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Heartened by the success of the Houston meeting, Parham decided to hold a temporary Bible school there during the winter of 1905–6. The school was designed to train ministers for evangelistic work. Howard Goss, a Kansan who followed Parham south, reported the strenuous pace of the Houston academy:

> Our week day schedule consisted of Bible study in the morning, shop and jail meetings at noon, house to house visitations in the afternoon, and a six o'clock street meeting followed by an evening evangelistic service at 7:30 or 8:00 o'clock.[30]

It was in this school that William J. Seymour, a black Baptist preacher, was trained and taught the doctrine of a Holy Spirit baptism evidenced by tongues. When the school session concluded in the spring, Seymour proclaimed the "leading of the spirit" to Los Angeles and was given train fare for the trip by Parham. During the following months, Parham began to receive reports from Seymour telling of a great revival begun on Azusa Street and requesting his teacher's help. The resulting revival did what Parham had not been able to do; it began the spread of the doctrine of a pentecostal experience evidenced by tongues literally around the globe.[31] On the eve of the great revival at Azusa Street, Parham stood as the pentecostal movement's greatest preacher and teacher, clearly ranking as its most recognized personality. By the end of the revival three years later, he had been discredited by the young movement and retained only a portion of his own Apostolic Faith wing.[32]

After Seymour's original call for help, Parham sent an additional worker, promising that he would come as soon as possible. Seymour replied quite optimistically in late August 1906:

> Dear Bro. Parham:
>
> Sister Hall has arrived, and is planning out a great revival in this city, that shall take place when you come. The revival is still going on here that has been going on since we came to this city. But we are expect-

30. Goss, *Winds of God*, 34.

31. For Seymour's participation in the Houston Bible school, see Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 137, 142. For Seymour's Los Angeles experience and the importance of the Azusa Street revival, see Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 62–78, and Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 103–16.

32. For serious defections in Parham's group by 1909, see Carl Brumback, *Like a River* (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), 2–3. This defection later formed a wing of the Assemblies of God consolidation in 1914.

33. Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 154.

During the winter of 1905–6, Charles Parham's Bible school in Houston was held in this rented house, the "Apostolic Faith Movement Headquarters."

> ing a general one to start again when you come, that these little revivals will all come together and make one great union revival.[33]

Parham, pleased with the reports, wrote a letter which Seymour promptly printed in the first issue of the *Apostolic Faith*, an Azusa Street publication begun in September of 1906:

> Bro. Chas. Parham, who is God's leader in the Apostolic Faith Movement, writes from Tonganoxic [*sic*], Kansas, that he expects to be in Los Angeles Sept. 15. Hearing that Pentecost had come to Los Angeles, he writes, "I rejoice in God over you all, my children, though I have never seen you; but since you know the Holy Spirit's power, we are baptized by one Spirit into one body. Keep together in unity till I come, then in a grand meeting let all prepare for the outside fields I desire, unless God directs to the contrary, to meet and see all who have the full Gospel when I come."[34]

Parham made a trip to Zion City in September and thus delayed his rendezvous with Seymour. Dowie's reputation, recently tarnished by charges of polygamy and misappropriation of funds, offered Parham an avenue for increasing the small following he had begun on his trip several years earlier. Undoubtedly, the prospects in 1906 seemed much brighter in Zion City than among the unproven missions of Los Angeles, and Parham appropriately altered his schedule.[35] In October 1906, the *Apostolic Faith* printed a front-page story naming Parham as the founder and noting "we are expecting Bro. Parham to visit Los Angeles in a few days."[36] Parham finally arrived in late October; by then the revival was in full swing. With "utter surprise and astonishment," he helped conduct several services, increasingly appalled at "the manifestations of the flesh," "spiritualistic controls," and "hypnotism" practiced around the altar. The revival leaders used such techniques as "the suggestion of certain words and sounds," "the working of the chin," and "the massage of the throat" to encourage tongues speaking. Parham viewed these as "excesses" and evidently attempted without success to curb them. He wrote: "After preaching two or three times, I was informed by two of the elders, one who was a hypnotist . . . that I was not wanted in that place."[37] Seymour, now "possessed with a spirit of leadership," remained at Azusa Street while Parham conducted another series of services across town in the WCTU building. Parham's name was no longer mentioned by the periodical published by Azusa Street; the December issue noted that "the Lord was the founder and He is the Projector of this movement."[38]

Parham's loss of stature in late 1906 and early 1907 was also a result of the widespread rumor that he had "fallen into sin" and his subsequent indictment of charges in Texas. Although details are extremely sketchy, and all charges were dropped, it seems apparent that Parham was accused of some sort of sexual misconduct. Rumors about Parham's alleged offense included three possibilities — adultery, homosexuality, and masturbation.[39] None of the theories are conclusive, and it is conceivable that any of the three could have been discussed in such general terms as to have allowed the others to be born through rumor. The fact remains that although Parham and his defenders repeatedly denied all accusations, accounting them "slandalous lies" stirred up by his enemies, the rumors damaged his influence and disrupted his movement.[40] As late as 1912, *Word and Witness*, a pentecostal paper published by some of Parham's early Texas supporters, printed a disclaimer:

> Charles F. Parham, who is claiming to be the head and leader of the Apostolic Faith Movement, has long since been repudiated . . . until he repents and confesses his sins . . . Let all Pentecostal and Apostolic Faith people of the churches os [*sic*] God take notice and be not misled by his claims.[41]

34. *Apostolic Faith*, Los Angeles, September 1906, 1. As noted above, this name was widely used without distinction.

35. Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 155–60. On Dowie's charges, see Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 72–73.

36. *Apostolic Faith*, Los Angeles, October 1906, 1.

37. Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 163. For the entire account of Azusa Street from Parham's viewpoint, see 161–70. See also Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), 22–24.

38. *Apostolic Faith*, Los Angeles, December 1906, 1. Later works from Azusa Street stressed that Parham had attempted to maintain authority, but "we had prayed down our own revival." See Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Privately published, 1925); reprinted as *Azusa Street* (Plainfield, H.J.: Logos International, 1980), 68–69. Parham is not mentioned by name but is clearly implied. For Parham's counterclaim that Seymour was obsessed with authority, see *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, September 1913, 10. See also Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 164.

39. For the best analysis of the variant rumors, see Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 140. See also Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; London: Allen and Unwin; New York: Humanities Press, 1964), 19–20, and Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 112–13.

40. See Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 181–88, 198; *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, December–January 1912–13, 8–9. An interview with Mrs. Naomi Bush, former editor of *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, on March 31, 1983, revealed the prevailing view among Parham's descendant group that the rumors were begun by "Parham's enemies" during a preaching tour in New York.

41. *Word and Witness*, Malvern, Arkansas, October 20, 1912, 3. See also Parham's appraisal by the antipentecostal polemic H. J. Stolee, *Pentecostalism: The Problem of the Modern Tongues Movement* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936; reprinted as *Speaking in Tongues*, 1963), 63.

Having been repudiated by what was to become the mainstream of American pentecostalism, Parham permanently located his ministry in Baxter Springs, Kansas, in March 1909. He remained in contact with a small but loyal group of followers through the *Apostolic Faith*. In addition, he published his second book, a highly millenarian treatise, *The Everlasting Gospel*, around 1919.[42] For two decades he held successful revival campaigns in California, Idaho, Oregon, Michigan, and New York, as well as in his home-based tri-state area of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma.[43] In early 1928, he went on a long-anticipated, three-month tour of Palestine. On his return he lectured widely on the Palestinian region, delighting his audiences with a slide presentation.[44] Already in declining health when he made the trip, he was further weakened by the rigorous activity and died on January 29, 1929. He refused to the end to take any medicine for relief of pain.[45] His funeral in Baxter Springs was held at the town theater and was attended by a crowd of twenty-five hundred. The line viewing his casket took over an hour to pass by.[46]

Parham's thought played an important role in the development of American pentecostalism. The earliest phase of the movement was clearly dictated by his theological framework. Later stages were still indebted to him for the principal religious distinction of pentecostalism — the doctrine of Holy Spirit baptism evidenced by speaking in tongues. Parham was rigidly orthodox to a literalist interpretation, though occasionally ambiguous and quite often innovative. He well represented the early stages of the movement itself; both sought religious identity amidst a wide range of freewheeling interpretations and theological patterns of thought.

Parham never strayed from his original conviction that authentic tongues speaking was xenoglossic (the speaking of actual foreign languages not known to the speaker). He boasted during the 1905 Houston revival that "professors from the city schools and colleges" serving as "unbiased and competent judges" were particularly impressed with the "original accent" of the tongues speakers, who performed as though they were "native masters in the Old World."[47] He believed that the utility of the experience explained its importance and its place in the divine historical scheme. These xenoglossic tongues were to be used by believers as missionary tools to hasten the work of world evangelism and usher in the dawn of the eschaton. This idea was common in the early development of Azusa Street, but later pentecostal leaders modified the belief, deemphasizing the missionary aspect and interpreting tongues as both known and unknown languages (glossolalia).[48] Nevertheless, Parham continued to preach that tongues were missionary xenoglossa and claimed at least a measured amount of success:

> We have several missionaries in the field who have the gift of tongues, who not only speak the language and understand the natives, but can use the language intelligently; it has become a gift to them.[49]

After his break with Azusa Street, Parham increasingly attacked other branches of pentecostalism for their "counterfeit Pentecost, with chattering, and jabbering, and windsucking," noting that "two-thirds of the Pentecost people are being deceived by these forces."[50] By 1910 he had established a "National Camp Meeting" in Baxter Springs in the hope of correcting the fanatical pentecostal element that seemed to have accepted "a modern Delphic creed . . . with message givers and interpreters as officiating priests."[51]

Parham also became increasingly interested in millenarianism. His views did not differ in substance from those of other pentecostals, although he stressed and explored the idea in more graphic detail. The 1910 National Camp Meeting offered the listener "a clear, concise eschatology" that spelled doom for the "so-called Christian nations" and the sympathetic, but misguided, "powers of Socialism and Christian Sci-

42. Charles F. Parham, *The Everlasting Gospel* (N.p., [1918–19]). Although it is claimed in the most recent reprinting (Baxter Springs: Privately published, 1942; see Foreword) that Parham wrote the book in 1911 (thus prior to World War I), internal evidence overwhelmingly supports the period 1918–19. See especially 19, 31. Also, the third edition of *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, by Parham's wife (Joplin, Mo.: Tri-State Printing Co., 1931) states that *The Everlasting Gospel* was published "during the time of the war" (see Foreword).

43. See Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 301–47.

44. Ibid., 349–99. See also *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, from January to May 1928.

45. Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 405–13, 416–18.

46. Ibid., 415–16.

47. Ibid., 116.

48. Synan errs in noting that "very few pentecostal leaders accepted this premise" (*Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 103, n. 19). The earliest material prior to 1909 indicates that this was a common assumption. See James R. Goff, Jr., "Pentecostal Millenarianism: The Development of Premillenial Orthodoxy, 1909–1943," *Ozark Historical Review* 12 (Spring 1983):14–24.

49. Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 68. A sermon preached by Parham twenty-one days after the original outbreak at Topeka in 1901 reveals that Parham had already assumed this position. See Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 25–38.

50. Ibid., 118.

51. *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, December 25, 1910, 3–4. For further articles by Parham on the same theme, see February 1914, 8–10; June 1925, 2–6; and July 1927, 2–3.

ence."[52] As World War I dominated the news during the following decade, Parham's prophetic interests grew stronger. By 1918–19, he envisioned an impending world crisis between labor and capital that would set the stage for Christ's intervention and the subsequent millenial age.[53] Faithful to the original idea of the pentecostal revival's importance in history, Parham interpreted the outpouring of God's spirit as a sure sign that the end time was near. Therefore, he was certain that the events occurring in his own day heralded the dawn of Christ's triumphant reign.

