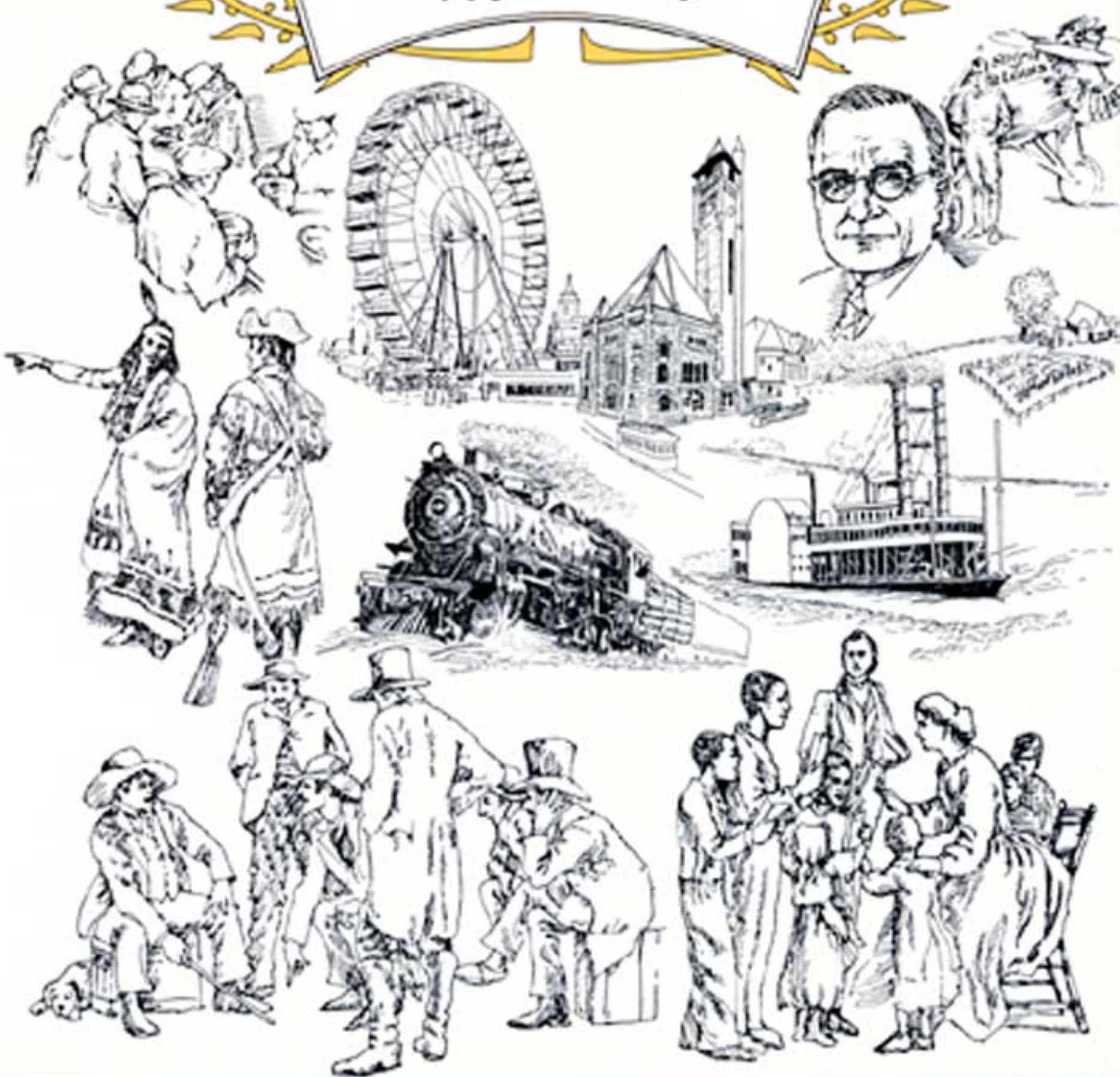


# A HISTORY OF MISSOURI

VOLUME VI  
1953 TO 2003



Lawrence H. Larsen

THE MISSOURI SESQUICENTENNIAL EDITION

WILLIAM E. PARRISH

GENERAL EDITOR

A HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF

# OF MISSOURI

VOLUME VI      1953 TO 2003

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN

MISSOURI P R E S S

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To Corey and Haley

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## PREFACE

This is the sixth and final volume of *A History of Missouri*. It begins in 1953, which saw Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower assume the presidency and the end of the Korean War, a prelude to 1954, the eventful year of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, the unanimous Supreme Court decision that ruled unconstitutional racial segregation in public schools. The same year saw the fall of Dien Bien Phu to Ho Chi Minh's Communist insurgents and the televised Army-McCarthy hearings that investigated charges made by Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of alleged Communist influence in the U.S. Army, which led to the condemnation of McCarthy for contempt of the Senate, especially for abuse of his senatorial colleagues.

The *Brown* ruling was a significant step in ending segregation. A higher level of involvement in Southeast Asia followed the fall of Dien Bien Phu. The actions of the Senate destroyed McCarthy. All these turning points had significance for Missouri. The state had segregated schools. President Harry S. Truman of Missouri had supported the French in Indochina, and McCarthy had attacked the Truman administration for harboring Communists. Volume VI, which ends in 2003, the two hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase agreement and the organization of the Lewis and Clark expedition, shows how modern Missouri bridged the years from the mid-twentieth century to a new century and a new millennium.

Between 1953 and 2003, an era in which the United States enjoyed unprecedented prosperity at home and became the world's leading power abroad, a number of developments helped transform Missouri:

- \* The end of legal segregation had fundamental consequences.
- \* Prosperity, reflected in growing recreation and entertainment industries, brought the Ozarks more in line with the rest of the state.
- \* Despite drastic changes, agriculture and manufacturing remained the largest industries in the state.



## PREFACE

- \* The Republican party revived and increased in importance at all levels of government.

- \* Urban areas witnessed the phenomenon of suburbanization.

- \* The state government grew in size, enhancing and broadening its role in welfare, education, highways, and other areas.

- \* An influx of African Americans and other minorities added to the state's diversity.

- \* Change in the natural and built environments became an increasing source of concern.

- \* Small towns adapted to changing times, and many of them thrived.

- \* Higher education was transformed.

In national politics, Missouri, despite dropping from thirteen electoral votes in 1950 to eleven in 2000, remained a bellwether. Throughout the late twentieth century, the winning presidential candidate carried the state in all except one election. Only in 1956, when Eisenhower lost Missouri to Democratic candidate Adlai E. Stevenson by a thin margin of less than four thousand votes, did Missouri voters fail to reflect the national vote.

In the last half of the twentieth century, Democrats dominated the Missouri delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives. Clarence A. Cannon, who represented a northeastern district for more than forty years, was one of the oldest and most influential members of Congress at the time of his death in 1964. Leonor Alice Sullivan, the first Missouri woman elected to Congress, served a St. Louis district from 1953 to 1977. Democrat William L. Clay of St. Louis, the first African American Missourian elected to Congress, won his seat in 1968 and held it for the next thirty-two years. Two other long-standing Democratic congressmen, Richard Bolling of Kansas City and Richard Gephardt of St. Louis, were high-profile House members. Gephardt was elected minority leader in 1995, holding the post until he resigned from it after the Democrats failed to capture the House in the 2002 congressional elections.

In the Senate, William Stuart Symington and Thomas Eagleton were the leading Democrats, while John Danforth and Christopher "Kit" Bond were the most prominent Republicans. All the legislative leaders qualified as modern examples of what in the nineteenth century were called "Missouri statesmen," influential in advancing the affairs of both their state and nation. Yet they did not have the same kind of influence and access to the White House that Missourians enjoyed in the days of President Truman.

Billions of decisions contributed to the building up and transformation of modern Missouri. Everything cannot be covered. What I have done in this volume is to research and compile representative material, analyze it, bring matters together into a whole, and show how Missouri progressed and changed at a significant juncture in its history.

Over the several years that I have been engaged in producing this study, I have had so much help from people in all walks of life in Missouri that space limitations prevent a comprehensive listing. However, in particular, I want to acknowledge the contributions of the following individuals. Barbara J. Cottrell assisted from start to finish. The late Michael Joseph Johnson was the chief researcher. Howard F. Sachs, Senior Judge, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri, James C. Olson, and William E. Parrish read the manuscript in various stages of completion and offered valuable suggestions. James J. Durig, the past dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Missouri–Kansas City, and Dennis Merrill, past chair of the UMKC history department, had the vision and professionalism to see and understand the importance of the project, helping me in many ways, especially in obtaining an essential semester leave. I thank Beverly Jarrett and her staff, especially John Brenner, Jane Lago, and Clair Willcox, at the University of Missouri Press. Paul Donnelly wrote me a letter that uplifted my spirits at a bleak time in my life. Fredrick M. Spletstoser, Sam Hamra, Stanley Parsons, David N. Atkinson, and Harl Dalstrom all contributed. R. Russell Millin was of aid. John Downs, Thomas Kenton, John K. Hulston, Tom Bogdon, and Scott O. Wright, Senior Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri, graciously answered my many questions. Lawrence O. Christensen, Gary R. Kremer, Donald Oster, Galen Johnson, Patrick McLearn, Nancy J. Hulston, and R. Reed Whitaker offered advice in the conceptual and other stages. Kenneth Winn provided invaluable assistance, helping me obtain a long run of the *Official Manual, State of Missouri*. James Goodrich and the executive committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri awarded me three Richard S. Brownlee grants, essential to producing the book. Special thanks go to Robert Nowak, Dan Bovenmyer, M.D., and Warren Wulfekuhler, M.D., for their encouragement. James and Marian Cottrell provided an island in Canada.

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## MISSOURI BY THE NUMBERS

Popular perceptions of the regional identity of states change over the decades. In 1952, for example, Dwight Eisenhower, whose boyhood home was the old Kansas cowtown of Abilene, was considered a westerner. In 1996 Robert Dole, from another former Kansas cowtown, Russell, west of Abilene, ran for president as a midwesterner. Through the 1940s the census only recognized three regions of the United States—North, South, and West. In 1950 the Census Bureau officially added a North Central Region, which had two parts. The East North Central Division included the five states carved out of the old Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The West North Central Division consisted of Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri, all west of the Mississippi River. Missouri, the only former slave state in the North Central Region, was an uncomfortable fit. The news media, depending on the purpose and vantage point, placed Missouri in either the Midwest, West, or South. By the 1970s a perceived new Sun Belt in the South and Southwest left Missouri out. In the 1980s, using the Rocky Mountains as a divide between East and West seemed more plausible than the more traditional Mississippi River breaking point. In 1984 the census changed the name of the North Central Region to the Midwest Region, making no boundary adjustments. So, in 2003, partially by default, Missouri was widely considered by the media as part of the Midwest, and for reasons of uniform usage, Missouri will be in the Midwest in this volume.

All states have internal divisions—north and south of the river, upstate and downstate, and so on—but in 1953, Missouri seemed to have an inordinate number of dividing lines. St. Louis on the east and Kansas City on the west, 260 miles apart, disdained each other and tended to be dismissive of everything between them. Northern Missouri, rural with rolling hills, resembled southern Iowa. The Ozarks, south of the Missouri River, qualified as a land set apart, asso-

ciated in the popular mind with hillbillies, moonshine, and poverty. Perhaps partly in reaction, Springfield was aggressively promotional—"Keep watching the Ozarks," a locally produced radio show advised—and self-centered to a point that outsiders found exasperating and chauvinistic. The Bootheel felt left out, an afterthought in the drawing of the Missouri-Arkansas state line, having more in common with Arkansas and Tennessee than with the rest of Missouri. Joplin was in the Tri-State District, tucked away in southwest Missouri on the Ozark Plateau, off the beaten path and away from the rest of the state. An outgrowth of the statewide situation was localism, making it essential to build coalitions in order to pass regional legislation in the capital, Jefferson City. Many of the state's unimproved roads, requiring thousands of bridges and having few level straight stretches, were terrible. Driving from Kansas City to St. Louis on a narrow and crowded two-lane paved national highway was an all-day adventure. Regional dialects, collectively called a "Missouri twang" and personified by President Harry S. Truman, were common, but fifty years later few Missourians talked like Truman anymore.

Much had changed by 2003. Interstate highways and massive expenditures on roads in general had helped to better bind the state together. Mass wireless communications had muted old-style regional differences. Missouri, in the heart of the nation, was more unified than at any time in its history. Nevertheless, cleavages persisted. The racial composition of St. Louis and Kansas City differed from much of the rest of the state, and there remained small, politically motivated manifestations of rural and urban differences. In 1999 all rural counties except one voted in favor of an amendment to allow the carrying of concealed weapons that was narrowly defeated by voters from urban Missouri. In the 2002 General Assembly, rural and suburban interests combined to prevent a stadium improvement bill designed to benefit Kansas City and St. Louis from even coming to a vote. In attitude and orientation, the two metropolises still had their differences with each other and with the rest of the Show Me State.

As always, the Missouri weather remained changeable, affected mainly by warm air off the Gulf of Mexico, winds sweeping down from the Rocky Mountains, and Arctic blasts off the Canadian prairie provinces. Temperatures in the state could fall below 0 degrees Fahrenheit in the winter and rise above 100 degrees in the summer. Severe storms—snow and ice in the winter and thunder and tornadoes in the summer—were accepted circumstances. An annual rainfall of thirty-five to forty-five inches made for a more

Table 1.1 Missouri's Population, 1950–2000

Census Year	Population	Change over Preceding Census	
		NUMBER	PERCENT
1950	3,954,653	169,989	4.5
1960	4,319,813	365,160	9.2
1970	4,677,623	357,810	8.3
1980	4,916,766	239,143	5.1
1990	5,116,073	199,307	4.1
2000	5,595,211	479,138	9.3

than adequate growing season. For better or worse, the Missouri weather was warmer than Minnesota and colder than Louisiana.

During the last half of the twentieth century, the widespread use of air-conditioning throughout Missouri changed the tempo of life, making for more pleasant living conditions and quickening the pace of business in the summer months. By the 1960s many new commercial and apartment buildings had central air-conditioning. In the 1970s air-conditioning became commonplace in homes and automobiles. By 2003 most people took air-conditioning for granted, considering it a necessity of everyday life. While climatic conditions did not appreciably change, the way of dealing with the weather was an entirely different matter.

As with the weather, the same was true with the course of the state from 1953 to 2003. Even though outstanding problems ranging from race relations to road building continued, the means of dealing with the problems changed. Without showy displays or a loud flourish of trumpets, the state experienced its greatest transformation since the days of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Social and economic statistics detail the development of modern Missouri and show how it fared in relationship to the rest of the nation. Businesses flourished, and agriculture experienced an unprecedented transition. According to the U.S. Census, the characteristics of the population underwent significant change. During the last half of the twentieth century, Missouri's population expanded as illustrated by Table 1.1. From 1950 to 2000, Missouri's number of people increased by 1,640,558, from 3,954,653 to 5,595,211, a growth rate of 41.5 percent. In the same time span the nation's population grew 86 percent, more than twice the rate of Missouri's growth, to a total of 281,421,900. From 1990 to 2000 the nation's



growth rate was 13.2 percent, 3.9 percent more than Missouri's 9.3 percent, which was the state's best showing in fifty years. In 2000 Missouri was the fourth most populous state west of the Mississippi River, behind California (33,871,648) and Texas (20,851,820)—the two most populous states in the nation—and, for the first time, Washington state (5,894,122). In 2000 Missouri had a larger population than six of its eight surrounding states. Tennessee, slightly larger, had 5,689,283 residents. Illinois had 12,419,293, of whom 5,192,320 lived in Chicago's Cook County. Missouri's national ranking of seventeenth was down twelve places from where it had been in 1900. It had been ranked twelfth in 1950, down two places in ten years from 1940. At the end of 2002, Missouri had an estimated population of 5,672,579, a gain of 35,270 since the 2000 census.

In 2000, 67.8 percent of Missouri's population lived in twenty-one metropolitan counties and the one independent city, St. Louis. In the 1990s the metropolitan counties accounted for 75.8 percent of the state's increase of 479,138 inhabitants. The ninety-three non-metropolitan counties increased by only 24.2 percent. Seventeen counties, all classified as rural, lost population, ten by 3 percent or less. This was a considerable improvement over the 1980s, during which fifty-three counties lost population, some by more than 20 percent. In 2000 two rural southwest recreational counties registered large percentage gains: Taney County grew by 55.2 percent and Stone County by 50.2 percent. However, to put the percentage increases in a better perspective, neither county was a population giant; Taney had 39,703 people and Stone 28,658.

Statistics for minorities compiled by the 2000 census showed the growing diversity of Missouri's population. Some of the totals were small, and most members of minority groups lived in urban areas. The state had 25,076 American Indians and Alaska natives, 61,595 Asians, 3,178 native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders, 45,827 of other races, 82,061 of two or more races, and 118,592 Hispanics or Latinos (of any race). The largest concentration of Asians were the 22,606 in St. Louis County. St. Louis city counted 6,891 Asians, Boone County (Columbia) 4,015, and Greene County (Springfield) 2,728. A total of 41,754 Hispanics and Latinos resided in the Kansas City–area counties of Jackson and Clay; St. Louis County had 14,577 and St. Louis city 7,022. The next highest total of Hispanics or Latinos were the 4,434 in Greene County. Most rural counties had small ethnic minorities. In 2000, Edgar Springs, a hamlet of 190 people in the Ozarks, was the hypothetical center of

Table 1.2 Missouri African Americans, 1950–2000

Census Year	Total Population	African American Population	Percentage of African Americans
1950	3,954,653	297,088	7.5
1960	4,319,813	390,853	9.0
1970	4,677,623	488,127	10.4
1980	4,916,766	514,276	10.5
1990	5,116,901	548,208	10.7
2000	5,595,211	629,391	11.2

population in the United States. Despite its exalted centralist position, Edgar Springs was completely unrepresentative of the ethnic mix either in Missouri or the rest of the nation, with 183 whites, 1 Asian, 5 Latinos and Hispanics, and 1 of another race.

In 2000 the Missouri population, not counting persons of Latino origin, was 83.8 percent white, compared with 69.1 percent for the United States. According to the census, 2.1 percent of all Missourians were Hispanic or Latinos, against 12.5 percent for the nation. Under the definitions used by the census, Hispanics could be of any race, so they are also included in applicable race categories. A total of 1.2 percent of Missouri inhabitants were classified as Asians, less than the 3.6 percent for the nation. No other minority except African Americans accounted for more than 1 percent of Missouri's population. Some 1.5 percent of the state's inhabitants reported being of two or more races.

African Americans constituted the largest minority group. The number of African Americans in the United States rose from 15,033,937 in 1950 to 34,658,190 in 2000. Table 1.2 indicates the number and percentages of African Americans in Missouri from 1950 to 2000. For Missouri, the figures for the twenty years before 1970 reflected the black migration from the rural South. From 1970 to 1990, the African American community increased statewide by only 60,081 people. Then in the next ten years the number of blacks rose by 81,193, a product of economic opportunities generated by the prosperity of the 1990s. In 2000, 11.2 percent of Missourians were black, slightly less than the 12.1 percent for the United States as a whole. Most outstate Missouri counties were more than 90 percent white. The percentage of African Americans in the Bootheel slowly decreased after 1950, a result of labor-saving agricultural

Table 1.3

Number of African Americans in St. Louis and Kansas City, 1950–2000

Census Year	Population	Number of African Americans	Percentage of African Americans
St. Louis			
1950	856,796	108,705	12.7
1960	750,026	114,539	15.3
1970	622,236	254,191	40.9
1980	453,085	215,175	47.5
1990	396,685	188,575	47.5
2000	348,189	178,266	51.2
Kansas City			
1950	456,622	55,682	12.3
1960	475,539	83,219	17.5
1970	507,330	112,047	22.1
1980	448,159	173,000	38.6
1990	435,146	128,760	29.6
2000	441,545	137,879	31.2

machinery, the phasing out of sharecropping, the falloff of cotton production, and the availability of few alternative jobs.

During the fifty years from 1950 to 2000, the number and percentage of African Americans in Kansas City and St. Louis rose markedly, as displayed in Table 1.3. In 2000, 178,266 or 51.2 percent of St. Louis city residents were African American, as opposed to 12.7 percent in 1950. St. Louis County had 193,603 blacks, the most in any Missouri county. Kansas City was 12.3 percent African American in 1950 and 31.2 percent in 2000. This is reflective of a phenomenon discussed later—white flight to the suburbs.

The immigrant population of Missouri grew by 70,396, to 151,195, between 1990 and 2000, an 87 percent increase. The state's foreign-born, separate from minorities in aggregates, included 52,733 people from Asia, 43,101 from Europe, and 39,048 from Latin America. The largest concentrations of newcomers were in the St. Louis and Kansas City areas. St. Louis city had 19,542 and St. Louis County 42,702. There were 25,632 immigrants in Kansas City and another 2,698 outside the city limits in Jackson County. Platte County had 2,742. The largest number in other counties were in Boone (6,142), Greene (4,487), Jasper (2,747), and McDonald

(1,214). The immigrant totals in the United States moved upward from 1990 to 2000 by 57 percent to 31.3 million. A total of 11.1 percent of Americans were foreign-born. In sharp contrast, only 2.7 percent of Missourians were born outside the United States.

One of the fastest-contracting counties in Missouri was rural Atchison County in far northwestern Missouri. The population of 16,501 in 1900 dropped steadily to 11,127 in 1950, continuing downward to 8,605 in 1990 and to only 6,430 in 2000. More than half the residents in the 545-square-mile county lived in the county seat of Rock Port (1,395) and the fading former college town of Tarkio (1,935). Tarkio had suffered two grievous blows in less than a decade during the 1990s: the bankruptcy and closing of 550-student Tarkio College, the cultural center of the county, and the departure of the largest employer, a meat-packing plant. An academy for troubled young adults on the former college campus took up only part of the slack. The main street had a number of closed and boarded-up storefronts. "This used to be a real booming community," Frank Schupp, a Tarkio barber for thirty-five years, said. "I still like this town. I just wish there was more going on."

Clusters of trees and rotting foundations marked abandoned Atchison County farmsteads. Of thirty-two graduates in the class of 1986 at Tarkio High School, only seven lived in the county fifteen years later. The average age of farmers in Atchison County was well over sixty. Carl Lawrence, seventy-six, who owned and farmed close to one thousand acres, commented: "I should have retired 12 years ago. You can't afford to quit. The only way you can is, you've got to die." County leaders hoped to attract a hog slaughtering plant, but no one had an easy solution for reviving Atchison County. "It's like fighting the ocean," admitted seventy-two-year-old Thomas Simmons, the president of the Tarkio Development Corporation. "I don't see you can do too much about it to be honest."

Rural Gentry County, eighty miles north of Kansas City, was another county that had experienced a gradual withering away of its family farming operations. The county's population dropped from 11,036 in 1950 to 6,851 in 2000. Losses to the tax base left Gentry County in dire straits. The county seat and largest town, Albany, had 1,850 people in 1950 and 1,937 in 2000, an annual average net gain of fewer than two residents. The early 1980s had been the worst of times for Albany and Gentry County. Many farmers with land debts had failed, taking down all the banks.

The number of farms in Gentry County dropped over a hun-

dred years from 2,699 in 1900 to 625 in 2000. Large farms had the best chance of surviving. David and Chuck Cottrill had formed a partnership to farm twenty-eight hundred acres inherited from their parents. Both men were in their thirties. Their formula for survival was diversification, the staple of old traditional family farms. In short, the Cottrills went back to the basics, following a proven formula used by farmers through much of the nation's history. In 2000 the Cottrills had eighteen hundred acres in corn, soybeans, and hay, with one thousand acres in grassland. They had about 450 feeder cattle and 200 breeding cows. "The way it works in farming is that when low crop prices are no good, livestock prices are up," David Cottrill explained. "So you need to be in both to balance out the good and the bad times. Farmers that are doing just one thing today are taking a real risk with their futures."

Premium Standard Farms of Kansas City, the nation's second largest hog producer, provided Gentry County and four other northwestern counties with what a supporter called "good jobs with good benefits." PSF offered its twenty-two hundred northern Missouri employees medical insurance, life insurance, and pension benefits. The company processed nearly two million swine annually on thirty thousand acres in northern Missouri. Like other hog businesses in the state and elsewhere, PSF operations were controversial. Critics claimed the hog farms polluted the atmosphere and streams, causing large fish kills. In January 2000, PSF agreed to pay \$25 million to six Missouri counties for violations of the federal Clean Water Act. Chief Executive Officer Jon Meyer of PSF claimed, "For many farm families, income from non-farm sources, whether Premium Standard Farms or someone else, allows them to stay on an existing farm or start a new one." On the positive side, the median household income in Missouri's northwest counties rose by a far higher percentage than in the rest of the state from 1990 to 2000. PSF and other similar corporate farming conglomerates were direct results of the end of the era of family farms.

Historical highlights of agricultural census returns from 1954 to 1997 told a sad story of a steady decline in the number of farms in Missouri, as shown in Table 1.4. Between 1954 and 1997 the number of farms plunged by a startling 51 percent, from 201,614 to 98,860. That Missouri had had 242,934 farms in 1945 made the losses all the more disheartening. Tractors, other kinds of mechanized equipment, improved farming methods, better fertilizer, computer technology, and urban employment opportunities all contributed to the

Table 1.4 Number of Missouri Farms, 1954–1997

Census Year	Number of Farms
1954	201,614
1959	168,672
1964	147,315
1969	137,067
1974	115,711
1978	114,963
1982	112,447
1987	106,105
1992	98,082
1997	98,860

problem. In a perverse way, farmers were victims of advances in technology and scientific agriculture. By 2003, when one farmer raised enough crops and livestock to feed 100 to 125 people, it was little wonder that rural Missouri counties had lost population.

From 1954 to 1997 the average size of Missouri farms expanded from 170 to 292 acres, not a good sign for the continuance of family farming. At the same time, the total number of acres under cultivation dropped from 35.8 million to 32.9 million. A rise in the number of farms by 778 from 1992 to 1997 was insignificant. The days were long gone from 1915, when Jewell Mayer, the secretary of the state Board of Agriculture, wrote, “The Missourian who owns a farm today (be it large or small), is more independent, more fortunate than if inheriting a knighthood across the sea, for we are at the threshold of the greatest agricultural era of the ages.”

