Kansas: A Centennial Portrait

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Introduction

A variety of answers can be given to the question, "What is Kansas?" Kansas is the 34th of 50 commonwealths that form the United States, having gained its cherished place in a time of national tension in January, 1861, and having contributed from its birth to the future of the national destiny, geographically and politically. Kansas is an almost perfect parallelogram, except for the jagged corner in the northeast, fashioned by the Missouri river. It has an area of slightly more than 82,000 square miles, rising from an elevation of less than 700 feet above sea level near the southeastern corner, to more than 4,100 feet in the northwest. Its border is 400 miles long, running east and west along Nebraska and Oklahoma, and 200 miles, north and south adjoining Missouri and Colorado, lying within 37 to 40 north latitude and 95 to 102 west longitude. Kansas has known the proprietorship of Indians, some native, others having migrated there at various times; and at least two foreign flags, Spanish and French, actually waved in the Kansas breeze, symbols of authority over the sparsely settled peoples prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, when the Stars and Stripes replaced the banner of Napoleon's consulate. When Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the southwestern one-sixteenth of Kansas, south of the Arkansas river and west of the 100th meridian, was Mexican territory, a claim that Texas sought to enforce when independence was gained from Mexico in 1836. All of Kansas came under United States jurisdiction when Texas was annexed in 1845. Originally, and for many decades, overwhelmingly agrarian, but now increasingly industrial and urban, Kansas has at times helped to shape the course of national developments, but more often has responded to such developments with varying degrees of acceptance, rejection, or indifference.

Kansas in the dimension of time, like every populated geographic area, has a history which casts long shadows into the future—some good, some evil—a history not always fully understood nor interpreted in accordance with the facts, but creating, nevertheless, that indefinable quality called a "tradition," to inspire or to console,

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as circumstances called for inspiration or consolation. That tradition, from its earliest foundation, includes "Bleeding Kansas," Puritanism, individualism, extremism, dogmatism, idealism, agrarianism, and other less dramatic but nonetheless real elements in fashioning the mind of a state. That is, if a state can be described as having a mind.

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

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

I

Kansas is a place of irregular wooded hills in northeastern counties, where streams of varying sizes wend their way hesitatingly toward the inevitable destiny of a far-away ocean, but it is also the High Plains of the western reaches, where prairie land stretches undisturbed farther than unaided eye can see. It is the silence of early November twilight in Brookville amidst the vestiges of the Old West, but it is also the hustle and bustle of Broadway and

Douglas in urban Wichita, once known as the “Peerless Princess of the Plains,” at five P. M. on weekdays. It is the solitude of the unheard song of a meadowlark in the shadows of a great cathedral-like wheat elevator near Grinnell, singing because it is the nature of a meadowlark to sing, but it is also the piercing shriek of a man-made Navy jet fighter stationed at Olathe, symbol of a time of troubles, off on a mission of rehearsal in a world that knows not if it can survive. It is the blistering heat of August on the good earth, now parched, the roaring blizzard of January, reminiscent of that fateful January, 1886, when storm gods unleashed their mighty power, and the sodden soil of mid-April, with promise of new life in nature. But it is more than that.

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

Kansas is Lecompton, now primarily an historic reference on the map of memory, but in 1857 a place bustling with a constitutional convention pointing up the national debate over slavery between North and South, but it is also Kansas City, across the Missouri river from a dominant big brother, recalling that its predecessor, Wyandotte, housed the convention which gave Kansas its constitution 100 years ago. It also is Topeka, the middle section of the trio of towns designating the name of a railroad, later set to rhythmic song, “The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe,” which was identified so intimately with the lurch toward the Pacific; Topeka, proud of its green-domed capitol building, an imitation of the larger one at Washington, D. C.,
where a great struggle had been launched to decide the fate of Kansas, or Kanzas, or Kanza, or any of the 80 variations associated in the early days with the name of the state. It is a place where hardy sunflowers grow in abundance and its people acknowledge somewhat reluctantly, at times, that they are Jayhawkers. Kansas is Abilene, famous in early days as a shipping point for Texas cattle, but now known world-wide as the boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Powers in Europe during World War II and the 34th President of the United States, with its Eisenhower home and Eisenhower center, the latter portraying the distinguished career of the most famous Kansan and a great American in a splendid museum and library.

Kansas is the rolling area of the southeast, with Shaw and the first Christian mission in Kansas founded in 1824 by Protestants, and Pittsburg, named after that older industrial metropolis in the East, with coal mine shafts and shale piles in the surrounding area, symbols of the search for the hidden bounty of nature, whether it be the burrowing miles of salt veins stretching from Hutchinson to Lyons and Kanopolis, or the rhythmic beat of thousands of Kansas oil-well pumps, bringing black gold to the surface to drive the swept-winged vehicles of jaunty men in the name of the 20th century goddess, Speed. Kansas is the Flint Hills, a scenic belt of intriguing beauty, stretching two counties wide north and south across the entire state, dotted with villages bearing quaint names like Matfield Green and Bazaar, Beaumont and Grenola, its western edge forming the boundary of the eastern third of Kansas, characterized by outcropping rocks of the Permian age, formed 200 million years ago, with its cattle grazing peacefully in the luscious bluestem grass. In the High Plains, it is Dodge City, “Cowboy Capital of the World,” with its streets named after Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and other famed police officers of the West, some real, some legendary, with its Boot Hill and its replica of Front street, with shadowy remembrances of Doc Holliday and Dora Hand, and now a modern city of modest size with fine schools, homes, and churches, and a new college, St. Mary of the Plains, founded to honor the Virgin through the ministry of teaching and learning as the 20th century rushed jet-driven into its turbulent and fleeting second half. But Kansas is more than that.

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

II

Kansas is more than those who would be included in a Hall of Fame, if Kansas chose to honor thus her great. Kansas is the com-
posite of the dreams and hopes of all the people, some by choice, others by birth or circumstance, who have shared the vibrancy of life, or answered the claims of death, in that piece of God’s creation, once described as the “Great American Desert,” but later to become a cherished place called home, with friends and work and a share in the great promise of American life. They came, these future Kansans, for a variety of reasons from older states with familiar names, from Massachusetts and New York, from Ohio and Illinois, from Missouri and Kentucky, and from distant European places with unfamiliar names, from Sunnemo and Volhynia, Molotschna and Neuchatel. The number of foreign born increased at an irreg-
ular tempo, reflecting factors in the old country and in the new, and reaching a maximum of 147,630, for a total of 10.3 per cent of the state’s population in 1890, with the Germans forming almost one-third of this total.2 In 1895, when the population was one and a third million, there were 188,000 Kansans using a language other than English. Moreover, as Prof. J. Neal Carman has pointed out, at the mid-point of the 20th century, probably one-half of the people of Kansas had grandparents or great grandparents born in Europe.3

The sound of native Indian tongues yielded to the new linguistic cosmopolitanism of the Kansas plains as English, Welsh, French, Bohemian, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish were spoken, sung, and written. The language of the

2. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, People of Kansas (Topeka, 1939), pp. 50, 51.
Old World became immersed in the language of the New World, but as late as 1911, the Kansas City (Mo.) Star described Aurora, Cloud county, as a French-speaking village, with the names of business houses “as French as frog legs,” and “farmers who loafed on drygoods boxes in front of the stores reminisced of the Franco-Prussian War in the language of Molière.” 4 The spoken language of the homeland, somewhat corrupted in the new milieu, continued to be used quite widely among immigrant groups until the first World War, in the second decade of the 20th century, served a warning that non-English speaking peoples should embrace the language of the land in full fervor. The language of the immigrants is now spoken only rarely and then only by the older generation. Although the pattern of language and culture has yielded to the new forces, a generation twice removed from the pioneer immigrants shares the sincere feelings of the Swede in central Kansas, who wrote in 1869 to friends in far away Varmland that America was “framtidsländet,” “the land of the future.” And so it was for him and his generation, and so it is for their children, and for their children’s children.

Although people from distant places, speaking strange languages, came to Kansas in goodly numbers, future growth depended upon the westward movement from older states toward the ever-expanding frontier. When federal census takers completed their rolls in 1860, Kansas, on the threshold of statehood, numbered 107,208. The six New England states furnished only 4,208 of these people. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky each provided more names in the census year of 1860 than all of the New England states together. The largest number from New England was 19,338 in 1880, but in that year, Illinois had sent 106,922, and Ohio 93,396, in a total population of 996,096. At the turn of the century there were 1,470,495 people in Kansas, and three decades later, the number had increased moderately to 1,880,999. At the mid-point of the 20th century, the census enumerators accounted for 1,905,299, and in 1960 as Kansas prepared to enter the second century of statehood, there were 2,178,611 people in the Jayhawker region, an increase of 14.3 per cent during the decade. 5

After 1890 restless Kansans reversed the trend of interstate migration as increasingly large numbers left Kansas at an accelerated pace, and in the decade from 1920 to 1930, the state experienced

for the first time a net loss from interstate migration. By 1930, 39.2 per cent of native Kansans lived elsewhere in the United States, while the Kansas population included 36.3 per cent born in states other than Kansas. Not until the census of 1920 did the population include more native born Kansas sons and daughters than persons from other states and nations. The census for that year showed 54.7 per cent born in Kansas, 38.5 per cent in other states, and 6.8 per cent in foreign countries and places not identified.