In some theological areas, Parham clearly differed from mainstream pentecostals both during and after Azusa Street. From his wife's grandfather, who was a Quaker, Parham adopted the belief in the "utter destruction of the wicked" and in "conditional immortality." Always a biblical literalist, Parham became convinced that "the Scriptures nowhere teach any other doctrine, opponents to the contrary notwithstanding."[54] Thus, believers were to be granted immortality in eternal life, while nonbelievers suffered final death, not an eternal hell. This ultimate fate, determined in advance by divine "foreknowledge," fit a predestinarian scheme which Parham supported by interpreting selected biblical passages literally.[55]

In addition, Parham accepted an innovative interpretation which helped him accommodate much of the Darwinian controversy. By comparing the dissimilarities of the two creation accounts of Genesis, he decided that there was a distinction between the Adamic race and the offspring of an earlier human creation. The result, coupled with the addition of thousand-year days for the earth's formation, allowed Parham to answer "the questions of skeptics and infidels" and still maintain his literalistic view of the Bible.[56]

Parham also proved different on the matter of a "faith ministry." While his adherence to operating his movement with no visible means of support was not unique to early pentecostal evangelists, the reluctance to stray from that ideal did set him apart. After declaring his Topeka healing home a "faith work" shortly after 1898, Parham maintained the naive conviction that "without having a stipulated salary every true minister called of God would receive exactly what he is worth."[57] As late as 1919, he admonished his fellow ministers to take the leap of faith:

> Shame on you of the twentieth century — you who are afraid to do this! I dare you preachers to try it! Most of you are miserable cowards, afraid to step out on God's promises, afraid to trust Him; and that's why your work amounts to so little.[58]

Parham's firm insistence that his school remain a faith institution, coupled with his disillusioning experience within Methodism, prompted him to repudiate any denominational structures — a fact that undoubtedly hindered the growth of his own wing of the pentecostal movement.[59]

Parham's thought included a variety of other issues important in the development of early pentecostalism. On social matters he clearly represented the ambiguity that typified the movement's struggle for identity. Faced with realities, he often altered his ideals for the sake of practicality. Officially a pacifist whose "principles and belief forbid the shedding of blood," Parham referred to volunteers for military service as "self-appointed murderers" receiving even less than "thirty pieces of silver."[60] During World War I, he encouraged

52. Ibid., December 25, 1910, 3. Parham appeared to be quite sympathetic with socialist ideals, although he approached the subject as a neutral observer of their place within the millenarian scheme. He clearly denounced the excesses of capitalism. See Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 19–30; also *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, March 1913, 8–9, and Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 259–74.

53. Parham had discussed this millenarian framework as early as 1902 in *Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (see 109–38) although he clearly detailed his predictions by his 1919 work. (See Parham, *Everlasting Gospel;* compare 19–30, 33–62, and 77–91.) See also *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, March 1913, 8–9, and Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 259–74.

54. *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, December 25, 1910, 2; Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 14. See also Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 92–95, 111–17.

55. Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 107–9.

56. For Parham's views on creation, see *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 81–85, and *Everlasting Gospel*, 1–5. Nevertheless, Parham vehemently opposed the idea of man's evolutionary development. See *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, February 1927, 1–5. The idea of two separate creations appears possibly to have been unique to Parham. A preliminary search of early reactions to Darwinian thought failed to uncover a similar position. The same general idea was proposed by an Oklahoma State University faculty member in 1969 to explain biblical support for differences between Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon man. No references are given for the background of the idea. See Bradley O. Brauser, *Yestermorrows* (Ponca City, Okla.: Privately published, 1969), 38–54.

57. Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 66.

58. Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 8.

59. For Parham's understanding of the evils of leadership, *see Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, September 1913, 9–10. Parham's movement has continued this lack of organization; it presently comprises an estimated seventy-five churches and seven thousand members. These figures are arbitrary, as no rolls are kept and no general conventions are held. The only unifying factors are the periodical, *Apostolic Faith*, and a Bible school which operates totally on voluntary gifts. The group also accepts Parham's theological differences with mainstream pentecostalism. Interview with Rev. Jack Cornell, superintendent of the Apostolic Faith Bible School, Baxter Springs, March 31, 1983.

60. Parham, *Everlasting Gospel*, 59, and Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 272. See also *Apostolic Faith*, Melrose, September 1905, 7. For pentecostals' attitude toward war and military service, see Hollenweger, *Pentecostals*, 400–401.

his associates to file for exemptions from combat duty, although this tactic did not always prove successful. When his close friend Rolland Romack was killed in action in September 1918, Parham reacted quite naturally with "a great spirit of revenge" and momentarily considered the possibility of enlisitng to "avenge the death of one we loved so well." His initial reaction tempered, Parham decided instead to purchase a "liberty bond" and thereby support "the great cause" for which his young friend had died.[61]

Parham's racial views were also typical of early pentecostals.[62] Although his Topeka school apparently enrolled only whites, his ministry by 1905 had expanded to include both blacks and American Indians. Even so, he handled the racial issue carefully, paying attention to the prevailing attitudes of different sections of the country and probably intending racial separation as the prevailing model for local church worship.[63] His experience at Azusa Street clearly shocked him and disturbed his racial sensitivities:

> Men and women, whites and blacks, knelt together or fell across one another; frequently, a white woman, perhaps of wealth and culture, could be seen thrown back in the arms of a big "buck nigger," and held tightly thus as she shivered and shook in freak imitation of Pentecost. Horrible, awful shame![64]

After Azusa Street, Parham's meetings, like those of the mainstream pentecostals, became increasingly segregated. The racial mores of American culture proved too strong for the original ideal of interracial cooperation. By 1927, Parham felt comfortable offering praise for the work of the Ku Klux Klan and "their high ideals for the betterment of mankind."[65]

Parham's attitude toward education echoed the distrust of other early pentecostal leaders in secular schools and higher learning in general. Education, they believed, bred unbelief. When a Baptist preacher with "a Ph.D., D.D., and L.L.D. on the hind end of his name" expressed his conviction that no one could speak in foreign languages without having previously learned them, Parham proudly related this reply:

> I challenged that preacher to come to my school for just one week. I promised him a post graduate course that would enable him to put another degree on the end of his name. I would have gotten him so humble before God, and so willing to let God use him, that he would have come out of the post graduate course with A.S.S. on the end of his name. Could I have gotten him to become as humble as was Balaam's mule, God would have talked through him in tongues.[66]

Though liberal arts colleges and more conventional Bible institutes have subsequently been founded by other pentecostals, Parham's legacy has remained to the present day a faith school with the Bible as its central textbook.[67]

Parham's importance to the pentecostal movement is undeniable. Recent historians have properly credited him with first developing the idea that speaking in tongues was the evidence of Holy Spirit baptism.[68] As this tenet gives pentecostalism its theological identity, Parham deserves the distinction as the movement's founder.

Despite his loss of influence within the movement after Azusa Street, Parham was clearly the first nationally known pentecostal prophet. His work in evangelistic tent revivals and Bible-training seminars covered every section of the country with the exception of the Southeast.[69] He sometimes paraded in the streets in "the robes of a bishop," along with students dressed in colorful "Palestinian costumes." One of the students recalled that "while explaining the garments, he could get in enough Gospel to impress any man."[70] He undoubtedly was a great speaker; after one week of serv-

61. Parham to his family, Houston, Texas, October 10, 1918. Parham himself had registered for the conflict prior to Romack's death, although he never served. See also Romack's obituary, *Baxter Daily Citizen*, October 22, 1918. All these materials are contained in the Parham Scrapbook, Apostolic Faith Bible College, Baxter Springs, Kansas.

62. For discussion of the broader movement, see Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 189–93.

63. On Indians, see Goss, *Winds of God*, 11–12. On blacks, see Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 63, 137, 142.

64. *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, December 1912, 4.

65. Ibid., March 1927, 5. See also January 1927, 7. Driscoll points out that religious support of the Ku Klux Klan in Kansas was a result, by and large, of a fear of Catholics (see "Major Prophets of Holy Kansas," p. 22). Nevertheless, wider implications were understood. Parham's racial ideology was no doubt affected by his support of the Anglo-Israeli theory which presents Anglo-Saxons as the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, and thus, of God's chosen people. See Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 94–99, 105–8.

66. *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, November 1913, 13. The allusion is to Balaam's talking donkey of Numbers 22:30.

67. Cornell interview; also *Apostolic Faith Bible College 1983* (privately published pamphlet). For a discussion of Pentecostal denominational schools, see Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 209–10.

68. See Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 139–40; Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 99; and John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 28. Other writers have preferred to stress Seymour's importance. See Leonard Lovett, "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," in Vinson Synan, ed., *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1975), 123–41.

69. In 1912 Parham used a forty-by-eighty-foot tent in a revival meeting in Perris, California. See *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, March 1912, 1. In 1904 in Galena, Kansas, he abandoned a tent for "a large double storeroom that would shelter 2000 people." Ibid., July 1912, 1.

70. Goss, *Winds of God*, 35. See also Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 104–5.

ices in faction-riddled Zion City in 1908, a coworker remarked that "practically all of . . . [the] congregation will be won over to our way of looking at things."[71] While Parham's visibility never matched that of Aimee Semple McPherson in the 1920s, primarily because of her successful use of radio, his was clearly a charismatic personality.[72] Like McPherson, as well as Oral Roberts in the 1950s and 1960s, Parham understood the art of adaptability. Ever creative, he nevertheless centered his ministry around tactics that had proved successful. Thus, after interest waned in the eruption of tongues speaking at Topeka, Parham returned to a format that had brought him his initial success — faith healing. Also, like McPherson and Roberts, he appealed to a broad audience, never limiting his following denominationally nor even to those who accepted pentecostal theology.

While the pentecostal sect that accepted Parham's leadership has remained small, it has been intensely loyal to him. With few conventional methods of organization, he succeeded in establishing a lasting affiliation of churches. Often called "Daddy Parham" in his later years, he himself remained the center of the group's identity.[73] Although Parham repeatedly denied any desire for recognition, he lost few opportunities to point out that he had originated this initial pentecostal sect in Topeka in 1901.

Outside his clique of supporters, Charles Parham was representative of the complexity of the pentecostal movement. He was innovative yet fundamentalistic, anti-intellectual yet a founder of schools, a proponent of Christian unity yet extremely critical of those with whom he differed, otherworldly with an intense desire for recognition and respectability. In short, he represents the complexity of late-nineteenth-century theological ideas and religious expressions; this same religious diversity prompted the rise of twentieth-century pentecostalism. KH

71. T.G.A. to Marie Burgess, December 12, 1908. For further description of Parham's preaching style, see Goss, *Winds of God*, 17. A good example of Parham's ability to inject humor, bits of trivia, and emotion into a sermon is found in *Apostolic Faith*, Baxter Springs, April 1925, 9–15.

72. On McPherson, see Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 197–200.

73. For references to "Daddy," see Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, Dedication, and the letters from Parham to Romack, September 13 and 28, 1918. The latter is signed "Your ole true Frind [*sic*] and Daddy, Chas. F. Parham."

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

Book Reviews

The United States Cavalry: An Illustrated History

by Gregory J. W. Urwin
color illustrations by Ernest Lisle Reedstrom

192 pages, illustrations, select bibliography, index.
Poole, Dorset: Blandford Press, distributed by Sterling Publishing Company, 1984, $17.95.

IF the caveat "you can't judge a book by its cover" is valid, even more so is the adage "never judge a book by its dust jacket." This slim volume has much more than a pretty face. Gregory J. W. Urwin, who taught history at Saint Mary of the Plains College at Dodge City, has written a comprehensive history of the United States Cavalry from its limping beginnings during the Revolution through decades of trial and error until its permanent (if still experimental) organization in the 1830s and on to its ultimate disappearance as a combat arm in World War II. Congressional frugality inhibited the formation of cavalry units, aside from a few light horse troops and the Continental Light Dragoons, until George Washington wrote enthusiastically of "the utility of Horse" toward the end of 1776. Despite heroic performance at Cowpens and Guilford Court House, the U. S. Cavalry had ceased to exist by the end of 1783.

Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne recruited, trained, and used dragoons as integral parts of his "Legion of the United States" (1792); but without the continuing Indian presence on our frontiers, there might never have been a cavalry branch in the regular establishment. Overlooking the fact that "American cavalrymen proved their worth time and time again during the war of 1812," Congress in 1815 abolished the consolidated dragoon regiments as "too expensive and not adept at fighting woodland Indians!" (p. 49). The moving frontier created the need and the opportunity for the use of mounted troops against the Plains Indians. Here the cavalry story really begins with the organization of the (First) U. S. Regiment of Dragoons under such intrepid soldiers as Nathan Boone, Henry Leavenworth, and Stephen Watts Kearny. Despite the almost incredible difficulties of their first years, those horse soldiers, whether as Mounted Rangers or as Dragoons, won a permanent place in the ranks of American fighting men in the second Seminole War, on the Great Plains, and in the Mexican War.

Urwin's fifth chapter treats the period between the Mexican War and the Civil War, during which the nomenclature became regularized to "cavalry." By the outbreak of hostilities in 1861, there were five mounted regiments with varied experience from "Bleeding Kansas" to Fort Walla Walla and the unhappy Mormon War under Albert Sidney Johnston. The best chapters are 6 and 7, the first discussing changing cavalry roles in the Civil War, the other, "Policing the Plains," presenting a detailed examination of the Indian-fighting constabulary. Urwin underscores evolving cavalry doctrine: "no longer mere pickets, scouts or shock troops, but highly mobile gunmen who could use their horses to deny strategic positions to the enemy and hold them with rapid-fire repeating carbines until infantry support arrived" (p. 133).