Oblivious to the loss in numbers of so many agrarians, Ceres, the Goddess of Vegetation, continued to look down from her pedestal on top of the Missouri state capitol over lush and fertile surrounding fields. Statistics indicated that Missouri livestock and crop production remained relatively stable throughout the last decade of the twentieth century. No other upheavals occurred comparable to the earlier drying up of the market for Missouri mules, whose numbers fell from a national high of 400,000 in 1922 to only 23,000 in 1955. In a typical year during the 1990s Missouri farmers raised 4.4 million cattle and calves, plus 3.3 million hogs and pigs; very impressive figures, given the diverse nature of the state’s agriculture. Soybeans, corn, grain, and hay continued as staple crops,

along with such specialized items as cotton and melons in the southeast and tobacco in central Missouri and the northwest. The amount of a crop grown in a given year depended on a number of factors: the weather, government programs, international markets, and, of course, demand.

In 1999, according to the Missouri Agricultural Service, live-stock and related products, following a consistent pattern of many years' duration, accounted for 58 percent of farming receipts. Derived crops accounted for the other 42 percent. Soybeans, grown throughout the state, were the biggest cash crop. Grain products were widely grown. Fruits and vegetables thrived in river bottoms. Poultry production climbed. Cotton and rice remained strong. National rankings indicated the diversification and the extent of the agricultural environment. Compared to all the other states, Missouri was second in two areas—hay production (excluding alfalfa) and cattle. The state was sixth in rice production, eighth in watermelon production, tenth in corn production, eleventh in cotton production, fifteenth in red winter wheat production, sixteenth in red meat production, and sixteenth in milk production. Missouri grew 4 percent of the nation's grain sorghum and 6 percent of its soybeans. The state contained 5 percent of all farms, 6 percent of all cattle operations, and 4 percent of all hog farms. Missouri agrarians raised 8 percent of all turkeys. Missouri consistently was in the top twenty states in farm marketings: fifteenth in 2000, with marketings of \$4.26 billion. Even so, Missouri was not generally thought of as an agricultural state in the same sense as neighboring Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa.

Missouri Agricultural Service statistics on farms by value of marketing from 1994 to 1999 illustrated the advantages of large farms over small ones. In that span, the number of farms with a value of marketings from \$1,000 to \$9,999 moved upward from 60,700 to 63,100. Land in these farms remained at a constant 7.3 million acres while average farm size decreased slightly from 120 to 116 acres. The number of farms with marketings from \$10,000 to \$99,000 dropped from 40,500 to 36,700 and the land in farms from 12.3 million to 11.6 million acres. Average farm size increased from 304 to 316 acres. The total number of farms with marketings over \$100,000 grew from 9,800 to 10,200. Acreage rose from 10.5 million to 11.2 million as the average size enlarged from 1,071 to 1,098 acres. A large number of the small farmers were "recreational farmers," meaning they only farmed part-time. The state counted many of

their small operations as “farms,” adding more than ten thousand granges to the federal count.

Lumbering was once a big business in Missouri. The industry started on a small scale, before statehood. In antebellum times, federal officials tried to stop illegal timber cutting on government land in the Ozarks. Timber cutting violations were such a problem that an exasperated Thomas Caute Reynolds, then a U.S. attorney, took the drastic step of charging several suspected timber bandits with treason. In Gilded Age Missouri, lumbering went virtually unchecked by any regulations. Large sawmills operated in river drainages in the Ozarks. One large mill, employing more than nine thousand workers, cut 285,000 board feet a day. This compared favorably to the production figures for the biggest Gilded Age lumber mills in the great pineries of the North Woods in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Missouri lumber companies supplied wood for ties, bridges, stations, telegraph poles, and other necessities used in building railroads throughout the western United States. Inevitably, overcutting adversely affected the lumber industry, ending a boom that lasted from 1880 to 1920. Bell-Long of Kansas City, once among the largest lumbering companies in Missouri, stopped cutting and moved on to Arkansas, Louisiana, and points west. Left behind was stripped and eroded land. Overcutting and wildfires depleted indigenous shortleaf pines, which came to be replaced by hardwood timber stands. In 2003, Missouri’s Mark Twain National Forest offered a measure of protection to 8 percent of the remaining woods. The state owned another 7 percent. Private owners became more responsible in the face of legal restraints and growing public concern about environmental costs.

According to the Missouri Forest Products Association, Missouri in 2001 contained 14 million of the 747 million acres of forested land in the United States. By way of comparison, Arkansas had almost 18 million acres of forests and Kansas only 1.3 million acres. The 85 percent of timber land in Missouri that was privately owned ranked far ahead of the 63 percent national average. Trees were a reclaimable resource, and between 1972 and 1989, according to the Forest Products Association, forests in Missouri grew 2.2 times faster than they were being cut. Annual tree seedlings planted amounted to about 1.4 billion trees. Firms manufacturing wood products totaled 2,600 in Missouri, a small number of the 53,000 countrywide. Some 34,000 Missourians worked in the wooden ware industry. Lumber-



ing was a \$3 billion undertaking, representing only a small proportion of the \$200 billion generated nationally. Missouri contained 500 sawmills. Lumberjacks numbered 800. While still of substantial proportions, the lumber industry in Missouri was a shadow of its former self in 2003 and of only moderate national importance.

Mining followed a somewhat similar course as lumbering, gradually falling out of favor. At the genesis of Missouri, fur trading soon lost importance, but through boom and bust, lead mining, which started as early as 1720, hung on and grew at a moderate pace in the southeast Missouri Lead Belt centered around two eastern Ozark towns, Bonne Terre and Potosi. High hopes to augment lead mining with a large iron-mining industry never materialized. Coal mining in southeastern Iowa spilled over into Missouri. A flourishing zinc, coal, and lead mining zone rose in the last half of the nineteenth and on into the twentieth century around Joplin and southwest Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Harry S. Truman lost money in a small, speculative Oklahoma zinc mine. After a hundred years of production, large-scale mining in the Tri-State District ended in the 1950s.

The fortunes of mining in Missouri changed following World War II. In 1948 geologists discovered a new rich vein of lead and zinc in the eastern Ozarks: the Viburnum Trend or New Lead Belt. By the mid-1960s, twenty-two companies had spent \$60 million in development costs in the Viburnum Trend. The St. Louis–San Francisco Railroad, commonly called the “Frisco,” constructed more than thirty miles of new track into the area. But the old mines around Potosi and Bonne Terre had closed by the end of 1972, leaving behind a thousand miles of abandoned multilevel mine tunnels and more than three hundred miles of underground railroad tracks. Iron mining resumed with the discovery of new veins in Washington County. The large Pea Ridge Mine, yielding 2 million tons annually of iron oxide, opened in 1964. Coal mining, virtually dormant, revived on a small scale to market coal used to generate electricity. Production rose from 3.5 million tons in 1965 to 6.6 million tons by 1977. Fire clay from central Missouri had long played an essential role for brick manufacturing in Mexico, Fulton, and Vandalia. But in 2002 the last brick works in Mexico, once known as the “Firebrick Capital of the World,” had closed, costing seven hundred jobs. Crystal City, near St. Louis, used silica or industrial sand deposits to produce glass for automobile windows. Herculanum had a large lead smelter. Crushed stones and lime were among other mining products. Employment in mining declined; Missouri had

eighty-five hundred employed miners in the 1970s but only half that number in the 1990s.

According to an industry source in May 2001, mining pumped \$4.5 billion to \$5 billion a year into the Missouri economy. The state produced 90 percent of the nation's lead, most of which went toward the production of motor vehicle batteries. The state had three big lime refineries. Lime was an ore used in papermaking. Roughly 30 percent of all zinc mined in the United States came from Missouri. The state was first in fire clay and lime, third in zinc and iron, fifth in copper and cement, and sixth in crushed stone and silver.

Since 1720, mining had supposedly involved the use of less than 3 percent of Missouri's land. "It is regrettable, but unavoidable, that mining operations, including milling, smelting and refining, will bring changes to the land simply by existing," a mining spokesperson said. "However, the mining industry is taking responsibility for better reclamation plans. In fact, in modern mining projects, reclamation plans are often as detailed and thought-out as the mining operation itself." Indeed, he contended, "Many of the public lands being mined today will become wildlife refuges, recreation parks and housing or business developments of tomorrow." A special concern of environmentalists was how attempts by the mining interests to lease state land in the Mark Twain National Forest affected the environment. Fears abounded that large-scale mining operations polluted groundwater, watering grounds, and rivers and streams.

Throughout the last half of the twentieth century, Missouri ranked among the top fifteen manufacturing states. Technical adjustments, changing criteria, and updating resulted in slight number variations from and even within one economic census to another. With these qualifications in mind, statistics for representative census years from 1954 to 1992 enumerated the number of Missouri industrial establishments, number of employees, and value added by manufacturing. The data are detailed in Table 1.5.

Between 1954 and 1992, the state at any given time had anywhere from six thousand to eight thousand plants, many with fewer than twenty employees. The total number of manufacturing workers peaked in 1967, then gradually slid downward in keeping with the national adoption of more labor-saving machinery and computers as part of a so-called New Economy. The value added by manufacturing stayed ahead of inflation. Yet the value added in Missouri of \$34 billion for 1992 seemed small compared to the value added for California manufacturing of \$157 billion, number one in the nation.

Table 1.5 Missouri Manufacturing Statistics

Census Year	Number of Establishments	Employees (1,000s)	Value added by Manufacturing (millions of dollars)
1954	6,198	381.9	2,727.3
1958	6,588	380.5	3,250.8
1963	6,540	391.4	4,296
1967	6,545	452.2	5,895
1972	6,732	434.3	8,169
1977	7,354	433.0	13,087
1982	7,069	405.9	18,333.8
1987	7,290	418.8	25,916.7
1992	7,843	408.8	33,723.4

Number two, New York, was far behind, having value added of \$85 billion. In 1992, a year in which the national economy was at the beginning of the most prosperous cycle ever, the value added to manufacturing for the country totaled an astronomical \$1.4 trillion. The value added for Missouri industry surpassed that of all its surrounding states, except Illinois, which had a value added of \$75 billion.

Comparative statistics for Missouri denoted how the state economy surged ahead between 1992 and 1997. In the manufacturing section, industrial sales, receipts, and shipments rose by 31.2 percent. At the same time, the number of paid factory workers advanced by only 4.6 percent. The biggest increase in paid employees were the 33.1 percent in the construction industries and the 28 percent enlargement in the taxable service industries. Sales jumped by 32.9 percent for transportation, communications, and utilities (not including railroads and the postal service); by 40.3 percent for wholesale trade; and by 37.1 percent for retail trade.

The 1997 economic census contained summary statistics compiled through the application of the "1997 NAIS Basis." Only firms with payrolls were included. Table 1.6 contains data for Missouri industrial sectors having more than one hundred thousand paid workers in 1997, with categories for number of establishments; amount of money generated from sales, receipts, or shipments; and paid employees.

As throughout the last half of the twentieth century, manufacturing was the most robust industrial activity in Missouri. In 1997 employees totaled 371,448, still down by close to 90,000 in forty

Table 1.6 Economic Sectors with over 100,000 Workers in 1997

Description	Establishments	Sales, receipts or shipments (\$1,000)	Paid Employees
Construction	15,020	19,016,286	130,555
Manufacturing	7,497	93,115,478	371,448
Wholesale Trade	9,522	91,411,852	125,929
Retail Trade	24,181	51,269,881	297,556
Finance & Insurance	8,738	—	122,082
Administrative, Support, Waste Management & Remediation Services	5,399	4,736,975	120,625
Health Care & Social Services	12,793	18,421,088	315,628
Accommodation & Food Service	11,150	6,780,812	203,849

years. Factory sales, receipts, or shipments were in excess of \$93 billion. Wholesaling brought in \$91 billion in sales and retailing \$51 billion. More than 120,000 people were included in the broad sector of administrative support, waste management, and remediation services. Health and social assistance totaled 315,628 employees, more workers than any line except manufacturing. In other fields, utilities had 16,685 paid employees; transportation and warehousing, exclusive of railroad and postal workers, 69,082; real estate, rental, and technical services, 31,307; management of companies and enterprises, 59,770; and entertainment and recreation, 29,484.

In the fast-growing accommodation and food services area, 11,150 establishments did slightly more than \$7 billion in business and paid wages of slightly less than \$2 billion to 203,849 people. Of the 34,203 wage earners in accommodations, 20,060 worked in 383 hotels with twenty-five or more guest rooms. Another 4,778 personnel worked in 514 motels. Food service and drinking places employed 169,646. Full service restaurants had staffs of 73,245 and fast-food places and restaurants 153,288. The 1,091 establishments classified as mainly serving alcoholic beverages had 5,534 paid employees and sales of \$194 million.

Back in the 1950s, most Missouri manufacturing was in Kansas City and St. Louis. Although Kansas City continued to trail St. Louis, the gains of World War II, consolidated in the first years after the war, gave the city a rather imposing industrial foundation. Kansas City's traditional western hinterland provided a ready market for a wide variety of products. Both new and old Kansas City industry changed from 1953 to 2003. Kansas City lost its packing plants in the 1950s and 1960s. The stockyards closed in the 1990s. The loss of the large, increasingly obsolete packing plants, some built in the nineteenth century, would have seemed incomprehensible in World War II. On a record day in 1944 the Kansas City stockyards handled fifty-seven thousand animals. At that time Kansas City was second in the country in meat packing, behind Chicago and ahead of number three Omaha. Labor costs, environmental controls, and the dispersal of slaughtering plants to dozens of widely scattered towns throughout the middle of America led to fundamental changes in the packing industry. Nevertheless, predictions of dire consequences following the collapse of packing in Kansas City never materialized. Rather than collapse, Kansas City's economy soon absorbed the losses and moved serenely ahead, almost as if the packing plants had never existed.

Kansas City factories produced a wide variety of products. In spite of the closing of an old automobile assembly plant in the east-side Leeds industrial district of Kansas City, large factories, glaring examples of the "Old Economy," continued to operate, employing thousands of production workers. General Motors and Ford both had assembly plants in the Kansas City area. Harley-Davidson constructed a new factory north of the Missouri River. A facility at the Bannister Federal Complex on the south side of town produced components for atomic weapons. While Kansas City remained a major milling center, the construction of elevators and storage facilities in Kansas hurt the city's regional hold on the industry.

Kansas City leaders desired "home grown" corporations. Marion Laboratories, founded by Kansas City native Ewing Kauffman, became a billion-dollar pharmaceutical company, only to be sold to foreign interests following his death in 1993. Another successful concern, the Donnelly Garment Company, a women's clothing maker, was absorbed by outside interests. In 1945 Kansas City had eighty downtown garment factories geared to providing moderately priced clothing for a regional market. The concerns employed five thousand to seven thousand workers in a business that collapsed in the

1950s and was gone by 2003. Kansas City–based Butler Manufacturing was well known for its pre-engineered structures used to store grain. Hallmark Cards, a famous worldwide greeting card company founded by Joyce Hall, was a successful home-grown concern.

In 2001 Kansas City had three Fortune 500 companies: Utilicorp United (60), Farmland Industries (110), and Interstate Bakeries (484). Utilicorp, a large utility provider, had four million customers at home and abroad. The company ranked second in the United States in the wholesale marketing of electricity and was the third largest seller of natural gas. In Missouri, Utilicorp accounted for thirteen hundred jobs. In May 2001, in the *Kansas City Star's* localized version of the Fortune 500 ratings, Utilicorp ranked as the number one business in the Kansas City region. Farmland Industries was the biggest agricultural cooperative in the nation, dealing primarily in grain, beef, and pork. It conducted business in all fifty states and some sixty foreign countries. About nine hundred people worked for Farmland in Missouri. Interstate Bakeries became America's largest wholesale bakery in 1995 with the purchase of Continental Bakeries. Among other large concerns, Sprint was the top company in market value in the Kansas City region, having a large and expanding campus in Overland Park in Johnson County, Kansas.

All did not go well for two of the Fortune 500 firms. Payless Cashways, once a Kansas City Fortune 500 concern, suffered severe setbacks and went bankrupt in 2001. In 2002 Farmland underwent a bankruptcy reorganization as well, and Aquila, Inc., the new name of Utilicorp, suffered severe financial reverses. The trouble with Aquila led to an overturn of top management and the selling of some subsidiaries, leaving the future of the firm in doubt. What transpired illustrated the transitory nature of the Fortune 500 ratings and, more important, the changing dynamics at the highest levels of business in the United States at a time of corporate scandal and questionable ethical conduct.

Across Missouri, St. Louis had so many industrial concerns that it was hard to list them all, knowing that some would be inevitably slighted or missed. Some prospered, some merged, some adopted different names, and some came and soon went, all part of business as usual in the United States. Several St. Louis firms had readily identifiable names. Anheuser-Busch Companies was arguably the most famous. The Monsanto Chemical Company, specializing in agricultural products, employed more than seventy thousand people

in and outside the country. Ralston Purina, a home-grown corporation with a name associated with pet food and breakfast cereals, had a recognizable national name. General Motors, Ford Motor Company, and Daimler-Chrysler operated large assembly plants in the St. Louis area, attracted by the central location and superior distribution components. McDonnell-Douglas, established by James C. McDonnell in 1939 in St. Louis and sold to Boeing in 1995, was in periods of full production the largest employer in Missouri. The firm gained large defense, private, and aerospace contracts. McDonnell-Douglas made the space capsule for the first moon landing in 1969. Emerson Electric was another well-known company and large employer.

In 2001 the eight St. Louis Fortune 500 companies were Emerson (118), May Department Stores (120), Anheuser-Busch (150), Ralston Purina (293), Graybar Electric (405), Charter Communications (415), American (444), and Trans World Airlines (454). In that same year American Airlines acquired TWA. The biggest local employers among Fortune 500 companies were TWA (8,765), May Department Stores (7,800), Anheuser-Busch (5,500) and American (3,924). Another large employer, B. J. C. Health Services, not a Fortune 500 company, had 22,964 employees.

TWA had been in financial trouble for many years, and its sale to American Airlines was hardly unexpected. There was little sense of loss and high expectations for the future. The purchase seemed to ensure the continued operation of the former TWA overhaul base in Kansas City. TWA, founded in 1931 in Kansas City as Transcontinental and Western Air, was headquartered in that city for the next four decades. In the 1960s TWA spent considerable money and received help from local bond issues to upgrade its role in Kansas City, even building a short-lived flight hostess academy. Rather abruptly, TWA left for St. Louis in the 1970s, a severe blow to local pride. In the 1980s TWA had acquired Ozark Air Lines, founded in Springfield in 1945. Well run, the carrier grew from a feeder to a national air carrier and folded while profitable, its leaders concerned about the rising cost of jet passenger aircraft. TWA had not enjoyed that luxury. By acquiring TWA, American Airlines became the world's largest commercial airline, on paper enhancing Missouri's importance as a transportation center. But the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, severely hurt American and the rest of the airline industry. By 2003, American's parent corporation was in severe financial trouble.

Outstate manufacturing experienced some severe ups and downs. The once powerful meat-packing industry in St. Joseph died, contributing to the city's long-term decline in population. Old and new industrial lines, electrical equipment, paper products, and pharmaceuticals took up some of the slack. In 1992 Springfield ranked third in manufacturing in Missouri with more than four billion dollars in sales, receipts, and shipments—impressive by any standard and greater than the manufacturing totals for such agricultural states as Wyoming and North Dakota.

In 1997, at the height of the economic boom, manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing were the leading sectors in the four outstate metropolitan areas of Columbia, Joplin, St. Joseph, and Springfield. Manufacturing was the number one sector. There were 5,700 factory workers in Columbia, 10,000 in Joplin, 7,000 in St. Joseph, and 23,000 in Springfield. In addition to the \$4 billion accounted for by Springfield industries, Joplin and St. Joseph factories did between \$2 billion and \$3 billion in business, while Columbia manufacturing sales, receipts, and shipments totaled \$1.5 billion. Retailing was a \$880 million sector in St. Joseph, a \$1 billion sector in Joplin, and a \$3.6 billion sector in Springfield. Wholesaling accounted for \$680 million in business in St. Joseph, \$1 billion in Joplin, and \$5.2 billion in Springfield. A new and growing area, health care and social assistance, generated \$1.4 billion in business in Springfield, \$800 million in Columbia, \$590 million in Joplin, and \$350 million in St. Joseph. The health sector occupied the services of 25,000 people in Springfield, 13,000 in Columbia, 10,000 in Joplin, and 6,000 in St. Joseph.

The economic totals for Springfield, Joplin, St. Joseph, and Columbia were impressive, but, taken as a whole, they still trailed both Kansas City and St. Louis by a large margin, indicating the extent to which the two metropolises continued to dominate Missouri. The St. Louis area had eleven billion-dollar lines, and the Kansas City area ten. In the Kansas City metropolitan area, manufacturing was a \$31 billion activity. Wholesaling sales, receipts, or shipments were in excess of \$46 billion. Manufacturing had 95,000 employees, and wholesaling 54,000. Retailing was a \$18 billion activity, with 98,000 employees. Health care and social assistance was a \$6.1 billion interest that involved the services of almost 77,000 men and women. In St. Louis, manufacturing was a \$51 billion pursuit that employed 170,000. Wholesaling, with 68,000 workers, accounted for sales, receipts, and shipments of \$57 billion. Around 141,000



individuals were in retailing, a \$24 billion line. The \$9 billion health care and social assistance sector involved more than 150,000 workers. Within the two sprawling metropolitan areas there was considerable heavy industry on the Illinois side of the St. Louis metropolitan area and all kinds of major economic components in the Kansas part of the Kansas City metropolitan area. But both metropolises were wholes, and the center of economic power was within the municipal boundaries of St. Louis and Kansas City.

Perhaps two dozen smaller Missouri towns had shoe factories into the 1970s, the largest with between 200 and 300 employees. At one point, the Brown Shoe Company had sixteen and Interco Inc. fifteen shoe factories. The concerns were frequently the biggest businesses in town. The parent corporations sometimes threatened to move unless they gained tax breaks and other incentives. When the shoe factories did leave, one after another, paramount reasons were no unionization and low wages south of the border in Mexico and in Third World nations. Chinese imports further affected the shoe industry. The number of American workers in the shoe industry fell from 235,000 in 1972 to only 28,000 in 2001. By 2001 fewer than 3,000 Missourians were shoe workers. Leather and leather products were no longer much of a factor in the overall economy of Missouri.

By the twenty-first century, food processing and other kinds of plants had replaced some of the old shoe factories in small-town Missouri. Contractions and expansions were part of life in smaller communities. In 2003 an apparel factory that had operated in Lebanon for four decades closed as the parent corporation shifted operations to Latin America. However, two thousand people continued to work in Lebanon's boat-building industry. Several other small towns in the Ozarks were less fortunate, having no cushion to fall back on after losing a total of forty-two hundred jobs within a few years in the clothing industry.

Modern Missouri's moderate growth rate, although expected, was cause for some concern. A sharp loss in the number of farmers and the corresponding decline in rural counties was a lamentable development. Missouri held its own economically; the state was an essential component of the national economy. The number of African Americans increased in the two metropolises. Other minorities made their presence felt, but Missouri, while more diversified, remained predominantly white. The state continued in motion.

## CHAPTER II

### BEAUTIFUL MISSOURI

Throughout American history promotional advertising has had great importance in the raising up of states and in extolling their natural and built environmental attractions. In Missouri, public and private agencies praised the marvels of the state, trying to outdo competitors selling everything from the North Woods of Michigan to the sunshine of Florida to the mountains of Colorado. Tourists needed to be convinced that they should spend time and money in Missouri rather than elsewhere, that they should see the Missouri Ozarks as opposed to the Arkansas Ozarks. St. Louis and Kansas City boosters continually reiterated that their cities were up-to-date and worth revisiting. Smaller communities promoted their wonders. Natural and historic preservation assumed great importance.

To attract people, it was necessary to have an attractive and sellable product. There was obviously room for improvement in selling Missouri. In 2001 the state had only an estimated \$12.9 billion share of the nation's \$537 billion tourist business. An estimated 250,000 Missourians made a portion of their living from tourism.

As states change, so do their images. The perception of Arizona evolved from a place where people went to enjoy the invigorating and dry climate for health reasons to a retirement paradise. Nevada, once known for quick divorces, silver mining, and wide open spaces, became instantly recognizable for gambling and entertainment centered in Las Vegas. Geographical superlatives only helped in a general way to set Missouri off from its neighbors. The state supposedly had 902,000 acres of water. Rivers and streams provided access to more than 50,000 miles of water. Estimates of the number of farm ponds ranged anywhere from 300,000 to 500,000. No one had ever counted them.

Tourism made explaining Missouri all the more complicated, leading to such attempts as one used by the Missouri Division of Tourism in the *Reader's Digest* for April 2001: "Once it's in your soul, it'll never leave. It's the rhythm of Missouri," accompanied by

the picture of a giant violin melding into the Thompson River near Trenton. A four-word phrase used by the agency to define the state and entice visitors—"Where the rivers run"—worked much better.

It was no longer fashionable in Missouri to equate St. Louis with eastern sophistication and Kansas City with gangsterism, cattle, and boosterism. For purposes of tourism, the Ozarks lost its dubious former distinction as a backward and dark wilderness peopled by hillbillies. Even so, the state remained as difficult as ever to neatly classify. One observer suggested that intercontinental ballistic missiles at Whiteman Air Force Base, warplanes produced in St. Louis, and troops trained at Fort Leonard Wood made the state the primary deterrent to an atomic war with the Soviet Union. A less militant approach emphasized centrality—that modern airports, railroad hubs, interstate highways, and navigable rivers remained the chief virtues and identifying attributes of Missouri, and that while it might no longer be thought of as the "Mother of the West," the state remained the "Crossroads of the Nation." The designation of Missouri as the Show Me State, difficult to explain in a few words—unlike "Golden State" for California and "Empire State" for New York—complicated the task of redefining Missouri.

In 1967, Missouri journalist Larry Hall called the state "variegated." Hall wrote, "They used to say you could build a wall around Missouri and the people could live comfortably without importing anything. Just how much variety can be spelled out in many ways—the language, the crops, the industry—you name it, we've got it." Bill Vaughan, a *Kansas City Star* columnist and Missouri humorist in the great tradition of Eugene Field, explored the foibles and complexities of the state, concluding that variety was the key to making it colorful and interesting. "Is the essence of Missouri merely that it is a mixed-up mish-mash without any character of its own?" he mused. "I don't think so. There is a Missouri way of looking at life, a Missouri spirit that—for good or ill—sets it apart from its neighbors. I'm sure it exists. I'm glad I don't have to get it down in words."

Lew Larkin, in an essay on the first 150 years of Missouri statehood in the *Official Manual, State of Missouri* for 1970–1971, avoided the controversial, explaining the state in terms of romantic imagery:

What is Missouri?

