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demanded of Alexander: "Confess before we harm you." Alexander repeated what he had told the authorities in Lansing: "I have nothing to confess." Although the Leavenworth papers later reported that the increasingly angry mob extracted postmortem "relics," the condition of physical evidence from Alexander's body taken to the Kansas Historical Society in Topeka for preservation after the lynching suggests that the man had yet to be burned when he was mutilated. There were hints of this barbarism—including castration—in the *Times*: "'My God men,' [Alexander] cried in his agony. 'I have told you that I am innocent. I can't tell you more. I didn't do it.'"[51]

Almost according to script, an aggrieved loved one appeared in order to conduct the coup de grace. The murder victim's father, William Forbes, appeared at the courthouse and told the mob: "Don't hang the brute, men don't hang him. Let's take him out where he murdered my daughter and burn him."[52] The mob then took its prisoner to the site of Pearl Forbes's death at Lawrence and Spruce. Following the wagon carrying Alexander, according to news reports, "wagons of every description raced [down] Delaware and Cherokee streets" like the opening of Oklahoma Territory. "Women with babies in their arms, women pushing [baby carriages], little boys and girls raced along the sidewalks as if wild with frenzy." The locals cheered as the mob and entourage passed on their way to the execution site. The *Times* may not have exaggerated the public's response, because one witness, Paul Gempel, recalled years later that the local YMCA was empty that afternoon, and when he asked, "Where's everybody?," he was told they were going to lynch Fred Alexander. By the time Gempel arrived at the scene, he estimated that five thousand people were present and "nobody seemed to make any attempt to stop it."[53]

About 5:10 p.m. the mob arrived at the ravine with Alexander in tow. The scene was well choreographed with everything at hand for the burning, including the iron rail that would be used as a stake. The mob took the rail and placed it in the center of the ravine, then chained the victim to it. A Standard Oil tanker was at the ready. A call was made for William Forbes to come forward. "Let Forbes chain him," the mob yelled and Pearl Forbes's father made the final effort to secure Alexander to the rail. Even at this late hour, and knowing he was about to die, Alexander still refused to confess. The mob grew increasingly impatient, and many began to shout, "Put a match to him." William Forbes then asked Alexander if he knew who had killed his daughter. Alexander responded, "I don't know, I don't know," and warned Forbes that "you'll be sorry someday" when the real culprit was found. Buckets of kerosene from the tanker were poured on him, as the mob demanded, "Throw it on the nigger." Witnesses estimated his executioners used twenty-two gallons to drench Alexander. When Alexander was thoroughly soaked, William Forbes struck the match and engulfed him in flames.[54]

Nearly three hours after the burning, at approximately 8:00 p.m., police officials and the county coroner went to the scene to retrieve Alexander's remains. The charred and mutilated body was placed in a plain wooden coffin by the coroner, Harry W. Koohler, Officer William Evans, and Detective Edward Murphy. They took the coffin to Sexton's funeral parlor, where a large crowd entered the building to look at the remains. The *Times* claimed that relic hunters disfigured Alexander's body as his mother and sister looked on.[55] However, the records indicate it is highly unlikely that all the mutilations happened post mortem. Koohler did not authorize an autopsy, ruling the death was at the hands of "parties unknown." The body was quickly buried in potter's field at Mount Muncie Cemetery, not far from the grave of Pearl Forbes.

It did not take long before the finger pointing started. Governor Stanley placed the blame for the lynching squarely on Everhardy. The governor claimed that "the sheriff of Leavenworth is either a despicable scoundrel or a despicable coward," and added, "there was no reason in the world that the negro should not have been protected to the last. The whole military power

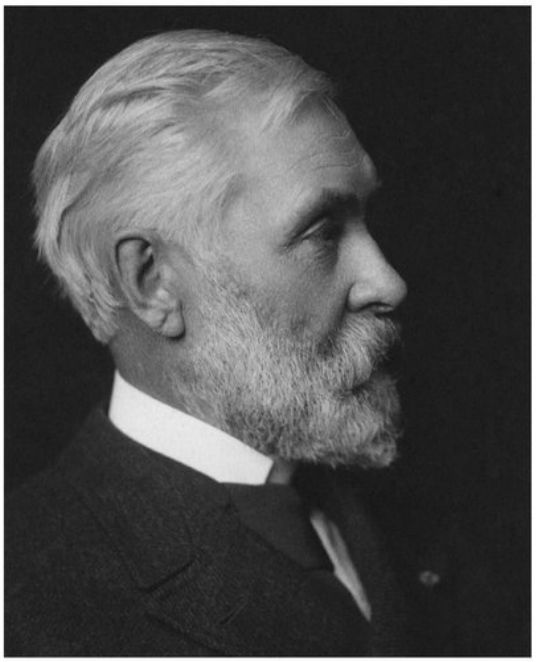
51. "Alexander Burned," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901; the *Atchison Daily Globe* reported that following the lynching a delegation from Leavenworth traveled to Topeka to give Alexander's ear to the historical society. According to the account, the adjectives "burned or charred" were not included in the description. The *Daily Globe* provided the names of those in the delegation: Michael Przyblowicz, the Leavenworth City Clerk; John Mischefzky, who worked at Abernathy Manufacturing; and John Suwalski. According to the *Daily Globe*, this delegation "left for Topeka today, to present a valuable relic; the ear of Yaw Alexander, the negro burned at the stake Tuesday night." *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 17, 1901.

52. The events of January 15, 1901, largely followed the earlier proscriptions of the *Times*. On November 8, 1900, for instance, one day after the body of Pearl Forbes was discovered, the *Times* wrote that a mob should take the perpetrator "from the authorities, if caught, and burn him at the stake where the murder occurred."

53. "Alexander Burned," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901; Gempel interview.

54. "Colored Man Burned At The Stake in Kansas," *Searchlight*, January 19, 1901; "Alexander Burned," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901.

55. "Alexander Burned," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901; *Leavenworth City Directory, 1900–1901* (Leavenworth: Samuel Dodsworth Book Co., 1900), 240.



Judge James H. Gillpatrick, above, was the local district judge who would have presided over Alexander's trail had it happened. Gillpatrick called Governor William E. Stanley's office on January 14 to warn him of the dangers posed by the return of Alexander to Leavenworth. "To go through the ordinary form of arraignment of this man," he argued in a follow up letter to the governor, is "to invoke mob violence, it seems to me."

of the state would have been devoted to the effort and the sheriff knew it all the time."[56] Stanley argued that if he had known the actual situation in Leavenworth, the National Guard would have been sent, but he claimed Everhardy assured him that the crisis was under control. Even still, Stanley had received a very different picture of the seriousness of the situation in Leavenworth from Judge Gillpatrick, who contacted the governor before the lynching. Stanley received Gillpatrick's warnings before the mob took hold of Alexander, as is evidenced by the response he sent Gillpatrick. The judge, perhaps for the historical record, sent an additional letter to Stanley, cautioning the governor of the potential for violence if Alexander was returned to county custody. Gillpatrick knew of the threat, and so did Governor Stanley.[57]

56. "Blames Everhardy," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901.

57. James H. Gillpatrick to Governor William Eugene Stanley, January 15, 1901, 27-05-06-06, box 3, folder 13, Stanley Papers. Gillpatrick was supported by the *Times* and the Anthony family during the 1900 election.

What options did Stanley have for ensuring the safety of Fred Alexander? Unlike today, turn-of-the-century Kansas had neither a state police nor a bureau of investigation. Still, state officials had alternatives and could have moved for a change of venue, transferring the suspect to Topeka, Lawrence, or Wichita, as it was inconceivable that Fred Alexander could have received a fair trial anywhere in Leavenworth County. If that was not acceptable to county officials or the governor, the trial could have been held at the state prison, as Alexander was already in state custody. Finally, Stanley could have declared martial law and ordered a battalion or more of the National Guard to ensure the safety of the prisoner and the operations of the district court. Unfortunately, the governor did nothing, either purposefully or because he trusted Everhardy's alleged assurances over Gillpatrick's warnings.

Mobilizing Republican newspapers in support of Stanley was easy. Soon most of the Republican-controlled press supported the governor's argument that "the death penalty must be restored in Kansas and then things of this kind will not happen." Henry Allen, Stanley's private secretary, even wrote an editorial in the *Ottawa Evening Herald* seconding the governor by claiming, "When it is known to a certainty that criminals are to be brought to judgment and pay the penalty, without the intervention of trickery, from defending attorneys, which of itself often amounts to a crime, the impulse toward lynch law will be checked." At a time when sex offenders were seldom rigorously punished, he wrote that not only should capital punishment be administered for murder, but also for rape. The *Times* agreed. Not reported in the *Times* was Allen's clear message to future mobs that only "when lynchers themselves are certain of a punishment befitting the enormity of their crime, lynching will be stopped."[58]

Still, the *Times* and its publisher D. R. Anthony, Sr., sought to blame Democrats and Populists for the lynching of Fred Alexander.[59] Other Leavenworth citizens went further and contrived the notion that ruffians from Platte City, Missouri, were behind the burning because they believed Missourians could never be trusted

58. "Blames Everhardy," *Leavenworth Times*, January 16, 1901; "Gov. Stanley Indignant," *Ottawa Evening Herald*, January 16, 1901; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, January 18, 1901.

59. Charles W. Boyd, a sheriff from Omaha, Nebraska, took exception to Stanley's appraisal of Everhardy's actions. As he wrote to Stanley, "I am surprised and *astonished* that you are trying to lay all the blame for this at the door of *Sheriff Everhardy* of Leavenworth, while it is your duty to look into the [lynching] more carefully than you have done." Charles W. Boyd to William Eugene Stanley, January 16, 1901, 27-05-06-06, box 3, folder 13, Stanley Papers.

to live within the confines of humanity or the law. Edgar W. Howe, the editor of the *Atchison Daily Globe*, was the first to raise the possibility that Alexander was innocent. Although no special friend of African Americans and even known for attacking them in the past, Howe ran a banner headline on January 17, 1901: "Some Blame Everhardy; Others Stanley: No One Seems to Think the Negro Had Anything to Do With It."[60] The day before, January 16, Howe had done something even more extraordinary: he told the truth about race relations in turn-of-the-century Kansas, writing that "there is no doubt that the white and black races hate each other. Northern people hate blacks more bitterly than do the white people of the south, for the reason that in the north more imprudent, worthless Negroes are found than in the south. In the south, the bad Negroes are forced to behave themselves. These are the facts that must be faced."[61]

Governor Stanley understood that if he could not convince the public of his sincerity, then he must deceive them. Stanley achieved this by first indicating his intention to bring the perpetrators of the lynching to justice, and then avoiding the issue at all costs. The governor's public statements concerning his indignation about the Alexander case reaped political dividends. A lawyer from Joplin, Missouri, wrote Stanley, "My father was one of John Brown's followers. . . . I am glad Governor that you are determined to bring the perpetrators of the that dastardly crime [the immolation of Alexander] to justice . . . [and] do your best to wipe out that foul blot upon the pages of Kansas history."[62]

Stanley vacillated on whether to issue a reward for the arrest of those responsible, but after weighing the options, he declined. He claimed that "it would be absolutely no use to issue the offer," because Leavenworth would never convict the perpetrators if they were apprehended. But the coroner's verdict on January 17 mobilized African Americans, who knew that Fred Alexander did not die at the hands of "parties unknown." W. B. Townsend played a critical role in exerting pressure on officials to reverse the governor's response. Stanley was in a bind; on the one hand, he was pressured by African Americans throughout Kansas for justice; on the other, influential officials sought to protect the perpetrators. The governor took the course of least resistance and signed a reward proclamation on February 26, more than a month after the Leavenworth tragedy. Stanley offered:

> A reward of FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS for the apprehension and arrest within ninety days from this date, and final conviction, of

William E. Stanley, a Republican originally from Ohio, served as Kansas governor from 1899 until 1903. On January 13, 1901, officials at the state penitentiary at Lansing informed the governor of the escalating situation outside their gates. Although Stanley notified the National Guard in Lawrence and Topeka to stand ready for mobilization, he did not immediately send troops. After the lynching, the governor placed blame squarely on Everhardy, claiming that the sheriff assured him the crisis was under control.