At home with the frontier cavalry experience, Urwin gives its tactical details from Forts Leavenworth and Riley to the Red River War, from the pursuits of Chief Joseph and Geronimo to the final tragedy at Wounded Knee. He identifies the four most outstanding regiments as the Seventh (naturally, since his earlier study, *Custer Victorious*, is a logical preparation for the Little Big Horn), the Fourth under Ranald Mackenzie, and the legendary Ninth and Tenth, "the Buffalo Soldiers," led by Edward Hatch and Benjamin Grierson. That period saw the U. S. Cavalry at its best, "but the conquest of the Great Plains had eliminated their primary reason for being" (p.161). Moving swiftly through the war with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, and Pershing's punitive expedition after Pancho Villa, Urwin concludes with his shortest chapter, "Requiem for the Horse Cavalry."

Urwin has written a masterful synthesis of his subject, elaborately illustrated in both color and black and white. Perhaps he attempted to crowd too much detail into a short book. Had he decided initially on where to place his emphasis — on institutional *or* operational lines of development — his task might have been easier. This reviewer regrets an almost total lack of documentation. For authentic details of accoutrements, uniforms, and weaponry, however, his work is hard to match. Lisle Reedstrom's bright color plates (thirty-two in all) help to achieve Urwin's effort "to capture the look and spirit of the U. S. Cavalry" (p. 7). Purists may object to the artist's stylized representations and occasionally distorted anatomical renderings, but devotees of "living history" will applaud the captions accompanying each plate. For a comprehensive story of the U. S. Cavalry, in a generally attractive and eye-catching format, this volume is outstanding.

Reviewed by Dudley T. Cornish, *professor of history at Pittsburg State University and a specialist in American military history.*

Jefferson & Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman & Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806

edited and with an introduction and epilogue by Dan L. Flores

xx + 386 pages, maps, photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984, $48.50.

OF the several reconnoitering ventures Thomas Jefferson sponsored to explore the "wild land" of the Louisiana Territory, for which his administration had paid the princely sum of $15 million, the Thomas Freeman-Peter Custis expedition of 1806 to chart the Red and Arkansas river systems has become "the forgotten expedition." It was the largest and, in terms of original appropriations, the most lavish undertaking of its age; moreover, it was the first major probe of the West led by a civilian scientist (Freeman, an astronomer and civil engineer) and the first to include an academically trained naturalist (Custis, of the University of Pennsylvania).

By most measures it was also a failure. Even before Jefferson could launch this "Grand Excursion" through the Southwest, which was to complete the work of the failed Dunbar-Hunter *entrada* of two years before, double-dealing American General James Wilkinson — even then embroiled in conspiracy with political outcast Aaron Burr — was warning Spanish officials in Texas that the American army planned forays into disputed territory and suggesting countermeasures. Indeed, after having ascended the Red River 615 miles, the forty-seven-man Freeman-Custis party was confronted by a superior Spanish force and made to retreat.

To compound the expedition's ignominy, the original accounts kept by Freeman and Custis — synthesized and summarized for publication by the government by Jefferson's architect Nicholas King, whose *An Account of the Red River, in Louisiana, Drawn Up from the Returns of Messrs. Freeman & Custis* (1807) was simultaneously inadequate and issued in such limited numbers (two hundred) as to be uncommonly scarce — were promptly lost. A cooperative army general lent Freeman's manuscript to author Edwin James, who died; on James's instructions, all his papers were burned, apparently including Freeman's journal. Meanwhile, Custis's various manuscripts had been filed away in war department records and, for some reason, in the library of the American Philosophical Society, and forgotten — until Dan Flores uncovered them.

Using the original Custis manuscripts, Flores unraveled Nicholas King's version of the expedition and, Flores believes, restored much of Freeman's original account; in any case, Freeman's fugitive account is presented as first-person narrative, along with Custis's heretofore unpublished reports and "Natural History Catalogues" regarding the then-pristine Red River Valley. While admitting that "some purist may object" (p. xvii) to that and to other unorthodox methodology, Flores has produced an intelligent and thoroughly readable reference volume on the "Grand Excursion." His lengthy introduction and epilogue adequately set the stage for the fascinating observations of both Freeman and Custis and fairly assess the expedition's importance. Future historians who treat the exploration of the Louisiana Territory's "wild lands" undoubtedly will devote more attention to Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis, but few will buy their own reference copies of *Jefferson & Southwestern Exploration*, for its price is preposterous.

Reviewed by Jimmy M. Skaggs, *professor of American studies and economics at Wichita State University and coauthor, with Seymour V. Connor, of* Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade *(1977) and numerous other works on southwestern history.*

William Allen White

by E. Jay Jernigan

155 pages, chronology, notes and references, selected bibliography, index.
Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983, $15.95.

E JAY JERNIGAN'S slim volume on William Allen White serves as a modest guide to White's literary efforts. The Emporia editor's journalistic contributions, his magazine features and fiction, and his novels are thoroughly cataloged. The book purports to be an analysis of these works, but it is stronger as a descriptive volume than as an interpretive one.

Chapters 1 and 2 are biographical, and the forty-seven pages devoted to White's life add little to Walter Johnson's 1947 biography, *William Allen White's America*. Jernigan accepts, as did Johnson, much of White's interpretation of himself as expressed in the editor's *Autobiography*. This acceptance results in statements about White's boyhood such as the following: "For the frontier was essentially an egalitarian society in which anyone with gumption considered himself middle class." Jernigan in these instances ignores the fact that White was not just "anyone with gumption," but was the son of educated parents who owned property and who were prosperous enough that when White's father died, he left his son one thousand dollars for college expenses.

Jernigan is at other times usefully critical of White's account, however, and notes that White was not just a country editor but an expert publicist. White publicized not only politicians and platforms but himself as well. "White was a sophisticated journalist who learned early how to upstage others and capture attention," Jernigan writes, and he created his reputation not through his newspaper but through mass-circulation magazines and nationwide syndicates. Jernigan also accounts for White's political liberalization, while still pointing out that the editor continued throughout

to believe in "Aryan superiority" and "a nearly unqualified Darwinism." In these few instances Jernigan does move beyond the Johnson biography, and beyond the folk-hero image of the small-town country editor.

Jernigan's analysis of White's fiction points primarily to its time-bound qualities and excessive sentimentality. Speaking about *In the Heart of a Fool*, White's 1918 novel, Jernigan notes that White failed to persuade his audience because he had "come to consider the novel chiefly a vehicle for presenting philosophies of life." White viewed the novel "as a tolerant form of moral criticism."

White was an extraordinarily popular figure in his day, and Jernigan captures some of the rare essence of the man. Analyzing the *Autobiography*, Jernigan writes: "If style reveals the man himself, then White had a large and happy soul." And he notes that White did believe "unabashedly in serious things — in love, faith, charity, justice, honesty — and he captured that playful righteousness, a rare combination, in this his life's story."

Jernigan's book serves as a quick overview of White's life and writings but adds little new interpretation to the editor's contributions to American journalism and to American society.

Reviewed by Jean Folkerts, *a member of the journalism faculty at the University of Texas at Austin (currently at Mount Vernon College, Washington, D.C.), and author of "William Allen White: Editor and Businessman during the Reform Years, 1895-1916"* (Kansas History, *summer 1984*).

The Rebirth of the Missouri Pacific, 1956-1983

by H. Craig Miner

xx + 236 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, index.
College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1983, $19.50.

BETWEEN 1956 and 1983 the Missouri Pacific Railroad (MOP) underwent monumental change. While casual observers noticed the presence of longer, diesel-powered freight trains, the end of passenger service, and the closing of scores of small-town depots, they likely missed equally significant internal adjustments. In fact, perhaps the most important one involved the revamping of the company's stock structure. This St. Louis-based carrier had joined a long list of American railroads that received court protection from creditors during the Great Depression. To complicate its financial plight, the MOP was part of a complex holding company, the Alleghany Corporation, that two Cleveland "plungers," the Van Sweringen brothers, had formed during the roaring twenties. Although the Alleghany Corporation passed into other hands, the firm retained a substantial interest in the road. At the time of the reorganization in 1956, the MOP emerged with two types of common stock, "A" and "B." The latter, however, was less desirable since its owners (most notably Alleghany) could not expect dividends until five dollars per share had been paid "A" holders. But the Alleghany leadership fought doggedly to protect its position. Understandably, the existence of these two classes caused enormous problems for the MOP: it consumed vast amounts of time and money; it clouded merger talks; and it generated considerable ill will. In time, though, a steadily more prosperous MOP yielded to "B" holders, and in 1974 these investors won a generous stock exchange. The long squabble had finally ended.

While the quarreling over the stock issue raged, the reorganized Missouri Pacific fell under the control of a hard-driving and shrewd pipeline company owner, William Marbury. He attracted a management team that thoroughly rehabilitated the property. Marbury's smartest personnel choice came in 1961 when he placed Downing Jenks, president of the Rock Island, at the MOP's throttle. The Jenks regime not only won control of the ailing Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the run-down Muskogee Lines, and the mineral-carrying Missouri-Illinois, but it streamlined MOP's control over its long-time affiliate, the Texas and Pacific. Millions flowed into more powerful locomotives and such vital centers as automated hump yards and maintenance facilities. And, too, the pragmatic management enthusiastically embraced computers, first for inventory control and accounting and then for train operations. Thus the Missouri Pacific was transformed from a down-at-the-heels road into a showcase for the industry. Not surprisingly, the MOP found an ideal marriage partner in 1983 when it joined hands with the giant Union Pacific in the well-publicized MOP-UP merger.

H. Craig Miner, a history professor at Wichita State University, has written a remarkable book. Since the Missouri Pacific commissioned this study, he enjoyed unlimited access to corporate papers and personnel. But in no way is this a public-relations job. The railroad merely engaged a skilled historian to examine the road's recent past. Indeed, this is business history at its best. Miner successfully utilizes pertinent secondary sources, and he taps the hard-to-find "inside" memos and related documents together with conversations with key figures.

There are two especially important parts of *The Rebirth of the Missouri Pacific*. One is the chapter on computers. Miner traces the evolution of these devices; he sensibly includes coverage of how employees perceived them and how the units were employed. Like dieselization, computers revolutionized the company. Car utilization, for example, increased dramatically. The second valuable feature is the discussion of the "merger madness" that swept the industry after 1960. Miner tells how the MOP sought to protect itself and how it came close to union with the Santa Fe. Jenks, for one, realized that railroad unification was the wave of the future and that his road had better recognize this fact of economic life.

This work, however, has a few disappointments. Miner minimizes labor relations; he fails to discuss fully why the MOP acquired the Muskogee and Missouri-Illinois roads; and his coverage of the "A" and "B" stock controversy seems

excessive. And there is one annoying and recurring minor error: North Western in Chicago and North Western is *two* words, not Northwestern. Although the Texas A&M University Press has produced a pleasing book (notes, for instance, appear at the bottom of the pages), the layout of photographs is unimaginative and some images, with their brief captions, add little. Still, *The Rebirth of the Missouri Pacific* is a first-rate study, and those who are interested in this company and in modern business history should place it on their list of required reading.

Reviewed by H. Roger Grant, *professor of history at the University of Akron and author of* The Corn Belt Route *reviewed next in this issue.*

The Corn Belt Route: A History of the Chicago Great Western Railroad Company

by H. Roger Grant

xi + 231 pages, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index.
De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984, $29.00.

DO not let its dimensions or its large number of photographs deceive you; H. Roger Grant's *The Corn Belt Route* is more substantial than yet another coffee-table salute to America's railroad past. Grant has carefully surveyed manuscripts, newspapers, and corporate and government reports, conducted a handful of interviews, and corresponded with some of the last leaders of the Chicago Great Western (CGW) to produce a work of interest both to railroad historians and railroad buffs.

Unlike most railroads for which there are book-length histories, the Chicago Great Western was an intraregional line. Emerging in 1892 from predecessors whose construction dated from the early 1880s, the CGW served the upper Midwest between Chicago, St. Paul, and Kansas City. In 1903 it also entered Omaha. Other roads connected these centers, but the Corn Belt's shorter and higher-quality routes and innovative operating and marketing strategies allowed it to undercut its competitors' rates. Indeed, Grant points to a series of CGW innovations to argue that smaller companies were the leaders in applying new methods and technology to railroading.

The Corn Belt Route is comparable to many railroad histories published in the past fifteen years. It generally gives adequate attention to all periods of the Chicago Great Western's history. Special emphasis is on the road's corporate and physical development and its role in its territory's economy. Grant also devotes space to government and employee relations; however, these topics could have been more thoroughly examined. Of special interest to many readers would be an assessment of the successor Chicago and North Western Transportation Company, which has been employee-owned since 1972.

Also similar to recent railroad histories, *The Corn Belt Route* is not a corporate product. Yet this does not preserve it from a marked bias. Grant likes railroads in general and the Chicago Great Western in particular. This undoubtedly accounts for the roseate view in which he often presents the company. Grant praises the company's passenger service in the 1910s and 1920s at length, while almost in asides he tells the reader that the improvements remedied earlier deplorable service and did not prevent plummeting passenger revenues after World War I. His treatment of the road's bankruptcy in 1908 also is short and inadequate. Nevertheless, all those interested in America's railroad history will enjoy Grant's well-researched, well-organized, and well-written study.