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

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

III

Many factors enter into shaping the character of a state as the decades pass to form a century. The physical facts of an area—climate, geography, topography, location, natural resources—play significant roles, especially in the formative period. Certainly these

7. Ibid., pp. 66, 68.
factors are important, and occasionally decisive, but the pattern of Kansas history does not depend upon "environmental determinism." New crop varieties and improved methods of tilling the soil created some measure of control, although uncertain and sporadic, over the forces of nature. The windmill, barbed wire, sulky and gang plows, tractors, and other inventions were important elements in changing the manner of work and life. Improvements in transportation and communication steadily eliminated the feeling of isolation. The coming of increasingly large numbers of people provided the possibility of co-operative community life. These factors, and others, combined to challenge the impact of environmental influences.

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

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

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

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

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

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

and Williams is only one degree less certain than its spiritual heritage from the same men. Kansas, even among farming States, is the most zealous upholder of Prohibition and the Sabbath.”  

The statement relative to physical descent from Bradford, Winthrop, Williams, and New England generally is obviously inaccurate as already indicated. The spiritual heritage from New England is a factor, however, of far greater importance. The leaders in early Kansas—clergymen, writers, teachers, lawyers, editors, physicians—were often New England in origin and spirit. From 1854 to 1861, 51 Congregational ministers came to serve in Kansas, 36 arriving before the end of 1860. In April, 1857, the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas declared in an address to other Congregational bodies that “it shall be our aim . . . to transplant the principles and institutions of the Puritans to these fertile plains, and to lay foundations which shall be an honour to us, when in the grave, and blessing to all coming generations.” This high resolve was symbolic of the expectations of New England Congregationalism. The church sought to challenge the frontier world by example and through the ministry of preaching. Special attempts were made to leaven the satanic elements. One response was the organization of the Band of Hope by the Rev. Peter McVicar in Topeka, in 1861, in which members took a pledge to totally abstain from the use of intoxicating drink, tobacco, and profane language.

The religious future of Kansas belonged, however, not to the New England Congregationalists, but to Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterians, and to immigrant Churches, such as the Lutheran, Mennonite, and Evangelical. The principal emphasis of these groups was, in regard to morals and conduct, definitely Puritan. In 1861, for instance, the Methodist conference passed a strong resolution on alcoholism, and declared that “Whereas, Intemperance with all its accumulation of moral and social evils is still destroying the souls and bodies of many in our state, Be it Resolved, that Methodist Preachers should not cease to ‘cry aloud and spare not’ before all people.” The dominant forces of Protestantism in Kansas were essentially pietistic, building upon the earlier foundations.

14. Vide, p. 27.
of New England Puritanism. This pattern furnished important sources for further developments.

Manifestations of the Puritan conscience are a part of the annals of Kansas. The most dramatic aspect is related to the prohibition amendment. The temperance movement gained in momentum after 1870 through the work of the Independent Order of Good Templars, the “Woman’s Crusade,” which used the contrasting weapons of prayers for the saloonkeepers at their places of business and “spilling parties,” great camp meetings of the “cold water” faithful at Bismarck Grove and elsewhere, the “blue ribbon” workers, the W. C. T. U., and the churches. J. R. Detwiler, who advised the introduction of a bold constitutional amendment outlawing the liquor traffic, established the Temperance Banner in October, 1878. Detwiler also arranged with Judge N. C. McFarland to draft a resolution, known later as Senate Resolution 3, on the subject. The proposed prohibition amendment carried the senate without effort. One vote was lacking for the required two-thirds majority in the house of representatives, but in a dramatic gesture of loyalty to his new wife, George W. Greener, a Democrat from Wyandotte county, on March 5, 1879, changed his vote, and the issue was now in the hands of the people of Kansas.18

The campaign for the amendment was carried on intensively. Frances Willard, Frank Murphy, Drusilla Wilson, and other famous enemies of “daemun rum” spoke to large audiences. Mrs. Wilson affirmed that “this crusade was an inspiration from the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work.” The opposition, although not equally active because of overconfidence, charged, however, that the amendment was unconstitutional and an attack upon public liberty, a “sumptuary and gustatory” proceeding which would curtail immigration and delay economic advance. The people spoke, although not too convincingly, when the final tabulation showed 92,302 for and 84,304 against the amendment, producing a majority of 7,998 in favor of prohibition. Although Kansas was the first state to pass a prohibition amendment, Tennessee had a prohibition law in 1838 and Maine in 1846. The Kansas amendment was not repealed until 1948, and then by a majority of more than 60,000 votes, following a failure to obtain repeal in 1934, when 89 of 105 counties supported prohibition.19

Carry Nation’s home town of Medicine Lodge voted to repeal the amendment in 1948. A later generation may not fully understand the fact that idealism joined with Puritanism in 1880 to pass the prohibition amendment. A study of contemporary sources indicates convincingly the real social and economic evils of liquor on the Kansas frontier. The groggy shops and saloons were scarcely compatible with the ideals of Kansas.

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

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

The activities of Carry A. Nation dramatized an important contradiction in Kansas: a prohibition state with wide open saloons. William Allen White, in an editorial in the Emporia Gazette on February 11, 1901, “Hurrah for Carrie,” described this contradiction effectively: “At first the Gazette was against Carrie Nation. She seemed to be going at it wrong end to. But events justify her.

She is all right. . . . She has aroused the law-abiding people of Kansas to the disgrace of lawbreaking—partly by the example of her own lawlessness. . . . Hurrah for Carrie Nation! She's all right.”

The Kansas mind had developed a type of pharisaical legalism blended with genuine idealism. It was, perhaps, a manifestation of what Ernest Hamlin Abbott called “moral dogmatism” in Kansas. Puritanism and the prairie joined with pietism and persistence to initiate a noble experiment. Kansas had resolved upon a course of action in an overwhelmingly agrarian culture: he who sets his hand to the plow must move straight ahead. There were, and are, real evils associated with liquor and the liquor traffic. The Kansas approach was to legislate reform. In addition to the Kansas amendment of 1880, the so-called “Bone-Dry” law of February, 1917, was an attempt in the 20th century to achieve certain avowed goals. However, after the repeal of the 18th amendment to the constitution of the United States in 1933, an uneasy conscience harried observant persons who saw the dire results of bootlegging and wide spread violation of Kansas liquor laws. The idealism of the Puritan and pietistic tradition was forced to yield in the face of new forces. This is Kansas, intent upon the conviction that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, unmindful of the pitfalls along the way, or refusing to recognize them. Compromise has not always been a decisive characteristic of Kansas; compromise may be the quality of a less courageous, or a more mature civilization. Compromise may sometimes be the part of wisdom or practical policy; it is often less interesting. Kansas has sometimes been interesting.

A significant comparison between Kansas and other states was made by Ernest Hamlin Abbott in an article in Outlook magazine, April, 1902, when he declared that the difference could be identified as doctrinal dogmatism elsewhere and moral dogmatism in Kansas. He observed: “In the Southwest religious dogmatism is a choppy sea; for doctrines of one sect conflict with the doctrines of another. In Kansas religious dogmatism is a strong current, for church people of all names are practically agreed as to what moral courses are unquestionably Christian.” He observed, moreover, that “in the main the ‘Higher Criticism’ is the representative heresy of the

22. Quoted in Helen Ogden Mahin, The Editor and His People (New York, 1924), pp. 178, 179.
Southwest, while that of Kansas is Beer.” Abbott described the Kansas mentality by recourse to the traditional explanation since he “was more than ever impressed with the truth that the present [1902] religious and moral character was only the persistence of the temper that was wrought into the people during the days of Eli Thayer’s Emigrant Aid Company.” He found that the most articulate Kansas idealist “can always be found to have his idealism firmly fastened to a peg driven deep in the earth. The Beecher Bible and Rifle Company still in the spirit hovers over Kansas like the horses and chariots of fire around about Elisha.”

Although prohibition is the most dramatic manifestation of moral dogmatism in Kansas, official policy relative to cigarettes is also a part of that pattern. As early as 1862 the Methodist conference declared “that it is the duty of Christians to put off all ‘filthiness of the flesh’ especially that which is involved in the use of tobacco.” Ordinances were passed by various cities governing the sale of cigarettes and cigarette paper. The agitation mounted in the second decade of the 20th century. The Kansas Civil Service Commission, which had declared that habitual users of liquor could not receive state jobs, announced on August 16, 1915, that the habitual use of cigarettes might also be the reason for refusing to certify an applicant for a position. The W. C. T. U., the Kansas Federation of Women’s Clubs, and other groups joined in the crusade to ban the “coffin nails.” In the legislative session of 1917, a law was passed “prohibiting the sale, giving away, or advertisement of cigarettes or cigarette paper.” The cigarette law was not repealed until 1927. Another attempt, for a decade, to legislate reform in Kansas had resulted in an unrealistic situation as far as enforcement and public acceptance was concerned.