60. *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 17, 1901. Howe defended Leavenworth for the lynching. His biographer, Calder M. Pickett, noted that Howe respected William Allen White, but when White questioned the cruel burning of Alexander, Howe responded that "Alexander did not permit Pearl Forbes to die easily as possible." But more troubling, Howe often used other papers to support his position, quoting them verbatim to argue against such interlocutors as "a Leavenworth preacher named Newman [who] attacked the people because of the recent lynching." In response Howe cited the *Leavenworth Chronicle*, which noted, "in the community in which Mr. Newman was bred it may be the proper thing to champion a black devil who has outraged the chastity of nine or ten white women, and murdered one, and when he is caught, and his crimes brought home to him, attempt to prevent the punishment being applied, by talking about the law, where there is no law fitting the offense." See Calder M. Pickett, *Ed Howe: Country Town Philosopher* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1968), 158–59, 337; "The Indignant Mr. White," *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 24, 1901; *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 22, 1901.

61. Howe quoted in "Kansas Crime Reviewed," *Plaindealer*, January 25, 1901.

62. W. Jones to William Eugene Stanley, January 17, 1901, 27-05-06-06, box 3, folder 13, Stanley Papers.

> the unknown party or parties composing the mob, who on about 15th day of January 1901, in Leavenworth County, Kansas, forcibly seized one *George Alexander* from the officers of said County and burned him at the stake, said reward to be paid upon such conviction.

The proclamation appeared in most African American papers, including the erroneous listing of George Alexander as the victim.[63]

The vigilante committee and its participants had nothing to fear. Calls for their prosecution went nowhere. W. B. Townsend initially accepted Stanley's position and took the governor at his word.[64] Townsend was willing to name names of some of those involved, such as Harry W. Koohler, the county coroner, and those in the police department who actively participated in the crime. At first he avoided identifying the marquee figures such as the mayor and D. R. Anthony, Jr., who either directly or indirectly orchestrated the lynching, but in a fit of righteous anger Townsend "made an ill-advised statement while excitement ran high," according to E. W. Howe of the *Daily Globe* and perhaps implicated those men.[65] But Howe also noted that Townsend's comments may have been an invention spread by his enemies. Townsend's efforts to seek justice were a clear threat to those who participated in the lynching, even if they did not plan the operation. To be safe from the public's wrath, Townsend and his wife left Leavenworth shortly after the burning. They fled to Atchison on January 24, and later to Topeka.[66]

While the Townsends were away, three men, one local and two out-of-towners, went to his home between 1:00 and 2:00 a.m. on the morning of February 18, and set his house ablaze, extensively damaging his home and personal possessions. Clearly this was a warning for Townsend to cease his persistent efforts to bring the "parties unknown" to justice. The *American Citizen*, a black newspaper in Kansas City, informed readers that Townsend left Leavenworth "because he had the manhood to speak out against the burning of one of his race."[67] Remarkably absent in the *Times* were editorials in support of Townsend's position or even any mention of either the burning of Townsend's home or the arrest and court appearance of the perpetrators of that crime. This was especially surprising given that Townsend was not only a dedicated Republican but a loyal Anthony ally, defending him in court in 1899 for assault. But when political advantage could be made, Anthony struck, particularly when he criticized Officer Michael McDonald for assaulting Townsend on his return to Leavenworth on May 30. Anthony believed McDonald was "unfit to be a police officer and he should be made to pay the penalty for his crime."[68] Yet no effort was made by the *Times* or other Leavenworth papers to link McDonald or other ringleaders to the murder of Fred Alexander. In 1901 Townsend left Leavenworth for Pueblo, Colorado, where he had a more illustrious career than he ever attained in Kansas. Yet, as one scholar stressed, "Townsend remained, nonetheless unbowed" in his efforts for racial justice despite the personal costs he paid for his courage.[69]

As the dust settled following the Alexander lynching, Leavenworth was under constant barrage from all quarters for its barbarism. In response, the *Leavenworth Chronicle* articulated a justification for the lynching, which served as the unofficial rationale for what happened:

> To men who know not what it is to feel that their women are at any moment subject to assault if they chance to be alone; who, when wife or daughter is half an hour late in returning home, at once conjure up the possibility of a negro rape fiend; whose neighbor's daughter has been raped and suffers in silence rather than endure

63. "Echoes From the Pyre," *Leavenworth Times*, January 17, 1901, italics added; Reward for the Murder of George Alexander, 27-05-07-04, box 8, folder 2: Crime and Criminals, Proclamation of Reward 1901, Stanley Papers, italics added. George Alexander was not a relative, but was a black coal miner working in the Riverside Mines. One can only speculate as to the reason for the rather serious mistake in the proclamation—whether it was simply a clerical error or callous indifference on the part of the governor and/or his staff. Following the lynching, the Afro-American Council representing black civic leaders statewide met repeatedly with Stanley in order to bring those responsible for the lynching of Fred Alexander to justice.

64. "Echoes From the Pyre," *Leavenworth Times*, January 17, 1901.

65. "By Parties Unknown," *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 17, 1901.

66. *Atchison Daily Globe*, January 24, 1901.

67. One of the perpetrators was forty-five-year-old James Smith, a farmer from Delaware Township, located near Lansing. Another was twenty-one-year-old P. W. Bradley, who lived on his father's farm in Brown County, near Robinson City. The third was a local, who listed his name as "John Doe." Docket of Arrests, City of Leavenworth, 1898–1903, docket numbers 52, 53, and 54 for February 18, 1901; *American Citizen*, March 1, 1901; "Negroes Organize," *Plaindealer*, March 1, 1901.

68. "Bolend [*sic*] Townsend Assaulted by M'Donald," *Leavenworth Times*, May 31, 1901; "A Brutal Act," *Leavenworth Times*, June 1, 1901.

69. Campney, "W. B. Townsend," 272–73. The black community believed that McDonald and Koohler played central roles in the lynching.

> the shame of exposure; whose city is haunted by a lust-governed devil who banks upon the fact that respectable white women would rather remain silent than cause him to be prosecuted; to men who know not these things, as actual vital facts of their everyday life, it is easy enough to say Alexander should not have been burned. But to men who feel these things to be daily actualities, the punishment that was meted out on Lawrence avenue to this moral leper, seems just and right.[70]

Leavenworth's other papers, and those in neighboring communities, responded in a similar fashion. Throughout their coverage of Pearl Forbes's murder, Eva Roth's rape, and Fred Alexander's lynching, the newspapers embellished the evidence to such an extent that they played on what James McPherson called those "darker passions of hatred and vengeance."[71] This reporting, colored by a number of political and racial motivations, culminated in the public burning on a Leavenworth street corner on January 15, 1901.

Leavenworth, of course, was not the only city to see such violence. Lynchings were occurring at a staggering rate across the United States at the turn of the century. When the Wichita *Searchlight* reported the immolation of Fred Alexander, it noted that another lynching was foiled in Wichita on January 14, 1901, when a white mob attempted to lynch William Snelly, a black man, for shooting a local white. When news of the planned lynching reached black residents, "every colored man who could be found was informed by a committee [who spread the news] and by eight o'clock [a force of] colored men, armed with shotguns, pistols, knives, clubs, and every other imaginable instrument of destruction was formed." Guards were posted and "if an attempt at lynching was made . . . there would be 'a hot time in the old town that night.'"[72] The lesson was obvious to the *Searchlight*: "The Negro's friend has dwindled to a Smith & Wesson pistol, a Repeating Rifle, 50 rounds of ammunition for each, a strong nerve, a lesson in good marksmanship. . . . Any Negro without this friend is a fool."[73]

The *Plaindealer* was even more vociferous, asking, "are they cowards?" The paper challenged the manliness of black people in Leavenworth, wondering if they "won't call a meeting denouncing the mob and take proper steps to protect their fellow townsman, W. B. Townsend, from the threats of dire vengeance from that Neely and Everhardy, democratic hoodlum gang. . . . If the Negroes of Kansas let this brutal affray go unnoticed, Kansas will be like Georgia and Texas in a few years." It was up to blacks throughout the state to stand up and "do their duty," not like "those Negroes in Leavenworth who are afraid of [losing] their jobs, [and are] keep[ing] their mouths shut and be[coming] a lick spittle for those demons."[74] The answer was obvious. In addition to meetings, resolutions, and peaceful endeavors to enforce the law, black men must be willing to protect their racial brothers by force if need be, disregarding the dangers that could ensue if those efforts failed.

Initially, the state legislature made no effort to outlaw lynching after the Alexander murder. But with the gruesome hanging a year later in Pittsburg of Mont Godley, an African American, state officials feared that Kansas was returning to a pattern of racial violence not seen since the 1880s and 1890s. Finally they were ready to act. The Kansas legislature criminalized vigilante justice in 1903. The statute defined both lynching and aiding and abetting, and set the punishment from five years to life if the victim was murdered. The law even criminalized anyone who knew about a lynching plan, making them accessories. If found guilty of aiding and abetting, they could be imprisoned for no less than two and no more than twenty-one years. Likewise, the new law removed from office any sheriff or deputy who failed to protect a prisoner in their custody. The law authorized the governor to conduct a hearing to determine the sheriff's fitness to remain in office and could reinstate the sheriff if the evidence warranted.[75]

For the next fourteen years, Kansans were spared the horrors of extralegal violence, and it seemed the antilynching statute was an effective deterrent. On September 21, 1916, however, a mob hanged Bert Dudley for murder in Olathe. In reaction, Governor Arthur Capper and Attorney General S. M. Brewster removed

70. "The Chronicle Attitude," *Leavenworth Chronicle*, January 24, 1901. Leavenworth was attacked by the editorials in nearly all sections of the country, except for the South.
71. James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For 1861–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 1.
72. "Mob Foiled," *Searchlight*, January 19, 1901.
73. *Ibid.*
74. "Are They Cowards," *Plaindealer*, February 1, 1901.
75. Kansas *Laws* (1903), ch. 221; see also Kansas *Revised Statutes* (1923), 391–92; for the Godley lynching, which took place in the early morning hours of Christmas 1902 and was occasioned by the shooting of a police officer before midnight on Christmas Eve, see Yost, "Lynchings in Kansas," 219; "Murder and Lynching," *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*, December 26, 1902.

With the end of World War I, a new wave of racially inspired violence rocked the United States. Race riots broke out and lynchings escalated. Between 1918 and 1923, there were five lynchings in Missouri and one in Kansas. Although this was the last lynching of an African American in the state, race relations in Kansas were still strained. The Ku Klux Klan infiltrated Leavenworth in the 1920s, as it did many Kansas communities. Pictured are members of the KKK parading down a Leavenworth street in 1924. The next year the state Supreme Court upheld Kansas's legal right to oust the group, a decision ultimately accepted by the U.S. Supreme Court. Photograph courtesy of the Leavenworth County Historical Society.

the sheriff, but following a subsequent hearing, Capper restored the official, pending the arrest of the perpetrators. Upon reflection, Brewster wrote Capper and confided, "I doubt very much if anything we could do now would result in the apprehension of the men guilty of the offense." Even though they realized that the enforcement of the lynching statue was next to impossible, Brewster told Capper, "It might do some good if you would write to the sheriff and call his attention to the promises which he made to you prior to his reinstatement."[76]

With the end of World War I, a new wave of racially inspired violence rocked the United States. Race riots broke out in twenty-six American cities, including Washington and Chicago, and lynchings escalated. Between 1918 and 1923, there were five lynchings in Missouri and one in Kansas. On April 19, 1920, a mob lynched Albert Evans for rape in Mulberry; he was the last African American lynched in Kansas. As the efforts by blacks to stop the lynchings of Alexander in Leavenworth and Snelly in Wichita demonstrate, increasingly blacks no longer sat idly by and watched members of their race become victims of vigilante justice. Unfortunately, the Evans lynching was spontaneous and proved impossible for the African American community to mobilize against.