Reviewed by James H. Ducker, *author of* Men of the Steel Rails: Workers on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, 1869-1900 *(1983) and currently a historian with the Bureau of Land Management, Anchorage, Alaska.*

The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890

by Robert M. Utley

xxi + 325 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984, $19.95.

ROBERT M. UTLEY has performed a valuable service for those seeking a broad survey of the nineteenth-century interactions between Indians and whites in the American West. While hardly the major new interpretation its editors claim, *The Indian Frontier* synthesizes the most recent anthropological and historical scholarship, and the result is an insightful analysis of an often tragic story. Avoiding the simplistic but fashionable approach that praises the "Noble Savage" while damning Euro-American invaders, Utley passes judgment on neither Indians nor frontiersmen, soldiers, government officials, or eastern reformers. He delves instead into the causes of the continuous struggle between radically different peoples over resources and land on a frontier that "condemned the two to physical union, while a great cultural chasm condemned them never really to see or understand each other" (p. xix).

This complex story, Utley states, should not be viewed as the uniform progression of westward-marching Anglo-Americans across a vast wilderness of difficult terrain, wild animals, and "savage" red men. There was no single frontier line; several cultural and ecological zones existed where Indians and whites mingled, interacted, and competed, and where acculturation had a profound effect on both. This cultural give-and-take became increasingly one-sided, however, when thousands of settlers migrated west after the Civil War. In Kansas, for example, settlers and speculators effectively pressured, cajoled, and cheated hapless tribesmen out

of their possessions and forced them to move to Indian Territory; the state's Indian population dwindled from ten thousand in 1854 to just over seven hundred by 1870. Elsewhere, many Indians violently resisted encroachments on their lands. But the U.S. Army eventually forced them all to reservations, and by 1890 the frontier was permanently closed.

Widespread cultural diversity among Indians proved their major handicap. Tribes differed markedly in religion, language, and folkways. Intertribal relations were often hostile, and factions within tribes disagreed over whether they should resist or coexist with the Americans. Rarely able to present a united front, even the most powerful eventually capitulated and settled on meager reservations.

While most whites thought this an inevitable consequence of Manifest Destiny, humanitarians were horrified by the bloody encounters between Indians and soldiers during the 1860s and 1870s. The reformers sought to absorb tribesmen into the mainstream of the dominant society by means of a civilization program combining education, Christianity, and individual land ownership. Utley goes to great lengths to prove that these ethnocentric citizens, who "saw nothing worth saving in Indian culture," were sincere and "honestly believed" that their altruism would hasten the red man "from savagery to a condition of civilized grace in which only his color would mark him different" (p. 270). Despite their good intentions, the Dawes Act of 1887 resulted in the loss of 138 million of the 193 million acres of tribal lands.

While some critics have charged Utley with being pro-military as well as condescending toward Native Americans in his other books, such is not the case in *The Indian Frontier*. He occasionally mentions Indian "hordes" who "savagely" murdered innocent whites, but in general he writes with deep understanding and sensitivity toward red and white men alike. Both scholars and the general public should enjoy this fine work.

Reviewed by Joseph B. Herring, *a doctoral candidate at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, and author of "The Chippewa and Munsee Indians: Acculturation and Survival in Kansas, 1850s-1870," published in* Kansas History *(winter 1983/84).*

Book Notes

John G. Haskell, Pioneer Kansas Architect. *By John M. Peterson.* (Lawrence: By the author, issued in association with the Douglas County Historical Society, 1984. xi + 279 pages. Paper, $15.50.)

Plymouth Congregational Church in Lawrence, the McPherson County Courthouse, and the Kansas Statehouse in Topeka are only a few of the many buildings that bear the stamp of architect John G. Haskell. Active from 1857 to 1907, Haskell designed schools, churches, business blocks, opera houses, and other structures throughout the state. In this recent work Peterson traces Haskell's life and his career as Kansas' leading nineteenth-century architect, relying chiefly on public records, newspapers, and other contemporary sources (no family letters or business records exist). An appendix lists the status of Haskell buildings identified to date, many of which are no longer standing. The book includes a number of historic photographs.

The Great Kansas Bond Scandal. *By Robert Smith Bader.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982, 1984. xiv + 392 pages. Paper, $9.95.)

Now out in paperback, *The Great Kansas Bond Scandal* recounts the saga of the $1.25 million fraud perpetrated by con man Ronald Finney and his father, W. W. Finney. Involving indictments, trials, convictions, bank closings, and bankruptcies, the 1933 scandal rocked the state and became, in the author's words, a "Kansas Watergate." The incredible story is all here, gleaned from contemporary newspaper accounts, legal records, and private correspondence. "This book is a good example of how we can learn from history," said Kansas governor John Carlin when the book was first released.

The German-Americans. *By La Vern J. Rippley.* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984. 272 pages. Paper, $11.75.)

First published in 1976 by G. K. Hall, this work provides a survey of German immigration to America beginning with the pre-Revolutionary War period. Topical chapters discuss such subjects as German-American schools, the German-American theater and musical arts, and German-language newspapers and belles-lettres, ending with an account of German-Americans today. Notes and references and a selected bibliography are included. The author, whose ancestors immigrated from Baden to Wisconsin in 1863, is a professor of German at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota.

This Place Called Kansas. *By Charles C. Howes.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. xiv + 236 pages. Paper, $8.95.)

Originally published in 1952 and long out of print, this book has been reissued with a new Foreword by David Dary. Cecil Howes, who for forty years was the statehouse reporter in Topeka for the *Kansas City Star*, compiled the materials for the volume, which was completed by his son Charles. While not a traditional history, the work contains entertaining historical, geographical, and political anecdotes, many of which were first published as newspaper or magazine articles.

The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas. *Compiled and Written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Kansas with a New Introduction by James R. Shortridge.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984. 538 pages. Paper, $12.95.)

As James Shortridge, associate professor of geography at the University of Kansas, points out in his introduction, the 1930s Federal Writers' Project guides to states and cities are "literate, complete, and thoroughly entertaining companions for the road." Originally published in 1939 by the Viking Press as *Kansas: A Guide to the Sunflower State*, the Kansas volume has been issued in paper by the University Press of Kansas as *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*. In addition to providing a "snapshot" of Kansas just before World War II, the guide includes much historical, geographical, and cultural information that is still useful today. The volume is divided into three sections, "The State and Its People," "Cities and Towns," and "Highways and Byways," and includes suggested readings, a chronology, and an essay on the "contemporary scene" by William Allen White.

Kansas Geology: An Introduction to Landscapes, Rocks, Minerals, and Fossils. *Edited by Rex Buchanan.* (Lawrence: Published for the Kansas Geological Survey by the University Press of Kansas, 1984. xii + 228 pages. Cloth, $19.95; paper, $12.95.)

Designed to provide non-technical information on Kansas geology for the general reader, this work sketches Kansas geologic history; discusses how Kansas fits into the geology of the North American continent; explores the concepts of geologic time, labeling, and periods; and describes the natural forces of deposition and erosion. Of special interest is the guide to noteworthy geologic formations along Interstate 70.

True Tales of Old-Time Kansas. *By David Dary.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984. ix + 322 pages. Paper, $9.95.)

In this collection University of Kansas professor David Dary retells stories of Kansas and the West, many of which appeared in his 1979 book *True Tales of the Old-Time Plains.* A section of notes and credits provides references and additional information, and the book is illustrated with many maps and photographs.

Montana and the West: Essays in Honor of K. Ross Toole. *Edited and with contributions by Rex C. Myers and Harry W. Fritz.* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984. x + 202 pages. Cloth, $18.95; paper, $9.95.)

For sixteen years K. Ross Toole (1920-1981) taught "Montana and the West" at the University of Montana as the Hammond Professor of History; earlier he had been director of the Montana Historical Society, the Museum of the City of New York, and the Museums of New Mexico in Santa Fe as well as head of a Montana cattle ranch. He also wrote widely and spoke loudly about the exploitation of Montana's resources by corporations such as the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, gaining a reputation as a crusader as well as a historian. Several of his former students and colleagues have contributed essays to this *festschrift*; Kansans will be particularly interested in the late Robert G. Athearn's account of early motorists entitled "The Tin Can Tourists' West."

The Eisenhowers. *By Steve Neal.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984. 536 pages. Paper, $14.95.)

Now available from the University Press of Kansas is *The Eisenhowers* by Steve Neal, a political writer, columnist, and former White House correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. Originally published in 1978 by Doubleday under the title *The Eisenhowers: Reluctant Dynasty*, this paperback edition includes new material updating family events to 1984, as well as an enlarged bibliographical essay and photographs.

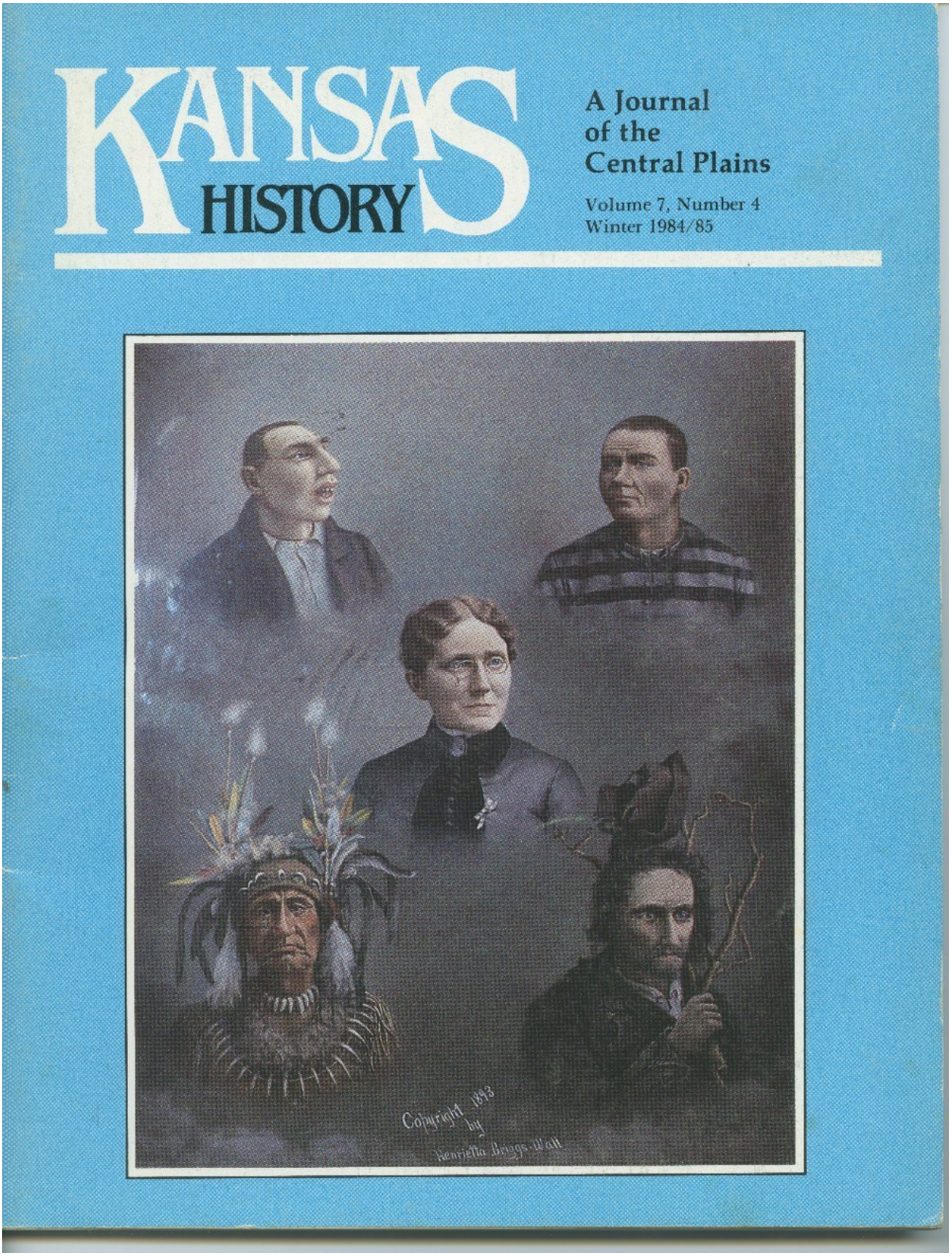
History of Highland Community College. *By Arlyn J. Parish.* (Troy: Trojan Graphics, 1983. vii + 176 pages. Paper, $7.00.)

In this recent work the author, a faculty member since 1971, has provided a history of the school that was chartered as Highland University in 1858. Through the years the institution has served as a private grade school, an academy, a university, a four-year college, a private junior college, and a public junior college.

