

THE KANSAS STATE COUNCIL
OF DEFENSE IN WORLD WAR I

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PREFACE

The Kansas State Council of National Defense reflected Progressive attitudes toward agriculture, the loyalty question, and volunteerism. This thesis emphasizes the fact that history is the study of man's attempts. The primary concern of the thesis is with an organizational attempt which was so successful that it was repeated after the World War I era.

The first chapter includes information about the history and philosophy of Progressivism. This section is related to the section on the national and Kansas State Councils of National Defense. Their history, philosophy and activities reflected a Progressive orientation. Many personalities involved in the work of the Kansas State Council are mentioned. Their progressive attitudes were important factors in the success of the Council's work. This was especially true in the areas of agriculture, the question of patriotic loyalty, and volunteerism.

These three important aspects of the work of the State Council are considered in four separate chapters of the thesis. Emphasis is placed on the need for conservation, efficiency and reform or change in all three areas. The Kansas State Council of National Defense supplied enthusiastic leadership required to accomplish these goals.

The sixth chapter relates the subject areas to the thesis topic and introductory material.

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ABSTRACT

The activities of the Kansas State Council of Defense reinforced the fact that man's attempts to achieve societal improvement and progress make up a large portion of the subject matter of history. The history of the Kansas state council of defense became meaningful when it revealed the ways in which council activities sought improvement of economic, political and social conditions during the World War I period.

Many aspects of the state council's work deserved attention. One major reason for the significance of their work reflected the emphasis on local organization and support. This emphasis made the council's work more relevant to the lives of both rural and urban Kansans. It included many Progressive Characteristics, which depicted a new kind of attitude.

Enthusiastic local activity became a hallmark of state council efforts to achieve successful support and preparation for the war. The state council organized this type of activity in nearly every area of Kansas life. Economic, social and political support for the nation at war permeated all state council actions.

State council work in effecting organization in these

areas achieved special importance concerning several topics relevant to Kansas. Increased agricultural production and support; grater loyalty and patriotism from all Kansans; increased voluntary service, especially among women; and the primary importance of enthusiastic local organization of people ready and willing to support war-related activities defined many state council goals.

Such an organization had never been attempted in Kansas. The local nature of its organization appealed to many people, and helped its efforts promoting increased agricultural production and volunteer service become successful. The agricultural efforts benefited also from federal support to farmers in exchange for increased production.

State council activities encouraging increased loyalty and patriotism often seemed to omit recognition of three basic facts. Most Kansans were individualistic, and resented any council insinuation supporting an individual lack of loyalty or patriotism. They did not usually consider patriotism a comparable virtue. The state council of defense reduced the possibility of this program's success by not recognizing these facts. Kansans reflected great ethnic diversity, which did not always indicate unpatriotic feeling.

This program of loyalty promotion became one of the council's least successful activities. The emphasis on local activity in this area of the council's work often

revitalized local animosity more than local patriotism. Council efforts toward increased agricultural production, which became successful, resulted from innate local patriotic feeling.

The Kansas state council of defense experienced many of the problems common to organizations based on local voluntary support. It often seemed to ignore local variations in economy, society and politics. Unity and patriotism were sometimes overemphasized. Federal direction of council efforts often resulted in such extreme emphases.

The state council's local work often helped increase neighborhood cohesiveness. Its emphasis on local support gave Kansas women a vehicle in which they could use to demonstrate their organizational and volunteer abilities. They supported many council programs with enthusiasm.

The Kansas state council of defense developed as a significant innovation in Kansas political, social and economic life. This innovation became an organized indication of the people's support of this country during World War I. The fact that it was used during World War II also indicated its success at an organizational pattern.

THE KANSAS STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE
IN WORLD WAR I

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CHAPTER ONE

PROGRESSIVE ORIGINS OF THE KANSAS DEFENSE COUNCIL

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CHAPTER TWO

AGRICULTURAL GROWTH AND PREPAREDNESS IN KANSAS

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CHAPTER THREE
THE GOAL OF PATRIOTIC LOYALTY

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CHAPTER FOUR

KANSAS WOMEN BECOME ENTHUSIASTIC WARTIME VOLUNTEERS

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VOLUNTARY SUPPORT FOR THE KANSAS STATE COUNCIL

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STATE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES CREATED A BETTER SOCIETY

CHAPTER ONE

The progressive attitudes that affected and stimulated the Kansas State Council of National Defense had diverse origins, but reflected the contemporary reform milieu. These origins began in a turbulent period of American history. The early twentieth century Progressive movement became an attempt to bring a sense of direction to society based upon reform values. (1)

America experienced tremendous economic and social change resulting from explosive post-Civil War industrialization. Industrialization caused institutional and value changes in a formerly predominantly rural, small town society. The continuity of rural institutions and values was impossible without reform. (2)

Progressives, middle class persons with diverse goals, promoted democracy, and encouraged equal opportunity and social justice. Many progressives believed that strong social motivation might create the ideal society in the new urban centers. They believed that most of the problems in the country reflected excessive industrialization, urbanization and immigration. They worshipped early American values, and disliked both bossism and the misuses of concentrated wealth. They wanted economic growth without concentrations of irresponsible economic power that caused great social, economic and moral disparities. (3)

Progressives advanced democratic ideas leading to economic equality. Regulation and continued effort led to advancement. The upper class was the target of reformer demands for increased governmental regulation. Progressives believed they were responsible for rapid industrialization, which caused many problems and malapportioned economic power. (4)

Upper class ideals seemed strange to many progressive Americans. With the presumption that capable people acquired wealth, the upper class excused social and economic inequalities, and had limited feelings of responsibility toward those less fortunate. Not all upper class Americans abused the power of wealth, but enough did to make progressives concerned. (5)

Reformers, products of the former small town society, and now members of a new economic and social generation sought to define values required by an urban, industrial society. Concentrated, irresponsible economic power limited goals and aspirations of those seeking social and economic advancement. New urban reformers, therefore, led the search for continuity, functionality, and rational management. (6)

Progressive businessmen and politicians usually had enough economic security to be able to look for causes and solutions for national problems. Most of them had optimistic goals, though some of their idealism was tinged with self interest. They became energetic organizers who

knew the necessity of urban and industrial development, but wanted to guarantee all Americans a fair share of the results. They believed that progress resulted from socially beneficial actions. (7)

Kansas pre-Progressives, known as "Boss-Busters," held majorities in both houses of the 1904 legislature, and economized by cutting staff sizes and instituting a state merit system. Political leaders like Victor Murdock, Arthur Capper, Henry Allen and Walter Stubbs molded public opinion in favor of equality for all and privileges for none. Kansans elected Walter Stubbs, one of the leading Progressives, governor in 1908. His election ended the alliance between the railroads and old guard Republican politicians, and included the loss of special privileges to surprised railroad officials. He presented his progressive programs to the legislature and the people. He knew that discriminatory freight rates were a major contributor to public discontent in Kansas. Many progressive legislators sought the end of this particular railroad practice. (8)

Kansas Progressives wanted to retain beneficial state elements threatened by economic dependence on eastern financial and industrial power. Many Kansas reformers, including farmers and businessmen, were unhappy with this eastern domination of the Kansas economy. They supported reform demands because they remembered recent problems with the railroads and eastern corporate and financial institutions. Government protection of these eastern interests violated the progressive belief that government

should represent all of the people. (9)

Old guard or "Stand-Pat" Republicans opposed all the progressive measures during the Stubbs governorship, including primary elections and all anti-railroad, antitrust and anti-monopoly legislation. Kansas Progressives guided these measures through the legislature; and the laws later became the pride of the Republican party. Kansas Progressives believed that government must become a better administrator and regulator. The people must regain the political power necessary to improve the public welfare. (10)

Progressives believed that achievement of their economic and social goals would restore popular government. They believed that American industrial prosperity required careful administration and regulation, and they became politically active to promote national economic and social progress. They did not always oppose wealth, but opposed its concentration in the hands of one class.

Progressives believed regulated economic power and growth would benefit all Americans, and that government should be an instrument of social progress that actively promoted social continuity and regularity as rational and functional social goals. They initially sought action from government leaders who were often subservient to the same urban economic and industrial power structures that needed regulation. Some wealthy economic giants opposed any form of government restriction, and tried to prevent passage of

any reform legislation. (11)

Even though people and values were of little importance to some members of the industrial ownership class, they discovered that they could no longer ignore the strong patriotism prevalent in the country, which made the achievement of numerous Progressive aims possible. Progressives were patriotic and believed that their programs and goals expressed the highest patriotic principles.

Progressive goals were emphasized in the organizational effort to form the United States Council of National Defense. The Council, organized after passage of the Army Appropriations Act in April, 1916, was the first "preparedness" body in the Woodrow Wilson administration.

Council responsibilities included advising the administration on the best use of the national rail and transportation systems, and the best ways to increase food and industrial production. The council was authorized to collect data on all aspects of the volume, locations, methods and means of production, and had a seven-member advisory board. Secretary of War Newton Baker was the chairman.

War seemed imminent as each state received notes in May of 1917 inviting them to send representatives to a National Defense Conference. Delegates discussed federal-state regulations and coordination of efforts in organizing state committees, which would be responsible to the Council of National Defense. They stressed the need for

cooperation between federal and state agencies, and the necessity for central direction of the war effort from Washington. Delegates realized that success of the preparedness effort depended on cooperation and coordinated state effort, but lacked a coherent plan to mobilize national resources and industries. (12)

Some of the country's ablest leaders tried to find answers to the problems of mobilization. The Council pinpointed these problems and worked on solutions. Their tentative solutions to enormous problems slowly became government policy. States required national council support and direction, and a national policy defining the role of the states was definitely needed. The first director of the Section on State Councils, George F. Porter, believed that his section should emphasize the communication functions of the national council to inspire maximum effort and avoid mistakes. His beliefs were indicative of the future role of the council. (13)

All of the nation's resources required careful organization, conservation and regulation. The national council discussed many aspects of economic planning, including their belief that the council should become the focal agency in organizing war preparation efforts. After Porter's Section on State Council Organization was created in April 1917, Chairman Baker requested that all governors create state councils. Every state organized one, with the authority to organize and regulate the social and economic

resources of the state. They soon discovered that this authority did not ensure the successful achievement of their goals. (14)

The state council section attempted to efficiently centralize control of preparation in every state. The section communicated changes in plans and policies from federal agencies to the states and received information from the states on local needs and problems. Director Porter's communications emphasis was endorsed in this way.