Many blacks believed white officials would never protect black defendants facing angry white mobs. The test came on Thursday, December 16, 1920, when a white grocer, R. R. Wharton, was killed during a robbery in Independence, Kansas. The police arrested Noble Green, a thirty-seven-year-old father of four. Soon a mob appeared before the jail and the deputy sheriff feared violence. This time, African Americans armed themselves to protect Green. Almost simultaneously, an armed white mob materialized. No one knows who fired the first shot, but as the National Guard reported, "a fusillade . . . [was] exchanged between whites and blacks,

76. S. M. Brewster to Arthur Capper, February 20, 1917, Governor's Office, Correspondence Files Governor Arthur Capper, General Correspondence Material File, 1917–1918, No. 49-120, 27-08-02-07, box 12, folder General Correspondence—Numerical File 88-91, Library and Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

resulting in the death of one Negro, two whites, and the serious wounding of three other whites." To witnesses it appeared that "a race war was on" in Independence. Only the timely arrival of the National Guard ended the threats of Noble Green's lynching and a continued race riot.[77] After these events in Independence, no further attempts were made to lynch an African American in Kansas.

Similar efforts by armed black men to defend a black suspect against lynching occurred not long after in the black community of Greenwood in Tulsa, Oklahoma. On May 30, 1921, nineteen-year-old Dick Rowland, a shoeshine boy, entered the Drexel Building in downtown Tulsa to use the lavatory. Rowland took the building's elevator, operated by a young white woman, seventeen-year-old orphan Sarah Page. As one scholar noted, we will never know what happened, but when Rowland ran from the elevator, followed by Page screaming, authorities assumed the worst. According to most accounts of the riot that followed, Rowland had simply stepped on Page's foot. Initially, Rowland was not arrested, but on the following day he was placed in custody. As often happened in lynchings, the local newspaper, the *Tulsa Tribune*, which embellished the incident and inflamed the white public at a time when the Ku Klux Klan was active in Oklahoma, exaggerated the situation.[78]

Forty-five minutes after the *Tribune* hit the streets someone called the police and reported that there was talk of lynching Rowland. Quickly a mob of approximately fifteen hundred to two thousand whites arrived at the jail, indicating that a lynching was in the offing. Unlike Leavenworth in 1901, but very similar to the events in Independence in 1920, five hundred armed blacks arrived on the scene to protect Rowland. The *New York Times* considered the armed men "a negro army." The sheriff, along with one of three black officers on the Tulsa police force, Barney Cleaver, tried to convince the black contingent to return home. But no attempt was made to disperse the white mob that not only continued to grow, but also started to ransack local hardware stores for weapons and ammunition.[79] The governor mobilized the Oklahoma National Guard, but the governor's order came too late. Tulsa experienced a full-blown race war, something that the Kansas National Guard had feared in Independence. Whites attacked blacks at will, in some cases burning black homes while the residents remained inside. Thirty to thirty-five blocks of Tulsa, the so-called "Black Wall Street," were left smoldering and nearly six thousand blacks were held in preventive detention. The death toll reported by the *New York Times* numbered nine whites and sixty-eight blacks by June 1, but recent estimates by leading historians, including John Hope Franklin and Scott Ellsworth, put the death toll at three hundred.[80]

The riots in the 1920s in Independence and Tulsa suggest that it is unclear whether or not the lynching of Fred Alexander in Leavenworth on January 15, 1901, could have been stopped. It is possible that had blacks in Leavenworth maintained their resistance after arming themselves to protect Alexander, a race war would have resulted. What is clear is that by failing to place Leavenworth under martial law before Alexander's lynching, Governor William Stanley started a chain of events that emboldened vigilantes and forced African Americans to put their faith, not in the judicial process, but in armed self-protection. Only later, once it became commonplace for African Americans to collectively protect black suspects and civil authorities began to deploy the National Guard to stop racial conflicts, did Kansas finally put an end to vigilante justice targeting blacks. KH

77. Yost, "Lynchings in Kansas," 219; Adjutant General State of Kansas, *Twenty-Third Biennial Report 1921–1922* (Topeka: Kansas State Printer, 1923), 28.

78. Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1992), 46–47.

79. *Ibid.*, 47–52.

80. *Ibid.*, 66; "85 Whites and Negroes Die in Tulsa Riots as 3,000 Armed Men Battle in the Streets," *New York Times*, June 2, 1921. Ellsworth and others cite the Red Cross figures at three hundred; see Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land*, 69; "Panel Seeks Clearer View of 1921 Tulsa Race Riot," *New York Times*, February 21, 1999; John Hope Franklin and Scott Ellsworth, "History Knows No Fences: An Overview," in *The Tulsa Race Riot: A Report*, by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 ([Oklahoma City, Okla.]: The Commission, [2001]), 23. For additional information on the Tulsa race riot see James S. Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance: America's Worst Race Riot and Its Legacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002); Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Race Riot: Race, Reparations, and Reconciliation* (New York: Oxford University, 2002); Tim Madigan, *The Burning: Massacre, Destruction, and the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2001).

Monday Morning, *Herschel C. Logan (1934)*

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KANSAS:

A Centennial Portrait, Part One

by Emory Lindquist

Kansas History plans to offer its readers a special "Kansas at 150" issue next spring. In the meantime, as we look forward to our state's rapidly approaching sesquicentennial year, we thought it might be interesting to look back fifty years. What were Kansans saying about their state as they reflected on the first one hundred years of statehood? The following are the learned observations of Kansas historian and university administrator Emory Lindquist, as first published in the Kansas Historical Quarterly's *spring 1961 issue.*

The essay has been illustrated with selected prints by Kansas artist Herschel C. Logan, lightly edited for style, and a few notes have been added (in all italics so as to be distinct from Lindquist's original notes) where considered necessary, but for the most part it is presented here as originally published. Given the length of the piece, the editor has divided it into two parts for republication. Part one appears here; part two will appear in our autumn issue. Understandably, due to the passage of time, a few of Professor Lindquist's comments are dated, but for better, and occasionally worse, most remain remarkably prescient.

Dr. Emory Kempton Lindquist *(1908–1992), a native of Lindsborg, Rhodes scholar, and former professor and president of Bethany College (1933–1953), served as a professor, a dean, and president at Wichita State University from 1953 to 1978. He authored numerous articles and books, including* Smoky Valley People: A History of Lindsborg, Kansas *(1953),* Vision for a Valley: Olof Olsson and the Early History of Lindsborg *(1970),* Bethany in Kansas: The History of a College *(1975), and* G. N. Malm: A Swedish Immigrant's Varied Career *(1989), and in 1962 served as president of the Kansas State Historical Society.*

A variety of answers can be given to the question, "What is Kansas?" Kansas is the thirty-fourth of fifty commonwealths that form the United States, having gained its cherished place in a time of national tension in January 1861, and having contributed from its birth to the future of the national destiny, geographically and politically. Kansas is an almost perfect parallelogram, except for the jagged corner in the northeast, fashioned by the Missouri River. It has an area of slightly more than 82,000 square miles, rising from an elevation of less than 700 feet above sea level near the southeastern corner, to more than 4,100 feet in the northwest. Its border is 400 miles long, running east and west along Nebraska and Oklahoma, and 200 miles, north and south adjoining Missouri and Colorado, lying within 37 to 40 north latitude and 95 to 102 west longitude. Kansas has known the proprietorship of Indians, some native, others having migrated there at various times; and at least two foreign flags, Spanish and French, actually waved in the Kansas breeze, symbols of authority over the sparsely settled peoples prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, when the Stars and Stripes replaced the banner of Napoleon's consulate. When Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the southwestern one-sixteenth of Kansas, south of the Arkansas River and west of the 100th meridian, was Mexican territory, a claim that Texas sought to enforce when independence was gained from Mexico in 1836. All of Kansas came under United States jurisdiction when Texas was annexed in 1845. Originally, and for many decades, overwhelmingly agrarian, but now increasingly industrial and urban, Kansas has at times helped to shape the course of national developments, but more often has responded to such developments with varying degrees of acceptance, rejection, or indifference.

Kansas in the dimension of time, like every populated geographic area, has a history that casts long shadows into the future—some good, some evil—a history not always fully understood nor interpreted in accordance with the facts, but creating, nevertheless, that indefinable quality called a "tradition," to inspire or to console, as circumstances called for inspiration or consolation. That tradition, from its earliest foundation, includes Bleeding Kansas, Puritanism, individualism, extremism, dogmatism, idealism, agrarianism, and other less dramatic but nonetheless real elements in fashioning the mind of a state. That is, if a state can be described as having a mind.

Kansas has shared in the diversified company of other states that have joined to form the great symphony of American life. Some states are older, others younger, and all are different in origin, culture, and spirit. Dorothy Canfield Fisher sought to describe a few of them by dramatic word portraiture in an article, a part of a series described as "the new literature of self-appraisal," which appeared in the *Nation* in 1922. "Everybody knows," wrote Mrs. Fisher, "that New York State is a glowing, queenly creature, with a gold crown on her head and a flowing purple velvet cloak. The face of Louisiana is as familiar—dark eyed, fascinating, temperamental. Virginia is a white-haired, dignified *grande dame* with ancient, well-mended fine lace and thin old silver spoons. Massachusetts is a man, a serious, middle-aged man, with a hard conscientious intelligent face, and hair thinned by intellectual application." Then Mrs. Fisher concluded: "These State countenances are familiar to all of us."[1]

The countenance of Kansas is not readily portrayed. The artist, using brush and paint, often finds the creation of a personal portrait difficult because of the changing moods of his subject day by day. How much more difficult it is to create the portrait of a state across a century of change, from the pioneer world of an isolated rural community to the jet-driven international era of today! There must be several partial portraits before there can be a composite one, if that should ever be attempted. Before we speak of the countenance of Kansas there is still the prior question—"What is Kansas?"

Kansas is a place of irregular wooded hills in northeastern counties, where streams of varying sizes wend their way hesitatingly toward the inevitable destiny of a far-away ocean, but it is also the High Plains of the western reaches, where prairie land stretches undisturbed farther than unaided eye can see. It is the silence of early November twilight in Brookville amidst the vestiges of the Old West, but it is also the hustle and bustle of Broadway and Douglas in urban Wichita, once known as the "Peerless Princess of the Plains," at five p.m. on weekdays. It is the solitude of the unheard song of a meadowlark in the shadows of a great cathedral-like wheat elevator near Grinnell, singing because it is the nature of a meadowlark to sing, but it is also the piercing shriek of a man-made Navy jet fighter stationed at Olathe, symbol of a time

1. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "These United States. 4, Vermont: Our Rich Little Poor State," *Nation* 114 (May 31, 1922): 643.

Kansas Hills, *Herschel C. Logan (1934)*

of troubles, off on a mission of rehearsal in a world that knows not if it can survive. It is the blistering heat of August on the good earth, now parched, the roaring blizzard of January, reminiscent of that fateful January 1886 when storm gods unleashed their mighty power, and the sodden soil of mid-April, with promise of new life in nature. But it is more than that.