Picture Credits

Cover, Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS); 183, William Phillips; 184, Christian Science Monitor, *October 16, 1943; 185 (Concordia), courtesy Bernadine Cummings; 185 (Phillips), courtesy Virgil Lundberg; 187, 188, 189, 190, courtesy Bernadine Cummings; 194, courtesy the authors; 196, 197, courtesy Frieda Goedecke; 200 (map),* Kansas State Historical Collections, 1905-1906, *9:between 576 and 577; 200 (Anthony), 201, 202, 203 (St. John), KSHS; 203 (Stevenson), Andreas and Cutler,* History of the State of Kansas, *1:635; 203 (Mann), Andreas and Cutler,* History of the State of Kansas, *2:971; 205, 209, 213, 214, KSHS; 215, Girls' Industrial School,* Seventeenth Biennial Report, *1922, 14; 216, 217, KSHS; 218, Boys' Industrial School,* Twenty-second Biennial Report, *1924, 23; 219, KSHS; 220, State Orphans' Home,* Twentieth Biennial Report, *1926, 20; 221, State Sanitorium for Tuberculosis,* Eighth Biennial Report, *1928, 28; 222, KSHS; 223, State Hospital for Epileptics,* Tenth Biennial Report, *1922, 8; 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, KSHS; 231,* Topeka Daily Capital, *January 6, 1901; 232, Parham,* Life of Charles F. Parham, *between 136 and 137.*

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



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

Kansas State Historical Society

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized in 1875 by the newspaper editors and publishers of the state, and four years later it became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since then, the Society has operated both as a non-profit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas.

The purposes of the Society are the advancement of knowledge about and the preservation of resources related to the history and prehistory of Kansas and the American West, accomplished through educational and cultural programs, the provision of research services, and the protection of historic properties. The Society is governed by a ninety-nine-member board of directors, elected by the membership, and is administered by an executive director and an assistant executive director.

The new Kansas Museum of History features exhibits and educational programs based on the Society's rich artifact collections. It is located near the historic Pottawatomie Baptist Mission west of Topeka, adjacent to Interstate 70. All other Society departments remain at the Center for Historical Research, Memorial Building, across the street from the State Capitol in Topeka.

All persons interested in Kansas history and prehistory are cordially invited to join the Society. Those who would like to provide additional support for the Society's work may want to consider contributions in the form of gifts or bequests. A representative of the Society will be glad to consult with anyone wishing to make such a gift or establish a bequest or an endowment. Address the Executive Director, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612.

Cover: Entitled *American Woman and Her Political Peers*, this pastel featuring Frances Willard graphically illustrated the belief that a woman in the United States had as little political power as the disenfranchised Indian, madman, convict, and idiot. The artwork, now in the Society's collections, was executed by W. A. Ford and copyrighted by Henrietta Briggs-Wall, both of Hutchinson. It caused much comment at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and was reproduced on cards and distributed nationwide.

In this issue of *Kansas History*, the authors discuss woman suffrage and numerous other reforms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in articles ranging from accounts of individual women to analyses of women's publications and organizations. Carry Nation, Kate Richards O'Hare, Annie Diggs, Emma Pack, Fannie McCormick, Bina Otis, Lucy Browne Johnston—all appear in the following pages, writing, speaking, campaigning, and organizing to improve their own and others' lives.

KANSAS HISTORY

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"I never want a picture taken of me without my Bible, my constant and heavenly companion," Carry Nation wrote in her 1904 autobiography. Here she shares her faith with a woman identified as Mrs. Sorgatz of Beloit.

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

Mrs. Nation

by Robert Smith Bader

IN 1880 Kansas became the first state in the nation to write into her constitution a prohibition on alcoholic beverages. For the next twenty years the people struggled with the eternal questions of resubmission and law enforcement. Following a hectic initial period with its legal uncertainties and open defiances in the cities, the temperance position began to gain the ascendency under the leadership of Gov. John A. Martin (1885–89). By the end of the first prohibitory decade the open saloon had been banished from Kansas soil, and resubmission of the question had been declared "as dead as slavery" as a public issue.

But 1890 brought a sharp reversal in the fortunes of the temperance advocates. An adverse U.S. Supreme Court decision permitted selling in "original packages," and "supreme court" saloons soon dotted the landscape. Harsh economic conditions within the state and a series of setbacks for prohibition across the nation contributed significantly to a marked reduction in liquor law enforcement. The joint (which replaced the saloon in the Kansas vernacular) reappeared in the cities and many of the moderate-sized towns. As the liquor issue slid down the scale of public priorities, temperance activity diminished perceptibly and the morale of the temperance forces plunged to an all-time low.

Near the end of the nineties, however, the state's two major temperance organizations, the Kansas State Temperance Union (KSTU) and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), began to show signs of renewed vigor. The temperance community experienced a revival sufficient to restore its self-respect, its enthusiasm, and its courage. But enforcement of the law continued in the relaxed mode which had characterized the decade. In the towns, at least, practice daily violated theory; King Alcohol ruled supreme.

By 1900 Kansas had become a hybrid cauldron of frustration and hopefulness. Renaissance of the KSTU and the WCTU had raised expectations as well as morale. If the joints could be closed by the city fathers on Sundays, holidays, election days, and when the WCTU came to town, why couldn't they be closed permanently, as the law required? The milieu was reminiscent of the late 1870s just before the introduction of prohibition as a constitutional question, when temperance enthusiasm had left the state quaking with emotion and searching for the igniting spark. "All felt that the state was a seething, surging volcano of suppressed emotion," an observer said in 1899, "[and] that a mighty conflict was inevitable."[1]

The catalyst for the "mighty conflict" came from a most unlikely quarter. Isolated outbreaks of violence against saloons had been part of the Kansas scene since 1855. They often involved women, alone or in groups, and not infrequently the weapon of choice was a hatchet or an axe. But nothing like a continuous sequence had ever been sustained.

In 1900 Carry Nation lived in Medicine Lodge, a sun-baked, little frontier town in southwestern Kansas. She had advanced to the proximate edge of old age after a lifetime of total obscurity spent laboring at the cookstove and the washboard. Like thousands upon thousands of other women she held a fervent, religion-anchored, interest in temperance. A less likely candidate for leadership of a revolution and international fame would have been difficult to find.

Her biographers have speculated at length, often derisively, about the origins of her intense religious convictions and her hatred of alcohol. Whatever the genesis of her private religious experiences, she produced an absolutely unequaled impact upon the Kansas community. During her heyday Kansans responded to her actions and her supplications as to

Robert Smith Bader, *author of* The Great Kansas Bond Scandal *(1982), holds a B.S. degree from Kansas State University and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He has taught at the University of Florida, the University of Illinois, and the University of Missouri-St. Louis, where he is currently research professor. He is also affiliated with the history department of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, as a research associate. This article is a modified version of a chapter in a book he is writing on the history of prohibition in Kansas.*

1. [M. N. Butler], *The Kansas Klondike and Leavenworth Inferno* (N.p.: M. N. Butler, 1899), 39.

none other in their history. Inspired by a deep religious faith and fueled by an extraordinary energy, she translated her formidable personality and raw courage into a direct-action campaign that carried beyond her local neighborhood into the larger Kansas world. The time and the person had been joined to produce events that would rock the state and the nation.

Carry Amelia Moore was born in 1846 in Kentucky of English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish descent. Her father was a stockman and farmer of some means whom she adored. ("If I ever had an angel on earth, it was my father.") Her mother, though "a very handsome woman," was mentally unstable and unavailable to her children much of the time. As a consequence, Carry was frequently mothered by black "mammies," and slave children became her most frequent playmates. She absorbed much of her spirituality and religious feeling, if not her theology, from these early childhood experiences.

During her childhood years she suffered several bouts of serious illness, at times becoming virtually an invalid. But by her teen years she had fully recovered to enjoy robust health throughout the remainder of her life. She underwent her first formal religious experience at the age of ten, when she was baptized into the Campbellite Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). By the onset of puberty most of her dominant personality traits had become firmly established: intelligence, dominance, combativeness, drollness, generosity, an almost childlike candor, and a high-voltage energy which led to an insatiable fascination with the spiritual and moral values of humankind.[2]

When Carry was nine her restless father moved the family to Cass County in western Missouri. There, at age nineteen, she met a young physician, Charles Gloyd, and they married in 1867. Two years later the man "I loved more than my own life" was dead, a victim of alcoholism, evidently well advanced at the time they married. To support the family she had inherited from Gloyd (their infant daughter and his elderly mother), Carry attended the teachers' college at Warrensburg for a year and then began teaching in public grade school. Her four-year teaching career (1870–74) came to an abrupt end when a school board member alleged that he didn't care for the way she taught word pronunciation to her pupils. His niece became her successor.

Shortly thereafter she married the "very good looking" David Nation, a newspaperman-lawyer and sometime Christian church minister eighteen years her senior. They moved to Texas in 1876, where they nearly became destitute trying to make a living from a rundown cotton plantation they had purchased. ("We were as helpless on the plantation as little children.") While David made desultory attempts to establish a law practice, his wife took over the management of a dilapidated local hotel. "Managing" the hotel included the backbreaking chores of cooking, washing, cleaning, and buying as she struggled to eke out a subsistence for the entire family.[3]

In 1890 the Nations moved to Medicine Lodge, where David found sufficient success as a lawyer to support them both and enable his wife to pursue her developing civic, religious, and temperance interests. "Mother Nation" (a sobriquet that the town soon bestowed on her for her benevolences) organized a sewing circle that made clothes for the poor; every fall she made certain that no child failed to attend school because of a lack of proper clothing. She invited the town's needy to her home on Thanksgiving, Christmas, and other special occasions. Mother Nation's generous impulses commingled with a fierce determination to have her own way. "Whatever she believes in she believes with her whole soul, and nothing except superior force can stay her," a contemporary noted; "she has done much good [for the poor], but when she sets out to get contributions she cannot be shaken off."[4]

As the decade wore on she turned her active mind and boundless energy increasingly to temperance concerns. During 1899, together with a few zealous WCTU cohorts, she managed to close the town's seven illegal liquor outlets through the nonviolent avenues of song, prayer, and oral confrontation. In the spring of 1900 she made her first out-of-town foray, traveling in her buggy to Kiowa, twenty miles distant, where she smashed three joints with rocks and brickbats. Such immoderate behavior evoked a town consensus that she was of "unsound mind" and should be kept at home "by her people."

Six months later she had screwed up her courage

2. Carry was evidently christened "Carry," but she and her family used "Carrie" until she began to attract public notice around 1900. She was struck with the implication of "Carry A. Nation" and used that form thereafter, though not always consistently. Carry A. Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (Topeka: F. M. Steves and Sons, 1904), 28, 31, 35–43, 129; Herbert Asbury, *Carry Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), 3–6; Robert Lewis Taylor, *Vessel of Wrath: The Life and Times of Carry Nation* (New York: New American Library, 1966), 28–36, 62; Carrie Nation Scrapbook, 101, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

3. Nation, *Use and Need*, 46–48, 61–82; Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 12–17, 27–34, 37–44.

4. Taylor, *Vessel of Wrath*, 85; Nation, *Use and Need*, 93–97, 100; Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 54–55, 59; Carleton Beals, *Cyclone Carry: The Story of Carry Nation* (Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1962), 79–87.

sufficiently to attack and demolish the handsome bar of the Hotel Carey, Wichita's finest. A few days after her release from jail, following a three-week incarceration based on a spurious smallpox quarantine, she set to smashing again in Wichita and was promptly rearrested. Her next logical move should have been Topeka, the capital city. But she detoured instead to Enterprise, a small community in Dickinson County, flattered that she had received an invitation from the wife of the town's leading citizen, C. B. Hoffman, the "millionaire socialist." After a hectic forty-eight hours of smashing, wrestling, and hair-pulling there, she entrained for Topeka.[5]

The entrance of Carry Nation into the capital created a moral crisis of multiple dimensions. For the long-suffering temperance workers, gathering for the annual convention of the KSTU, her arrival threatened to split the ranks of the faithful. No longer would defiant resolutions, feverish denunciations, and a good heart suffice; one had to stand up and be counted. The harassed president of the state WCTU, Elizabeth P. Hutchinson, guardedly announced that the WCTU had only a legal interest in the Nation crusade but, she charitably added, "I do not believe Mrs. Nation to be insane." The president of the Topeka WCTU, Olive P. Bray, came more directly to the point. The local union, she said, "is not in accord with her methods." Bray's sister, temperance and suffrage leader Sarah A. Thurston, added succinctly: "I wouldn't do it." The veteran prohibitionist and former lieutenant governor, Jimmie Troutman, found her tactics "indefensible." The minister of the Atchison Christian Church said she was a "disgrace" and acting the fool. But many agreed with Bank Commissioner John Breidenthal, who said that "there comes a time with people when forbearance ceases to be a virtue and they take the law into their own hands." And with Agriculture Secretary F. D. Coburn, who noted that "people who persistently spit on the laws have mighty small claims on the law's protection."[6]

