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White believed that the Midwest was the heart of American civilization, from which grew the "country values" and "neighborliness" that constituted the foundation of American liberalism. The crime, corruption, and moral failings associated with America's large cities during the 1920s outraged White, and he proposed education as a remedy for the cultural infection menacing American democracy. Many of his midwestern neighbors, however, turned to violence in defense of traditional civilization through membership in the reactionary Ku Klux Klan, members of which are pictured here burning a cross in the 1920s.

was to try to teach the new immigrants that "our ideals are better than theirs, or their ideals will overcome ours."[8]

White's provocative article proposed education as a remedy for the cultural infection menacing American democracy, but many of his midwestern neighbors turned to violence in defense of traditional civilization through membership in the reactionary Ku Klux Klan. The KKK enjoyed a tremendous resurgence during the early 1920s as an organization of "respectable" Americans that embraced violence as a necessary and proper tool for defending traditional values against immoral urban elites, immigrants, and the working class. The Klan thrived in predominantly homogenous regions comprised of small towns populated by native-born, white Protestants, and its members were most often middle-class professionals, small businessmen, and skilled workers who felt threatened by the rise of large-scale corporate capitalism.[9] Kansas neatly fit this demographic profile, and White was blind to the fact that his own rhetoric of native-born, white Protestant cultural superiority paralleled that of the Klan. White was confident that Kansans would reject the KKK, and he attacked the group as un-American, antidemocratic, and unneighborly after its organizers arrived in Emporia in 1921. The Klan soon fielded approximately forty thousand members in Kansas and became a potent force in local and state politics across the United States. By 1923 White's Emporia neighbors had elected a Klan mayor, Klansmen infested the town's police department, and the *Gazette*'s exposés of KKK activities were met with a campaign of intimidation.[10]

The Kansas Klan faced a serious threat to its activities after White's longtime friend, Governor Henry J. Allen, initiated legal proceedings to oust the organization for operating without a state charter shortly before his term expired in January 1923. Incoming Governor Jonathan M. Davis, a Democrat aligned with the Klan, was powerless to stop the ouster case because only one of the three seats on the charter board was filled by gubernatorial appointment. Although he pressed his influence with his selection of State Bank Commissioner Roy L. Bone, the two other board members were anti-Klan elected officeholders, Secretary of State Frank J. Ryan and Attorney

8. William Allen White, "What's the Matter with America?," *Collier's*, July 1, 1922, 3, 4, 18, White Papers; and Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4.

9. Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 4–31, 55–75; and Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1–6, 60.

10. Jack Wayne Traylor, "William Allen White's 1924 Gubernatorial Campaign," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1976): 180–91; White to H. B. Swope, September 17, 1921, box 58, White Papers; McVeigh, *Rise of the Ku Klux Klan*, 4, 25–27; Miner, *Kansas*, 252–57; and MacLean, *Behind the Mask*, xii–xiii, 10–32, 54–73, 99, 158.

The KKK, which began in America's south in the 1860s but died out by the 1870s, enjoyed a tremendous resurgence during the early 1920s as an organization of "respectable" Americans that embraced violence as a necessary and proper tool for defending traditional values. White was confident that Kansans would reject the KKK, and he attacked the group as un-American, antidemocratic, and unneighborly. But by the early 1920s the Klan fielded approximately forty thousand members in the state and had become a potent force in local and state politics. Pictured are members of Topeka's KKK at a rally in St. Joseph, Missouri, in the 1920s.

General Charles B. Griffith. Both Governor Davis and the anti-Klan board members were due for reelection in 1924, which meant that the Klan's fate in Kansas turned on the election's outcome. The Republican nominee for governor, Benjamin S. Paulen, had defeated an overtly anti-Klan candidate in the primary, and White, Allen, and other anti-Klan Republicans were outraged when Paulen refused to publicly denounce the KKK. Allen asked White to run for governor as an anti-Klan independent, but White was reluctant to break his journalistic vows by entering politics. Instead, he unsuccessfully sought to persuade others to enter the race.[11]

White finally threw his own hat into the ring as an anti-Klan independent in early September, and he made defending American culture his signature issue by denouncing the Klan as the enemy of small-town values and the Constitution. The KKK was a "hooded gang of masked fanatics, ignorant and tyrannical in their ruthless oppression" of Catholics, Jews, blacks, and immigrants. Furthermore, the group's doctrine of intolerance was an assault on the fundamental ideology of the U.S. Constitution, which White summarized as a rurally inspired "charter of freedom, under which men may live with one another under the rule of fraternity and neighborly consideration." He asserted that the Klan subverted the Anglo-Saxon notion of the rule of law by aiming to impose a shadow government that employed "force instead of reason, terror instead of due process of law, and [that] undermines all that our fathers have fought for since free government has been established." White cast his candidacy as an opportunity for Kansans to defend the American political tradition as well as

11. Charles William Sloan, "Kansas Battles the Invisible Empire: The Legal Ouster of the KKK from Kansas, 1922–1927," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Fall 1974): 393–409; Traylor, "White's 1924 Gubernatorial Campaign," 180–91; "Wants Klan Named in Kansas Convention," *New York Times*, August 24, 1924; White to Charles Scott, September 2, 1924, box 83, White Papers; White to Victor Murdock, August 14, 1924, box 83, White Papers; White to William Borah, November 24, 1924, box 81, White Papers; and White, *Autobiography*, 542, 625–27.

neighborly tolerance by voting in support of a "governor to free Kansas from the disgrace of the Ku Klux Klan."[12]

White's run for the governorship immediately became a national sensation. Walter Lippmann saw it as "the most inspiring campaign being waged in the United States," and he encouraged the *New York World* to publish editorials and political cartoons in support of White's heroic effort. *Time* placed White's portrait on its cover, and a *New York Times* reporter shadowing the White campaign likened the editor to "a middle-aged, rosy faced, baldish St. George" heroically battling the Klan dragon. White crisscrossed Kansas with his family in their Dodge touring car, and he explained to his audiences that he was fighting for "the principle of American freedom that these imperial gizzards, nightly nobility and cow-pasture patriots are out to betray." He asked Kansans to join him in defense of "law and order under law not under force, for an American civilization—tolerant, neighborly, kind, fundamentally democratic and everlastingly against the wicked reactionary imperialism of the invisible empire." The survival of the Republic was at stake, because "America cannot remain half empire and half democracy." White covered two-thirds of the state, delivered 104 speeches, and addressed tens of thousands in crowds ranging from several hundred in small-town communities to over seven thousand in the Klan stronghold of Topeka.[13]

Kansas's political establishment united in what White called an "unholy alliance" against him. Klansmen burned a small cross in downtown Cottonwood Falls shortly after White announced his candidacy on the steps of the Chase County Courthouse, and hooded Klansmen ominously interrupted services at the town's African American church in a bid to coerce the congregation to vote for Paulen. White's campaign banners were vandalized in one town and in another they were removed by law enforcement acting on the mayor's orders. Organized labor was allied with the Klan and the Democratic Party, and the head of the Kansas Federation of Labor denounced White as a false friend to labor despite the editor's long record as a workers' advocate. Paulen left much of his campaigning to Republican surrogates such as prominent attorney John S. Dean, who embodied the fusion of the GOP, the Klan, and business interests. Dean gave speeches on Paulen's behalf, he represented the Klan in its ouster case before the state charter board, and he was counsel to the Kansas Employer's Association, which included the state's largest packinghouses, railroads, and insurance companies. A labor-baiting judge smeared White as a glory hound, a racist, and a demagogue, while another surrogate exhorted Kansans to defeat "William Allen Whiteism and the other isms which come from Russia."[14]

Although Paulen won the governorship in the Republican landslide of 1924, White's showing in the race proved that Kansans could be receptive to the liberal rhetoric of tolerance. White finished in third place but was only 33,000 votes behind the incumbent Democratic governor, who lost to Paulen by about 140,000 votes; White's approximately 150,000 votes were a striking result considering that he had campaigned for less than six weeks on a shoestring budget of just $476.60. The outcome was a moral victory to White, who believed he had exposed the KKK as a sham, proven that ordinary citizens could stand against it, and taught Paulen that pandering to the Klan had cost him more votes than he gained. Individuals who had suffered under the Klan wrote White thanking him profusely for his efforts, and one supporter expressed the belief that the KKK's "swaggering boldness is permanently reduced. I think from now on we can live in peace." White's high-profile campaign helped to fuel voter turnout that aided the charter board's anti-Klan majority, which ruled in January 1925 that the KKK was an out-of-state corporation illegally operating without a charter. The ouster case and the

12. "White Announces," *Emporia Gazette*, September 20, 1924; "Klanism vs Americanism," *Emporia Gazette*, September 26, 1924; "White Starts Fight on Kansas Klan," *New York Times*, September 11, 1924; "W. A. White to Run as Foe of the Klan," *New York Times*, September 21, 1924; "The Governorship," *Emporia Gazette*, September 16, 1924; Robert Slayton, *Empire Statesman: The Rise and Redemption of Al Smith* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 211; McKee, *Maverick on Main Street*, 170–71; and White to Borah, November 24, 1924, box 81, White Papers.

13. Walter Lippmann to Sallie White, October 8, 1924, folder 1277, reel 33, Walter Lippmann Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (hereafter cited as "Lippmann Papers"); Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Editor White Tilts at the Kansas Klan," *New York Times*, October 5, 1924; "White States Issue," *Emporia Gazette*, September 26, 1924; "Shake Off Klan Control is Plea of Independents," *Emporia Gazette*, October 29, 1924; "At the Crossroads," *Emporia Gazette*, November 1, 1924; "Nothing Radical in White Platform," *Emporia Gazette*, October 13, 1924; White to Scott, September 2, 1924, box 83, White Papers; White to Borah, November 24, 1924, box 81, White Papers; and "The Prodigal's Return," *Emporia Gazette*, November 3, 1924.

14. "White Continues Fight on Paulen," *Emporia Gazette*, September 24, 1924; "Calls White an Andy Gump, Says Editor is Not Sincere," *Emporia Gazette*, October 25, 1924; Sloan, "Kansas Battles the Invisible Empire," 393–409; "Klansmen Enter Negro Church to Work for Paulen," *Emporia Gazette*, October 30, 1924; "Unknown Vandals Cut Down White Banner in Iola," *Emporia Gazette*, September 26, 1924; Charles Isely to White, November 11, 1924, box 82, White Papers; Kansas Federation of Non-Partisan Voters Pamphlet, box 80, White Papers; Harold McGugin to M. F. Amrine, October 26, 1924, box 83,White Papers; White, speech at Concordia, Kansas, September 23, 1924, box E-8, White Papers; "Davis Strikes Back," *Emporia Gazette*, October 6, 1924; and "Huggins Pulls for Paulen, Hopes White Will be Beaten," *Emporia Gazette*, October 28, 1924.

The Kansas Klan faced a serious threat to its activities after White's longtime friend, Governor Henry J. Allen, initiated legal proceedings to oust the organization for operating without a state charter shortly before his term expired in January 1923. The Pennsylvania-born Allen started out, like White, as a newspaper owner and editor. After his governorship, he went on to serve as one of Kansas's U.S. senators from 1929 to 1931. The two men are pictured in 1922 on the campus of the Emporia Normal School.

Klan's own missteps contributed to the KKK's collapse, and within a year White exalted that "the Ku Klux Klan in Kansas is a busted community." Eastern liberals such as Lippmann and Villard saw White's effort as a ray of hope in an age of conservatism, and both men solicited White's insights on the Klan phenomenon for their urban readers.[15]

White continued to make headlines in the eastern press as a result of his opposition to some of the more ludicrous expressions of the culture war during the mid-1920s. He ridiculed a local mayor who proposed a morality ordinance banning dancing, asserting in an editorial that "nothing is as dynamic as suppressed desires." In the very same piece, however, White explicitly endorsed the idea that it was acceptable to enact measures "against the barbarism of untaught minorities." He chuckled at Emporia's churchmen after they denounced him for the sacrilege of inviting the town to follow the tallying of World Series scores in front of the *Gazette*'s offices following Sunday services in 1926. Two years later the president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) added White to a blacklist of dangerous radicals for his activities in support of civil liberties and against literary censorship and the Ku Klux Klan. Dozens of mainstream individuals and groups were named on the list, including the prominent civil libertarian Clarence Darrow, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the National Catholic Welfare League. White observed that the president-general's list of Jews, Catholics, and liberals was strikingly similar to the Klan's usual targets, and he joked that she had "allowed several lengths of Ku Klux nightie to show under her red, white and blue."[16]

The key issue of Prohibition, however, was no laughing matter to White, who fiercely contested any suggestion of repeal as a serious threat to American democracy. White argued that the rural middle class had prescribed Prohibition as a remedy for the industrial inefficiency and social waste caused by liquor. He scolded those who insisted on characterizing the issue as a moral question, insisting that "in the west the dominant prohibitionists were not the churchmen . . . but the business men" who sought a more reliable workforce. Nevertheless, White's justifications for Prohibition relied on an assortment of moral judgments and rationales. Liquor was a "constant breeder of poverty" because the poor were too weak willed to resist spending their limited resources on alcohol, leaving society to clean up the resulting wreckage.

