions are so bad here in Lawrence," he told the *Kansan*, "it is surprising to me that there have been no large scale spontaneous demonstrations by the colored people . . . to secure their own rights."[25]

Building on this conviction, conservatives charged that blacks were quite satisfied with prevailing social relations and that white activists, driven by a "selfish, childish, thirst for publicity," were inventing problems where they did not exist. "I have heard less about the problem from members of the race than I have from a certain other group," Abels, then a state senator, grumbled in a 1947 letter. A student agreed, contending that black people—unlike the white activists who manipulated them—were sufficiently courteous to accept some restrictions out of deference to their white counterparts. "Colored people," he insisted, "don't want to force themselves on anyone." Conservatives adhered so deeply to this belief that they sometimes seemed to pity rather than loathe black activists, whom they viewed as the ignorant puppets of white intellectuals. During a confrontation between activists and conservatives in 1947, a businessman allegedly turned to the black protestors and advised them that the whites "had led them into this mess and that they (Negroes) would be the ones to suffer."[26] In making threats of this sort against black activists, conservatives pointedly undermined any claim that white Lawrencians did not discriminate.

Business people and their supporters defended Jim Crow by asserting property rights over civil rights, arguing, as Abels put it, that "it is the owners [*sic*] 'right' to operate the business as he or she sees fit" and, as a corollary to that, to choose his or her own customers. Unlike the civil right, he asserted, the property right "is not a phoney [*sic*] right dreamed up by mistaken persons who never back up their demands with a financial investment."[27] Lawrence Mayor John Weatherwax reiterated this position in 1958. "If a man wants to open a business and serve only white or Negro customers, that is his privilege," he told the *Kansan*. "And to force him to serve both is to infringe upon free enterprise." Adherents of this view cast business people as unwitting hostages to majority rule. "Instead of serving one individual," the businessperson faced "the problem of serving a large number," theorized a KU senior. "He must adopt policies which will satisfy his clientele. If most of his patrons or society dictates that he must refuse service to certain individuals, then he is powerless to do otherwise." A waiter reported that her boss "doesn't care, one way or another" about maintaining Jim Crow; he cared only about doing "what will be best for his customers." In placing the blame for Jim Crow on their white customer base rather than on their own personal prejudice, business owners were clearly, if inadvertently, signaling again that blatantly racist rhetoric was losing its legitimacy. As the *Kansan* rightly noted, "we have never heard a restaurant owner admit he was prejudiced."[28]

Conservatives resented efforts to "force" them to interact with blacks, arguing that activists should "allow the adjustment to come naturally." One KU student, for example, proclaimed his support for the aims of the civil rights workers but disavowed their aggressive methods. "By the brashness of your tactics you have alienated more people than you have converted," he warned. "This is unfortunate as it is traceable to your own stupidity."[29] The head of the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce similarly rebuked student activists in 1958 over a boycott against Jim Crow businesses. "We have worked on this problem on a gradual basis and I think if we continue on that basis we can have some progress," he warned, but "rushing this thing isn't going to do any good." Although race was inextricably intertwined with this concern, many conservatives earnestly opposed government interference in their lives and the use of legal mandates to alter social beliefs. Mayor Weatherwax, for one,

24. Rev. C. Fosburg Hughes to J. Oscar Lee, February 7, 1947, Correspondence, 1947, box 1, Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy, Kansas Collection, RH MS 48, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence (hereafter cited as "LLPD papers").

25. *University Daily Kansan*, January 18, 1961; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 13, 1960.

26. *University Daily Kansan*, April 30, 1948; Edwin F. Abels to C. Fosberg Hughes, January 29, 1947, LLPD Papers; *Summer Session Kansan* (University of Kansas, Lawrence), July 29, 1947; Bell to Houser, August 13, 1947, CORE Papers.

27. *Lawrence Outlook*, June 23, 1960.

28. *University Daily Kansan*, September 29, 1958; April 21, 1948; May 15, 1952; and September 26, 1958.

29. "What About the Movies," *Eagle* (University of Kansas), April 22, 1947, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence; *Summer Session Kansan*, August 8, 1947.

When expedient, conservatives applied pressure to university administrators to suppress student activists. In 1946, for example, a Lawrence attorney wrote Chancellor Deane W. Malott to express his anger upon learning that black and white women had begun living together in a housing unit. To demonstrate his protest, the lawyer refused to rent the two large apartments he owned next door to the offending housing unit. Malott, pictured here greeting KU students during his first few days as chancellor in 1939, held firm and the lawyer kept his housing—enough for fifteen students—vacant for a year before selling it. Photo courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

"wished restaurants here would serve both Negro and white customers, but that the issue was not a step to be taken by the city government."[30]

Many found "artificial forcing" to be particularly objectionable because it elevated blacks to the level of whites even though "they haven't earned it." Justin W. Hill, one of the most prominent businessmen in Lawrence, articulated this position unmistakably—and drew a clear distinction between "Negroes" and white "people." "I don't think that passing laws will improve the feelings of people toward Negroes. You don't make friends by forcing things on people." He concluded that, "before the Negroes will be accepted by whites as equals, they will have to raise their standards of living to the accepted level of the community." In identifying this central concern among whites in Lawrence in the 1960s, Monhollon writes that "the dichotomy was clear and racially based: Whites deserved full participation as American citizens, blacks did not; whites should decide when blacks deserve that equality."[31]

30. *University Daily Kansan*, September 25 and 29, 1958.

31. *Summer Session Kansan*, August 8, 1947; *University Daily Kansan*, April 30, 1948; January 20, 1961; Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 50, 43.

Reflecting widespread anti-intellectualism and a deeply entrenched "town-gown" conflict, conservatives opposed civil rights activism in part because they viewed it as a heavy-handed effort by university elites to impose their values on ordinary, virtuous, hard-working Lawrencians. "Now and then Kansas citizens read about some of the antics and projects by students at state schools and the nature of the events is such to make folks wonder if the youngsters deserve the opportunities the citizenry is helping to provide via taxes," the *Journal-World* concluded in 1961. Because many faculty members and students hailed from outside of Kansas, they also saw this activism as an affront to state sovereignty by those who had no real stake in the long-term fate of the community. "At Kansas University, a goodly number of the 'wild hare' activities fostered by students are the products of the imagination of out-of-state students," it claimed. "Time and again the top scholars, the top leaders . . . are of Kansas origin," proving that "there is considerable merit to being born and bred out 'on the prairies' and 'in the sticks.'" Despite widespread acceptance of this logic, most out-of-state students were probably indistinguishable from their in-state peers. As a native Kansan retorted in the *Journal-World*, "many of your 'alleged working liberals' and 'student malcontents' are Kansans."[32]

Conservatives often objected to what they viewed as special treatment for blacks, conveniently overlooking the fact that they required this "special treatment" precisely because whites discriminated against them. In 1956, for example, they railed against a proposal to build a city-run pool open to black children when there was already a private pool serving the white ones who accounted for most of the children in the city. In a letter to the *Journal-World*, "local patriot" Warren Zimmerman expressed his outrage. "For the benefit of possibly 250 or 300, and that for three months only in a year, the city is being asked to vote practically a quarter million dollars in added taxes," he fumed, an amount of such consequence, in his view, that it would be better spent on a benefit for the majority, not a tiny minority. Besides, he argued, white families were also compelled to do without luxuries because of financial constraints but they did not make unreasonable and "socialistic" demands on the government. "What about them? They are just as deserving."[33]

32. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 6 and 10, 1961. See also *Lawrence Outlook*, July 14, 1960; January 12, 1961.

33. *Lawrence Outlook*, May 5, 1960; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 1, 1956. For more on the 1956 pool issue, see Monhollon, "Taking the Plunge," 143–44.