Her appearance in Topeka focused attention on the growing tension between the sexes on the temperance issue. Her host at Enterprise, Catherine A. Hoffman, concerned herself with this often-hidden issue. A cultured woman of "refined and handsome appearance," she told the KSTU convention that she had helped smash a joint because "the men would not do it, [so] we women did it. . . . This conduct from us women means something . . . . I do not believe in war, I did not believe in violence. But I tell you, this is a revolution that is coming on us in this state. . . . We have begun to act now, and we have put an end to uncertainties. That is what Mrs. Nation signifies to-day — action, revolution."[7]

For the forty Topeka joints she posed a clear and present threat to their livelihood. Topeka had not licensed its saloons nor enjoyed the monthly fiscal benefits derived therefrom since the Supreme Court ordered the practice stopped in 1883. Since then, joints had become more or less numerous, depending upon the predilections of the particular city government in power. The latter, of course, was a function of the mercurial attitudes of the citizenry. The wets and the drys had struggled bitterly for dominance in the capital city, ever mindful of the symbolic significance to the state as a whole. A citizens' law-and-order group in the 1880s, the Committee of Fifty, had become the Committee of Two Hundred by the late 1890s, led by the Congregational minister, Charles M. Sheldon. Currently, the drys pinned their hopes on Frank M. Stahl, the colorful, no-nonsense chief of police, given to unorthodox methods of trapping an unsuspecting jointist.[8] Paralleling the statewide trend of the nineties, Topeka's joints tended to operate with increasing openness, and handsomeness, during the decade. They came to maintain a much higher visibility than the secluded and puny operations uncovered by the police in the early 1890s. Still, they did not run as brazenly as in Leavenworth, Kansas City, or Wichita. They kept to the lower (northern) reaches of Kansas Avenue, largely out of sight of the female shoppers and office workers. They were always buffered by a front, or anteroom, occupied by a legitimate business frequented by male customers, typically a cigar store, poolroom, drugstore, or restaurant. Often they could be found on the second floor of a building, a circumstance that led to a wry observation by Sen. John J. Ingalls: "In some cities," he noted, "deferring to the majesty of the law, the saloons are banished . . . from the street floor to the second story, upon some occult theory that a nefarious transaction conducted fifteen feet above ground

5. Nation, *Use and Need*, 102–14, 126–36, 140–62, 172–74; Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 64–91, 99–136; *Kiowa News*, June 8, 1900; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 22, 24, 25, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, January 22, 1901; David Nation to A. A. Godard, May 20, 1900, Kansas Attorneys General Correspondence, Archives Department, Kansas State Historical Society.

6. *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 24, 27, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, January 26, 1901; *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1901.

7. *Kansas City Star*, January 29, 1901.

8. Carrie A. Nation to *Topeka State Journal* [ca. January 5, 1902], Undated Correspondence, Cecil Howes Collection, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society; Frank M. Stahl, *One-Way Ticket to Kansas: The Autobiography of Frank M. Stahl, as told by Margaret Whittemore* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1959), 122–34.

Fritz Durein, a prominent turn-of-the-century Topeka jointist, carefully hides his wares at his Hall of Fame saloon.

ceases to be offensive to the moral sense of mankind . . . ."[9]

The significance and impact of the crusader in Topeka differed in kind and in degree from what had passed before. At Kiowa, Wichita, and Enterprise she had employed essentially hit-and-run tactics, smashing a joint or two and then leaving town or going to jail. Her actions, though startling, had been cursorial, superficial, ephemeral. Shortly after she arrived in Topeka she decided to make it her home, and so it remained until 1905. Through a continuous presence in the capital city she planned to influence not only the immediate community but the entire state and the nation as well. She had long since recognized that she could not single-handedly run the joints out of Kansas. By settling down in Topeka she expected to effect a militant organization, composed principally of women, which would soon rid the state of the offending establishments.

When Mrs. Nation appeared on the Topeka streets, in the early evening of January 26, 1901, the local citizens immediately recognized her. The chunky figure wore her now-familiar, old but clean "uniform": a full-length, shiny black dress topped at the neck by a huge bow of white ribbon; black cotton stockings; square-toed, "pitifully thin and worn" shoes; and a fringed gray shawl. A black poke bonnet, tied firmly under the chin, covered a bun of gray hair coiled tightly at the crown of her head. On this occasion she also wore a veil, drawn tightly about the face, which hid from view her pleasant, motherly countenance and her bright, flashing eyes. But her determined stride and self-possessed manner affirmed the "iron purpose in her soul."[10]

She quickly became the hub for streams of animated males, young and old, drawn toward her as iron filings to a magnet, looking for some unusual excitement to brighten a Saturday evening. Within the hour she found herself surrounded by a spirited crowd of two thousand who hoped for a "hatchetation," though she assured them that she had left her hatchet at home. "Incessant and boisterous yelling" so filled the air that she could not be heard a few feet away though she talked "at the top of her voice."[11]

She did manage to visit a few joints on lower Kansas Avenue to warn them to close their "murder shops" or else. Her most embarrassing moment came after a jointkeeper's wife had whacked her on the head with a broom, knocking her bonnet off. When she stooped over to retrieve it, the incensed woman "smote her upon that portion of the anatomy which chanced to be uppermost." The crowd, which had been amiable enough initially, grew steadily more rowdy as the evening wore on and its size increased apace. When it had degenerated into "a wild, howling mob" which threatened lynching, her armed escorts guided her into the Columbian building for safety. Soon thereafter they spirited her out a rear door into the night, while remnants of the mob milled restlessly in front, setting off yowls like so many frenzied coyotes at full moon.[12] Topeka had been introduced to her new resident and vice versa.

On Monday next Mrs. Nation paid her respects to the state's chief executive, the Honorable William

9. John J. Ingalls, "The Future Relation of the Republican Party to Prohibition in Kansas," *Agora* 1 (January 1892): 118; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 13, 1901.

10. *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 27, 1901; Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 87; E. A. Braniff, "How I Ran Out on Carrie Nation," *Commonweal* 47 (March 19, 1948): 558.

11. *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1901.

12. Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 144; *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 27, 1901.

Eugene Stanley (1899–1903). The governor's prohibition enforcement policy had been the acme of perfection and simplicity: leave the thorny matter entirely in the hands of the local communities. For this posture his administration had been labeled "miserably weak" by the disappointed drys who had expected so much from the former Methodist Sunday school superintendent and had received so little. Stanley typified the Kansas politician who could adroitly "carry a Sunday school on one shoulder and a joint on the other." Even before Mrs. Nation made her appearance he had no doubt how he stood with her. While in the Wichita jail she had declared that "Stanley, the head of prohibition, is only a synonym for hypocrisy."[13]

She made an appointment with his secretary and returned shortly thereafter with an entourage that included her husband, David; Annie Diggs, the famed Populist, currently the state librarian; and enough reporters and legislators virtually to fill the room. Stanley lost control from the first moment when she firmly commanded him to "sit around where the light strikes you, I can't see your face."

In her soft Kentucky accent and her unassuming, "perfectly natural" manner she pleaded, she scolded, she threatened. To his every defense she gave a sharp, pithy, and logical reply. She said that she didn't smash on impulse but only as a last resort. "I've prayed and cried and laid down on the floor and wept. Something must be done." As her vigorous chastisement continued unabated the rattled governor lost what little composure he had left. "You are a woman," he said. "But a woman must know a woman's place. They can't come in here and raise this kind of disturbance." As the meeting wound down, he assured her once again that he was powerless to act and palmed her off on the attorney general with an audible sigh of relief.[14]

In an editorial following the interview the *Kansas City Star*, no friend of prohibition, wondered aloud how a public man with fiber enough to be elected governor could be so intimidated at the approach of "this avenging lady." To see the head of the commonwealth lose all presence of mind in such a public forum was a pitiful sight. "It would have been better — much better — had the fear which seized upon him as he contemplated the steady and resolute advance of his accuser caused him to flee and leave Mrs. Nation in possession of the field. The Governor is not to be censured for not having done the best thing that was possible under the circumstances, but the very worst." And where was Henry J. Allen, the governor's "urbane and tactful" private secretary, at the critical hour when his tormented employer needed him most?[15]

A great deal of speculation centered around the probable response of the KSTU convention to the crusader. The KSTU secretary, T. E. Stephens, had announced that Mrs. Nation was free to attend the meeting since it was open to the public but that she had not been tendered a special invitation either to attend or to speak. But wild horses could not have kept Carry away. Almost immediately after she entered the hall, she was loudly called for, and as she went forward to the platform, "the whole house [of one thousand] sprang to its feet and waved handkerchiefs and cheered." From that moment the usually staid meeting began to resemble an old-fashioned revival as the members got the "power." Isolated pockets of conservative resistance melted before the onrushing tide of enthusiasm. The Union president saluted her for her courage, and the

Noted artist and political cartoonist Albert T. Reid sketched this portrait of Carry Nation just after she came to Topeka, still suffering from a badly bruised eye she had received a few days earlier in a melee in Enterprise.

13. *Kansas Issue*, July 1901; Albert Griffin, *An Earnest Appeal for the Substitution of Christian for Pagan Methods in All Moral Reform Work* (Topeka: A. Griffin, 1901), 15; *Kansas City Star*, December 29, 1900.
14. *Topeka State Journal*, January 28, 1901; *Kansas City Star*, January 28, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 29, 1901.
15. *Kansas City Star*, January 30, 1901.

This sketch of Carry Nation during her interview with Governor Stanley is one of several made by Albert T. Reid.

delegates passed resolutions praising her and scoring Governor Stanley for his laxity in enforcement.

So long as she remained in the hall Nation was "the orbit around which the convention revolved." She "charmed everyone by her good humor and wit combined with [a] fiery earnestness." One captivated woman came up the aisle with a bouquet of flowers and lovingly presented it to her. Messenger boys brought her telegrams and letters "by the dozen." The grateful delegates took up a collection of $117.50 for a gold medal to be inscribed "To the Bravest Woman in Kansas." With an irony that Nation must have enjoyed, the WCTU president was appointed to chair the committee to design and purchase the medal. Shortly thereafter, the jointists presented a miniature golden broom to their heroine, the jointkeeper's wife who had applied the solid whack to the crusader's posterior on Saturday night.[16]

While the town and the state waited expectantly for the next hatchet to fall, Nation reconnoitered the new territory and attempted to organize the women into an "army" of Home Defenders. She accepted as many of the dozens of speaking invitations as she could and planned some meetings of her own. Brimming to overflowing with the "inexhaustible subject," she told her audiences that what Kansas needed most was agitation. "You agitate water," she said, "and it will run up hill." To apprehensive women she tried to impart some of the exhilaration that could come from wrecking a joint: "I tell you, ladies, you don't know how much joy you will have until you begin to smash, smash, smash. It is wonderful."[17] She reserved her most righteous scorn for those who suggested that a moral suasion

16. Ibid., January 29, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 29, 30, 1901; Carrie Nation Scrapbook, 37.

17. *Kansas City Star*, January 30, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 27, 31, 1901.

(educational) campaign to increase public support for prohibition might be more appropriate than her hatchet-and-rocks method. "Moral suasion!" she cried. "If there's anything that's weak and worse than useless it's this moral suasion. I despise it. These hell traps of Kansas have fattened for twenty years on moral suasion."[18]

For decades the living, breathing, flesh-and-blood relationship between Mrs. Nation and the Kansas people has been buried beneath gallons of printer's ink, immersed in equal parts of derision and disparagement. She has been called variously a crank, a freak, a lunatic, a bizarre clown, a sinister bigot, a demented creature, the Hitler of morals, and the Joe McCarthy of personal conduct. From these vitriolic depths has emerged a one-dimensional cardboard doll with a wild-eyed look that produces, upon squeezing, an instant hatchetation.