President Woodrow Wilson emphasized this national council role by requesting that federal departments involve the state council's section and state councils in implementing their policies and activities. The President recognized the state council communication potential. He believed that their work illustrated the blossoming of progressive reform ideas. Some federal agencies did cooperate, but many of them were reluctant to surrender credit for or control of their activities. (15)

This jealousy of federal prerogatives resulted in the diminution of state council roles in several war preparation areas. The state and local councils patriotically endorsed national council attempts to increase public awareness of the need to economize and conserve. The efforts of these defense councils could not have occurred in a nation without a spirit of pride and active volunteerism. Each state council was proud of the effort of its volunteers in preparing for war. (16)

This progressive, voluntary pride first appeared in Kansas on April 17, 1917, when Governor Arthur Capper called a conference to organize a State Council of National Defense. Capper suggested the selection of Henry Waters as President; J. C. Mohler, secretary; and Walter Payne, treasurer. They became permanent officers. Vice presidents were chosen from each of the eight Congressional districts. Governor Capper chose 29 original members on a non-partisan basis, and later added ten members to complete the organization. Nine original departments were expanded to 21, giving the state council expanded access to information and public exposure. (17)

Kansas council members represented every facet of Kansas society. Mrs. D. W. Mulvane of Topeka, chairman of the State Woman's Committee, was known for her coordination of charitable and council activities. Mrs. May B. Brown of Salina, a prominent author and president of both the Kansas Author's Club and the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs, had been a member of the Salina Welfare Board. (18)

Dean William Jardine of the Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan, a member of the National Council's Research Division, became the architect of many state council agricultural programs. Former Kansas legislator and Congressman Sheffield Ingalls supported the council's progressive goals. The president of Pittsburg State College, Dr. William Brandenburg, proved instrumental in involving the State Chamber of Commerce in council

activities. Council treasurer Walter Payne served as State Treasurer under Governors Capper and Henry Allen. (19)

Council secretary, J. C. Mohler, the secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, had been a prominent Topeka attorney. Council president, Dr. Henry Waters, the president of Kansas State Agricultural College, later became editor of the Kansas City Star and Kansas Food Administrator. (20)

Former governor Walter Stubbs was an important progressive leader, who proved his reputation for efficiency and integrity. Wichita newspaper editor Victor Murdock, who had served in Congress (1903-13), was an influential council member. (21)

Educators such as Dr. Frank Strong of Kansas University and businessmen like Emerson Carey of Hutchinson contributed their expertise. Dr. Thomas Butcher used his experience as president of Kansas State Normal School in Emporia in his council activity. (22)

These prominent Kansans typified the council membership. All well-educated, middle class promoters of progress and advancement, they endorsed progressive attitudes shown in the Kansas council's work on programs on agriculture, loyalty and patriotism, and volunteerism. Their organizational efforts became an important part of the new council program. Those efforts made them a centralizing, coordinating group involved in a new kind of Progressive activity. The Kansas State Council of Defense

was the distributor for federal information and guidance affecting local council activities. It was the centralizing organization which made federal directives applicable to the local councils. This intermediary role added to the potential for progressive input into local activities by state and local council members. The Council of National Defense became more able to insure local compliance with federal directives because of the state council's work. The state council, in turn, made national council policies and activities into aspects of a larger amount of local interest and action.

All of these factors utilized progressive aims and goals in the search for local advancement and improvement. The state councils facilitated better progressive communication between a centralization-conscious national council and the local councils, who were aware of many diverse issues, problems, and opportunities in the rural areas of Kansas. This communication function became important in the Kansas state council's search for ways to expand and improve agricultural expansion.

CHAPTER I

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

Patriotism and agriculture became partners in Kansas' preparation efforts for World War I. Kansas delegates to the National Defense Conference in Washington should have noticed that many of the conference speakers fused patriotism with the need for close cooperation between the federal and state councils. This cooperation became problematic in several instances. The state councils believed that they should be the core agencies guiding the preparedness activities. Porter's "clearing house" theory put such illusions in clearer focus. State councils soon found themselves in a supplementary role to the various federal agencies and departments.

Agricultural preparedness became one of the areas of problematic cooperation. The Kansas state council was one of the leaders in promoting greater food production and it assisted the United States Department of Agriculture in expanding such department agencies as the Extension Service.

The Agricultural Department welcomed the assistance, but nearly buried the welcome in jealous caution. The State Councils Section of the National Council wanted to cooperate with the Agricultural Department. It created a bulletin, which emphasized successful methods of acquiring seed, financing, machinery and other agricultural

necessities. The bulletin went to Agricultural Secretary David Houston, who promptly declined to approve it. The secretary suggested that a Department of Agriculture bulletin on the 1918 food program be sent to the state councils. This general bulletin dealt with aims instead of directions or policies. The State Councils Section did send it out along with a letter urging cooperation with the state extension service directors. The Kansas state council's cooperation with the Extension Service became expansive and enthusiastic. (1)

Secretary Houston's attitude indicated that the federal government expected federally motivated preparedness work in areas such as agriculture from all of the state councils, including the one in Kansas. The federal department expected the Kansas state council to cooperate, but without indicating any departmental desire or need for advice.

This kind of attitude effectively deprived the state councils of a central role in formulating national preparation policies. All of the state councils, including the one in Kansas, became mere transmitters of federal directives and policies. The department's attitude also placed more importance on giving attention to the role of the states, and made state council efforts more autonomous. The new diminished role for the Kansas state council made its local functions interesting and remarkable in agriculture. Kansas accomplished what was not thought

possible in producing foodstuffs by promoting agricultural expansion, efficiency, conservation and reform.

Capper's emphasis on the agricultural work of the state council was not accidental. He knew that Kansas agricultural growth and expansion was vital. He appointed capable persons to the agriculture committee and subcommittees of the Kansas council, and they were instrumental in fulfilling the goals of the Council of National Defense.

The expertise of agricultural committee members was apparent. The committee organized twelve subcommittees concerned with nearly every area of Kansas agriculture. The Committee on Agricultural Production, for example, urged Kansas farmers to plant known crops in an attempt to produce everything needed for home consumption plus a healthy surplus for shipment to the war zones in Europe. The Committee on Agriculture sent out a questionnaire in April of 1917. The cover letter emphasized the need for increased crop acreage. This extra production could "swing" the war in America's favor. They mailed the questionnaires to hundreds of farmers and businessmen in every county, and asked for their voluntary cooperation to ensure success in the state and national agricultural expansion program. The farmers were asked the number of idle acres after spring planting, how much seed was available, the amount of available labor, the extent of financial aid necessary to plant the largest possible crop, and the number of tractors available. The committee

requested that every effort be made to plant and harvest a record crop often million acres in 1917-18. (2)

The Agricultural Production Committee encouraged the mass and efficient expansion of wheat production. One way to increase production was through better seeds. The committee urged Kansas farmers to bring in seed for testing in the local schools. Kansas school children collected over 17,000 wheat seed samples, and recorded the sample owner's name and the amount of seed on hand, and performed the tests while the farmers prepared their land for planting. The children received directions demonstrating how to test the seed in the most efficient way. Two tests were performed: one at the Kansas State Agricultural College laboratory in Manhattan, and the other by the children in the local school. Comparing the results was a valuable learning tool for the children. Careful testing enlarged wheat crops because most of the tested seed planted in the state in 1917 germinated. (3)

The Seed Wheat Committee became another important state council committee involved in the effort to increase production. It urged people to contribute to a fund to buy seed wheat for those farmers who could not afford it. Well-known Kansas bankers on the committee promoted the efforts to finance the seed wheat. This committee organized county committees to determine local needs. Agents were appointed to supervise the work of the county committees, which collected part of the cost from any

farmer able to contribute. However, many farmers could not do so after two poor crop years. (4)

A third council committee, the Committee on Utilization and Economy, emphasized the need for conservative actions by appointing a subcommittee to draft a series of resolutions accenting the need for thrift and careful management. The first of these resolutions termed the extravagant use of foodstuffs wasteful to the state's economic well being. Another requested economy in the purchase and use of household goods, food and clothing. The resolutions urged every family to conserve any food surpluses by canning. The resolution suggested community canning clubs as a method of stressing the need for food conservation. (5)

All of these council committees emphasized agricultural expansion and conservation efforts through efficient practices. They all distributed information helpful in accomplishing the same National Council goals. Their success depended on voluntary assistance and compliance. Neither the council nor its committees had any power to enforce use of their ideas or materials. A voluntary group, the council depended on voluntary compliance to accomplish its goals.

Voluntary cooperation soon appeared. The Council of Defense's Committee on Horse and Machine Power attempted to increase agricultural efficiency and production with a circular on the care of horses and tractors. The circular stressed efficient use of them. It gave instructions in the

proper care of horses, and proposed only the best care. Plenty of water, rest and feed were recommended for these valuable animals. The circular even gave instructions for the care of horses that had suffered heat stroke, and urged horse owners to exchange work with tractor owners.

"Traction" power owners received instruction in proper tractors care. They needed to have their machines ready for constant use, including proper lighting for night work. The circular stressed that smaller tractors were better on Kansas farms because women and children were able to operate them easily. The committee also surveyed the location and condition of tractors throughout the state, and had tractors imported into those areas with shortages.

(6)

Dependent on voluntary compliance with its directions and solutions, this committee suggested solutions and methods of accomplishing increased production. They showed how it could be achieved, but it was up to Kansas farmers to accomplish the council committee's goals.

In response to federal urging and appeals, the Highway Transportation Committee encouraged voluntary cooperation to expand the use of motor transportation. The overtaxing of railroads to deliver war materials necessitated other methods of transporting merchandise and food. The Federal Railroad Administration urged increased use of highway transportation to reduce the strain on the railroads. The Labor Department perceived highway transportation as a way

of enabling farmers to market their larger crops without leaving the farm. The committee took a truck census that listed owners, usage, loads, tonnage and rates. The committee had only begun its work when the armistice was signed, but it demonstrated that Kansas could develop a model truck transport system. (7)

The State Council of National Defense pinpointed what needed to be done to ensure agricultural conservation and expansion. The various agricultural committees supplied informative directions on how to achieve these goals. But the State Council of National Defense did little of the actual work. The council transmitted information from the National Council and cooperated with the various federal departments and agencies. The state council had to depend on other sources for the actual accomplishment of any council objectives related to agriculture.

The resources of the State Board of Agriculture suited the needs of the state council perfectly. Governor Capper's selection of Board Secretary Mohler as state council secretary demonstrated the governor's knack for putting pivotal people in crucial positions. Secretary Mohler offered the council room in the Board of Agriculture offices, which served as the central collection point for agricultural data. The council received all of this information. The council used the board's county by country organization, especially that of the Crop Reporting Service, which had immediate access to 1917-18 crop information.

The Board of Agriculture used its funds to help finance council activities. Secretary Mohler realized that many farmers could not finance their 1917-18 fall planting. The board sent a committee to Washington to present the council's financial case to relevant departments. Council president Henry Waters accompanied the committee, which secured the financing necessary for Kansas farmers to plan an unequaled 1917 winter wheat crop. The state received over \$1,000,000 in loans, which helped farmers plant 28,312,000 acres in the fall of 1917. This acreage increase of 5,590,000 acres in one year largely resulted from the actions of the State Board of Agriculture Committee.