Could it be the raging tempest of the inland seas that swirled over the land millions of years ago, or the crunching of the glaciers eons afterward.

Or the timeless centuries later when the waters of the Missouri River softly slapped the sides of a keel boat as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark waved to hundreds along the banks at St. Louis.

Perhaps, then, the scratch of President James Monroe's quill pen in the White House when he officially created one of the bright stars in the galaxy of states.

Maybe it was the shade of the judgment tree shrouding the grave of a man who became a legend 25 years before he died and never wore a coonskin cap.

It might have been the vivid rage streaking the faces of a miserable military rabble who had just been told they faced a torture march to Mexico City if they survived a battle in which they were outnumbered four to one.

Or, maybe it was the measured chomp on a cigar stump by a bearded and unkempt St. Louis wood seller who watched the capture of Camp Jackson.

Maybe it was the freckled muzzle and floppy ears of Old Drum, dead in Big Creek.

Larkin gave modern Missouri a much wider stage. He said the state could "very well have been the Mighty Mo framed against the soft blue sky of Tokyo Bay" or, considering the role of Missouri industry in the space program, "the enormous blast-off at Cape Kennedy." Yet Larkin was not as sure about the meaning of the state as his tapestry of words might have indicated: "So, is this Missouri? Perhaps! The immutable murmurings of infinity."

An article, "This is Missouri," in the *Official Manual* for 1985–1986, explained the situation rather well: "Missouri is a difficult state to define and describe. Because of its diversity, Missouri is many things to many people. It is a blend of elements from many other places, and its people trace their origins to many other nations. Missouri is all-American and yet, in the final analysis, it is proudly unique. Missouri simply is . . . Missouri."

After placing Missouri in the mainstream and describing it as unique just the same (like all other states), the *Manual* article continued, "St. Louis and Kansas City are Missouri. But so are Forest Green, Kingdom City, Monegaw Springs and Sandy Hook. Missouri is hills, rivers, plains, forests and farmlands. It's mining, agriculture, tourism and manufacturing (everything from corn cob pipes to space shuttle components)." Missouri was pictured as always on the move and as a great and enduring center of transportation. "Like outstretched arms of welcome, Missouri's two mighty rivers, the

Mississippi and the Missouri, provided natural transportation for early settlers,” the piece explained. “Today, modern airports, highways and rail lines, create a network touching virtually every community in the state.” Missouri was said to be a place where the best time to be was any time, with the “glories of spring” extending through the summer and on into a “radiant fall.” Consequently, Missouri was “outdoor fun, good times, cities, people, resources and much more.”

In 1988, distinguished University of Missouri–Rolla history professor Lawrence O. Christensen, in a chapter about Missouri in James H. Madison, ed., *Heartland: Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States*, captured the “personality” of Missouri:

Indeed, diversity and variety define Missouri and the United States. Missourians from the Ozark region think of themselves as Ozarkers first and occupants of the state second. St. Louisans and Kansas Citians identify with their cities before they do with their state and certainly do not like to be confused with each other, rejecting common identification as urban Missourians, although both do use the term *outstate* to identify rural and small-town Missourians. Residents of the Bootheel refer to the rest of Missouri as “upstate.” Folks who live in Kennett do more business with Memphis, Tennessee, than St. Louis. Even rural Missourians find a difference between those who live north of the Missouri River and those who live south of it. North Missouri tends to be devoted to raising crops, while grazing of animals dominates agriculture in the less fertile south central region. Such sources of unity as pride in a common history, veneration of important native sons and daughters, and pride in the natural beauty of the state cannot overcome localism, the attachment to region and place.

Christensen believed that the fragmented nature of the state and the attachment of its citizens to localism contributed to a lack of state unity and a reluctance to address statewide needs, especially those involving higher taxes. In 1985 the state tax rate per capita was the lowest in the nation.

During Missouri’s celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the United States, the General Assembly established the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Missouri. William E. Parrish, Truman Professor of American History at Westminster College, chaired the commission, affording a measure of professional guidance. The commission provided a means for citizens to work together in a spirit of dedication and cooperation to make

future generations aware of Missouri's place in America, providing a common legacy. "One outstanding and lasting benefit of the Bicentennial was the unparalleled level of community participation throughout Missouri," Governor Christopher Bond said in 1976. "This was an inspiring experience bringing together people from all walks of life who joined together to honor their heritage and build for their future." An unstated goal of the commission was to promote tourism.

The commission spawned more than 500 projects, both broad and narrow in scope. Two of the endeavors involved raising money for the restoration of Jefferson Landing in Jefferson City and saving 112 George Caleb Bingham sketches for the people of Missouri. Equally important were 124 projects that the commission recommended for funding through federal grants on a 50-50 matching basis under the auspices of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. Included were \$1,707.95 to Chesterfield for publication of a history of the Bonhomme Presbyterian Church, \$2,500 to Doniphan to restore a nineteenth-century log cabin, \$500 to Monroe City for a "Spirit of 76 Festival U.S.A.," \$2,500 to Greenfield toward construction of a pioneer village on a 50-acre recreational ground, \$1,000 to Stover for an outdoor theater and playground, \$600 to Tiff City to collect and publish historical material, and \$400 to Sumner to erect an automated statue of a Canadian goose. In a larger context, the efforts reflected the importance of localism. Missouri was chameleonlike. All the projects reflected the variety of the state's experience. Some were transitory and others long-lasting. In 2002 the Sumner goose, "Maxie," proclaimed as the "world's largest goose," continued to reign supreme over what boosters called the "Wild Goose Capital of the World."

Contentious images could hurt a state and have unpleasant aftereffects—discouraging investors and keeping tourists away. Flags constituted one such battleground. In 2001 the South Carolina legislature surrendered to a widely supported NAACP boycott of the state's tourist industry, voting to lower the Confederate battle flag from the top of the state capitol, where it had flown since 1961. That same year the Georgia legislature, in a controversial move, replaced a pro-Confederate state flag, while in Mississippi an overwhelming number of white members of the electorate, risking a boycott, voted down a proposal for a new flag to replace a hundred-year-old standard that resembled a Confederate banner. The Georgia controversy over the new flag continued into 2004. A rather startling concern

about imagery occurred in North Dakota. State tourist officials, worried that the very name “North Dakota” projected an undesirable image—coldness—proposed a national poll to test the validity of the assumption. The possibility followed that the state might lure in more tourist dollars by changing its name, at the very least dropping “North” and becoming simply “Dakota.” Fortunately, the Missouri seal on the official state flag was relatively uncontroversial, containing two large bears holding up the state emblem. And no one seriously proposed changing the name of the state. But the controversies and concerns in other states emphasized the need of presenting the right image for Missouri. Image making was far more than an intellectual exercise. For decades, Minnesota, a state in which outdoor tourism, especially fishing, was a big business, emphasized that it was a land of ten thousand lakes.

Missouri was not a land of lakes. The vast majority of the estimated eleven hundred in the state were actually oxbows, u-shaped old river bends along the Missouri River and its tributaries. In 2003 the largest lakes in Missouri were multi-use artificial ones created by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The earliest corps lake project, Lake Taneycomo, was behind the Ozark Beach Dam of 1913 at Powersite on Missouri’s White River in the southwestern Ozarks. Other such lakes followed.

The dams did not appear simply because the Army Corps of Engineers wanted to dam more rivers. Business leaders and public officials from both Missouri and Kansas, many with close social and business ties and accustomed to cooperating in the livestock industry, saw the potential economic and social value of more artificial lakes and worked together to have them created. In 1999 Kansas City business leader John A. Dillingham explained, “Thanks to the cooperative efforts of Mr. Truman and the Republican members of the Congress from Kansas, and later President Eisenhower and the Democratic members from Missouri, the way was paved for the great flood control projects—lakes, dams, and reservoirs in both states. Out of the mud grew the important industry second to agriculture in both Kansas and Missouri—recreation and tourism.” Dillingham noted that the clouds that brought floodwaters in the postwar years had a silver lining. He said that “thanks to having the presidency in Kansas City, so to speak, for fifteen years (from 1945 to 1960) a great deal of bi-state political cooperation took place that would be impossible in today’s political climate. . . . They put aside their differences and worked as a team, backing each other, and cre-

ated all those lakes and dams that we take for granted for our boats, for fishing, and for flood control, beginning with Tuttle Creek in Kansas, Table Rock in Missouri.” According to Dillingham, “It couldn’t be done today because of all the partisan mistrust and so-called environmentalists. You can’t go out and start new dams—it just wouldn’t happen. . . . It was quite a vision.”

Dams, by their very nature, altered the landscape and changed the ecology. The Lake of the Ozarks, created by the completion of the Bagnell Dam in 1931, generated condemnation suits in federal court. In a memorable case, the Union Electric Light and Power Company of St. Louis wanted to take over and inundate Hahatonka, a three-hundred-foot-deep gorge, in connection with building the fifty-four-thousand-acre lake. Gutron Borglum, a famous environmentalist responsible for carving the Mount Rushmore National Monument, testified for the defendant. He painted a moving picture of the gorge: “My first impression was, as I looked at it, that it was very wonderful and very beautiful.” The trial judge, Albert Reeves, a native of Steelville in the Ozarks, believed the Lake of the Ozarks had the potential of acting as a critical component of a great combination water and rail route linking the Missouri Ozarks with the Gulf of Mexico. He envisioned the Lake of the Ozarks as invigorating the Missouri economy in a depression-ridden period, bringing about regional prosperity. Union Electric won the Hahatonka condemnation case and all the others, leading to the flooding and obliteration of great Missouri natural icons.

The Lake of the Ozarks, formed by the Osage and other rivers, had an estimated 1,150 miles of shoreline. Following World War II, real estate agents promoted the large lake as the heart of a scenic, remote, pristine wilderness featuring wooded and rugged territory with high bluffs. Development was called difficult and unlikely for many decades to come. Such a pessimistic assessment proved spectacularly incorrect. By the 1990s cabins and large resorts lined the banks, restricting public access. Summer weekends featured massive traffic jams. Powerboats, large and small, roared up and down the lake. Thousands of pleasure boats took to the lake daily in peak vacation periods. Except in the dead of winter, a quiet weekend in the sun was out of the question.

The other thirteen Corps of Engineers lakes, while all very popular, did not enjoy the same volume of tourists as the centrally located Lake of the Ozarks. Four other corps lakes, all along the White River in the Ozarks, were Table Rock, Taneycomo, Bull



Shoals, and Norfork. The western Osage Lakes region—Pomme de Terre, Stockton, and the Truman Reservoir—were in west central Missouri. Some other corps lakes, including Wappapello, Long Branch, Smithville, and Mark Twain, made Missouri a fishing utopia, at least for successful anglers.

As with the Lake of the Ozarks, dam construction always had a negative side. In the 1950s the construction of Table Rock included a prolonged controversy over the closing of key roads and bridges. In periods of heavy rain corps lakes, justified in part as flood control measures, frequently backed up, overflowing their banks and flooding. At other times, the frequent closing and opening of dams adversely affected water levels. One month a dock could be high and dry and the next flooded out. People wondered if conditions would have been better if rivers had remained in a natural state, tending to forget or ignore that interaction between the weather and the natural world constantly brought change.

Designated river and trail routes served as positive indications of the broad scope of outdoor Missouri. In 1965 the state became the location of the nation's first linear national park, the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways, running along a 134-mile stretch of the Current and Jack's Fork Rivers. The approximately 225-mile-long Katy Trail State Park ran from St. Charles to Clinton, using a former railroad right-of-way. The Ozarks Trail threaded its way through 500 miles of scenic and very diverse terrain in the heart of the Ozarks. Hiking and biking were popular activities in all seasons. Camping, canoeing, and floating drew well in excess of a million people per year. A publicist for the state, trying to sum up outdoor Missouri, wrote: "Fishing, boating and swimming are popular on our rivers, too, but they're best known for that old Missouri favorite, the float trip. Floating our rivers—in canoes, john boats or even inner tubes—is an activity travelers can enjoy statewide. Northern streams such as Grand, Chariton and Platte lure floaters . . . floating on Missouri's rivers is a relaxing getaway from the worries of the 'real world.'"

Hunting and fishing were popular outdoor activities in Missouri. Fishing for bluegills, crappies, trout, and bass lured hundreds of thousands of anglers. Giant catfish lurked in the bigger lakes and within the chief rivers. State conservationists introduced game fish from other regions into Missouri: northern pike, walleye, and even muskie, with varying degrees of success. Habitat destruction, especially from channel straightening, threatened some species, including alligator and other kinds of gar, none considered game fish. The state maintained

twelve fish hatcheries. Hunters went after deer, wild turkeys, upland game birds, and migrating waterfowl. The fall deer and duck game seasons drew great numbers of hunters. The start of deer hunting season resembled the opening day of a military campaign.

State and national wildlife refuges were significant parts of the Missouri conservation mixture. Several hundred bald eagles usually wintered at the Mingo National Wildlife Refuge in the Bootheel. Others spent the winter at the Swan Lake National Wildlife Refuge and the Fountain Grove Conservation Area, both near Sumner; the Eagle Bluffs Conservation Area near Columbia; the Squaw Creek National Wildlife Refuge near Mound City; the Big Muddy National Wildlife Refuge along the Missouri River; and the Clarence Cannon National Wildlife Refuge in Pike County along the Mississippi River. Swan Lake and Squaw Creek were on the flyway of Canadian geese. Hundreds of thousands of the migrating birds stopped at these and other Missouri refuges on the way south in the fall and again in the spring on their way north.

Although environmentalists disagreed over practices of wildlife management and the use of the land and water, almost all concurred with the need for at least some regulations to preserve Missouri's natural resources. This was easier said than done. There was no single answer, for example, of what to do with the caves, mostly unexplored. By an official count, Missouri had 5,620 caves, a large number in a great arch from the northeast to the southwest parts of the state. Roughly twenty were open to the public for at least part of the year. A few had elaborate lighting systems; others required the use of flashlights. Some of the better-known caves were Meramec, Bridal, Fantastic Caverns, and Marvel. No comprehensive studies existed on the impact that the exploration or use of caves had on the natural environment. Several large caves in the Kansas City area had been converted into storage facilities.

An extensive state park system started early in the twentieth century represented a significant ongoing effort on the part of the state government to preserve and make available to the public Missouri's natural and cultural markers. Missouri had more than 70 state parks, ranging in size from a few acres to more than 100 square miles. The mission statement of the Division of State Parks emphasized the importance of the parks in saving outstanding landmarks, interpreting the past, and providing recreational opportunities. In addition to the state parks, several conservation agencies cooperated to protect and manage designated Missouri Natural Areas—168

in 1996 that covered 44,000 acres—to save examples of the state's natural landscape.

A site guide produced by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources elaborated on the recreational opportunities available in the parks of Missouri:

For adventure, take a wild cave tour or zoom across sand flats on a dirt bike. For exercise, hike a scenic wooded trail next to a stream and enjoy the wildflowers or ride a bicycle along the bluffs that tower above the Missouri River. For relaxation, cast your line for a variety of fish in our lakes, streams and rivers or ride a horse into a peaceful, secluded area. For an educational experience, take a nature walk led by a park naturalist or tour a historic site, view a battle re-enactment or watch a living history demonstration. Take time to explore every option at a state park or historic site by spending a few days in one of our campgrounds, cabins or motels.

The guide concluded: "The possibilities are endless."

Some of the more spectacular parks are in southeastern Missouri. Elephant Rocks State Park in Iron County features large billion-year-old granite rocks standing end to end and resembling a train of circus elephants. Johnson's Shut-Ins State Park in Reynolds County is on a stretch of the fast-flowing Black River, where it passes through a series of gorges or "shut-ins." Lake Wappapello State Park in Wayne County encompasses beautiful terrain at the southern end of Lake Wappapello. Montauk State Park in Dent County is at the headwaters of the Current River, where it merges with a tremendous torrent of spring water rushing in from Montauk Spring. Taum Sauk Mountain State Park in the St. Francois Mountains contained the state's highest point, 1,772 feet above sea level, and highest waterfall, along with the rugged Devils' Toll Gate. Trail of Tears State Park in Cape Girardeau County is on imposing bluffs high above the Mississippi River.

These and other parks in the diverse landscapes of the Ozarks are indicative of the varied settings of the state's other unique state parks and sites. Among those south of the Missouri River in central and southwestern Missouri are Ha Ha Tonka State Park with limestone bluffs overlooking the Lake of the Ozarks, Bennett Spring State Park west of Lebanon, Big Sugar Creek State Park with oak and oak-pine savannas in the Elk Hills, Lake of the Ozarks State Park with miles of scenic wooded shoreline, Prairie State Park in Barton County with different kinds of native prairie grasses, and

Roaring River State Park in Barry County.

As a sampling shows, Missouri has beautiful multi-use parks all over the state, not just in a few parts as in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, where their primary recreation areas were in the North Woods. Frequently, Missouri parks are near lakes, rivers, and streams. In the Kansas City region, Big Lake State Park is by an oxbow formed by an abandoned Missouri River channel. Knob Noster State Park has a savanna setting of prairie grasses and widely spaced trees. Watkins Mill State Park and State Historic Site is at the location of an old plantation. Wallace State Park is ideal for bird watchers. Northeast Missouri features campgrounds and fishing holes at a number of parks: Crowder, Culver River, Long Branch, and Wakonda. In central Missouri, old strip mining pits define Finger Lakes State Park and unusual geologic formations Rock Bridge Memorial State Park, both in Boone County. Parks in the St. Louis region include Castlewood State Park on the Meramec River for canoeing and fishing, Hawn for hiking through pine forests and along springs, Meramec for camping and scenery, and St. Joe for a variety of activities.

The location of only a few of the more than sixteen hundred combat engagements fought in Missouri during the Civil War were remembered in 2003. Many clashes of arms were small-force guerilla actions that were over in a matter of minutes. The large Battle of Westport of 1864 was a battle of movement fought throughout what later became the heavily built-up south side of Kansas City. Only a series of plaques marked the course of the fighting and eventual Confederate withdrawal. Throughout Missouri, many local public and private historic agencies have commemorated battles. The most comprehensive preserved battle site was at the spot of a bitter 1861 Union defeat near Springfield, the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, operated by the National Park Service.

The state maintained four major Civil War battle sites, each in a different part of Missouri: the Battle of Lexington State Historic Site in western Missouri, the Battle of Carthage State Historic Site in the southwest, the Fort Davidson State Historic Site in the southeast, and the Battle of Athens Historic Site in the extreme northeast. This latter battle, fought between Union and Confederate home guards, marked the most northern Civil War battle west of the Mississippi River. At the Battle of Lexington, September 18 to 20, 1861, Union soldiers occupied Lexington. On July 5, 1861, near Carthage, six thousand Confederate troops routed a thousand-man Union

force. On September 26 and 27, 1864, at an earthen fortification called Fort Davidson, Union defenders, at the loss of two hundred men, killed or wounded eleven hundred attacking Confederate soldiers in the Battle of Pilot Knob. The four battles showed the face of war in the western theater of Missouri.

Missouri contains numerous historic sites. An early state project was the restoration in the 1960s of the first state capitol in St. Charles. Many of the historic sites are birthplaces, childhood homes, or adult residences of famous citizens, usually men. Independence has the George Caleb Bingham house and Clay County the birthplace farm of Jesse James. There are a variety of Mark Twain sites in the Hannibal area. Independence has a number of Truman locations. The George Washington Carver National Monument is in Diamond and the Laura Ingalls Wilder Museum and Home is in Mansfield. The state honors with historic sites the lives and times of a wide variety of Missourians, such as artist Thomas Hart Benton, military leader John J. Pershing, musician Scott Joplin, and President Harry S. Truman. Many communities have modest museums, usually associated with a local historical society. Clinton and Joplin are among the cities with history museums and cultural centers. Specialized private museums are the Elvis Is Alive Museum in Wright City and the Grotto of the Black Madonna near Pacific. Every county in Missouri has something of a historical nature for visitors to see, indicative of the state's rich heritage.

Four outstate communities have impressive groupings of historical buildings. Ste. Genevieve has fifty French colonial-style edifices. The Felix Valle House of 1828, built in federal style, has historical exhibits. Jefferson Landing, a three-building complex of antebellum structures in Jefferson City, houses a museum in the Lohman Building and a gallery in the former Union Hotel, which is also an Amtrak station. Hermann has neoclassical commercial buildings dating from the 1840s and a distinctive old red county courthouse. Arrow Rock, designated a National Historic Landmark in 1964, boasts a large collection of red brick and white frame buildings, among which is the J. Huston Tavern of 1834. The ambience of Ste. Genevieve and the tranquility of Arrow Rock serve as shining examples of how old structures could convey an appreciation of the past. The thriving commercial life of downtown Ste. Genevieve contrasts to the village of Arrow Rock with its approximately seventy permanent residents and an economy based almost entirely on tourism. Far more people go to Hermann to attend festivals and events in connection with the local wineries than to see the

historic architectural forms. The Missouri State Capitol and modern Jefferson City are right behind Jefferson Landing.

St. Joseph and Springfield have inventoried their historic landmarks. In St. Joseph a historic area, "Pateetown," named by Joseph Patee, an early land developer, combines history and commercialism. Among its attractions are the relocated Jesse James house, the modest bungalow where Robert Ford killed Jesse James in 1882; the Missouri Trust Building of 1859, featuring ornate carved oak woodwork and a vault reinforced with railroad rails; and the once lavish Patee House of 1858, the former 1860 headquarters of the Pony Express. In Springfield a city landmarks board has placed a number of homes on the Springfield Historic Site Register. The residential-style Moser House of 1893 is an eight-room residence with hand-carved roof shingles and an unusual cut-glass front window. The turreted fifteen-room Bentley House of 1892, done in Queen Anne style, has an unaltered exterior and renovated walnut-paneled interior. Both Springfield and St. Joseph designate parks and cemeteries as landmarks. Some have great historical import, such as a national cemetery in Springfield, an outgrowth of the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Others are of problematic historical value, including a large Springfield cemetery gazebo depicted as "An octagonal pavilion with a concrete floor, capped with an onion shaped dome." The St. Joseph Ice House Dinner Theatre is described as fronting on "a cobblestone street once traveled by Pony Express riders."

One of the most unusual and significant historic sites is the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library on the campus of Westminster College in Fulton. The memorial commemorates Winston Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech of March 5, 1946, delivered to a national radio audience. President Truman orchestrated and attended the event. Even though the illustrious British leader spent only a short time in Fulton, his use of "iron curtain" emphasized the growing Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and had important worldwide implications in terms of the events leading up to the start of the Cold War. The memorial contains a reconstructed Christopher Wren church brought over from England, an undercroft library and museum, a sculpture, "Breakthrough," made of masonry from the Berlin Wall, and a magnificent statue of Churchill. Missouri also has a second Churchill memorial—a bronze tableau, named "Married Love," of Churchill and his wife, Clementine Spencer Churchill, located in the Country Club Plaza in Kansas City.

A new element in selling modern Missouri has been riverboat gambling. In 1994, legalized gambling started along the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, competing with a state-sponsored lottery that operated statewide. In 2001 eleven riverboat casinos operated in Missouri markets: four in the Kansas City area, three near St. Louis, and four outstate. In actuality, the term “riverboat gambling” was somewhat misleading. For safety reasons, despite the long history of navigation on the two rivers, the Corps of Engineers ruled out the use of cruising gambling boats. With only a few exceptions, the riverboat casinos were what the media called “boats in moats,” landlocked barges with fancy superstructures moored in moats or backwaters, usually as a part of entertainment complexes. During the political campaign for riverboat gambling, pro-gambling television commercials showed a white steamboat moving along a river, complete with appropriate music.

Millions of people visited the Missouri casinos monthly, a large number to play the slot machines. Between July 1, 2000, and June 30, 2001, casino patrons numbered in excess of 22.7 million. In Kansas City this was a throwback to Pendergastism, when small businesses, including family-owned drug and grocery stores, had illegal slot machines. A big difference was that riverboat gambling was much more centralized, regulated by the state, authorized by the voters, run by large corporations, and legal. In addition, casinos paid taxes, but not always in the amounts predicted by the promoters. In 1999 Missouri casinos grossed \$936 million after the paying off of winning bets. According to the Missouri Gaming Commission, betters lost an average of \$37.96 per visit. Gambling limits placed on patrons supposedly helped minimize social costs. In 2001 the four casinos in Kansas City took in a combined \$50 million a month.

Americans placed in excess of \$54 billion annually in legal bets. Who knew how much money exchanged hands in illegal transactions? In 1998 Las Vegas casinos grossed \$8 billion. Such a large amount virtually assured that a growing number of states would legalize gambling, hoping to cut into the money going to Nevada. A number of Indian tribes also had their own casinos. Surveys of patrons of Missouri gambling boats showed that more than half came from inside the state. Unlike Las Vegas, which reacted to growing competition by radically broadening and refashioning its nongambling entertainment base, no one in Missouri tried to depict gambling as part of a family vacation.

Many interested parties worked to keep legal gambling out of the Lake of the Ozarks and other tourist centers. In 2003 the Springfield-Branson area got along without casinos. In Springfield, Bass Pro Shops Outdoor World, a three-hundred-thousand-square-foot sporting goods store complete with such extras as an aquarium, displays of stuffed animals, live wildlife, and an upscale restaurant, attracted well over a million visitors a year, making it one of the principal tourist attractions in Missouri. President George Herbert Walker Bush bought a boat at Bass Pro. The nearby American National Fish and Wildlife Museum complemented Bass Pro. Forty miles south of Springfield, in the Branson area, Silver Dollar City, Shepherd of the Hills, and the corps lakes drew several million visitors a year, many of whom stayed for more than one day.

Silver Dollar City in the southwestern Ozarks, originally called Ozark Mountain Village, opened in 1960, located at the old abandoned lead mining hamlet of Marmaro at the mouth of Marble Cave. The Herschend family developed the cave, one of the largest in Missouri, into a tourist site. In 1950, its first full year of operation, the cave attracted 8,000 people. The number of annual patrons rose at a steady rate to 120,000 in a little over a decade. Silver Dollar City, devoted to illustrating traditional Ozarks crafts and ways of life, was originally connected directly to Marble Cave. A few craft shops gave people something to do before entering the cave. A success from the start, Silver Dollar City regularly added new attractions. By 1970 it was already a flourishing complex staffed by 200 full-time and 1,200 seasonal employees. The grounds had water rides, roller coasters, restaurants, theaters, and even a short railroad. Looking back from the vantage point of 2000, a member of the Herschend family told a journalist, "I'd like to report to you that there was a great marketing study that this was the ideal place to build a theme park. All that wouldn't be true."