What has been submerged has been her wit, her warmth, her joyfulness, and her intelligence — the vibrant humanity that so impressed her contemporaries. Her regard for and sensitivity to blacks, Jews, and Catholics, for example, far exceeded that of the average WASP of the period. Her sans-hatchet personality was powerful, unforgettable, unique. Very few human beings of whatever walk or station or education ever bested her in a one-on-one parley. Governor Stanley was not the sole beneficiary of her "charming unconventionality," as the jointists of Topeka were soon to discover.[19] On January 31 Nation decided to pay a social call on the jointists of lower Kansas Avenue, leaving her weapons safely at home. Forewarned of her impending visit, the owners feverishly barricaded their businesses and themselves behind mounds of furniture and every other conceivable bulky object. They peeked nervously through the cracks in the ramparts awaiting the imminent arrival of the gray-haired grandmother. When she appeared on the scene with five hundred men and boys at her heels and saw the ridiculous configurations, she gave a hearty laugh and called to the anxious men: "Aren't you going to let your mother in, boys? She wants to talk to you."[20]

With a face "full of amusement and kindliness" and in a "soft deep" voice she told them that she loved them and would help them if they were ever in trouble. Her voice, her manner, and her obvious sincerity began to weave their magic spell on the hidden jointists. They peered out from their lairs like apprehensive prairie dogs from their burrows, and soon the barricades began to come down. The Pied Piper of Hamelin could not have charmed them from behind their ramparts more skillfully or more quickly.[21]

A reporter for the hard-nosed *Kansas City Star* tells what happened next:

> Astonishing as it may seem, incredible as it may appear, these saloon men were strongly moved by the talk Mrs. Nation gave them. She meant what she said — they understood that. They knew she was not resentful and did not despise them just as they understood how resolved she was to make them close their joints.
>
> It was a curious scene to observe. It was interesting to see the countenances of the saloon men. They showed little bravado. Those who had been blustering about what they would do if the saloon wrecker came around became as meek as lambs and looked very much ashamed of themselves. Mrs. Nation enjoyed their discomfiture. Her eyes were laughing all the time.[22]

Gaining recruits in the agitated capital city for her upcoming war proved to be easy for the chief recruiter. Within a few days the Topeka Brigade, Kansas Division, of General Carry's Home Defenders' Army numbered several hundred, mostly, but not exclusively, women. A mass meeting for last-minute inspiration and final instructions was held on the evening of February 2 in the Topeka auditorium. Some of the women had had difficulty obtaining hatchets, but the general assured them that "pokers will do as well." Most of the men left the meeting early, but the enthralled women stayed on. "It's always the women who have to stand in the breach," the leader said scornfully as the men drifted out. "There is only one place worse than a saloon, and that's a church full of hypocrites."[23]

On February 4 Mrs. Nation and a detail of her female followers attempted to rush a joint, but a large crowd repulsed them, many of whom had been hired by the jointists for the purpose. The pushing and shoving exercise resembled a rugby match with several hundred players on each side. The general and three of her followers were arrested but soon released. The next dawn, in the bitter cold of a blizzard, they had better luck. They completely demolished one of Topeka's finest, the Senate Saloon.

This incident featured two shots fired in the air by the guard and the usual smashed furnishings; but the

18. *Kansas City Star*, January 30, 1901.
19. Ibid.; Carrie Nation Scrapbook, 96; Braniff, "How I Ran," 558–60.
20. *Kansas City Star*, January 31, 1901.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.; Braniff, "How I Ran," 558.
23. *Kansas City Star*, February 2, 3, 1901.

disabled list also included slot machines and a heavy cash register which Nation held aloft before ceremoniously hurling it to the ground. She received an "ugly wound" in the melee but she took no sick leave. At the jail she implored her keepers for help: "Oh men, don't be mice. Stand up for us, for God's sake!" The Senate reopened within hours to a rush business in booze and beer and souvenirs of broken glass and splintered wood. The next day the *State Journal* carried a front-page sketch of the revelers at the Senate bar, including a fourteen-year-old boy.[24]

The continuing presence of one of the world's greatest agitators inevitably produced an atmosphere of mounting tension. The situation passed beyond that of good-humored concern about smashing into something much more serious and ugly, bordering on insurrection and revolution. The pent-up passions of the drys could no longer be denied. An anonymous "prominent Topekan" warned that "the people mean business. The situation in Topeka at present is desperate. The feeling of anger against the jointists is most intense. It only needs a spark to kindle this feeling into riotous flame."

The attack on the Senate Saloon increased the intensity still further. Within twenty-four hours many men "who count in the business and social life of Topeka" rallied to the radical temperance standard. Fearing for "the peace of the city," Police Chief Frank Stahl ordered all the joints closed on February 6. On February 7, seventy of the "best" professional and business men called a mass meeting of male citizens for Sunday, February 10.[25]

The coming of Carry Nation to the Kansas scene cast into bold relief the long-standing differences between the two factions within the "law and order" community, but paradoxically it also narrowed those differences. Both factions profoundly wanted all the joints in the state closed tight and stricter enforcement of the prohibition law. But they differed in the tactics deemed appropriate to obtain these goals.

The radicals, much the smaller numerically but considerably more vocal, often Prohibitionist in politics, wanted to take direct action against the joints at once. Their aggressive position had been strengthened immeasurably by the advent of Mrs. Nation. The more conservative-minded, who dominated the KSTU and the WCTU, usually Republican or Populist politically, wanted only to step up the pressure on law enforcement officers to do their duty. They felt uneasy in sponsoring lawlessness in the name of the law. But as a concession to the headstrong radicals, they were inclined to put a short-term "or else" on their proposed injunction to the law officers. Some even envisioned the forces of a "citizen soldiery, drilled and officered," which would sweep the jointists from the state and bring the millennium to Kansas. Indeed, the core of such a unit, which included some one thousand male citizens, had already begun to drill in the capital city.[26]

The leadership that emerged among the temperance forces at this distressed hour represented the broad spectrum of public opinion, except for antiprohibition, whose partisans grimly maintained a stony silence. The leading spokesperson for the most radical position was Dr. Evilela Harding, a forty-five-year-old Ohio native who was one of the few trained female physicians in Kansas. Simple, unpretentious, with a strong will and a "good natured" face, she devoted much of her Kansas life to social, political, educational, and philanthropic causes. An outspoken suffragist, she became successively a Populist, a Democrat, and a Socialist. As a Democrat in 1916 she was the first woman in Kansas to run for the congressional nomination of a major party. Her home in Topeka had become a bustling nerve center for the Home Defenders. She was the principal aide-de-camp for General Carry, though the combative physician did not hesitate in the least to disagree with her leader over tactics.[27]

Only slightly to the right of Dr. Harding was the tempestuous Reverend Frank W. Emerson, pastor of the First Christian Church and editor of the *Kansas Endeavorer*. Active in the Prohibition party, Emerson accepted its nomination for governor in 1902 but polled only 6,065 votes. Though a man of the cloth and of peace, Emerson had a reputation for masculine pugnaciousness which made him uneasy about an aggressive feminine presence in temperance matters. "The world needs men," he said. "Men to work and watch and pray, yes, and men to fight — to fight against the wrongs and abuse inherited from another age, that have fastened themselves like festering, cankerous sores upon the body politic and social."[28]

The scholarly Reverend John Thomas McFarland, pastor of the First Methodist Church, played the role of the citizen-philosopher during the emergency. He

24. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 5, 6, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, February 5, 6, 1901.
25. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 6, 9, 1901; *Kansas City Star*, February 6, 1901.
26. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 8, 9, 1901.
27. *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* 120 (August 19, 1915): 177; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 21:110, s.v. "Harding, Evilela."
28. Reverend F. W. Emerson, "The Preacher and His Church in Politics," Ministerial Union Series: Kansas Biographical Scrap-Book, 48–49: 216–23, Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

bridged the ideological gap between the two factions and, respected by both, acted as a liaison between them. The fifty-year-old Indiana native had served as president of Iowa Wesleyan University and had come to Topeka in 1899 from a pastorate at the New York Avenue Church, Brooklyn, New York. Within a few years he became the "biggest man" in the Methodist church in Kansas.[29]

A temperance leader since his arrival in Topeka, the "intellectually massive" McFarland delighted in the discomfiture felt by the jointists at the hands of Mrs. Nation. He saw that she had placed them in their most difficult position in years and had aroused public enmity to unprecedented heights. Still, he felt mob action was not the answer, especially if it were led by a woman. Like his colleague Emerson, he felt that the men should take the lead. If all legal remedies failed, then "let the men of the city, from the highest to the humblest . . . step out into the light and sweep the unendurable nuisance from our streets." Exactly how such an august assemblage would differ from a Nation-led "mob," except in gender, remains unclear.[30]

A leading representative of the "conservative" temperance faction was the renowned Reverend Charles M. Sheldon, minister of the Central Congregational Church. Educated in the best eastern schools, the forty-four-year-old New York State native had been called to the Topeka church in 1889. He had soon become a prominent social gospeler and a leader of the temperance forces in their perennial effort to sweep the joints from Topeka. No Kansan of the day was held in wider or deeper respect.[31]

In his autobiography, published in 1925, Sheldon declared his fond admiration for Mrs. Nation and her campaign. But on Sunday, February 10, at the hour of decision, Sheldon, along with the majority of his fellow ministers, preached caution. He did not approve of citizens taking the law into their own hands, for even if all the joints in Topeka were smashed, the relief would only be temporary. It was the far better part of wisdom to insist that law officers do their duty, and to elect ones that would.[32] The vast majority of Topekans, and Kansans, would have agreed. Revolutions always begin with a minority.

The mass meeting of Sunday, February 10, was one of the most remarkable in Kansas history. Nearly three thousand aroused citizens trouped to the auditorium with a "conviction and determination that showed itself on every face." The all-male meeting had been called three days earlier, immediately after the leaders of the conservative faction learned that Nation would be on a one-week lecture tour in Iowa and Illinois beginning February 8. The written agenda featured confrontation of the joints; the unwritten addendum called for recapturing the initiative from the women. Open joints in the capital city brought embarrassment enough to the temperance enthusiasts, but to have women take the lead in doing something about them was intolerable. Though only men were present, the spirit of Mrs. Nation "seemed to pervade the entire audience."[33]

The audience heard stirring speeches from Stahl, Troutman, Emerson, and McFarland. The latter exclaimed reassuringly that the "Anglo-Saxon vigor which has gone from Runymeade [*sic*] to John Brown is still present." In its chief business, the meeting organized itself into a "Committee of Public Order" and issued an ultimatum. It gave the jointists until noon Monday to close their doors and until Friday to remove their fixtures from the premises. The group had not assembled to debate the finer points of jurisprudence; when one poor soul dissented on a resolution, the crowd angrily cried, "Put him out!" After the last irate resolution had been passed, the assemblage rose, lustily sang "America," and happily filed out, content that they had at long last found the final solution to the joint problem. The cerebral McFarland said that the meeting represented "the public speaking in the imperative mood."[34] Evidently even the conservatives had had enough.

Nation returned from her out-of-state speaking tour on February 14 to a bevy of irate women. The Home Defenders were upset that they had been given no representation on the Committee of Five to whom the mass meeting had delegated its authority. Nation herself was disturbed that the men had permitted the jointists to retain their bar equipment which could subsequently be used for a "hellish purpose." Although the beleaguered joints, with few exceptions, had closed up tight and the drugstores had adopted a much more cautious policy as a result of the ultimatum, the women decided to act.[35]

A crowd of five hundred women and men gathered

29. *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 23, 1913.
30. *Kansas Issue*, March 1902; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 19, 1901.
31. Charles M. Sheldon, *Charles M. Sheldon: His Life Story* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), ix–xi.
32. Ibid., 245–46; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 10, 11, 1901.
33. *Kansas City Star*, February 11, 1901; *Fulcrum*, February 15, 1901.
34. *Topeka State Journal*, February 11, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 19, 1901.
35. *Topeka State Journal*, February 13, 15, 16, 1901.

stealthily at the east steps of the statehouse before dawn on Sunday, February 17. Everyone had wrapped a white handkerchief around his or her neck, a mark of the Home Defenders. The group quietly assembled on the lawn in military fashion: "Company C, we meet at the southwest corner . . . ." The day before, Nation had issued a democratic call for "all men and women of any color or clime to be of us." Many members of the all-male "Law Enforcement Army" accompanied the women, but Commander McFarland, who was conspicuously absent, later insisted that his group took no "official" part in the proceedings. After several Washburn students belatedly arrived carrying a seven-foot, cement-headed battering ram, General Nation gave her well-armed troops a few brief words of encouragement and then ordered them toward lower Kansas Avenue.[36] What followed made February 17 forever after a red-letter day in the annals of organized violence in Kansas. Before the hectic day had done, a prominent joint, a barn in which were stored bar fixtures, and a cold-storage warehouse thought to hold beer had been smashed. The police station bulged with first-time visitors; General Nation herself was arrested no less than four times.

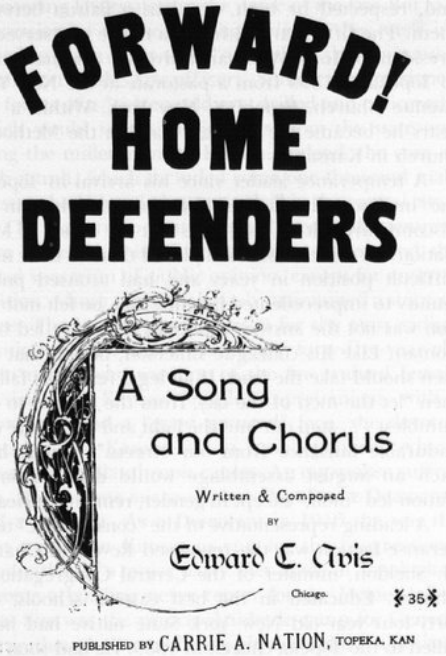
Between smash number one and smash number two the crowd straggled back to the statehouse to plan its next move. A "warm argument" broke out between the exhilarated, Nation-filled women who wanted to proceed posthaste to the next joint and the disquieted, apprehensive men who argued that having made their violent point, they should disband and go home. The philosophical dispute came to center in the personages of Dr. Evilela Harding and Rev. Frank Emerson.