The greatest agricultural contribution to the war, expanded production, depended on successful action by non-council agencies and organizations. The European crop shortage increased demand for Kansas wheat and other agricultural products. The State Council of Defense directed efforts that promoted increased production. European demand made expanded production necessary, and helped justify the state council's emphasis on the transmission of agricultural production and conservation information. The council enlisted the assistance of the State Board of Agriculture and the Extension Service, and their assistance made expanded agricultural production and prosperity possible in Kansas. (8)

Governor Capper knew that the council's publicity

efforts were primarily responsible for the state's expanded food production. He invited people to accept key positions on the council who could turn council directions and publicity into action. His form letter to all Kansans in March of 1917 described the worldwide food shortage and stressed the fact that every producer had a patriotic obligation to maximize production. Also, the governor believed world demand had increased prices that would spur higher production. He requested that every acre and laborer become involved in this expansion of Kansas agriculture, and argued that all possible assistance must be given to help farmers increase production. (9)

Capper knew where to find the most capable people for the council's agricultural expansion campaign. He invited Dr. Henry Waters, president of Kansas State Agricultural College, to serve as State Defense Council president. Waters used the facilities and expertise of the college to carry out the agricultural programs of the state council. As the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service for Kansas was connected with the college, Waters also helped obtain its services and those of the college's Division of College Extension. The division continued a project begun by Governor Capper by issuing pamphlets endorsing the creation of Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Clubs in Kansas. Otis E. Hall, a prominent supporter of council activities, was appointed director of this statewide project. The clubs attempted to intensify interest of rural youth in farming and farm work. They activated the agricultural

education efforts of the state council. (10)

The Division of College Extension also created clubs for people interested in more than a dozen agricultural topics from crops and livestock to gardening and home improvement subjects. Club work was designed to supplement work done in rural schools. This division project expanded the participants' knowledge and spurred activity toward the council's goals of expanded efficiency, conservation and production. (11)

The Division of College Extension also supported the council programs by sponsoring a Farm and Home Week between February 5-10, 1917. Agricultural expansion programs included topics like "Pasture Management," "Poultry Judging," and "Cultivation to Conserve Moisture." The Kansas Crop Improvement Association met during the week and discussed subjects ranging from "Spraying for Quality" to "The Meat We Eat" and "Front Yard Gardening." (12)

The Extension Division accentuated the council emphasis on the need for agricultural productivity by issuing an extension bulletin with instructions on how to select the best seed. The bulletin indicated when the best seed should be selected and informed Kansans that the farmer always selected new seed in the grower's field. Good seed never showed any sign of disease or injury. Uniformity of size and maturity depended upon selection of the best seed. This seed was always tested for germination. (13)

Home study courses available to Kansans stressed that old production methods were outdated, and that economy of time, money and effort made agricultural expansion possible. The Home Study Courses Guide declared that interest in agricultural training had grown by leaps and bounds on the campuses and on the farms. Barren soil, poor herds, unsanitary homes and expensive diets all became treatable through proper training. The Home Study Service offered everyone practical information to help improve farm work through modern methods. The necessary study could be done during the slow months of the farm year, and many courses beneficial to farmers could be taken by extension.

(14)

The State Board of Agriculture and its facilities became available because of Governor Capper's judicious choice of State Council of Defense leadership. His choice of Waters as prospective state council president put the resources and expertise of the state agricultural college to work for the council. The council's work would have been less successful without the groups that Capper pressed into active service for the state council.

Many members of the Kansas State Council of National Defense were either interested or involved in public relations and journalism. The National Council instructed state councils in the uses of journalism and publicity, and the Kansas State Council used to emphasize the need for agricultural growth and expansion. The Kansas State Council used its official publication, The Council of

Defense Chronicle, to inform Kansans about the 1918 agricultural programs. The first issue of the Chronicle in March, 1918 described the gardening seminars conducted by Kansas State Agricultural College specialists. Kansans were also informed of the increase in tractors in the state, indicating that farmers desired increased production. The council requested greater pork production through increased breeding, which the government had made profitable by keeping prices high through increased demand. The Chronicle urged each farmer to raise a flock of sheep, which again could show good profits possible because of overseas demand.

The first issue of the Chronicle contained an article entitled "Defense Council Shows Record of Achievement." The author's name did not appear in this article, which recounted council achievements including increases in available seed, wheat acreage, garden sizes, and greater conservation of food. All of these achievements resulted presumably from the work of the Council in 1917. Not one word appeared recognizing the voluntary assistance given by the schools, groups, individuals and organizations which were responsible for the successes. (15)

This example of council vanity preceded an article informing Kansans that Capper had appointed Dr. W. M. Jardine, former dean of agriculture in the State Agricultural College, as vice president of the Kansas Council of Defense. Jardine was president of the college

by the time the Chronicle announced his appointment. He brought agricultural expertise and the facilities of the college to his new position on the council, suggesting that his appointment had not been accidental. Governor Capper appointed him because his position and influence made him the logical choice for an office on the council. (16)

The same issue of the Chronicle contained an article by council president Henry Waters urging Kansans to use all vacant ground to grow garden crops. Farmers were encouraged to plant abandoned wheat acreage to spring crops, with the advice that careful preparation of the soil made good crops possible. Waters mentioned that the food conference, which established the groundwork for the state council, also requested a national food commission to control the shortage, production, and distribution of all foods. He noted that the council conducted two food enrollment campaigns. (17)

The second issue of the Chronicle in April, 1918, included an article describing the serious food problem around the world and requesting greater food production from retirees and children. (18)

The August, 1918, issue of the Chronicle contained information necessary for farmers to obtain seed wheat loans. No loans was to exceed \$3.00 an acre for over 100 acres. Each application received individual attention. Financial aid was available wherever needed after the council endorsed the federal program. (19)

Youths between the ages of 16 and 21 became the targets of an agricultural education program. The bulletin pinpointed the lack of available labor and suggested that these boys be properly trained by qualified persons. Agriculture teachers became the leaders in this program. The bulletin stressed the fact that the teachers must have the support of all local agricultural groups.

The boys eventually gave much service to the state and community. Their hard work resulted in good earnings and pride in their support of the war. The council hoped that improved cooperation between farm and town would result from enrolling urban boys in agricultural training. Enrollment in the program was voluntary, but the patriotism of Kansas boys helped make the program successful. The council only informed the boys of its existence and described its functions. It published a bulletin describing the world food shortage and Europe's immediate need of food. Kansas were informed of the need to conserve food and eliminate waste, and also apprised of the expected size of the 1918 crops. (20)

The April Production committee issued a circular written by a faculty member of the Kansas State Agriculture College's Division of College Extension on the equipment and methods used in drying fruits and vegetables. The circular gave instructions for constructing simple, homemade drying equipment like drying trays, covers and drying racks, and for drying most fruits and vegetables. (21)

The Subcommittee on Food Production and Conservation of the Council Woman's Committee sponsored publication of a circular prepared by three members of the Home Economy Department of the Kansas State Agricultural College. Most of the recipes in this circular contained corn meal, corn flour or kafir flour. The circular recommended rice flour as a substitute for wheat flour. Many recipes also suggested the use of potatoes to make a type of yeast. A "War Bread" recipe included Karo syrup. Molasses and tapioca appeared in several recipes. Oatmeal and rice became frequent substitutes for wheat. (22)

Another circular issued by the same subcommittee in March of 1918 stressed the use of one-dish meals in conserving food. It devoted attention to the economy, foodstuff conservation, nutritive value and wheat-saving benefits of one-dish meals. Wheat-free recipes included directions for preparing stews, rice and peanut loaf with catsup, rabbit pie, scalloped eggs, based kidney beans, fish chowder, and hominy and cheese. (23)

The relationship between the Kansas State Council of Defense and the Kansas State Agricultural College was apparent early. Three State Agricultural College faculty members wrote the preceding two circulars. The State Council of Defense merely distributed them. Faculty and staff members of the State Agricultural College supported, directed and participated in the agricultural work emphasized by the State Council of Defense. They received

direction and ideas from the State Council of Defense, but they performed the laboratory work, conducted surveys and seed tests, and wrote articles and circulars. The state council, of course, received its ideas and direction from the U. S. Department of Agriculture and national council.

The new Federal Food Administration followed a similar pattern in its relations with the state councils. Both the Food Administration and the state council wanted increased food production and conservation, but the latter was not in the farmer's new Food Administration organization. The Food Administration appointed a separate food administrator for Kansas. He had close relations with the state council, which was enjoined by the National Council in Washington to cooperate with the new administrator. These orders, received by the Kansas council on June 18, 1917, also declared that the state council should get used to federal direction of its war work. (24)

The Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration supported the promotion of food conservation methods by the Kansas state council with a series of leaflets publicizing food conservation methods. Kansans learned from one leaflet that fresh vegetables in their daily diet improved health, conserved meat, whet and brad, and added variety to meals. Instructions were given for preparing and cooking fresh vegetables. Kansans became patriotic conservators of needed foodstuffs by following these entreaties. (25)

One Food Leaflet, issued by the United States

Department of Agriculture and the United States Food Administration through the state council, promoted the use of rice in meals. It gave directions for boiling rice southern style and for other ways to cook rice. Favorite recipes in the leaflet using rice as a meat or wheat substitute included oyster scallop, rice souffle, stuffed apples, rice pudding and rice corn bread. (26)

Another Food Leaflet featured types of wheatless breads and cakes. The leaflet emphasized that the need for Kansas whet in Europe meant that Kansans must conserve one-half of the state's wartime production. Corn meal, oats, rice and buckwheat should replace wheat in the diets of patriotic Kansas residents. Methods recommended to conserve wheat included cutting bread only as it was needed and the use of corn meal and cooled cereal as bread substitutes. (27)

The Kansas Council of Defense did not participate in the preparation of any of these food leaflets, but the United States Department of Agriculture welcomed the state council as an effective distributing agent. The Department recognized the potential of the state council to reach Kansans, and used its vast organization to flood Kansas with their leaflets.

The goal of increased conservation practices in Kansas agriculture required an active publicity program. A Topeka Capital article in April of 1917 described the state council's campaign to conserve foodstuffs. The new,

economical canning factories received praise because everyone, including school girls, could participate. Boy Scouts gathered garden produce. This article also suggested conservative buying practices. (28)

The State Council of Defense cultivated good relations with Kansas newspapers because the council recognized that they were needed to publicize its programs. The state council Publicity Committee regularly sent out material to over 800 newspapers and journals. National Council directives and information comprised a large part of this publicity. (29) Governor Capper had developed the Topeka Capital into a major journalistic force in Kansas, and the State Council of Defense made use of it.

The Topeka Capital often printed articles like the one on April 18, 1917, for example, announcing the council's declaration of war on waste, extravagance, luxury, land-grabbers, cinch bugs, flies, hog cholera and grasshoppers. The Capital praised the council's survey in an article on April 19, 1917. (30) The Capital beseeched Kansas bankers to lend farmers money to construct silos, urged increased cattle and poultry production, and supported formation of county seed committees. (31).

The Kansas State Council of National Defense was as effective in its agricultural work as any supportive, intermediary group could be. The council's expectations of a primary part in agricultural preparedness policy in Kansas became locally important, especially after convincing proof came from the State Council section of the

National Council of Defense in Washington that policy input would not be welcomed.

The Kansas State Council of National Defense linked patriotism and state pride in achievement, but the National Council of Defense linked patriotism with conformity to federal direction of state agricultural activities, leaving little room for pride in anything but strict conformity with federal regulation. This National Council desire for conformity welcomed state council cooperation and assistance, but removed any effective state council feeling of pride and accomplishment from helping to formulate agricultural programs.

Increases in state agricultural productivity resulted from Kansans' innate patriotism. The state council provided outlets and objectives for this patriotism. It also gave the people an organizational rallying point and a means of expressing their patriotic support of their country through increased agricultural production. This increased production resulted from the active leadership given state council projects and ideas by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture and the Kansas State Agricultural College. The state council generated ideas and directions or distributed and followed those of the Council of National Defense. The Board of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College and its Division of College Extension organized the work and encouraged its successful completion, especially at the county and local levels.