Silver Dollar City continued to place an emphasis on Ozarks culture, equated by the owners with Christianity. In 1997 an official of the theme park explained, "Our overriding commitment to Christian values and ethics causes us to make that an essential part of our everyday dealing with our guests. . . . There's a tremendous yearning in the country to get back to some basic values. Silver Dollar City encompasses a better time, a better place, family togetherness." Silver Dollar City had a workable formula for success, combining a romantic view of the past and an appeal to family groups. No alcoholic beverages were sold.



Branson business leaders worked hard to project and maintain a similar wholesome image. Branson was an old country village. A carefully cultivated representation of the community glossed over the dark past of surrounding Taney County, where famous lawbreakers from the James brothers to Charles “Pretty Boy” Floyd had hidden in the caves and hills. In post–Civil War times the Bald Knobbers meted out a rough-and-ready brand of extralegal justice, regulating social affairs. The vigilante Bald Knobbers gradually lost their reforming zeal and disintegrated into bands of thieves. Authorities attributed at least forty murders and countless other brutal acts to Bald Knobbers. Suppressing the criminals had required the combined efforts of state and federal authorities. The Bald Knobbers figured in Harold Bell Wright’s *Shepherd of the Hills*.

Wright, a Disciples of Christ minister and in his day one of America’s most popular authors, camped for eight summers on the homestead of John and Anna Ross at scenic Inspiration Point near Branson. His book, which first appeared in 1907, told a dramatic inspirational story of life in the Ozarks, set around Inspiration Point and loosely based on real people. In 1925 a Springfield woman acquired the old Ross homestead and turned it into a tourist attraction featuring “Old Matt’s Cabin” and “Little Pete’s Cave.” New owners bought the property in the 1950s, and in 1959–1960 opened the large Shepherd of the Hills Outdoor Theater. An elaborately produced stage play with a cast of eighty, based on Wright’s book, had many special effects, including a burning cabin and a gun battle. The drama became the first major stage show in the Branson area, and was still a big draw in 2003.

The Missouri Ozarks enjoyed a rich heritage of country music from the Appalachian frontier. In the 1940s and 1950s Red Foley nationally broadcast his Ozark Jubilee country music show, based in Springfield and featuring local talent, which claimed to rival Nashville’s Grand Old Opry. A Springfield radio station, KWTO, asserted that it was the dominant country music station west of the Mississippi River. The first country music band, the Mabe Brothers, a local group professionally known as the Baldknobbers, performed in Branson in 1959. Another band, the Presley Family, performed around the Springfield-Branson area in the same period. They built a modest theater in Branson for their Presley’s Mountain Music Jubilee. Lloyd Presley, longtime star of the family, remembered in 2000, “When we built the first theater on what’s now 76 Country Boulevard, we didn’t have any idea how it would work out. We built

it so that the seats could easily be torn out and the place could be made into a boat storage shed.”

The Presley and the Baldknobbers theaters prospered. Other showhouses followed. By 1981, “Mom and Pop theaters” along Highway 76 formed an impressive and growing country music complex. Much as in the early days of the rise of Nashville, Branson began with local productions, gradually broadening out to attract the services of nationally recognized country and other entertainers. During the summer months the Branson theaters, seating anywhere from five hundred to two thousand people, frequently filled to capacity.

In the 1980s two seasoned entertainers, Roy Clark of the television show *Hee Haw* and Boxcar Willie, a Nashville star, opened theaters in Branson. They brought a steady stream of veteran country music entertainers to the small town, ushering in a new developmental phase. Clark extolled the advantages of Branson for veteran country music stars, noting, “Most veteran country music stars have toured, made themselves a name and now want to get off the road and go where there is an audience.” What happened was a reversal of roles; country music fans came to the stars, rather than the other way around. Entertainers could settle down in a pleasant, picturesque region, live with their loved ones, and pursue such recreational sports as golf, fishing, and hunting. Boxcar Willie was the first Branson theater owner to bring in current Nashville stars. He moved permanently to Branson, becoming a community leader and promoter. During the 1990s investors put an estimated \$25 million into new construction and \$5 million into remodeling in Branson.

In the early 1990s a *60 Minutes* television feature story on Branson condescendingly described it as an emerging “Hillbilly Las Vegas.” New promoters arrived in Branson, believing that they could make money at will. “A smell of greed was in the air,” according to Branson resident William Godsey. Unfortunately, for some investors entertaining great expectations, success was far from automatic. It took at least a year and a half of hard work for a project—a motel, a theater, or a store—to have a reasonable chance of turning a profit.

Branson did become an important component of the country music industry with regular appearances by current Nashville stars. Bill Ivey, executive director of the Country Music Association, saw a growing, mutually advantageous relationship between Nashville and Branson: “I see Branson as a phenomenon that enhances the overall scene . . . In the big picture I see Branson as something that enhances Nashville’s role as Music City, the place where music is

created . . . I want all these artists to have places to perform in front of live audiences, not just Garth Brooks and Alan Jackson.” But Branson also attracted other popular singers such as Andy Williams and the Osmond Brothers, who built theaters there.

By 2003 Branson had more than fifty theaters, along with many new motels, condominiums, and even a shopping mall. The large number of tourists coming to Branson severely taxed the infrastructure, requiring large expenditures for roads and various urban services. Branson was a destination for a significant percentage of tour buses in the United States, creating a need for large parking lots.

Branson had continuing concerns and problems. Pessimistic observers noted the middle-age characteristics of many patrons and predicted an inevitable decline, given the differing music tastes of many younger people. In October 2002 the Republican candidate for governor of Kansas, in a slip of the tongue, called Branson a “tourist trap.” Environmentalists warned that Branson polluted the Ozarks and that constructing new roads posed grave dangers to the ecology. Competitors alleged shoddy building construction practices. Some academicians sneered at Branson as a “redneck” entertainment place, ignoring the traditional role of country music in the life of the Ozarks. And, along with jazz, country music was one of the nation’s enduring and leading art forms, garnering a worldwide following. Branson’s sudden rise made it important to Missouri’s economy, a premier rising industry in the state. For the moment, at least, Branson was a great Missouri success story.

The summary statistics for Taney County in the 1997 economic census counted 88 arts, entertainment, and recreational establishments. The concerns had 1,928 paid employees and sales, receipts, and shipments amounting to \$165 million. Accommodations and food services had 328 establishments, 4,957 paid employees, and sales of \$245 million. The combined number of paid employees in the two lines was 6,385. In total, the summary statistics were quite impressive for a rural county in the Ozarks. In the 1990s Branson grew in number of permanent inhabitants from 3,706 to 6,050. Enthusiastic Branson promoters talked of challenging Kansas City and St. Louis for tourists, claiming to have attracted an estimated 8.2 million visitors in 2002—about as many as Kansas City and St. Louis combined. Yet the two metropolitan areas had leads large enough to make such expectations somewhat unrealistic. In 1997, 527 Kansas City–area entertainment and recreational establishments had 11,175 employees and \$684 million in receipts. St. Louis had 907

such establishments with 25,133 paid workers and receipts of \$1 billion. Both cities had their own theme parks—Worlds of Fun and Oceans of Fun in Kansas City, and Six Flags and Grant's Farm in St. Louis.

Missouri continued to progress. Prosperity in the Ozarks, the increased use of the Corps of Engineers lakes, the improved highway system, and the understanding of the need for conservation measures all contributed to the rise of outdoor Missouri. The making of state parks and saving of historic sites went forward. Accentuating the positive remained a constant goal. Defining the state and the search for a new image was as difficult as ever, with Missouri's diverse parts defying all attempts of consolidation under a single definition.

## CHAPTER III

### URBAN MISSOURI

Missouri did not officially become an urban state until three decades into the twentieth century. If an urban place is defined as any town or city with a population of 2,500 or greater, then Missouri was 3.5 percent urban in 1830 and 36.3 percent in 1900. The United States crossed the 50 percent line in 1920 and Missouri in 1930. At that date, the state was 51.2 percent urban. Missouri was 61.5 percent in 1950, 66.6 percent in 1960, and 70.1 percent in 1970. It dipped slightly to 68.1 percent in 1980, having approximately the same urban percentages in 1990, 68.7 percent. Of all Americans, about 75 percent resided in urban territory.

Within these parameters, urban Missouri conformed to much of the rest of the country, even though both St. Louis and Kansas City actually lost residents between 1950 and 2000, as shown in Table 3.1. Kansas City declined in number of inhabitants by 3.4 percent from 1950 to 2000. St. Louis fell by a startling 59.4 percent. Beginning in 1947, Kansas City leaders had followed an aggressive land annexation policy, especially north of the Missouri River in Platte and Clay Counties. In the 1960s the city annexed 169 square miles, and by 2003 it covered 313.5 square miles. The acquisition program taxed the infrastructure given the problems involved, for example, in maintaining 35,000 catch basins and 450,000 right-of-ways. Since 1876, St. Louis, a separate political entity from St. Louis County, had been an independent city with fixed boundaries, keeping the city at 61.9 square miles. In the 1950s a consolidation movement failed, with disastrous long-run consequences for the city. Subsequent proposals for a borough system never came to a vote. In the twenty years from 1960 to 1980, St. Louis lost 296,941 residents. St. Louis plunged in population among American cities from eighth in 1950 to forty-ninth in 2000. In the same time span, Kansas City dropped from fifteenth to thirty-sixth. In the 1990s the number of people in St. Louis fell by 48,496, a 12.2 percent drop that made it the fastest-contracting big city in the United States.

Table 3.1 Population Changes in St. Louis and Kansas City, 1950–1990

Census Year	Population	Change over Preceding Census	
		NUMBER	PERCENT
St. Louis			
1950	856,796	40,748	5.0
1960	750,026	-106,770	-12.5
1970	622,236	-127,790	-17.0
1980	482,801	-169,435	-27.2
1990	396,685	-56,116	-12.4
2000	348,189	-48,496	-12.2
Kansas City			
1950	456,622	31,791	6.7
1960	475,539	18,917	4.1
1970	507,330	31,791	6.7
1980	448,028	-59,302	-11.7
1990	435,146	-12,882	-2.9
2000	441,545	6,399	1.5

Actually, matters were not as bad as they might have appeared. As with many other big cities, St. Louis and Kansas City had experienced extensive suburbanization. The Metropolitan Statistical Area population figures from 1960 to 2000 measured the pace of suburban progress, as illustrated by Table 3.2. In 1960 metropolitan St. Louis crossed the 2 million population line and metropolitan Kansas City for the first time contained more than a million people. In 2000 St. Louis's MSA of 2,608,607 ranked eighteenth nationally, while Kansas City's 1,776,062 was twenty-sixth. In both metropolitan areas far more people lived outside of rather than in the central city; more than two million in the St. Louis metropolitan area and well over a million in the Kansas City area. For more than fifty years there had been a tremendous increase in residential construction in both metropolitan areas. The two MSAs sprawled over several Missouri counties as well as into counties across state lines in Illinois and Kansas. The St. Louis MSA consisted of seven Missouri and five Illinois counties. The eleven-county Kansas City MSA included four Kansas counties. The population of the Kansas-side counties increased by 47.2 percent between 1970 and 2000, from 479,377 to 706,454. In the same thirty-year span the St. Louis MSA Illinois counties stayed about the same in number of residents, moving slightly downward

Table 3.2

Metropolitan Growth in St. Louis and Kansas City, 1960–2000

Census Year	Metropolitan Population	Change over Preceding Census NUMBER	PERCENT	Suburban Population
St. Louis				
1960	2,060,103	340,815	19.8	1,354,643
1970	2,362,017	301,914	14.7	1,806,793
1980	2,356,460	-5,557	-0.2	1,923,911
1990	2,492,525	136,065	5.8	2,095,663
2000	2,608,607	111,082	4.5	2,214,723
Kansas City				
1960	1,039,493	225,136	27.6	617,006
1970	1,253,916	214,423	20.6	875,816
1980	1,327,106	73,190	5.8	1,001,221
1990	1,582,875	255,769	19.3	1,147,727
2000	1,776,062	193,187	12.2	1,334,517

from 601,148 to 598,715. In all, in 2000 a total of 1,306,701 people lived outside of Missouri in metropolitan St. Louis and Kansas City.

In its simplest form, an MSA included the residents of a central city, which usually contained more than 50,000 inhabitants, plus all the people in the surrounding prime county and in any adjoining counties. Usually, an MSA was named after the largest city in the prime county. Several factors determined the extent of an MSA, including having at least 25 percent of people from a surrounding county employed in the central city, mercantile data, and number of telephones. On June 30, 1999, the United States (including Puerto Rico) had 356 metropolitan areas, 51 of which had more than a million people. The federal government and some states used the classification for funding decisions. The designation at the federal level determined Medicare payment rates to hospitals and locality pay for federal workers.

In 2000 the most populous county in the St. Louis MSA was St. Louis County with 1,016,315 people, all outside the city limits of St. Louis. In metropolitan Kansas City, Jackson County had 654,880 inhabitants, 242,910 of whom were outside municipal Kansas City. Rapidly growing Johnson County, Kansas, the chief commuting county for Kansas City, had 451,086 inhabitants. A truck-farming county until after World War II, Johnson County had gradually

acquired many of the characteristics associated with a central city. What held Johnson County back were its approximately fifty-three legal jurisdictions (even cemeteries could be separate under Kansas practices), making a consolidation movement difficult. St. Louis County, with more than ninety different municipalities, was similarly balkanized.

The enlargement of Missouri suburban cities with 25,000 or more residents in the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas graphically illustrated the extent of the suburban phenomenon. The large suburbs were harbingers of change. Up until the end of the nineteenth century, all places with more than 10,000 people, suburban or not, were considered important cities. This demographic measurement, used worldwide, lost significance in the twentieth century. By the last half of the century the U.S. Census used 25,000 as the population breaking point between smaller and larger cities, and even that number may have been too small.

Some of the large Kansas City and St. Louis suburbs in 2000 had been important early towns. Others lacked a historical identity. Independence in Jackson County started out as a county seat and frontier outfitting center. In St. Charles County, just west of St. Louis County, the city of St. Charles was the first state capital. Florissant in St. Louis County was an old French colonial post. Some other communities that emerged as important suburbs were old country villages. Lee's Summit in Jackson County, incorporated in 1868, changed from a village to a city as metropolitan Kansas City spread eastward. In contrast, a relatively new incorporated area, Maryland Heights in St. Louis County, was originally little more than a gigantic subdivision that had little reason for city status. Many suburbs grew like topsy with minimal planning from one subdivision to another, resulting in confusing interlocking street plans. The only distinguishing feature some localities seemed to have in the bigger scheme of things were names on interstate highway exit signs.

Indeed, it was the development of the interstate road system and the corresponding increase in automobile travel that helped make rapid suburban growth possible. Added to this was an increasingly affluent middle class, much of it white, which tended to flee the inner city, leaving behind a decaying infrastructure.

In 1950 the only suburbs with populations greater than 25,000 in Missouri were Independence (36,963) and University City (39,892). By 1960 University City (which had grown to 51,249 inhabitants) had been joined in the St. Louis MSA by Webster Groves



(28,990), Kirkwood (29,421), and Florissant (38,106). These places were basically extensions of the central city rather than suburbs of the “bedroom” variety, and had grown large simply as a result of the inability of St. Louis to physically expand beyond its city limits. As the Kansas City area grew eastward, Independence more than doubled in population during the 1950s, to 81,069 inhabitants in 1960. By 1970 it had 111,630 persons, making it the fourth largest city in Missouri. Another Kansas City suburb, Raytown, had 33,306 residents by 1970. Two more St. Louis suburbs had crossed the 25,000 mark between 1960 and 1970: St. Charles (31,834) and Ferguson (28,759). Kirkwood (31,769) and Florissant (65,908) continued to grow. Webster Groves (27,455) and University City (46,309) actually decreased in population. By the 1980 census Ferguson had dropped back to below the 25,000 line. In general, a fast-growing suburb leveled off after a decade or so and then lost population as residents aged, stores and businesses intruded, and infrastructure needs required higher taxes. Many new home buyers wanted more modern housing. In another form of suburban flight, blacks moved in and whites moved out.

Raytown, only a short distance southeast of Kansas City, was an illustration of a rather characteristic evolution. First settled in 1844 as an overnight stop on the Santa Fe Trail, it lay halfway between the eastern terminal of Independence and the Middle Border that separated Missouri from Indian Country, roughly a two-day wagon trip. After the closing of the Santa Fe Trail, Raytown became simply another unincorporated country crossroads. In the early twentieth century, predictions that Kansas City would expand in the direction of Raytown did not pan out. Instead, Kansas City moved south along the Missouri side of State Line Road. When Raytown incorporated in 1950 it only had 500 residents. Over the next twenty years, a combination of whites leaving the inner city and the attractions of suburban living led to rapid growth. Predominantly blue collar and one of the fastest-growing communities in Missouri, Raytown in 1957 had 13,700 residents. In the 1960s Kansas City responded by annexing land around Raytown, isolating it and curtailing its further physical expansion. The town already had fifty churches, a fairly large school district, many commercial establishments, and other attributes associated with a settled, medium-size town. In 1975, at the dedication of a new civic center, the mayor explained, “What we have to do is to build pride in Raytown,” which meant separating its identity from Kansas City, not an easy task.

Table 3.3 Suburban Growth in the St. Louis and Kansas City, MSAs, 1980, 1990, 2000

Suburban Cities	Census Year			% Change	
	1980	1990	2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
St. Louis					
Ballwin	20,253	21,406	31,283	5.7	46.1
Chesterfield	28,384	37,990	46,802	33.8	23.2
Florissant	56,754	51,206	50,497	-9.8	-1.4
Hazelwood	16,155	15,324	26,206	-5.1	71.0
Kirkwood	27,739	27,291	27,324	-1.6	0.1
Maryland	26,413	25,407	25,756	-3.8	1.4
Heights					
Melville	—	27,557	28,622	—	4.0
O'Fallon	8,677	18,694	46,169	115.5	146.9
St. Charles	40,927	54,628	60,321	33.5	10.4
St. Peters	15,700	42,747	51,381	172.3	20.2
University	42,738	40,087	37,428	-6.2	-6.6
City					
Wildwood	—	16,742	32,884	—	96.4
Kansas City					
Blue Springs	25,947	40,096	48,080	54.5	19.9
Gladstone	24,990	26,243	26,365	5.0	0.5
Independence	111,806	112,301	113,288	0.4	0.9
Lee's Summit	28,741	46,418	70,700	61.5	52.3
Liberty	16,251	20,459	26,232	25.9	28.2
Raytown	31,759	30,601	30,388	-3.6	-0.7

From 1980 to 2000 suburban growth patterns in the St. Louis and Kansas City areas underwent considerable change. In the 1980s four of St. Louis's eight largest suburbs lost population, as did two of the five largest around Kansas City. Most growth was in outlying suburbs. St. Peters in St. Charles County grew at a faster pace than any other Missouri city with more than 25,000 inhabitants. Blue Springs, east of Kansas City in Jackson County, and Chesterfield, in west St. Louis County, were other examples of rapidly expanding communities outside the original suburban rings; Blue Springs had been incorporated in 1904, Chesterfield in 1989. In 2000 St. Louis had twelve large suburbs within Missouri and Kansas City six. In the St. Louis area, Webster Groves continued to lose population, falling

back below the 25,000 mark. Outlying Wildwood and Mehlville were new, fast-growing incorporated areas. Unincorporated Oakville, a “census designated place” or CDP, had 35,308 people. In the Kansas City area, the historic town of Liberty, north of the Missouri River in Clay County, crept over the 25,000 line. Raytown’s population declined slightly; Lee’s Summit added almost 20,000 residents. The growth of the large suburbs of Kansas City and St. Louis from 1980 to 2000 is shown in Table 3.3.

In 2000 the St. Louis and Kansas City MSAs had large suburbs in Illinois and Kansas. Opposite St. Louis, four old Illinois towns in “Metro East” had more than 25,000 people—Alton (30,496), Belleville (41,400), East St. Louis (31,542), and Granite City (31,301). The Kansas City MSA had seven large suburbs on the Kansas side. Industrial Kansas City, Kansas, more a neighbor than a suburb, had 146,588 people. Leavenworth (35,420), a rival of Kansas City, Missouri, back in Civil War times, was on the northern fringe of the Kansas City MSA. Five large suburbs in Johnson County were Leawood (27,658), Lenexa (40,228), Shawnee (47,996), Olathe (92,982), and Overland Park (149,080). Overland Park and Kansas City, Kansas, were the second and third largest cities in Kansas, behind only Wichita (344,284).

Both the Kansas City and St. Louis MSAs contained “elite” suburbs whose 2000 populations failed to reflect their importance. An enclave for affluent Kansas Citians across State Line Road in Kansas was the small Johnson County community of Mission Hills (3,593). In the St. Louis area, numerous wealthy people lived in Creve Coeur (16,500) and Ladue (8,645). For many of their more influential residents, Mission Hills, Creve Coeur, and Ladue were simply pleasant, upscale places to live. Their main interests lay in Kansas City and St. Louis.

Some principalities did little more than collect taxes, provide basic services, and operate school systems. These “bedroom suburbs” might have a shopping center or two, but few had daily newspapers or some of the other attributes associated with a comprehensive city. As many bedroom suburbs aged, the more successful assumed the character of traditional cities, competing with neighboring communities, annexing territory, and offering tax breaks and other incentives to potential new businesses. In any event, whatever their character, there was no denying that the rise of suburbs had created a “new Missouri”—one that played an increasingly important role in politics in and outside the state, especially on the Kansas side.

Table 3.4 Outstate Cities over 25,000 Population, 1960–2000

City	Census Year			% Change	
	1960	1990	2000	1960–1990	1990–2000
Cape Girardeau	24,947	34,475	35,345	38	2.4
Columbia	36,650	69,101	84,531	91	18.3
Jefferson City	28,225	35,517	39,636	26	10.4
Joplin	38,958	40,866	45,504	5	10.2
St. Joseph	79,673	71,852	77,980	-10	2.9
Springfield	95,865	140,494	151,580	48	7.3

No other Missouri city had the economic, social, and political power of either St. Louis or Kansas City. In 1950, of the five outstate cities with populations in excess of 25,000, only two had more than 50,000: St. Joseph (78,588) and Springfield (60,731). Joplin had 38,711 inhabitants. In central Missouri, Columbia, the largest city between St. Louis and Kansas City and the site of the oldest and largest University of Missouri campus, had 31,974 residents. Jefferson City, one of the nation's smaller state capitals, had a population of 25,099. The sixth-biggest outstate community, Cape Girardeau in the Bootheel, had 21,578 residents.

From 1960 to 2000 these six largest outstate cities grew as illustrated in Table 3.4. By 1990 Springfield (140,494) was the single outstate city with a population of more than 100,000. Columbia (69,101) had evolved from primarily a college town into an important regional hub. Jefferson City (35,517) stayed small. Many state workers commuted from surrounding communities, including Columbia. Changes in agribusiness hurt St. Joseph. If Kansas City continued to spread northward, the distinct possibility existed that St. Joseph (71,852) would eventually become part of the Kansas City MSA. Joplin (40,866) had increased by only 1,964 people in thirty years. Cape Girardeau (34,475), in sixth place, added slightly fewer than 10,000 residents between 1960 and 1990, an annual average of fewer than 250. During the 1990s Springfield and Columbia registered healthy increases. Jefferson City and Joplin advanced moderately, while Cape Girardeau grew slowly. For a change, St. Joseph gained in population.

In 2000 Columbia, Joplin, St. Joseph, and Springfield were the central cities for the only outstate MSAs, all with populations of

Table 3.5 Outstate MSAs, 1990–2000

MSA	Census Year		Change over Preceding Census	
	1990	2000	NUMBER	PERCENT
Columbia	112,379	135,454	23,075	20.5
Joplin	134,910	157,322	22,412	16.6
St. Joseph	97,715	102,490	4,775	4.9
Springfield	264,346	325,721	61,375	23.2

more than 100,000. During the 1990s the St. Joseph MSA grew the least and the Springfield MSA the most, while the Columbia MSA registered an impressive increase. Springfield increased at a faster percentage than either the St. Louis or Kansas City MSAs. This was a little misleading, given that the St. Louis MSA gained 111,082 people and the Kansas City MSA 193,187, in both cases more than the 61,375 added in the Springfield MSA. The Joplin MSA expanded at a much faster pace than the city of Joplin itself: 16.6 percent for the MSA, as opposed to 10.2 percent for the city. Table 3.5 indicates the progress of the population for the four MSAs in the 1990s.

The Springfield and Joplin MSAs were products of a postwar economic boom in the southwestern Missouri Ozarks. Neither Springfield nor Joplin owed their inception to zealous promoters or any sudden development surge. Springfield, founded on a modest fifty-acre tract of land in 1835, was on a road linking St. Louis to settlements in Texas. In 1858 the Butterfield Overland Mail built a stagecoach station in Springfield, by then the Greene County seat. During the Civil War, Union and Confederate forces fought two battles over communication lines in the vicinity: the Battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861 and the Battle of Springfield in 1863. The St. Louis–San Francisco Railroad arrived in 1870, turning Springfield into an important railroad division point. Joplin, established in 1873, rather late for a Missouri city, resulted from a merger of Joplin City and Murphysburg. Joplin soon became the commercial center for the emerging Tri-State zinc and lead mining district. The initial economic pushes from transportation and mining carried Springfield and Joplin into the middle of the twentieth century. But by the 1950s railroading had declined in importance, and most of the mines around Joplin had closed.

Each city's MSA covered more than one county. Springfield was the monarch of a three-county MSA consisting of Greene County plus Christian and Webster Counties. Jasper and Newton Counties

made up the Joplin MSA. In addition to Joplin, there were two other substantial communities in Jasper County. In 2000 Webb City had 9,812 people and Carthage 12,668. Newton County was an integral part of the Joplin MSA as well. The largest town in Newton County, Neosho, had a population of 10,506. The Joplin vicinity contained a cluster of communities that complemented each other. Pittsburg, Kansas, a city of 19,243 less than twenty miles from Joplin, had been an important part of the old mining district, and had once been linked to Joplin by an interurban railway. Joplin supporters claimed the Tri-State district had 425,000 people, somewhat of an exaggeration.

In May 2001 a community Web site on the Internet had detailed information on the "Quality of Life" in Joplin. Around the United States, for places of all sizes, Web sites were a new means of extolling community virtues, whenever possible avoiding such unpleasant realities as a high crime rate or a woefully inadequate record of filling potholes. New versions of nineteenth-century urban promotional literature, Web sites were very much in line with the means and methods used from colonial times onward in the selling of America's cities. In number, if not in quality, pro-urban "puffs" far outweighed the anti-urban musings of generations of poets and the influential transcendentalist philosophers such as Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. A survey of thousands of nineteenth-century poets disclosed that only a handful—probably urban promoters—wrote favorably about cities. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, a new breed of boosters using Web sites at least temporarily overwhelmed the poets.