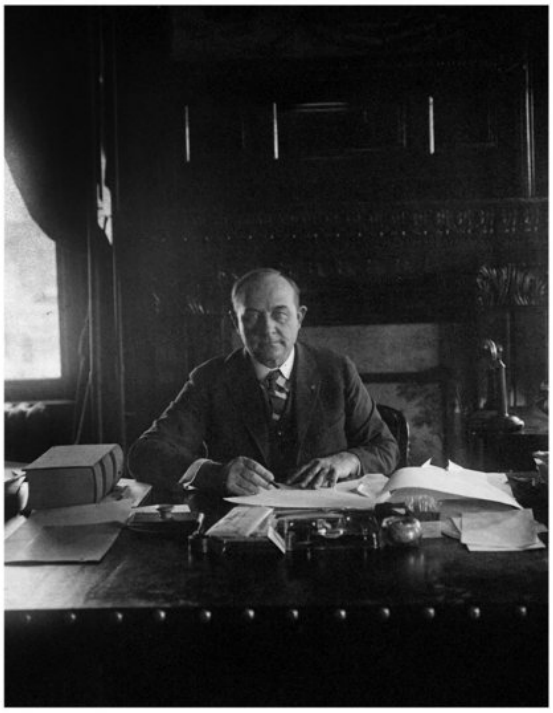
15. Charles Isely to White, November 6, 1924, box 82, White Papers; "Wiped Out," *Emporia Gazette*, August 5, 1926; Traylor, "White's 1924 Gubernatorial Campaign," 180–91; Campaign financial statement, November 3, 1924, box E-5, White Papers; "Kansas at Her Best, Says White," *Emporia Gazette*, October 30, 1924; "Kansas Swatted the Klan," *Emporia Gazette*, November 7, 1924; William Borah to White, November 18, 1924, box 81, White Papers; White to Paul A. Jones, November 13, 1924, box 88, White Papers; White to Walter Lippmann, November 9, 1924, file 1277, reel 33, Lippmann Papers; White to Oswald Garrison Villard, November 19, 1924, box 84, White Papers; White, "Annihilate the Klan!," *Nation*, January 7, 1925, 7; Villard, Speech to the Penguin Club, Washington, D.C., January 1925, box 130, Villard Papers; and White, *Autobiography*, 631.

16. "The Council Grove Case," *Emporia Gazette*, February 10, 1926; "Sees Klan's Hand in DAR Blacklist," *New York Times*, April 6, 1928; "Emporia Scoreboard Offends Ministers," *New York Times*, October 10, 1926; and "The Blue Menace," *Nation*, April 18, 1928, 422.

Furthermore, he explained that "the rich boozer is a rebel—a militant, insistent lawbreaker," whose scofflaw behavior encouraged the rest of society to disregard the rule of law. Although White allowed that reasonable people could disagree about the policy of Prohibition, he saw urban society's tolerance of illegal liquor as an adolescent rebellion against the rural majority's sober wisdom.[17]

The contest between rural and urban culture was foremost in White's thinking as the 1928 presidential campaign got underway. White and Herbert Hoover were close friends, and White penned a campaign biography for *Collier's* that depicted Hoover as the best small-town midwestern America had to offer. Hoover had spent his early childhood in West Branch, Iowa, and White depicted him as a hero who had made a fortune for himself and fueled prosperity at home by installing American-made machinery as a mining engineer overseas. While abroad, Hoover had helped bring order to a chaotic world and demonstrated American character by defending white women in China during the Boxer Rebellion. Finally, White described Hoover as a fine example of American neighborliness as the humanitarian who led the Belgian Relief campaign that helped feed the neutral population of occupied northwestern Europe during World War I. White admitted that his friend was overly "sensitive to personal criticism" and lacked political instincts, but he sought to turn these weaknesses into an advantage by portraying Hoover as an ordinary American untainted by politics.[18]

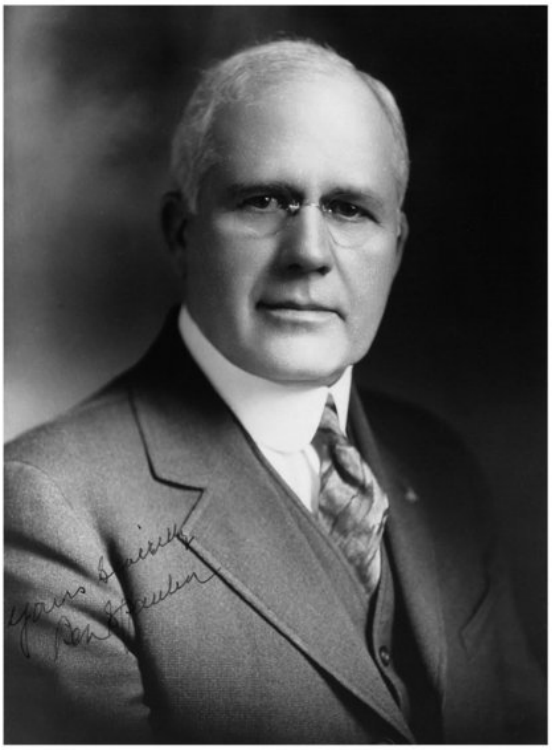
Hoover's biography contrasted sharply with that of the Democratic nominee, Alfred E. Smith, who was the son of immigrants raised in the heart of New York City's vibrant ethnic culture. Smith rocketed through New York's Tammany Hall political machine, the state assembly, and the governor's mansion, where he launched an audacious campaign of labor, education, and public utility reforms. White admired Smith as an intelligent, courageous, and sincere reformer who had distanced himself from the Tammany machine that bore him. At the same time, White recognized that the New York governor was the nation's most prominent symbol of a new, urban civilization that presented a "challenge to our American traditions, a challenge which . . . will bring deep changes into our American life." While White admired Smith as a keen politician with a "national size" character, he rejected Smith's urban culture and his Tammany pedigree. Walter Lippmann presciently observed that Smith's fate turned on whether he could convince rural voters that he was culturally qualified for the White House, or at least to set their prejudices aside long enough to vote him into office. As one of rural America's most prominent liberals, White highlighted the difficulty of this task when he depicted a procession of urban delegates at the Democratic National Convention as a circus "filled with Sullivans, Murphys,



Incoming Governor Jonathan M. Davis, a Democrat aligned with the Klan, was powerless to stop Allen's ouster case because only one of the three seats on the charter board was filled by gubernatorial appointment and the other two were held by anti-Klan men. Both Governor Davis and the anti-Klan board members were due for reelection in 1924, which meant that the Klan's fate in Kansas turned on the election's outcome. Davis, who was born in Bronson, Kansas, and served one term as the state's governor, is pictured at his desk signing a bill into law.

17. On the democratic implications of the Prohibition movement, see Zimmerman, *Distilling Democracy*; "Thoughts on Prohibition," *Emporia Gazette*, March 12, 1926; "The New Rebellion," *Emporia Gazette*, July 9, 1926; White to H. L. Mencken, April 29, 1922, box 67, White Papers; and White to Nicholas Butler, July 5, 1928, box 136, White Papers.

18. William Allen White, "The Education of Herbert Hoover," *Collier's*, June 9, 1928, 8–9; "The Sunrise Trumpet," *Emporia Gazette*, June 18, 1928; "Norris, of Nebraska, Snorts at Convention," *Emporia Gazette*, June 16, 1928; and Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics*, 5–8.



The 1924 Republican nominee for governor, Fredonia-native Benjamin S. Paulen, had defeated an overtly anti-Klan candidate in the primary, and White, Allen, and other anti-Klan Republicans were outraged when Paulen, pictured in the mid-1920s, refused to publicly denounce the KKK. Allen asked White to run for governor as an anti-Klan independent, but White was reluctant to break his journalistic vows by entering politics.

O'Tooles and Guadellis and Greeks, with names that sound like a college yell."[19]

Governor Al Smith's biography alone made him unpalatable to the Democratic Party's rural constituencies, but his stance as an unapologetic anti-Prohibitionist posed a potentially insurmountable obstacle to party unity. The Democrats managed to finesse the issue with a platform plank calling for an "honest effort" to enforce Prohibition, but Smith reignited the controversy when his nomination acceptance note stated that he intended to enforce the law while pressing for its modification. Prohibitionists, or "Drys," such as White were astounded. The editor noted that the candidates were both honest men with similar platforms, and Smith's action had made Prohibition the campaign's central issue. White launched an editorial fusillade that ranged far beyond the liquor question by claiming that Smith had served Tammany Hall in voting for bills that favored liquor, gambling, and prostitution as a New York state legislator. Tammany Hall had launched Smith's career, and White explained that rural Americans opposed him because "his record shows the kind of president he will make—a Tammany president" willing to sacrifice his principles for political gain. White asserted that a President Smith would "menace American ideals and threaten the institutions of our fathers. Smith must be beaten if America remains America."[20]

The editorial went unnoticed nationally until White reprised his comments in a speech launching Hoover's Kansas campaign on July 12. The press focused on White's charges that Smith's record on saloons, gambling, and prostitution made him a threat to America's "whole Puritan civilization," and Smith responded that "Mr. White has brains and ought to know better." The *New York Times* chirped that ending Prohibition was the best way to restore "Puritan civilization" because the Puritans were heavy drinkers by modern standards. White retorted that the Puritans had also persecuted Quakers and hung witches, but their positive contribution was "an orderly individualistic civilization" that "moralized its economic issues," as he claimed Americans had with Prohibition. Although he conceded that Smith was courageous, intelligent, and audacious, White alleged that these attributes were dangerous unless tempered by midwestern morality because they made it possible for Smith to "chloroform the people so that the Tammany chain will be forged upon them." As White wrote one local Democrat, he might have supported a candidate like Smith if the New York governor had "been born out here in our country. I wish he did not have the sour beer smell of Tammany in his clothes."[21]

19. William Allen White, "Al Smith, City Feller," *Collier's*, August 21, 1926, 8, 9, 42, 43; William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York: MacMillan, 1928), 467; "Editorial Correspondence," *Emporia Gazette*, June 26, 1928; Walter Lippmann, "The Sick Donkey," *Harper's* 155 (September 1927): 415–21, Lippmann Papers; and Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 30, 84–85, 129–33, 169–74, 240.

20. "Editorial Correspondence," *Emporia Gazette*, June 30, 1928; "Smith Amends the Platform," *Emporia Gazette*, July 2, 1928; "Not Obey—Observe," *Emporia Gazette*, July 6, 1928; "Al Smith's Record," *Emporia Gazette*, July 7, 1928; and Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 196–99, 256–75.

21. "White Calls Smith Menace to Nation," *New York Times*, July 13, 1928; "Smith Strikes Back," *New York Times*, July 15, 1928; "Gov. Smith vs. William Allen White," *New York World*, July 18, 1928; "Puritan 'Bill' White," *New York Times*, July 14, 1928; "Al Smith Denies Charges," *Emporia Gazette*, July 14, 1928; "Tammanizing America," *Emporia Gazette*, July 21, 1928; and White to Paul Jones, July 20, 1928, box 138, White Papers.

White finally threw his hat into the ring as an anti-Klan independent in early September 1924, and he made defending American culture his signature issue by denouncing the Klan as the enemy of small-town values and the Constitution. This cartoon, titled "A Real American Goes Hunting," was drawn by Rollin Kirby and published by the New York World *during the campaign. Although Paulen won the governorship in a landslide, White's showing in the race proved that Kansans could be receptive to the liberal rhetoric of tolerance. The outcome was a moral victory to White, who believed he had exposed the KKK as a sham and proven that ordinary citizens could stand against it.*

White planned to spend several days in New York City before sailing for a much needed vacation to Europe in August, and he longed for the opportunity to give Smith "another wallop" on the candidate's home turf. The Republican National Committee (RNC) and a church group provided White with research aides to dig into Smith's record, and the editor released their report upon his arrival in New York City on July 29. However, he withdrew his allegations pertaining to gambling and prostitution the next day after Lippmann, their mutual friend, informed White that Smith had sound policy reasons to vote against the measures in question. Lippmann believed that White had seen the light, and he assured another mutual friend that the Kansan was merely guilty of "carelessness, an attempt to make good on his carelessness, an amateur investigation and muddle-headedness. He's a sweet fellow and I think he was very contrite." White saw things differently, explaining that he had withdrawn the charges as "a chivalrous gesture" after Lippmann told him that Smith's "wife and daughter were weeping" about the allegations. White sailed for Europe and the controversy subsided until his friend Henry Allen, formerly the governor of Kansas and now the RNC's publicity director, leaked a private cable from White reasserting the charges. The editors of the liberal journal the *Nation* were amused, quipping that "what Mr.