The State Councils Section of the Council of National Defense evolved from a vacillating organization with no real sense of direction into a decisive director of state councils and their programs. This evolution signaled the end of any significant part in agricultural policy-making by the state council.

The state council achieved some measure of success as the source of new agricultural ideas and methods, but action originated elsewhere. Foreign demand for Kansas products that automatically increased production coupled with the enthusiastic support of Kansans for the created an aura of success for the council. Agricultural production, conservation and efficiency increased in Kansas, but that increase resulted from efforts by non-council organizations and individuals. Direction and encouragement came from the Kansas State Council of Defense, but the tangible results, expertise and support came from the patriotic efforts of Kansans.

CHAPTER TWO

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

Developing and demonstrating the innate loyalty of Kansans evolved into one of the state council's major progressive goals. Patriotism and loyalty, two of Progressivism's major goals, required the achievement of several desired progressive objectives. These included the desire to increase patriotic support of the war effort. Increased patriotism and loyalty generated greater democratic opportunity and war support. Using these Progressive goals, the Kansas state council created an interesting record of patriotic activity.

Support of the war constituted the major purpose of the state council; therefore, loyalty to the nation and its wartime goals, and patriotic devotion and service converged as primary wartime necessities. Chosen because of demonstrated patriotism, members of the Kansas state council attempted to achieve a unanimity of purpose, and wanted to instill American patriotism in all Kansans. Creation of the ideal progressive society depended on the council's ability to develop true patriotism and loyalty throughout Kansas. (1)

The state council needed to organize itself efficiently in order to make use of the loyalty of Kansans. Combining the progressive desire for organization with the need for social regulation and democratization, the state

council worked toward effective statewide support of the war. This organizational effort involved the development of several council committees. These committees, whose members wanted to perfect the Kansas variety of loyalty, worked to develop a feeling of patriotic togetherness.

Although its influence varied throughout Kansas, the Committee on Public Defense helped generate public feelings of loyalty. Showing considerable zeal, the committee hunted for centers of disloyalty or hotbeds of unenthusiastic support for American participation in the war, and for evaders of military service. The committee shared the council's belief that most German-American citizens loyally supported American involvement. (2)

Formed in November, 1917, upon request of the Committee on Public Information of the Council of National Defense, the state council's Committee on the Speakers' Bureau developed as an arm of the federal group. In its role of disseminating supportive publicity and propaganda, the committee stressed loyalty as a necessary ingredient in American military success in Europe. It sought to reform public sentiment in Kansas and to energize state organizations to support the war. The committee chairman, Dean Edward C. Johnson of the Kansas State Agricultural College, employed marked administrative ability and made sound appointments to create an influential committee. The committee employed twenty-five speakers, who gave over one hundred sixty addresses to enthusiastic audiences.

Clergymen, who comprised the majority of the hundreds of other voluntary Bureau speakers, seemed especially able to convince listeners of the urgent need for loyalty as a prerequisite for American military success. (3)

Committee members on the Speakers' Bureau believed that informing Kansans of the facts would create wholehearted support for the national war program. The Speakers' Bureau brought the facts to the people. Patriotism and loyalty added importance to the facts presented by the committee. (4)

Sponsored by the Committee on the Speakers' Bureau in cooperation with the Council of National Defense, the Kansas War Conference convened on January 17, 1918. Governor Capper chaired the conference. The Washburn College Singers, under the direction of Dean Horace Whitehouse, generated patriotic fervor with appropriate musical selections. The conference program included an inspiring patriotic invocation by Capper's friend, Dr. Wilbur N. Mason, of the State Department of Administration. A speech given by state Young Men's Christian Association chairman, E. B. Pratt, described the loyal service work being done in the Kansas training camps. Representing the Wilson Administration, Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane gave an address intended to inspire national loyalty in his audience. British Attorney General Sir Frederick Smith vividly described the war activities in Europe. The next speaker, Miss Harriet Vittum of the Illinois Woman's Committee, discussed the many opportunities for loyal women

to serve the country. (5)

Conference program highlights on January 18 included speeches by the Fuel Administrator for Kansas, Emerson Carey, and the Food Administrator, Walter Innes. Peter Goebbel assured the audience that increased saving in wartime demonstrated patriotic loyalty. Progressive solutions to wartime problems on the farm appeared in the speeches of H. M. Hill and E. E. Frizell.

Topical sessions during the two-day conference included one on agriculture with presentations by Dean Jardine of the Kansas State Agricultural College on food production in Kansas, and by Mary Van Zile, Dean of Home Economy at the college, on "Food Conservation and Substitution. The conference War Education Section program created loyal interest. The presentation by Arthur Bestor, chairman of the National Council's Speakers' Bureau, on "Coordinating Speakers' Campaigns" received an enthusiastic response from the audience. Dr. Waters, state council president, inspired the audience with the need for "An Educational War Program."

Suggestions on "How the Church can Help the War Effort" were made by Dr. E. J. Kulp, pastor of Topeka's First Methodist Church. Miss Vittum and Dr. Van Zile described the wartime opportunities for loyal Kansas women. The school superintendent, W. D. Ross, and Dean F. J. Kelley of the University of Kansas described the opportunities of the schools and universities to contribute

to war preparedness. (5)

An article in the Topeka Capital on December 17, 1917, entitled "Educate Kansans to Real Purpose and Aim of War," told of plans to extend the Speakers' Bureau War Education Program to all parts of Kansas. The Speakers' Bureau met at the Throop Hotel to decide on tentative plans for distributing necessary war information throughout Kansas. The December 7, 1917 issue of the Capital suggested that Kansans could cooperate much more with government authorities in furthering American war activities. Many Kansans had already cooperated splendidly, but the response had not yet been as complete as it could be.

An article on January 7 heralded the fact that "War Delegates Now are Coming in Force." Representatives came from every section of the state and from every department of the state council. These loyal Kansans made the necessary business of mobilization possible. The Topeka Capital issue of January 18, 1918 described the sole purpose of the conference as preparing delegates for the work of mobilizing public opinion, industries and armies. This work required loyalty, organization, continuous effort and efficiency. In the article "Kansans Answer the Call to Intensive War Preparation," delegates were exhorted to carry this preparation message home to their local community.

The Topeka Capital predictably gave the conference extensive publicity. A January 18 article, "Patriotism the Keynote as War Conference Opens," described the large

conference crowds. It reviewed Governor Capper's keynote speech, which emphasized the vital need for loyalty and patriotism, and enjoined Kansans to subordinate politics to patriotism. He declared that the state had no place in any of its 105 counties for anyone who did not enthusiastically support the government. (6)

As a means of instilling loyalty and maintaining a patriotic atmosphere in Kansas, the Speakers' Bureau Committee of the state Council of Defense and the federal Food Administration issued a handbook on "Community Action in a Government at War." It warned that the free and happy community life enjoyed by Kansans would end, never to return, if the non-democratic German autocracy won the war. The handbook, which followed the Progressive themes of assiduous patriotic effort and the creation of greater democratic activity, declared that the German autocracy aimed its power at the destruction of the community because it held democratic ideals and principles in low esteem. Because the community represented the epitome of American democracy, Germany had planted agents in many communities. The German autocrats scorned family and community life. Wishing to destroy it, the agents of German influence targeted the pillars of the community, including homes, schools and churches. Declaring that the United States entered the war to protect the community, the handbook claimed that the Germans had no tolerance for the civilized population in Kansas communities. Thus, Kansans had to

show loyal, patriotic regard for the community, that bastion of democracy.

Nearly 250 speakers traveled around Kansas under the auspices of the Committee on Speakers' Bureau, visiting over 1,000 communities and helping to keep loyalty aroused in 99 of the 105 Kansas counties. The meetings, in churches, town halls and schools, attracted over 300,000 listeners, who noisily applauded the speakers' predictions of impending German defeat. (7)

The handbook depicted the progressive goal of extending the ideal American society typified by the community. Suggestions that the Kaiser's American agents had no respect for morals or democratic ideals made the organization of small town loyalists easier. The handbook, which used loyalty and patriotism as two means of accomplishing what seemed the only rational goal—the saving of the community by patriotic citizens—also recommended that non-democratic ideas be reformed into democratic ones.

Popular responses to this first Speakers' Handbook prompted the Committee on the Speakers' Bureau of the State Council of Defense to issue a second, "Puncturing Potsdam's Propaganda," which contained a distinctly Progressive orientation. Requirements such as the proper maintenance of loyalty and patriotism made Progressive ideals of democratic social organization, administration and justice achievable. One of Germany's main propaganda targets, loyalty to the war at home, automatically made support of

these democratic principles supported by the presence of the American armies in Europe an impediment to German success. Knowing that they could not defeat American armies having loyal home support, the Germans used propaganda to undermine the American home war activities.

Propaganda included any activity which weakened America's home war effort. The handbook claimed that Americans had never learned to unite their powers of concentration to plan for any one big goal. American attention and loyalty must be focused on the war. Every decent American believed that the Allies could be victorious, but the Germans spent great amounts to divide American loyalties. Germany wanted to weaken the American people's patriotic resolve. German propaganda, which seldom seemed blatant, did not favor Germany so openly that the agents could be denied access to mail services. Pro-German propaganda included idle gossip, creation of religious friction and lies about America's war aims. German gossip-mongers enjoyed spreading rumors suggesting Germany would soon win the war.

German-backed propaganda opposed the Progressive goals of conservation with claims that American business need not change any of its practices, even if those practices did not benefit all society. Pro-German propaganda stated that buying war bonds only served to deplete the savings of American workers, and that the war did not require conservation of materials and labor. Such fabrications

attempted to weaken the American war effort.

German propagandists told Kansans, for example, to buy a new bed, even if the steel was needed for the war and the gas used to transport it was needed for war trucks. Kansans discovered that the Germans used various types of propaganda. Religious propaganda appeared quite often, telling Kansans that Christians could not justify participation in the war and that the churches should help stop the war. All of these propaganda ploys helped weaken American resolve to win the war. German agents also supported the illusion of an early peace, but the reality of war continued. Loyal, patriotic Progressives told Kansans that German plunder had to be stopped and it would be through progressive, organized support of American war activity. (8)

Elimination of dissent in states such as Kansas made winning the European conflict easier, according to a Council of National Defense bulletin entitled Boards of Instruction, distributed with a cover letter from W. T. Gifford, National Council director, to the several state councils of defense. Gifford wrote that the formation of local Boards of Instruction recommended by Provost Marshal General E. H. Crowder insured the willingness, loyalty, intelligence, cleanliness and sobriety of new military recruits. The boards would take personal, active and direct measures to see that each recruit understood why the United States entered the war, and how the recruits could best prepare themselves for military service.

The Provost Marshal General recommended that local draft boards work with state councils to find patriotic members for the instruction boards. The State Councils Section of the National Council recommended the selection of persons able to devote themselves to the task of visiting all parts of the state to assist the local draft boards. The section suggested that each local Board of Instruction recruit one member knowledgeable in military affairs who could lead drills and instruction sessions.