The Joplin Web site followed a tried and true path by using many detailed statistics. Exact numbers added a note of authority. A regional center for medical services, Joplin had 5 hospitals, 827 beds, 369 doctors, 108 osteopaths, 41 chiropractors, and 89 dentists—very impressive for a city in the 40,000 range. Among the public recreational facilities in Joplin, Carthage, Webb City, Neosho, suburban Airport Drive (622 people), and Carl Junction (5,294) were 7 swimming pools, 12 soccer fields, 19 movie theaters, 35 parks, 17 tennis courts, and 6 golf courses. There were six private country clubs. The Joplin R-8 School District had 17 schools, 544 teachers, and 7,056 students, 1,308 in grades 10 through 12 in the high school. Seven private schools in the area had a total enrollment of 1,549 students. The students enrolled in Missouri Southern State College numbered 6,016. Ozark Christian College in Joplin had 610 students, and the two-year Crowder College in Neosho had 2,502.

The workforce rose from 137,805 in 1980 to 159,351 in 1997. Jasper, Newton, and Barton Counties had 80,203 employed workers—20,668 in manufacturing, 17,435 in services, 15,609 in retail trades, 9,435 in transportation and public utilities, 8,223 in government, and only 202 in the old staple, mining. The median age of the metropolitan population was 37.4 years, with only 30.6 percent 50 years or older. Joplin and its marketing territory displayed impressive statistics that succeeded in showing growth and giving a positive indication of a new post-mining economic base. Joplin's Web site managed to weave in area statistics, emphasizing that the community did not stop at the city limits.

Springfield's May 11, 2001, Web site exuded the confidence expected of the growing, third largest city and MSA in the state of Missouri. An "Executive Summary" of "Fast Facts" emphasized the annual economic impact of a manufacturing sector of \$3 billion, an annual growth rate of 2 percent, annual retail sales of more than \$3 billion a year, more than 15,000 health care employees, and more than a million overnight visitors in 1998. A hard-sell approach summarized material that afforded "National Recognition," praising Springfield as "a Five-Star Community for Quality of Life" (*Expansion Management*, November 2000), as "one of the top 40 best (smaller metro areas) for starting and growing a business" (*Cognetics Inc.*, December 2000), and as a "Most Productive City" (*Sprint Business*, 2001). Another blurb, with no elaboration, said the *Ladies Home Journal* of February 2001 listed Springfield in "the top 30 of America's Best Cities for Women." The clarion call was that Springfield was on the move and a good place to invest money.

According to a report of the Missouri Division of Workforce Development for March 2001, the unemployment rate for the Springfield MSA was 2.8 percent and the total workforce had reached 179,744. Fifteen Springfield MSA employers had more than 1,000 employees. Seven had more than 2,000 workers: Cox Health Systems (7,200), St. John's Health System (6,445), Springfield Public Schools (3,150), Southwest Missouri State University (3,035), Wal-Mart Stores (2,790), the federal government (2,495), and the state government (2,215). The Burlington Northern-Santa Fe Railroad had 960 workers. Springfield advocates claimed the city dominated a fifteen-county region that had a potential workforce of 304,940. The promoters cast a wide net; some of the counties were sixty miles away. But there was no doubt that Springfield was growing.

Despite portents of gloom and doom, small-town Missouri had not dried up and blown away. Hundreds of communities had deep roots and secure futures in Missouri's prosperous and diversified agricultural economy. As the number of farms dropped, the value of land remained high and the price of agricultural products rose. Empty commercial buildings and boarded-up store fronts lined main streets across the state. But conditions were not as bad as they might have appeared. What had happened was that, over the course of several decades, Wal-Marts, fast-food outlets, mini-malls, supermarkets, and other kinds of urban-centered businesses had risen in the small towns, ending the era of traditional Main Streets. According to the 2000 census, 1,773,824 Missourians—more than the total population of thirteen other states—lived outside the state's six MSAs.

A number of outstate towns emulated some of their larger cousins by using the Internet to describe their community virtues and prospects. A random sampling of online material provides an indication of how boosters tried to sell seven selected small towns:

**Trenton.** In 2000, this north-central Missouri town had a population of 6,216, up 1.4 percent since 1990. Its home county, 675-square-mile Grundy, had 10,432 people. Grundy County had 286 businesses, a majority of them in Trenton, which had a branch of Modine Manufacturing. Fourteen percent of the workforce held industrial jobs. Two-year North Central Missouri College was the cultural center of Trenton. Standard promotional rhetoric proclaimed, "Trenton is affected by several diverse economic factors, yet agriculture has the biggest impact. . . . Residents can take advantage of what Trenton has to offer while choosing to commute to work."

**Lebanon.** The county seat of Laclede County in the southwest Ozarks grew with the region in the 1990s, advancing from 9,983 to 12,155 residents. Lebanon, on Interstate 44, had once been a resort town that attracted vacationers to its "magnetic waters." Modern promoters extolled a new medical center and a "variety of established industries" that made everything from electrical equipment to aluminum fishing boats. In a rather generic statement that could have been used for almost any small town, the Web site summed up the virtues of Lebanon: "The citizens of Lebanon are very proud of their town. We believe we have a rich history that has given us a strong basis for our existence today. We believe we have the best of both worlds. Lebanon is laid-back, relaxed, uncongested, and friendly, yet it has or is nearby to all that even the most sophisticated may desire."



**Moberly.** Located thirty miles straight north of Columbia in Randolph County, Moberly was an old railroad division point that survived the loss of its shoe industry to develop a new economy. From 1990 to 2000 the city declined from 12,839 to 11,945 inhabitants. According to a detailed Web site containing many statistics provided by the Moberly-Randolph Economic Development Corporation, Moberly in 2000 had 15 employers with 200 or more employees. Auto parts concerns had more than 900 workers. There were distribution centers for consumer goods, home furnishings, books for children, greeting cards, and building materials. The Missouri Training Center, a state medium-security prison, employed 600 people. Moberly Area Community College provided 200 jobs, and the Norfolk and Southern Railroad another 270. The Development Corporation listed various incentives available to new businesses: tax credits, tax exemptions, and an enterprise zone.

**Maryville.** The Nodaway County agricultural center of Maryville had a population that hardly changed from 10,661 in 1990 to 10,581 in 2000, a difference of only 80 residents. Maryville was not on an interstate highway; Interstate 29 was 31 miles to the west and to the east Interstate 35 was 42 miles away. Kansas City was 95 miles to the south. Northwest Missouri State University and a state correctional center contributed to a stable economy. A Web site stated, "To our residents, Maryville provides a unique blend of small town living with the amenities of a much larger community. We offer a diverse employment base, including jobs in agriculture, education and industry." City and county community leaders and officials stood "ready to extend a hand of cooperation to nurture new enterprises and assist with expansions." Not much more needed to be said about a well-ordered town like Maryville. There was no indication of how the town had changed since the time decades earlier when popular writer Homer Croy, born in Nodaway County, had written about Maryville, calling it "Junction City" in his novels of America's transition from a rural to an urban society.

**Kirksville.** The county seat of Adair County in northeastern Missouri, Kirksville had a population of 17,739 in 1980 and 16,985 in 2000. Truman State University, formerly Northeast Missouri State University, employed 800 people; another 400 worked at the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine. Web site statistics covered such matters as hourly salaries in 1998 (\$5.52 for housekeepers and \$10.80 for machinists), industrial resources (17 auto dealers and 3 cabinet makers), landfills and trash services, and the number of

trucking companies serving the town. Information on the post office gave the times for sending outbound mail (4 P.M. and 6:30 P.M.) and the arrival of inbound mail (4 A.M. and 5 A.M.). Kirksville had a local television station and a regional airport boasting a 6,004-foot runway. The best that could be said about the uninterpreted data on the site was that the approach was a very traditional one.

**Camdenton.** The Camden County resort community, a short distance from Osage Beach and the Lake of the Ozarks, had a population of 2,779 in 2000. The county had 37,051 inhabitants. The “Community Profile and Economic Development” Web site for the city of Camdenton was functional, providing basic information about its location, transportation access, utilities, taxes, industrial park, and labor. Both wages and the unemployment rate were low. A Wal-Mart store employed 150 workers. The city had an economic development office. The community profile contained no comparative data or promotional statement.

**Ste. Genevieve.** The glories of the town were its historic sites. Its Web page profile emphasized that the city had been “established by the French as a shipping center for lead mined in the Lead Belt area. From its founding until the early to mid-1800’s, the City was the predominant trading center of Missouri. St. Louis, however, soon began to overshadow Ste. Genevieve, because of its advantageous location near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. The final determining factor in St. Louis’ dominance was its selection as the eastern terminal point for the state’s railway system.” More than 78 percent of the retail firms in Ste. Genevieve County were in Ste. Genevieve. Following a downturn from 1977 to 1987, the town had rebounded and withstood vigorous challenges from surrounding localities. “In addition to local shoppers, Ste. Genevieve is a destination point for thousands of visitors who flock to the City each year and who will continue to come because of the historic attraction of the community.” A problem the Ste. Genevieve backers had was that they could not emphasize economic development, which might hurt the tourist business. (The population declined only slightly from 4,481 in 1990 to 4,476 in 2000). Yet, an element of community pride was hard to avoid.

All seven Web sites were of limited value. They avoided interpretations and evaluations. They lacked showmanship. There was no attempt to impart a distinct image of community. A problem was that the towns had long ago faced the reality of scaling down their aspirations. They concentrated on keeping the status quo, avoiding

upsetting upheavals. There was no mention of any recent changes in the agricultural economy.

A more effective promotional Web site that combined both hard data and informative written material was produced in 2001 by the Cape Girardeau Convention and Visitors Bureau. The bureau portrayed the Cape as the “City of Roses on the Mississippi River.” A commonly used methodology that harked back to an earlier booster era avoided negative factors in quickly summing up community history: “Born on the Mississippi River more than 200 years ago, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, has evolved from a tiny French trading post to a frontier settlement governed by a Spanish commandant to a thriving culturally rich community of some 40,000 residents on the world’s only inland cape.” (A sidebar admitted that a nineteenth-century railroad construction project had destroyed the “actual cape.”) Avoiding mention of why Cape Girardeau had grown slowly in modern times, its boosters accentuated the positive: “Today, Cape Girardeau is a regional hub for education, commerce, and medical care. Although the city’s population is around 37,000 people, it is estimated that as many as 90,000 come to Cape Girardeau daily to work, shop, go to school, or visit the many doctors’ offices or two hospitals. In addition, the Bill Emerson Memorial Bridge is being constructed across the Mississippi River that will carry 26,000 cars in and out of Cape Girardeau every day.” With a few words and without making any outlandish claims that the Cape would soon achieve a population of a million or more, the Web site did impart an impression of the best of the community.

The seven selected small towns were bedrocks of stability, as is illustrated by their populations from the end of the Great Depression to the twenty-first century (see Table 3.6). Only Trenton and Moberly decreased in population.

In 1969, Pulitzer Prize-winning author MacKinlay Kanter wrote in *Missouri Bittersweet* that he considered the real essence of Missouri to lie outside of St. Louis and Kansas City, in rural villages and hamlets. According to the census of 1950, there were many such places among the state’s 854 incorporated localities. In 1990 a more precise survey counted a total of 913 incorporated and unincorporated places, including 57 “third class” communities of 3,000 to 29,999 people, approximately 250 “fourth class” of 500 to 2,999, and some 250 villages of fewer than 500.

The small places were products of a frenzied mania for raising up towns in nineteenth-century America. Promoters in Missouri

Table 3.6 Growth of Seven Towns, 1940, 1950, 2000

Town	Census Year			% Change	
	1940	1950	2000	1940–1950	1950–2000
Camdenton	893	1,142	2,779	27.9	143.3
Kirksville	10,080	11,110	16,985	10.2	52.9
Lebanon	5,025	6,808	12,155	35.5	78.5
Maryville	5,700	6,834	10,581	19.9	54.8
Moberly	12,920	13,115	11,945	1.5	-8.9
Ste. Genevieve	2,787	3,992	4,476	43.2	12.1
Trenton	7,046	6,157	6,216	-12.6	1.0

supposedly attempted to found anywhere from five thousand to eight thousand towns. All aspired to be new versions of St. Louis or Chicago. Hardly any got off the drawing boards. To enjoy even a modicum of success, towns needed locations on transportation routes. Places not on navigable water or important roads had looked to railroads as a panacea. So many nefarious schemes involved speculative railroad bond issues that the Missouri Constitution of 1875 restricted the issuance of bonds by county governments. Federal judges actually sent county officials to jail for trying to avoid paying off railroad bonds. Given the odds, any community of a few hundred people that survived the turmoil of the speculative times achieved a measure of good fortune. Countless places such as Albatross, near Springfield, were merely names on a map. It took a combination of natural advantages, entrepreneurial leadership, favorable geography, and a bit of luck to build a successful community.

Villages that in 2003 remained off the beaten path, away from the pull of the city, the interstate highways, and the more popular recreational grounds, survived and in some cases prospered during the sixty years from 1940 to 2000. The population statistics for twenty representative communities are illustrated in Table 3.7. A number of the villages suffered serious population losses in the World War II decade. They bottomed out, and then for the most part remained stable over the next fifty years. Their enduring roles as the business centers for the surrounding countryside kept them alive, providing a reason for being in the larger scheme of affairs.

In any case, few of the forlorn hamlets of Missouri had bright futures, or, for that matter, any real future at all. Joel M. Vance, in his 2000 memoir, *Down Home Missouri: When Girls Were Scary and Basketball Was King*, graphically described the general situation:

North Missouri is freckled by small moribund towns, victims of a rural economy gone sour. A few people hang on and there are a few shabby businesses barely surviving. But the towns' buildings are empty, their advertising fading and rusted, and windows boarded or broken. The banks have consolidated; the mom-and-pop groceries are long since bankrupted by Safeway in the nearest town of size. The houses are small and often run-down. Usually the remaining business is a greasy garage, decorated with rusty wheel rims, bald tires, and a litter of empty oil cans. . . . The buildings need paint, but there is no money for civic improvements.

Dalton, in Chariton County in north-central Missouri, where Vance lived as a teenager, plunged in population from 237 in 1950 to only 27 in 2000, its disastrous downturn accentuated by the 1993 flood. A grain elevator kept Dalton alive. Despite a recognition of the sorry state of the Daltons of Missouri, no one had a solution for turning things around.

Picture a series of circles, each representing a marketing area, with a village, town, or city in the center. Circles for New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago all covered Missouri. St. Louis's large circle encompassed the entire state. The one for Kansas City included western Missouri and all of Kansas. The outstate cities of 25,000 or more had their own markets. The circles for Joplin, Springfield, St. Joseph, and Cape Girardeau spilled over into neighboring states. Missouri cities in the 10,000 to 25,000 range had circles inside of or overlapping other circles. And so it went, all the way down to hamlets of fewer than a hundred people. The end result was a gigantic interlocking system—at the same time national, regional, subregional, and local. Nineteenth-century railroads constructed out of St. Louis, such as one to Springfield and beyond, had been of fundamental importance in cementing St. Louis's position. Railroads built west out of Kansas City had made possible that city's Kansas hinterland.

The upper echelons of the urban order held in Missouri for more than fifty years. Kansas City and St. Louis continued to dominate affairs as a matter of course. Large-scale suburbanization and the crossing of state lines created imperfectly understood and considered conditions, upsetting old relationships. The six largest outstate cities in 1950 were still the six largest in 2000. Without the Kansas City and St. Louis MSAs, Missouri would have been primarily a rural state.

Table 3.7  
Populations of Twenty Incorporated Villages in 1940, 1950, and 2000

Place	County	1940	1950	2000	% Change 1940–1950	% Change 1950–2000
Northeast						
Arbella	Scotland	90	87	40	-3.3	-54.0
Atlantic	Macon	507	438	450	-13.7	2.7
Bethel	Shelby	217	194	121	-10.6	-37.6
Greentop	Schuyler	254	281	427	10.6	52.0
Newark	Knox	187	156	100	-16.5	-35.9
Northwest						
Allendale	Worth	212	142	54	-33.0	-62.0
Amity	Dekalb	172	128	70	-25.6	-45.3
Jameson	Daviess	223	185	120	-17.0	-35.1
Kingston	Caldwell	394	338	287	-14.2	-15.1
Westbore	Atchison	368	297	163	-19.3	-45.1
Southwest						
Butterfield	Barry	136	150	397	10.3	164.7
Freistatt	Lawrence	136	132	184	-2.9	39.4
Lanagan	McDonald	340	368	411	8.0	11.7
Richards	Vernon	246	190	95	-22.7	-50.0
Rockville	Bates	336	372	162	10.7	-56.5
Southeast						
Birch Tree	Washington	495	409	634	-17.4	55.0
Morley	Scott	522	494	792	-5.4	60.3
Sedgewickville	Bollinger	100	92	197	-8.0	114.1
Wardell	Pemiscott	430	454	278	5.6	-38.8
Wyat	Mississippi	417	345	364	-17.3	5.5

## CHAPTER IV

### ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY

In 1953 St. Louis and Kansas City were the undisputed urban centers of Missouri. Nothing compared to their downtowns. Massive transportation systems were keys to the supremacy of both metropolises. Their cultural attractions were numerous and prestigious. But school desegregation posed greater problems than elsewhere in the state. Leaders in St. Louis and Kansas City worked to make sure the two cities stayed up to date by regularly refashioning their images.

Both cities were part of a great American urban system dependent on communications networks. The basic communications system, which had its origins in colonial times, had matured by 1880, a breaking point between an old era and a more modern era in American city building. The rapid construction of railroads accelerated urbanization in the vast expanses of the American West. From coast to coast, the nation had some 227 cities of more than 10,000 people, many such as Kansas City having only recently reached that number. On the other hand, St. Louis was among the older interior cities. All told there were twenty American cities above the 100,000 population mark. The 2000 census highlighted the importance of Gilded Age city building. With few exceptions, all the major cities of 120 years earlier were still significant at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

As the country moved west, city builders followed already established standards: tightly packed commercial districts, gridiron street plans, vernacular architectural forms, and public protective services. Exceptionalism was rare, with differences a matter of scale. From train windows, one place looked much the same as another.

The general appearance of the downtowns of large American cities did not change much from the Wall Street crash of 1929, which led to a halt of most construction, until the post-World War II period. In a reversal of fortune, urban renewal programs and freeway construction resulted in the tearing down of many buildings and whole neighborhoods. Inner city residential construction, which had last flourished

in the 1920s, showed few signs of recovery. In downtowns, parking lots replaced torn-down buildings in the urban landscape.

In the 1950s downtown remained the heart of all large American cities, the place to go for work, for play, and for shopping. Movie palaces, grand hotels, specialty stores, convention halls, business offices, and public buildings were standard fixtures. Department stores, while starting to lose a little of their luster, continued as the most visible emporiums and a reason why shoppers from inside and outside the city went downtown. From the city center, streetcar lines ran out along commercial thoroughfares to outlying business sections and residential neighborhoods. The traction lines were in the process of closing and being replaced by buses in the postwar period. Back in the age of the walking city, many people lived near streetcar lines in parts of town reflecting their financial, ethnic, or religious status. Blacks were in racially segregated sections. Every city had a "Park Row"—a street or district dominated by the mansions of the rich. As a legacy of the post-Civil War City Beautiful movement, a number of large cities contained extensive, well-kept park systems. Frequently, cultural ornaments—museums, art galleries, exhibition halls, and zoos—were in green spaces.

The large cities of the 1950s were in general generic, functional, and orderly. A City Efficient movement in the Progressive period had emphasized the use of engineering methods, city planning, and zoning in perfecting urban infrastructures. Sometimes the efficient overshadowed the aesthetic, such as in straightening and widening boulevard streets to better move rush-hour traffic. Yet all metropolises, like the people residing in them, had certain special characteristics that separated them from the norm, even as they remained part of a larger whole. That applied to both St. Louis and Kansas City.

St. Louis's original site, high and dry on level land above the Mississippi River, was still an important part of downtown in the 1950s. The gigantic Mississippi River Bridge of 1874, commonly called the Eads Bridge, continued in modern times to serve as a gateway from the East. Two landmark business district buildings were the Old Courthouse and the Old Cathedral, both dating from before the Civil War. Dozens of old three- and four-story storehouses lined the riverfront, relics of steamboat days, when they were crucial to the commercial expansion of St. Louis. Factories and warehouses were spread along the riverfront to the north and south of downtown. In the modern downtown, Famous-Barr and Stix, Baer, and Fuller were the best-known department stores.



From the central business district, the city spread out to the west with the main commercial streets acting like spokes of half a wheel. Extending east to west from the river, the Central Corridor with its railroad, commercial, and industrial components acted as a division between the north and south sides. The Central Corridor was the focus of an early twentieth-century City Beautiful movement orchestrated by influential and politically powerful St. Louisans, who argued that improvements in the Central Corridor benefited everyone in the city rather than just parochial southside or northside interests. A lasting legacy of the City Beautiful movement in the Central Corridor were massive improvements to Forest Park, the grounds of the 1904 World's Fair. Elitist private-gated neighborhoods were in the Forest Park sector. The south side had many old, pleasant, well-kept subdivisions, melded together by streetcar lines. African Americans replaced German Protestants and Irish Roman Catholics on the north side and in the environs of downtown. Mill Creek Valley, the location of the railroad yards for the Union Station complex, contained the worst slums in the city. The Hill district, south of downtown, housed a large number of Italians.

St. Louis, hemmed in by its 1876 boundaries, was a very crowded place, so much so that it was impossible to mistake it for the country town it had been back in the antebellum period. In the mid-twentieth century, in almost a classic sense it looked and felt like a "real" big city. This was the case, notwithstanding the stringent smoke abatement laws that had dissipated much of the industrial haze vexing the city into the 1940s.

St. Louis's aging housing stock had steadily deteriorated. In 1947 a city planning commission stated that thirty-three thousand St. Louis homes had communal toilets. More than eighty-five thousand families, poor and poverty-stricken, lived in nineteenth-century dwellings. The area in and around Mill Creek Valley, the predominantly black slums in the Beaumont, Mill Creek, and Soulard districts, looked like something out of a Charles Dickens novel. There was so much decay that neighborhood gentrification never received serious consideration.

A solution was believed to lie in the form of public housing projects. Democratic Mayor Joseph Darst, elected in 1949, and many influential Republican leaders favored such an approach. The hope was that clearing slums for public housing would pay unexpected dividends, helping the entire city by leading to new parks, parking lots, playgrounds, and shopping centers. In 1948 St. Louis voters had

rejected a large bond issue requiring only a simple majority that included \$16 million for land clearance and redevelopment. On the face of matters, the electorate was far less public-spirited about tearing down large portions of the city than were the political and civic leaders.

Convinced they were right, the mayor and his fellow developers forged ahead, doggedly staying on an established course. Authors George McCue and Frank Peters commented on the long-term nature of the policy in 1989 in *A Guide to the Architecture of St. Louis*: "Most of the energy of the civic leadership in the period from 1930 to 1960 was bent on demolition, to create parking for cars, ornamental plazas for pedestrians, vacant land for redevelopers, and public housing towers in place of what were habitually called tenements and slums."

St. Louis renewal advocates were in line with a national policy that had grown out of urban experiences in World War II. During wartime, St. Louis and dozens of other cities had been overwhelmed by defense workers. Moreover, many cities, especially in the Northeast, had run-down districts on a par with those in St. Louis. Both President Truman and influential Republican Senator Robert Taft of Ohio supported federal funding for urban housing projects, while differing over the number of units. In 1949 Congress passed comprehensive legislation providing matching funds for public housing. A second housing act in 1954 strengthened the 1949 measure. The Missouri state government offered tax breaks and other incentives.

In 1953 St. Louis land clearance and development authorities opened Cochran Gardens, a housing project originally intended primarily for low-income whites. Located north of downtown, Cochran Gardens had 704 housing units in twelve high-rise buildings. Other projects followed as bulldozers leveled whole neighborhoods. Pleased bureaucrats discounted the impact of any serious dislocations, confidently predicting that thousands of low-cost apartments would soon become available to displaced residents. The showcases of the public projects, one designed for whites and the other for blacks, were situated on 454 acres of cleared land in Mill Creek Valley. Collectively, they were called Pruitt-Igoe.

Completed in 1955, Pruitt-Igoe met the goals of St. Louis's capitalist reformers, but looked like something out of a Soviet Union-style socialist utopia. Pruitt-Igoe contained thirty-three similar eleven-story, architecturally undistinguished apartment houses resembling cereal boxes. Two other projects of note were Darst-Webbe and Vaughan. Astonishingly in light of what happened later, planners

expected Pruitt-Igoe to attract young middle-class white and black renters. Darst-Webbe, like Cochran Gardens, was intended for low-income white tenants. It displaced a black slum of 515 dwellings, 362 without inside plumbing and 131 with no running water. Supposedly, St. Louisans of all classes would welcome the opportunity to live in high-rise buildings without having to cut grass or make lengthy commuting trips. After a court decision in 1956 desegregated the St. Louis Housing Authority's apartments, many of the projects became heavily African American. A significant percentage of all renters had meager incomes, augmented by low Missouri welfare payments. For the most part, they lived at or below poverty levels.

Although the St. Louis housing projects included more than seven thousand units by the 1960s, they never achieved their stated objectives. Instead, they became a new kind of slum. A well-intentioned and costly policy failed to work in practice. Pruitt-Igoe, developed with such great expectations, was a disaster. Having three thousand units when completed, it was one of the largest public housing projects in the country. The buildings, very expensive to erect, were badly built. Construction costs, despite federal requirements aimed at holding expenses down and budget cuts during construction, were 60 percent above the national average for public housing. Conservative critics blamed overpaid union construction workers and the insistence of the locally powerful Steamfitters Union on expensive heating systems, forcing cost cutting elsewhere.

The apartments were small. The kitchens had undersized sinks, stoves, refrigerators, and the water pipes were not insulated. Windows rattled in the wind. The elevators had a highly unusual skip-stop design with exits only on the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth floors. Such a design deficiency was hard to fathom. Muggers sometimes lurked in the stairwells, robbing and beating residents forced to use the stairs to reach their apartments. Parking facilities were inadequate; playgrounds and other recreational features were few. Residents had no easy access to grocery and drugstores. Public transportation was minimal. The lack of central air-conditioning and central corridors for ventilation made hot summer days virtually unbearable. Much open ground surrounded Pruitt-Igoe. If the purpose was to make residents suffer for being poor, the housing project succeeded admirably. Several other St. Louis projects, better managed and with more comprehensive screening of applicants, were more successful.