In a related concern, some believed that civil rights reforms constituted a perverse form of reverse discrimination, an attempt to "solve discrimination by discriminating against a few of the discriminators." Reacting to a protest at a movie theater in 1947, one student affirmed his solidarity with the owner. "[He] has been more than fair," he told a reporter. "I think the only discrimination has been against the whites."[34] Lawrence City Manager Harold E. Horn hit on this concern again in 1960, when he bristled at charges that city hall had discriminated against a young woman who applied for a job, suggesting that blacks believed that they should receive employment ahead of more qualified whites simply because they were black. "There is no reason why any person shouldn't be considered for city jobs if they qualify," he told the *Kansan*. "If she qualified she would have as much chance as anyone else. . . . This does not mean that we will hire a person simply because he or she is colored." Although the mantra of "reverse discrimination" is generally associated with the mid-1960s and beyond, white Lawrencians were clearly beginning to assemble its essential ingredients much earlier.[35]

In an international political environment rife with suspicion, many assumed that civil rights activists were part of a foreign Communist conspiracy. During the anticommunist hysteria of the late 1940s, one local businessman was certain that a "radical element" was at the root of what he viewed as the un-American efforts of KU activists. In a letter, he warned Chancellor Malott that, "where there is smoke there is usually some fire and there is quite a lot of smoke around." A student at KU in the 1950s came to the conclusion that "certain teachers and students were confirmed communists and there were a lot of other 'Isms' he didn't like." Abels identified similar influences at work during a protest in the summer of 1960. "Practically none of our good Lawrence citizens are implicated," he claimed. Instead, the protestors consisted of "Communists," "bearded men," and "colored men who are strangers and others who appear to be foreigners." Abels did not, however, believe that all those who embraced leftist ideology were committed Communists. In a 1948 editorial that dripped with condescension, he held out hope that the misguided children who seized on it in blind juvenile rebellion would eventually grow out of it. "College kids who claim to be very liberal," he told readers, usually "get back on the right track after they get a job and a home." Given that many civil rights activists were themselves committed anticommunists, they chafed at this effort to discredit them. As one complained, "It is not an easy thing to be called a Communist just because you can't subscribe to an unprovable doctrine of white superiority."[36]

Finally, many conservatives shared a visceral fear that integration would encourage interracial sexuality—that, if civil rights workers "insist on rubbing elbows, certain other conditions are going to enter into the picture." In a letter to the KU chancellor, a citizen made this concern central to his opposition to civil rights. "We have no quarrel with the colored race," he maintained, "but most assuredly there is no desire on our part to eat, sleep and mix with them socially."[37] Three white men bristled with anger over the same issue as they watched black and white protestors in 1960. "Ain't that a white girl walking between them two colored guys?," they reportedly asked each other. Whites were so fearful of interracial sexuality that even white civil rights activists were not immune to this concern. When a handsome black activist visited Lawrence in the late 1940s, a member of the integrationist Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy worried that certain KU students had welcomed him a little too enthusiastically: "What if one of those girls would fall in love with him?"[38]

In his inimitable style, Abels fused these two explosive fears—the Communist threat and interracial sexuality—in, of all places, a 1948 report of a trip that he and other state leaders had taken to Washington, D.C., where they urged army engineers to approve a flood control plan for the Kansas River. While en route, he and his counterparts became embroiled in a debate with a "thin-faced chap who said he was a communist." To underscore the intellectual bankruptcy of his adversary, Abels claimed that the Communist lost interest in politics when "a fashionably

34. "Admit A&M!," *Eagle*, April 22, 1947; *Summer Session Kansan*, July 25, 1947.

35. *University Daily Kansan*, September 22, 1960. On the emergence of "reverse discrimination" ideology in the 1960s, see Stephen Steinberg, "The Liberal Retreat from Race during the Post-Civil Rights Era," and David Roediger, "White Workers, New Democrats, and Affirmative Action," in *The House that Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain*, ed. Wahneema Lubiano (New York: Pantheon Books, 1997), 13–47, 48–65.

36. Otha Hatfield to Deane W. Malott, July 28, 1947, General Correspondence, 1947–48, folder "C.O.R.E.," Malott Papers, UA, RG 2/10/1; Charles C. Spencer, Sr., to W. Clarke Wescoe, July 21, 1960, General Correspondence, 1960/61, folder "S," Chancellor's Office, W. Clarke Wescoe, University Archives, RG 2.12.1, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence; *Lawrence Outlook*, July 14, 1960; March 11, 1948; *Summer Session Kansan*, August 5, 1947.

37. Hatfield to Malott, July 28, 1947, Malott Papers, UA, RG 2/10/1; *Summer Session Kansan*, July 29, 1947.

38. *University Daily Kansan*, November 9, 1960; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 79.

dressed young Negress . . . breezed into the coach." At that point, Communist became Lothario, engaging in the vilest conduct with a woman of self-evidently low character. "The Communist chap got very much interested; he forgot his debate in his enthusiasm to buy the gal a bottle of beer. During the drinking he got one arm around the woman, smoothed her stockings . . . and got most everybody in the car so thoroughly disgusted that they wanted to throw them both off the train."[39] In this account of an exchange between common-sense businessmen and two social pariahs, Abels underscored what he saw as the depravity of both communism and interracial sex.

Coincident with these arguments justifying the racial status quo, conservatives also employed a variety of tactics throughout this period to defend it. In most cases, they simply refused to submit to the demands of activists who, in many instances, wielded little leverage. Of the twelve prominent businessmen invited to a meeting with the Reverend C. Fosburg Hughes to discuss the formation of a committee on racial discrimination in 1947, only seven showed. Over the course of the meeting, these seven emphatically rejected the need for any such committee. "Two or three of the men who have very violently prejudiced attitudes finally said that they would be willing to be on the inside in order to more effectively say 'No' to different proposals." Though discouraged, Hughes admitted that "it amused me no end to discover that seven busy men would talk for two and a half hours about something they didn't think was a problem!"[40] In another refusal to reform, this time in 1952, a cafe owner batted down a toothless petition demanding integration with an insouciance that underscored the strength of his hand. "I talked to the other restaurant owners," he told the petitioners, "and we decided it was 'no dice.'" In other cases, businessmen simply recognized that they could stall action indefinitely by dragging out negotiations because they knew that activists often agreed to cease protests during talks. Even when they reached agreement on reforms, businessmen often engaged in backsliding. In 1950, a theater manager assured activists that he would relax discriminatory seating and then largely ignored his commitment over the next three years. When challenged in 1953, he reported that "Negroes were seated outside of the *rear* south section . . . *on occasions*." Clearly, businessmen were frequently successful in giving activists "the run-around."[41]

University of Kansas administrators were not altogether consistent as they navigated their way through the racial tensions on their campus. Two years after Chancellor Malott refused the demands of one landlord in Lawrence to close down interracial student housing, administrators revoked the status of a campus organization calling itself the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and known for organizing high-profile sit-ins. Meeting with the groups after this decision, KU Executive Secretary Laurence Woodruff, pictured here, "admitted responding to business pressures but mentioned that this was still a capitalistic system and that unless the University took some action it might mean loss of K.U. appropriations and loss of jobs for administrators." Photo courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

When expedient, conservatives applied pressure to university administrators to suppress student activists, warning that they would hold KU responsible for their activities. In 1946, J. Clifton Ramsey, an attorney, wrote Chancellor Malott to express his anger upon learning that black and white women had begun living together in a housing unit. "In order to show my protest against this condition, I am absolutely refusing to rent the two

39. *Lawrence Outlook*, March 4, 1948.
40. Hughes to Lee, February 7, 1947, LLPD papers.
41. *University Daily Kansan*, May 13, 1952; "Racial Discrimination and the Commonwealth Theaters," n.d.; and "Report on Racial Segregation in Lawrence Theaters: The Patee Theatre," June 16, 1950, "Discrimination in Lawrence" folder, box 3, LLPD Papers.

large apartments next door to this deplorable situation," he advised. As one of the women occupying the offending housing unit noted, Ramsey put the university administrators in "a difficult position . . . for housing for students was extremely scarce then, and they regretted losing facilities for fifteen girls." In that case, however, KU officials held firm and Ramsey kept his house vacant for a year before selling it.[42]

Conservative businessmen aggressively used this tactic to deal with a KU chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a national interracial civil rights organization that enraged many whites with high-profile sit-ins in 1947 and 1948. While university administrators resisted Ramsey's demands in 1946, they submitted to those against CORE. After a theater sit-in, administrators revoked its status as a campus organization. Following this ruling, KU Executive Secretary Laurence Woodruff met with group members. "As we were virtually sure he would do, he refused us the right to be considered an 'official' group, which means in effect that we are outlawed on the campus," reported Beth Bell, a white KU senior and the leader of CORE. When the activists quarreled with him, Woodruff reportedly made a startling confession. "He admitted responding to business pressures but mentioned that this was still a capitalistic system and that unless the University took some action it might mean loss of K.U. appropriations and loss of jobs for administrators." CORE subsequently issued a statement charging that KU was little more than "a tool for the propagation of businessmen's whims and an institution existing for *their* benefit, not that of the students or the people."[43] Business people were equally enraged in 1960 when protesters picketed the city's white-only pool. As Abels growled, "the University of Kansas lost a great deal of good will and support throughout the business section and among the thinking people of the community."[44]