Kansas is the village of Victoria, with its English name and remembrances of the adventurous people from behind the white cliffs of Dover, who in the early 1870s wished to honor Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of all Britain, Defender of the Faith, soon to be designated Empress of India, by giving her name to a yet to be inhabited Kansas village, and it is Victoria's great twin-spired "Cathedral of the Plains," St. Fidelis, built by a later generation of German-Russian immigrants from the steppes of Czarist Russia, affirming faith in the City of God, which traced its origin to events almost two thousand years before there was a Kansas. It is Lindsborg, lying serenely in the shadows of Coronado Heights, named after the famous Spaniard and his conquistadores, who came to the future Kansas in search of fame and fortune eight decades before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, a town that is a tribute to the Swedish pioneers who later fashioned the *Messiah* tradition during Holy Week and gave hospitality to Birger Sandzén, son of the Northland, who caught so magnificently the Kansas spirit with bold strokes and elegant colors on hundreds of canvases.

Kansas is Lecompton, now primarily a historic reference on the map of memory, but in 1857 a place bustling with a constitutional convention pointing up the national debate over slavery between North and South, but it is also Kansas City, across the Missouri River from a dominant big brother, recalling that its predecessor, Wyandotte, housed the convention that gave Kansas its constitution one hundred years ago. It also is Topeka, the

Hartley's Elevator, *Herschel C. Logan (1932)*

middle section of the trio of towns designating the name of a railroad, later set to rhythmic song, "The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe," which was identified so intimately with the lurch toward the Pacific; Topeka, proud of its green-domed capitol building, an imitation of the larger one at Washington, D.C., where a great struggle had been launched to decide the fate of Kansas, or Kanzas, or Kanza, or any of the eighty variations associated in the early days with the name of the state. It is a place where hardy sunflowers grow in abundance and its people acknowledge somewhat reluctantly, at times, that they are jayhawkers. Kansas is Abilene, famous in early days as a shipping point for Texas cattle, but now known worldwide as the boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander in chief of the Allied Powers in Europe during World War II and the thirty-fourth president of the United States, with its Eisenhower home and Eisenhower center, the latter portraying the distinguished career of the most famous Kansan and a great American in a splendid museum and library.

Kansas is the rolling area of the southeast, with Shaw and the first Christian mission in Kansas founded in 1824 by Protestants, and Pittsburg, named after that older industrial metropolis in the East, with coal mine shafts and shale piles in the surrounding area, symbols of the search for the hidden bounty of nature, whether it be the burrowing miles of salt veins stretching from Hutchinson to Lyons and Kanopolis, or the rhythmic beat

of thousands of Kansas oil-well pumps, bringing black gold to the surface to drive the swept-winged vehicles of jaunty men in the name of the twentieth-century goddess, Speed. Kansas is the Flint Hills, a scenic belt of intriguing beauty, stretching two counties wide north and south across the entire state, dotted with villages bearing quaint names like Matfield Green and Bazaar, Beaumont, and Grenola, its western edge forming the boundary of the eastern third of Kansas, characterized by outcropping rocks of the Permian age, formed two hundred million years ago, with its cattle grazing peacefully in the luscious bluestem grass. In the High Plains, it is Dodge City, "Cowboy Capital of the World," with its streets named after Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and other famed police officers of the West, some real, some legendary, with its Boot Hill and its replica of Front Street, with shadowy remembrances of Doc Holliday and Dora Hand, and now a modern city of modest size with fine schools, homes, and churches, and a new college, St. Mary of the Plains, founded to honor the Virgin through the ministry of teaching and learning as the twentieth century rushed jet-driven into its turbulent and fleeting second half. But Kansas is more than that.

Kansas is John Brown, Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, John J. Ingalls, Isaac T. Goodnow, W. A. Phillips, Edmund G. Ross, Jerry Simpson, Mary Elizabeth Lease, Victor Murdock, Carry A. Nation, Joseph Bristow, Charles Curtis, Arthur Capper, Dr. John R. Brinkley, Gen. Frederick Funston, Walter Chrysler, Earl Browder, Alf M. Landon—all names, the mere mention of which reveals no lack of variety in the annals of the state's history. But Kansas is also D. W. Wilder, William Allen White, Ed Howe, Eugene F. Ware, E. Haldeman-Julius, Margaret Hill McCarter, Charles M. Sheldon, William A. Quayle, Snowden D. Flora, J. C. Mohler, Birger Sandzén, Dr. Samuel J. Crumbine, Dr. Arthur Hertzler, F. H. Snow, the Doctors Menninger, father and sons, each one of whom is representative of the varied talent that Kansas has shared with the world. Kansas is Amelia Earhart, Walter Johnson, and Jess Willard, all heroes in their time, and A. K. Longren, E. M. Laird, Clyde Cessna, Lloyd Stearman, Glenn Martin, and Walter H. Beech, pioneers in the air lanes above the prairie trails, and also President Dwight D. Eisenhower of Abilene.

Kansas is more than those who would be included in a hall of fame, if Kansas chose to honor thus her great. Kansas is the composite of the dreams and hopes of all the people, some by choice, others by birth or circumstance, who have shared the vibrancy of life, or answered the claims of death, in that piece of God's creation, once described as the "Great American Desert," but later to become a cherished place called home, with friends and work and a share in the great promise of American life. They came, these future Kansans, for a variety of reasons from older states with familiar names, from Massachusetts and New York, from Ohio and Illinois, from Missouri and Kentucky, and from distant European places with unfamiliar names, from Sunnemo and Volhynia, Molotschna and Neuchâtel. The number of foreign born increased at an irregular tempo, reflecting factors in the old country and in the new, and reaching a maximum of 147,630, for a total of 10.3 percent of the state's population in 1890, with the Germans forming almost one-third of this total.[2] In 1895, when the population was one and a third million, there were 188,000 Kansans using a language other than English. Moreover, as Professor J. Neal Carman has pointed out, at the midpoint of the twentieth century, probably one-half of the people of Kansas had grandparents or great grandparents born in Europe.[3]

The sound of native Indian tongues yielded to the new linguistic cosmopolitanism of the Kansas plains as English, Welsh, French, Bohemian, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish were spoken, sung, and written. The language of the Old World became immersed in the language of the New World, but as late as 1911, the *Kansas City* (Missouri) *Star* described Aurora, Cloud County, as a French-speaking village, with the names of business houses "as French as frog legs," and "farmers who loafed on the dry goods boxes in front of the stores reminisced of the Franco-Prussian War in the language of Moliere."[4] The spoken language of the homeland, somewhat corrupted in the new milieu, continued to be used quite widely among immigrant groups until the First World War, in the second decade of the twentieth century, served a warning that non-English speaking peoples should embrace the language of the land in full fervor. The language of the immigrants is now spoken only rarely and then only by

2. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study* (Topeka: Kansas State Planning Board, 1936), 50, 51.

3. J. Neal Carman, "Babel in Kansas," *Your Government: Bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research* 6 (March 15, 1951): n.p.

4. Kirke Mechem, ed., *Annals of Kansas, 1886–1925: Volume Two, 1911–1925* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1956), 19, refers to the *Kansas City Star*, December 10, 1911.

Summer Afternoon, *Herschel C. Logan (1923)*

the older generation. Although the pattern of language and culture has yielded to the new forces, a generation twice removed from the pioneer immigrants shares the sincere feelings of the Swede in central Kansas, who wrote in 1869 to friends in far away Varmland that America was "framtidslandet," "the land of the future." And so it was for him and his generation, and so it is for their children, and for their children's children.

Although people from distant places, speaking strange languages, came to Kansas in goodly numbers, future growth depended upon the westward movement from older states toward the ever-expanding frontier. When federal census takers completed their rolls in 1860, Kansas, on the threshold of statehood, numbered 107,206. The six New England states furnished only 4,208 of these people. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky each provided more names in the census year of 1860 than all of the New England states together. The largest number from New England was 19,338 in 1880, but in that year, Illinois had sent 106,922, and Ohio 93,396, in a total population of 996,096. At the turn of the century there were 1,470,495 people in Kansas, and three decades later, the number had increased moderately to 1,880,999. At the midpoint of the twentieth century, the census enumerators accounted for 1,905,299, and in 1960 as Kansas prepared to enter the second century of statehood, there were 2,178,611 people in the jayhawker region, an increase of 14.3 percent during the decade.[5]

After 1890 restless Kansans reversed the trend of interstate migration as increasingly large numbers left Kansas at an accelerated pace, and in the decade from 1920 to 1930, the state experienced for the first time a net loss from interstate migration.[6] By 1930, 39.2 percent

5. Clark and Roberts, *People of Kansas*, 31, 208; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), 16; *Wichita Evening Eagle and Beacon*, November 25, 1960.

6. Clark and Roberts, *People of Kansas*, 199.

of native Kansans lived elsewhere in the United States, while the Kansas population included 36.3 percent born in states other than Kansas. Not until the census of 1920 did the population include more native-born Kansas sons and daughters than persons from other states and nations. The census for that year showed 54.7 percent born in Kansas, 38.5 percent in other states, and 6.8 percent in foreign countries and places not identified.[7]

A decisive factor in Kansas is the trend towards urbanization. In 1900, 22.5 percent of the population lived in incorporated places of 2,500, or more, in 1950, the figure was 49 percent, and in 1959, it had risen to 55 percent. Cities with 10,000 or more people had 12.8 percent of the population in 1900, 28.8 percent of the population in 1930, and 42.5 percent of the total population in 1959. Incorporated cities of all classes provided the residence for 69.4 percent of all Kansans in 1959. The population of Wichita increased from 114,966 in 1940, to 168,279 in 1950. In 1960 the population of Wichita was 254,059, an increase of 121 percent in the last two decades.[8]

Although the population of Kansas exceeded the 2,000,000 mark in its centennial year, Horace Greeley's prophetic declaration in the *New York Tribune* in October 1870 following a visit to Kansas, was far too optimistic when he affirmed that the child was born who would see Kansas fifth, if not fourth, in population and production among the states of the Union.[9] The rate of population growth has not kept pace with that of the United States. For instance, since the turn of the century to 1960, the increase in Kansas was 47 percent, compared with almost three times that growth, 135.7 percent for the entire nation.[10]

7. *Ibid.*, 66, 68.

8. Kansas Legislative Council: Committee on Education, "Overview of the Study" in *Comprehensive Educational Survey of Kansas* (Topeka: n.p., 1960), 1:20. The survey consists of five volumes prepared by Otto E. Domian and Robert J. Keller on the basis of action taken by the Kansas legislature in 1957 and 1958 authorizing the legislative council to provide for the study of education in Kansas. Clark and Roberts, *People of Kansas*, 74, 79; *Wichita Evening Eagle*, June 20, 1960; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1961, 82nd Annual Edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), 25.

9. D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas, 1541–1885* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1886), 529.

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census: Population, 1900, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 2; *Wichita Eagle*, August 2, 1960. *During the last half-century the demographic trends highlighted by Lindquist in 1961 have remained relatively constant. Kansas has continued to urbanize, as the population increased to 2,800,000, a 29 percent rate of growth; but this continues to lag behind the nation as a whole, which increased at a rate of 72 percent.*

Many factors enter into shaping the character of a state as the decades pass to form a century. The physical facts of an area—climate, geography, topography, location, natural resources—play significant roles, especially in the formative period. Certainly these factors are important, and occasionally decisive, but the pattern of Kansas history does not depend upon "environmental determinism." New crop varieties and improved methods of tilling the soil created some measure of control, although uncertain and sporadic, over the forces of nature. The windmill, barbed wire, sulky and gang plows, tractors, and other inventions were important elements in changing the manner of work and life. Improvements in transportation and communication steadily eliminated the feeling of isolation. The coming of increasingly large numbers of people provided the possibility of cooperative community life. These factors, and others, combined to challenge the impact of environmental influences.

More important than environmental factors are elements of a spiritual character, broadly speaking, that create the ethos, the distinguishing character, or tone, of a group, or region, or state, or nation. History, and remembrances and interpretations of that history, some true, some false, provide a large and productive reservoir of meaning for the ethos, the spirit, the tone of Kansas.