Over the years, Pruitt-Igoe steadily slid downhill. Under the circumstances, it was little surprise that the project had a short life. In

1971 only six hundred people lived in seventeen buildings, with the remainder boarded up. In 1975 all of the buildings were dynamited. Pruitt-Igoe became a prime example of what could go wrong in constructing public housing projects in the United States. By 2003, even though the predominantly white old south side survived, much of the rest of the nineteenth-century city was open ground. It looked as if St. Louis had been heavily bombed years before without much rebuilding, like in the old East Germany.

Just as Pruitt-Igoe represented St. Louis's greatest postwar failure, the Gateway Arch, part of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, was its greatest success. The whole concept as first conceived in 1933, in the depths of the Great Depression, of a great downtown riverside park topped by a magnificent monument had seemed a pipe dream, a grandiose idea that, like so many such ideas, would remain just that. The linking of the proposed memorial to urban renewal and waterfront redevelopment provided new life. An important stumbling block disappeared in 1949 when the Terminal Railroad agreed to remove an elevated section of the above- and below-ground track system that ran from Eads Bridge to Union Station. Clearance in World War II of dozens of old buildings from the proposed thirty-seven-block site left an unattractive void in the cityscape that provided a further incentive. A powerful St. Louis organization, Civic Progress, Inc., formed in the 1950s and consisting of business and political leaders, threw its weight behind several projects, including the Arch.

In 1961, buttressed by large amounts of public and private money, construction finally started on the Arch, which was designed by renowned architect Eero Saarinen, the winner of a 1947 design competition. Overcoming construction delays punctuated by a bitter strike and jurisdictional dispute between two unions over the hiring of African American workers, the city officially dedicated the 630-foot-high Gateway Arch on May 25, 1968, in a ceremony presided over by Vice President Hubert Humphrey. The Arch, as wide as it was tall and reflecting both the rising and setting sun, was America's tallest built national monument. Trams transported visitors to an observation space at the top. It was another several years before an underground Museum of Westward Expansion, run by the National Park Service, was completed beneath the Arch.

The Gateway Arch, ridiculed by naysayers during its construction as the "big hairpin" or the "giant croquet wicket," proved a tremendous success, exceeding all expectations. It gave St. Louis a readily identifiable symbol, a Missouri version of the Eiffel Tower in

Paris and the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. Seen from the air, the Arch left a memorable impression of St. Louis. Supporters claimed that only Lenin's Tomb and two Walt Disney theme parks attracted more visitors. Optimists expected the Arch to have a great and positive impact that would recapture the glory days of the 1904 World's Fair.

St. Louis leaders hoped to use the monument to spur additional central core renewal, arguing that the beautiful Arch contrasted sharply with decaying buildings ringing the heart of downtown. James Neal Primm, a leading historian of St. Louis's past and present, wrote about "embarrassing times" for community leaders concerned about the future. Scholarly studies, including one conducted by the Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C., described St. Louis as the most distressed large city in urban America and called East St. Louis the most distressed small city.

Primm noted that for residents of Greater St. Louis everyday life continued at its usual pace, even as learned intellectuals proclaimed their metropolis a disaster area:

There was a self-conscious, romantic sense of a grander past that might return; there were outstanding cultural amenities; major-league baseball and football were still in place; rehabilitation and restoration were under way in the neighborhoods; housing costs were lower than in comparable areas; the convention and tourist business was thriving; the central location still held promise for the future; and for those so inclined who could afford it, residence in outer suburbs or protected inner enclaves offered a comfortable way to enjoy the city's advantages without suffering its inconveniences.

Primm believed that St. Louis area residents felt uncomfortable about criticism of their city. "But as their tradition decreed, St. Louisans were sensitive to the view from outside," he wrote. "The steady barrage of negative publicity flowing from the city's national leadership in population decline was a heavy load to bear. Whether the flight from the city was caused by racism, poor schools, fear of crime, a longing for green space, or a combination of these and other factors, it was a bleeding wound and a prescription for pessimism."

The old dream of rejuvenating the downtown area, which the construction of the Gateway Arch and a new Busch Stadium was supposed to accomplish, was seen by many leaders as crucial to turning St. Louis around. A basic problem was that there was no consensus among Civic Progress and other influential organizations over

what should be done. The interested parties, to name a few, included the Gateway Mall Redevelopment Corporation, the Landmark Redevelopment Corporation, the Bi-State Development Agency, and the Pride of St. Louis Corporation. Real estate developers, among them the Jurco Development Company and the Paragon Corporation, promoted construction projects. County and city politicians argued among themselves. County officials proposed a joint effort to build an outlying sports complex; it was rejected. One central core improvement proposition called for a long mall cutting through the central business area from the Old Courthouse to the Union Station. Another plan called for preserving a number of old commercial buildings on "Real Estate Row."

Compromise was inevitable. Half of the Gateway Mall was built, and Real Estate Row fell to the wrecking ball, replaced by the large One Gateway Mall building. The state had rescued the Wainwright Building, an early (1892) steel-framed skyscraper designed by famous architect Louis Sullivan and his associate Dankmar Adler, and converted it to a state office building. Part of old downtown St. Louis vanished, giving way to parking lots and modern office buildings. Some remaining structures were underused or dilapidated. They lacked the electrical capability and other attributes considered essential for modern businesses. Many new buildings replaced the old, worn-out structures: the thirty-one-story Laclede Gas Building of 1969, the five-story Firststar Building of 1976, the forty-two-story One Bell Center of 1984, the forty-two-story Metropolitan Square Building of 1988, and several more. Busch Stadium opened in 1965, and the A. J. Cervantes Convention Center followed on the north side in 1977. A new justice center, the Thomas F. Eagleton Courthouse, opened in 2000.

As the St. Louis population became increasingly African American, a growing number of white suburban residents looked upon the city as simply a place to work. Some suburban communities gained separate identities. In the spring of 1999 a poll taken by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* showed that a growing number of suburban people identified with their towns of residence first and St. Louis second. The magnificent cultural attractions of St. Louis contrasted with and accentuated the city's increasingly serious ongoing problems. Only a large influx of new money saved the St. Louis Symphony from possible bankruptcy. Nearly 25 percent of the city's population lived below the poverty line, in the eyes of some observers posing a serious threat to the tax base. The crime rate, while down, was much

higher than in the surrounding suburbs. Bond payments tied up general revenue and restricted new initiatives. The school district was independent, and the governor appointed the police board. The cumbersome board of aldermen had twenty-eight members.

A complicated weak mayoral system left most of the power in the city government under the control of a three-person board consisting of the mayor, the president of the board of aldermen, and the city comptroller. For fifty years, all the mayors were Democrats. The city's first two African American mayors, both elected in the 1990s, failed to win second terms. Corruption charges dogged the administration of the dynamic Freeman Bosley, Jr., while former police chief Clarence Harmon was considered dull and uninspiring. Francis Slay, the white president of the board of aldermen, won the April 2001 election for mayor, proclaiming, "We can be a great city again." In 2002 the 112 murders in St. Louis were the fewest since the 1960s.

There was much to do and see in St. Louis. The fine St. Louis Symphony Orchestra was a regional jewel. The prestigious Missouri Botanical Garden was both a popular place to visit and a significant research center. The St. Louis Zoo had an excellent reputation. The St. Louis Municipal Art Museum, housed in a building constructed for the 1904 Fair, had a well-known pre-Columbian collection. St. Louis had a number of old and well-patronized German and Italian restaurants. The Missouri Historical Society preserved the papers of politicians and fur traders. There was a wide assortment of entertainment establishments. During the summer months a large outdoor theater attracted tens of thousands of patrons. Many historic churches and temples graced the cityscape.

Major-league sports had roots in St. Louis extending back into the nineteenth century, and the powerful St. Louis Cardinals baseball team of the National League was an important civic institution. The inept St. Louis Browns of the American League pulled up stakes and moved east in 1953, reincarnating the following season as the Baltimore Orioles. The Chicago Cardinals of the National Football League moved to St. Louis in 1960, drawing fewer fans than expected in an old, inadequate park. A move to the new multipurpose Busch Stadium improved attendance. But that did not prevent the Cardinals from moving to Phoenix in 1988, to be replaced in turn in 1995 by the former Los Angeles Rams, who played their games in the new TWA (now Edward Jones) Dome, adjacent to the Cervantes Convention Center. Another professional team, the St. Louis Blues of the National Hockey League, was a great community success story, playing their games in

the Savvis (formerly the Kiel) Center downtown. For years the Blues played in the midtown Arena, which was also the home of the St. Louis Hawks of the National Basketball Association. The Hawks left for Atlanta in 1968 and have not been replaced.

Higher education was a pride of St. Louis. In the nineteenth century a school of German immigrant philosophers, the St. Louis Hegelians, had spawned intellectual traditions that set the city apart from other places west of the Mississippi. Saint Louis University, a Roman Catholic institution, had opened in 1818 as a Jesuit preparatory school. Thought of in St. Louis as a "streetcar college," Saint Louis University had a campus in the Central Corridor. It had a fine library, which had a special collection on microfilm of important papers from the Vatican Archives. The school augmented its undergraduate program with graduate instruction leading to a Ph.D. in several disciplines. Professional schools included law and medicine.

The sectarian Washington University just west of Forest Park occupied a pleasant and spacious suburban campus containing much green space. An abolitionist Unitarian minister had founded the school in 1853 as the Eliot Seminary, which was renamed Washington University four years later. Along with Saint Louis University, it had strong backing from the business community. At the undergraduate level, Washington University had a diversified curriculum. The graduate program, particularly in law and medicine, had an excellent reputation. Faculty and alumni considered their school a true "Harvard of the West," a claim made by almost every liberal arts college west of the Appalachians. Both Saint Louis and Washington Universities had their own medical centers, adding to their prestige and national standing. This gave them a decided edge over smaller universities and colleges in the St. Louis area, which included Webster, Lindenwood, and Fontbonne, as well as the Concordia Seminary.

In the early 1960s the University of Missouri opened a new campus in the St. Louis suburb of Normandy. In the early years, the University of Missouri—St. Louis faced problems in establishing relations within a developing statewide system. Out of fear that the St. Louis campus would hurt enrollment in Columbia and Rolla, the university's board of curators initially prohibited construction of dormitories or forming an engineering program. It was small consolation that the University of Missouri's other new campus, in Kansas City, faced similar problems. Building comprehensive public universities in Missouri's two largest metropolitan centers was not going to be easy.



Kansas City had spread southward from the Missouri River. The business district was on a bluff above the old frontier village, which had been strung out along Westport Landing on the riverfront floodplain. Downtown had taken shape by the twentieth century, distinguished by a large convention hall and three other dominant edifices: the Board of Trade Building of 1888; the department store of 1890 later called Emery Bird, Thayer; and the New York Life Building of 1890, planned by a prestigious New York architectural firm. Following the construction of the first steel-framed skyscrapers in the opening decade of the twentieth century, what remained to be done in building downtown was mainly a matter of lining the streets with buildings. A construction boom in the 1920s was supplemented in the 1930s by a surprising amount of public construction, including a new city hall and county courthouse. The Municipal Auditorium of 1936 replaced the convention hall, which was declared obsolete and demolished long before its time by the Pendergast machine. The other landmarks were still around in the 1950s, awaiting the wrecking ball.

In classic fashion, where the streetcars ran had determined the course of commercial development and dictated the location of dozens of subdivisions of all kinds. Italians lived in the North End; African Americans were on the east side, around the Eighteenth and Vine Street business district. Four miles south of downtown, an upscale shopping district, the Country Club Plaza, acted as a buffer that protected the roughly two-by-four-mile-square “swank” residential Country Club District to the south. Within the Country Club District, large mansions were along Ward Parkway, a “Grand Street” for the wealthy. Kansas City’s main cultural institutions were in the Plaza area. The City Beautiful movement that lasted from the Gay Nineties to World War I left Kansas City with an extensive park and boulevard system. A number of large fountains added to its ambience.

The West Bottoms had the great packing plants, stockyards, wholesale houses, and railroad yards, in addition to a decaying old vice district. To many travelers unfamiliar with the Plaza, the Country Club District, the boulevards, the parks, and the fountains, the grimy West Bottoms and its packinghouse smells personified Kansas City.

A local answer to blight was urban removal and construction of trafficways that obliterated the deteriorating environs of downtown and other unpleasant-looking parts of town. Residents removed by the renewal projects were for the most part left to their own devices. An alternative for some people living below the poverty line was public housing. Kansas City had several small projects and only one

large one, the two-thousand-unit Wayne Minor Court, which consisted of five high-rise towers and fifteen townhouses. All had mostly African American tenants. Postwar residential construction had alleviated a severe wartime housing shortage.

Kansas City had little of the high cultural prestige and intellectual heritage associated with St. Louis. Early in Kansas City's history, in its rowdy Gilded Age days as a cowtown, it had attracted large numbers of cowboys and transients looking for a good time. Cultural thrusts were drinking, gambling, and prostitution, not necessarily in that order. Dives and bawdy houses operated around the clock, giving the town a reputation as a combination of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Sex sold in Kansas City. In 1871 George Homan, a young medical student attending the Kansas City Medical College, caught the essence of the wicked side of Kansas City life, telling how he treated a "dying whore" in the red-light district in a room "full of the fallen," listening to her "death rattle." Across the street the medical student heard and saw an afternoon "hell dance," a ribald activity in which men paid a price to cavort with lewd women. Tom Pendergast's town of Prohibition times had similar vulgar and indecent entertainment. A prominent fundamentalist minister investigating dance halls reported seeing a performance by a double line of naked showgirl prostitutes. Edward R. Murrow, on assignment in Kansas City, compared it to notorious world sin centers such as Singapore and Port Said.

The cleanup after the demise of the political machine brought the closing of the "Pendergast sin places," including jazz clubs and dozens of houses of prostitution. Civic leaders wanted to portray Kansas City as a wholesome place in which to raise a family, totally rejecting its low-brow cultural heritage. With the abrupt change, Kansas City was not, well, Kansas City.

The city lost much of the old frontier spirit and attributes that had once made it one of the most exciting entertainment centers in America. In trying to become simply another modern big city, Kansas City lost confidence and promotional zeal. Without the sinful aspects, the postwar culture was bland, promoted in a self-conscious and artificial way. With embarrassing overstatement, a frenzy of excitement greeted the decision to move the woefully inadequate Philadelphia Athletics baseball team of the American League to Kansas City. Supposedly, the move completed the task of making Kansas City a "Major League City."

The Kansas City Athletics began play on April 12, 1955, in newly renovated Municipal Stadium. Former President Truman attended

the opener and threw out the first ball. Before thirty-two thousand fans, the Athletics won, the high point of a season in which they won 63 and lost 91 games, finishing sixth in an eight-team league. The old minor-league Kansas City Blues of the American Association, a New York Yankee farm club, had fielded more talented players and played a better brand of baseball. The Blues died with the coming of the Athletics, a fate that soon befell the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League as well. Over the years, the Monarchs had had many great players, including Jackie Robinson, Ernie Banks, Satchel Paige, and Buck O'Neil.

The Athletics never had a winning season in Kansas City. The original owner consistently sold his best players to the New York Yankees. After his death, the eccentric and flamboyant Charles Finley, a Chicago insurance man, bought the team. He had an acrimonious relationship with almost everyone in town before moving the franchise to Oakland, California, in October of 1967. Except in name, the Kansas City Athletics were never big-league. The Blues and Monarchs were greater cultural assets. In 1969 a new American League team, the Royals, opened play in Kansas City.

Primary symbols of the city were the Union Station; the Liberty Memorial, an imposing World War I monument that underwent a major renovation in the early twenty-first century; and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. The choice restaurants were steak houses and barbecue places. There were many taverns and theaters. Churches, despite the city's old wide-open reputation, had always had an important role in community life. Publicists did the best they could with what they had to work with, praising the small, underfunded zoo and a good symphony orchestra that was not well-known outside of Kansas City. The outdoor Starlight Theater, specializing in large-scale productions of Broadway-style musicals, was a big summer draw.

Compared to St. Louis, higher education was undistinguished. The University of Kansas City failed. Jesuit Rockhurst College, on the city's south side, was primarily an undergraduate school. No Kansas City institution of higher learning offered a well-rounded graduate program. One reason for a merger of the University of Kansas City and the University of Missouri was to broaden opportunities for decent graduate instruction. Optimistic civic leaders hoped that a campus of the University of Missouri in Kansas City would make the city an important educational center overnight, forging a new identity.

An unexpected cultural dividend was the Truman Library, locat-

ed on park land donated by the city of Independence and opened in an impressive ceremony in 1957. Former President Herbert Hoover, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, and Eleanor Roosevelt attended as guests of Truman. Under the Presidential Library Act of 1955, a former chief executive could build a library and then turn it over to the federal government to run. By “tradition and privilege” extending back to George Washington, presidents owned their public papers. Truman’s presidential papers, which he donated to the people of the United States, proved indispensable to scholars studying World War II and the Truman period, enhancing the Kansas City area’s role as a research center. A modest museum displaying Truman artifacts and memorabilia rather surprisingly became a popular tourist attraction, the focal point of a future Truman Historic District in Independence. Truman kept a working office in the library, within walking distance of his Delaware Street home. In an unanticipated manner, having had a local man in the White House helped to change Kansas City’s image.

Kansas City had a concerted and well-conducted “Prime Time” campaign in the 1970s. The Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce enthusiastically embraced Prime Time, sponsored financially by Hallmark Cards. In 1976 Donald J. Hall, president of the prestigious local concern, had told a New York audience that Kansas City was in the “midst of an unprecedented revitalization” that would lead to a “new national role for the city.”

Prime Time harkened back to old-fashioned Kansas City hard-sell boosterism. In what outsiders were almost certain to consider nauseating gush, a narrator of a Prime Time television commercial claimed with dubious, undocumented accuracy, “There’s a city with more public green space than San Francisco—including the second largest urban park in America—with more fountains than any place but Rome, more boulevard miles than Paris and cleaner air than Honolulu. Kansas City is one of the few liveable cities left.” In forty-four words, Prime Time, shedding the cowtown and Pendergast images, placed Kansas City in the same class as other great cities, attempting to accomplish in words what St. Louis tried to do with the Gateway Arch.

Prime Time cut across racial lines. The *Kansas City Call*, a respected weekly newspaper with a predominantly African American readership, embraced the concept of Kansas City as one of the last remaining “liveable” or “livable” cities. The editor of the *Call* proclaimed, “Without a doubt, Kansas City is destined to become

one of the regional capitals of the country.” The journalist called Kansas City a “model of a ‘livable city,’” of which both blacks and whites could be proud “because cowtown USA has come of age.”

New construction was an essential component of the livable city. Tremendous expenditures changed the appearance of downtown. In one significant development, the Central Business District contracted in size and became completely surrounded by freeways. Bulldozers and wrecking balls razed dozens of old buildings following a 1947 city master plan. Interstate 70, not even perceived at the drafting of the document, cut through the north side of the Central Business District, destroying almost all the remaining bawdy entertainment landmarks of the Pendergast era and cutting much of what was left of the old North End off from the rest of downtown. In the name of progress, Kansas City lost much of its architectural heritage. Especially heartrending to local architects was the 1968 destruction of the old Board of Trade Building, considered a fine example of a Victorian-era commercial structure. Parking lots and vacant lots along downtown streets left unsightly voids in the urban landscape.

Mayor Illus Davis scrapped the master plan in 1971 and established a landmarks commission. Preservationists saved the old New York Life Building, still a centerpiece of downtown. So many buildings vanished forever that the landmarks commission had trouble finding “historic” downtown buildings and were reduced to designating the Municipal Auditorium of 1936 as a landmark.

The first big new building was Commerce Towers, which opened in 1962. On a small mall across from Commerce Towers stood an impressive forty-foot-high statue of a nude woman with a net, the “Muse of the Missouri.” Intriguingly, the muse was on the former site of a hotel known in Pendergast days as a prostitution and assignation center. Other large buildings followed Commerce Towers, including a luxury hotel that replaced the “Twelfth Street Strip,” a block of post-Pendergast era honky-tonks. An impressive federal building consolidated many agencies into a single facility. A prolonged downtown building boom culminated with the opening of the thirty-eight-story AT&T Tower Pavilion in 1986 and the forty-two-story One Kansas City Place in 1988. In 1998 an impressive new justice center opened inside the downtown loop. The destruction of the declining parts of downtown continued, culminating with the opening of a great grassy mall on land formerly occupied by old, unattractive buildings. The mayor and a group of civic leaders unveiled an expensive proposal to further revitalize downtown, one

item of which was a new downtown arena. Over the years, new cultural attractions attracted visitors, including the downtown Steamboat *Arabia* Museum in the City Market and the Negro League Baseball Museum and neighboring Jazz Museum in the Eighteenth and Vine District.

A number of developments had clouded the future of downtown. In 1967 a Hallmark Cards plan threatened to shift the downtown area to the south of the Central Business District loop. The new enterprise, Crown Center, occupied a former eyesore called Signboard Hill and included a large, upscale hotel, entertainment attractions, apartments, merchandising, and an office complex. To help promote Crown Center, Hallmark moved its headquarters to the location. The clean-lined, antiseptic buildings received mixed architectural reviews. They reminded some critics of something Walt Disney might have designed; indeed, Disney was a consultant. In addition to Crown Center, several large suburban shopping malls opened. The Country Club Plaza added a luxury hotel and, at the expense of downtown interests, the Kansas City Board of Trade moved to a new building on the Plaza. Residential construction flourished. A rival commercial district characterized by many large “box stores” rose in the vicinity of 119th Street and Nall Avenue in Johnson County as merchandise activities spread out across the sprawling Kansas City area—called by a Chicago journalist a “Little Los Angeles.”

“Big ticket” projects financed by city and county bond issues changed the urban environment. Arrowhead Stadium, the home of the Kansas City Chiefs of the National Football League, opened in 1972, while the baseball Kansas City Royals moved into adjacent Royal Stadium the following year. Together, the two stadiums formed the Truman Sports Complex. Another improvement, the 17,500-seat Kemper Arena, opened in 1974. Critics found Kemper’s location in the West Bottoms inconvenient. In 1976 the large downtown exhibition center, Bartle Hall, opened. Of the many city and county projects, only the convention center was in the old traditional downtown. As in St. Louis, much vacant space gradually marked the environs of downtown—the “Glover Plan” district directly to the south in midtown and the old West Bottoms, renamed the Central Industrial District.

A high point of the Prime Time initiative was the 1976 Republican National Convention, held at Kemper. It was the third national political convention to take place in Kansas City. Both previous ones were at the old convention hall, demolished in the 1930s. At

the 1976 convention, incumbent President Gerald R. Ford defeated Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination. The convention focused international attention on Kansas City. Thousands of reporters in town to cover the event left with a favorable impression of the city. An enthusiastic Italian journalist said, "There are now two great powers in the world, Saudi Arabia . . . and Kansas City." Spokespersons for Prime Time could not have said it better.

Stripped of promotional froth, neither an urban renaissance in St. Louis nor Prime Time in Kansas City had much to do with residential districts beyond eradicating them in the interest of progress. Between 1950 and 1980, St. Louis lost sixty thousand housing units—one-fourth of the city's housing stock. In Kansas City several urban renewal schemes dead-ended. In both cities the old upscale residential sections—the gated enclaves in St. Louis and the Country Club District in Kansas City—retained their charm and remained as lovely as ever, protected by zoning laws and the affluence of their residents. An article on birthright in a national news magazine suggested that an unlucky person could enter the world in the extreme poverty of Bangladesh, or a lucky one in the Country Club District of Kansas City.

In the 1980s and 1990s, voluntary organizations in St. Louis and Kansas City attempted to save and upgrade deteriorating neighborhoods, gaining political support once leaders realized the widespread popularity of regeneration. An example of rejuvenation of a public housing project was Cochran Gardens in St. Louis. African American activist Berta Gilkey, who grew up in Cochran Gardens, recalled what it was like living through a racial transition in the 1960s: "The Housing Authority stopped planting flowers. When it got to be 30 percent black and 70 percent white, they stopped trimming the shrubbery. Suddenly, I woke up one morning as a teenager and saw that my beautiful neighborhood had turned into a jungle overnight. You didn't want to get in the elevator for fear there'd be a dead body in there." In the 1980s Gilkey headed the tenant association at Cochran Gardens, successfully fighting City Hall. By then many of the residents were single mothers. Cochran Gardens became part of a master plan, and the residents gained a voice in redesigning the housing project. By the 1990s Cochran Gardens had once again become, in the eyes of Gilkey and others, a pleasant place to live.

In Kansas City, neighborhood associations saved and reinvigorated midtown neighborhoods. Activists identified slum lords, demonstrated in front of drug houses, pressed city officials to tear down

abandoned buildings, and gained community policing. In 1998 the 49-63 Neighborhood Coalition thwarted a plan by University of Missouri–Kansas City administrators to bulldoze four blocks and fifty structures, mostly owned by the university, for a temporary parking lot and permanent soccer field. Firebrand leaders forced bungling university officials to back down, successfully labeling the school an insensitive monster and temporarily tarnishing its image.

It could be argued that in the long run, identifying and placing pressure on owners of slum property was a much more effective way to save neighborhoods than were any dramatic actions. Protests could be used to awaken a community, but they had to be followed by organization, leadership, and commitment. And the effectiveness of block grants and other programs depended on the political situation. Moreover, a frustrating consideration was that census and housing statistics remained unpromising. Were neighborhood activists fighting for a lost cause? Blighted neighborhoods on the fringe of commercial and institutional areas had small hope of longevity. From 1990 through the first quarter of 1999, new residential construction inside St. Louis totaled 1,189 units, against 3,542 units demolished, for a net loss of 2,353 units. Building new dwellings or tearing down old ones did not have the same political appeal as supporting large, costly downtown projects, which could be sold to the public as beneficial to the whole community rather than as narrow parochial interests.

Public housing in Kansas City had a checkered history. Three housing projects were in or near the old North End: Wayne Minor Court and Pennway Plaza, 222 units, and Guinote Plaza, 412 units. In 1987 the Housing Authority of Kansas City tore down Wayne Minor. The demolition of Pennway and Guinote followed. Town houses and duplexes replaced the destroyed apartments, but in 1998, when the federal government took over the housing authority, Kansas City had only 500 public housing units. A new policy, supported by federal money, provided rent subsidy money and promoted “scattered sites housing” away from poor and minority residential districts. The scattered sites program initially involved fewer than 200 houses. Unfortunately, such small efforts had little meaningful relationship to the thousands of new dwellings built annually by private contractors in suburban Kansas City and, for that matter, in the St. Louis area.