Reflecting and molding public opinion, Abels mobilized whites against threats to the status quo. He attacked a bond issue proposed in 1945 by Phog Allen to build a city-run swimming pool for whites and then to open the older one (originally open only to whites) to blacks. Like Allen, the editor "definitely favored segregation"; yet he saw the athletic director's proposal to give blacks access to separate and inferior facilities as an unjustifiably expensive alternative to the current practice of outright exclusion. Quite simply, Abels objected to spending any tax-payer money for another pool when the white-only "pool now being operated is going along nicely." Enough voters agreed with him to succeed in defeating the bond issue. Abels led a similar campaign against a proposal to build an integrated pool in 1956, and cheered when voters again gave the plan "an 'extremely healthy' spanking." In 1961, he lobbied the state legislature to withhold needed funds from KU after a sit-in against discrimination. "The men in the legislature are practical fellows," he opined. "Just what will be the effect of the crusade of the student paper to get two taverns to sell beer to a few University students who happen to be colored is only a guess but it certainly will not be helpful."[45]

Considering the ease with which they could thwart the efforts of civil rights activists in so many instances, conservatives rarely felt compelled to forge formal coalitions. They were not a counter "movement"—they simply responded pragmatically to each threat as it presented itself, sometimes on their own and sometimes in informal alliance with a handful of like-minded peers. They did coalesce more formally in 1947, however, in response to the theater sit-in launched by CORE. "The town," Bell observed, "has certainly been stirred by our activity." The theater owner, Stanley Schwahn, a man active in community and state affairs, proved to be a formidable adversary. First, he reminded CORE that the revocation of the license ordinance after the Sims incident two years before gave him wide latitude. "Since I am no longer licensed," he advised, "I retain the priviledge [*sic*] of working out our own problems without interference of any laws." Reflecting his organizational abilities and his standing among his peers, Schwahn then united business

42. J. Clifton Ramsey to Deane W. Malott, July 5, 1946, General Correspondence, NROTC-R, 1946/47, folder "R," Malott Papers, UA, RG 2/10/1; Lees, "The YWCA in the Field of Race Relations," 44–45.

43. Bell to Houser, September 21, 1947, CORE Papers (emphasis in original); Beth Bell et al., to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, September 18, 1947, General Correspondence, 1947/1948, C.O.R.E. folder, Malott Papers, UA, 2/10/1.

44. *Lawrence Outlook*, July 14, 1960.

45. *Lawrence Outlook*, November 8, 1945; November 8, 1956; January 12, 1961. See also *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 3 and 13, 1956. Interestingly, Allen is sometimes lauded for his role in dismantling Jim Crow during the 1950s, when KU began actively recruiting black sports talent, including the dominating Wilt Chamberlain. A recent article in the *Lawrence Daily Journal World*, for example, lauds Allen, "KU's legendary basketball coach from 1920 to 1956 who famously insisted Massachusetts Street businesses serve the equally legendary 7-foot-1 Wilt Chamberlain who played at KU from 1957 to 1958." Schudy, "A History of Segregation." Although Allen's role in undoing segregation practices in the 1950s is significant, it ought to be balanced against his role in imposing these practices in the first place. See also, Aram Goudsouzian, "'Can Basketball Survive Chamberlain?': The Kansas Years of Wilt the Stilt," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 28 (Autumn 2005): 150–73.

For decades some Lawrencians lobbied for a pool open to blacks, though bond measures in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrated that a majority of citizens did not support the idea. Again in the summer of 1960, conservatives succeeded in crushing a civil rights campaign against discrimination at the Jayhawk Plunge, the city's de facto public pool, a facility that was open to non-members through single admission tickets—providing that the non-members were white. The matter sparked protests like the one pictured here. Photo courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

owners into an ephemeral group of their own, christening it (with baffling redundancy) the Lawrence Citizens for the Entertainment of the Citizens of Lawrence. Within days, business people throughout downtown posted signs reminding patrons that they "reserve the right to refuse service to persons of any race."[46]

Unquestionably, some business people were sympathetic to the goals of the civil rights movement. However, because so many of their peers adamantly opposed integration, they feared the repercussions associated with crossing them. J. D. King, a theater manager who consistently backtracked on his pledge to integrate, told civil rights workers that he was genuinely sensitive to their concerns but that "he definitely did not want to be put in the uncomfortable role of a 'crusading' Lawrence businessman." He also expressed his conviction that any public announcement of his altered policies "would draw too much undesirable attention and criticism to himself." King was probably prescient in his fears that he would be "corrected" by his peers. A white woman who initially agreed to rent an apartment to a black student in 1959 was "corrected" and consequently felt compelled to renege on the agreement. As KU Dean of Students Donald K. Alderson noted, the young man planned to occupy the apartment in the 1800 block of Louisiana Street in the spring of 1960 "until the landlady indicated that neighbors did not want a negro in one of her apartments."[47]

During protests in the summer of 1960, a very agitated Abels thundered his view that "this community has advanced far since the days when Negroes were hanged from the Kansas river bridge."[48] However inflammatory, few could dispute his assertion: in the decade and a half after World War II, whites largely refrained from the kind of violence that had earlier maintained white supremacy. In a case of limited violence in 1948, W. E. Murphy organized a group of students, many of them KU football players, to disperse black and white CORE members engaged in a sit-in at his restaurant, warning activists that "they stayed at their own risk." Upon arrival, police authorized Murphy to use force. As they returned to their squad car, the mob dragged male activists outside and hurled them to the pavement; suggesting that chivalry remained very much alive, it permitted female activists to leave on foot. When a CORE member called police to request the arrest of the assailants, the dispatcher left little doubt that protesters could expect no protection: "My advice to you is to get your gang and clear out of there." Whites undoubtedly continued to use physical intimidation in incidents that were simply outside the scrutiny of newspapers. In 1958,

46. Bell to Houser, August 13, 1947, CORE Papers; [Stanley Schwahn to Deane W. Malott, September 1947] and Petition to Schwahn [1947], General Correspondence, 1947/1948, C.O.R.E. folder, Malott Papers, UA, 2/10/1. For more on Schwahn and this incident, see *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 18, 1949; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 115–25.

47. "Racial Discrimination and the Commonwealth Theaters," LLPD Papers; Kenneth Megill to Dean Donald K. Alderson, December 23, 1959, Woodruff and Alderson Correspondence, 1921–1974, "Discrimination—D. K. Alderson, 1957–1965" folder, Dean of Men Files, University Archives, RG 52, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

48. *Lawrence Outlook*, July 14, 1960; see also *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, April 16, 1948; *University Daily Kansan*, April 16, 1948; *Kansas City Times*, April 16, 1948; *Call* (Kansas City), April 23, 1948; *Lawrence Outlook*, April 22, 1948; McCusker, "The Forgotten Years," 128–34.

for instance, a student planted a fake bomb in a KU office that employed a black secretary and several students from India, Iran, and Pakistan—"all dark-skinned people." Although the chancellor framed the incident as a "college prank," he privately confessed his doubt that "we shall ever convince these people" that the prank "was not intended to reflect on the color of their skin."[49]

By the mid-1950s, civil rights activists had achieved some success in driving Jim Crow into retreat throughout Lawrence and at the university. They had forced theater owners and barbers to desegregate and had almost entirely eradicated overt discrimination at KU, except in the fraternity and sorority systems. By this point, conservatives were no longer capable of holding back the wave of social change washing across the nation. "In the years following World War II, economic growth, combined with federal actions . . . undermined the authority of local . . . elites," found historian Beth Bailey. "Lawrence, like cities and towns throughout the nation, became much less isolated," as it became integrated ever more tightly into a national culture that was moving away from earlier social norms. Undoubtedly, conservatives also recognized that if they did not relax Jim Crow, Kansas might become linked in the national imagination with the South, the stifling racism of which was routinely under assault in the northern press. They seem to have recognized this clearly after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, case, which put the state in the national spotlight. Assailing the intransigence of white leaders in the South, the *Journal-World* correctly predicted that "the change in Lawrence," where there was no compulsory school segregation, "will be brought about in a friendly and peaceful atmosphere." A KU student was equally eager to distinguish his state from Alabama when anti-integration riots erupted there in 1956, writing that, "We should be thankful that the people in this area are well ahead of the narrow thinking of a few in the South."[50]