Provost Marshal General Crowder sent a letter to all local draft boards suggesting a systematic plan of instruction for all recruits prior to their draft call. Wherever such a plan had not been undertaken in those areas where public sentiment permitted it, General Crowder requested the appointment of a Board of Instruction. The local draft boards selected Board of Instruction members from those people considered pillars of the community. He directed the local draft boards to give the state council work ample recognition. (9)

Several factors, including pre-war pacifism, made achieving the Kansas State Council's goals of increased loyalty and patriotism more difficult and necessary. Most Kansans adhered to isolationism, and had opposed American entry into the war. Interested in state and local affairs, they believed America had no need to become involved in a European quarrel. Many Kansans favored neutrality until the United States entered the war. In December, 1915, the

Chancellor of the state agricultural college disputed President Wilson's plan to increase military training in the land grant colleges, insisting that the universities needed to oppose militarism. A teacher's convention in Hutchinson the previous February adopted a resolution favoring the teaching of the virtue of disarmament and universal peace in Kansas schools. The same month U. S. Senator Charles Curtis submitted a petition in the United States Senate against the President's preparedness campaign with the signatures of over 11,000 Kansans. (10)

Governor Capper believed that most Kansans opposed American entry into the war. The nation moved inexorably toward war, but he still hoped that the United States could avoid the hostilities. He changed his mind when German submarines began sinking American ships, but he still hoped that an alternative to all-out war could be found. (11)

His hope ended when Germany declared unrestricted submarine warfare, changing sentiment in Kansas to an active interest in preparedness. Rumors of German spies frightened citizens of a state with a large German-American population. Describing activities which followed Germany's declaration, Topekan George Morehouse commented that Kansans passed from an orgy of worship and apology for Germany's warlike acts to a phase of strong enthusiasm for a vigorous war policy. He claimed that Kansans had almost forgotten that they had started off on the wrong foot in the grand march to save the world from the curse of Kaiserism. Kansans then demonstrated remorse for not

getting into the war earlier against the unspeakable Hun, and enthusiastically attempted to make amends for such tardiness. (12)

Kansas suddenly led the way in supporting the home front activities necessary to enable Americans to crush the enemies of mankind. The State Council of Defense believed that everyone in the state supported patriotic war activities. Kansas contained some slackers, but not as many as in other states. Though some degenerates tried to evade military duty, few tried to be exempted from the draft. Usually it was an unpatriotic relative or a selfish employer who obstructed the young man's regard for military service. (13)

To prevent slackers or vagrants from other states from coming into Kansas to promote vagrancy with its deleterious effects on patriotism, the Committee on Public Defense of the State Council of Defense established a subcommittee on vagrancy. Its chairman, Mr. Coddington, who came appropriately from Lansing, led the attempt to protect Kansans from possible dangers by "collecting" all vagrants. His subcommittee considered them pseudo-criminals and dangerous to the population. The draft and resulting labor shortage made the subcommittee's job easier by leaving comparatively few slackers unemployed in Kansas.

The State Council Committee on Public Relations, a group with varied activities, emphasized loyalty and patriotic actions. Chairman Frank Strong from Kansas

University made several speeches endorsing food saving and restriction. Chairman Strong also appointed faculty members from Kansas University to lead the University campaigns for Liberty Bonds, for Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and other war drives. Those campaigns raised over \$165,000 for these causes and \$8,000 for Belgian relief. An experienced educator, Dr. Strong knew the value of setting a patriotic example. His Kansas University campaigns became an example for other loyal Kansans to follow. (15)

Progressive state council members led the change from a mood of pacifism to a mood of patriotic enthusiasm. These council leaders believed that pacifism inhibited the efficiency of war preparation. Providing effective leadership, these progressive members used their organizational and administrative abilities to generate patriotism. Because patriotism by example made sense to those leaders, state council members were unabashed in displaying zealous patriotism.

The council's Committee on Publicity reflected this progressive attitude by promoting the appeal of war work. Its highly organized efforts and efficient coordination with federal government policy organs resulted in the transmission of national and state council news and information to hundreds of Kansas newspapers, magazines and journals. Effective publicity remained one of the state council's best methods of increasing loyalty, patriotism and conformity.

Expanding the ideals of loyal patriotic service home

to all Kansans with the cooperation it enjoyed from many Kansas newspapers, the Publicity Bureau successfully evoked favorable war sentiment, and Kansans in every vocation responded to the call for service. The Bureau encouraged the same efficiency and organization it demonstrated in the efforts of subordinate councils and groups.

The state council's publicity organ, the Council of Defense Chronicle, crated patriotic support for activities like the third Liberty Loan drive. The March, 1918 issue announced the beginning of the campaign, urging making a special observance the opening day to help Kansas meet its quota at bond sales. Because thousands of American boys were fighting in a terrible war, the council insisted that no Kansas family could fail to do its part. Inviting them to buy bonds offering a high rate of interest, the Chronicle informed its readers that council leaders expected the third Liberty Loan drive to show a 50 percent increase over the previous campaign. The issue included patriotic poems, designed to engender enthusiastic response, as Hamlin Garland's "Democracy at War," which recounted all of the sacrifice and effort required of Americans by the war, and declared that all segments of society must sacrifice for the cause of victory. (18)

In its April, 1918 issue, the Chronicle announced that the State Liberty Loan Committee had demonstrated progressive efficiency by preparing a catalog of the adult population in each county. It contained names, addresses

and records of each person' war activities, including the notation of pro-German slackerism on a separate "yellow" card. This meant that the government had a record of every Kansan.

Slackerism became a source of embarrassment to relatives of accused persons, who found it hard to become members of any patriotic groups or societies. This embarrassment resulted from un-patriotic utterances or disloyal acts or failure to contribute to fund drives. Slackers and their families found the "path to public esteem" closed, and encountered social hostility. Few German-Americans who did not claim Americanism could be accepted by a democratic Kansas community. Any such Americans who may have talked sedition found themselves targets of unfriendly opinions because such sentiments inhibited the creation of an ideally patriotic Kansas society.

Many Kansans, including some State Council of Defense members, were unable to determine just how patriotic many German-Americans in Kansas were. Designed to create the perfect democratic society in Kansas, many State Council of Defense programs and activities suggested council uncertainty as to the best way to unify Kansans. Because the council indicated great interest in eradicating disloyalty in Kansas, its members often forgot that many German-Americans were loyal Americans. Disclosure of the results of a possible German victory, coupled with feverish activities designed to discourage slackerism, revealed the

council's lack of certainty about the success of its activities.

One of those patriotic, loyal activities, indexing, contained some flaws in its method of execution, because dependence on local citizens in each county to do this work forced the state council to discount the possibility and effect of community bias against the foreign born. This dependence also required the council to share responsibility for creating a workable definition of or criteria for patriotism and loyalty. The council often forgot that morality invited varied definitions even during wartime.

The state council often seemed intent on enforcing its opinions of how to define and locate patriotism and loyalty in Kansas. Many German-Americans were well-assimilated in wartime Kansas society. The doubts of many state council members concerning the actuality of this fact created an interesting phase in the patriotic activities of the Kansas State Council of Defense.

Some state council members referred to this phase of council activities as the disloyalty campaign. Involvement of the greatest possible number of Kansans in the war effort as wonderfully loyal Americans became the objective of the campaign. A shakily constructed stereotype of the disloyal American seemed to meet the council's needs. Failure to contribute, conserve, produce, enlist or become a patriotic joiner constituted disloyalty or pro-German

behavior.

This perception of disloyalty by the state council generated a spirit of narrow patriotism, which filtered down to every Kansas citizen. Loyal Kansans were thereby prone to discern disloyalty everywhere; in all the hearts, minds and homes in Kansas. Most Kansans believed that suppression of pre-war patterns of nonconformist thought and action was necessary, and that this reformation would result in an expansion of patriotic democracy in Kansas through regulation and organization. (20)

The State Council of Defense appointed a Committee on Public Defense whose Home Guard subcommittee proved especially helpful in protecting property. The council asked all Kansas citizens to support Home Guard units to protect their private property from possibly disloyal elements in Kansas society. (21)

The War Conference sponsored by the State Council Committee on the Speakers' Bureau inspired loyal Kansans so much that similar conferences occurred in several Kansas cities. The committee planned twelve conferences, designed to help create the progressive goal of an ideal democratic society. None of the conference speakers, including the nine state council members, knew the meaning of the word "apathy" in connection with war activity. Increased patriotic determination to win the war resulted from these conferences, and translated into a fervent desire for unanimity of thought and action throughout Kansas.

That desire did not originate in the Kansas State

Council. The State Councils Section of the Council of National Defense encouraged a more intense nationalism through an Americanization program and efforts to foster greater community involvement in all aspects of war work. No official national government policy of Americanization existed. The fact of war directed attention to the need to assimilate America's 17,000,000 immigrants, of which five million spoke no English.

Fourteen federal boards, departments or agencies were involved in Americanization work early in 1918, but without a central coordinating body to give leadership and direction. The State Council Section therefore encouraged state councils to assume a more active role in Americanization work. It requested each state council to form a state Americanization committee. Designed to be representative of the state's population, these committees were to include a member of the state council; a state Woman's Committee member; a representative of the state Board of Education; and persons representing voluntary agencies involved in Americanization. (23)

The State Councils Section, aware of the touchiness of this issue, moved with caution in its Americanization work and left the initial work to the state councils. The main thrust of its campaign was to make English the official language of each state. The section equated patriotism and loyalty with the use of only English. Education of all foreign born in English required classes at home and at

work. State council Americanization committees promoted civics classes as a means of instilling regard for the American language and customs. (24)

The Kansas State Council of National Defense assigned Americanization work to its Committee on Public Relations. Fully aware of the volatility involved in questioning the loyalty of foreign born persons in a state filled with them, the committee found the problem a vital and sensitive one.

The State Council Committee on Public Relations selected a state Americanization chairman. They felt that Dr. Martin Graebner, of St. John's College in Winfield, possessed all of the qualifications necessary for the position. Descriptions of the new director declared him to be a man of undoubted loyalty and native birth; well-acquainted with all of the foreign elements in Kansas; and aware of the problems generated by use of a foreign language.

Dr. Graebner's report on the Americanization work of the Committee on Public Relations proved enlightening and interesting. He noted that many Kansans doubted that unity could be achieved when the war began because of the sizable foreign element. Progressive state council members felt that a unified, uniform society was necessary and possible notwithstanding the problems. These progressive council members sought to remove doubts that worked against this kind of thinking in order to achieve military victory abroad and social justice in an ideal society. Those

doubts contributed to the hope of German propagandists that German-Americans would not turn against the Fatherland and therefore strengthened their resolve. Progressive Kansas State Council members later believed that their Americanization and loyalty activities helped dispel German confidence and thereby contributed to victory.

Dr. Graebner knew the kind of group that had retained his expert service. It considered Americanization work a progressive mission which expanded democracy and democratic opportunity for the foreign born in Kansas. The mission gave the new residents the opportunity to reform patterns of thought and action so that they could help construct a wonderfully inclusive and progressive Kansas society.

Graebner conceded that a few patriotic excesses occurred by angry mobs, but they had been caused by blatant outbreaks of disloyalty. Graebner declared that these constituted about all of the disturbing facts. He realized that many prominent Kansas progressives on the committee wanted to be assured that his Americanization programs were successful and generated little disruption. Integrating many progressive goals in its Americanization program, the committee sought to achieve a more integrated, democratic Kansas society through unifying foreign elements in support of the war.