In the 1970s developers in both Kansas City and St. Louis worked to preserve clusters of nineteenth-century downtown build-



ings by creating wholesome crafts, arts, and entertainment districts. In Kansas City, the River Quay section flourished until mobsters moved in and transformed it into a honky-tonk district. The mobsters fell out and fought a gang war that culminated in a huge 1977 explosion that leveled two nightclubs. All but a few remaining River Quay establishments closed, and a new entertainment district rose north of the Plaza in historic Westport. In St. Louis, where the once popular midtown Gaslight Square had fallen victim to urban blight and a high crime rate, a cluster of old warehouses and offices near the Mississippi River became LaCledé's Landing. Placed on the National Register of Historic Sites, LaCledé's Landing, which gradually lost much local business to nearby riverboat casinos and other sites, enjoyed a steady convention business and still remained much a part of the St. Louis entertainment scene in 2003.

A pressing and legitimate question was whether or not downtowns and their older surrounding neighborhoods were even worth revitalizing in an age of suburban shopping malls and Wal-Marts. Neither St. Louis nor Kansas City had large numbers of downtown modern apartments or restored loft buildings, and their central cores emptied out after business hours. A further obstacle to vibrant downtowns was traffic congestion, more serious in an immediate sense on the freeways of St. Louis than in Kansas City. A possible long-term solution for getting people downtown was rapid transit systems. Other cities such as Chicago and San Francisco had systems that were successful. By the twenty-first century, St. Louis already had a substantial light-rail system running from the airport, Lambert Field, to downtown and via Eads Bridge to the Illinois side of the metropolitan area. In Kansas City, despite the failures of light-rail bond proposals at the polls, including one in November 2002, numerous observers predicted that a system would eventually be built. An unsettling reality was that downtown was no longer the place everyone wanted to go, and was rapidly losing status as the heart of the city. In the age of the automobile and the corresponding demise of the "streetcar city" and older "walking city," the proliferation of suburbs greatly complicated the building of a community consensus for revising the traditional downtowns. Instead of one "downtown," there were many, all with their own policy objectives.

All large cities experience disasters, and almost always they are more widely reported than those in rural territory. Kansas City appeared to be disaster-prone. The July 1951 West Bottoms flood ushered in a bad half-century. Two years later, in what the media at

the time termed the “Crime of the Century,” Carl Austin Hall and Bonnie Heady used a ruse to kidnap six-year-old Robert “Bobby” Greenlease, the son of a wealthy and prominent Kansas City automobile dealer, and demanded and received a \$600,000 ransom. Tragically, Bobby had already been murdered, but Hall and Heady were apprehended by St. Louis police and given the death penalty, which was carried out in the Missouri gas chamber on December 18, 1953, with great public approval.

In 1956 a Kansas City-bound TWA Super Constellation commercial aircraft collided with a United Airliner DC-8 passenger plane at twenty-one thousand feet over the Grand Canyon. Twenty-three Kansas Citians were among the 128 people killed. The tragedy, well over a thousand miles away, showed how a distant event could affect a modern city. Because TWA was Kansas City’s “hometown” airline, many legal cases growing out of the crash were tried in federal court in Kansas City. In the suburbs, on May 20, 1957, a tornado tore through Ruskin Heights, a large unincorporated subdivision, killing forty-four residents. Two years later, on August 18, 1959, the explosion of burning gasoline and kerosene tanks at a Conoco station resulted in the deaths of six people in an incident widely reported by the national media.

The last half of the 1970s brought another round of calamities, enough to make Kansas Citians feel snakebitten. On September 12, 1977, torrential rains caused heavy flash flooding throughout the metropolitan area. Twenty-seven men and women died, many in the early evening on the Country Club Plaza as a wall of water rolled down Brush Creek through the heart of the upscale shopping district. Next, on January 28, 1979, fire gutted the once elegant Coates House, a Gilded Age landmark that had been relegated to the status of a transient hotel. Twenty-eight people perished in the most deadly fire in Kansas City’s history. Later the same year, on June 4, 1979, no one perished in the fall of the roof of the mercifully empty Kemper Arena, but it was an embarrassing blow to Kansas City’s prestige. The roof collapse happened during a national convention of the American Institute of Architects, an organization that two years earlier had given Kemper Arena a design award.

Nothing prepared Kansas City for the tragedy in the early evening of July 17, 1981. During a “tea dance” in the spacious lobby of the new Hyatt Regency Hotel, distinctive skywalks suspended from the ceiling collapsed, killing 114 people. Hundreds more were injured. The calamity happened in Crown Center, tarnishing the

carefully nurtured community image of Hallmark Cards. An investigation by the National Board of Standards indicated that basic structural flaws had led to the collapse and concluded that the skywalk designers had exhibited a “cavalier attitude.” No one went to jail over the findings, but settlement costs amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars.

More unsettling events followed during the remainder of the century. In 1988 an explosion heard throughout the south side of Kansas City killed six firemen at a highway construction site. On October 4, 1998, eleven people died in a flash flood. In the winter of 2000 ten people died in a multi-vehicle highway accident caused by a sudden snowburst on Interstate 29 north of the airport. Several great ice storms hit the city, notably in March 1984, October 1996, and January 2002. The last of these storms left 350,000 to 500,000 homes and businesses without electricity, many for a week or longer.

Although every affliction had severe consequences—the West Bottoms changed markedly as packing plants started to close, and an extensive Corps of Engineers flood-control project followed the Plaza Flood—none had any impact on the selling of Kansas City. No tourist brochures told visitors where to go to see disaster sites. The same situation prevailed in St. Louis, where on February 10, 1959, an out-of-season tornado caused twenty-one fatalities. The calamity was quickly played down in the larger scheme of things and certainly was never thought of as having any value as a lure to visitors.

St. Louis and Kansas City each claimed to be a bigger railroad center than the other, second only to Chicago as the number-two railroad hub in the nation. Chicago was so far ahead that it had an indisputable lead. Back in the railroad passenger train age, the most memorable feature about a city was often its railroad station. Like it or not, the sometimes indistinct utilitarian structures were instant symbols of community. Large cities competed in building stations—the bigger and more impressive the better, in a process sarcastically called “elephantiasis.” Ornate stations were the American equivalent of medieval cathedrals and guild halls. For practical reasons, stations were usually as close to the center of town as possible. Union stations shared by several railroads, though not always obtained, were much desired. Chicago had a number of downtown railroad stations, causing difficulties for transfer passengers. In the Gilded Age, Kansas City and St. Louis had union stations run by terminal companies that were owned by railroad consortiums. The Victorian-style station in Kansas City was in the heart of a honky-tonk, gambling, and pros-

titution district. St. Louis had outgrown its station, creating a pressing need for a much larger one.

In 1894 St. Louis opened a new union station designed by Theodore Link, a German-trained architect. The “head house” stretched along two city blocks on a large expanse of choice land on the western edge of downtown in the Central Corridor. With a gray Indiana limestone facade, the Richardsonian Romanesque with touches of French Renaissance structure featured a distinctive tall clock tower. A large pictorial decorative window contained three female forms representing New York, San Francisco, and St. Louis, designed to illustrate St. Louis’s continental sweep and growing importance. The primary street exit, intended to evoke the image of a feudal gateway into a majestic city, blended the modern and the medieval. A profusion of round arches set off a Grand Hall that connected to the boarding gates and the train shed. The yards had nineteen miles of tracks, serviced by an elaborate Westinghouse compressed-air switching interlock system. The St. Louis Union Station with forty-one back-in tracks was a memorable gateway to the city that impressed generations of visitors.

The Kansas City Terminal Railway Company constructed a new union station south of downtown, which had a gala opening on October 14, 1914. The old depot, severely damaged in a 1903 flood, was obsolete and too small for the volume of passenger traffic it received. Besides, the increasingly seedy surroundings around the station had embarrassed civic leaders. A noted railroad station architect, Jarvis Hunt, designed the new beaux-arts facility. The heart of the design in the T-shaped head house was the Great Hall, a square block in size and several stories high from floor to ceiling. Three gigantic windows graced the south front. An impressive clock hung at the entrance to the north waiting room. The tracks were on a lower level. Large utility wings were connected to the west and east of the main structure. A distinguishing feature of the station was its size. There was no mistaking the purpose of the mammoth eight-hundred-thousand-square-foot complex. Some local observers considered it the culmination of the City Beautiful movement that saw the construction of a comprehensive park and boulevard system. Others viewed it as a big train depot.

From their opening days, large numbers of passenger trains, everything from transcontinental streamliners to lowly locals, used the St. Louis and Kansas City stations. Traffic peaked in World War II, when each station handled two hundred to three hundred trains

daily. A sharp decline came in the 1950s as the railroads dropped many of their passenger trains. Better highways and more automobiles ruined commuter and regional traffic. Air service threatened long-distance passenger runs. It took only a few years for the great stations to become white elephants. The last passenger trains ran out of the St. Louis Union Station in 1978, the end of two decades of deteriorating service. By that time only a few Amtrak trains rolled in and out of Kansas City Union Station.

The two largest and most impressive restoration projects in modern Missouri transformed the old union stations in St. Louis and Kansas City from decaying relics back to their former glory as magnificent landmarks. A complicated financial plan using a combination of public and private money led to a much acclaimed 1985 reopening of the St. Louis Union Station as an arcade and hotel complex. In Kansas City the Trizec Corporation, a Canadian firm that had acquired the rights to the station, failed to redevelop it, and by 1994 the building was an empty shell. Proposals to turn it into either a military or children's museum failed to generate public support. In 1996, after private contributions of \$10 million and \$40 million in federal funds spurred redevelopment efforts, voters in the metropolitan area approved by a comfortable margin a one-eighth-cent bistate cultural sales tax to help restore the station and create Science City. The project, completed in 1999, brought the Great Hall back to its original appearance.

The rise of commercial air service was a long and gradual process. The centrality of St. Louis and Kansas City made them suitable to the needs of the air age. Businessmen in both cities promoted air transportation. St. Louis interests backed Charles Lindbergh's historic Atlantic flight in 1927. Albert Lambert opened Lambert Field west of St. Louis at the location of a former military balloon launching base. Lambert became the municipal field for St. Louis in 1927, in that year serving 24,133 passengers. By 1938 Lambert was an important American airport, handling 170,000 passengers annually.

The two-thousand-acre Lambert Field had dual east-west runways. In 1956 it received favorable publicity because of its new futuristic terminal building designed by Minoru Yamasaki. The scheme proved a forerunner for constructing a number of eye-catching terminals in the United States and elsewhere. A growing number of St. Louisans recognized the airport as a new entrance into their city. Even in the earliest days of Lambert, a public relations agent had called it "The new union station of St. Louis."

Lambert, according to the St. Louis Airport Administration in 2001, was the eleventh busiest airport in North America in terms of aircraft operations and ranked fifteenth in total passenger volume. The airport had eighty-three gates. The five runways varied in length from three thousand to eleven thousand feet. Users included ten major airlines, five commuter lines, eight on-site cargo companies, and four charter firms. In 1999 aircraft operations totaled 502,865, an average of 1,377 daily flights. Approximately fifty-four thousand passengers passed through Lambert every twenty-four hours. Thirty million passengers, representing a rise of ten million in fifteen years, enplaned and departed in 2000. The number one airport in the United States, Atlanta's Hartsfield International Airport, and the busiest terminal in the world, London Heathrow in the United Kingdom, both handled more than seventy million passengers a year.

In 1927, before a crowd of twenty-five thousand, Lindbergh had helped dedicate the Kansas City Municipal Airport. Pendergast machine officials strongly backed expansion of the field, particularly after learning that building modern runways required thousands of tons of concrete and thus presented a big money-maker for Boss Tom Pendergast's Ready Mixed Concrete Company. From the 1920s onward a number of regional airlines operated from Kansas City. Municipal was on seven hundred acres in the North Bottoms floodplain, right across the Missouri River from downtown. Supporters bragged about the convenient location, ignoring its drawbacks. The airport's main runway was only seven thousand feet long. Railroad tracks were on the east side, and the river was on the other three. The terminal building was very long and narrow. Landings and takeoffs could be adventurous. Planes had to go over the river, and taking off to the south required a steep rate of climb to avoid tall buildings. In the 1950s Municipal was a heavily used stopping place for refueling coast-to-coast piston-driven passenger planes.

Kansas City International, which opened in 1972, was seventeen miles north of downtown on thirty-five hundred acres of land purchased by the city in the 1950s and the site of a TWA overhaul base leased from the city. The airport replaced outmoded Municipal, which was converted to general aviation use. The new KCI had three detached terminals. Under a "drive-to-your-gate" design, the distance from curbside drop-off to loading ramps was, as a crow flies, only sixty-five feet. This worked better in concept than practice. Many Kansas City passengers parked in outlying lots and rode buses

to their terminal. Detractors called it “Kansas City Inconvenient,” or, given its location across the Missouri River from Leavenworth, Kansas, “Leavenworth International Airport.” A pie-in-the-sky argument used in the original campaign for building KCI had been that it would one day become the hub for overseas passenger flights arriving in and departing from the United States. Regardless, it was a tremendous improvement over Municipal.

By 2003 KCI had grown to cover approximately ten thousand acres. Three runways, two of 9,500 feet and one of 10,801 feet—a far cry from the old Municipal’s 7,000 feet—had the capacity to accommodate 139 aircraft operations hourly. Roughly eleven million people passed through KCI annually. In 2001 a massive upgrading began that promised a “new millennium” for the airport.

By 2003 airports were more than ever the modern gateways into Missouri. The state had a total of eight commercial airports. Its two biggest jet age commercial passenger airports were the older, much expanded St. Louis Lambert International Airport and the new Kansas City International Airport. The next two largest airports were regional facilities: one serviced Springfield and Branson, the other Columbia and Jefferson City. In all, the state had some five hundred airports. With the curtailment of railroad passenger service, commercial airlines became, out of necessity, the quickest way to get around the country. The number of annual air passengers in the United States reached more than six hundred million in 2000, at least temporarily dropping off after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

In the mid-twentieth century St. Louis and Kansas City sought to keep abreast of change, sometimes at considerable cost. They did not rest on their laurels, even if it meant making unpleasant adjustments. Despite their importance as railroad centers, they adjusted to the transition from rail to air passenger service. In the name of civic progress, whole neighborhoods and cherished landmarks met the bulldozer and wrecking ball. If a scheme did not work, it could always be abandoned, as with Pruitt-Igoe. The Gateway Arch, only a dream for years, became a reality, exceeding expectations. Kansas City tried to put behind the excesses of the Pendergast era. In building cities, solving one problem always led to another. For good or bad, St. Louis and Kansas City had to act in order to remain supreme in Missouri and maintain their national positions.

## UNDER A NEW CONSTITUTION

During World War II, Missouri and Georgia were the only states to write and ratify new constitutions. The 1945 Missouri document replaced the much-amended and antiquated 1875 constitution. With Missourians in the armed forces or occupied in other ways with the war effort, it was hardly surprising that the eighty-three delegates to the constitutional convention were predominantly middle-aged white males. The youngest member of the enclave was thirty-two and the oldest seventy-four. A majority hailed from rural Missouri. Many were country lawyers and politicians: forty of the delegates were attorneys. The members, all elected, included only two women, two labor leaders, and not a single African American.

The constitution reflected the conservative backgrounds of the rural delegates: it embodied a distrust of government, a desire to continue to hold down taxes, and a suspicion of cities. Thomas Pendergast's corrupt and discredited political machine in Kansas City had only recently lost power at the municipal level. There was justifiable suspicion of urban politicians—especially those from Kansas City. In his heyday Boss Pendergast had named Democratic candidates for governor and had exercised considerable influence over the Missouri judiciary. During the Great Depression he had controlled most New Deal relief jobs in the state. The convention delegates also did little that was calculated to improve the conditions of minorities. A provision in the new constitution affirmed and allowed a continuation of segregated schools. While women gained the right to sit on juries and labor the right to organize, this was already codified by federal law.

The main "reforms" of the state government were technical. Most state jobs remained patronage appointments on the grounds that a massive expansion of the small existing civil service system would hurt political parties. The delegates made a few adjustments affecting a complex hodgepodge of overlapping bureaus and agencies. An appointed state board of education replaced an elected school superintendent. A lieutenant governor, attorney general, treasurer,



auditor, and secretary of state were popularly elected for four-year terms. The auditor was elected in an off-year election; the rest ran at the same time. These so-called Little Governors continued to run virtually independent fiefdoms. The governor, restricted to one consecutive four-year term, received additional powers over appointments and financial affairs. The governor had only limited authority over important departments, retaining a veto. The minimum age for serving as governor was lowered from thirty-five to thirty years. Attempts to eliminate the recently enacted nonpartisan court plan that abolished the direct partisan election of many state judges, in particular for circuit court judges in Kansas City and St. Louis, did not succeed. Certain bond issues continued to require a restrictive two-thirds vote at all levels of government, including school bond elections. The constitution prohibited deficit spending by the state government.

In the General Assembly, the thirty-four-member senate was roughly apportioned on the basis of one person, one vote, which favored urban areas. In the house of representatives, each of the 114 counties and the independent city of St. Louis, regardless of population, had at least one of 157 seats. Members of the house, all elected at each general election, served two-year terms. Senators were elected to four-year terms, with odd-numbered districts up for election in presidential years and even-numbered ones in off-year elections. By 1962 the house had expanded to 163 seats. Proposals to cut the size of the lower house ruffled too many parochial political feathers and failed to win support.

Critics claimed that the constitution, easily ratified in February 1945 in a light vote in a winter election, was an ultra-conservative, anti-tax document that failed to address minority needs, urban concerns, and the requirements of modern state government. However, by a small margin, voters in rural counties rejected the constitution, which received overwhelming approval in the cities. With amendments, called propositions, which needed only a majority vote of the electorate, the constitution remained in force into the twenty-first century.

*Baker v. Carr*, the 1962 Supreme Court equal apportionment decision, raised questions about the proportional provisions of the 1945 constitution. Supporters of the malproportioned state house of representatives argued that the formula mandated by the constitution was actually very fair. They claimed that giving rural areas a preponderance of the seats checked powerful urban interests, creat-

ing a balance of power between city and country. This argument ignored the fact that at the time of the Supreme Court action, the forty-two least populated rural counties, with a total population of 233,354, could theoretically outvote 2,076,290 residents in St. Louis, St. Louis County, and Jackson County. The 3,916 people in northwestern Worth County had one vote in the house; the 93,800 inhabitants of Buchanan County, which included St. Joseph, only three.

When *Baker* came down, reapportionment was hardly an issue in the General Assembly. Senator Albert M. Spradlin, Jr., the president pro tem of the Missouri senate, engaged in some wishful thinking about the implications for the state. Speaking from his home in Cape Girardeau, Spradlin said on behalf of many of his colleagues in the General Assembly, "Missouri has one of the best systems in the country right now. The Senate is absolutely on a population basis and the House is on what is called in legislative circles a hybrid system." He confidently assured the people of Missouri, "As far as our state constitution provisions we are pure as the driven snow."

The federal courts thought otherwise. In December 1964 a three-judge federal panel found the malapportioned General Assembly in violation of the U.S. Constitution. The jurists gave the legislative body time to "correct the situation." After considerable debate the General Assembly proposed establishing a reapportionment commission; the proposal was approved by the voters in 1966. The commission, consisting of one Democrat and one Republican from each congressional district, devised a series of compromises approved by the federal court that allowed most rural members to retain their seats. In all, there were four reapportionments in the 1960s.

Further reapportionments always generated much controversy and hand-wringing inside the General Assembly. Some members had no other job. Senator John Downs, a St. Joseph Democrat, recalled that unlike several other members he was unconcerned, confident that no one could beat him in his district, redrawn or otherwise. Reapportionments inevitably ended up in federal court. Missouri lost a congressional seat after both the 1970 and 1980 censuses. When U.S. Congressman William Clay's inner-city St. Louis district was threatened with elimination after 1980 because of a population loss, it took a redistricting plan by a three-judge federal panel to save it. After the 1990 census, a federal court case involved the racial composition rather than the boundaries of Clay's district. Missouri did not lose a district as a result of the 2000 census, although legal action over reapportionment was threatened until the members of Congress

and the leaders of the General Assembly formulated a mutually acceptable compromise.

The General Assembly, usually a settled body, experienced an upheaval following the 1952 general election when the house unexpectedly went Republican for the first time in twelve years. The Republican victory upset the established old order of things on the house side of the capitol. "The halls of the House and of the capitol's third floor were a jumble of equipment and tools," a reporter wrote at the start of the 1953 session. "With the one-time minority Republicans taking control of the House, it meant that the Democrats would be shoved into two rooms. And the Republicans—who had been jammed up the same fashion before—suddenly blossomed out in expansive offices." This practical aspect of the logistics of change illustrated a human side of the transfer of power. The journalist continued, "Painters were busy taking names off the doors and putting on new ones. Democrats were busy taking little odds and ends of personal belongings from the old offices and trying to figure out what to do with them in the squeezed up quarters they will have this session."

The day of the first meeting of the new house in 1953 was one of petty politics; the time was consumed by the kind of counter-productive machinations that affect almost all parliamentary bodies. The Republicans spent their first hours in charge squabbling throughout the day and long into the night about rules of procedure and when legislative assistants went on the payroll. Some Republicans accused members of their own party of trying to cheat taxpayers out of ten thousand dollars in organizational costs. Both Republicans and Democrats argued back and forth about all sorts of minor matters. As the proceedings dragged on into the night, some old hands, tired of petty bickering, nodded off at their desks. In ensuing days, after tempers cooled and rationality prevailed, the house returned to its usual pace of handling the business of the people of Missouri.

In the 1954 general election the senate remained Democratic and the Republicans lost the house by a wide margin. The Republicans had last controlled the senate in 1948. Few could have predicted that throughout the rest of the twentieth century the Republicans never again would control the house and that the senate would stay Democratic. The long period of Democratic ascendancy in both houses and its eventual end in the twenty-first century is illustrated in Table 5.1. Except for the 2002 election results, the number of

Table 5.1 Composition of Missouri General Assembly, 1954–2000

Election Year	House of Representatives		Senate	
	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
1954	97	60	19	15
1956	93	64	21	13
1958	112	45	26	8
1960	100	57	28	6
1962	101	62	23	11
1964	123	40	23	11
1966	107	56	23	11
1968	107	54	23	11
1970	112	51	25	9
1972	97	66	21	13
1974	114	49	23	11
1976	112	51	22	12
1978	117	46	22	11
1980	117	45 (1 vac.)	22	12
1982	110	53	22	12
1984	106	55 (2 vac.)	21	13
1986	109	52 (2 vac.)	21	13
1988	104	59	22	12
1990	98	65	23	11
1992	96	65 (2 vac.)	19	15
1994	88	76	19	15
1996	87	75 (1 ind.)	19	15
1998	86	76 (1 ind.)	18	16
2000	88	75	16	18
2002	73	90	14	20

members of the General Assembly are from the *Official Manual, State of Missouri*.

The Democrats triumphed in twenty-four straight lower house elections. Their biggest majority came in the Goldwater debacle of 1964, when they captured 123 seats to only 40 for the Republicans. The smallest margin came in 1978 when the Democrats prevailed by only ten seats, 86 to 76. Prior to 2000, the Democrats held a high of 28 seats in the senate and a low of 18. The continuing growth of the suburbs and national prosperity gradually increased the Republican vote, threatening Democratic control.

It took a constitutional majority to pass legislation; 18 votes in the senate and 82 in the house. Given their minority status, Republicans often had to resort to tactical methods in performing their duties as an honorable opposition party. Seasoned Republican members of the General Assembly learned how to use the rules to tie up and block legislation. A number of able Republicans served long tenures in the General Assembly without ever being in the majority.

In November 2000 the Democrats won the house by 10 seats and the senate ended in a tie, with 17 Republicans and 17 Democrats. In January 2001 the Republicans captured 2 out of 3 seats in special senate elections, ending a short power-sharing arrangement and giving the GOP its first majority in more than fifty years in the upper house. In an understatement, John Hancock, the executive director of the state Republican party, said: "It's a huge victory for the Republican party. It means for the first time in many years, we have a seat at the table in shaping the policy of the state of Missouri." Matters went even better for the Republicans in the 2002 general election. The GOP gained 2 more seats in the senate and won the house 90 seats to 73, triumphing in the lower house for the first time in fifty years.

Four new Kansas City-area legislators, two Republicans and two Democrats, typified the situation faced by all the new assembly members. According to an assessment in the *Kansas City Star* of February 1, 2003, "All four described themselves as excited by the opportunity to affect public policy—and a bit apprehensive at the challenges that await . . . Each has hired an aide and swapped, bought or otherwise acquired office furniture. They have been inundated with appeals from special interest groups. They are having to deal with being public officials. And they have begun contending with the minor problems—from dry cleaning to stomach flu—inherent in spending half the week 165 miles from home." Except in the details, little had changed from when the Republicans had taken over back in 1953.

Despite expected partisanship on key divisive issues such as abortion rights, gun control, and tax increases, members of the General Assembly frequently got along very well with one another. Thomas Kenton, a Democratic state representative from a southside Kansas City district for twelve years, recalled that during his service he encountered only two or three members so partisan that they carried chips on their shoulders. Late U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Floyd R. Gibson, once the Democratic floor leader in the

house and president pro tem of the senate, explained, "The fact is that about ninety-five or ninety-six percent of the issues that come before a legislative body like that are not political issues. They are decided by a variety of other different factors and considerations." In the 1970s the senate was sort of a nonpartisan "club" run under the joint partnership of Democrat Norman Merrell and Republican Richard Webster. The General Assembly had an uncoded custom of not carrying differences away from the floor. This did not keep the body free of criticism.

In 1972, Republican Attorney General John C. Danforth scoffed at a survey ranking the General Assembly thirty-fifth out of fifty state legislatures. "I don't believe that survey," he said, adding that the thought of fifteen legislatures more inefficient than the one in Missouri frightened him. He explained that he found it unsettling to watch the General Assembly in action: "It is so depressing to have to be there and see it, to watch it day in and day out. You go home and wonder, 'What's the use?'" It was true that the General Assembly could be very unruly. In an incident twenty years earlier, groups of angry house members had tried to storm the senate chamber, demanding their right to visit the floor. "You want to remember this is an adult body," the presiding lieutenant governor said as the senate sergeant-at-arms and doorkeepers repelled the invaders.