Despite their losses on several fronts, conservatives were able to "hold the line" on many others. According to a 1954 study, thirty-three of thirty-eight restaurants reported that they continued to deny service to blacks or to enforce segregation. Of the remaining five, three were black-owned. In a survey four years later, just ten of forty restaurants served mixed groups and only "a few will serve Negroes alone." Asked to report how many eateries discriminated in 1958, an official conceded that "the number is high." Perhaps, suggested an activist sarcastically, restaurateurs might appreciate "another century or two to prepare public opinion." Tavern keepers successfully utilized a loophole in the law to discriminate legally against blacks. "There is a state law that forces restaurant owners to serve persons of

During the fight over admittance to the Jayhawk Plunge, Lawrence City Attorney Charles Stough, pictured here, produced a new pool licensing ordinance. Although his ordinance was intended to forestall integration, he couched it within the framework of the free-state narrative and, in the process, provided one more testament to the extraordinary resilience of that mythology. In a feat of remarkable intellectual dexterity, he portrayed the further delay of integrated swimming in Lawrence—a delay that persisted until the late 1960s—as further confirmation that Kansas was a land of racial equality and justice.

49. Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy to Marion W. Vaughn, October 24, 1958, General Correspondence, N–Z, 1958–59, folder "V," Chancellor's Office, Franklin D. Murphy, University Archives, RG 2.11.1, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence; [Congressional] Committee on Racial Equality, "Report of Direct Action Against Racial Discrimination at a Café Near the Campus of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, April 15, 1948," General Correspondence, 1947/1948, C.O.R.E. folder, Malott Papers, UA, 2/10/1; "A Protest of No Avail," *Kansas City Times*, April 16, 1948.

50. Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 38–39; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 19, 1954; *University Daily Kansan*, February 9, 1956. For an editorial attacking the southern response to the Supreme Court ruling, see *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 25, 1954.

all races," reported the *Journal-World* after the 1961 sit-in, but "it appears this law does not apply to taverns. To be a 'restaurant,' an establishment must prepare food on the premises, and this is not done at Louise's Bar." Although many business people did submit to a 1959 public accommodations law, others continued to discriminate in housing and employment. "I contacted one of our leading real-estate agencies about a particular house that was for sale," a black resident reported in 1961. "He would not give me any consideration. His explanation was that this particular real-estate property had been taken from his list, yet his sign is still up at this writing." Near the end of the study period, one student correctly assessed the situation in the state at the time with the observation that, in "the free state of Kansas, segregation is more than something read about in dispatches from the deep South."[51]

In the summer of 1960, conservatives also succeeded in crushing a civil rights campaign against discrimination at the Jayhawk Plunge, the city's de facto public pool, a facility that was open to non-members through single admission tickets—providing that the non-members were white. In a repetition of the Sims affair fifteen years before, city authorities repealed an ordinance requiring the licensing of pools, thereby exempting the Plunge from compliance with the 1959 public accommodations act. Explaining the repeal of the ordinance, officials promised to write a "good" new law, which "will stand the test of time." Not surprisingly, however, they stalled in producing the new ordinance, precipitating a civil rights protest at the pool. Soon, the owner sold the Plunge and its new owners vowed to run the pool as a strictly enforced private club, exempting it from the public accommodations act. In this way, they once again crushed the protest and made the need for a new licensing ordinance "rather superfluous."[52]

As promised by Lawrence officials, however, City Attorney Charles Stough produced a new ordinance. Although he had worked assiduously on the repeal of the original pool licensing ordinance in order to forestall integration, Stough rather incongruously positioned his newly proposed regulation within the framework of the free-state narrative and, in the process, provided one more testament to the extraordinary resilience of that mythology. In a feat of remarkable intellectual dexterity, he portrayed the further delay of integrated swimming in Lawrence—a delay that persisted until the late 1960s—as further confirmation that Kansas was a land of racial equality and justice. "The State of Kansas," he proclaimed in the grandiloquent preamble, "and more particularly the city of Lawrence, was the backdrop for freedom from the day the first settlers arrived in this locality . . . and gave impetus to the cause of freedom throughout . . . the world."[53]

Although civil rights activists seriously challenged Jim Crow in Lawrence between 1945 and 1961, they were never able to sustain their efforts over time. They relied instead on intermittent assaults, working vigorously for short periods, only to retire from the field for months or even longer. Nevertheless, racial conservatives clearly experienced these ephemeral challenges as a consequential and bewildering tempest of social change. In broader historical perspective, however, it is evident that the conservatives were actually confronting only the initial fitful gusts of a storm that would transform the city and the nation during the 1960s. As activists launched a more sustained and aggressive civil rights campaign during that decade, conservatives persisted in their efforts to deny or delay change, using many of the same arguments that they had employed over previous decades. In 1965, Justin Hill echoed his earlier views, condemning those blacks "demanding housing in suburbs developed by whites, jobs in companies developed by whites, the right to eat in restaurants and go in stores owned and developed by whites." The "coloreds," he maintained, "should earn the right to these things." Other white business owners also employed many of the same tactics, which they had used with considerable success since 1945. "A Lawrence apartment building owner defended his refusal to rent to black students in 1965" by asking the activists "if they 'were prepared to reimburse him for the loss of income' that would result from the 'exodus of white students' unwilling to live near blacks."[54]

51. *University Daily Kansan*, September 26 and 25, 1958; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 13 and 16, 1961; *University Daily Kansan*, September 26, 1958; see also Campney, "White Resistance," 20–30; Reagan-Kendrick, "Ninety Years of Struggle," 161–99.

52. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 6 and 13, 1960. For accounts of the protest against the Jayhawk Plunge, see Monhollon, "Taking the Plunge"; Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 46–48, 85–92; Campney, "White Resistance," 142–49.

53. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 13, 1960. Lawrence voters finally approved bonds to build a municipal swimming pool in 1967. See Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 85–86.

54. Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 43, 51.

On July 16, 1970, a white Lawrence policeman confronted a nineteen-year-old black man, Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, in a dark alley. The confrontation left Dowdell dead. Whether or not William Garrett killed Dowdell in self-defense, as determined by the coroner's inquest, the shooting set off several nights of racial violence and resulted in a citywide curfew and the summoning of the National Guard. Dowdell's death became a rallying point for those demanding racial equality, as evidenced by the poster held during this December 1970 rally. Photo courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

Confronted with a more vigorous and sustained threat in the 1960s, some whites revealed that they could, when pressed, still rally behind racial vengeance, challenging Abel's assertion that the community had "advanced far since the days when Negroes were hanged." In an incident reminiscent of the 1913 shooting of Walker and Peterson, William Garrett, a white policeman, shot and killed a nineteen-year-old black man, Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, in a confrontation in a dark alley on July 16, 1970. Whether or not Garrett killed Dowdell in self-defense, as determined by the coroner's inquest, many whites interpreted the event as an act of racial intimidation—and wholeheartedly endorsed it. "I don't think many people feel much remorse over that shooting," a white man conceded. "A man I work with . . . said they should have got all the other Dowdells when they got Tiger." Making a "gesture with his thumb raised and his first finger pointed" like a pistol, another man quipped: "It ain't too late to start killin' niggers." Few supported the mob violence of the past but one man worried that some whites might exploit the crisis. "I'd say there's going to be trouble," he confessed. "We've got some rednecks here. Not as many as there used to be, but enough. How large a group this is, I don't know.