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

26. Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1862, p. 21.
27. Topeka Daily Capital, August 17, 1915.
IV

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

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

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

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30. Quoted in Mahin, op. cit., p. 175.
mortgage for every two adults. The private per capita debt was 
$347, a figure four times as high as that of the entire nation. 32

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

The response of Kansans to the desperate conditions was collec-
tive action. Representatives of Farmers’ Alliance and Industrial
Union, Patrons of Husbandry, Knights of Labor, Mutual Benefit As-
sociation, and Single Tax clubs merged to form the Kansas People’s
party at Topeka in June, 1890. When a national convention met in
Cincinnati in May, 1891, adopting resolutions to form a new party,
nearly one-third of the 1,418 delegates were from Kansas. 35 The
People’s party of the U. S. A. was organized at St. Louis in Febru-
ary, 1892.

In the Kansas election of 1890, the Populists, supported by the
Democrats, elected five congressmen, including Jerry Simpson. Al-
though the Republicans retained control of the Kansas senate, the
Populists had a margin of 92 to 26 in the Kansas lower house.
Judge W. A. Peffer, a Populist, described as having “a gruffy, hoarse,
but low-toned voice issuing from a sea of long, dark beard flowing
nearly to his waist,” succeeded J. J. Ingalls, the “silver-tongued or-
ator,” in the United States senate. 36 In 1892 Lorenzo D. Lewelling
was elected the first Populist governor and the entire Populist state
ticket was victorious. Four Populists were elected to the congress

32. Ibid., pp. 470, 478, 481, 485; Richard Sheridan, Economic Development in South
33. Charles M. Harger, “New Era in the Middle West,” Harper’s New Monthly Maga-
34. Miller, loc. cit., pp. 484, 487.
35. William E. Connelley, History of Kansas (Chicago, 1928), v. 2, p. 1164; The
of the United States. The Kansas senate had a substantial Populist majority, but in the house, disputed elections resulted in the “legislative war” with eventual control by the Republicans. In 1894, because of the defection of the Democrats and internal dissension, Populism suffered a severe setback. The year 1896 witnessed the final triumph for the Kansas Populists. John W. Leedy was elected governor, and the majority of both houses of the Kansas legislature, state officers, and members of the supreme court were Populists.

One of the most eloquent of the critics of the old order was Mary Elizabeth Lease, who had come to Kansas from Pennsylvania to teach school, but married Charles Lease, later a Wichita druggist, studied law, and was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1885. Like John Wesley whose chance entrance into a religious meeting in Aldersgate one night changed the course of his life, it has been reported that Mary Elizabeth Lease rushed by chance one night into a labor union meeting in Wichita to get out of the rain, and soon she inspired the group with her fiery speech, and was launched on her great career. Editing the Wichita Independent, a reform paper, and giving hundreds of speeches, this remarkable woman, whom Victor Murdock described as having “the dignity of an abbess” and who “knew her lines in Shakespeare like Ellen Terry,” was irresistible before great crowds of Kansas farmers, urging them convincingly “to raise less corn and more hell.” 37

Another important actor in the drama of Populism was Jerry Simpson. Canadian born, and for more than 20 years a sailor on the Great Lakes with the final rank of captain, he came to Kansas in 1878. Simpson had been a Greenbacker, a Union Labor party supporter, and a follower of Henry George’s single tax program before he became a Populist. After bad luck in cattle raising and farming in Barber county, where he lost a small fortune, he became city marshal in Medicine Lodge at $40 a month. His next position was in the congress of the United States, where he represented the big seventh district for six years during the 1890’s.

Simpson was an entertaining and powerful figure on the platform. He urged his hearers to “put on your goggles and watch the buccaneers of Wall Street; the brigands of tariff; and the whole shootin’ match of grain gamblers, land grabbers, and Government sneak thieves, before they steal you blind.” The usually staid and safely Republican Kansans applauded and sent him to congress. “Sockless Jerry,” a name given to him by Victor Murdock of the Wichita Eagle

in reporting Simpson’s attack upon a debonair opponent, James R. Hallowell, because the latter supposedly wore silk stockings, while the former had none because of the high tariff, was a dramatic and effective evangelist for the cause of Populism.  

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

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

Although agrarian discontent produced angry men and women, it did not result in revolutions. Populism aroused the nation to

40. Mahin, op. cit., pp. 244-246.
the need of change. Prof. Allan Nevins has pointed out that “What Kansas Populism did do was to help throw a bridge from Jeffersonian liberalism to the Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.” 44 On the large canvas of national development, Prof. John D. Hicks observed correctly that “a backward glance at the history of Populism shows that many of the reforms that the Populists demanded, while despised and rejected for a season, won triumphantly in the end.” 45 Such planks in the Populist platform as woman’s suffrage, direct elections of United States senators, direct primary elections, income tax, initiative, referendum, and recall, have become a part of the American tradition. Populist agitation for banking and fiscal reform, improved farm credit and loan facilities, regulation of railroads and trusts, conservation of natural resources, have been translated into legislation and policy, evidences of a prophetic insight into America’s needs. Max Lerner has observed that “the sweep of Populism set new sights for Americans.” 46

Kansas has not deviated appreciably from the party of Lincoln which owed its origin to issues related intimately to the birth of the state. The Kansas Republican party was organized at Osawatomie in 1859, with Horace Greeley as the distinguished guest speaker. In 25 Presidential elections in Kansas, all went Republican except in 1892 and 1896, when the Populists, joining with the Democrats, were victorious; in 1912 and 1916, when the Democratic standard bearer, Woodrow Wilson, and the New Freedom triumphed; and in 1932 and 1936, the year of victory for Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal. Ellis county is the only Kansas county which has voted more times for the Democratic candidate for the Presidency than his Republican opponent; Doniphan county has an unsullied record of loyalty to the Grand Old Party.47

The pattern of loyalty to the Republican party is demonstrated by the fact that of the 33 elected Kansas governors all have been Republicans except for six Democrats and two Populists. The Democrats and Populists were granted only one term except for George Docking, conservative Democrat, who was re-elected for a second term in 1958. In 1924 William Allen White polled approximately 150,000 votes as an independent, basing his candidacy on the desire “to offer Kansans afraid of the Klan and ashamed of that disgrace,

a candidate who shares their fear and disgrace. . . . And the thought that Kansas should have a government beholden to this hooded gang of masked fanatics, ignorant and tyrannical in their ruthless oppression, is what calls me out of the pleasant ways of my life into this disgraceful but necessary task." White's frontal attack upon the Ku Klux Klan in the Gazette and in public speeches was a decisive factor in eliminating a disgraceful chapter in Kansas history when bands of sheet-covered men burned crosses in cow pastures. In 1930 John R. Brinkley, described as the "goat gland doctor" of Milford, won 183,278 votes that could be counted as a late write-in candidate for governor. The winner, Harry H. Woodring, Democrat, won over his Republican opponent, Frank Hauke, by a plurality of only 251 votes. W. G. Clugston, the most articulate commentator on Kansas politics and an outspoken critic of the power structure in the state, has observed, and many have agreed with him, that "There wasn't an experienced political observer in the state who didn't admit that if the ballots of all who had tried to vote for Brinkley had been counted . . . the goat gland rejuvenator would have been elected by a smashing plurality." 49

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

The decisive trend toward urbanization is beginning to produce changes in the political life of Kansas, but the pattern has some confusing aspects as Kansas celebrates the centennial of her birth. For instance, in 1958, Gov. George Docking, a Democrat, was elected to an unprecedented second term for a member of his party, on a platform which condemned "right to work" legislation, al-

though, at the same time, the voters of Kansas endorsed an amendment making “right to work” a new addition to the century old Wyandotte constitution.

Kansas gave recognition to the rights of women as voters prior to action on a nation-wide basis.\textsuperscript{51} The struggle for the right to vote began in 1859 when Mrs. Clarina I. H. Nichols, Mary Tenney Gray, and Mother Armstrong attended the Wyandotte constitutional convention as uninvited guests to plead the cause of woman’s suffrage. An amendment providing full suffrage for women lost in 1867 by a vote of 19,556 to 9,070. The second attempt to gain enfranchisement by amendment lost in 1894 by a vote of 130,139 to 95,302. In September, 1894, the New York \textit{Tribune} reported that the suffragist women of Topeka appeared on the streets in shifts with reform dress to identify their cause, their garb consisting of “Turkish trousers covered by a skirt reaching to the fold, a close or loose waist, as the wearer may prefer, and cloth leggings to match the trousers.”\textsuperscript{52} The goal of woman’s suffrage was achieved in 1912 by a vote of 175,246 to 159,197, eight years prior to the 19th amendment to the United States constitution.

The triumph was achieved after a long struggle which had small beginnings when the Equal Suffrage Association was formed by three women at Lincoln in 1879; it became a state organization in June, 1884. The state was thoroughly organized county by county for the election of 1912. The movement was supported by women’s clubs with 60,000 members, and a variety of organizations including the Kansas State Teachers Association, the Kansas Federation of Labor, the Kansas Grange, the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, the Kansas G. A. R., the Kansas Editorial Association, the Kansas W. C. T. U., Kansas church groups, and others. \textit{Kansas suffragists} put their objectives in words designed for familiar tunes. The following verse to the tune of “Auld Lang Syne,” appeared in the Burlingame \textit{Enterprise} on October 3, 1912:

“If a body pays the taxes,
Surely you’ll agree
That a body earns the franchise,
Whether he or she.”

Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, conducted a successful speaking campaign in May, 1912, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president


\textsuperscript{52} New York \textit{Tribune}, September 25, 1894.
of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, rendered effective service in the ten-day period preceding the election.