Dr. Graebner and the committee realized that the primary way to achieve that goal involved promoting English. (26)

His report on Americanization efforts listed two dangers which use of German posed in Kansas. Disloyalty could be practiced without detection; and the use of German could provoke violence on some occasions. But Dr. Graebner pointed out that the greatest pitfall caused by the use of German was that it made the citizen unable to perform the duties of citizenship. Desire for responsible participation in the political process by all Americans, including the foreign-born, made it only natural for the committee to search out ways to restrict the use of German as much as possible. Indicating that prohibiting the use of German had been suggested as a popular method of achieving social unity, Dr. Graebner reported that the committee wanted those institutions and organizations using German to voluntarily stop. His report revealed the belief that they would accept the proposition that only the use of English was patriotic and proper. (27)

Chairman Dr. Frank Strong met with leaders of many churches and religious bodies which used German in their worship services. The chairman indicated, according to Graebner's report, that this problem had been fully discussed. German Lutheran, Baptist and Methodist leaders attended the meetings, and vigorous but not necessarily conciliatory discussions prevailed.

Strong and other committee leaders urged the "advisability" of increasing use of English in church activities. This reformation of language usage had not always created progressive social democratization in Kansas

churches, and the committee used wisdom in leaving the details of how to effect it in the hands of the church leaders. The committee expected this part of the Americanization campaign to be accomplished. (28)

Dr. Graebner reported that the committee's expectations that English would be introduced in German churches had been fulfilled. No information appeared in the report revealing how those expectations had been achieved, but the author commended the committee for using restraint in Americanizing and unifying all Kansans in support of the war. Searching for progressive, forward-looking solutions to the problems of social diversity, the committee congratulated itself for using such rational methods. Suggesting that the pivotal work would be in linguistic Americanization, the report proposed that this goal could be achieved without forsaking American principles of liberty and justice or losing the good will of all Kansans. Adoption of these progressive cornerstone principles had been attempted, with some results reflecting more progressive types of activity than others.

Most State Council and Public Relations Committee members believed that the majority of Kansas German-Americans were loyal. The council and its committee used progressive ideas and goals in working with foreign elements in Kansas. The committee sought to encourage German-American assimilation in Kansas because it believed that it expanded their opportunities. (29)

Recognition of the fact that the State Council of National Defense worked without any clear, forceful policy or direction from the National Council in Washington made the State Council's activities seem even more remarkable. Its efforts did not always prove successful, and documentation of failures seemed plentiful. But Kansans, however, needed idealistic goals in Kansas during World War I, and Progressives on the State Council of National Defense provided them. Loyalty and patriotism found ready acceptance as a way to achieve social unity and justice by most Kansas citizens.

Purported proof that activities to encourage loyalty and patriotism had reformed Kansans' thoughts and actions was presented in the Council of Defense Chronicle. Entitled "A Call to Loyal Kansans," it described an occasion in Cowley County when five farmers volunteered to redistribute flour, and then reported to the Food Administrator. A German farmer among them said that one sack of flour seemed enough for his family for 30 days, and he did not want to be accused of hoarding. Commenting that he remained a follower of the Kaiser, he said that he knew the curse of the German system, and wanted to do his part to help America in winning the war. (30)

CHAPTER THREE

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR

President Woodrow Wilson stated in Topeka, on February 2, 1916, that Kansans wanted to know the facts regarding the war situation and give them open and frank consideration. He said that America was a composite nation, but he did not believe that Kansans recognized their diversity. This was because such a large part of the population of Kansas was native born and felt a primary "consciousness" to be of America and things American. (1)

The President spoke the truth in saying that Kansans wanted to know the facts about war plans. His belief that Kansas contained fewer foreign born residents than many other parts of the United States, with only a slight non-American consciousness, was erroneous and displayed an awe-inspiring ignorance of the ethnic and moral composition of Kansas.

Kansas citizens seemed primarily interested in local affairs and problems. They maintained vigorous ethnic identities, based on religion, community and family. Many of them revered the individuality that their new sense of American identity bestowed on them. Their American consciousness grew out of this individualism. Many of the foreign born in Kansas distrusted any form of conformity because of comparatively recent experiences with enforced conformity in European homelands. This distrust found

expression in the individualism which they cultivated.

Many people, including most state council members, wanted inclusive conformity in Kansas during the years from 1915-18. Conformity and loyalty in many progressive state council plans often had little resemblance to actual daily life. Conformity and community seemed identical to many council members. This synonymity became questionable when compared with actual rural or small town life. Many Kansans loved isolationism, and often viewed organization and regulation as foes of a feeling of actual community.

The state council's attempts to change this attitude made their activities promoting voluntary conformity interesting. The council thus created a difficult task for themselves in a state filled with ardent individualists. They attempted to equate loyalty and community through conformity. Voluntary conformity seemed a reliable reflection of individual loyalty.

Volunteerism became one means to a reputedly necessary, if questionable, social end: loyally conformist Americans in a time of state and national crisis. If foreign or native born Kansans volunteered to become involved in council activities, it surely meant that they wished to elevate their level of Americanism. Foreign born Kansans could not possibly consider themselves actual loyal Americans without active, voluntary participation in patriotic council programs and activities. The theory that volunteer activity bred a sense of conformity that

reflected loyalty and Americanism appeared in state council documents and histories.

The state council's obsession with conformity as an expression of patriotic loyalty and community found many means of expression. The council had been formed as a volunteer body, and its emphasis on voluntary activity seemed natural. What made the emphasis interesting was the fact that the council chose the individualistic women of Kansas as one of its targets for developing a sense of community conformity and patriotism.

Precedent existed for this decision. The Council of National Defense had reacted to pressure from national women's groups in deciding that a central body should be formed under council control to direct women's war-related activities. The council selected a chairman, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, and the eleven National Woman's Committee members, began work on April 21, 1917, by defining its role as a clearing house for the work of women throughout the country. The committee would send out the government's message to the nation's women through state organizations.(2)

Actual initiative remained in local hands while the national committee became an inclusive, official association of societies of volunteer women workers that coordinated women's war work. The Council of National Defense gave the state committees no actual authority over women's work. (3)

The national Woman's Committee appointed a temporary

chairman in each state to direct the organization of the state division. This chairman called together representatives of all volunteer women's organizations to elect the state division officers. The state division then organized county and local groups.

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense appointed Mrs. W. A. Johnston of Topeka as temporary state chairman. The Topeka Capital announced her appointment on June 21, 1917, with the headline "Kansas Women Entering National War Defense Work." The article said that the state division planned a mass meeting of Kansas women volunteers in Topeka on July 6. This meeting initiated efforts to coordinate the work of Kansas volunteer women's groups. The Topeka Capital stated, on July 4, 1917, that women from every part of the state indicated interest in the new state organization. Letters came from many rural areas asking Mrs. Johnston what the division expected of Kansas women. (4)

The National Woman's Committee had named Mrs. Johnston temporary chairman, but the new state division elected Mrs. David Mulvane as permanent chairman and selected a list of officers to assist her in organizing the numerous women's groups. According to an article, "Women Register for Service", in the Topeka Capital, on July 3, 1917, most of the volunteer women's groups affiliated with the state committee. (5)

Any organization that desired to promote voluntary

activity in Kansas required effective publicity. The Topeka Capital of May 17, 1917, included a listing of the numerous organizations affiliated with the new state council Woman's Committee. Prominent ladies led several of these volunteer groups, many of whom were already involved in state council work. The council activities of Mr. Coddington of Lansing involving vagrants in Kansas have been mentioned. His wife, the state P.T.A. chairman, naturally showed interest in assuring her group's assistance in the state division's volunteer recruitment program. Her picture appeared with those of leaders of other major Kansas volunteer women's groups in the same May 17, 1917 issue of the Topeka Capital. (6)

The report of the state Woman's Committee activities included a list of Committee departments and department chairmen. Making the chairmanship appointments involved planning and consideration of the statewide appeal of the prospective chairman. Dependent upon voluntary assistance in all parts of Kansas, the state woman's committee carefully appointed well-known Kansas women to these leadership positions.

Utilizing similar planning and selectivity, the state Woman's Committee appointed chairmen in each of Kansas' 105 counties. The list found in the state committee report, with many well-known names, reflected the committee's desire to recruit respected local leadership. The husbands of Mrs. Lewis from Ellis County and Mrs. Wulfekuhler from Leavenworth County, for example, were already

prominently identified with state council work. Joining many other equally well-known women with prominent husbands, these ladies became logical choices for leadership roles in the voluntary state organization.

Because the state committee recognized Kansas ethnic diversity, the Topeka Journal on July 16, 1917, suggested that tact be used in invitations to join the local organizations. All volunteer county women's groups needed to be included, and the newspaper listed the prospective groups and offices for each county organization. While indicating that each county needed an effective chairman and executive committee, the state committee's report admitted that it had taken much time and effort to arouse women in some counties to the necessity of doing state council of defense war work, because of a "lack of understanding" on their part of the nature of the work. Once they understood the purpose, they responded. (7)

Publicizing their responsiveness, the Topeka Journal proclaimed "Jewell County First" on July 20, 1917. Because of their patriotic spirit, the women of Jewell County became the first group in the state to organize for war work. Never a newspaper which was easily upstaged, the Topeka Capital indicated on August 2 that Shawnee County had also organized. The Shawnee County precinct and township captains attended a meeting that week at the National Hotel, where they received instructions from county chairman, Mrs. Lucy Milliken. Reflecting its support

of the state council and Woman's Committee, the Topeka Capital announced on September 1 that "All but 2 Counties Ready for Registration Work." The paper reported that the women of Kansas had organized in "perfect harmony" and with absolute unity. The Topeka Capital exulted in the fact that thousands of Kansas women would officially enroll on September 5, designated Registration Sunday, so that Kansas could take the lead in demonstrating patriotism. (8)

Motivating Kansas women to activate this patriotism by volunteering for war work required the state woman's committee to organize ten committee departments. Such a diversity of topical departments made it possible for the committee to attract the voluntary efforts of every Kansas woman. Some of the departments became especially active in promoting volunteer work.

The woman's committee of the Kansas state council organized a registration department that surveyed "woman power" and registered every woman for some kind of volunteer war work in case their help became needed. The registration cards listed 160 vocational opportunities and asked the prospective volunteer about her willingness to serve. Announcing that over 50,000 Kansas women had signed the registration rolls on Pledge Sunday, the Topeka Capital conveyed state Chairman Mrs. David Mulvane's hope and expectation that over 100,000 names would appear on the rolls when returns came in from all counties. (9)

The state Woman's Committee report included descriptions of the volunteer war work in each Kansas

county. It indicated that Bourbon County women, for example, had established registration booths in every precinct, where nearly 700 women had registered for war work. The county chairman in Cherokee county reported that "several thousand" women signed war service cards and the state committee learned that over 800 Ford County women had signed the cards. Two-thirds of the women patriotically signed volunteer cards in Lane County, which had suffered two successive crop failures. The state woman's committee increased the efficiency of war preparation work through the efforts of its Registration for Service Department, and it wanted to involve as many women as possible in all areas of war work. The registration efforts were among the most successful carried out by the state woman's committee. (10)

The state woman's committee was asked by the national committee and the National Food Administration for assistance in a pledge drive in support of voluntary food conservation. The state division had only eight days to prepare, but the Blackmar report revealed extensive patriotic cooperation with the National Food Administration in this food conservation drive. Stressing the importance of voluntary food conservation, the July 6 Topeka Capital emphasized food conservation as the chief purpose of the state woman's committee's volunteer emphasis. (11)

Implementing this state committee emphasis, the Bourbon County committee used educational materials to

focus attention on voluntary food conservation, use of food substitutes and the volunteer planting of war gardens. Expansion of this gardening project became possible through the efforts of the Fort Scott Federation of Woman's Clubs, which distributed over 9700 packets of garden seed. The county committee reported that the voluntary food conservation pledge drive reduced county consumption of flour and sugar by 50 percent.