I don't really want to know. But they do exist." In 1960, Abels could assert with some justification that whites had repudiated violent racism. From the vantage point of 1970, however, it seems possible to conclude that white Lawrencians did not resort to serious violence in the 1940s and 1950s primarily because they did not perceive blacks as an immediate or severe threat as did their counterparts during the twenty years after the Civil War and in the decade of the 1960s.[55]

While most whites undoubtedly opposed this more aggressive approach, they did betray by their comments in the aftermath of the shooting some alarming insights into the depths of racism still evident in Lawrence. "People are angry—and not just the Wallaceites and the hardhats," one man declared. "There's something in the air that stings." A schoolteacher provided an equally troubling perspective. After "the only black student in the room" had voiced his anger over discrimination, this teacher nonchalantly detailed how he and the white students had silenced the youth. "I decided to do the best I could and I asked for a general discussion on what he had said. . . . It was a vigorous discussion. He finally ran out of answers. . . . He just couldn't defend his position." Even as the city teetered on the edge of a riot, the teacher adhered to the narrative of the free-state by dismissing the severity of prejudice in Lawrence. "I don't really think he believed what he has been fed. We weren't trying to break him down but he came as close that day as he's ever come to admitting he doesn't really believe this stuff about racism." It is difficult to determine whether the teacher meant his final statement as a genuine expression of concern or as a vaguely felt desire: "I worried about him. . . . He's a kid of average intelligence. But he's hotheaded and susceptible and he could wind up dead in some alley like Dowdell."[56]

Reinforcing the free-state story so treasured in Lawrence was an overarching and equally influential midwestern narrative, which depicted the rural heartland as a place of pastoral virtue, antithetical to the kind of racist violence commonly associated with the American South. For example, journalist, author, and former presidential speechwriter Bill Moyers, who just happened to be in Lawrence on the night that Garrett killed Dowdell in 1970, had difficulty reconciling the event with what he perceived as the bucolic essence of the town. "The man who invited me, [newspaper publisher] Dolph C. Simons, Jr., said that Lawrence is a pleasant place to live and to visit—'A university town in the heart of Middle America should give you a chance to catch your breath,' he had suggested—and I half expected to enjoy a brief respite from my work before heading west. . . . With the early sun behind my back and the twin prairies of sky and grassland racing westward ahead of me, there was no warning of what was to come."[57] Scholars have been no less susceptible to the influence of this imagined place. In a recent study of purposely all-white sundown towns, James W. Loewen illustrated the degree to which this idyllic Midwest image continues to influence scholarly perception: "Over and over I tell historians and social scientists about my research, and they assume I'm studying the Deep South," he reported. "Even when I correct them, the correction often fails to register. I tell a sociologist friend that I've just spent months researching sundown towns in the Midwest. Ten minutes later he has forgotten and again assumes I have been traveling through the South."[58]

Relatively recently historians have begun to challenge these strongly held perceptions and to redirect the historiography of the civil rights struggle from a narrowly southern emphasis to one more national in scope. Scholars like Thomas J. Sugrue, Arnold R. Hirsch, and Matthew C. Whitaker have charted the diverse efforts of business leaders, politicians, and ordinary citizens to defend or challenge white privilege in large industrial cities, such as Detroit and Chicago, during the post-World War II era. Furthermore, they have called for a broader investigation of the northern struggle over civil rights outside these principal urban centers. In this regard, Sugrue has observed that "struggles for civil rights also shaped small towns and suburbs—part of the northern story that has been almost completely overlooked." This study reflects the shift in the historiography of the civil rights struggle

55. Moyers, *Listening to America*, 112, 97; Monhollon, *"This is America?"*, 165–68.
56. Moyers, *Listening to America*, 120, 112–13.
57. *Ibid.*, 83.
58. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: New Press, 2005), 198. For more on this midwestern narrative, see Campney, "This is Not Dixie," http://southernspaces.org/contents/2007/campney/1a.htm#edn5.

with its focus on a northern city and advances it by an examination of a mid-sized, midwestern college town during the immediate post-war period.[59]

Interestingly, Sugrue's study also confirms to some degree Moyers's Lawrence reflections about the night Dowdell was killed. Confronted with the dichotomy between the pastoral imagery of the heartland and the jarring reality of racial unrest, he was ultimately compelled to conclude that racism was neither a southern pathology nor a northern urban one; it afflicted places like Lawrence—notwithstanding its self-inoculating free-state and midwestern narratives—as thoroughly as it did any of those other American places more popularly associated with it. "Lawrence, Kansas, is a microcosm," Moyers reflected. "Lawrence, Kansas, is the epitome of a troubled, spirited, inspired, frightened, complacent, industrious, selfish, magnanimous, spiteful, bewitching country. Lawrence, Kansas, is a little world."[60] KH

59. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, xxvii–xxviii; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*; Arnold R. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," *Journal of American History* 82 (September 1995): 522–50; Matthew C. Whitaker, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

60. Moyers, *Listening to America*, 83.

Figure 1: Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1865: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes.

Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 33 (Spring 2010): 42–53

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

The Kansas Pocket Maps of Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell: A Case of Nineteenth-Century Promotional Cartography

by Scott R. McEathron

Where is . . .? A map is an important tool we use to answer this most basic of questions. Today maps are ubiquitous and interwoven into our everyday lives. We can create maps to meet our individual needs using interactive Web mapping sites and then send, receive, and view them on portable electronic devices. Many vehicles are now equipped with navigation systems that display digital maps to aid drivers in finding their way. In nineteenth-century Kansas, maps were also present. Then as now maps were published for a variety of purposes and used by readers in a great many ways, including for administrative, educational, economic, travel, and military purposes.

The aim of this article is to examine a series of Kansas maps published between 1861 and 1866 by two men from different backgrounds who came to Kansas Territory amidst the political turmoil of Bleeding Kansas. Attention will be paid to the backgrounds of the mapmakers, Otis Berthoude Gunn and David T. Mitchell, their cartographic and surveying skills, and the maps they produced before their partnership began in 1861, including the maps of Kansas they independently published in 1859. The techniques used to create the original Gunn and Mitchell map and its subsequent editions will also be considered. The several editions of this map continue to be important in the study of Kansas and U.S. history for a number of reasons: they document the rapid growth of early Colorado and Kansas; they illustrate the chaotic land policy of the U.S. government at the time and comment upon the government's relationship

Scott R. McEathron *is the map librarian at the T. R. Smith Map Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence. He received a master's degree in geography and a master's degree of library and information science from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.*

to Native Americans; and the maps also illustrate the rise of monochromatic lithography, a printing technique found throughout late-nineteenth-century publications. On a purely practical level, as well, the maps were no doubt successful tools, since the authors continued to update them through several editions.[1]

The Gunn and Mitchell maps have not been studied in any great detail. They are not included, for example, in Michael Heaston's preliminary survey of Kansas pocket maps (often designated as sectional maps). Neither are the Gunn and Mitchell maps mentioned in Walter W. Ristow's *American Map and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century*, which only summarizes the early years of American monochromatic lithographic map printing by focusing on the largest and most prolific publishing houses and the New York lithographic shops.[2]

The map Gunn produced in 1859, in addition to its accompanying field guide, has been more closely studied by historians interested in the role such materials played in the Kansas (now Colorado) "Pikes Peak" Gold Rush.[3] However, studying such maps and guides solely as artifacts of the gold rush episode, and thereby removing them from their broader historical context, provides only a limited understanding of their role in history. Participants in the gold rush were not the only users of maps and guides like Gunn's. In fact, the emphases of both Gunn's and Mitchell's 1859 maps, as well as the maps they produced together, are on the lands of Kansas east of the Sixth Principle Meridian; the maps showing the routes to the gold mines are always ancillary. Focusing almost exclusively on the "guidebooks," historians such as Calvin W. Gower, Leroy R. Hafen, and William Wyckoff do not include the 1859 map of Kansas Territory by David T. Mitchell (figure 2) in their works, since it was issued without an accompanying field guide or text.[4] Like Gunn's map, Mitchell's 1859 map was also intended to be sold to both immigrant land settlers and gold seekers. In the end it was the rush for land, not gold, that was the most important factor in understanding the demand for and evolution of Gunn and Mitchell's series of maps.

Born in Mason County, Kentucky, April 8, 1832, David T. Mitchell was educated and entered the legal profession in that state. From information on Mitchell's map we see that by 1859 he had settled in the town of Lecompton, Douglas County, Kansas Territory, where he promoted himself as a "U.S. surveyor and land agent." The census of 1860 indicates that Mitchell, then twenty-nine, was working as a lawyer, and had an estimated $8,000 of real estate.[5] In 1861 Kansas became a state, and in the fall of that year Mitchell was elected to represent Douglas County in the second Kansas state legislature. He was married May 12, 1862, to Amanda Garrett, and by 1866 Mitchell and his family had moved to Lawrence where he worked as a lawyer and served one term as county attorney. In 1870 he was among a group that incorporated the daily newspaper, the *Democratic Standard*, which he sold in 1875. In 1880 he moved with his family to a farm in Perry, where he resided until his death in 1897.[6]

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854, before the land in these new territories could be sold to settlers, surveys were required to delineate boundaries in accordance with the methods established by the U.S. Public Land Survey. According to the November 8, 1855, *Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories*, Mitchell was among the numerous surveyors contracted to conduct subdividing

1. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lecompton, K.T.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1861; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's).