The two chief assistant generals stood nose-to-nose and screamed somewhat uncomplimentary epithets at one another. When she called him a coward, his face turned "white with wrath." But he couldn't stop her or the other women who were learning first-hand that Mrs. Nation was right when she called smashing "wonderful." The women marched off joyously to their newly discovered work, with the overruled men "plodding sullenly" in the rear.[37]

In the last outbreak of this type in Topeka, a week later an all-male band of fifty to seventy-five raiders, armed and masked, smashed a liquor warehouse in North Topeka. One man suffered a severe gunshot wound in the foray, which was led by a local physician and the revolver-toting Emerson. "That preacher was like a tiger cat," admired the police officer who arrested him, "the fiercest man in the crowd."[38] Evidently Dr. Harding's accusation had struck home more profoundly than she could have imagined.

The reactions to the controversial acts encouraged and perpetuated by Mrs. Nation were as varied as the human imagination and as profound as the human spirit. The Kansas countryside reacted explosively in a series of extralegal acts against illegal institutions that has gone unduplicated to this day. During the month of February, which framed the violent activity, over one hundred saloons in at least fifty towns felt the wrath of the crusaders, male and female.

36. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 17, 1901; *Kansas City Star*, February 18, 1901.
37. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 17, 1901; *Kansas City Star*, February 18, 1901.
38. *Kansas City Star*, February 25, 1901.



Published in 1901 by Carry Nation, "Forward! Home Defenders" expressed the reformer's sentiments in music. It featured four verses to be sung "con spirito," *each ending with the following chorus:*

Onward, forward, mighty army,
Down saloons, and spill the foam,
And till law is kept and honored,
Forward, and defend your home.

At Anthony (Harper County), a group of fourteen WCTU women from the town's "best families" wrecked three joints and a drugstore with their hatchets. Fifteen "prominent" women, led by the wife of a Methodist minister and the wife of a bank cashier, duplicated the feat at Perry (Jefferson County). When twenty masked women broke into the Missouri Pacific depot at Goff (Nemaha County) and destroyed the liquor therein, Balie P. Waggener, the general attorney for the company and a former member of the Prohibition party, decided in his mature wisdom that things had gone too far. He advised the company to instruct its agents to deal with the temperance crusaders as "common burglars" and to prosecute "to the fullest extent of the law." The most violent events occurred at Winfield, where the uprising featured an ultimatum to the jointists by a mass meeting of 2,000, two menacing cannons drawn into the town square, a desecration of one church, and an attack on 300 women and children who had sought sanctuary in another. When the ultimatum went unheeded, a group of 150, which included ten "determined, resolute" women and numerous businessmen, ministers, and college students, marched doublefile to one of the most offensive joints. In twenty minutes of mayhem, during which both attackers and defenders were seriously injured, they destroyed all semblance of a saloon "except the smell." The gratified crusaders then marched in an orderly fashion back to a church, where the Christian church minister rendered "one of the finest prayers ever delivered in Winfield."[39]

As a result of the direct action taken by the aroused populace, the legal process began to make itself more visible in the stationhouse, the courthouse, and the statehouse. The rejuvenated KSTU demanded "the immediate, the absolute, the uncompromising enforcement of the prohibitory law." Jointists were arrested and enjoined from operating a nuisance; many closed their doors before either the law or an irate temperance mob could work its will. Often a warning was sufficient, and even the rumor of a prospective visit by Nation could work wonders. At Emporia, only minutes after a prankster had signed her name on the hotel register, all the town's joints closed.[40]

The 1901 legislature reacted by passing the first significant temperance legislation since 1887. It had been anticipated that a strong bid for resubmission would be made at the session. But the legislators had been duly impressed by the outpouring of temperance sentiment which they had heard about from their hometowns and witnessed directly in the capital city. In addition, they had an opportunity to hear from Nation herself when she visited the statehouse early in February.

She made informal remarks (she was incapable of making any other kind) to each body, at its invitation, receiving a somewhat warmer welcome in the rural-dominated house. In the senate she pleaded for help in putting down the liquor traffic. "If you don't do it," she said, "then the women of this state will do it." To the house she said, "You refused me the vote and I had to use a rock."[41]

The legislature responded to her both directly and indirectly by burying efforts in behalf of resubmission and constitutional convention bills, passing instead the Hurrel Act, which more appropriately could have been called the Nation Act. Drafted by the KSTU and lobbied by the WCTU, the act tightened the injunction and the search-and-seizure provisions of the liquor law. It made the presence of bar fixtures or a federal liquor stamp prima facie evidence that a public nuisance was being maintained. A companion bill gave the county attorney virtually "inquisitorial" powers to subpoena witnesses with knowledge of liquor law infractions and require their testimony under penalty of a misdemeanor upon refusal to cooperate.[42] The WCTU at both the state and the national levels had considerable difficulty in adjusting to the unorthodoxies of its former county president. Early in February the national office cautiously declared that it had "no unkind words for Mrs. Nation." On her eastern tour Nation spoke in Willard Hall, Evanston, Illinois, the national headquarters. She no longer had much use for the WCTU, she said; it usually wouldn't help and was far too slow when it did. But the next day the president, smiling through clenched teeth, announced that henceforth the national publication would print only favorable items about Nation.[43]

The state organization could not escape the dilemma so readily. As Nation moved to the front pages on a daily basis, state headquarters began to be bombarded with inquiries, from members and nonmembers alike, about the official posture of the organiza-

39. Ibid., February 17, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 31, February 14, 16, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, February 13, 16, 1901; *Our Messenger*, April 1901; Asbury, *Carry Nation*, 202–8.

40. *Topeka Mail and Breeze*, February 15, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 26, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, February 16, 1901.

41. *Kansas City Star*, February 8, 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 8, 1901.

42. Kansas, *Session Laws, 1901*, 416–22; *Our Messenger*, March 1901; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 7, 14, 21, 1901.

43. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 6, 1901; *Topeka State Journal*, February 15, 1901.

tion. Some of the "most earnest" women pressed the leadership hard to take a more aggressive stance. The latter reaffirmed its permissive position, pointing out that individuals and local unions could act as they deemed advisable so long as they did not fly directly in the face of state or national policy. "If they saw fit to raid," President Hutchinson said, "there was none to say them nay." She stressed that the KSTU and WCTU, through their educational efforts over the years, had developed the climate that permitted such an explosive response. "Mrs. Nation . . . threw the bomb, but the combustible material igniting here and there over the state was but an outraged and long suffering people that had borne defiance of law . . . so long that 'patience had ceased to be a virtue . . . .'"[44]

Three years later Nation proposed to deed some Topeka property to the WCTU to be used as a "Prohibition College" for "healthy Christian girls." She met with the state executive committee, most of whom had never seen her before. A "deep impression" was made on the curious members, who were relieved to discover for themselves that the "masculine and unworthy" press image was untrue. Later that year she made a presentation before the state convention to explain her proposal. Though grateful for her "unselfish and generous" offer, the convention rejected it because she insisted that the governing board be composed only of women who were members of the Prohibition party. After the vote, she rose to say, more sadly than bitterly, that she felt the Union had made a mistake. To relieve the tension the convention rose in a body and sang "Some Glad Day." No lasting animosity resulted, for in her will she bequeathed the rights to her autobiography to the Kansas WCTU. After she had been safely secured in her grave, WCTU esteem for her earthly activities rose measurably and solidly. In 1918 it dedicated a drinking fountain to her memory at the union station plaza in Wichita.[45]

Newspaper reaction to Nation varied from admiring endorsement through mild rebuke to sputtering hatred. Although the organ of the national Prohibition party waffled on the wisdom of her actions, the organ of the state Prohibition party, the *Fulcrum*, found her a "pleasant faced old lady" full of conversation "as sensible as any person you will find." It strongly supported her methods, finding it ironic that her activities had caused a "strange sensitiveness" to law and order in quarters that had heretofore remained indifferent to the illegal joint. The paper published many letters from lively correspondents who often pointed out the limited options available to women as the common victims of alcohol abusers. "She can't vote it out," one said, "but she can spill it out." Some correspondents, however, did not support women uncritically. A Topeka woman thought that men should come to the aid of the long-suffering women but, she admitted, there were "impure women enough . . . in Topeka, to dam up the Kaw river in its widest place."[46]

The *Topeka Daily Capital*, which had become virtually the official organ of the "conservative" temperance forces, took a strong anticrusade position. It called for an end to the "sporadic anarchy" that blazed across the state and for increased pressure on officers of the law, rather than violence. Nation, it said, was "a ridiculous person," a feeling that had become mutual.[47] The *Topeka State Journal* saw much merit in the outbreaks. The people had become increasingly frustrated during the nineties, it said, as they watched "the jug, the tin cup and the 'bootlegger'" give way to "French plate mirrors, mint juleps and lavish fixtures." Above all, Kansas had no reason to apologize for the uprising to the smirking eastern cities that had been derisively asking of late "What's the Matter with Kansas?"[48]

The *Wichita Beacon* applauded her without flatly endorsing her methods. But the *Wichita Eagle* had become her implacable foe from the time of the Carey bar smash. Following that incident it defiantly proclaimed that the "Medicine Lodge woman" would not run Wichita. Among the many slings and arrows which the crusader had to suffer during her eventful career, it remained for the *Eagle* to give in a word, the unkindest cut of all. Nation, the paper declared, was "unkissable."[49]

Down in Emporia, young Will White gave his wide and appreciative audiences the benefit of his several views on temperance in the pages of the *Emporia Gazette* and such widely read national magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post*. White had just begun his formal temperance career as a member of the Executive Committee of the KSTU and would later become a vice-president. Bursting with fictional plots at this

44. *Our Messenger*, March, November 1901.

45. *Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Kansas, Wichita, September 27, 28, 29, 30, 1904* (N.p., 1904), 47–48, 59–60, 73–76; *Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Kansas, Wichita, September 24, 25, 26, 27, 1918* (N.p., 1918), 18–21; *Our Messenger*, July, October 1901.

46. *Fulcrum*, February 1, 8, 22, 1901; Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890–1913* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), 136–38.

47. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 19, 1901.

48. *Topeka State Journal*, February 23, 1901.

49. *Wichita Eagle*, December 29, 1900; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 19, 1901.

stage in his writing career, he also contributed short morality pieces about fast-living young men who fall victim to the Demon Rum to the pages of the *Kansas Issue*, the official organ of the KSTU.[50]

On January 28, 1901, White told his *Gazette* readers that "Carrie Nation is wrong.— dead wrong . . . . She is crazy as a bedbug. There is no doubt about that. And she won't stop the sale of beer by her foolish crusade . . . . She has, by her unwomanly conduct, forfeited every claim she may have had to respect as a woman . . . ." Just two weeks later they received his more enduring opinion: "She is all right. She is not crazy. She is doing a good, sensible work, and is doing it effectively . . . . She is a brave, fat old heroine, and the *Gazette* hereby apologizes that it didn't discover her worth sooner . . . . Drive the jointists from Kansas. They have no rights that a white man is bound to respect. Hurrah for Carrie Nation! She's all right!"[51]

From among the innumerable personal views of the crusade, two have been selected as forceful examples of the polar positions, each of which was held by many. A Wisconsin man wrote to a Topeka friend that "the woman is clearly . . . looking for cheap advertisement and the money there is in it. Her sympathizers . . . can never convince *me* that *any lady* would do what she has done . . . . she is unsexed, and of all things on gods green footstool which are hateful to man, an unsexed woman ought to be most hateful." A woman writing to *Our Messenger*, the WCTU publication, took the opposite position: "What if a few people do get killed[?] . . . I'm tired of this sentimental gush about 'stopping before it comes to bloodshed . . . .' I for one, hope a thousand more of them will be smashed in Kansas before she stops."[52]

The state's Nation-fever subsided as rapidly as it had developed; near normalcy had returned everywhere by early March. The intensive period lasted less than two months, only fifty-two days (including seven

50. *Kansas Issue*, May–June, July 1900, April 1901, May 1901, July 1903, March, May 1904.
51. *Emporia Gazette*, January 28, February 11, 1901.
52. Alexius H. Baas to John Stewart, April 14, 1901, Alexius H. Baas Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society; *Our Messenger*, March 1901.

During the latter part of 1901 Mrs. Nation embarked on an eastern lecture tour, where supporters such as these in Rochester, New York, gathered to hear her message.