Conducting home demonstrations in Waverly, Burlington, Lebo, Strawn and Gridley, Kansas State Agricultural College Extension representative, Miss Schnemeyer, showed ways that wheat, fat and sugar substitutes could be used to conserve these necessary foods. Reno County's woman's committee emphasizing township organization in their food conservation drive. Each of the 42 townships had a chairman who selected three assistants. A house-to-house canvas, which necessitated long drives between towns included lengthy explanations to each potential volunteer. Many Reno County women did not understand the necessity of the new war work. Many excuses were encountered, but a persistent campaign by county volunteers resulted in over 2500 signatures on food conservation pledge cards.

Many county food conservation committees utilized county councils to distribute information and help train volunteer workers. The state woman's committee conducted training courses for these volunteer workers at most colleges in Kansas. The state food production and home economics committee's voluntary food conservation drive

resulted in increased vegetable and fruit production, poultry raising and bee culture, and reduced home consumption of meat and sugar. Voluntary cooperation saved thousands of pounds of foodstuffs. (12)

The state woman's committee Department of Education functioned through the state council's Speakers' Bureau, which carried the government's war message to both responsive and hostile audiences in war conferences throughout Kansas. These statewide war conferences often inspired audiences with the need for volunteer work and helped many Kansans decide to join the ranks of volunteer workers. The department also organized community "war sings" as a means of increasing voluntary patriotic cooperation and conservation.

Many county woman's committee chairmen assisted in Americanization work by helping county home demonstration agents arrange meetings to inform foreign born women of volunteer opportunities. The county chairmen also often succeeded in getting food conservation pledge cards printed in foreign languages.

Supported by the Children's Bureau of the Labor Department, the state woman's committee's education department helped distribute materials helpful in teachers' attempts to keep students in Reno County schools. Part of each school day involved discussing the value of a high school education. The state Woman's Committee Education Department learned that the Reno County Back-to-School

Committee intended to present information to parents in such a forceful manner that they would readily understand what it would mean to deprive their children of a proper education. (13)

The Department of Publicity of the Kansas state council woman's committee did not intend to deprive anyone in Kansas of information concerning the need for their voluntary support of state council war work. More than willing to describe council and woman's committee activities, the Kansas press gave the committee's efforts to increase voluntary participation valuable publicity. The department distributed articles and news stories about volunteer activities to many state newspapers.

The Topeka Capital kept women in touch with volunteer activities in a weekly column in its Sunday edition. Miss Kate Thomen of the Capital assisted the department in its patriotic publicity work, as did Miss Bertha Hampstead of the Topeka State Journal. Other newspapers around Kansas helped publicize the need for voluntary support of the war. The Lane County woman's committee Chairman, Mrs. J. A. Simmons, used the local family-owned newspaper to publicize the voluntary opportunities and work of the county and state woman's committees each week. (14)

Describing one of the state council woman's committees most interesting voluntary activities, the Topeka Capital of January 20, 1918, contained the story of the state woman's committee's cooperation with the state Nurses Association in conducting a survey for the government.

Obtaining the names of nurses from each county's registration cards from the county chairmen, the committee helped locate many volunteer nurses. The state chairman sent letters to 400 editors, who gave the survey "wonderful publicity." The state Speaker's Bureau used more than 200 volunteer speakers to increase interest in becoming student nurses. These speakers often found receptive audiences for their pleas for volunteer nursing students at state and county fairs.

The woman's committee in Cherokee County, for example, succeeded in recruiting nineteen volunteer reserve nurses. Ford County's committee filled its quota of volunteer nurse recruits and also supplied five Red Cross nurses. After Reno County's solicitation, there were 23 student nurses "who could be depended upon." (15) With a quota of 750 volunteer nurses from the national Woman's Committee, the Kansas committee's Department on Nurses Bureau enrolled over 500 during the 2-week drive. Many of these volunteers were not career nurses. Willing to volunteer for training and service, they demonstrated the spirit of voluntary service in Kansas. (16)

CHAPTER FOUR

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER FIVE

Kansans demonstrated interest in volunteer activity in many ways. This spirit of voluntary service also became the hallmark of county and community council organization. The state council Committee on County and Community Organization had the same officers as the state council Speaker's Bureau. Many well known progressives served on the committee, including Emerson Carey, Mrs. H. O. Garvey, Dean Edward Johnson, Mrs. Mulvane, and Dr. Butcher. All of them helped organize the county and community councils. These grassroots organizations received centralized direction from the state committee, but reflected both volunteer local membership and voluntary support of and input into state council activities and programs. They became the best examples of state council efforts to increase volunteer activity in Kansas. (1)

The state council Committee on Organization recommended that Governor Capper name the chairman for each county. This committee also drew up organization plans which the council approved and passed on to the new county chairmen. These chairmen appointed the county councils, which usually included officials of townships, towns, and communities and important heads of government institutions and interest groups in the county, including the county

commission chairman, county Farm Bureau president, county agent, county school superintendent and other county leaders. These councils employed local leaders to induce voluntary public participation in war work. (2)

The county councils appointed township chairmen, who selected members of the township councils. In selecting township leaders, these chairmen usually included the officers of leading local volunteer groups. Appointment of these local leaders emphasized the fact that the county and state councils depended upon local community voluntary support for the success of their programs. This local emphasis explained, for example, the successful Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives in many Kansas counties.

Local leadership was necessary to generate grassroots participation, and it also allowed county councils to monitor local patriotic contributions. Many county councils found it helpful to list every resident with an accurate account of their ability to contribute money, time and influence to the war program. These lists contained information on the individual's past war work and level of contribution. (3)

Collection of this information helped the county councils become clearing houses for all county war activities and coordinators of local and state work. The county councils recognized their temporary status, but helped further many national and state war movements.

County councils used local newspapers effectively, and inclusion of the county school superintendent on the councils gave them the means to distribute information and propaganda through the county schools. Successful distribution of council information became a vital part of the local council's activities in a state with such ethnic diversity. This diversity and individuality appeared in the work and programs of the county councils, which reflected the ethnic composition of their county. The Blackmar report described an emphasis in Osborne County on centralized control of county war activities. In this county, the council organized and controlled all war activities. The county chairman, a judge, served with his wife on the council executive board.

The councils in Bourbon, Rush and Lyon Counties reported that their counties reached quotas in every war drive. The Bourbon County council supervised war fund drives in the county, but left the work to local volunteers, who canvassed their areas repeatedly to assure every resident the opportunity to contribute. "Patriotic effort on the part of many" made the war drives in Rush County successful. Working under strict council direction, local Rush County volunteers used special talent and tact when calling on county residents. The council in Lyon County reported successful Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. drives.(4)

The council in Bourbon County reported a large voluntary increase in county wheat acreage, and the Osborne County council revealed a great increase in garden acreage. Chase County's woman's committee became active in food conservation, while the council in Bourbon County reported several conservation demonstrations by the county conservation agent, Miss Greer, showing ways to conserve flour and sugar easily. (5)

The Blackmar report indicated that most of the county councils randomly selected as examples displayed an avid interest in inspiring individual patriotism in each resident. The report from Rush County, for example, indicated that its county council designed a program to assist the war work of other county organizations. Rush County, populated by many residents of foreign birth, formed a county council which exercised commendable tact in its patriotic appeals to residents, many of whom "found the inevitability of war regrettable." Mr. L. H. Robertson, Mr. E. G. Kirkpatrick and Drs. Baker and Atwood served on Rush County's Patriotic Board, and performed the self-sacrificing, strenuous work of promoting American patriotism throughout the county.

Osborne County's council also prided itself on its patriotic work. The council requested that everyone perform his or her patriotic duty by reporting slackers to the district attorney. County residents used "moral suasion" and public opinions to promote sincerity of

patriotic feeling. Chase County's council proudly reported no slackerism in the county. In Marshall County, which contained one of the highest foreign born populations in Kansas, the council also reported no slackerism and the fact that it had become one of the larger councils in Kansas. The council reported that the large German population remained loyal and gave full support to every call. The county council held patriotic meetings promoting voluntary patriotic activity in each town.

The report of the Lyon County council made special mention of the activities of Sheriff Tom Owens, who, with W. C. Hughes, J. F. Kenney and H. R. Hood, never hesitated to go into any part of the county to adjust any difficulty arising from a lack of individual patriotic feeling. The report suggested that personal patterns of thought and activity changed in Lyon (as in Marshall) County without any frequent repetition of the sheriff's visits. (6)

Blackmar's description of county council volunteer activities in Kansas contained an especially interesting report from the county council in Lincoln County. Naming itself the Lincoln County Loyalty League, it took pride in the fact that it helped the government in the prosecution of the war. Desiring a comprehensive local governmental assistance campaign, the county league elected county sheriff, G. A. Wilson, chairman. So many members signed up for league membership in each township that the league

became the major war activity organization.

Solving the slackerism problem in the county became a complex task. Because the league wished to comply with state council recommendations, they decided to sit as a court to hear complaints against people accused of not doing their share in support of the war, or those accused of expressing any disloyalty or unwillingness. When residents noticed any unpatriotic behavior, they filed a complaint with the league secretary, who set the date for a hearing for the accused in the presence of the plaintiff and witnesses. If the evidence seemed sufficient, the secretary placed the case on a docket. A summons requested the unpatriotic violator to appear before the Council of National Defense at the courthouse to hear the evidence against him or her. Blackmar's descriptive report made no mention of the results of this activity. The emphasis appeared to be on the fact that it assisted in changing and reforming local individual thought and action in favor of more patriotic activity. (7)

The county councils of defense in Kansas received capable assistance from the councils in the local communities. These councils, composed entirely of volunteers, constituted the basic unit of voluntary support for state and national war activities. The state council committee on County and Community Organization used the council Speakers' Bureau to focus attention on organizing the smaller communities. The Speakers' Bureau recruited

volunteer speakers for an educational campaign which covered all Kansas communities.

The state and county councils believed that numerous communities had not heard the actual reasons for the local community's involvement in the war effort. Many of these communities found it difficult to lay aside individual feelings in favor of a unified cause. This made it necessary for the Speakers' Bureau campaign to identify itself with one sacrosanct purpose. It sought to create proper community action in wartime. (3)

That word "proper" became susceptible to varying definitions. Most of the volunteer speakers used great freedom in drawing from personal experience, information and observations. These personalized speeches interested Kansas audiences, even though bias often crept into the speeches, because personal observations seemed to reflect a sense of individualism which the audiences could appreciate.