2. Michael D. Heaston, "The Kansas Pocket Map, the Cartographers Orphan," *Yale University Library Gazette* 54 (April 1980): 168–82; Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 281–301.

3. Notably, LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941); Calvin W. Gower, "Aids to Prospective Prospectors: Guidebooks and Letters From Kansas Territory, 1858–1860," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1977): 67–77; William Wyckoff, "Mapping the 'New El Dorado': Pikes Peak promotional Cartography, 1859–1861," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 32–45.

4. Hafen, *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*; Gower, "Aids to Prospective Prospectors"; Wyckoff, "Mapping the 'New El Dorado': Pikes Peak promotional Cartography, 1859–1861," 32–45; David T. Mitchell, *Mitchell's Sectional Map of Kansas: Showing the U.S. Survey up to 1859: Compiled from the Field Notes in the Surveyor Generals Office*, map (Lecompton, K.T.: Mitchell, 1859; printed Cincinnati, Ohio: Middleton, Strobridge & Co.). Available online at http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4200.ct001346.

5. U.S. Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Kansas, Douglas County, Lecompton, Series M653, Roll 349, p. 171. Available online at www.heritagequestonline. Mitchell, *Mitchell's Sectional Map of Kansas*.

6. W. C. Simons, "Lawrence Newspapers in Territorial Days," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1926–1928* 17 (1928): 335; Iona Spencer, "A Pioneer Lecompton Family: David Thomas and Amanda Melvina Mitchell," *Bald Eagle* 20 (Spring 1994): 5–6; Alice Clare Wright, "David Thomas Mitchell (1832–1897)," *Douglas County, Kansas, Family Histories 1991–1992* (Lawrence: Douglas County Genealogical Society, 1994), 366–67; *Democratic Standard* (Lawrence, Kans.), September 29, November 17, 1870; "The Kansas Legislature in 1862," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903–1904* 3 (1904): 103; D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas, 1541–1885* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1886), 366. Mitchell was reelected in 1862.

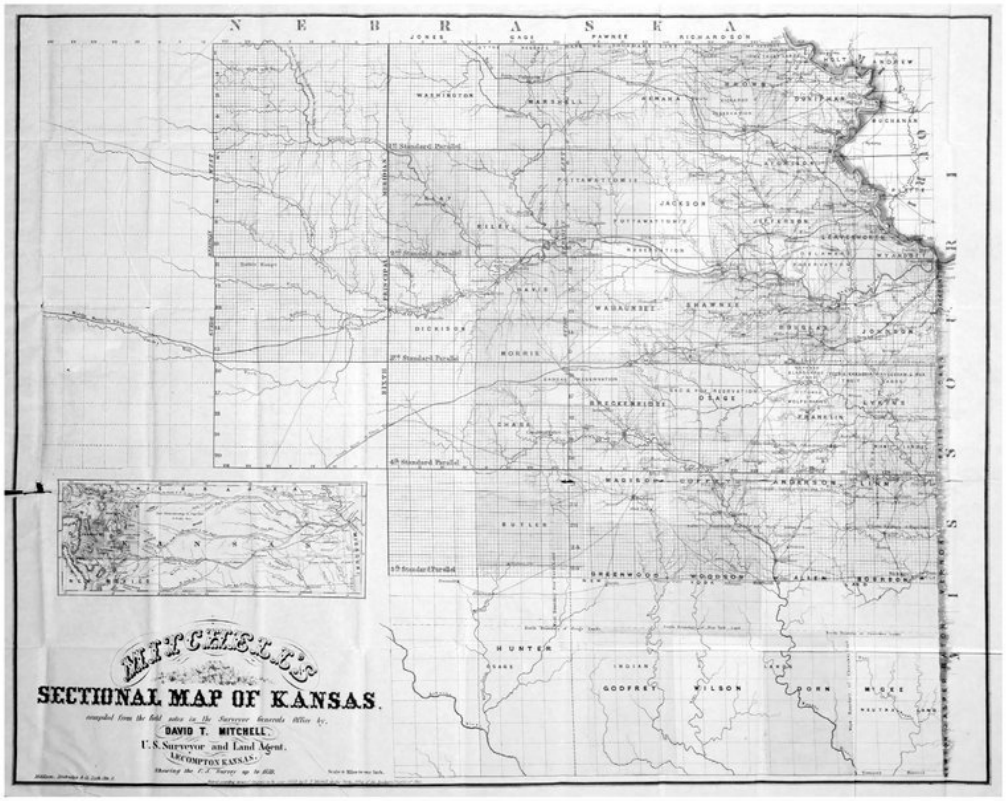


Figure 2: Mitchell's Sectional Map of Kansas: Showing the U.S. Survey up to 1859: Compiled from the Field Notes in the Surveyor Generals Office, *courtesy of the Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.*

of townships in Kansas Territory.[7] Subsequent reports contain more detailed synopses of Mitchell's work as a surveyor.[8] This work paid him well, and must have given him an excellent knowledge of the lands he helped plot. Furthermore, it taught him what he needed to know in order to complete his own map in 1859 (figure 2).

7. U.S. Senate, Executive Documents, *Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, Nov. 8, 1855*, 34th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., serial 810, 312.

8. For each of his contracts Mitchell was paid a rate of $5 per mile; for his first two contracts he was paid a total of $1,434.63. U.S. House, Executive Documents, *Annual Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas, Oct. 20, 1856*, 34th Cong., 3d. sess., serial 893, 538–39. Beginning April 1, 1856, he executed a third contract to conduct subdividing for which he was paid $1,375.37. U.S. House, Executive Documents, *[Annual Report of the Surveyor General of] Kansas Territory, Oct. 21, 1857*, 35th Cong., 1st. sess., serial 942, 282. The last time he appears in the Surveyor General's Report is for a contract dated November 25, 1857. U.S. Senate, Executive Documents, *[Annual Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories], Oct. 1, 1858*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., serial 974, 293.

Mitchell's contemporary, Otis Berthoude Gunn, was born in October 1828 on a farm near Montague, Massachusetts, and was educated at Montague and Williston Seminary at East Hampton, Massachusetts. Upon completing his education in 1846, he taught school for about two years near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He then worked his way up through the civil engineering ranks of various railroads: becoming a division engineer of the Wabash Railway in Indiana and later assistant engineer of the Lockport and Niagara Falls Railway. He was working in this capacity when he married Mary Helen Crosby in 1853. In 1856 or 1857, the Gunn family moved west and initially settled in Wyandotte (now Kansas City), Kansas Territory.[9]

9. "In Memoriam," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903–1904* 8 (1904): 378–80; [Evelyn Gunn Fisher?], finding aid introduction, March 22, 1995, Frederick C. Gunn Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Kansas City.

Otis Berthoude Gunn, pictured around 1852, was born in October 1828 near Montague, Massachusetts. He became first a teacher and later a civil engineer working with various railroads. He married Mary Helen Crosby in 1853, and in 1856 or 1857 the Gunn family moved west and initially settled in Wyandotte, Kansas Territory. Gunn worked, among other things, as a cartographer while in Kansas, publishing a map of Superior in 1858, his own map of the state in 1859, and a series of maps of Kansas with David T. Mitchell in 1861 through 1866.