Looming large in the creation of the image of Kansas were the violent and complex developments that preceded the Civil War, reaching a climax in the course of that conflict. Kansas was the center of the national crisis: freedom and righteousness were the issues. Various factors, political and economic, were obviously important, but the idealism and emotion generated by the magic word "freedom," in contrast to the dreadful word "slavery," must not be underestimated. The forces were clearly joined: the declared idealism of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, the "Andover Band," representing the forces of law, order, and decency, confronted the depravity of the border ruffians, Quantrill and his raiders, and the cruel slaveholders portrayed symbolically in Uncle Tom's Cabin. This was the understanding of the background for the birth and early history of Kansas, a mounting conviction that entered into the life of the state. John Greenleaf Whittier expressed it in "The Kansas Emigrant's Song":

> We cross the prairies as of old
> The pilgrims crossed the sea,
> To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free.

Tornado, *Herschel C. Logan (1938)*

Kansas was considered as belonging to the great tradition of the Pilgrims and Plymouth Rock. This provided symbolical and substantive meaning for the future.

Moreover, it seemed appropriate that Kansans should not only enshrine these facts in the temple of memory, but blessings would accrue across the years because of them. In 1879, when William Lloyd Garrison reviewed in glowing terms the progress of Kansas since 1861, he declared that this was "her fitting recompense for having gone through a baptism of blood, and an ordeal of fire, with such firmness and devotion to the sacred cause of human freedom."[11] In September 1879, J. W. Forney affirmed confidently, as reported in the *Commonwealth* that "Kansas was the field on which the first modern battle was fought in favor of the Declaration of Independence."[12]

The Kansas spirit was fashioned by the zeal of the crusader, the crusader against slavery and oppression, and he was equipped with the effective weapons of righteousness, moral indignation, and a deep-seated belief that the wrong could be made right and the rough places plain by organized social action. William Allen White wrote in the *American Magazine*, January 1916, that "all our traditions [in Kansas] are fighting traditions—fighting established orders, fighting for better orders." Kansas had responded wholeheartedly in the national crisis of freedom during the Civil War; no state had as high a percentage of eligible men in the Union army as did Kansas. This was a battle for more than home and fireside; this was a greater conflict of principles and ideals.

The momentum of this early start influenced greatly the later history of Kansas. It was a prologue to the future, written with sacrifice and faith. Belief in righteousness is a mighty force, and a twin, Puritanism, was present in the founding period. William Allen White, writing in the *World's Work*, June 1904, declared that "as a State, Kansas has inherited a Puritan conscience, but time and again she has allied herself with Black George because he preached more noble things and promised much." The heritage of Puritanism, a persistent element in the image of Kansas, was emphasized in the *London Spectator* as late as June 1936, when it was observed that "Kansas is the inheritor of the old Puritan morality which once dominated New England. It is indeed, in a very literal sense, the last refuge of the Puritan, for Kansas was settled from the old stock of Massachusetts Bay." Moreover, the correspondent in the *Spectator* continued: "Its physical descent from Bradford and Winthrop and Williams is only one degree less certain than its spiritual heritage from the same men. Kansas, even among farming States, is the most zealous upholder of Prohibition and the Sabbath."[13]

The statement relative to physical descent from Bradford, Winthrop, Williams, and New England generally is obviously inaccurate as already indicated.[14] The spiritual heritage from New England is a factor, however, of far greater importance. The leaders in early Kansas—clergymen, writers, teachers, lawyers, editors, physicians—were often New England in origin and spirit. From 1854 to 1861, fifty-one Congregational ministers came to serve in Kansas, thirty-six arriving before the end of 1860. In April 1857, the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas declared in an address to other Congregational bodies that "it shall be our aim . . . to transplant the principles and institutions of the Puritans to these fertile plains, and to lay foundations which shall be an honour to us, when in the grave, and blessing to all coming generations."[15] This high resolve was symbolic of the expectations of New England Congregationalism. The church sought to challenge the frontier world by example and through the ministry of preaching. Special attempts were made to leaven the satanic elements. One response was the organization of the Band of Hope by the Reverend Peter McVicar in Topeka, in 1861, in which members took a pledge to totally abstain from the use of intoxicating drink, tobacco, and profane language.[16]

The religious future of Kansas belonged, however, not to the New England Congregationalists, but to Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterians, and to immigrant Churches, such as the Lutheran, Mennonite, and Evangelical. The principal emphasis of these groups was, in regard to morals and conduct, definitely Puritan. In 1861, for instance, the Methodist conference passed a strong resolution on alcoholism,

11. William Lloyd Garrison to the Kansas State Historical Society, March 25, 1879, quoted in Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 847.

12. Quoted from the (Topeka) *Commonwealth*, September 14, 1879, in Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 857.

13. (London) *Spectator* 156 (June 26, 1936): 1170.

14. Lindquist, "Kansas: A Centennial Portrait," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Spring 1961): 27 or see above at page 122.

15. Emory Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War—*Concluded*," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1959): 433, 434.

16. Emory Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Autumn 1959): 323.

Sorghum Mill, *Herschel C. Logan (1938)*

and declared that "whereas, Intemperance with all its accumulation of moral and social evils is still destroying the souls and bodies of many in our state, Be it Resolved, that Methodist Preachers should not cease to 'cry aloud and spare not' before all people."[17] The dominant forces of Protestantism in Kansas were essentially pietistic, building upon the earlier foundations of New England Puritanism. This pattern furnished important sources for further developments.

Manifestations of the Puritan conscience are a part of the annals of Kansas. The most dramatic aspect is related to the Prohibition amendment. The temperance movement gained in momentum after 1870 through the work of the Independent Order of Good Templars; the "Woman's Crusade," which used the contrasting weapons of prayers for the saloonkeepers at their places of business and "spilling parties"; great camp meetings of the "cold water" faithful at Bismarck Grove and elsewhere; the "blue ribbon" workers; the WCTU [Woman's Christian Temperance Union]; and the churches. J. R. Detwiler, who advised the introduction of a bold constitutional amendment outlawing the liquor traffic, established the *Temperance Banner* in October 1878. Detwiler also arranged with Judge N. C. McFarland to draft a resolution, known later as Senate Resolution 3, on the subject. The proposed Prohibition amendment carried the senate without effort. One vote was lacking for the required two-thirds majority in the house of representatives, but in a dramatic gesture of loyalty to his new wife, George W. Greever, a Democrat

17. Emory Lindquist, "The Protestant and Jewish Religions in Kansas," in *Kansas: The First Century. Volume 2*, ed. John D. Bright (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1956), 374.

from Wyandotte County, on March 5, 1879, changed his vote, and the issue was now in the hands of the people of Kansas.[18]

The campaign for the amendment was carried on intensively. Frances Willard, Frank Murphy, Drusilla Wilson, and other famous enemies of "daemun rum" spoke to large audiences. Mrs. Wilson affirmed that "this crusade was an inspiration from the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work." The opposition, although not equally active because of overconfidence, charged, however, that the amendment was unconstitutional and an attack upon public liberty, a "sumptuary and gustatory" proceeding that would curtail immigration and delay economic advance. The people spoke, although not too convincingly, when the final tabulation showed 92,302 for and 84,304 against the amendment, producing a majority of 7,998 in favor of Prohibition. Although Kansas was the first state to pass a Prohibition amendment, Tennessee had a Prohibition law in 1838 and Maine in 1846. The Kansas amendment was not repealed until 1948, and then by a majority of more than 60,000 votes, following a failure to obtain repeal in 1934, when 89 of 105 counties supported Prohibition.[19] Carry Nation's hometown of Medicine Lodge voted to repeal the amendment in 1948. A later generation may not fully understand the fact that idealism joined with Puritanism in 1880 to pass the Prohibition amendment. A study of contemporary sources indicates convincingly the real social and economic evils of liquor on the Kansas frontier. The groggery shops and saloons were scarcely compatible with the ideals of Kansas.

The conditions in Kansas after the effective date of Prohibition, May 1881, dramatized clearly the problems relating to the attempt to legislate reform. The drugstores became prosperous with brisk sales of liquor for which a physician's prescription was not required. The *New York Tribune* pointed out in November 1886, that in Osage County, 215 different reasons had been cited by patrons for purchasing alcohol including "a bilious headache," "dry stomach," "congestion of the lungs," and "for making a mixture to wash apples against rabbits."[20] The saloons soon reappeared in large numbers as did also the patrons.

The Prohibition issue produced the unusual career of Carry A. Nation of Medicine Lodge. She started her campaign at Kiowa in June 1899 after a voice had told her: "Take something in your hand, and throw at those places in Kiowa and smash them." She cast her carefully collected stones with great skill in three Kiowa saloons. At Wichita, early on the morning of December 27, 1900, she went to the Carey Hotel saloon, where she threw two stones with unfailing accuracy at the nude picture, *Cleopatra at the Bath*, and smashed with a billiard ball (alas! not a hatchet) the mirror that covered almost one entire side of the large room. By 8:30 a.m. that day she was arrested, telling her jailer as the gate closed on her cell: "Never mind, you put me in here a cub, but I will go out a roaring lion and I will make all hell howl."[21] When released from the Wichita jail, she went to Enterprise to continue her solo performance of good works.

The activities of Carry A. Nation dramatized an important contradiction in Kansas: a Prohibition state with wide-open saloons. William Allen White, in an editorial in the *Emporia Gazette* on February 11, 1901, "Hurrah for Carrie," described this contradiction effectively: "At first the *Gazette* was against Carrie Nation. She seemed to be going at it wrong end to. But events justify her. She is all right. . . . She has aroused the law-abiding people of Kansas to the disgrace of lawbreaking—partly by the example of her own lawlessness. . . . Hurrah for Carrie Nation! She's all right." [22]

The Kansas mind had developed a type of pharisaical legalism blended with genuine idealism. It was, perhaps, a manifestation of what Ernest Hamlin Abbott called "moral dogmatism" in Kansas.[23] Puritanism and the prairie joined with pietism and persistence to initiate a noble experiment. Kansas had resolved upon a course of action in an overwhelmingly agrarian culture: he who sets his hand to the plow must move straight ahead. There were, and are, real evils associated with liquor and the liquor traffic. The Kansas approach was to

18. Clara Francis, "The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1919–1922* 15 (1922): 204–27; Grant W. Harrington, "The Genesis of Prohibition," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1919–1922* 15 (1922): 228–31; Agnes D. Hays, *The White Ribbon in the Sunflower State: A Biography of Courageous Conviction, 1878–1953* (Topeka, Kans.: Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1953), 20–23.

19. Francis, "The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas," 221–27; *Kansas Constitutional Convention . . . Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Which Framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920), 593; the legislative act is found in Kansas *Laws* (1881), ch. 128, sec. 1–24, pp. 233–44; Hays, *The White Ribbon in the Sunflower State*, 60, 67.

20. *New York Tribune*, November 3, 1886.

21. Carry A. Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (Topeka, Kans.: F. M. Steves & Sons, 1908), 133, 134, 143–45, 148, 159.

22. Quoted in Helen Ogden Mahin, *The Editor and His People: Editorials by William Allen White* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), 178, 179.

23. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, "Religious Life in America, 8. Kansas," *Outlook* 70 (April 1902): 970.

legislate reform. In addition to the Kansas amendment of 1880, the so-called "Bone-Dry" law of February 1917 was an attempt in the twentieth century to achieve certain avowed goals.[24] However, after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States in 1933, an uneasy conscience harried observant persons who saw the dire results of bootlegging and widespread violation of Kansas liquor laws. The idealism of the Puritan and pietistic tradition was forced to yield in the face of new forces. This is Kansas, intent upon the conviction that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, unmindful of the pitfalls along the way, or refusing to recognize them. Compromise has not always been a decisive characteristic of Kansas; compromise may be the quality of a less courageous, or a more mature civilization. Compromise may sometimes be the part of wisdom or practical policy; it is often less interesting. Kansas has sometimes been interesting.