The victory of 1912 had been preceded by legislation as early as 1861 when qualified women could vote in school elections. This action was prior to that of every other state except Kentucky, which passed a limited school suffrage law in 1888, and Wyoming which gave women equal suffrage in 1869. In 1887 women received the right to vote in cities of the first, second, and third class for any city or school official, and in school bond elections. This legislation made Kansas a leader of all the states in woman’s rights. In 1903 women became eligible to vote in elections for public bond improvements in addition to those for schools.

The history of the attainment of woman’s suffrage is full of heroic struggle by individuals and groups, and, in contrast, there was frustrating indecisiveness and delay by the political parties, except the Populists who supported the movement, and several members of the press. Kansas responded to the natural rights theory of woman’s suffrage with some reluctance, but with enough enthusiasm to lead the nation in certain aspects, and to be among the leaders in the full embrace of complete voting rights for women.

The record of voting in Kansas shows a higher percentage in years in which a President is elected. For instance, in 1952, almost 70 per cent of potential voters in Kansas went to the polls in contrast to 54 per cent in 1954. In 1952 Kansas held the rank of 22d among the 48 states in the percentage of eligible voters using the franchise. In both Presidential elections of 1948 and 1952, Kansans voted in greater numbers on a percentage basis than the rest of the United States. Prof. Rhoten A. Smith concludes, on the basis of a study of voting in the United States, that “Kansas’ voting record in recent years is better than most of the other states in the Union and better than the United States as a whole.” 53

V

A century ago the dominant factor in Kansas was the potentialities for agricultural production. Kansas has lived up to those expectations beyond all reasonable hopes; the achievement has reached magnificent proportions. The year 1958 witnessed an all time record in volume, though not in income, of farm production; the total exceeded the previous record year of 1952 by 29 per cent. Record receipts for farm products in 1947 are expected to be exceeded by

the 1960 total. Kansas continues as the number one wheat state. The biggest wheat crop was harvested in 1952, the “Bin-Buster” year, when 14,649,000 acres produced 807,629,000 bushels for an average of 21.0 bushels per acre. It was harvested by 85,000 combines, and would have filled 180,958 box cars, reaching 1,508 miles. The 1960 wheat crop of 281,548,000 bushels was 60 per cent above average, and the state’s fourth largest crop, exceeded only in the years 1947, 1952, and 1958. The average of 28 bushels per acre tied with that of 1958 for the record high yield. A great transformation has taken place since the Mennonites brought small amounts of hard winter wheat in trunks and sea chests to Kansas from Russia in 1874 to be planted in small allotments.

Kansas has shared in the trend toward larger farms and fewer farmers. In 1930 there were 166,000 Kansas farms, but the number had dropped to 115,000 in 1959. The average size of a farm had increased in the three decades from 238.6 acres to approximately 440 acres. In the period from 1920 to 1950, the population on Kansas farms decreased from 735,584 to 443,739, or from 41.6 per cent of the total population to 23.3 per cent. It is now about 365,000 or 20 per cent of the state population. In the half century from 1909-1959, the labor force on Kansas farms has decreased by more than 40 per cent from 282,000 to 165,000. The amount of land in farms has remained fairly constant at about 50,000,000 acres. Farmers have $6,000,000,000 invested in land, machinery, and other facilities. Kansas is more than “the wheat state.” In 1960 Kansas reached an all-time high with 4,700,000 head of cattle within its boundaries, ranking fourth among all the states. The value of livestock and poultry on Kansas farms on January 1, 1959, was more than $735,000,000. The high national rating of Kansas agriculture is recounted in part by the following, in addition to its first rank in wheat production: first in silage production, second in brome grass seed and dehydrated alfalfa, third in rye, fourth in wild hay, fifth in alfalfa seed and buckwheat.

58. Farm Facts, 1959-60, pp. 15-15. Excellent information about Kansas agriculture is available in the publications of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.
The cycles of change have been a part of the pattern of agricultural developments. Times of prosperity have yielded to times of depression. The dominant emphasis upon agriculture until recent years has made Kansas subject to the vagaries of nature and of the price structure. Periods of drought produced great hardships. The variations in prices were equally disastrous. For instance, using the index of 100, based on the years 1910-1914, the price of all farm commodities has varied in less than two decades from a low of 55 in 1932 to a high of 313 in 1951. The season average price of wheat has ranged from 33 cents per bushel in 1931 and 1932 to $2.25 per bushel in 1947.59

Agriculture was not replaced as the largest source of income in Kansas until 1953, when the production from manufacturing exceeded that of agriculture. Kansas has a larger percentage of her people engaged in manufacturing than any of the surrounding states with the exception of Missouri. Nonfarm employment has been steadily increasing, reaching 553,000 in 1959, a 24.1 per cent gain in the last decade. The largest nonfarm employment was 557,900 in 1956. The industrial growth of Kansas is shown in a striking manner by the following index comparison with national growth: value added by manufacture, 1947-1957, Kansas, 167, U. S., 95; payrolls, 1948-1958, Kansas, 142, U. S., 65; capital expenditures, 1948-1958, Kansas, 115, U. S., 90; employment, 1949-1959, Kansas, 37, U. S., 11. The $823,000,000 Kansas payroll in 1957 was a record high for all manufacturing. Employment in manufacturing reached a high of 137,900 in 1953. The most outstanding manufacturing development in the last two decades has been in the aircraft industry in Wichita. Since 1939 the Kansas Industrial Development Commission estimates that 1,500 new industries have been developed or have moved to Kansas. The 1960-1961 edition of the Directory of Kansas Manufacturers lists 3,677 manufacturing and processing plants in Kansas.60 Kansas has the greatest capacity for grain storage in the nation with space in 1960 for more than 746,000,000 bushels. The 40 flour mills in Kansas produced 35,000,000 sacks of wheat flour in 1958, most of any state in the nation.61

Mineral production in Kansas has exceeded $500,000,000 annually since 1956. Twenty-two minerals are produced commercially. The

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59. *Price Patterns. Prices Received by Kansas Farmers 1910-1955*, Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka, June, 1937), pp. 20, 81.
largest percentage of income is from crude oil, which in 1959 had a value of $345,000,000. The 120,000,000 barrels produced in 1958 placed Kansas fifth in the nation in crude oil production. Oil is produced in 76 counties. Facilities in Kansas process 87.6 per cent of the total crude oil production in the form of motor oil, gasoline, grease, and other petroleum products.62

The Santa Fe, Oregon, Chisholm, and other important trails crossed Kansas in early days as thousands of people moved west to share in the promise of a new life. Railroads came later to carry the heavy traffic of passengers and goods. Kansas today ranks sixth among the 50 states in total railway mileage, carrying 15,000,000,000 ton miles of freight. Only Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Texas have more miles of railways. A network of highways, totaling nearly 125,000 miles, including federal, state, and county, create second place for Kansas among all the states in total rural mileage. One hundred and seventy-one airports serve military, commercial, and private planes.63

The greater diversification in economic activity in recent years may bring greater stability. The United States Department of Commerce reported that the total personal income of Kansans for 1958 had reached $4,234,000,000. A new record of $2,001 per capita was achieved that year, ranking Kansas 19th among the states on the American continent.64 Kansas has not equaled the average nationally in per capita income since 1921, although it has regularly been close to the average.65

The development of organized labor in Kansas depended upon the growth of industry. The Lecompton and Leavenworth Typographical unions were organized in 1859, the earliest in the state. In the 1880's the Knights of Labor, who included skilled, unskilled, and agricultural workers, gained a substantial following, but a decline set in after 1886. The United Mine Workers came to the coal fields of southeastern Kansas in 1890. This organization later produced considerable gains for the miners under the leadership of Alex Howat from 1906-1921. The Kansas State Federation of Labor, organized in 1890, survived only to 1896. It was reorganized in 1907 and served as an effective agency for organized workers. The C. I. O. came to Kansas in 1937, and established its own state organization in 1940. The impact of industrialization, and especially the tremendous expansion during World War II increased deci-
sively the role of the unions. The report of the state department of labor for the biennium ending June 30, 1956, showed the following pattern of labor unions in Kansas: international unions, 90; state organizations, 29; district organizations, 17; city organizations, 30; local unions, 952. At the time of the merger of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. in 1957, the membership in Kansas was 125,000. The membership in 1960 was approximately 115,000. The statistics for 1959 show that only five hundredths of one per cent of the estimated working time of all employed persons was lost by strikes or lockouts in contrast to sixty-one hundredths of one per cent nationally. There were only 15 work stoppages in manufacturing and 11 in nonmanufacturing in 1959 lasting a day or a shift or a longer period in situations involving six or more workers. The 26 work stoppages actually involved only 6,440 persons.68

The most controversial labor issue in Kansas history is associated with the Kansas industrial relations act of 1920, which resulted in the court of industrial relations from 1921-1925. Gov. Henry J. Allen was the principal figure in this contest. The court received extraordinary power to deal with labor and industry. William Allen White took issue with Allen and was arrested for placing a placard favorable to the railroad workers in the Gazette office at Emporia. On July 27, 1922, White’s editorial in the Emporia Gazette, “To An Anxious Friend,” written in acknowledgment of a letter from a friend who was critical of White’s position, described in convincing language the nature of freedom: “You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race.” This editorial won the Pulitzer prize in 1922. The court was bitterly opposed by the unions, and by some employers. The experiment was abolished by the legislature in 1925. The Kansas attempt to legislate reform had met with failure.67

The “Right to Work” legislation provoked much discussion and action in the 1950’s. Designed to eliminate the closed shop, unions opposed it strenuously, while many employers marshalled their


resources for its achievement. Vetoed by Gov. Fred Hall, a liberal Republican in 1955, it was added to the constitution by a vote in 1958.