The contest between rural and urban culture was foremost in White's thinking as the 1928 presidential campaign got underway. White and Herbert Hoover were close friends, and White took up his pen to tout Hoover as the best small-town midwestern America had to offer. He also hosted this dinner in the garden at Red Rocks on July 18, 1927, where the editor introduced Mr. Hoover, then a member of President Calvin Coolidge's cabinet, to his fellow Kansas newspapermen. White and Hoover sat next to one another at the back of the gathering (Hoover just beneath the lower window of the two-toned house in the background and White to his right). Photograph courtesy of the Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

White plainly needs is a rest cure in some Swiss resort, until he recovers his ordinary political judgment, not to say sanity."[22]

The campaign intensified in White's absence, and the *Nation* observed that the editor's allegations against Smith survived in the form of vicious pamphlets distributed anonymously "by the hundreds of thousands" in the Midwest. The charges became part of a "whispering campaign" that the *Nation* described as rumors and innuendo meant to smear Smith based on "two prejudices—those against Catholicism and against Tammany Hall." Smith's candidacy opened the solidly Democratic South to Hoover's appeals, and both sides employed vicious, bigoted campaign tactics in an effort to gain an advantage. Pro-Smith Democrats claimed that Hoover would place African Americans in control of the South if the Republicans won, while Hoover's supporters spun lurid tales of Papal domination, ecclesiastical immorality, and urban vice in denouncing Smith. Anti-Catholic bigotry was particularly effective in the South, where negative attitudes about Catholicism were so widespread that even pro-Smith liberals fully accepted the idea that the Catholic mind was too heavily regimented to be capable of independent thought. Both the Prohibition and Tammany Hall issues fit neatly into this anti-Catholic

22. Walter Lippmann to Felix Frankfurter, August 2, 1928, folder 429, roll 10, Lippmann Papers; White to Helen Mahin, December 18, 1928, box 138, White Papers; Untitled article, *Nation*, August 15, 1928, 148; "The Hoover Whispering Campaign," *Nation*, September 28, 1928, 263; "Smith Strikes Back at White's Charges," *New York Times*, July 15, 1928; "White Withdraws Part of Charges," *Emporia Gazette*, July 31, 1928; "White Withdraws Smith Vice Charges," *New York Times*, August 1, 1928; "White Now Stands By Smith Charges," *New York Times*, August 15, 1928; and White, *Autobiography*, 634.

narrative, and Hoover's campaign wielded all three against Smith in the South.[23]

The same midwestern ideas of neighborliness and orderly government that had spurred White's anti-Klan run in 1924 motivated him against Smith in 1928, and he obliged Hoover's request to return to the battle upon returning from Europe in October. Although White never mentioned Smith's Catholicism, he did not need to because his rhetoric about Tammany and Prohibition played into widespread cultural biases against Catholics. Indeed, as soon as he disembarked in New York City, White declared that "Tammany is like the Ku Klux Klan in robbing a man of his individuality and deadening his conscience," echoing charges that many applied against the Catholic Church as well. Speaking requests quickly poured in, and White focused his energies on a Southern tour attacking Smith as the enemy of rural neighborliness and America's founding principles. White's stump speech acknowledged that both candidates were exceptional men, but he claimed that Hoover was "a farm boy" with "the American mind" and Smith was imbued with "the Tammany Mind." Americans ought to vote for Hoover because American civilization was built on rural values, which White summarized as "orderly, moral, healthy, neighborly, kindly, with just and equitable relations between all citizens rich or poor." White's brief argument for Hoover was that the Republican was best suited to preserve the nation's founding principle of millions of voters casting free ballots as well as its cultural "ideals of probity, of neighborly kindness."[24]

The vast majority of White's speech was dedicated to attacking Smith and his "Tammany Mind." Tammany Hall challenged the American doctrine of political individuality by operating a rival system that demanded strict obedience from its lieutenants and block voting by the lower classes, with votes paid for with "charity rather than justice." The elevation of a Tammany man such as Smith to the highest office in the land threatened to "infect the Nation" with the Tammany rot. White summarized the question before the voters: "shall the government of free men exalting a free conscience in government survive on this continent, or shall we Tammanize America?" Prohibition was merely "the symbol which dramatizes the issue," because the rural majority had enacted it as an economic measure to improve society. Tammany rejected Prohibition because the law represented "a conscience in politics, the rule of the majority, the obedience of the minority, [and] fundamental rights" without favor. White reasserted that Smith had stood with Tammany on the saloon question in the New York legislature on every occasion, straining credulity by claiming that this recapitulation was intended to show "how Tammany perverts its followers," not to "pretend that any moral turpitude lurked in these votes." Smith would "stand in the White House as he has stood in Albany," and White begged his rural audiences to "save the America of our constitution, a free unbought, unbossed America" from the "gang of Tammany hoodlums" that would ride Smith's coattails into the White House.[25]

Anti-Smith hysteria helped to elect Hoover by an overwhelming margin, and the echoes of the divisive campaign reverberated through the liberal ranks. Editor Villard severed his friendship with Senator Borah after the Republican old guard paid Borah's expenses to campaign for Hoover, while the GOP shunned White's liberal Republican friend Senator George W. Norris, a Republican from Nebraska, for having actively campaigned for Smith. Lippmann spoke for many eastern liberals when he stated that Hoover's win was a "victory of economic conservatism and of political and religious fundamentalism," while the *Nation* noted that "from the beginning of the campaign there has been a group to which he emphatically owes his success: Prejudice, Bigotry, Superstition, Intolerance, Hate, Selfishness, Snobbery, and Passion." The "whispering campaign" against Smith had shown Villard that the attitudes of "dense ignorance and prejudice of the Scopes case in Tennessee, which we had flattered ourselves was limited to backwoods districts, are in reality to be found in every American community." Villard cited the fact that Hoover had not felt compelled to sound a single note of disapproval against this bigotry as proof that a wide

23. "The Hoover Whispering Campaign," 263; John T. McGreevy, "Thinking on One's Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928–1960," *Journal of American History* 84 (June 1997): 97–131; Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 284–87, 300–9; and Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics*, 59–76, 245.

24. Agran, *"Too Good a Town,"* 136–38; "White Links Smith to Tammany 'Evils,'" *New York Times*, October 20, 1928; White, speech at Independence, Kansas, October 19, 1928, box E-8, White Papers; "'Retracted Nothing,' White Says at Home," *New York Times*, October 2, 1928; White to Henry Allen, October 18, 1928, box 135, White Papers; "A Personal Word," *Emporia Gazette*, October 2, 1928; and Herbert Hoover to White, July 24, 1928, box 71, Campaign and Transition Series, Herbert Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

25. White, speech at Independence, Kansas; "A Very Personal Matter," *Emporia Gazette*, November 5, 1928; Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics*, 59–61; and Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 258–59, 312.

Hoover's biography contrasted sharply with that of the Democratic nominee, Alfred E. Smith, who was the son of immigrants raised in the heart of New York City's vibrant ethnic culture. Smith rocketed through New York's Tammany Hall political machine, the state assembly, and the governor's mansion. White admired Smith as a sincere reformer, but recognized that the New York governor was the nation's most prominent symbol of a new, urban civilization that presented a "challenge to our American traditions." Before long, White was actively campaigning against Smith. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

swath of the population was not considered to be fully American.[26]

White was disturbed by the most egregious examples of racial and religious bigotry that had been used against Smith during the campaign, but he was blind to the inherent intolerance in his rural triumphalism. Instead, White exalted that the White House had been saved from Tammany Hall, although he did concede that he had reservations about Hoover's thin skin and his deification of prosperity. Ever the optimist, White cited the president-elect's prosperity mantras as heralds of flowering liberalism because they reflected a desire to advance social justice by lifting all boats. Lippmann was in Kansas City two weeks after the election delivering a speech on the American people's complacency about prosperity, and the two grew reacquainted. White was certain that Lippmann had enjoyed himself, but Lippmann reported that he

> found the experience extremely depressing. White surely is about the best thing that the Middle West and the small town in the Buick-radio age has produced. And judged by any standard of civilized liberalism it's a pretty weedy flower. He made me feel as if defeating Al Smith had in it an enterprise about equivalent to heaving a stray cat out of the parlor.

Lippmann consoled himself with the observation that Hoover liberals such as White were anti-Smith rather than pro-Hoover, and he hoped that they would see the light after Hoover began to implement his agenda.[27]

Reform-minded midwesterners such as White played an important role in defeating Al Smith in 1928, but the outcome also laid the foundation for the New Deal liberal coalition. While Lippmann mourned the defeat, he recognized that Smith had "started something" by tallying a greater share of the popular vote than any Democrat since Woodrow Wilson.[28] Smith contributed to the coming of the New Deal by winning America's cities for the Democratic Party, which Franklin D. Roosevelt then incorporated into a political coalition with the Solid South in 1932. Several of White's midwestern liberal Republican friends became New Dealers after campaigning for Smith in 1928, including Harold Ickes and George Norris, and midwestern liberals continued to play an important role in the New Deal coalition for the next fifty years. Resolving

26. Walter Lippmann, radio statement, November 6, 1928, box 232, Lippmann Papers; "Hoover Wins," *Nation*, November 14, 1928, 510; Walter Villard to Ramsay MacDonald, December 6, 1928, folder 2411, Villard Papers; Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939), 469; Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 268, 321–24; and Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics*, 25.

27. White to Henry Haskell, November 20, 1928, box 137, White Papers; Walter Lippmann to Herbert Croly, November 21, 1928, folder 303, reel 7, Lippmann Papers; "Hoover and Progress," *Emporia Gazette*, November 6, 1928; White to Harold Ickes, November 23, 1928, box 41, Harold Ickes Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Walter Lippmann, speech at Kansas City, November 15, 1928, series 6, box 231, Lippmann Papers; MacLean, *Behind the Mask*, 92–97; Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics*, 63–64; Slayton, *Empire Statesman*, 284–86; and Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, and Co., 1980), 249.

28. Walter Lippmann to White, November 7, 1928, folder 1277, reel 33, Lippmann Papers.

the culture war that had liberals siding with conservatives was an essential step in the movement towards New Deal liberalism, and the fact that White's midwestern liberals had invested all their hopes in Hoover set them up for a realignment when the realities of his presidency proved their faith to be misplaced.

The crisis that shattered the Hoover myth was not long in coming, because the patina of everlasting prosperity that Lippmann had discussed in Kansas City concealed a deadly rot. Even White noted in April 1929 that the American economy was built on a "foundation of sand," and in May he wondered "when will the sleeper awake?" By a twist of fate, White and Lippmann were dining together in New York City on the evening of October 29, when the great crash of the New York Stock Exchange inaugurated the Great Depression. White chaired the local branch of a Hoover administration initiative to coordinate private relief as a response to the Depression, and he watched as his hard-working Kansas neighbors starved in December 1930. Increasingly fearful that hunger would lead to revolution, White penned editorials begging Hoover to demonstrate leadership and praising the innovative state relief programs of New York's governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The editor recognized that Roosevelt was a rising star who could achieve the presidency, but he worried that the governor's opposition to Prohibition might derail his candidacy if he ran for the White House in 1932. Lippmann was stunned when White wrote him frankly admitting that Prohibition, the issue that White had claimed epitomized rural superiority, had been a "sort of stalled car in the road" that had wrecked liberal cooperation and had to be repealed as soon as possible.[29]

Walter Lippmann, a political pundit and editor with the New York World, *was a friend of White's, who supported the Kansan in his 1924 gubernatorial run against the KKK. Lippmann was also friends with Al Smith, and he encouraged White to rethink his affiliation with Hoover and his deification of prosperity. Despite the strain put on their friendship by the 1928 election, Lippmann noted that "White surely is about the best thing that the Middle West and the small town in the Buick-radio age has produced." Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.*

Was White's midwestern liberalism "a pretty weedy flower?" White's reform ideology was based on midwestern values, and these values spurred him against the Ku Klux Klan in 1924 and Al Smith in 1928. Both the Klan and the Tammany Hall system that produced Smith functioned as machines that subverted American values by demanding obedience to a hierarchical organization. The Klan pursued its goals through intolerance and terror, while Tammany Hall used favors and corruption to achieve its agenda. Both violated White's midwestern affinity for neighborliness, individualism, and good government, but Smith also fed White's cultural apprehensions about the rise of urban America. Liberalism could not "flower" as a coherent political movement as long as cultural issues spurred its adherents to make war on each other, but Lippmann was mostly correct. White and other midwestern liberals realized their mistake almost immediately after they discovered what Hoover *would not do* during the Great Depression. The emergency forced reform-minded midwesterners to set aside their cultural apprehensions, revive their alliance with eastern liberals in support of efforts to grapple with the Depression, and evolve into New Deal liberals.[30]

29. "A Foundation of Sand," *Emporia Gazette*, April 19, 1929; "Stop, Look, Listen," *Emporia Gazette*, May 8, 1929; White to Walter Lippmann, January 9, 1931, folder 2226, reel 98, Lippmann Papers; and "The Need of a Leader," *Emporia Gazette*, December 13, 1930.

30. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 91.

Like many older liberals, White eventually grew suspicious that FDR was too given to political expediency, and they feared that this constituted a weak foundation for lasting reform. Concerns about Roosevelt's methods did not reflect opposition to the New Deal agenda, however, and White celebrated measures such as the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act protecting labor's right to organize as long-overdue remedies that would restore prosperity by expanding access to middle-class living standards. Although White remained a Republican, Roosevelt spoke volumes when he quipped before an Emporia crowd during the 1936 campaign that he was pleased to have "Bill White's support for three and a half years out of every four." By supporting New Deal policy and working to advance New Deal Republican candidates such as Kansas's pro-New Deal governor, Alfred M. "Alf" Landon, White and other midwestern liberals helped to create the bipartisan constituency that sustained the New Deal order for nearly fifty years. Still, just as the seeds of midwestern liberalism had survived the 1920s culture war, so did midwestern apprehensions about the challenge posed by changing cultural norms during the twentieth century.[31] KH

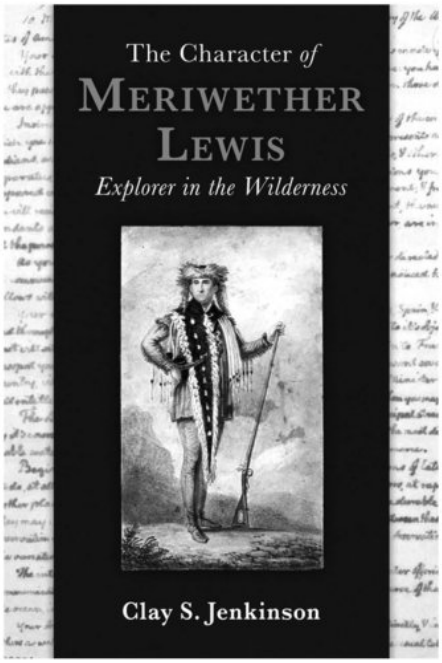
31. Agran, *"Too Good a Town,"* 151; White, *Autobiography*, 639–40; "Roosevelt Wins," *Emporia Gazette*, August 26, 1935; Kazin, *Populist Persuasion*, 6, 60; on liberal discomfort with FDR see Otis Graham, *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford, 1967).

REVIEWS

The Character of Meriwether Lewis: Explorer in the Wilderness

by Clay S. Jenkinson

xxx + 456 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Washburn, N.Dak.: Dakota Institute Press, 2011, cloth $29.95, paper $19.95.



This is a book for those passionate about the Corps of Discovery. If Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage* and Ken Burns's PBS series left you wanting to know more, this big, dense exploration of Meriwether Lewis's character will help you understand its complex subject. Director of the Dakota Institute and host of public radio's *The Jefferson Hour*, Clay Jenkinson explores Lewis's leadership, melancholy, successes, and failures and concludes that Jefferson's protégé did, in fact, commit suicide. One-quarter of the book is about Lewis's last days and death in late 1809, three years after Lewis and William Clark returned from their expedition; the remainder is a prelude to this tragedy.

This is not a straightforward narrative of the expedition or a biography in any conventional sense. There are chapters on Lewis's death and segments of the expedition, but also an extended discussion of gaps in the journals left by Lewis, as well as a chapter on birthdays, holidays, and anniversaries. *The Character of Meriwether Lewis* builds on Jenkinson's shorter, more readable book, *The Character of Meriwether Lewis: "Completely Metamorphosed" in the American West* (2000), which will be helpful to those who do not want to tackle this 140,000-word volume. Its length aside, this work will be of interest to historians of exploration and aficionados of Lewis and Clark.

Jenkinson's analysis of Lewis's death is exhaustive, leaving little doubt that Lewis killed himself. The author surveys the possible psychological, emotional, and physical causes of the suicide and concludes that Lewis—isolated from others as governor of the Louisiana Territory, and with no wife or children—was not murdered. Underlying mental illness, possibly manic depression, helped destabilize his life and set him on a path toward suicide. The absence of friends toward the end of his life, such as William Clark, or even his faithful dog, Seaman, removed those whose presence could have helped save his life. He also suffered from a drinking problem.

The most useful sections of this work include Jenkinson's examination of the relationship between the two captains. The best decision that Lewis ever made, Jenkinson writes, was to ask Clark, an old friend who knew his habits and character well, to join the expedition. Lewis's major mistakes occurred when Clark was absent. These included a fatal confrontation with Blackfeet warriors in July 1806 and an incident where one of Lewis's men accidentally shot him while hunting. Jenkinson argues that neither of these episodes would have happened had Clark, whose patient and careful nature contrasted with Lewis's rash and impulsive tendencies, been around. Without Clark, the expedition could not have succeeded, he argues.

Clark sustained his fragile friend throughout the journey, performing a myriad of tasks without complaint. William Clark gave stability to their relationship. In fact, Jenkinson compares their friendship to a nuclear power plant. Fuel rods are powerful, but unstable, like Lewis. Control rods helped keep the nuclear reaction under control, as Clark did with Lewis. When these two sets of rods are in proper balance, the plant can produce nuclear power. Lewis was most successful when Clark was nearby. In his absence, chaos could erupt.

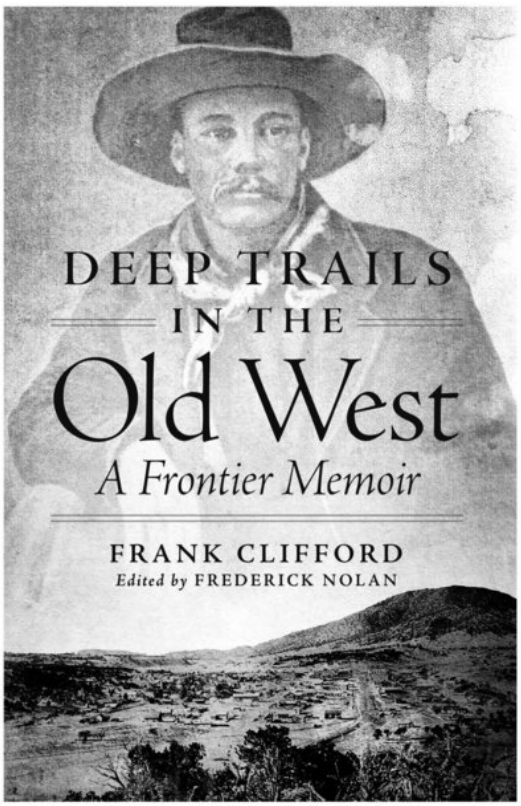
The Character of Meriwether Lewis will be most helpful to those who have already read some of the literature on Lewis and Clark. Readers will need to have a solid knowledge of the expedition before tackling Jenkinson's book. Stephen Ambrose provides a highly readable and popular introduction, while James Ronda's *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (1984) and Thomas Slaughter's *Exploring Lewis and Clark* (2003) provide supplements to Ambrose. If you want to know more about the life and death of Meriwether Lewis, these are the places to start.

Reviewed by Jeff Bremer, *assistant professor of history, Iowa State University, Ames.*

Deep Trails in the Old West: A Frontier Memoir

by Frank Clifford, edited by Frederick Nolan

xviii + 315 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011, cloth $29.95.



Just as Quantrill's raid dominates the popular consciousness of early Kansas history, Billy the Kid overshadows virtually all aspects of territorial New Mexico history. Frank Clifford was a contemporary of the famous outlaw and his autobiography—artfully edited by Frederick Nolan, a leading scholar of Billy the Kid and other Lincoln County war participants—adds color and depth to our understanding of cowboy life on the southern plains in the 1870s. Whether it adds any new verifiable facts to the legend of Billy the Kid is a matter of the author's credibility.

The author, born John Menham Wrightman, was the eleven-year-old son of a Welsh mining engineer who, in 1870, was hired to work for the Maxwell Land Grant and Railroad Company in northeastern New Mexico. When his father died in 1874, the author reported, he "stayed on there, and grew up in New Mexico, as I liked the life" (p. 22), rather than returning to England to live with relatives. As a footloose teenager and young man, he drifted around New Mexico and west Texas, working as a cowboy, miner, and professional gambler. Given some of his sketchy activities, he spoke from experience when he extolled the "wisdom of using an alias when a rider was roaming around as I was doing" (p. 195). His names included Frank Wrightman, Frank Clifford, and, finally John Francis "Frank" Wallace, during his various parts of his life.

The manuscript, related by an elderly John Francis Wallace in 1940 while he had his portrait painted by Wichita's Genevieve Frickel, was transcribed in shorthand by the artist's granddaughter, Mary Frances. It stayed in Wallace's family for nearly fifty years. For the historian of Kansas, the last third of the autobiography is quite interesting as it outlines Wallace's thirty-three years in Emporia, from 1883 to 1916. Wallace recalled, "I had come there as a 'roughneck' cowboy and had pulled myself up by the bootstraps, as they say, and become chief clerk of the Santa Fe and president of the City Council. I thought I had a right to be somewhat proud of what I had accomplished, against considerable odds" (p. 223). In addition to chronicling Wallace's employment history, the last chapters address race and union relations in early Emporia. The stories from this period shed ample light on the life of a railroad man in small town Kansas.

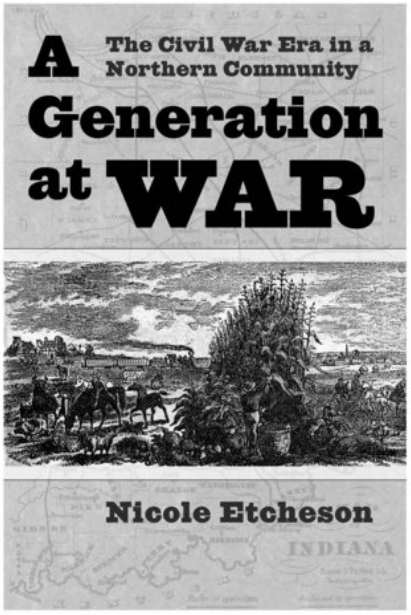
Wallace's stories of his youth in New Mexico and Texas also shed light on life as a cowboy on the frontier. Like many stories from the mythic West, Wallace's narratives connect him to a number of famous "hell raisers" and lawmen, including Clay Allison, Charles Siringo, Pat Garrett, and, of course, Billy the Kid. Offering some corroboration Siringo, who became famous as a Pinkerton detective and then a whistleblower against the agency, mentions Clifford in his memoirs regarding the hunt for Billy the Kid. Wallace himself claimed to have been given Billy the Kid's hat as a gift and then to have run into Billy the Kid in the dark, outside a dance hall, while wearing his hat and having just danced with his girlfriend, Pete Maxwell's sister Paulita. Nevertheless, Wallace acknowledged, "I was not present in person either at the time of the Kid's capture, or his breaking jail, or his death, but I recall vividly the stories of those events as to us at the time immediately following their occurrence by men who were present, and whose word I knew to be good" (p. 128). Whether or not Wallace was embellishing his role in the most famous New Mexican story, his depiction of day-to-day life in territorial New Mexico should be most helpful for researchers and is an entertaining story for all.

Reviewed by Robert Mead, *state law librarian, New Mexico Supreme Court Law Library, Santa Fe.*

A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community

by Nicole Etcheson

xii + 371 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011, cloth $39.95.



In this book Nicole Etcheson contends that Putnam County, Indiana, an important agricultural center fifty miles west of Indianapolis, was "a microcosm of the Civil War in the North" (p. ix), and she effectively employs the county as a test case to understand the continuity and change engendered by the conflict. In order to understand the war's impact, she begins her study approximately a decade before the war and ends it in the late nineteenth century. She concludes that within this broad chronological period some aspects of life, such as politics and women's rights, saw little change, while others, especially racial views, were tremendously altered.