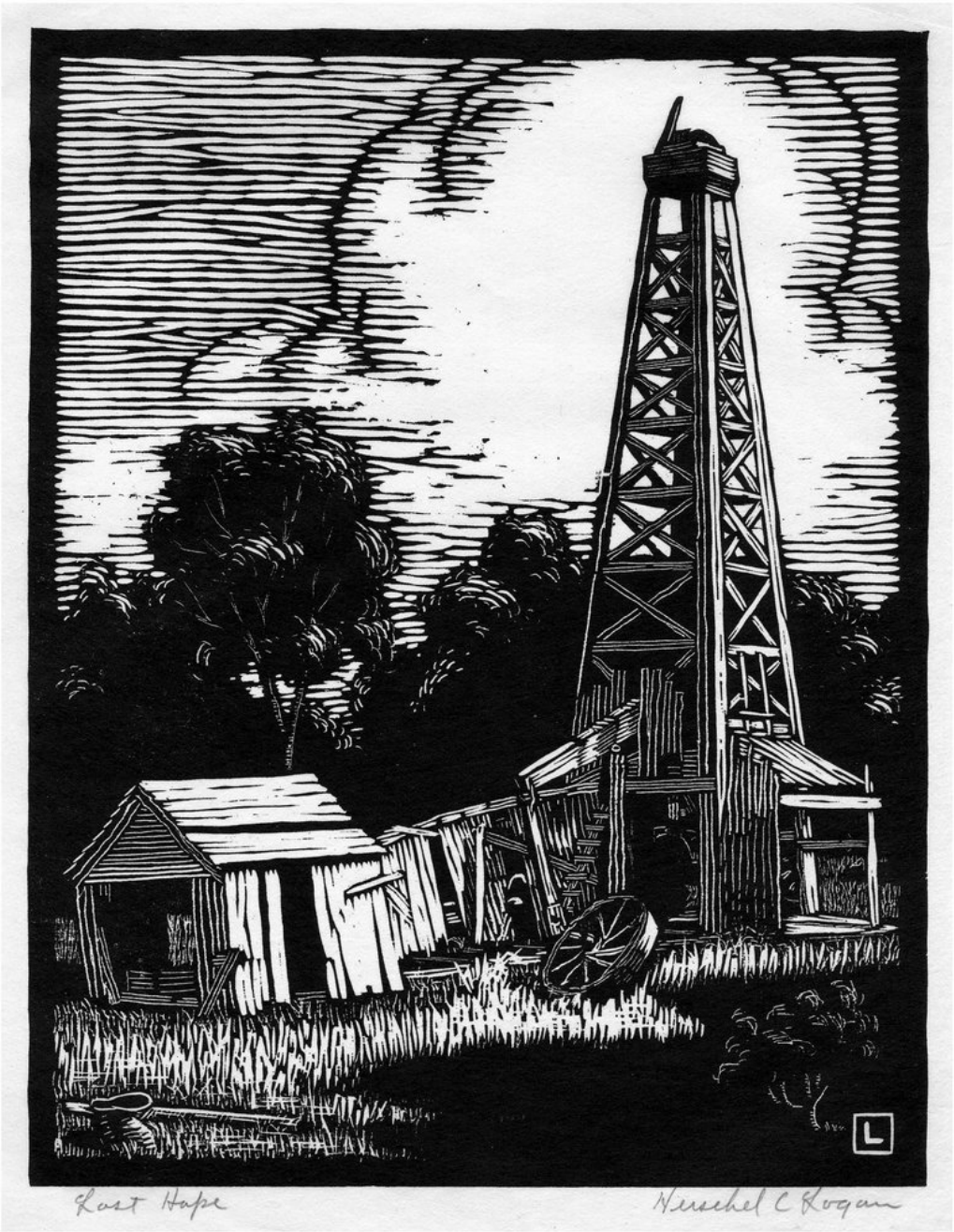
A significant comparison between Kansas and other states was made by Ernest Hamlin Abbott in an article in *Outlook* magazine, April 1902, when he declared that the difference could be identified as doctrinal dogmatism elsewhere and moral dogmatism in Kansas. He observed: "In the Southwest religious dogmatism is a choppy sea; for doctrines of one sect conflict with the doctrines of another. In Kansas religious dogmatism is a strong current, for church people of all names are practically agreed as to what moral courses are unquestionably Christian." He observed, moreover, that "in the main the 'Higher Criticism' is the representative heresy of the Southwest, while that of Kansas is Beer." Abbott described the Kansas mentality by recourse to the traditional explanation since he "was more than ever impressed with the truth that the present [1902] religious and moral character was only the persistence of the temper that was wrought into the people during the days of Eli Thayer's Emigrant Aid Company." He found that the most articulate Kansas idealist "can always be found to have his idealism firmly fastened to a peg driven deep in the earth. The Beecher Bible and Rifle Company still in the spirit hovers over Kansas like the horses and chariots of fire around about Elisha."[25]

Although Prohibition is the most dramatic manifestation of moral dogmatism in Kansas, official policy relative to cigarettes is also a part of that pattern. As early as 1862 the Methodist conference declared "that it is the duty of Christians to put off all 'filthiness of the flesh' especially that which is involved in the use of tobacco."[26] Ordinances were passed by various cities governing the sale of cigarettes and cigarette paper. The agitation mounted in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Kansas Civil Service Commission, which had declared that habitual users of liquor could not receive state jobs, announced on August 16, 1915, that the habitual use of cigarettes might also be the reason for refusing to certify an applicant for a position.[27] The WCTU, the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs, and other groups joined in the crusade to ban the "coffin nails." In the legislative session of 1917, a law was passed "prohibiting the sale, giving away, or advertisement of cigarettes or cigarette paper."[28] The cigarette law was not repealed until 1927.[29] Another attempt, for a decade, to legislate reform in Kansas had resulted in an unrealistic situation as far as enforcement and public acceptance were concerned.

Many Kansans in the centennial year view the past as having been quaint and wrong. There is pride in the new emancipation. However, the present generation should understand that many citizens who had opposed liquor and cigarettes did so earnestly and with genuine idealism. It was the manifestation of Puritanism and moral dogmatism; it did at least have some distinct principles for guidance and belief in matters of conduct.

On August 9, 1922, the *New York Times*, in editorializing on a bulletin of the census bureau stating that Kansans lived longer than other Americans, declared that this was understandable because in addition to the salubrity of the climate, "Kansans are powerful sleepers, thanks not only to their climate and quiet nights, but to self-complacency." William Allen White countered this observation effectively by an appraisal of Kansas history in the *Emporia Gazette* on August 25: "The reason is plain. We are never bored. Always something is going on and we like the show. . . . Kansans have the box seats of the world's theaters and can always see the figures, issues, events, causes and cataclysms waiting in the wings for the cue from fate. For things start in Kansas that finish in history. . . . Kansas is hardly a state. It is a land of prophecy!"[30]

24. Kansas *Laws* (1917), ch. 215, sec. 1–9, pp. 283–86.
25. Abbott, "Religious Life in America," 970–72.
26. *Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Seventh Session* (Leavenworth, Kans.: Daily Conservative Book and Job Office, 1862), 21.
27. *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 17, 1915.
28. Kansas *Laws* (1917), ch. 116, sec. 1–5, pp. 212–14.
29. Kansas *Laws* (1927), ch. 171, sec. 1–24, pp. 219–23.
30. Quoted in Mahin, *The Editor and His People*, 175.



Lost Hope, *Herschel C. Logan (1927)*

Box seats for the great drama of Populism were fashioned early in Kansas. Before the curtain raised with the organization of the Kansas People's Party at Topeka in June 1890 there had been preliminary scenes of preparation in the economic and social life of the state. Professor Raymond Curtis Miller has made excellent studies of the background and the development of Populism in Kansas.[31] His studies chronicle effectively the frenzied speculation, over expansion, inflation of land values, railroad and town booms, spiraling private and public indebtedness, and the many other factors that furnished the theme for the unfolding drama.

The response to the promise of great opportunities in Kansas produced a 37 percent rise in population between 1880 and 1885, increasing from 900,000 to 1,200,000. Property doubled in value during those years. In central Kansas, the number of residents increased about 100 percent between 1881 and 1887, and the thirty-two western counties grew from 41,000 to 148,000 in the two years 1885 to 1887. In Wichita, the population increased threefold between 1884 and 1887. Eastern financiers, like Charles M. Hawkes, Jabez B. Watkins, and others poured money into Kansas as prices soared and values boomed. By 1887 the mortgage debt per capita was three times as high as that of 1880. The public debt climbed from $15,000,000 in 1880 to $41,000,000 in 1890, the largest increase in the nation. Mortgages were held on 60 percent of the taxable land in 1890, the highest percentage of all the states, with one mortgage for every two adults. The private per capita debt was $347, a figure four times as high as that of the entire nation.[32]

Charles M. Harger, the distinguished editor and publisher of the *Abilene Reflector* wrote in June 1898 that the business history of the western Mississippi valley could be divided into three periods—"settlement, extravagance, and depression."[33] The last two, extravagance and depression, were twins, whose combined results set the stage for the great drama of Populism. The peak of Kansas prosperity was reached in 1887, to be followed by several years of depression. Inadequate rainfall, poor crops, low prices for items sold and high prices for goods purchased, foreclosures, high interest rates, bank failures, bankruptcy, restrictions on credit, loss of confidence, unemployment, and the flight of large numbers of people completely disillusioned with Kansas, created times of stress and strain. For instance, between 1887 and 1892, the population of western Kansas decreased by one-half and that of central Kansas by one-fourth.[34]

The response of Kansans to the desperate conditions was collective action. Representatives of Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, Patrons of Husbandry, Knights of Labor, Mutual Benefit Association, and Single Tax clubs merged to form the Kansas People's Party at Topeka in June 1890. When a national convention met in Cincinnati in May 1891, adopting resolutions to form a new party, nearly one-third of the 1,418 delegates were from Kansas.[35] The People's Party of the USA was organized at St. Louis in February 1892.

In the Kansas election of 1890, the Populists, supported by the Democrats, elected five congressmen, including Jerry Simpson. Although the Republicans retained control of the Kansas Senate, the Populists had a margin of ninety-two to twenty-six in the Kansas lower house. Judge William A. Peffer, a Populist, described as having "a gruffy, hoarse, but low-toned voice issuing from a sea of long, dark beard flowing nearly to his waist," succeeded John J. Ingalls, the "silver-tongued orator," in the United States Senate.[36] In 1892 Lorenzo D. Lewelling was elected the first Populist governor and the entire Populist state ticket was victorious. Four Populists were elected to the congress of the United States. The Kansas Senate had a substantial Populist majority, but in the house, disputed elections resulted in the "legislative war" with eventual control by the Republicans. In 1894, because of the defection of the Democrats and internal dissension, Populism suffered a severe setback. The year 1896 witnessed the final triumph for the Kansas Populists. John W. Leedy was elected governor, and the majority of both houses of the Kansas legislature, state officers, and members of the supreme court were Populists.

One of the most eloquent of the critics of the old order was Mary Elizabeth Lease, who had come to Kansas from Pennsylvania to teach school, but married Charles Lease, later a Wichita druggist, studied law, and was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1885. Like John Wesley whose chance entrance into a religious meeting

31. Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11 (March 1925): 467–89.

32. *Ibid.*, 470, 478, 481, 485; Richard Sheridan, *Economic Development in South Central Kansas: An Economic History 1500–1900* (Lawrence: Bureau of Business Research, University of Kansas, 1956), 183.

33. Charles M. Harger, "New Era in the Middle West," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 97 (July 1898): 276.

34. Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," 484, 487.