VI

One of man's ceaseless quests across the centuries has been to preserve, create, and transmit knowledge. The annals of Kansas contain many interesting chapters in the history of education from the first Protestant Indian Mission school founded west of Shaw in Neosho County in 1824, under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society, and the first free school for Indian and white children established in present Wyandotte county in July, 1844, to today's system of elementary, secondary, and higher education. In the earliest era of Kansas, education was a private affair as families organized schools on a voluntary subscription basis. The Wyandotte constitution of 1859 authorized the legislature to "encourage the promotion of intellectual, moral, scientific, and agricultural improvement, by establishing a uniform system of common schools, and schools of higher grade, embracing normal, preparatory, collegiate, and university departments." 68

Education was viewed essentially as a matter of local concern in the early years. Territorial Kansas included more than 200 districts. This number grew to 6,134 by 1880, reaching a peak of 9,284 in 1896. Voluntary reorganization, and developments related to the reorganization law of 1945, reduced that number to 2,900 by 1955-1959. 69 The state board of education was created in 1873, to issue teaching certificates. In 1905 it was given power to prescribe the curriculum and accredit schools, and in 1915, additional authority was given to the board. The state department of education was organized more effectively in that year. A lay board of education was provided in 1945. 70

The story of education in Kansas reflects the struggle of local authority and sentiment with the need for providing adequate educational opportunity for all children. State Supt., Isaac T. Goodnow observed in 1863, that it was "far better for a scholar to walk three or four miles to a first-rate school than 40 rods to a poor one." 71 The developments in transportation and the decrease of rural population has established convincingly the need for further consolida-

68. Proceedings and Debates of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, July, 1859, art. 6, sec. 2, p. 583.
tion as recommended in the comprehensive survey of education in 1960. The red or white one-room schoolhouse, which served Kansas so magnificently for most of her history, a symbol of a local, grass-roots culture with many sources of strength, will soon be enshrined only in the temple of memory as Kansas parents send their children with pride to modern schools with rich curricula taught by well-educated teachers.

Kansas has depended heavily upon supporting education by property taxes. In 1957-1958, only five states had greater support from this source than the 77.7 per cent received in Kansas. Kansas ranked 44th in revenue derived for school purposes from state sources. Moreover, expenditures for education have not kept up with gains in personal income. In 1929, for instance, when the Kansas per capita income was $535, the expenditure for elementary and secondary schools was 4.03 per cent. In 1958, with a Kansas per capita income of $2,001, the expenditure was 3.12 per cent, lower than the national average of 3.6 per cent.\(^72\) Kansas ranked 33d among the 48 states in 1958-1959, in expenditures for teachers' salaries. On the basis of personal income per child of school age, Kansas ranked 24th. An increase of 15.3 per cent would be required to place teachers' salaries at the average for the entire nation. Moreover, although substantial gains have been made in the qualifications for teaching in Kansas, in 1958-1959, 39 per cent of the state's elementary teachers, 5,129 out of 13,370, did not have a baccalaureate degree.\(^73\)

Kansas ranked 11th in 1950 in median years of schooling completed by persons 25 years of age and older. Utah was highest with 12.0 years; Kansas had 10.2 years; the national average was 9.3 years. Kansas ranked tenth in 1950 in the percentage of population of 25 years and older with at least four years of high school, 39.5 per cent of the population having that achievement. Kansas ranked 22d, however, in the percentage of the adult population with four or more years of college, with the neighboring states of Colorado and Oklahoma rating higher. The statistics on education show a great disparity in media years of schooling for urban residents at 11.2 years, rural nonfarm residents at 9.4 years; and rural farm residents at 8.9 years. The range in counties in 1950 was from 12.4 years in Johnson county to 8.8 years in 13 Kansas counties.\(^74\)

73. Comprehensive Educational Survey, v. 2, pp. 60, 75, 76.
74. Ibid., v. 1, pp. 25-27.
A critical factor in education for the future is the rapid increase in the population. The greatest increase since 1900 was between 1950-1958, when it amounted to 11 per cent, 80 per cent of which were persons under 18.\textsuperscript{75} In 1920 the birth rate for Kansas was 22.7 per thousand; in 1940 it was only 16.1. In 1956 it was 26.9, the highest level in the history of the state. The 55,862 births in 1956 set a new record for the number of births in a year. In September, 1958, there were 486,596 pupils in the elementary and secondary schools of Kansas, 441,883 (90.7 per cent) in public schools and 45,703 (9.3 per cent) in parochial and private schools. The projected enrollment in elementary and secondary schools for 1969-1970 is 523,286. This will represent an increase of 15.5 per cent in the first eight grades and 34.6 per cent in grades nine to twelve.\textsuperscript{76}

Kansans early demonstrated an interest in higher education. Highland College and Baker University, founded in 1858, and St. Benedict’s College in 1859, are the three oldest colleges in Kansas. Kansas State University of Agriculture and Applied Science traces its origin to Bluemont College, founded by the Methodists in 1859. It became Kansas State Agricultural College in 1863, the first land grant college in the United States under the Morrill act. Provision was made for a state university in the Wyandotte constitution of 1859. The University of Kansas was authorized in 1864 by legislative action. Classes began in 1866. The pattern of development has included not only state supported and privately controlled colleges, but also public junior colleges and municipal universities. Junior colleges were established at Fort Scott, Garden City, Holton, and Marysville in 1919. Only the first two maintain colleges presently. The University of Wichita, a municipal institution, was the first of the universities of this type in Kansas, established by referendum vote in 1926, on the foundation built by Fairmount College, a Congregational institution established in 1895. In the centennial year, Kansas makes available a variety of undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs through five state, two municipal, 21 private church-related, and 14 public junior colleges and universities accredited by the Kansas State Board of Education. The ratio of enrollments to college-age population was 45.1 per cent in Kansas as compared to 34.6 per cent for the entire United States in 1957. In 1960-1961 the actual enrollment in colleges and universities was 51,329. The projected enrollment of 1975 is in excess of 70,000.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., v. 1, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{76} “The Schools of Tomorrow for Kansas,” p. 23; Comprehensive Educational Survey, v. 2, pp. 14, 60.

\textsuperscript{77} Comprehensive Educational Survey, v. 1, pp. 66-71; ibid., v. 3, pp. 67, 72, 73.
Excellent leadership for education in Kansas is provided by several organizations. The oldest is the Kansas State Teachers Association, founded at Leavenworth in 1863. The permanent staff and committees provide fine sources of information and support for members and the citizens generally. The Kansas Congress of Parents and Teachers and the Kansas Association of School Boards also have fine records of achievement. Other lay groups and committees of various organizations share effectively in interpreting the possibilities and problems of education in Kansas. There is much unfinished business for education in Kansas. The greatest problems are related to the equalization and elevation of educational opportunity and better financial support for education on all levels.

The life of man includes the abiding resources which come from religious faith. Heroic men and women of Kansas bore witness to their faith long before statehood was achieved. In September, 1824, the Rev. Benton Pixley established a mission among the Osage Indians under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society in present Neosho county west of Shaw. Thus was initiated a widespread missionary endeavor which was developed among the Indians throughout the future Kansas area by Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. Father Padilla, a Franciscan accompanied Coronado to Kansas in 1541, and returned later to become a Christian martyr. The first Jesuit Indian mission was established at Kickapoo in June, 1836.78

The available evidence indicates that W. H. Goode preached the first Methodist sermon to white settlers in Kansas at Palmyra (Baldwin) in July, 1854. On October 15, 1854, the Rev. Samuel Young Lum organized the Plymouth Congregational Church at Lawrence.79 Soon the American Home Missionary Society established permanent work on the Kansas frontier with real energy and planning. The pluralistic pattern of American religious life was soon manifested in the diversity of the Christian witness in Kansas in liturgy, polity, doctrine, and faith.

The Christian witness manifested itself beyond worship services, Sunday School classes, and specific church activities. The religious forces sought to strengthen the moral fiber of the people. There were great problems on the frontier as indicated by the Rev. S. Y. Lum when he wrote to the American Home Missionary Society in April, 1855: "The circumstances under which mind is thrown

in this wild frontier life . . . engenders a recklessness, & freedom from restraint, that too often, prove fatal to the principles, as well as the practices of a home society & it is not too much to say, that we have the material, for either the worst, or the best, state of society in our country.”

The gains in membership were modest, but the foundations were laid as the frontier church called men to abandon their reliance on secularism and materialism. The churches, except the Methodist church South, identified themselves with the Union cause in the slavery conflict. As indicated earlier, churches shared in the crusade against King Alcohol.

Kansas churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, have rendered distinguished service to the state through a wide variety of institutions. Academies, colleges, hospitals, homes for the aged, children’s homes, and other agencies devoted to the ministry of mercy have brought great blessings across the years. The churches have a continuous record of constructive service to humanitarian causes in various relief and aid programs. In recent years, the churches have distinguished themselves by service to stricken peoples abroad through the Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, C.R.O.P. (Christian Rural Overseas Program), settlement of refugees from political tyranny, and other works for the family of man.