Etcheson's research is exhaustive. She looks at an impressive array of personal papers, county newspapers, and census records. With these sources she is able to capture the human element in the county, uncovering significant personal details on many of Putnam's residents. Although keeping track of the Townsends, Chapins, Applegates, etc., is difficult at times, the reward is worth it. The interlocking families give an excellent sense of community life in the rural North during the nineteenth century.

The book is partitioned into antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum sections. Within each, Etcheson focuses on politics, gender, and race. Prior to the war temperance was the key issue, and the Democrats—the "whiskey party"—enjoyed a small majority. Many Democrats viewed secession as reasonable, and many of them became copperheads during the conflict, opposing both the draft and abolition. After the Union victory party conflict remained tightly contested: Republicans waved the bloody shirt, while Democrats retaliated with the charge that Republicans wanted to elevate blacks above whites.

In regards to women's rights, Etcheson challenges the notion that the Civil War represented a watershed. In Putnam County, at least in theory, men protected and provided for women. Farm women worked, but farm culture devalued their labor. During the war, women on the home front did not eagerly embrace new responsibilities but instead saw the war as undermining their traditional roles. And, when women moved into the public sphere, they sent food and produced clothing, extending the reach of their traditional tasks. In the postbellum era the county experienced an increase in the support for women's rights, but women still believed in the value of their sphere as traditionally defined. Ironically, Civil War pensions, designed to reinforce the image of males as providers, actually allowed some women, especially widows, more independence than they previously possessed.

Although politics and women's rights saw subtle changes, according to Etcheson, racial views saw the most significant alterations. In the decade before the Civil War white Putnam County residents displayed "widespread hostility" towards African Americans (p. 86). An 1851 state law banned the entry of additional blacks into Indiana, and some Putnam County African Americans departed for Liberia during the decade. By 1860 African Americans comprised less than .1 percent of the county's population. During the war, much of Putnam's white population came to the conclusion that they preferred African Americans to traitors, and consequently antislavery sentiment increased. In the postwar period an African American community grew in Putnam, especially as a result of an influx of Exodusters from North Carolina. Between 1860 and 1880 the number of black residents in the country grew from 22 to 547, fostering the formation of a black community.

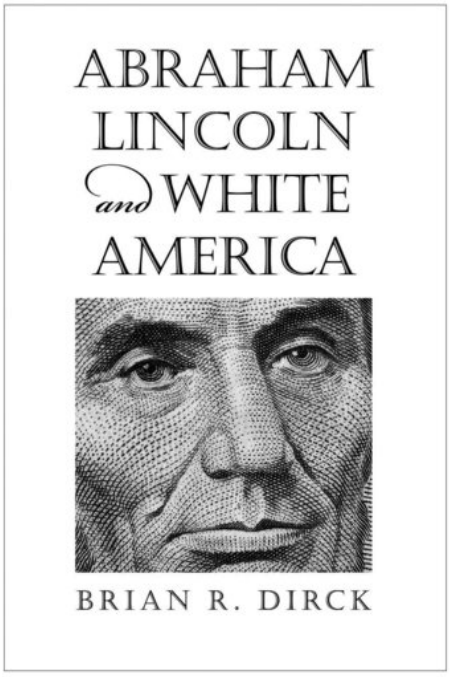
Etcheson's work on race is effective, yet she nearly overplays her hand. Although the racial changes are clearly significant, the small number of African Americans in the county undermines their importance. As the author herself notes, even in 1880 blacks comprised only 2.4 percent of the county's population. Racial issues affected whites as well as African Americans, of course, but it is hard to support the contention that the county's most profound transformation during the period primarily impacted fewer than one out of every forty residents. This point represents only a minor caveat regarding Etcheson's book, however. Her employment of micro-history to elaborate the social history of the North during the Civil War represents a standard to which authors of other community histories should aspire.

Reviewed by John Sacher, *associate professor of history, University of Central Florida, Orlando.*

Abraham Lincoln and White America

by Brian R. Dirck

xiii + 213 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012, cloth $29.95.



"For all the many words that have been written concerning Abraham Lincoln's attitude toward African Americans," argues historian Brian R. Dirck, "almost no one has asked what would seem to be a natural corollary question: how did Lincoln understand white Americans and whiteness?" (p. 3). In *Abraham Lincoln and White America*, Dirck sets out to answer this provocative question. Following in the footsteps of whiteness studies scholars, the author examines Lincoln's attitudes toward non-white people as a means of deducing and explicating his views on this (still) often unrecognized racial category. "To suggest (as has usually been the case) that only nonwhite people are people of color, whereas whites are normatively neutral and colorless by definition, perpetuates the thinking that has made white supremacy so powerful and pernicious a presence in America's history" (p. 3).

The author marshals an extraordinary array of documentation to situate the sixteenth president within his racial milieu, examining the assumptions embedded in the books he read as a child and in Lincoln family lore ("His grandfather [also named Abraham] was killed by Indians" [p. 14]); exploring the disparate attitudes on slavery, abolitionism, and race in which he was immersed; addressing his so-called "white trash" background (p. 25); analyzing his political struggles with Stephen Douglas; and investigating larger racial currents in American legal, scientific, and religious circles. Dirck focuses substantial attention on Lincoln's various documented interactions with black Americans, from slaves in New Orleans in 1828 to Frederick Douglass in the 1860s, deriving much insight from the nuances in accounts authored by the Great Emancipator himself as well as by others, both during Lincoln's lifetime and after his death.

For much of his life, finds Dirck, Lincoln fell "somewhere in the middle of those whites who felt no empathy for nonwhite people and those on the more radical edge of white society who . . . understood both the racial oppression of black people and the structure of white supremacy sustaining that oppression" (p. 64). Although Lincoln remained concerned about white popular opinion throughout his life, Dirck concludes, he grew more disillusioned with white America (and more aware of its whiteness) over the course of the Civil War and, particularly, during his tortured internal struggles over the issue of emancipation. "As the end of the war drew closer, Lincoln had not shed all of his worries about the power and prejudice of white America," Dirck argues. "But he did come to understand that 'white' was not 'neutral' and that a white point of view was not de facto an objective or a just perspective. It was instead merely one interest in a bubbling, sometimes fractious multiracial nation" (p. 136).

Dirck's book does have its limitations, of course. His efforts to emphasize the fact that white Americans viewed (and often continue to view) whiteness as neutral and natural are, perhaps, too numerous within the text and sometimes a little clumsy and overwrought. In addition, his study is often—of necessity—extraordinarily speculative.

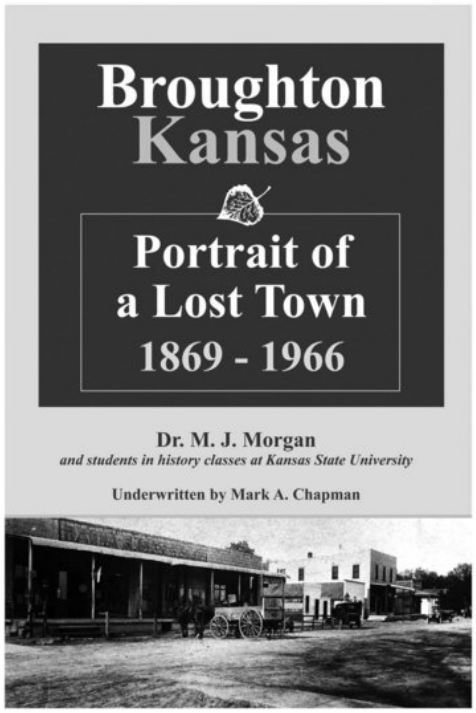
Nonetheless, Dirck has produced a very ambitious, provocative, and engaging book that will be of interest not only to Lincoln scholars but also to anyone interested in race relations in mid-nineteenth-century America. In addition, he has contributed significantly to the historiography by challenging all too common (if baffling) suppositions that Lincoln was somehow divorced from the racial assumptions and relations that governed the society in which he lived. "Lincoln, we believe, should transcend black and white," he argues. "But he does not. He cannot. Abraham Lincoln was not color-blind. . . . Whiteness shaped him, transformed him, and in some ways severely proscribed what he would or could do in the name of American racial equality" (p. 4).

Reviewed by Brent M. S. Campney, *assistant professor of history, University of Texas-Pan American, Edinburg.*

Broughton, Kansas: Portrait of a Lost Town, 1869–1966

by M. J. Morgan and students in the history classes at Kansas State University

ix + 201 pages, illustrations, notes, index. Manhattan, Kans.: Chapman Center for Rural Studies, 2012, cloth $20.00.



In most cases "ghost town" stories relate to places that flourished in the 1800s and declined by the early twentieth century. Broughton is different. Although its origins do go back to the 1800s, the town's demise was the result of the construction of Milford Reservoir in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Buildings were torn down and families moved out as part of postwar flood control work. Mark Chapman, whose family roots ran deep in this now lost community, decided that Broughton's memory needed to be preserved before it, too, succumbed to the passage of time. One of Chapman's efforts has been to found the Chapman Center for Rural Studies at Kansas State University. Another was to seek out Dr. M. J. Morgan to write the town's story. Morgan brought together a collection of students who recorded oral histories, collected photographs, pored through newspapers and letters, and wrote narratives to preserve memories of the town.

The result is more akin to the "deep map" of William Least Heat-Moon's *PrairyErth* than a classic ghost town narrative. It starts by discussing how the land and the landscape, especially the Republican River, shaped the place, attracted residents, supported a community, and ultimately contributed to that community's end. The book then gently, quietly, and even humorously recounts stories and events in Broughton's history, dismantling the stereotype of a staid "small Kansas town." Broughton was not static and unchanging. Agricultural practices adapted to new technologies, and residents embraced or responded to social and cultural changes. People of diverse ethnicities and backgrounds, from African Americans to the Welsh, were part of the local story from the outset.

This is not the traditional local hagiography of great founders and intrepid pioneers. The lives of ordinary people resound throughout the work. Farmers were part of the local scene, but so were railroad workers, including Mexican Americans and some of Greek descent. Events such as epidemics, women at work, and local folkways (including creative ways of catching catfish) are discussed. The book also avoids the all-too-common trap of assuming that local events are somehow unique to a place by including extended conversations about demographic and social change. Broughton is set firmly in the context of larger events. In this sense *Broughton* parallels works by James Shortridge, such as *Our Town on the Plains*.

The chapters are arranged more or less chronologically, but the overall structure is more akin to an anthology than a single narrative. It is evident that the writing of the narrative was divided among different students on the project, resulting in an uneven level of quality and style. Some sections have strong analysis and engaging writing while others are less polished.

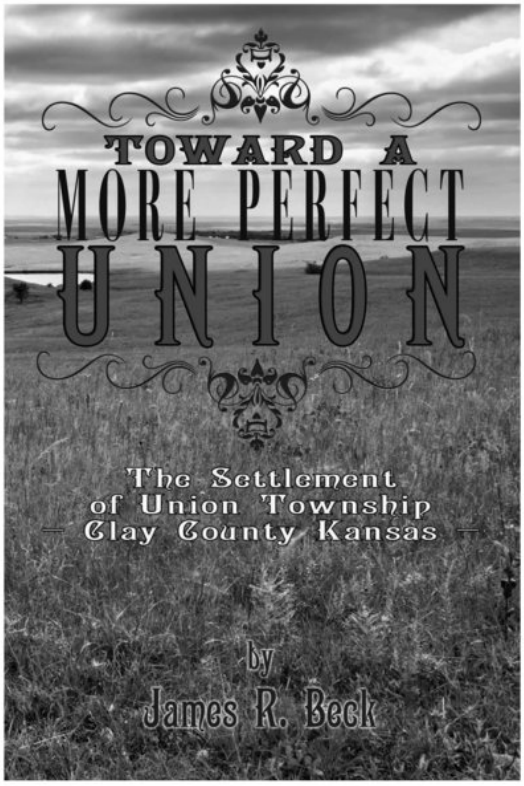
Overall, *Broughton* moves beyond the small-town, Norman Rockwell myth to provide instructive insight into small-town life as a whole, with its complexities, joys, challenges, and sorrows as well as its color. Few towns on the Great Plains will experience so dramatic an end in the face of impending inundation. However, in an age where small towns are declining and aging, works like this point to dynamics that are common to communities across the nation's heartland. This study also suggests that numerous stories of place often go unnoticed unless one takes the time to move beyond the obvious and look for a wide array of residents, many of whom might be hidden in plain sight. Finally, *Broughton* poignantly conveys that much of small-town life across the Great Plains is now being lost. It is up to the current generation to capture the stories, the images, and the events of everyday life in rural towns across the region before these memories are lost forever along with the people and buildings now fading from view.