35. William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1928), 2:1164; *Nation* 52 (May 28, 1891): 431.

36. *Nation* 52 (February 5, 1891): 104.

in Aldersgate one night changed the course of his life, it has been reported that Mary Elizabeth Lease rushed by chance one night into a labor union meeting in Wichita to get out of the rain, and soon she inspired the group with her fiery speech, and was launched on her great career. Editing the *Wichita Independent*, a reform paper, and giving hundreds of speeches, this remarkable woman, whom Victor Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle* described as having "the dignity of an abbess" and who "knew her lines in Shakespeare like Ellen Terry," was irresistible before great crowds of Kansas farmers, urging them convincingly "to raise less corn and more hell."[37]

Another important actor in the drama of Populism was Jerry Simpson. Canadian born, and for more than twenty years a sailor on the Great Lakes with the final rank of captain, he came to Kansas in 1878. Simpson had been a Greenbacker, a Union Labor Party supporter, and a follower of Henry George's single tax program before he became a Populist. After bad luck in cattle raising and farming in Barber County, where he lost a small fortune, he became city marshal in Medicine Lodge at $40 a month. His next position was in the congress of the United States, where he represented the big seventh district for six years during the 1890s.

Simpson was an entertaining and powerful figure on the platform. He urged his hearers to "put on your goggles and watch the buccaneers of Wall Street; the brigands of tariff; and the whole shootin' match of grain gamblers, land grabbers, and Government sneak thieves, before they steal you blind." The usually staid and safely Republican Kansans applauded and sent him to Congress. "Sockless Jerry," a name given to him by Victor Murdock in reporting Simpson's attack upon a debonair opponent, James R. Hallowell, because the latter supposedly wore silk stockings, while the former had none because of the high tariff, was a dramatic and effective evangelist for the cause of Populism.[38]

What had happened that such a debacle should occur in Kansas? Eastern critics lamented these developments, and one spokesman, Godkin of the *Nation*, wrote in 1890: "We do not want any more States until we can civilize Kansas."[39] On August 15, 1896, William Allen White published his famous editorial, "What's the Matter With Kansas?" in the *Emporia Gazette*, a scathing attack upon the Populists. White argued that "if there had been a high brick wall around the state eight years ago and not a soul had been admitted or permitted to leave, Kansas would be a half million souls better off than she is today. And yet the Nation has increased in population." He continued his great lament: "Go East and you hear them laugh at Kansas, go West and they sneer at her, go South and they 'cuss' her, go North and they have forgotten her. . . . She has traded places with Arkansas and Timbuctoo."[40]

Populism was an explosion, an uprising, and it had about it the quality of a religious crusade. Elizabeth N. Barr has described it dramatically: "The upheaval that took place in Kansas in the summer and fall of 1890, can hardly be diagnosed as a political campaign. It was a religious revival, a crusade, a pentecost of politics in which a tongue of flame sat upon every man, and each spake as the spirit gave him utterance."[41] The "New Jacobins," as they were called by some, created a great stirring in the normally quiet political prairie. Victor Murdock wrote that as David Leahy and he watched a great Alliance parade, passing before them mile after mile, the latter turned to him and said: "This is no parade; it is a revolution."[42] Over at El Dorado, Thomas Benton Murdock, publisher of the *Republican*, and a keen observer of events associated with the new stirring among the farmers, told young William Allen White one Saturday afternoon: "By Godfrey's diamonds, something's happening, young feller. These damn farmers are preparing to tear down the Courthouse."[43]

Although agrarian discontent produced angry men and women, it did not result in revolutions. Populism aroused the nation to the need of change. Professor Allan Nevins has pointed out that "what Kansas Populism did do was to help throw a bridge from Jeffersonian liberalism to the Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson."[44] On the large canvas of national development, Professor John D. Hicks observed correctly that "a backward glance at the history of Populism shows that many of the reforms that the Populists demanded, while despised and rejected for a season, won triumphantly in the end."[45] Such planks

37. Victor Murdock, *"Folks"* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 97–100.
38. Annie L. Diggs, *The Story of Jerry Simpson* (Wichita, Kans.: Jane Simpson, Publisher, 1908), 108, 109; Murdock, *"Folks,"* 103.
39. Quoted in Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865–1896* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 480.
40. Mahin, *The Editor and His People*, 244–46.
41. Connelley, *History of Kansas*, 2:1164, 1165.
42. Murdock, *"Folks,"* 101.
43. William Allen White, *Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1946), 184.
44. Allan Nevins, *Kansas and the Stream of American Destiny* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), 13.
45. John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1931), 404.

The Country Store, *Herschel C. Logan (ca. 1920s–1930s)*

in the Populist platform as woman's suffrage, direct elections of United States senators, direct primary elections, income tax, initiative, referendum, and recall, have become a part of the American tradition. Populist agitation for banking and fiscal reform, improved farm credit and loan facilities, regulation of railroads and trusts, [and] conservation of natural resources have been translated into legislation and policy, evidences of a prophetic insight into America's needs. Max Lerner has observed that "the sweep of Populism set new sights for Americans."[46]

Kansas has not deviated appreciably from the party of Lincoln, which owed its origin to issues related intimately to the birth of the state. The Kansas Republican Party was organized at Osawatomie in 1859, with Horace Greeley as the distinguished guest speaker. In twenty-five presidential elections in Kansas, all went Republican except in 1892 and 1896, when the Populists, joining with the Democrats, were victorious; in 1912 and 1916, when the Democratic standard bearer, Woodrow Wilson, and the New Freedom triumphed; and in 1932 and 1936, the year of victory for Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal. Ellis County is the only Kansas county that has voted more times for the Democratic candidate for the presidency than his Republican opponent; Doniphan County has an unsullied record of loyalty to the Grand Old Party.[47]

The pattern of loyalty to the Republican Party is demonstrated by the fact that of the thirty-three elected

46. Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 49.

47. Walter Butcher, *Presidential Election Returns for Kansas, 1864–1952* (Emporia, Kans.: The Emporia State Research Studies, September 1956), 5:3.

Kansas governors all have been Republicans except for six Democrats and two Populists. The Democrats and Populists were granted only one term except for George Docking, conservative Democrat, who was reelected for a second term in 1958. In 1924 William Allen White polled approximately 150,000 votes as an independent, basing his candidacy on the desire "to offer Kansans afraid of the Klan and ashamed of that disgrace, a candidate who shares their fear and disgrace. . . . And the thought that Kansas should have a government beholden to this hooded gang of masked fanatics, ignorant and tyrannical in their ruthless oppression, is what calls me out of the pleasant ways of my life into this disgraceful but necessary task."[48] White's frontal attack upon the Ku Klux Klan in the *Gazette* and in public speeches was a decisive factor in eliminating a disgraceful chapter in Kansas history when bands of sheet-covered men burned crosses in cow pastures. In 1930 John R. Brinkley, described as the "goat gland doctor" of Milford, won 183,278 votes that could be counted as a late write-in candidate for governor. The winner, Harry H. Woodring, Democrat, won over his Republican opponent, Frank Haucke, by a plurality of only 251 votes. W. G. Clugston, the most articulate commentator on Kansas politics and an outspoken critic of the power structure in the state, has observed, and many have agreed with him, that "there wasn't an experienced political observer in the state who didn't admit that if the ballots of all who had tried to vote for Brinkley had been counted . . . the goat gland rejuvenator would have been elected by a smashing plurality."[49]

Third party movements, exclusive of Populism, have not gained victories in Kansas. Theodore Roosevelt, running as the Progressive candidate for president in 1912, and Robert La Follette, a candidate for the same office on the Progressive ticket in 1924, gained a substantial number of votes. The largest number of votes cast for a Socialist candidate for president was 26,807 for Eugene V. Debs in 1912. Julius A. Wayland moved the place of publication of the Socialist paper, *Appeal to Reason*, to Girard in 1897. By 1912 this paper had a circulation approaching 500,000, with editions running as high as 4,000,000 copies for special issues. From February 1907 through 1912, Eugene V. Debs served actively as a contributing editor, commuting between Terre Haute, Indiana, and Girard. The impact of the *Appeal to Reason* was not significant in Kansas except for a brief time in Crawford County.[50]

The decisive trend toward urbanization is beginning to produce changes in the political life of Kansas, but the pattern has some confusing aspects as Kansas celebrates the centennial of her birth. For instance, in 1958 Governor George Docking, a Democrat, was elected to an unprecedented second term for a member of his party, on a platform which condemned "Right to Work" legislation, although, at the same time, the voters of Kansas endorsed an amendment making "Right to Work" a new addition to the century old Wyandotte Constitution.

Kansas gave recognition to the rights of women as voters prior to action on a nationwide basis.[51] The struggle for the right to vote began in 1859 when Mrs. Clarina I. H. Nichols, Mary Tenney Gray, and Mother Armstrong attended the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention as uninvited guests to plead the cause of woman's suffrage. An amendment providing full suffrage for women lost in 1867 by a vote of 19,856 to 9,070. The second attempt to gain enfranchisement by amendment lost in 1894 by a vote of 130,139 to 95,302. In September 1894 the *New York Tribune* reported that the suffragist women of Topeka appeared on the streets in shifts with reform dress to identify their cause, their garb consisting of "Turkish trousers covered by a skirt reaching to the fold, a close or loose waist, as the wearer may prefer, and cloth leggings to match the trousers."[52] The goal of woman's suffrage was achieved in 1912 by a vote of 175,246 to 159,197, eight years prior to the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States constitution.

The triumph was achieved after a long struggle that had small beginnings when the Equal Suffrage Association was formed by three women at Lincoln in 1879; it became a state organization in June 1884. The state was thoroughly organized county by county for the election of 1912. The movement was supported by women's clubs with 60,000 members, and a variety of organizations including the Kansas State Teachers

48. White, *Autobiography*, 630, 631.
49. W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in a Democracy: A Case Study of Popular Government* (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1940), 158.
50. Charles L. Scott, "*Appeal to Reason*, A Study of the 'Largest Political Newspaper in the World'" (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1957), 25, 37, 38, 41, 49.
51. Full descriptions of the woman's suffrage movement are found in Martha B. Caldwell, "The Woman's Suffrage Campaign of 1912," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (August, 1943): 300–18; Wilda Marine Smith, "The Struggle for Woman's Suffrage in Kansas" (master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1957).
52. *New York Tribune*, September 25, 1894.

Twilight, *Herschel C. Logan (1923)*

Association, the Kansas Federation of Labor, the Kansas Grange, the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, the Kansas GAR [Grand Army of the Republic], the Kansas Editorial Association, the Kansas WCTU, Kansas church groups, and others. Kansas suffragists put their objectives in words designed for familiar tunes. The following verse to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," appeared in the *Burlingame Enterprise* on October 3, 1912:

> If a body pays the taxes,
> Surely you'll agree
> That a body earns the franchise,
> Whether he or she.

Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, conducted a successful speaking campaign in May 1912, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, rendered effective service in the ten-day period preceding the election.

The victory of 1912 had been preceded by legislation as early as 1861 when qualified women could vote in school elections. This action was prior to that of every other state except Kentucky, which passed a limited school suffrage law in 1838, and Wyoming, which gave women equal suffrage in 1869. In 1887 women received the right to vote in cities of the first, second, and third class for any city or school official, and in school bond elections. This legislation made Kansas a leader of all the states in woman's rights. In 1903 women became eligible to vote in elections for public bond improvements in addition to those for schools.

The history of the attainment of woman's suffrage is full of heroic struggle by individuals and groups, and, in contrast, there was frustrating indecisiveness and delay by the political parties, except the Populists who supported the movement, and several members of the press. Kansas responded to the natural rights theory of woman's suffrage with some reluctance, but with enough

enthusiasm to lead the nation in certain aspects, and to be among the leaders in the full embrace of complete voting rights for women.