Protestantism in Kansas has largely been related to the conservative position. The state is usually identified with the “Bible Belt,” so called because of its literal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures. Only rarely has Kansas been affected by any violent controversies related to the issues of modernism and fundamentalism. There has been generally a clearly identifiable strain of moral and theological dogmatism. The rural character, historically, of Kansas may be an important factor in the generally conservative position of Kansas church people.

Although the Congregationalists had the advantage of the momentum of an early start, the position of leadership soon passed to the Methodists. The Methodist church has the first rank in numbers among all denominations in Kansas. According to a study made by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., based on 1952 yearbooks, the Methodist church not only outranked all other denominations in Kansas but was also the largest Protestant denomination in 97 out of the state’s 105 counties. The same study showed a surprising result for many Kansans, namely that 23 states

had a higher ratio of church members to the entire population than Kansas. In 1958 Prof. Donald O. Cowgill and LaVerna F. Wadsworth published a study of the religious preferences of Wichita families based upon a survey by 5,500 volunteers of 65,000 households under the auspices of the Wichita Council of Churches. The findings indicated the following: Methodist, 21.0 per cent; Baptist, 18.6 per cent; Roman Catholic, 11.8 per cent; Disciples of Christ, 11.0 per cent; Presbyterian, 7.9 per cent; Lutheran, 3.8 per cent; and a variety of other groups with smaller percentages. The total Protestant was 81.5 in 1958 in contrast to 66.2 per cent in the United States, based on statistics for 1957, one year earlier than the Wichita study. According to the National Catholic Almanac, there were 267,850 Catholics in Kansas in 1959, or 12.77 per cent of the population. There were 353 parishes and 42 missions. The first Jewish congregation was organized in Leavenworth in 1859. The estimated Jewish population in Kansas in 1959, according to the American Jewish Year Book, was 3,400 or 0.13 per cent of the total population.

Co-operative efforts among Protestants were given official recognition when the Kansas Sunday School organization was formed in 1865 at Bismarck Grove near Lawrence. In 1921 the Kansas Council of Christian Education was formed. Six years later denominational executives formed the Kansas Council of Churches for the purpose of fellowship and the exchange of ideas. This organization and the Kansas Council of Religious Education merged into the Kansas Council of Churches in 1942. The council consists of hundreds of churches in ecumenical fellowship. When the Rev. F. S. McCabe addressed the quarter-centennial celebration of Kansas in Topeka on January 29, 1886, he declared: “If we should ever inscribe a supplementary motto on our coat-of-arms and if the clergy should be allowed to select the legend, I believe that it would be the golden phrase that has come down to us from the seventeenth century: ‘In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus, caritas.’—In things essential, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity.” Although there are many exceptions to this

admirable declaration, the relationship of the churches of Kansas is quite well described, at least theoretically, by these words.

The resources of music came with the earliest settlers. The beginnings were humble but important as the pioneer mother hushed the fear of the infant on her knee by the tune of a favorite lullaby. Old and familiar hymns were sung, some in English, others in the language of the homeland, in cabin, dugout, and sod house. Church choirs were organized to enrich the service of worship. As early as the autumn of 1854, Forest Savage, a member of the second party of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, organized a small band at Lawrence. In September, 1869, the Kansas State Musical Convention met at Leavenworth. There was a growing interest in music as clubs were organized in various communities including the Topeka Musical Association which was formed in January, 1869.85

Colleges and universities have furnished fine leadership in this phase of the humanities. Lessons on the melodeon and piano were given at Baker University from the date of its founding in 1858. The most distinctive musical development in Kansas is related to the founding of the Bethany College Oratorio Society at Lindsborg by Dr. Carl A. Swensson, president of Bethany College, and Mrs. Swensson, in 1881. In March, 1882, the strains of Handel’s “Messiah” were first heard in the Smoky valley of central Kansas. A tradition of excellence has characterized this organization which has rendered the “Messiah” more than 200 times in the great Holy Week tradition on Palm Sunday and Easter, and Bach’s “The Passion of Our Lord According to St. Matthew” on Good Friday. Thousands of people make an annual pilgrimage to Lindsborg to share in what the New York Times has described as “an expression in song from voices schooled to near perfection through years of training. But it is more than that. In Lindsborg, the ‘Messiah’ is religion—as much a part of the people’s worship as the church services which they attend every Sunday.” 86 The Lindsborg “Messiah” has also furnished leadership for the organization of other groups and festivals in the state.

Many forces have been joined in promoting an interest in music. The Welsh influence in the Emporia area resulted in the traditional music festival, the eisteddfod, brought from native Wales, and maintained enthusiastically almost until the end of the last century. The Kansas Federation of Music Clubs has conducted auditions

85. Edna Reinhart, Music and Musicians in Kansas (Topeka, 1930), pp. 2, 3.
leading to scholarships for Kansas youth since 1927. The early
leadership given to high school music festivals by the Kansas State
Teachers College, Emporia, has resulted in a statewide program
which brings thousands of students together for solo and ensemble
participation under the sponsorship of the Kansas State High School
Activities Association. The colleges and universities present effective
curricula, artists, and ensemble groups. Many private teachers
join with the public and parochial school programs to provide a fine
opportunity for musical development. The Wichita Symphony
Society has gained considerable praise for its civic orchestra. Topeka
and other cities also support commendable orchestral and choral
groups.

The achievement in the field of composition has been modest
among Kansans across the years. The Indian theme was developed
effectively by Thurlow Lieurance while he was teaching at the
University of Wichita. Included in his works are a symphonic
sketch “Minisa.” His best known work is entitled “By the Waters
of Minnetonka.” Arthur Finley Nevin wrote an Indian opera called
Paia and another opera The Daughter of the Forest. Charles San-
ford Shelton, associated with the University of Kansas, also used
Indian themes in his compositions.87

The most famous Kansas musical composition is “Home on the
Range,” originally known as “Western Home,” adopted by the
Kansas legislature as the official state song in 1947. The background
factors related to the writing of the words and music are described
in a fascinating account by Kirke Mechem.88 The words were com-
posed by Dr. Brewster Higley in his one-room cabin on Beaver
creek about 20 miles from Smith Center. Higley, born at Rutland,
Ohio, had a good education, being a graduate of a medical college
at La Porte, Ind., and had practiced medicine for many years when
he moved to Smith county in 1871, at the age of 48. The melody
was composed by Daniel E. Kelley, who was born at North Kingston,
R. I., in February, 1843. He came to Kansas in 1872 at the age of
29, settling at Gaylord, in Smith county. He was a member of an
orchestra in which his wife and his two brothers-in-law participated.
Kirke Mechem points out that there is no reason to believe that
the notes which form the melody were ever transcribed by Kelley.
Both Higley and Kelley lived in Kansas many years after “Home
on the Range” was created. They never knew how famous their
composition was destined to become.

87. Reinhach, Music and Musicians in Kansas, pp. 39-41.
88. Kirke Mechem, “Home on the Range,” Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 17 (Novem-
The frontier world did not generally prove hospitable to the arts, but it did offer much subject matter. Prof. Robert A. Taft of the University of Kansas, a distinguished Kansas writer and educator, has portrayed effectively the frontier sources for artists in his splendid volume, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* (1953). The author points out that the first setting for a Kansas drawing was "War Dance in the Interior of a Konza Lodge," sketched by Samuel Seymour near present Manhattan in August, 1819. This was the beginning of the Kansas locale in art which included the work of the famous early Western artist, Frederic Remington, who spent the period from March, 1883, to May, 1884, on a sheep ranch in Butler county. Henry Worrall, who created many illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, has been described by Professor Taft as "the only Kansas artist and illustrator in the period under consideration [1850-1900] to achieve recognition on anything approaching a national scale for his portrayal of Kansas life." In more recent times the theme of Kansas history resulted in the distinctive and controversial murals in the Kansas capitol, painted by John Steuart Curry who was born in Jefferson county, but lived out of the state during his distinguished professional career.

The most famous Kansas artist was Swedish-born Birger Sandzen who joined the faculty of Bethany College, Lindsborg, in 1893, and for more than half a century served the college and Kansas with distinction. Sandzen was an enthusiastic Kansan who loved the West and transmitted his response in hundreds of paintings and prints. William Allen White has written: "Birger Sandzen knows that mood of nature. He goes to it unafraid, and comes back triumphant, capturing it, subduing it, translating it into human terms. He grapples with its joy. He translates its terror and dread without compromise, without understatement. He has come from the plains where things grew rank and strong, from Kansas where he has interpreted ugliness, disharmony, monotony in terms of beauty and yet faithfully with affectionate wisdom." Sandzen enriched the life of Kansas immensely by his promotion of interest in art. He was an apostle of beauty, who insisted upon no artistic creed except integrity. He organized the Smoky Hill Art Club and the Prairie Water Color Painters, and shared in founding the Prairie Print Makers. It is true as Leila Macklin has said of him: "Birger Sandzen has lit little candles of art knowledge and appreciation all

through the Middle West.” The Graphic Work of Birger Sandzen (1952), prepared and edited by Charles Pelham Greenough, III, presents valuable information on the career of the great Kansas artist. Kansas has produced many other artists who have gained considerable recognition in various artistic media.