The Speakers' Bureau community education campaign reflected careful planning and organization. Absolutely essential to the motivation of volunteers in the local community, the campaign made no references to partisan politics, sectarianism or any movements. Giving many reasons for volunteering in the local community, bureau speakers said that German war aims included the destruction of the local democratic community. This type of logic

reached community and ethnically oriented audiences filled with zealous individualists. These audiences saved local democracy by volunteering to help create cooperation between communities. Speakers stressed the fact that democratic communities achieve nothing without local voluntary action. (9)

These bureau speakers emphasized that wartime progress could not be achieved without voluntary unanimity in the local community. Such a representative organization of statewide volunteer speakers should have recognized the tremendous lack of unanimity in many Kansas communities. They often ignored any awareness of it or buried it underneath fervent personal patriotism. The speakers argued that German aims included the destruction of democratic freedom and brotherhood. They ignored the fact that their insistence on patriotic action leading to community conformity frequently seriously damaged any sense of community brotherhood in many areas of Kansas.

Insisting that German autocracy was anathema to the democratic ideal of voluntary action, bureau speakers reminded audiences that volunteers must protect the local community's institutions. The speakers illustrated a knowledge of community life in Kansas by stressing German disdain for the local democratic strongholds of church, school and home. Though ethnically and culturally diverse, many Kansans still maintained a high regard for each of these institutions. (10)

They also maintained an interest in protecting them. The three institutions contained the majority of local volunteers whose assistance made council programs work. Support of these programs came from locally organized volunteer groups. These groups displayed varying composition and emphases. This variety in grassroots support created the success achieved by state council activities and programs.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENDNOTES

- (1) Report, 1.
- (2) Report, 3; Blackmar, A History, 56.
- (3) Report, 4; 6; 9.
- (4) Blackmar, A History, 115; 92; 124; 108.
- (5) Blackmar, A History, 92; 115; 92.
- (6) Blackmar, A History, 124; 115; 93; 109; 108.
- (7) Blackmar, A History, 106; 107.
- (8) Committee on County and Community Organization and Speakers' Bureau, Kansas State Council of National Defense, "Community Action in a Government at War," Topeka: Kansas State Council of Defense.
- (9) "Community Action," 2; 3; 4.
- (10) "Community Action," 8.

CHAPTER SIX

Governor Arthur Capper declared in the state council report that the state council had been organized on the principle that every man, woman and child could and would do his and her full share toward winning the war, and he indicated that they had. The descriptive reports of the various committees and officers related in more detail what work was done, how it was done, and who led in the doing. The governor declared that the spirit of self sacrifice and loyalty that dominated the work of the state council of defense permeated the entire citizenry of Kansas.

The governor, who had earned a reputation for single-minded support of organizations and causes in which he was involved, stated the principle correctly. The state council of national defense had been organized around the principle that a complete statewide effort was needed to help win the war. Disclosure of what work was done, how it was done and by whom increased the complexity of that principle. The governor's comments, printed in a description of the state council's work edited by a prominent council member, omitted some interesting and informative details.

The governor's assertion that the council's work involved all segments of the population reflected a major progressive theme, involvement of many citizens in

constructive work resulting in achievement of war goals by a more democratic society. Progressive attempts to bring a sense of direction to that effort increased its success. The national and state Council of National Defense had been organized to bring this sense of direction into war preparations and activities.

Changes in economic and social values in the new industrialized society made progressive council of defense goals necessary for successful prosecution of the war. Progressive influence in the Council of National Defense's activities resulted in a clearer policy of centralized direction of council work and of relations with the state councils. The national council's clearing house function increased the progressive nature of its work, and reflected the need for greater administrative efficiency as the result of an increase of the work load of state councils.

The national council retained central direction and authority in most of its relations with state councils, but often left the method of execution of its directions to the state and local councils. These councils utilized many progressive methods in complying with those directions, which helped make council work more inclusive.

The old progressive idea of leaving the means of accomplishing state council goals to grassroots organizations and voluntary groups became evident in its agricultural work. The state council used progressive methods in its attempts to expand Kansas agricultural

production. Its Committee on Agricultural Production helped expand production by emphasizing known crops, and by requesting voluntary information from farmers regarding idle acreages, available seed, the extent labor supply and other helpful data. Another state council committee demonstrated the need for organization in its work with gardening and canning clubs.

State council dependence upon local assistance in accomplishing its goals became evident in its relations with the State Board of Agriculture and the Kansas State Agricultural College's Division of College Extension. Both organizations stressed grassroots voluntary cooperation in promoting agricultural growth. Support came from Kansas magazines and local newspapers, which gave the state council activities extensive coverage.

The demand for Kansas agricultural products caused by European crop shortages added importance to the state council's promotion of expanded production. It also justified their emphasis on transmission of production and conservation information. The State Board of Agriculture and the Extension Service assisted the council in distributing this information. The Division of College Extension of the Kansas State Agricultural College sponsored agricultural clubs and conferences that helped expand production and conserve needed staples, and issued pamphlets and bulletins on topics related to agricultural growth.

Governor Capper's optimistic statement seemed

idealistic when related to state council attempts to expand loyalty and patriotism. Progressive state council members insisted that practicing democratic ideals led to economic and social equality. They wanted to expand popular democracy by promoting an inclusive democratic society. Patriotic Kansans were expected to accept progressive patriotic goals leading to a better standard of living for all Kansas residents.

The state council goal of ingrained patriotism and loyalty meant the expansion of democratic opportunity for all Kansans. . . . Unity or conformity became periodic methods of expanding democratic opportunity.

Kansans received instructions designed to help protect and save their local community. This was the ideological point at which Capper's statement became questionable. The progressives on the state council developed a community ideal which equated loyalty and community, and felt that they expanded democratic possibilities by seeking to protect and buttress the local community in this way. They neglected the fact that many foreign born residents in Kansas communities may not have needed or wanted an examination of their loyalty. In fact, many of these foreign born actively resented any questioning of their loyalty to their new homeland and communities by neighbors and "fair-weather" friends.

Council Progressives thought that activities sponsored by their Speakers' Bureau enlarged democratic horizons for

the foreign born. They did not, however, buttress the progressive goal creating the ideal community and ideal society. They tore it apart by enforced conformity. The state council believed that elimination of dissent would make winning the war easier. This belief seriously damaged any reputation the council might have had for protecting democracy, because dissent and disloyalty became mistakenly synonymous.

Consequently, the state council Committee on Public Relations helped by punishing slackers as enemies of the loyal, patriotic community. Anyone not conforming to the council conceptual ideal of the patriotic American citizen became typified as disloyal. Americanization of foreign born Kansans became one of the committee's main objectives. A state Americanization chairman was appointed to inform the new residents of the benefits of being loyal, patriotic citizens in a conformative American democratic community. Many council and committee members seemed to believe that use of one language, English, in all Kansas communities would also promote loyalty and enhanced unity.

Americanization was one of the most severely mangled of the state council's progressive goals.

Council members wanted inclusive, voluntary conformity to generate a sense of community. Voluntary conformity became difficult to achieve in a stubbornly individualistic Kansas society, and became a fickle indicator or reflector of loyalty. It, however, indicated the success of voluntary conformity even with individualistic organizations.

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense coordinated women's war work, and appointed state chairmen to supervise organization activities in each state. The first meeting of representatives of state volunteer women's groups enhanced the progressive spirit of volunteerism and efficient war activity. Many well-known representatives of women's groups believed in the power of setting an active example. The state Woman's Committee soon organized committees involving all volunteer women's groups in county. All of the departments of the state Woman's Committee demonstrated progressive practices. The Registration for Service Department, for example, stressed efficiency by taking a census of Kansas women. The department workers also registered women for a variety of war work opportunities. The Food Department promoted voluntary food conservation by stressing the value of War Gardens. This voluntary cooperation saved large amounts of foodstuffs. The services of the council's Speakers' Bureau were used to publicize activities and inspire voluntary food conservation efficiency.

The Kansas council Woman's Committee endorsed Americanization activities by sponsoring classes for foreign born women led by home extension agents, which stressed voluntary cooperation. The Americanization activity also involved creating support for the state educational system in areas where parochial schooling presented supposedly disloyal competition.

The Kansas state council Woman's Committee was not the only voluntary group which reflected Progressive attitudes. Progressive members of the council's Committee on County and Community Organization helped organize the local councils. These county and local councils became excellent examples of the new progressive associative state idea. Governor Capper appointed the chairman and the council drew up plans for local council activities. County and community councils represented every county volunteer group, which emphasized their dependence on local voluntary support.

The county councils also participated in Americanization activity intended to inspire individual voluntary patriotism in each resident. The county and community councils became the basic unit of grassroots support for national and state council war programs, even in areas containing a large population of foreign born Kansans.

These county and community councils reflected a great diversity of interests. This diversity assured the creation of an assortment of Progressive ideas and goals in Kansas. One of the major progressive goals was the attempt to achieve a sense of national and state purpose and direction through organization, efficiency, conservation and reform in agricultural activities, patriotic actions and volunteer opportunities. Realizing the necessity of reform in all three areas, the state council attempted to provide the leadership needed to achieve it.

The state council of defense supported war preparation efforts by creating and endorsing progressive methods of expanding agricultural production and efficiency, resulting in a greater emphasis on conservation. The council also promoted the progressive desire for increased economic opportunity and prosperity for all Kansans. Their agricultural programs helped provide food supplies for the soldiers and economic prosperity for the farmers. The state council placed emphasis on planning goals which expanded agricultural prosperity in Kansas.

Progressives loved democracy, and council members emphasized the desire for democratic opportunity for all Kansans. State council members seemed to believe that the best way to guarantee this opportunity for newly-arrived Kansans included an attempt to assimilate them into the council's progressive campaign for an ideal, homogeneous society. Council members detected only a vague difference between "homogeneous" and "conformative."

State council progressives forgot that ethnic homogeneity had never been a proven prerequisite for democratic loyalty. Most of the relatively new German-American Kansas residents remained stubbornly individualistic. Their individuality became a source of distrust and fear for many state council members, who were not sure how to fit "different" Americans into their prospective ideal democratic society. They believed that if the partially-assimilated new Kansans conformed to the

council's definition of the ideal American, it would be equally to their benefit and that of the community. When it came to foreign born, the council dismissed any recognition of the progressive emphasis on the great possible contribution to democracy by individual Americans.

State council efforts to increase grassroots voluntary activity by assimilated Kansans, however, stressed the value of individual contribution to war programs. Perhaps the council realized that genuine volunteerism, but in this case not conformity, increased a sense of local community. Council members possibly remembered their own volunteer status and the national council's emphasis on volunteer action as a means of achieving social and economic advancement.

The state council emphasis on local accomplishment of war work under central direction became one of its most important contributions to the history of progressive activity in Kansas. The council's agricultural, patriotic and volunteer programs depended on locally decentralized organizational efforts for successful achievement of its state and national goals. The council emphasized individual effort and accomplishment as an efficient progressive method to achieve council goals.

The council changed the ways individuals thought and acted. The council's efforts made the voice of the local community louder. Its direction and guidance of local efforts instilled the realization that the people could organize efficiently in an expression of statewide communi-

ty. The state council encouraged individual participation in the community and also increased the community's influence on the individual citizen. A vision of Kansas communities based on individual contributions that would lead to a better society benefited from progressive state council organization and assistance. This new reliance on local initiative and effort remained after the war ended. The Kansas State Council of Defense had a strong impact on Kansas because of its unprecedented role as an intermediary organization through which the national Council channeled its war preparation efforts to the local community and individual. The role of the Kansas State Council was important and successful enough to merit a second state Council of Defense during World War II.

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