The record of voting in Kansas shows a higher percentage in years in which a president is elected. For instance, in 1952, almost 70 percent of potential voters in Kansas went to the polls in contrast to 54 percent in 1954. In 1952 Kansas held the rank of twenty-second among the forty-eight states in the percentage of eligible voters using the franchise. In both presidential elections of 1948 and 1952, Kansans voted in greater numbers on a percentage basis than the rest of the United States. Professor Rhoten A. Smith concluded, on the basis of a study of voting in the United States, that "Kansas' voting record in recent years is better than most of the other states in the Union and better than the United States as a whole."[53]

Part two of Lindquist's "Kansas: A Centennial Portrait" will appear in the autumn 2010 issue of Kansas History. KH

53. Rhoten A. Smith, "Voter Participation in Kansas and the United States," *Your Government, Bulletin of the Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas* 10 (February 15, 1955), 3.

REVIEWS

African Americans on the Great Plains: An Anthology

edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Charles A. Braithwaite

viii + 395 pages, notes, bibliography, index.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, paper $35.00.

African Americans on the Great Plains is an anthology of fourteen essays, originally published in *Great Plains Quarterly*, which demonstrate the black experience on the plains. Following the definition provided by the Center of Great Plains Studies at the University of Nebraska, the editors identify the plains as including Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and the western Canadian provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. However, the editors also included in this anthology material pertaining to Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. About half of the collection's essays deal with African Americans in Kansas. The articles cover events from the 1860s to the post-World War II period.

In their introduction the editors provided the political, social, and economic setting for the essays. They chose these particular essays to elucidate race relations among whites and African Americans and to demonstrate the ways African Americans developed their own communities within the confinement of segregation on the Great Plains. Although the authors did not follow consciously postcolonial or subaltern theory, all of them recovered their subjects from the margins. Recovery of African American history and the reassertion of African Americans as the agents of historical events and ideas is the main strength of these essays. The pieces by Michael K. Johnson, Richard M. Breaux, Audrey Thompson, and Marc Rice emphasize how African Americans in the Great Plains became successful in breaking down the cultural hegemony of the dominant group and established the legitimacy of their own culture, where "whiteness is not a point of reference" (p. 249). "A Socioeconomic Portrait of Prince Hall Masonry in Nebraska, 1900–1920" and "Frompin' in the Great Plains: Listening and Dancing to the Jazz orchestras of Alphonso Trent, 1925–1944" are the only articles that include a discussion on class. Ronald Walters's "The Great Plains Sit-In Movement, 1958–1960" discusses the order of early Great Plains sit-ins, which caused "events for social action in that region as well as in the South" (p. 304). Walters dismissed the established view that these sit-ins were isolated events and emphasized the generational divide between older African Americans, like those that comprised the Wichita NAACP, and younger generations when it came to direct action tactics.

Unfortunately, women are silent in this anthology, except in Michael Johnson's "This Strange White World: Race and Place in Era Bell Thompson's *American Daughter*." This essay focuses on Thompson's life in relation to the greater African American world and it also provides a content analysis of *American Daughter*. In spite of this limited coverage, this is a good book. It should be used in American history and African American history courses in the universities of the Great Plains.

Reviewed by Nupur Chaudhuri, *assistant professor, Department of History, Geography, and Economics, Texas Southern University, Houston.*

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

Jayhawkers: The Civil War Brigade of James Henry Lane

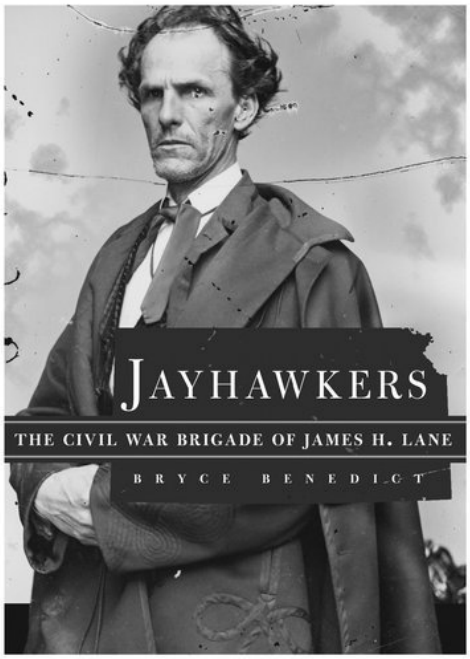
by Bryce Benedict

xiv + 343 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009, cloth $32.95.

The legend of James H. "Jim" Lane and the Kansas jayhawkers has loomed large since the days of the Kansas-Missouri border wars. Harry Truman's grandmother remembered Lane and his forces as the men who devastated her family's western Missouri farm; the history of the jayhawkers and bushwhackers is evoked as university students celebrate their sports teams' storied rivalry; and even historians have argued that Lane and his jayhawkers were at the root of much of the mayhem that occurred along the border during the era of the Civil War. Bryce Benedict, in his book *Jayhawkers: The Civil War Brigade of James Henry Lane*, has worked to separate the myth of Lane and the Kansas jayhawkers from the reality of their service along the border of Missouri and Kansas.

This meticulously researched and in-depth analysis of Lane and his brigade sheds new light on the Union's conduct along the border during the first year of the Civil War. Benedict examines in great detail the larger national political forces at work in the formation and development of the brigade, as well as Lane's political machinations in the U.S. Senate as he maneuvered to position himself as both a political and a military leader. The story of this particular brigade also provides new insight into the relationship between Abraham Lincoln and his military command, as well as the political concerns that the president faced as he attempted to keep the border states in the Union during the first year of the war. Lane's reputation from Bleeding Kansas days often thwarted his military aspirations, as Lincoln considered Missourians' anxieties about the potential of violent border raids led by Lane and the jayhawkers.

Benedict's description of the military engagements of Lane's brigade is perhaps the richest aspect of this detailed analysis. Responding to the many reports of Lane and the jayhawkers' involvement in Union atrocities, the author carefully recreates the movement of the brigade in light of the historical record in order to develop a more accurate account of their activities than has heretofore existed. For example, a comprehensive examination of the Union raid on Osceola suggests that contemporary accounts of drunken soldiers burning and looting the town, which often were repeated by historians, were likely exaggerated. In this incident, as well as many others (including the raid described by Truman's grandmother), Benedict showed that the historical evidence does not support the stories that were handed down over time. He argued that Lane and his brigade often were blamed for the actions undertaken by a whole host of federal forces operating in western Missouri during the course of the war. Equally compelling are Benedict's descriptions of the movement of hundreds of pro-Union and enslaved Missourians into Kansas. The shear number of people on the move suggests the disorderly state of civil society on the border.



Benedict portrayed Lane as on the vanguard of the Union's turn toward a policy of hard war. As early as the first months of the war, Lane argued for the importance of stripping secessionist Missourians of their property, including their slaves. He also emerged as a strong, early advocate for emancipation, although he was not entirely enlightened on racial issues. Eventually, Lane determined that arming the hundreds of former Missouri slave men who had passed into Kansas would bolster Union efforts in the region. In all of these instances, Lane foreshadowed the eventual course taken by Lincoln and the Union military leadership.

Benedict's account of the Lane brigade occasionally delves into too much detail, outlining at length individual cases of illness, drunkenness, court martial, and minor skirmishes, while not always exploring the larger questions regarding the experience of living in the path of the jayhawkers and Confederate guerillas. In addition, readers are left to wonder about Lane's efforts to arm formerly enslaved men soon after the story of his brigade ends in the spring of 1862. These criticisms aside, Benedict's book greatly contributes to the story of warfare on the Kansas-Missouri border, and makes a case for the importance of this region's history to a fuller understanding of the American Civil War.

Reviewed by Diane Mutti Burke, *assistant professor, University of Missouri–Kansas City.*

Slavery and the Supreme Court, 1825–1861

by Earl M. Maltz

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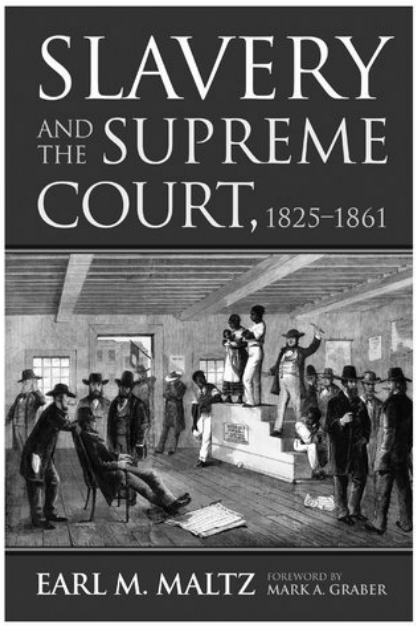
In the antebellum period the Supreme Court adjudicated several slavery-related cases, the most important of which was *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), in which the Court denied Congress the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories. To many, Dred Scott was a nakedly sectional and partisan attempt to ensure the expansion of slavery. Earl Maltz, however, seeks to revise this portrait of an aggressive judiciary.

The author concedes that the justices were affected by sectionalism and party affiliation. But their interpretations of federalism, respect for precedent, and desire for sectional harmony influenced them as well. Maltz provides biographical sketches of the justices of the era, highlighting the factors that shaped their outlooks.

When the law dictated a proslavery resolution, as in the *Antelope* slave ship decision, or an antislavery one, as in the case of the ship *Amistad*, the justices followed established principles of jurisprudence. Reflecting the spirit of accommodation that characterized the bisectional Whig and Democratic parties, the Court in the early 1840s invoked federalism to fashion sectional armistices. The desire for compromise was visible in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, in which the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 while not requiring state officials to enforce it, and in *Groves v. Slaughter*, in which it upheld Mississippi's authority to prohibit the importation of slaves, but without determining Congress's authority to prohibit the interstate slave trade.

The challenge posed by agitators beginning in the late 1840s and the struggle of party regulars to meet it found a parallel in how the Court handled the slavery issue. Attorneys made more blatant sectional arguments, and northern justices acquiesced to decisions that respected property in slaves. In *Strader v. Graham*, the Court unanimously ruled that state courts were empowered to reattach slave status to those who had been formerly emancipated by virtue of sojourning to a free state with their master's consent. Even as late in 1859, northern Republicans on the bench joined their southern and Democratic brethren, in *Abelman v. Booth*, to prevent Wisconsin from nullifying the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

The author's ultimate challenge is to reconcile *Dred Scott* with his portrait of a temperate court. Maltz notes that two of the southern justices did not explicitly affirm Roger Taney's position that African Americans were not American citizens, depriving the chief justice of a clear majority on that issue. And southern justice John Catron, in his concurring opinion, annulled the Missouri Compromise on grounds other than the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. Maltz also points out that the push to press for a broad decision by Justice Moore Wayne of Georgia, who later upheld the Lincoln administration's heavier-handed measures against the Confederacy and its sympathizers,



was motivated by a desire to end rather than inflame sectional antagonism. And while Maltz agrees with historians who have criticized aspects of both Taney's and former Massachusetts Whig Benjamin Curtis's reasoning, both men come off as sectional moderates when compared to Peter Daniel of Virginia and John McLean of Ohio.

Nonetheless, the author only partially succeeds here. He recognizes that most of the justices in *Dred Scott* were motivated by political considerations, and the strong showing of the Republican party in the 1856 election was a key factor in leading the Court to adjudicate the territorial issue, rather than make a narrow ruling, either on Scott's standing to sue, or on the applicability of the *Strader* decision. As Maltz notes, Scott's attorneys based his claim to freedom not on the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, but on the doctrine enunciated in *Swift v. Tyson* that gave federal courts broad common law authority in diversity of citizenship cases, an approach that allowed the Court to adjudicate Scott's status in particular without addressing the territorial issue.

The problematic aspects of Maltz's analysis do not diminish the overall quality of his book. His broader thesis—that there was a complex relationship between politics, the bench, and the law is amply demonstrated, and makes his book of interest to legal and political historians alike.

Reviewed by Lex Renda, *associate professor of history, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.*