Reviewed by Jay Price, *associate professor and director, Public History Program, Wichita State University, Kansas.*

Toward a More Perfect Union: The Settlement of Union Township, Clay County, Kansas

by James R. Beck

ii + 291 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Newton, Kans.: Mennonite Press, 2012, paper $18.95.



The iconic image of the homesteader looms large in the myth and history of the American West. In *Toward a More Perfect Union*, James Beck has done much to demystify both the icon and the process of homesteading. Focusing on Union Township in Clay County, Kansas, this thoroughly researched work examines how migrants and immigrants used federal free-land policies to settle and populate one corner of the Midwest.

Beck's study of Union Township provides readers with an overview of the various federal land policies that opened the western frontier to settlers, including the different processes behind homesteading, timber culture, and military land claims. Beck also details the various ways in which settlers acquired land through purchase, navigating the murky and complicated waters of land acquired from railroads and school purchases. A valuable aspect of this work is its detailed explanation of the financial requirements and burdens involved in acquiring western lands and the various ways in which individuals and families attempted to meet those demands, some with more success than others. Importantly, Beck's study reveals that many western settlers used land claims not as a means of acquiring land on which to settle but as a path to financial stability or gain. In tracking especially the sale and resale of military land claims, this study shows that the gifting of western lands did not work exactly as Congress had intended; claimants frequently did not settle on the land themselves, but the ability to sell military bounty claims shows that there was, in fact, a demand for these western lands.

Toward a More Perfect Union is an important study for those interested in Kansas history because its author has focused on a small geographic location and painstakingly researched the individuals and land claims within Union Township. The result is not only a better understanding of the complex process of gaining and keeping western lands, but also a foundation for exploring the growth and development of a community. The final chapters focus on the settlers themselves, tracing their land claim experiences. Reflecting current scholarship on homesteading that recognizes the diversity of homesteaders, Beck has included a chapter on the immigrants and women who settled in the area.

This detailed analysis of homesteading in Clay County's Union Township is valuable for its thorough and in-depth research. Beck has made admirable use of the convoluted records from both national and local offices, digging into the details of land records, land titles, and financial transactions. The result is an impressive study of the practical function of homesteading and its related land acquisition processes. Certainly this stands as an important contribution to the history of western settlement, but it also leaves the reader wanting more. The men and women whose land claims appear in this volume do not come to life; their lives and experiences are, for the most part, limited to their appearance in legal transactions, while their individual stories, motivations, trials, and triumphs are left unexplored. Although this in part reflects the limitations of the available sources, it is also the biggest shortcoming of the book. This presentation of the facts of land settlement demands a more in-depth analysis that contextualizes not just the Kansas experience, but the western one. *Toward a More Perfect Union* is a study that begs for more, but it provides an excellent starting point for more thorough examination of the intimate stories behind the men and women who settled Union Township.

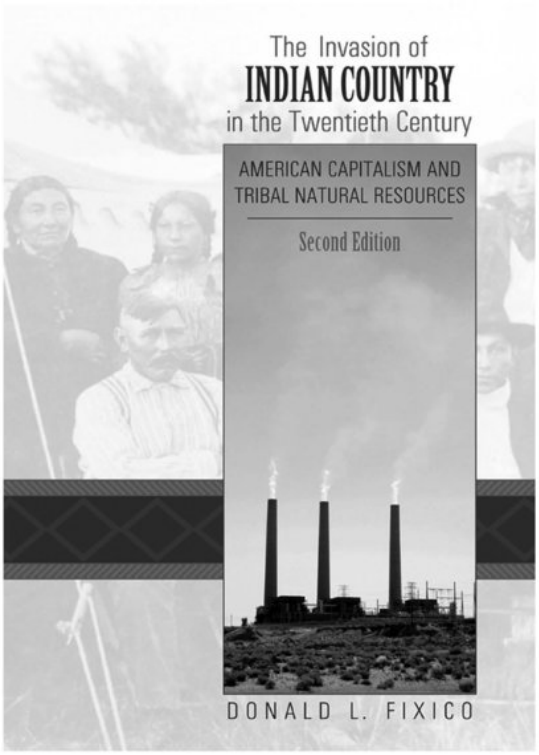
Reviewed by Tonia M. Compton, *assistant professor of history, Columbia College, Missouri.*

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

The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources, Second Edition

by Donald L. Fixico

xix + 278 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012, paper $26.95.



The University Press of Colorado is to be applauded for issuing a second edition of Donald Fixico's ground-breaking study, *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century*, which includes an updated bibliography. Fixico ably explores the intersections between adapted (forced) capitalism as a primary colonization medium and Native identity, specifically the concepts of person, family, clan, community, nation, and spirituality. Essentially, Fixico examines the workings of American capitalism on Native peoples, as well as the ways in which it was aided and abetted through the legal and political manipulations of the federal (and, I might add, as a distant descendent of a territorial Indian agent and his Sauk-Fox "wife," state and territorial) government.

Fixico admirably treats specific examples of how Native individuals, families, and tribes were systematically cheated by white capitalists—abetted by ethnocentric courts—for the purpose of accumulating private wealth from valuable natural resources on Native allotments and tribal lands. Especially illuminating to this reviewer is the example of Jackson Burnett, a Muscogee Creek who grew wealthy with the discovery of oil on his allotment only to be cheated for the rest of his life and beyond by swindlers. Murder of key Osage landowners in Oklahoma was not infrequent for accomplishing the same goal. Long before America's foreign military incursions into oil-rich countries, Indian nations experienced clandestine efforts to target oil resources. Congressional attempts to deprive Pueblo peoples of water rights are likewise examined in detail. Of course the federal preemption of the sacred Black Hills is not forgotten. The author's coverage of the ensuing and now long-standing fight of the Sioux to recover their holiest of lands nicely complements the recent work of Jeffrey Ostler in *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground*.

In the later chapters Fixico examines strategies that Indian nations have used to resist the exploitation of their natural resources and to correct government malfeasance. Here he focuses on the multifaceted beliefs and value systems that Native Americans have created to interpret their relationships with the natural environment and various ecologies. In doing so Fixico evaluates the work of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT)—both its successes and shortcomings. With respect to the latter, the author takes to task those modern tribal leaders who, counterintuitive to traditional values, succumb to the lure of personal profit derived from resources on tribal lands to the detriment of the health of the environment.

The reviewer's only criticism is that Fixico does not detail what constitutes "traditional values." Are these traditional values pre-contact norms or have they been altered by later geographical movement and resultant cultural transformation? Do they have anything to do with trade relations that easily moved some tribes toward the capitalist model after white contact? Questionable also is the author's assumption that Native peoples lived in perfect harmony with nature and their environment prior to contact with whites. Recent archaeological discoveries dispute this claim with physical evidence that some intertribal warfare was fought over access to more productive game regions after old ones became depleted.

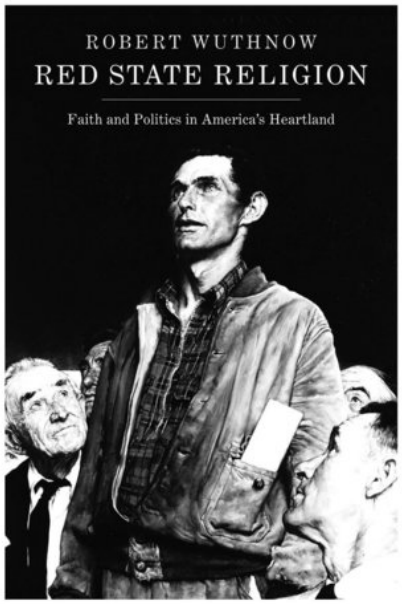
These criticisms aside, Fixico's book remains a very important study that highlights the still too-often-neglected physical and cultural effects of colonialism after conquest, through the twentieth century to the present day and beyond.

Reviewed by John H. Monnett, *professor of history, Metropolitan State University of Denver, Colorado.*

Red State Religion: Faith and Politics in America's Heartland

by Robert Wuthnow

xiii + 370 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012, cloth $35.00.



The murder of Dr. George Tiller by antiabortion activist Scott Roeder on May 31, 2009, marked the violent climax of an intense "holy war" in Wichita. Before his death, Tiller provided legal late-term abortions at Women's Health Care Services, which he founded in 1975. Over the years his clinic had been blockaded and bombed, its staff threatened and patients harassed, his home picketed, and a meeting at his church disrupted by protesters. In 1993 he was shot in both arms by a woman who exclaimed "it was the most holy, the most righteous thing I've ever done."

The struggle over abortion has been the most direct, and therefore most controversial, intersection of religion and politics in Kansas. But Robert Wuthnow, a native Kansan and a distinguished sociologist of religion at Princeton University, is determined that it not define the state's reputation. While he acknowledges that Kansas is a "red state" and a prominent player in America's culture wars, he argues persuasively that the relationship between religion and politics has been far more complicated than most people think. At the state level, he says, "the Republican Party and the centrist conservatism of the state's two dominant religions—Methodism and Catholicism—actually deterred radical religious and political movements from gaining much ground during most of the state's history" (p. xii). Locally, Wuthnow contends, Kansas conservatism has proved to be more pragmatic than contentious. Even on the issue of abortion, Kansans have typically understood that it might be a reasonable choice under certain circumstances.

Over the course of his first four chapters, Wuthnow thoroughly documents the century-long evolution of Kansas's moderate, centrist, and pragmatic religious-political culture, from the early 1860s to the early 1960s. Republicans dominated party politics, Protestants cooperated across denominational lines, and Catholics negotiated an often tense but workable relationship within this pattern. In America's heartland public officials gave speeches at churches and public schools began the day with Bible reading and prayer. At times there were deviations from the normal intermingling of faith and politics. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, for example, declining attendance and financial resources turned the attention of church leaders inward, while politicians focused on the unprecedented economic challenges facing the state.

The late 1960s inaugurated a thirty-year period of greater religious activism in politics, especially among conservative Christians. Protestant congregations began to divide on ideological grounds, and churches new to the state, such as the Southern Baptists, grew rapidly in larger urban areas. Meanwhile, theologically liberal churches steadily declined in membership, and more Catholics voted Republican. Although abortion was certainly the key issue, political conflicts also arose over homosexuality, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the teaching of evolution in public schools.

Wuthnow suggests that by the late 1990s the Religious Right had become more institutionalized. The leading players were now well-funded, professionally managed national organizations such as the Christian Coalition and the Family Research Council. In Kansas, activists were increasingly based in large suburban megachurches and lobbying groups such as Kansans for Life. Among the movement's goals were greater legislative regulation of abortion, a constitutional ban on gay marriage, and persuading local school boards to open their minds about alternatives to evolution. Just how amenable Kansans had become to the mixing of religion and politics was revealed by a 2000 poll showing that 54 percent of respondents "wanted religious leaders to become more active in running for public office," and that 88 percent "thought political candidates should talk publicly about their religious views" (pp. 320–21).

Drawing on recent research by political scientist Larry M. Bartels, Wuthnow disputes Thomas Frank's thesis that the Religious Right has distracted Kansans with values issues, to the detriment of the state's economic welfare. Instead, what we ought to learn from the Kansas experience, Wuthnow argues, is how complicated religious and political organization is at the state and local levels, and how novel and unpredictable are the many ways in which they have influenced each other.

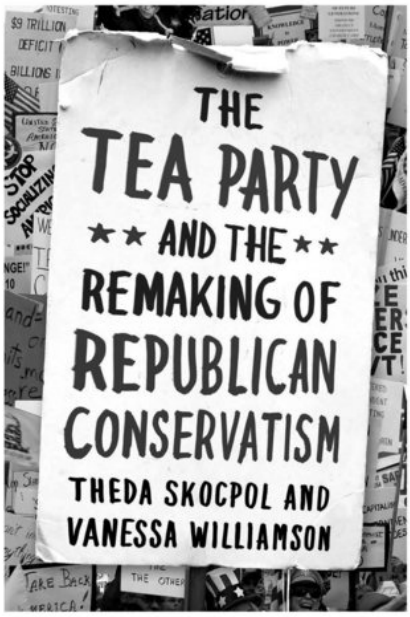
Reviewed by Bruce R. Kahler, *professor of history, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas.*

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

The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism

by Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson

ix + 245 pages, notes, index.
New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, cloth $24.95.



The Tea Party movement has shaken up academia. In the past two years distinguished university presses have published the essays of historians and political scientists analyzing the this grassroots political rebellion, which developed in 2009 and helped the GOP win control of the House of Representatives in November 2010. Many of the books and essays published on the Tea Party have been shamelessly biased and extraordinarily non-academic. Jill Lepore's *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History* (2010) was the most egregious of all, showcasing the Tea Party movement as racist (the whites of their eyes, get it?) and lacking in any sophisticated understanding of the past (unlike the Harvard University author of the book).