Colleges and universities have played leading roles in art ever since the first instruction in that subject at Baker University in 1858. The Kansas State Art Association was organized in 1883. The University of Kansas with its Thayer collection and other sources has been a center for the study and appreciation of art. The Mulvane museum at Washburn University and the Birger Sandzen Memorial Gallery at Lindsborg provide fine opportunities for developing art appreciation. The Murdock collection at the Wichita Museum, made possible by a grant from Mrs. Louise Caldwell Murdock, has a distinguished collection of masterpieces inadequately housed. The Kansas Federation of Art, founded in 1922, and the Kansas Magazine, edited and published at Kansas State University, have fine records of achievements in promoting interest in art.

Kansas has produced a variety of writers who have dealt with a wide range of subjects in many literary forms. The Civil War era furnished the source for several books by leading participants such as Gov. Charles Robinson, Sara T. D. Robinson, W. A. Phillips, and others. The Kansas locale has furnished the theme for novels ranging from Margaret Hill McCarter’s portrayal of life in Kansas during the Civil War era in The Price of the Prairies (1910) to Kenneth S. Davis’ realistic portrayal of life in a rural Kansas town in the Flint Hills in The Years of the Pilgrimage (1948). Ed Howe, editor of the Atchison Globe, became nationally famous for his first novel, The Story of a Country Town (1883), describing the sombre aspects of life in Kansas. In contrast is Charles M. Sheldon’s religious theme, In His Steps (1896), a portrayal of the response of Jesus to everyday living which was published in millions of copies and in several languages. Frank Harris, an interesting and controversial literary figure, attended the University of Kansas in the 1880’s. He later worked on a Flint Hills ranch, an experience which he described in his book, My Reminiscences as a Cowboy (1930).

90. Lindquist, Smoky Valley People, pp. 211, 212.
Many Kansas poets have turned to the great Muse from earliest
times to the present. Several anthologies of Kansas poetry have
appeared including the volumes edited by the following: Hattie
Horner, *Kansas Poetry* (1891); Thomas W. Herringshaw, *Poets and
Poetry of Kansas* (1894); Willard Wattles, *Sunflowers, A Book of
Kansas Poems* (1914), which included the well-known poems, "Op-
portunity," by J. J. Ingalls, and "Each in His Own Tongue," by
W. H. Carruth; Helen Rhoda Hoopes, *Contemporary Kansas Poetry*
(1927); and May Williams Ward, *Kansas Poets* (1953). William
Herbert Carruth edited a two-volume anthology entitled *Kansas in
Literature* (1900). William Inge, who was born at Independence
and graduated from the University of Kansas, has gained national
recognition for his plays, *Come Back Little Sheba* (1949), *Picnic*
(1953), and *Bus Stop* (1955). Inge often uses the Kansas locale
for his writing. *Picnic* won the Pulitzer prize for drama in 1953.

The greatest name in Kansas literary circles is William Allen
White. As editor of the Emporia Gazette, he became an effective
ambassador-at-large for Kansas. Friendly critic, devoted enthusiast,
and Pulitzer prize winner he interpreted Kansas and America by
novels, essays, poems, special articles, and editorials in a magnificent
manner. One bibliography of his works includes almost 500
items. His *Autobiography* (1946) contains an intimate and
interesting portrayal of the life of a great and famous Kansan from his
birth in 1869 to 1923. William L. White, the son of the great Emp-
oria editor, has written a number of well-known books including
*What People Said* (1935), *Journey for Margaret* (1941), and *They
Were Expendable* (1942).

The career of Dr. Arthur Hertzer, M.D., famous Halstead sur-
geon, received a dramatic portrayal in the interesting autobiogra-
phical work *Horse and Buggy Doctor* (1938), a striking success
nationally. Dr. Hertzer was the author of many books on surgery.
Dr. Karl Menninger, M.D., Topeka, is the author of such well-
known books as *The Human Mind* (1930), *Man Against Himself*
(1938), and *Love Against Hate* (1942), in collaboration with
Jeanetta Lyle Menninger. Frank W. Blackmar, Frank H. Hodder,
William E. Connelley, and James C. Malin have made extensive
contributions to the knowledge of Kansas history.

The *Kansas Magazine*, a periodical devoted to literature and
art, was published intermittently until 1933. The first series, 1872-
1873, was in four volumes, and was referred to as "The Kansas

93. Walter Johnson and Alberta Panto, "A Bibliography of the Published Works of
Magazine of blessed memory. . . . Its flight was brief but glorious, and the light of it still lingers in the western sky.” The new series appeared in two volumes, 1886-1888, and the third series in six volumes, 1909-1912. The Kansas Magazine was re-established in 1933, this time under the leadership of faculty members at Kansas State University. The magazine has maintained since that time a splendid pattern of achievement for literature and art in Kansas. The Agora was published in five volumes, 1891-1896; it contains interesting material for that period.94

Kansas has been singularly fortunate in its editors and newspapers across the century. It is true as D. W. Wilder, a pioneer Kansas editor, pointed out at the quarter-centennial celebration of statehood that Kansas, in a sense, is the child of newspapers. Editors Horace Greeley, Joseph Medill, Chas. A. Dana, and many others served the cause of future Kansas in pre-statehood days. William A. Phillips of the New York Tribune and James Redpath of the St. Louis Democrat and the Boston press were also closely identified with territorial Kansas. The press came early to Kansas. The Kansas Weekly Herald, the first regular newspaper, appeared at Leavenworth, under the date line of September 15, 1854.95

In 1860 there were 27 newspapers in Kansas.96 A century later there were 346, including 53 dailies, 13 semiweeklies and 272 weeklies. The editors have generally been Kansas enthusiasts. Closely identified with the political life, they have constituted a fraternity of ability and dedication. There have been real individualists among them. The encroachment of business demands have made the newspaper editor less colorful in recent decades than were his predecessors in early Kansas years. There have been conflicts within the ranks as should be expected when men of independence clash. The Kansas Editorial Association code of ethics, dating from 1910, was a pioneer statement in that field. Many great names are found in the Editor’s Hall of Fame established in 1931 at the University of Kansas, and a large number could be added. Kansas has been served well across the century by editors and the press.

An unusual literary and publishing venture was established in Kansas in 1919 when E. Haldeman-Julius pioneered in inexpensive

paper-back books, known as the “Little Blue Books,” which sold for five cents each. Millions of copies of hundreds of titles, including well-known classics, came from the presses at Girard. National advertising and promotion boosted sales. The publication of the “Blue Books” continues in the family tradition at Girard.

The Kansas State Historical Society owes its origin to a meeting of newspaper editors and publishers in Manhattan in 1875. As early as 1855 the first charter for a historical society was granted, and attempts were made again in 1859 and 1867 to establish such an organization. The editors pledged at the meeting in 1875 to provide the historical society with copies of papers published in the state. This pledge has been maintained. The Society has been the official archives for the state since 1905.97 The excellent library, newspaper collection, publications, museum, and services of the staff provide rich resources for the study of Kansas history.

VII

A quaint contradiction prevails in the view of Kansas first dramatized by William Allen White in his famous editorial, “What’s the Matter With Kansas?” in the Emporia Gazette in 1896, circulated in a million copies by Mark Hanna in the campaign to elect William McKinley, and its contemporary expression in a feature article by the same title in the New York Times Magazine in 1954 by Kenneth S. Davis, distinguished Kansas novelist and biographer.98 The latter lamented the conformity and drabness of Kansas in our time in contrast with the colorful individualism and dynamic radicalism of the Populists which White attacked so scathingly in his editorial. Regardless of the background factors, our generation seems enthralled to repeat the old question, “What’s the Matter With Kansas?”

The question, with its chafing tone of despair, repeated in our time, demonstrates inadequate understanding of history and of the forces over which Clio’s Muse presides. Kansas has had times of distinctiveness, periods characterized by a kind of “momentous now,” and it may have such times again, when men and events join to provide a forward thrust that a later generation applauds. Other states have also had those all too fleeting times of distinctiveness. Virginia once had a great dynasty of talent—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and others. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., and Sen. Harry Byrd are scarcely leaders of equal stature.

Do Virginians join in a lugubrious lament, "What's the Matter With Virginia?" There was once a time in the northeastern states, when greatness flourished, and the "flowering of New England" was identified with the genius of Emerson, Lowell, the Adams family, and other celebrities. The memory of that era looms large in contrast with contemporary achievement. Should a national chorus swell with a great crescendo, "What's the Matter With New England?"

When Carl Becker wrote his famous essay on Kansas 50 years ago, emphasizing the idealism and individualism of the people, he concluded with this observation: "The Kansas spirit is the American spirit double distilled." 99 Perhaps this interpretation, placed in the context of our time, is still valid. The faults of Kansas are the faults of America. Alexis De Tocqueville observed about America in the third decade of the last century that the American passion for equality would result in conformity. 100 Kansas, like America, is characterized by conformity, and, at times, there seems to be no plurality of paths. The citadel of conservative Republicanism in Kansas had some breaches recently, but strenuous efforts were made to repair them. Protestantism, the dominant religion of Kansas, which is not now characterized by any distinctiveness, both reflects and promotes a traditional pattern of value. Moreover, an aggressive right-wing fundamentalist emphasis seems to be gaining strength in some quarters. The schools faithfully transmit the prevailing image of America. The colleges and universities struggle long and learnedly with internal business, and generally respond on controversial issues with the considerate restraint the people expect.