No doubt Gunn was previously involved with producing maps and plans while working as civil engineer. However, the first map that can be attributed to him is an 1858 map of Superior, Kansas. Gunn, along with Major Frederick Hale, was also employed by Lucian J. Eastin, editor of the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, to produce its *Map of the Gold Mines and Three Prominent Routes Leading Thereto*. On March 1, 1859, Eastin published Gunn and Hale's map as a part of his newspaper supplement *Emigrants' Guide to Pike's Peak*.[10] An early newspaper reported Eastin was already "disposing of between fifteen and twenty thousand copies of the Guide . . . he added [another] ten thousand . . . swelling the whole edition to thirty thousand."[11] Gunn's own map and field guide were then in the process of being printed, and in the fourth column of Eastin's guide there is an advertisement for "Gunn's New Map and Handbook of Kansas and the Gold Mines." Gunn's 1859 map and guidebook were well advertised in a variety of publications and sold for one dollar. He stated that "it was not the original design to publish a handbook in connection with the map, but increasing interest felt in Kansas in all parts of the union, by reason of the recent discoveries of gold at the base of the mountains, decided me to issue a few pages of descriptive and statistical matter, embodying a variety of useful information."[12]

Gunn was the first state senator elected to the Kansas legislature from Wyandotte County, holding office in 1861 and 1862. During the Civil War, he served on the staff of Governor Charles Robinson and also with the Fourth Kansas Volunteers. He went on to have a very distinguished career as a chief engineer and building superintendent with the Kansas Pacific, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroads and other entities. In addition to the field guide and maps of Kansas, Gunn contributed articles and books on political and economic issues of the day.[13]

Both Mitchell's and Gunn's 1859 maps were derived from the surveys of the U.S. Public Land Survey then taking place in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The U.S. Public Land Survey, also known as the "rectangular survey" or the "township and range system," stemmed from the Land Ordinance of 1785.[14] By 1855 a well-practiced procedure was in use for

10. O. B. Gunn, *Superior, Kansas*, map (Wyandotte, K.T., 1858); [O. B. Gunn and Frederick Hale], *Map of the Gold Mines and Three Prominent Routes Leading Thereto*, map, in L. J. Eastin, *Emigrants' Guide to Pike's Peak* (Leavenworth City, K.T.), March 1, 1859.

11. *Missouri Republican*, February 27, 1859, quoted in Hafen, *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859*, 234.

12. O. B. Gunn, *New Map and Hand-book of Kansas & the Gold Mines*, map and guidebook (Wyandott [*sic*] City, Kansas, 1859; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's), iv. Available online at http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/cgiwrap imlskto/index.php?SCREEN=show_document&document_id=101595&PageTitle=Book,%20Gunn. O. B. Gunn, *Gunn's New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines Embracing all the Public Surveys up to the 6th Principal Meridian*, map (Wyandott [*sic*] City, Kansas, 1859; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's). Available online at http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/detailsframes.asp?userinput=gunn&searchdes=&submitform=Submit&var=1859-0005.

13. "In Memoriam," 378–79; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 314; David E. Ballard, "The First State Legislature," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1907–1908* 10 (1908): 239. For an example of Gunn's other work, see *Bullion Versus Coin: a Full Verbatim Report of a Celebrated Discussion upon the Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver* (Kansas City: Hailman & Bowes, [1895]).

14. C. A. White, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 1983); Andro Linklater, *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy* (New York: Walker & Co., 2002).

establishing baselines and principle meridians, surveying range and township boundaries (in addition to standard parallels and guide meridians), and subdividing each township into sections. In Kansas and Nebraska, these procedures were initially guided by the *Oregon Manual of 1851* and later by the *1855 Manual of Surveying Instructions*. The exterior boundaries of neighboring Indian reservations were surveyed so they could be avoided "in the regular rectangular work."[15] The *Map Showing the Progress of the Public Surveys in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to Accompany Annual Report of the Surveyor General* (figure 3) provides an overview of the progress of this work. It was compiled from surveyors' manuscript notes and maps and represents part of the source material from which both Gunn and Mitchell compiled their 1859 maps.[16]

Mitchell's (figure 2) and Gunn's (figure 4) 1859 maps are similar in appearance and content. Each emphasizes eastern Kansas—both in presentation of the territory and in the typography of the title statement. Each also claims to be compiled from the field notes in the Surveyor General's Office and has an ancillary map showing the Kansas routes to the gold mining regions. Each also shows the boundaries of Indian lands. They both contain about the same number of feature names.

Interestingly, road networks vary between the maps and place names do not always match. For example, the village of Blackjack in southeastern Douglas County is called "Wheatland" on Mitchell's map. Ottawa City in central Franklin County does not appear at all on Gunn's map. Overall, the road network on Gunn's map appears more detailed and accurate. However, Mitchell's ancillary map to and of the gold region is much more detailed than Gunn's. Stylistically, Gunn also includes pictorial representations of forested areas along stream and river valleys.

Mitchell and Gunn used different lithographic houses for the printing of their 1859 maps. Mitchell chose the firm Middleton, Strobridge and Co. of Cincinnati and Gunn employed Schuchman's of Pittsburgh, operated by

15. White, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*, 119; U.S. General Land Office, *Instructions to the Surveyor General of Oregon: Being a Manual for Field Operations* (Washington, D.C.: Gideon & Co., 1851); U.S. General Land Office, *Instructions to the Surveyors General of Public Lands of the United States: For Those Surveying Districts Established in and Since the Year 1850, Containing also a Manual of Instructions to Regulate the Field Operations of Deputy Surveyors* (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1855).

16. Ward B. Burnett, *Map Showing the Progress of the Public Surveys in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to Accompany Annual Report of the Surveyor General*, map (Nebraska City, N.T.: Surveyor General's Office, 1858). Available online at http://www.lib.ku.edu/mapscoll/web/ksserial.shtml.

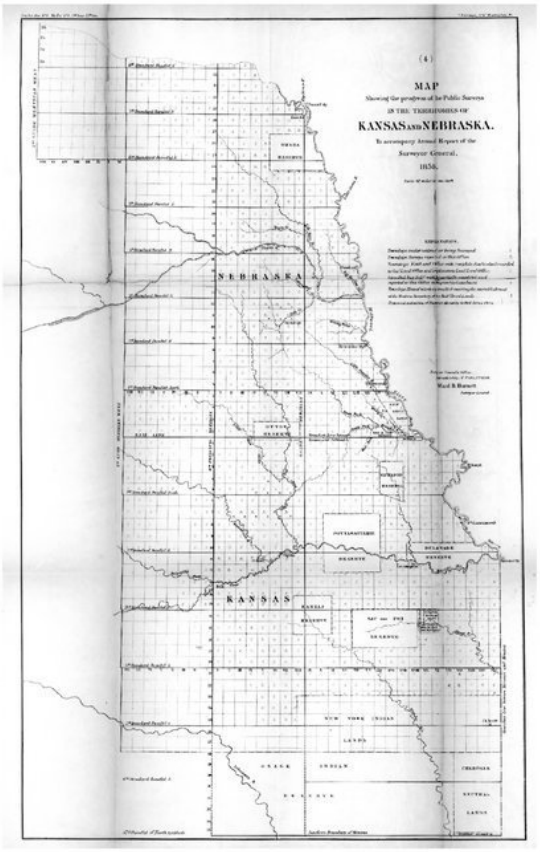


Figure 3: Map Showing the Progress of the Public Surveys in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to Accompany Annual Report of the Surveyor General, *1858, courtesy of the T. R. Smith Map Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.*

William and George Schuchman. Both maps were printed during the period in which monochromatic lithography was the prevalent printing process in commercial cartography. Middleton, Strobridge and Co. (later known as Strobridge and Co.) had begun lithographic printing only a few years earlier, around 1855, when the company added W. R. Wallace and his press and stones. William and George Schuchman were active from 1850 to 1866 in Pittsburgh and did the printing for Gunn's 1859 map as well as each of the Gunn and Mitchell maps through 1865 (figure 5). Little is known about many of the small printing houses that existed at this time. Schuchman's does not even appear in Harry T. Peters's voluminous work *America on Stone*, which chronicles American