It was with some trepidation that I agreed to review the new book on the Tea Party by political scientist and sociologist Theda Skocpol and Harvard PhD candidate Vanessa Williamson. To my surprise, it was not a hatchet job (though there was significant overuse of the term *ultra*—as in ultra-conservative—as well as the phrase "and their ilk," which I stopped counting after seeing it about a dozen times). Rather, it was a dutiful attempt to explain who the Tea Partiers are, what their shared beliefs are, and how much of an impact they have had on American democracy and on American politics.

What Skocpol and Williamson discovered is that the Tea Party encompasses a wide range of views. Most Tea Partiers come from the middle class, most are white, and many are senior citizens dependent on Social Security and Medicare (which, they fear, are going to be taken away by President Obama!). Most disapprove of "freeloaders," who, they believe, are being aided by the Obama administration. Many have military backgrounds. The majority are religious, in that they attend church regularly, and are conservative on social issues like abortion and gay marriage.

Skocpol and Williamson conducted interviews with Tea Partiers in Massachusetts, Virginia, and Arizona and relied on data sets established by graduate students at Harvard. The result is a useful analysis of the backgrounds and beliefs of Tea Partiers. While the Tea Party has some members who dislike the president because of his racial background or their belief that he is a Muslim, you do not get the impression from this book that race is central to their opposition to Obama. Rather, Tea Partiers believe the country of their youth is being taken away from them. Nostalgia is a predicate for their activism.

In this vein the Tea Party represents yet another incarnation of a familiar strand of conservatism in American politics. The authors see it, however, as a "new departure" in the history of Republican politics, as something conditioned by "billionaire industrialists" such as the Koch brothers, media such as Fox News and hosts such as Glenn Beck, and by organizations such as Americans for Prosperity and Freedom Works. There is little doubt that all of these influences have helped usher in the explosion of Tea Party organizations and garner money to help the party gain political clout. The authors' treatment of these backers, however, is less dispassionate (the Koch brothers come in for significant adjectival criticism, as in "ultra-conservative" and "the Koch Brothers and their ilk"), and they believe that the further polarization of American politics is owed to the Tea Party.

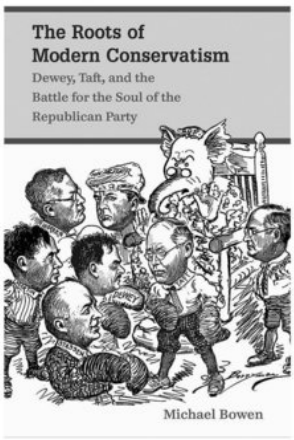
The authors would have been wise to consider historical context in their analysis. The polarization of American politics began long before the Tea Party and on both sides of the political aisle. The Tea Party is just another link in a long chain of populist grassroots uprisings on the Right stretching back to the anticommunist politics of the 1950s, the New Right of the 1970s, and the opposition to President Bill Clinton in the 1990s. As political scientists the authors should be commended for their analysis of the Tea Party, but their neglect of conservatism's historical context prevents them from seeing the Tea Party as part of a continuous movement on the Right that has allowed conservatism to continue as a powerful ideological force in American politics.

Reviewed by Gregory L. Schneider, *professor of history, Emporia State University, Kansas.*

The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party

by Michael Bowen

ix + 254 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011, cloth $45.00.



Michael Bowen has undertaken a rare endeavor: writing the history of political losers. In *The Roots of Modern Conservatism*, Bowen takes on the historiographically quiet years of Republican high politics between the end of the Second World War and the Goldwaterite takeover in 1964. By focusing on the institutional history of the Republican Party, Bowen adds texture to several historical narratives: McCarthyism, Eisenhower and the liberal consensus, and grassroots conservative mobilization. While Bowen's title suggests an origins story—modern conservatism may have been sewn during these years—his distinctive contribution is his demonstration of the ways centrist Republicans marginalized themselves within their own party. A more appropriate title might have been "The Demise of Moderate Conservatism."

New York Governor Thomas Dewey, the champion of "forward looking" liberal-Republican fusionism, and Ohio Senator Robert Taft, leader of the Republican old guard, led warring Republican factions. Their apparatchiks are Bowen's major actors, and Taft's and Dewey's papers from the Republican National Committee (RNC) illuminate the party's postwar quest for political identity and electoral legitimacy. Instead, Bowen suggests, aloof party-builders and elite factionalism led to the mobilization of "strong conservatives," who became the grassroots and intellectual New Right.

Bowen moves from election to election, focusing on backroom wars for control of the party. Dewey's ally, one-time RNC Chair Herbert Brownell, emerges as a singularly effective political tactician. Over the late 1940s, Brownell skillfully built a modern party apparatus, steering precincts to the Deweyites. In contrast, Taft's chief RNC warrior was more concerned with his own political aspirations. The Deweyites' superior political maneuvering secured their candidate the nomination in 1948. But, Bowen argues, Republican infighting weakened Dewey, the favorite, against President Truman. Dewey insufficiently differentiated himself from the Democratic incumbent, and his parochial unwillingness to unite with Taft's conservative legislative wing cemented his surprisingly poor showing. Dewey ignored the importance of party distinctiveness, but, as Bowen demonstrates, other Republicans soon embraced conservative ideology. (Ideology, for Bowen, is almost entirely about winning elections, a stance notably cynical even by modern standards.)

In 1952, however, Eisenhower's personal popularity forestalled the need to clearly differentiate the party. And again, the Deweyites' superior tacticians short-circuited Taft's conservative branding. "Dewey," Bowen concludes, "pulling the strings for Eisenhower," built "a campaign . . . [that] avoid[ed] most of the issues" (p. 129). The Old Guard was crippled by Taft's loss and his untimely death in 1953. Eisenhower soon purged them from the RNC and from his administration. Dewey felt vindicated.

But was he? In the final chapter, Bowen races through Eisenhower's two terms and sketches an impressionistic story of the frustrated far right. Eisenhower's centrist incrementalism—spurred by Dewey—"provoked" conservative mobilization (p. 178). Bowen convincingly shows that the Deweyites' focus on power politics within the party and their inability to differentiate themselves from Democrats alienated them from the party's growing grassroots ranks, which embraced a more robust ideology. In that sense, Bowen usefully recasts the Deweyites as out-of-touch, complicit in their own demise.

Bowen's account of strong conservative mobilization is less convincing. He cites a few scathing letters ("The State Department has not been cleaned out [of Communists], taxes have not been reduced, and we are still taking money from our own people and spending it in Europe") and quotes *Human Events*, but the growing storm on the right emerges as a deus ex machina (p. 175). Bowen is ambivalent about the direct links between Taftites and the New Right, at times arguing the Taft–Dewey wars were "primarily a tale of the political moment in the 1940s and 1950s" (p. 8), while later claiming that key New Right leaders "had solid Republican credentials and ties with the Taftites" (p. 198). This raises questions Bowen leaves unanswered: who comprised the post-Dewey party? How did the grassroots capture of the party change the nature of party building? Linking the strong conservatives of the 1960s with Taft's earlier grassroots supporters—perhaps by drawing on works such as Donald Critchlow's biography of Phyllis Schlafley—would have enabled stronger claims for a "roots" narrative.

Nevertheless, Bowen offers a convincing account of the demise of Dewey's moderate Republicanism and Taft's Old Guard. This work will be of interest to historians concerned with institutional party building in the postwar era.

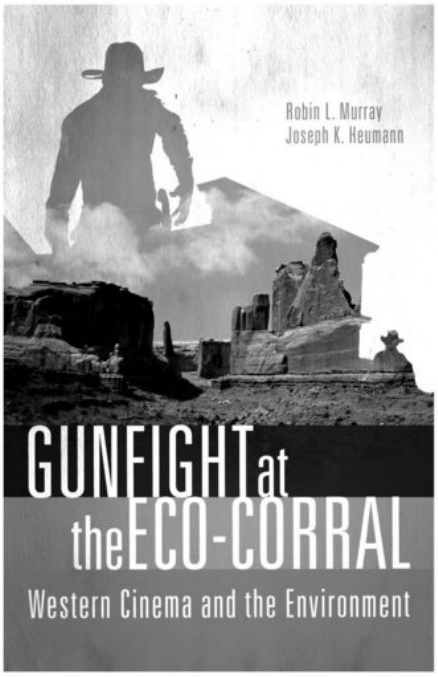
Reviewed by Brent Cebul, *PhD candidate, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.*

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

Gunfight at the Eco-Corral: Western Cinema and the Environment

by Robin L. Murray and Joseph K. Heumann

v + 260 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012, paper $24.95.



In this interdisciplinary study, Robin L. Murray and Joseph K. Heumann reexamine one of American culture's most cherished and popular genres: the Western. The authors draw on film studies and environmental history to illuminate the important environmental issues and tensions present in modern American Westerns, seeking to make the "history behind the environmental debates found in [Westerns] transparent" (p. 13).

The authors examine an impressive array of six different types of Westerns dating from the early twentieth century to the present day: those focused on ranching and agriculture; mining; water; oil and the land rush; transcontinental technologies such as the railroad and telegraph; and American Indians. Plot details aside, similar conflicts arise in many of the Westerns studied, such as the "little guy" versus the big corporation, which animates the mining-themed *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), and the range wars, which drive *The Sea of Grass* (1947) and *Shane* (1953). An eco-critical reading, the authors argue, allows one to identify and analyze the environmental consciousness missing from many of the films, and presents, in the case of transportation technologies, for example, a "vision of the ecology usurped by the railroad and all it represents" (p. 145).

Gunfight at the Eco-Corral succeeds in bringing an eco-critical lens to Westerns, an important scholarly contribution with great potential value for the public. The book's mission to uncover the true environmental history behind the films would have been greatly aided, however, by a deeper exploration of American environmental history and its place within modern American history, as well as more precise usage of terms such as "environment" and "ecology." The authors use the seminal works of environmental historian Donald Worster as their guide, but they do not address the contributions of other major scholars, such as William Cronon and Richard White, nor do they explore recent ideas and advancements in the field. Given the book's methodological and analytical aims regarding environmental history, it would have been strengthened by a more thorough grounding in this literature and more precise historical framing. How, for example, did the modern environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s shape Westerns' approaches to the natural environment, if at all? More broadly, how did changes in twentieth-century U.S. history affect Western filmmaking?

The analysis also needed more discussion of the filmmaking process. The authors tend to critique films for not promoting or acknowledging environmental issues but leave the reader wondering about the individual filmmaker's or studio's purpose and intent. Perhaps environmental tensions led Westerns to play up conflicts between the little guy and the powerful corporation and between settlers and Indians, but then again perhaps these conflicts were simply popular themes during much of the twentieth century upon which the film industry sought to capitalize. The authors could have explored more deeply why Westerns might privilege traditional narratives of progress, such as the victorious rancher or completed railroad, over those of environmental or Native American destruction. What about American society or popular culture might shape this prioritization? This reader hungered for further analysis of many important questions the study raised.

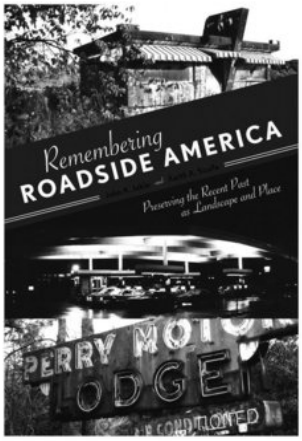
In the final chapter, the authors advocate a new direction for films in which the natural environment plays a prominent role: a "middle ground" between modern environmentalist desires to leave nature untouched and the exploitation of nature. Such a course for American film may be difficult to chart, as modern American society struggles to compromise on environmental issues in the face of competing interests. Nowhere is this more true than in the American West, which remains a contested and powerful symbol of American identity—an iconic place that the Western film genre captures in varied ways and to which this book contributes a new look.

Reviewed by Laura Kolar, *Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.*

Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place

by John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle

xxiv + 284 pages, illustrations, notes, index. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011, paper $29.95.



After nearly forty years of collaboration cultural geographer John Jakle and historian and preservationist Keith Sculle have produced their eighth book together focusing on the history of roadside America. In those forty years they have witnessed a growing appreciation for America's roadside all while watching evidence of the past disappear from these "ever changeful" landscapes (p. xv). *Remembering Roadside America* is a "coming to grips" with the challenges of preserving, remembering, and understanding America's roadside history (p. xix).