In 1958, when a group of professors, largely in the fields of economics and political science, from a few of the institutions, publicly proclaimed their opposition to "Right to Work" legislation, there were protests from influential people and groups that the professors were out of bounds. However, the knowledge and skill of the professors are gladly sought in the promotion of scientific, engineering, and business enterprises.

Kansas has abandoned largely the extreme isolationist position that characterized its citizens prior to World War I, although the vestiges remain. Two World Wars, in which Kansas made distinguished contributions through her sons and daughters on far flung battlefields and in agricultural and industrial production at home, have created new world horizons. Towards the middle of

100. Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America (London) was published in two volumes, the first in 1835 and the second in 1840. Many editions have been published.
the century, under the leadership of Milton Eisenhower, president of Kansas State University, and chairman of the National Commission of U. N. E. S. C. O., there was heartening interest and support for this important international approach to life and learning. Kansas State University recently sent a large team of experts under the auspices of the Department of State to aid in strengthening the agricultural production of India. Alf M. Landon, two-term governor of Kansas and the Republican candidate for President of the United States in 1936, has provided enlightened leadership for Kansans in international affairs during the last decade.

Kansas was the center of the national controversy over slavery, but the commitment to freedom for the Negro was not inclusive. The Wyandotte constitution of 1859 restricted the franchise to “white male persons,” by a vote of 37 to 3, after W. Hutchinson had pled with the convention that unless the franchise was granted, “We must go back to the work of this morning, and revise and change our declaration of rights.” 101 The Negro received the right to vote in Kansas as a result of the Fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. School segregation was the policy in several cities in Kansas. It was somewhat ironical that Kansas should furnish the occasion for Brown et. al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et. al., which resulted in the famous United States supreme court desegregation case in May, 1954. Approximately a century after Kansas had been the focal point in the struggle for freedom, the elementary schools in the capital city were desegregated by court order; the other levels of instruction were not segregated. In 1953 legislation became effective designed to prohibit discriminatory practices in employment based upon race, color, religion, or country of ancestral origin. Kansas joined 11 other states in establishing a commission to carry out the intent of the legislation, although Kansas was one of four states which provided no regulatory or enforcing power. In 1959 a law became effective making it a misdemeanor to discriminate because of race, color, religion, or country of ancestral origin in hotels and restaurants, in places of public amusement or entertainment, and on transportation facilities. The legislature in 1959, however, failed to pass an act based upon legislation in 17 other states, which, if passed, would have given Kansas excellent fair employment legislation.102

The Kansas mind is generally conservative. This an understandable response by a generation that has listened to graphic descriptions, or witnessed directly the hard won conquest over nature and circumstances. There have been times of great adversity when man or nature seemed to conspire against the present and endanger the future. The annals of Kansas include the great drought of 1860, the great grasshopper invasion of 1874, the great economic collapse after 1887, and the great depression of the 1930's. But the Kansas spirit has shown unusual capacity to triumph over what seemed to be insuperable odds. Times of hardship yielded to times of rejoicing, and the good years far outnumbered the bad years. The state's motto, Ad Astra Per Aspera, suggests the true facts of struggle, and, if the stars have not been reached, in certain areas of life, more than flickering glimpses have been seen. Kansas has arrived at a point of stability and progress. Less friendly observers might contend that it is on dead center. If so, it need not stay there.

Kansans have not really expected very much from their state, and some of them are almost unbelieving about her achievements. The net result has been a kind of quaint conservatism. A symbol of it is found in a well-established bank in a Flint Hills town. The new building is beautifully designed and effectively equipped with central air conditioning, central heating, a strong vault, and electric machines for efficient maintenance of records. However, on an attractive turquoise wall is a circular tin plate, covering a hole that leads into the chimney. The board of directors insisted upon this item, based on the consideration that possibly some time in the years ahead it would be necessary to install an old-fashioned stove with pipes. This alternative was taken into account in the midst of all the other modernity. Possibly this kind of conservatism has made the bank a sound financial institution, and symbolically, it may be written large in Kansas life and thought. This conservatism, however, is brought to the straining point in contemplating the century old constitution of Kansas which needs drastic revision demanded by the onward rush of change.

The rugged spirit of independence, which characterized the pioneer era, has yielded generally to the inroads made by changes chronicled across the years. Although often professing personal opposition to the role of centralized government, Kansans have been recently as eager as residents of neighboring states in the quest for federal funds for highways, flood control, government contracts, and support for social agencies. Kansas has shared
annually, and rightly so, in the multibillion dollar federal agricultural program which, although piling up huge surpluses, has also built up the physical resources of Kansas soil and enabled the vital role of agriculture to be maintained. The good earth of Kansas will also be needed to feed the far flung members of the family of man. The need will be greater in the decades that belong to the future.

Kansas is generally slow to respond, but when aroused, the results are sometimes gratifying. A leading example is found in the substantial progress which has been made in recent times in the field of mental health. The great Menninger clinic in Topeka has furnished inspiring leadership in this great area of concern. In Wichita the Institute of Logopedics, founded in 1934 by Dr. Martin F. Palmer, and directed by him, with its splendid program in rebuilding people through speech and language habilitation, is another example of the response of Kansans to the needs of man. Recent gains in several phases of education are encouraging portents for the future.

Kansas has a full quota of organizations. Optimists, Rotarians, Kiwanians, and Lions meet with unfailing regularity, and the “tail twisters,” or their counterparts, must be about equal, on a per capita basis in Kansas, with those of neighboring states. Youth find opportunities for sharing in Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire groups, 4-H Clubs, Boys’ State, Girls’ State, Y-Teen, Hi-Y, and many other fine organizations with impressive records of achievement. Kansas has an unusually large number of excellent community, county, and district fairs, climaxed by two great statewide fairs, which appropriately emphasize the outstanding role of agriculture in the state. Patriotic, fraternal, and women’s organizations are numerous, and make an appropriate contribution to the life of the state. In the cities, country clubs multiply, and new and smaller replicas are organized to give the middle class mentality a glimpse in part of what that kind of life is supposed to be like.

The tastes of Kansas are fashioned in part by the forest of television antennas and, to a lesser degree, by radio receiving sets. The TV listener can relive, if he chooses, and many so choose, the exploits in Kansas of Wyatt Earp and his contemporaries, some real, some fictitious. The culture of old Dodge City and Wichita town

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are transmitted weekly to millions of eager viewers in the nation. In a few places in Kansas, Great Books discussion groups rival the heroes of the Old West for attention. The Puritan emphasis on thrift and hard work has yielded somewhat to the new leisure of the 40-hour week. Although libraries report a flourishing business and book and record clubs have their patrons, golf courses, bowling alleys, and boating docks also have their faithful disciples.

Things do change in Kansas. Cocktail parties and drinking in homes and clubs are fairly common practices in the state of Carry Nation. It is somewhat ironical that the monument which was raised with great ceremony in Wichita in September, 1918, to honor Carry Nation was knocked over accidentally and unceremoniously years later by a beer truck. It now rests undisturbed and unappreciated in a warehouse.

The physical countenance of Kansas has changed, too. Winding trails and, later, inadequately drained dirt roads with narrow bridges have yielded to the magic of macadam and cement, and a system of county, state, and federal roads has been climaxed by a four-lane turnpike running southwest 236 miles from Kansas City through Wichita to the Oklahoma state line. Even the hurried traveler sees many vacant farm houses, or the area of the former farmstead outlined by old cedar trees, the only memorial of earlier years to mark the place where children played and their parents dreamed dreams about the future. There are towns, almost deserted, and bulging cities, with great problems, symbols of the end and the beginning of an era whose secrets have not yet been revealed to mortal man.

Thousands of miles of transmission lines crisscross the Kansas landscape, thanks to an effective Rural Electrification Administration program, and private and public sources of power, so that over 95 per cent of Kansas farms are electrified. The country side shows a heartening response to sensible conservation practices, as the erosion of soil is stopped by terracing and contour farming. Ponds and lakes dot the landscape in all parts of Kansas, and west of Marquette is the Kanopolis reservoir, one of six federal reservoirs in the state designed effectively for flood control and recreation, with additional resources for irrigation to improve upon the bounty of nature. Kansas, like many other states, joins in the quest for more adequate water resources. In some areas of the state, giant power plants loom on the horizon, generating the energy to move

the wheels of industry, symbols of the changing nature of the Kansas economy.

Kansas can scarcely be described as Dorothy Canfield Fisher described New York, "a glowing queenly creature," or like Virginia, "a dignified grande dame with ancient, well-mended fine lace and thin old silver spoons," or like Massachusetts, a man with "hair thinned by intellectual applications." Kansas is like a man returned from a long journey that has covered vast stretches of time. He has witnessed the conflict of the real and the ideal, the extremes of poverty and affluence, the ebbing tide of despair and the rising tide of hope. He is glad he made the journey, but he isn't sure what it really meant, nor does he know how to profit fully from it. He wasn't the most brilliant in the company of travelers, but he was respectable, and generally, quite a decent fellow. He had always worked hard, and he could be justly proud of the labor of his hands. He would do things differently if he could go again, but really not too differently. He was glad to be back home, and reflect on what he had seen. And what he saw looked good to him.

105. Vide, p. 23.