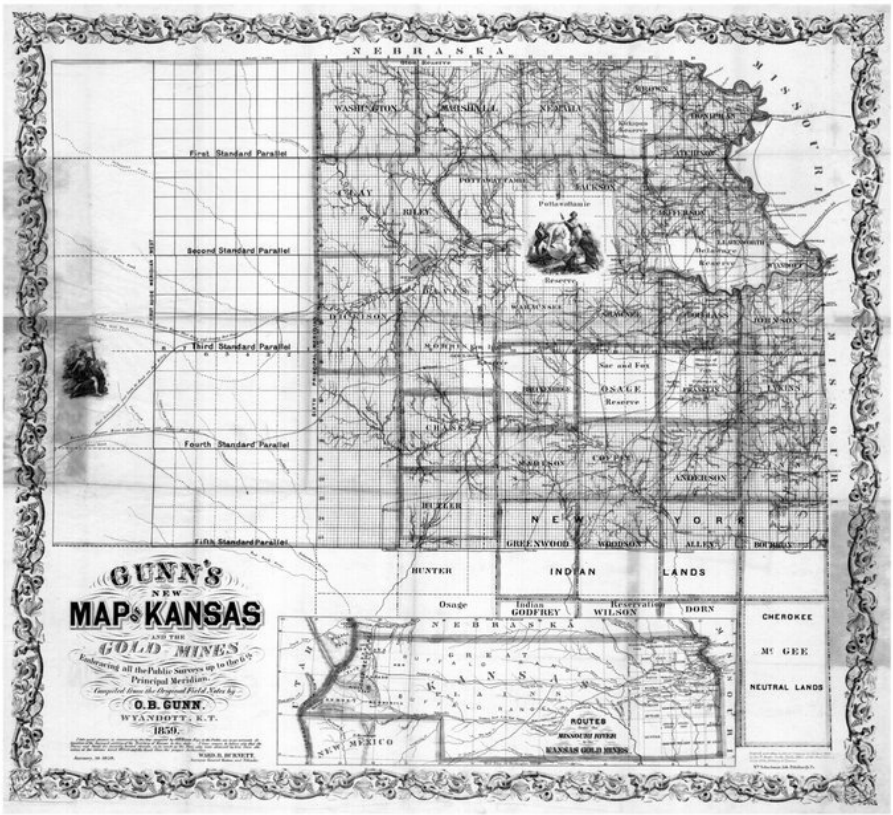


Figure 4: Gunn's New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines Embracing all the Public Surveys up to the 6th Principal Meridian, *1859, courtesy of the Wichita State University Libraries, Department of Special Collections, Kansas Map Collection.*

lithography from its beginnings to its replacement by other printing methods.[17] Peters generally neglected maps in his classification of lithographic material, as do most histories of American lithography that have instead focused on portraits, landscapes, cartoons, and chromolithography (especially Currier and Ives). Krebs and Brother of Pittsburgh, founded by Otto and Adolph Krebs in 1856, printed the 1866 edition of the Gunn and Mitchell map.[18]

After publishing their own maps of Kansas in 1859, Gunn and Mitchell must have seen advantages in cooperating on the publication of a new map, the first edition of which was published in January 1861 (figure 6). The exact circumstances that brought these two individuals into collaboration are not known, but a comparison of the 1859 maps with the 1861 map gives rise to some general observations.[19] First it is clear, based on the style, content, and the fact the same printer was used (though the place of publication changed from Wyandott [*sic*] City to Lecompton), that Gunn's 1859 map was used as the basis for the 1861 map. Four new counties are shown west of the Sixth Principle Meridian, thus the partial change in subtitle: "*embracing all the public survey up to the 6th Principle Meridian*," which conformed more closely to Mitchell's 1859 map, subtitled in part "*embracing all the public survey up to 1861*." Another addition is the

17. Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Hillcrest Press, 2005), 152, 227.

18. Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1931), 54; Last, *The Color Explosion*, 201. The Krebs brothers firm was active until 1901.

19. Gunn and Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861.*

Figure 5: Table of Gunn and Mitchell Maps of Kansas

Edition	*Author*	*Title*	*Scale*	*Dimensions (H x W in cm. from neat lines)*	*Place of Publication*	*Printer*	*Notes based on Holdings*	*Description*
1859	Mitchell, D. T.	*Mitchell's Sectional Map of Kansas: Showing the U.S. Survey up to 1859: Complied from the Field Notes in the Surveyor Generals Office*	1:570,240	59 x 75	Lecompton, Kansas	Cincinnati: Middleton, Strobridge & Co., lith.	Hand colored	University of Kansas
1859	Gunn, O. B.	*Gunn's New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines Embracing all the Public Surveys up to the 6th Principal Meridian*	1:600,000	65 x 72	Wyandott [*sic*], K.T.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Issued with handbook; Hand colored	Wichita State University
1861	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	67 x 67	Lecompton, K.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Hand colored	Kansas Historical Society
1862a	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	66 x 69	Lecompton, K.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Hand colored; only one pictorial vignette	David Rumsey Collection
1862b	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	66 x 69	Lecompton, K.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Hand colored; three pictorial vignettes	Kansas Historical Society
1864	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1864: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	69 x 69	Lecompton, K.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Hand colored	Kansas Historical Society
1865	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1865: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	67 x 69	Lecompton, K.	Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman's	Hand colored	Kansas Historical Society
1866	Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.	*Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1866: Principal Meridian: Complied From Original Field Notes*	1:595,000	67 x 67	Lawrence, Kan.	Pittsburgh: Krebs & Bros.	Hand colored	University of Kansas

Figure 6: Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861: Compiled From Original Field Notes.

inclusion of a table titled "Population of Kansas by Counties According to Census of 1860" in the upper left corner. Further, the locations of U.S. Land Offices in Kansas are given and a diagram of the numbering system of the thirty-six sections of a township according to the U.S. Public Land Survey is included. The authors did not feel it necessary to update the ancillary map of the gold regions with Mitchell's more detailed information. These additions, combined with the fact that the gold rush had passed its peak, suggest that the primary audience for the map and guide were those seeking land in eastern Kansas.

The Gunn and Mitchell 1862 map (figure 7) reflects a number of geopolitical developments. First, Kansas had entered the Union as the thirty-fourth state the preceding year, on January 29, 1861. This is reflected in the place of publication listed on the map: "Lecompton, K." instead of "Lecompton, K.T." The 1862 edition, and subsequent editions, also began to reflect the chaotic and inconsistent nature of U.S. land policy.[20] The obvious trend is toward an erosion of Indian land rights. On the 1862 map, we see the results of the sale of the Delaware Reserve to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad. The map reflects that by this time the Sac and Fox Reserve and Trust lands had also been surveyed.

20. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lecompton, K.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1862; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's). Available online at http://www.davidrumsey.com/. An explanation of U.S. land policy falls beyond the scope of this article. For a thorough discussion, see Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854–1890* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954).

Figure 7: Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Compiled From Original Field Notes.

There is evidence that two separate printings of the 1862 map were made: one has only a single pictorial vignette occurring in the left margin (exemplified by a map held in the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection). The second (figure 7), the Kansas Historical Society example, has three vignettes occurring in the left margin and the area of Fort Riley is emphasized with diagonal fill lines. Although the Colorado Territory had been established on February 28, 1861, no update was made on either of the 1862 printings to the ancillary map of *Routes from the Missouri River to the Kansas Gold Mines*.

The next edition of the map was made in 1864 (figure 8). Amendments to this edition include changes in the locations of land offices and the addition of an advertisement to the map in lieu of one of the vignettes. It reads: "D. T. Mitchell, Attorney at Law and Land Agent. Lawrence, Kansas. Will attend to any business before the Courts of Kansas, Locate Lands buy and sell Lands on commission and pay Tax for non-residents on lands in any county in the State."[21] The placement of the city of Ottawa in Franklin County is also different in this edition, and the Ottawa Indian Reserve is shown as surveyed.

The 1865 edition of Gunn and Mitchell's map seems to regress from the 1864 edition (figure 1). The subtitle adds the phrase "*principal meridian*," and previous

21. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1864: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lecompton, K.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1864; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's).

Figure 8: Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1864: Compiled From Original Field Notes.

updates, such as the new locations of U.S. Land Offices and the revisions made in Franklin County in the 1864 edition, are lost and revert back to the status of the 1862 edition.[22]

The primary change in the 1866 edition is the modification of the place of publication from "Lecompton" to "Lawrence, Kan." The printer has also changed to Krebs and Bros. In addition, all remaining Indian reservations, except for the Otoe Reserve in north central Kansas, which straddles the Kansas-Nebraska border, have been surveyed and filled with township and range lines. Also, the revisions within Franklin County that appeared on the 1864 edition, but were dropped from the 1865 edition, have been restored.[23]

In summery, Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell each created a map independently in 1859, then pooled their efforts to create a map first published in 1861. Several editions of this map were printed using the monochromatic lithographic process and the maps were then hand colored. All six editions of Gunn and Mitchell's map include an ancillary map of *Routes from the Missouri*

22. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1865: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lecompton, K.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1865; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman's). Available online at http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/detailsframes.asp?offset=10&var=1865-0003.

23. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell's New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1866: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lawrence, Kan.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1865; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Krebs & Bros.).