Auto-related history is woven into a rich discussion of landscape development, architecture, and memory that cites the works of well-known writers such as John Stilgoe, Jane Jacobs, David Lowenthal, and John B. Jackson. As these writers and others have argued, unanticipated consequences—both geographic and social—of rapid roadside development and redevelopment have resulted in the loss of significant material cultural. In fact, it was transportation-related destruction as a result of post-World War II urban renewal policies that gave rise to the modern historic preservation movement.

Although the book makes few specific references to Kansas, its usefulness to Kansas geographers, historians, preservationists, and museum curators should not be overlooked. Kansas has a rich auto-related history dating to the late nineteenth century, when both urban bicyclists and the rural free delivery of mail reinforced the need for good roads. The 1890s through the 1910s, in particular, saw tremendous change to the Kansas landscape as road networks developed and roadside commerce evolved to accommodate automobiles.

The authors suggest that only relics remain from this earliest period of auto-related development and that whole, intact roadsides simply cannot be found. Indeed, recent historic surveys of roadsides in Kansas support this claim. In 2008 the Kansas Historical Society sponsored a study that included documenting a broad spectrum of buildings, structures, and objects constructed between 1900 and the mid-1960s. As the authors argue on a broader scale, the study revealed that the built environment along Kansas's historic roadsides largely reflects post–World War II development that can be generally attributed to postwar prosperity, the ephemeral nature of early auto-related places, and the need to remake properties to appeal to consumers.

Illustrations in *Remembering Roadside America* provide examples of building rehabilitations and creative reuses found throughout America's historic roadside landscape and also highlight key losses like the Coral Court Motel in Marlborough, Missouri. What really concerns Jakle and Sculle, however, is the loss of the broader, collective roadside, which, they argue, lessens our understanding of how people interacted with and behaved within these landscapes. The notion that the built environment can be a powerful educational tool—particularly from a broad landscape perspective—guides their underlying purpose of advocating multiple approaches to preserving roadside America, including its historic districts, heritage corridors, and outdoor museums.

Each approach offers different conservation and interpretation options, and each has advantages and disadvantages. Historic districts are authentic places, architectural or cultural ensembles that have survived largely in situ, and they are often established as a matter of pride and a way to both slow unwanted change through zoning and spur redevelopment with incentives. Heritage corridors embrace that same notion of authenticity, but with the intention of showcasing an area's history and culture by linking individual places to a common theme through partnerships. These approaches take place in living, functioning places and allow for change and redevelopment that may, over time, erode authenticity.

Outdoor museums, on the other hand, allow for the complete simulation of a landscape for educational and recreational purposes. Typically a replica landscape is achieved using a combination of relocated and reconstructed features. Preservationists caution, though, that interpretation is weakened when a building, structure, or object is plucked out of its original environment and placed in a new, more convenient setting. Jakle and Sculle recognize the importance of preserving buildings and landscapes in situ, but, they argue, outdoor museums allow for an authentic simulation of those earliest roadside landscapes that no longer exist. Outdoor museums are worthy projects, but should not be undertaken without genuine consideration of economic feasibility, expectations, and consequences.

Jakle and Sculle succeed in raising awareness about the loss of historic roadside landscapes and proposing solutions for preserving and remembering these places.

Reviewed by Sarah J. Martin, *National Register coordinator, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.*

BOOK NOTES

Noodlers in Missouri: Fishing for Identity in a Rural Subculture. By Mary Grigsby. (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2012, x + 164 pages, paper $30.00, eBook $23.99.)

Anyone who grew up fishing the rivers and lakes of eastern Kansas or Missouri for catfish has no doubt heard stories of noodlers, fishermen who "use their hands and feet to search underwater" for those huge flathead catfish resting in holes, submerged logs, or under rocks (p. 1). Since the practice has been mostly illegal in Missouri since 1919, noodlers actually constitute a subculture of lawbreakers, some of whom organized "Noodlers Anonymous" in 2000, not in an effort to give up the practice, but to advocate for legalization. Dr. Mary Grigsby, an associate professor of rural sociology at the University of Missouri, offers here a fascinating, well-written study based on her interviews with "twenty men and ten women" who "used noodling in various ways to reinforce gender roles, to construct a sense of their place in the world as a type of people, and to provide a sense of dignity and meaning to their lives as hardworking rural people" (p. 7).

Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters. By Frank Baron. (Lawrence, Kans.: The Society for German-American Studies, Yearbook of German-American Studies supplement 4, 2012, vi + 254 pages, cloth $20.00.)

As demonstrated in this impressively researched study, German immigrants to America were instrumental in the tumultuous political events that rocked and revolutionized America at midcentury. This is especially true of those associated with the Turner benevolent society and the so-called Forty-Eighters, former participants in the revolutionary movements of central Europe in the late 1840s. "German-Americans articulated effective opposition to policies that ran counter to their vital interests" in Kansas and the nation, writes University of Kansas Professor Frank Baron, and despite nativist efforts to marginalize them, they played a conspicuous role in Bleeding Kansas and in the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 (p. 159). "To assert that the German-American votes were indispensable for Lincoln's election cannot be sustained by the evidence available," concludes Baron, " but the political involvement and impact of this immigrant population was unprecedented" (p. 162).

Bruff's Wake: J. Goldsborough Bruff and the California Gold Rush, 1849–1851. By H. L. James. (Independence, Mo.: Oregon-California Trails Association, 2011, 189 pages, paper $34.95.)

Traveling in the wake of sketch artist Joseph Goldsborough Bruff and his failed venture to the California gold fields, readers will experience what the author terms "historical integrity of site" (p. 13). The route Bruff's party used is still accessible, filled with striking land formations and views, most drawn by Bruff. Just thirty-two miles short of their destination, Bruff's mules buckled and died. Members deserted, winter set in, and, reduced to two men, the camp faced starvation. Eventually, after his last companion went for supplies and never returned, Bruff hiked out alone, subsisting on "a tallow candle, coffee grounds, and a lizard" (p. 52). With Bruff's sharp, evocative pencil sketches as well as present-day photographs, this book draws the reader along the California Trail to recreate Bruff's adventure visually and narratively.

Missouri Armories: The Guard's Home in Architecture and History. By Robert P. Wiegers. (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2012, xxii + 192 pages, paper $34.95.)

Citizens' armies have a long and venerable legacy in American society. Centeral Methodist University professor and long-time National Guard member Robert Wiegers provides a detailed history of the Missouri guard from its founding as a French militia in 1751 to its current role as the Missouri National Guard. Uniquely, he traces this history through guard-house architecture. As the role of the guard changed through time so did the buildings that housed its units. With nearly 190 illustrations and maps, Wiegers's work provides an insightful narrative and visual accounting of the guard's history.

Ho! For the Black Hills: Captain Jack Crawford Reports the Black Hills Gold Rush and Great Sioux War. Edited by Paul L. Hedren. (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2012, xx + 295 pages, paper $29.95.)

Most historians of the American West are quite familiar with the events and participants of the Black Hills Gold Rush and the warfare between Indians and the U.S. Army that it precipitated. Captain Jack Crawford is one of the lesser-known individuals who played an important role in those events. He was a scout along with William "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Later, based upon his experiences and connections, Crawford aspired to public entertainment but without the same success as Cody. Through careful editing of Crawford's reports to the Omaha *Daily Bee*, retired National Parks Service Superintendent Hedren provides a fresh, firsthand narrative of the gold rush and its consequences.

Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business: The Path of Reform in Arizona, 1890–1920. By David R. Berman. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012, xii + 330 pages, paper $19.95.)

Examining Arizona's diverse and fluid "anti-corporate reform movement," David Berman provides "a fresh look at how Progressivism worked out in a lightly populated western territory and state heavily dependent on mining activity and heavily influenced by outside investors" (p. 3). In response to the growing economic power of eastern corporations, Progressives—including organized labor (especially the Western Federation of Miners and the more radical IWW), Populists, Socialists, and above all George Hunt, Arizona's first governor and leader of the state's mainstream, progressive Democrats—pursued reforms such as the direct referendum and greater regulation of corporations. Although the Progressive movement in Arizona was racist, largely silent on the question of female suffrage, and inevitably ruined by World War I, it "was far more effective in bringing about changes opposed by a business elite than is portrayed" in most similar studies of other states (p. 12).

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

Kansas Historical Foundation

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Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains is published quarterly through a partnership between the Kansas Historical Foundation and the Chapman Center for Rural Studies. The Kansas Historical Foundation serves as a fund raising, fund management, membership, and retail organization to support and promote the Kansas Historical Society, a state agency that safeguards and shares the state's history through the collection, preservation, and interpretation of its past. The Society's collections and programs are diverse and are made available through its library and museum in Topeka, historic sites and classrooms across the state, and publications and web-based resources accessible everywhere. The Chapman Center for Rural Studies, located on the campus of Kansas State University in Manhattan and directed by faculty in the Department of History, is committed to researching, preserving, and sharing the rural history of Kansas through the recovery of lived experience, lost towns and settlements, original lands, and changing landscapes. Through the establishment of a research lab, digital archives, curriculum, and publications, the Chapman Center links the community of learners at Kansas State University with the communities of the past.

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The journal publishes scholarly articles, edited documents, and other materials that contribute to an understanding of the history and cultural heritage of Kansas and the Central Plains. Political, social, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional histories are welcome, as are biographical and historiographical interpretations and studies of archaeology, the built environment, and material culture. Articles emphasizing visual documentation, exceptional reminiscences, and autobiographical writings are also considered for publication. Genealogical studies are generally not accepted.

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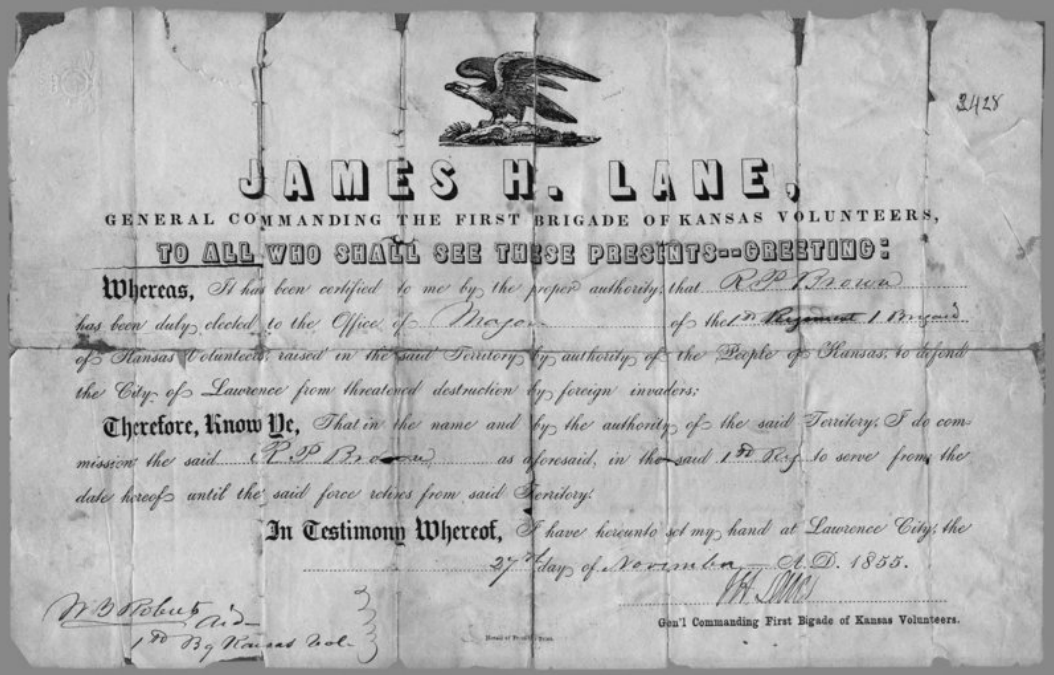

JAMES H. LANE,

GENERAL COMMANDING THE FIRST BRIGADE OF KANSAS VOLUNTEERS,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS--GREETING:

Whereas, It has been certified to me by the proper authority, that R. P. Brown has been duly elected to the Office of Major of the 1st Regiment 1st Brigade of Kansas Volunteers, raised in the said Territory by authority of the People of Kansas, to defend the City of Lawrence from threatened destruction by foreign invaders;

Therefore, Know Ye, That in the name and by the authority of the said Territory, I do commission the said R. P. Brown as aforesaid, in the said 1st Reg. to serve from the date hereof until the said force retires from said Territory.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand at Lawrence City, the 27th day of November A. D. 1855.

J. H. Lane

Gen'l Commanding First Brigade of Kansas Volunteers.

W. B. Roberts A. D. C.
1st Brig Kansas Vol

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