The media frequently disparaged the decorum of the General Assembly. The *Kansas City Star* criticized the drinking of alcoholic beverages in the capitol. The negative comments ignored the larger view: that legislative government at the state level in Missouri was 182 years old in 2003. For all its quirks and faults, the General Assembly was the oldest elected state legislature west of the Mississippi River.

In keeping with the Show Me State image, passage of a law was almost always exasperating and frustrating. The *Official Manual, State of Missouri*, for 1962–1963 explained, "The legislative process in Missouri often is considered a slow and tedious process. Due to the steps through which a bill must go to become a law, it is apparent that only good bills should survive the scrutiny that is given to each. Lawmaking is a democratic process as bills are introduced all the time. The electorate can make its voice heard either by contacting its representatives or by personal appearance in the committee meetings where every person has the privilege of expressing his opinion on the proposal legislation." A great deal of the formal work of the General Assembly occurred in committee. Kenton believed that despite imper-

fections and delays, in the end, sometimes several years later, the people usually got what they wanted, right or wrong.

Few constituents had the time or inclination to appear before legislative committees. By the first years of the twenty-first century an increasing number of individuals and interest groups were voicing their concerns through lobbyists. In the 1950s only a few lobbyists worked the General Assembly. In 1967, 260 registered under a new, very weak 1965 law. Over the years, lobbying laws gradually became tougher, with 2,168 individuals registered as lobbyists in 1994 under legislation placing them in a number of categories. How many were on hand at any given moment during a session was hard to determine. Some never seemed to appear and were only names on disclosure forms. Governor Warren E. Hearnes supposedly once told a group of freshmen legislators that they should accept everything a lobbyist offered and then vote in accordance with what their constituents wanted, very practical advice, more easily said than done.

Both private parties and public organizations used lobbyists. Every issue, no matter how seemingly small, affected someone. Business, labor, and farm organizations all lobbied. Grassroots groups—even nudists—had lobbyists. Sometimes, lobbyists worked on only one issue. A broadly based number of groups and individuals lobbied in favor of expanding the University of Missouri. In 1963 Elmo Hunter, a state circuit judge and future U.S. district judge unofficially representing Kansas City, and distinguished lawyer Arthur Mag spent a week in Jefferson City lobbying the General Assembly in favor of merging the University of Kansas City and the University of Missouri. Hunter, the head of an organization of state judges (he had recently helped secure a pay increase for judges), called as many state judges as he could, asking them to support the merger and to contact their senators and representatives. Hunter and Mag saw the merger bill pass and become law.

State agencies regularly lobbied. The University of Missouri was quite effective, sometimes getting close to what its leaders asked for. On occasion, university officials had helped write the higher education budget. A significant advantage was that many of the members of the General Assembly had attended or graduated from the university. State government agencies that relied on public funds did not have the benefit of having alumni. Indeed, by their nature some state agencies, no matter how essential, had few friends among the voters. Consequently, the agencies needed to work hard to keep and improve their status in the structure of state government, all the

while keeping pace with inflation. A practice of the General Assembly, which eschewed zero-based budgeting, was to avoid reducing appropriations to state agencies.

John Britton lobbied at the capitol for four decades, ranking him as the dean of his profession in Jefferson City. His clients included casino, beverage, and tobacco interests. For more than thirty years Britton represented Anheuser-Busch. In 1998 he funneled \$82,100 of the brewery's money into campaigns for the General Assembly and kept any legislator who wanted supplied with beer. On a regular basis during sessions, he invited a bipartisan group of senate and house leaders to dinner at his Jefferson City home. "It's a lot more difficult to vote against a friend than someone you don't know," Senator James Mathewson, a powerful Sedalia Democrat, acknowledged. He considered it a "real honor" to receive an invitation to a Britton dinner. Mathewson said that when he chose not to vote the way that Britton wanted him to, "It's a lot like voting against someone back home, because you knew you were going to have to justify it." Whether the public liked it or not, Britton and other lobbyists had an important role in the governing of Missouri.

By 2003 the ground rules for relations between the governor and the General Assembly were well established. This differed somewhat from the mid-twentieth century, when a priority was to put into practical operation the changes mandated by the 1945 constitution. Would the constitution fulfill the hopes of the framers and place Missouri in position to prosper in modern America? At the time of its ratification, World War II continued in all its fury. Victory in Europe appeared close at hand, but the war against Japan dragged on and the atomic bomb remained untested. Nor was it expected that a shift to the right would characterize the 1950s, with moderate President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the GOP's begrudging acceptance of basic New Deal reforms. Under Eisenhower there was even an expansion of federal involvement in state affairs.

Missouri governors wanted federal money as long as few if any strings were attached. Almost always, federal funds and entitlements meant increased state spending. At the same time, federal regulations and Supreme Court actions, in particular the response to segregation, colored the nature of federal and state relations. In Missouri, with the vast bulk of the state budget already committed to supporting basic state services, the governors moved very cautiously in proposing new programs that could only be funded through unpopular tax increases. With memories of the Great Depression



still fresh, a principal objective was to keep the state on a firm financial basis. A call for a comprehensive government reorganization—a proposition that had little political appeal among the voters—was seen as a panacea designed to reduce the costs of government. Few people cared who supervised faceless bureaucrats.

Governors Phil M. Donnelly, James T. Blair, Jr., and John M. Dalton provided a certain continuity during the 1950s and into the 1960s. All were good party men in a Democratic era. They had waited their turn to serve as chief executives, and were products of a settled order of affairs directed by the kingmakers of the state Democratic Committee and their allies in the banking industry. Blair and Dalton had held other statewide offices, and Donnelly had been in the General Assembly for many years and had served a previous term as governor from 1945 to 1949. They each won their primary elections for governor without serious opposition.

Their general election triumphs usually came easily, as internal party squabbling and dissension helped destroy Republican hopes at the state level. In 1952 Donnelly won over Howard Elliott, 983,169 votes to 866,810. Blair, victorious in 1956, defeated Lon Hocker 941,528 to 866,718. In the 1960 election Dalton became the first candidate for governor in Missouri to receive more than a million votes, beating Edward C. Farmer 1,075,200 to 792,131, a huge margin of 303,069 votes. Dalton ran far ahead of Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, who carried Missouri by only 9,980 tallies over Republican Richard Nixon. The last Republican victory for governor had been a narrow triumph by Forrest C. Donnell in 1940, running against Pendergastism.

In a general way, the governors personified the state. Their elections reflected the aims and aspirations of the voters and all the people of Missouri. They were representative Missourians of their times. Given the conservative nature of government in Missouri, their personalities, more so than their legislative programs, were crucial to defining them and their standing with the voters. Hence their careers, their tenures, and the course of their administrations require attention in an eventful period that ended about the time of the Kennedy assassination.

Phil M. Donnelly, born in Lebanon, Missouri, on March 6, 1891, received an LL.B. degree from Saint Louis University in 1918 and practiced law in his hometown for more than forty years. He married Juanita McFadden in 1915, and they had one son. Donnelly, considered a very handsome man with a stately bearing, a political

matinee idol, entered politics as a matter of course. A corporation lawyer for the Frisco Railroad, he served as prosecutor of Laclede County for one term and city attorney of Lebanon for several terms. He gained election to the Missouri house in 1922, moved on to the senate two years later, and served there until 1944, when he was elected governor for the first time. In his first term he took a hard line against organized labor, a key part of his party's national coalition. He opposed efforts to unionize the St. Louis Police Department and in 1947 signed the King-Thompson law prohibiting strikes against utilities. Aloof and austere, his actions stamped him as a Jeffersonian Democrat of the highest order, meaning he qualified as a political pragmatist prepared to rise above party politics.

In his successful race for a second term in 1952, Donnelly overcame opposition from organized labor and bucked Republican successes in the national elections. Although he had not made civil rights a great issue, he went on record as favoring equality in his second inaugural address: "I believe that equality of opportunity for all citizens, regardless of race or creed, is a basic concept of our democratic way of life. When any citizen or group of citizens is discriminated against economically or politically, we weaken the entire fiber of our democracy." In short, he signaled he would not fight to preserve segregation.

In the late spring of 1954, Governor Donnelly had to confront the segregation issue head on when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that separate schools for black and white children were inherently unequal and thus unconstitutional. Out of an estimated 710,000 primary and secondary pupils in Missouri, 63,100 were black, only 7,600 of whom attended schools outside St. Louis, Kansas City, or the Bootheel. On July 1, 1954, at Donnelly's request the attorney general of Missouri, future Governor Dalton, issued a finding declaring the school segregation section of the 1945 constitution "invalidated" and "therefore, unenforceable." Consequently, the General Assembly told school districts that they were free to integrate, leaving the pace and method of implementing desegregation up to the local boards. The "with all deliberate speed" Supreme Court school desegregation order of 1955 further clouded matters. It also came down at the same time that a postwar reorganization program was underway with the twin goals of drastically reducing the number of school districts and reforming the curriculum.

On the surface, school desegregation in Missouri got off to a quiet start with little media coverage. The Little Rock crisis of 1957

occupied national attention. While the districts in Kansas City, St. Louis, and the Bootheel tried to avoid integration as long as possible, most Missouri rural counties swiftly integrated. Desegregation saved them the expense of busing small numbers of African American students and paying for separate classrooms, but one result was that between 125 and 150 African American schoolteachers lost their jobs.

The desegregation of the Joplin schools was indicative of how integration moved ahead in an important outstate community, in sharp contrast to what happened in Kansas City and St. Louis. In 1908 the Joplin school board had built the two-story, brick, segregated Lincoln School. The patrons of the black school considered it superior to those in many other segregated Missouri communities. By the 1950s the city of Carthage was transporting its black high school students eighteen miles to Joplin. Lincoln, with an energetic principal and able teachers, all African Americans, enjoyed a good reputation in the Joplin-area black community. Joplin blacks made few demands, and the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter was very weak and far from militant. The chapter stayed neutral as pressure built in Missouri for state action to integrate.

Fifteen days after the *Brown* decision, the Joplin school board ordered the integration of Joplin Junior College, which was accomplished without incident. The board held off taking action on public school desegregation until the "with all deliberate speed" ruling. In June 1955 the board officially desegregated the school system. Black students in tenth through twelfth grades had the option of remaining at Lincoln or transferring to the previously white high school. Black students in the lower grades had to attend a school within their district. Almost all lived in the Lincoln district, so for them desegregation brought little actual integration. The board reacted to black concerns by retaining all the full-time Lincoln teachers. Desegregation went ahead in an orderly fashion, and in 1958 Lincoln became a special-education school. The cooperation of black and white leaders had ensured a smooth desegregation process; the story was much the same in the vast number of the more than two hundred segregated Missouri districts.

The Kansas City School District was the largest of several school districts within Kansas City's city limits. As a consequence of the post-war annexation policy there were a number of other districts either entirely or partially inside municipal Kansas City. In 1954 the Kansas

City School District covered much of Kansas City south of the Missouri River. The district had 65,000 students, 10,400 of whom were African Americans. Painstaking adjustments of school boundaries kept "neighborhood schools" segregated. High schools constituted a far more complex problem. Selected high schools were designated by stages for integration. Classrooms remained segregated. A change in the racial complexion of a high school led to "blockbusting," "red lining," and other steps hastening white flight. The redrawing policy followed by the school board set high school boundaries at Troost Street, a commercial north-south thoroughfare and an unofficial racial border, with blacks to the east and whites to the west. Following the desegregation of high schools east of Troost, whites moved out and blacks moved in. Deliberate attempts to skirt *Brown* would ultimately cause a disaster that affected the whole state of Missouri.

Blockbusting was a dirty and ruthless business. In 1966 a Kansas City real estate agent received a five-hundred-dollar fine for violating a new anti-blockbusting ordinance. She had called a white male homeowner residing in a transitional neighborhood to claim that the house next door to his had been sold to a black family with six children. She described the family as bad neighbors who would not keep up the property. Such scare tactics had a telling effect. In 1950 an eastside residential district, census tract no. 61, was a mile from the nearest black neighborhood and had 5,638 whites and 2 blacks. Following *Brown*, the tract's racial composition started to change. It was 60 percent black in 1960 and 94 percent ten years later.

Before *Brown*, St. Louis had a well-defined inner city. Existing racial and housing patterns lessened the immediate impact of school desegregation. Besides, the large Roman Catholic school system had integrated in 1947. Almost every civic leader supported compliance with *Brown*. On June 22, 1954, the public board of education announced a desegregation plan, the first phase of which called for merging two local teachers colleges, Harris for whites and Stowe for blacks. With little discord, the two schools merged as Harris-Stowe in 1955. The integration of public schools moved ahead at a slow pace. In 1956 the St. Louis board claimed to have successfully integrated half the district's students. As proof of this alleged success, district leaders pointed to the burning of two crosses in integrated parts of St. Louis, a strange measurement of progress. In St. Louis County, twenty-one different school boards slowly integrated their thirty-five hundred African American students.

In the Bootheel counties, white leaders dug in their heels and

tried to keep the schools segregated for as long as possible. In 1956, six of the seven outstate high schools that remained completely segregated were in the Bootheel, where the school districts in Pemiscot and New Madrid Counties had as yet done nothing. The Bootheel remained almost entirely segregated into the 1960s.

Compared to several segregated states in the South, Missouri, despite its shortcomings, looked somewhat progressive. By 1968, 95 percent of school districts in the state were integrated or had started to integrate. In St. Louis and Kansas City, some integrationists belittled the significance of the impressive-sounding statistics, which ignored black and white percentage ratios. In St. Louis, the NAACP, discounting that a few blacks sat on the school board, opposed a policy allowing whites to transfer out of predominantly black schools. In Kansas City, the Congress of Racial Equality called for total integration of all the schools. In response, the school board issued an involved policy statement calling for integration "without destroying the fundamental principle of the schools as a major service to the neighborhoods of which it is about." Superintendent James A. Hazlett tried to ignore CORE, considering the organization unrepresentative and overly militant, but he made it a point to negotiate with NAACP leaders. The local media did not help the situation by blowing schoolyard interracial fights out of proportion.

Historian Monroe Billington of the University of Toledo, using Missouri as a case study, concluded in a 1966 scholarly article in the *Journal of Negro Education* that integration in Missouri was a mixed bag and that the state had done little better than other border states. "Missouri's problems and partial success in integrating its schools during the first decade following the Supreme Court's decision were not unlike those of the other border states having segregated schools in 1954," Billington wrote. "This being true, this case study of one state emphasizes that after ten years school integration was far from complete in the border and Southern states." Even given the situation in the Bootheel, the real stumbling blocks were in Kansas City and St. Louis. The postwar migration of large numbers of African Americans into the two cities had introduced an entirely new element into race relations. Under the circumstances, no one, black or white, knew exactly how to deal with school desegregation.

During the first half of his second term, Governor Donnelly got along quite well with the majority Republicans in the house. In 1953 he vetoed an increased appropriation measure for Missouri schools. He ultimately modified his attitude, successfully supporting increas-

es in the education budget through higher taxes on cigarettes. He also vetoed a \$3 million appropriation for mental hospitals, instead pushing through the legislature a bond referendum for \$75 million for the construction of new buildings and the renovation of old ones at penal institutions, state hospitals, and educational institutions that the voters approved by a strong majority. "He was resistant to change," the *Kansas City Star* claimed. "But he demanded a financially honest operation and all the economies that could be accomplished under existing methods."

Donnelly created a bipartisan, twelve-member "Little Hoover" commission to suggest structural reforms in the state government, hoping to close loopholes in the 1945 constitution and to curtail what he saw as the growing independence of state agencies. The panel, chaired by former Democratic Governor Lloyd C. Stark, made 122 recommendations, only a few of which the General Assembly approved. State agencies, bureaus, and boards continued to grow, defended as essential to the needs of modern society. On the plus side, the commission provided a solid blueprint for future reformers.

Early in Donnelly's second administration, he had ignored merit system requirements by firing the warden and many employees at the men's state prison in Jefferson City, replacing a number of the correction officers with poorly trained patronage workers. The controversial move came back to haunt him. At approximately 6 A.M. on September 22, 1954, a riot broke out at the badly overcrowded penitentiary. A white inmate overpowered a guard, took his keys, and started unlocking cell doors. The prison, most of which had been built in the nineteenth century, held 3,285 inmates, twice its planned capacity. Almost all the rioters were white. Blacks, housed in a segregated cell block, remained in their cells. The causes of the disturbance were the usual prison complaints: disputes over living conditions, poor food, and cruel guards. Before the outbreak, Governor Donnelly, having viewed a documentary film about a prison outbreak in Michigan in which negotiations had failed, had ordered the State Highway Patrol to prepare for a riot and to plan to use all necessary force to restore order.

For the first fifteen hours following the start of the Jefferson City outbreak, convicts ran amuck within the jail, taking guards prisoner and setting fires. National Guard troopers called to the prison were able to secure the gates and outer walls. A journalist for the *Mexico Ledger*, approaching Jefferson City during the night, described what he saw: "Topping the hill south of Jefferson City, you could see the

vicious red glow of burning prison buildings, against the black night." Several thousand people milled around outside the prison, some armed, intending to shoot any convicts who came over the walls. None did.

The riot's ringleaders drew up a series of demands and asked for a meeting with state officials. With a high element of drama, Donnelly, a heavy pistol strapped to his hip, led a small party into the prison yard and confronted a convict negotiator. Donnelly rejected negotiations, stating in no uncertain terms: "If you harm the hair of one of those guards, we will kill the whole bunch." The convict carried the message back to his fellows and returned to inform Donnelly that the rioters were prepared to stand firm. He added, "It's going to be rough, governor." Donnelly shot back, "[D]amn right it is going to be rough. . . . We'll come in. . . . anybody who's not in their cells will be shot."

The State Highway Patrol, two hundred strong and carrying shotguns, arrived in force from all around the state. On the morning after the start of the rioting the state patrolmen went into the prison shooting, quickly taking control and liberating the hostages. Two prisoners died in the uprising—one a suspected informer brutally murdered by unknown parties, the other killed by the state patrol. Thirty prisoners sustained wounds. In the aftermath, the highway patrol came in for considerable praise. The year after the disturbance, a pleased and uncharacteristically generous General Assembly increased the law enforcement agency's budget by 37.3 percent and authorized expanding the uniformed force from 320 to 355 men. Donnelly removed many of his own recently hired prison patronage employees, including the warden.

Whatever the motives for Donnelly's actions, he cemented his reputation as a resolute conservative and man of action—one tough governor. Michael E. Meagher, summing up Donnelly's career in an entry in the *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, wrote, "He had been a memorable chief executive for the state, demonstrating in each of his two terms a willingness to challenge interests within the state and his own party."

James T. Blair, Jr., born in Maysville on March 5, 1902, grew up in Jefferson City. He came from a distinguished Missouri political family: both his father and a brother were at different time members of the Missouri Supreme Court. Blair received an LL.D. degree from Cumberland University, passed the bar examination, and practiced law in Jefferson City for thirty years. In 1926 he married Emilie

Chorn, the daughter of a Kansas City grain dealer. The union produced two children. In 1930 Blair served as president of the Missouri State Bar Association. Elected twice to the lower house of the General Assembly, he was the youngest-ever majority floor leader in 1931. During the 1930s he was a member of the school board in Jefferson City for eight years. He belonged to numerous organizations and remained active in Democratic politics. In World War II he saw action in the European theater with the Army Air Force, earning several decorations and rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After returning to civilian life, he reentered elective politics, running and winning the office of mayor of Jefferson City in 1947. He resigned the next year, following his election to the first of two straight terms as lieutenant governor. His obvious goal was to become governor.

Elected governor in 1956, Blair got along well with the General Assembly. He expressed opposition to "big government," sought to check rising welfare costs, and compiled a laundry list of accomplishments, none very spectacular or dramatic. He was a product of his times, anti-government in theory but moderate rather than reactionary in action. Noting that a third of state revenues went for welfare, he tried to cut people from the rolls, opposing federal matching funds for public assistance. He worked to improve mental health programs, an aspect of which called for reducing the number of aged mental patients in state institutions by moving them into outside facilities. He backed the creation of a number of additional junior colleges. Despite rejecting funding for many new projects, he did approve the establishment of a four-year medical program at the University of Missouri. He further increased the power of the highway patrol and successfully sought motor vehicle speed limits. He authorized the creation of a Council on Higher Education and a reorganized Division of Budget and Comptroller. He was instrumental in placing certain idle state funds in interest-bearing accounts. He only mused about the possibility of another commission to study further reorganization of the state government.

At 3:45 P.M. on the pleasant Sunday winter afternoon of February 17, 1957, fire of unspecified origins swept through the brick two-and-a-half-story building and adjoining two-story annex of the Katie Jane Memorial Nursing Home. The privately operated home on the main street of the county seat of Warren County, roughly sixty miles west of St. Louis, burned to the outer walls in ten to fifteen minutes. The heavily oiled and lubricated wooden floors of the sixty-two-year-old structure, once a dormitory of a defunct college



for women, exploded into flames. The Warrenton Fire Department, responding within three minutes of the sighting of the first smoke, faced an insurmountable task. "It was burning throughout," the chief said. "There was fire in the back. There was fire in the front. We honestly don't know what could have spread it so fast. We don't have a single clue." Some 50 to 75 visitors and attendants rescued many bed- and wheel chair-bound invalids. Of the 151 patients, 72 died, 10 in the annex and 45 in a basement ward in the main building. The number of deaths was the highest ever in a rest home fire in the United States. No fire in Missouri had claimed so many victims.

Missouri's 326 licensed and 227 unlicensed nursing homes, caring for an estimated fourteen thousand aged persons, were virtually unregulated. The operators of the Katie Jane had owned another home in Hillsboro that burned in 1952 with the loss of eighteen lives. In 1956, twelve rest home residents had perished in a Paxico nursing home conflagration. The Katie Jane had no fire alarms, no sprinklers, and no fire escapes; none were required in Missouri. The primary regulatory agency for centers for the aged, the State Department of Health and Welfare, only had the authority to make safety inspections. Blair responded to the Katie Jane disaster by making nursing home reform his first order of business. "This was a tragic affair, far more tragic than I can describe," he told a reporter. "Certainly our present laws are most inadequate." Within a month the General Assembly, acting with uncharacteristic speed, approved legislation that greatly strengthened fire and other safety regulations for homes for the aged. Unfortunately, for the Warrenton victims, reform came too late.

Blair opposed racial segregation and other forms of discrimination, telling the General Assembly, "Always and everywhere I will identify myself with any victim of oppression or discrimination, whoever or wherever he may be, and I will support him." Lieutenant governor at the time of the *Brown* decision, he had said, "It was the only possible legal and moral action the court could take." In 1957 the General Assembly, reluctant to take action at the state level, passed watered-down legislation establishing the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. Blair, wanting something more substantial, called the action of the General Assembly "a very small first step." The new commission, having hardly any power, was a start in a state traditionally opposed to most kinds of state regulation. Funding gradually increased and other measures followed—a fair employment act in 1961, a public accommodation act in 1965, and a fair

housing act in 1972, all approved as the state struggled to comply with federal laws and court decisions.

Blair frequently qualified support for legislation by contending that the measures saved money and led to needed improvements. Thus, cutting the number of people on welfare and in public mental institutions would improve the benefits for those who remained and the creation of more junior colleges would reduce demands on state four-year institutions. Nevertheless, the budget rose faster than inflation during Blair's term. The record two-year budget for Missouri for the biennium starting July 1, 1959, was close to \$1.2 billion.

In November 1957, Blair, before a congressional subcommittee, stated his views on federal aid to education and the role of federal government in general in state affairs:

Most individual federal aid and programs are eminently worthwhile. But when we take all of them in the aggregate, we gain a picture of the trend which, if continued, will leave the states as mere vassals of the federal government. . . . It is simply naive to expect state governments, or local governments, to maintain autonomy while casting more and more dependence for financing upon a higher level of government. . . . In my judgment, embarkation upon a program of federal aid to public schools, more than any other step that could be taken, would hasten the trend toward a lessened stature for our state and local governments in our federal system. Once started, it would loosen pressures for expansion that would be uncontrollable. Federal money has a narcotic quality. . . . We have permitted the Federal government to do this and in many cases gone along with it because we wanted the Great White Father to give us something free.

Though not considered astute or brilliant by critics, Blair understood how to pull the ropes of state government. He made frequent public appearances. He spoke at many high school commencements and other functions. He helped the University of Missouri recruit football players. He and his wife entertained regularly and graciously. Like Donnelly, the tall, dark-haired Blair was considered a man of handsome appearance. In public, the worst Blair would say about an opponent was, "He's a *great* man," with an inflection to make it clear what he meant. He could be quite salty and had no use for bodyguards. The media considered him "colorful" and a "showman." An evaluation by a *Kansas City Star* reporter described him as "a complicated Missouri character with great virtues and human faults.

With his family, he was in many ways a personification of the state. He loved Missouri and his whole life turned around it." In 1959 he underwent a serious prostate operation at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, requiring a lengthy out-of-state recovery period.

Blair's love of Missouri did not extend to the Governor's Mansion. After his inauguration, he and his wife refused to live in the eight-decade-old, three-story French-Italian dwelling. The Blairs continued to reside in their own brick house in Jefferson City, using the mansion only for official functions. No one could deny that the place had seen better days. The only "modern" bathroom was on the third floor, reached by a narrow, steep stairway. The lower two floors had water closets flushed by old-fashioned "chain-pulls." The building had no elevator, and the governor's second-floor suite, small and plain, was reached by a long, very wide grand staircase. In the master bedroom a rusty tire iron propped up a window.

The sorry state of the mansion received national publicity, shaming the General Assembly into allotting money for a small elevator and other improvements. Two years into his term, Blair and his wife sold their house and finally moved into the somewhat renovated mansion. Blair continued to dislike the place. On cold days it proved impossible to heat, and his wife went about her duties wearing a heavy winter coat. In 1959 Blair told a General Assembly appropriations committee, "You will have to make up your minds whether you want to make only an historical shrine out of the mansion or whether you want to make it a livable place for the next governor." He described the official residence as a "veritable fire trap," very "cold, drafty and rat-infested."

On a sad note of tragedy and irony, on July 12, 1962, Blair and his wife died of carbon monoxide poisoning in their new Jefferson City ranch house. Deadly fumes from a car left running in their attached garage seeped through an air-conditioning system from an indoor cooling unit. In evaluating Blair and his administration, an editorial in the *Kansas City Star* stated, "He was a natural-born politician who wanted the best for his state, an aristocrat with a common touch. The governorship, when he reached it, was both a triumph and disappointment. His achievements were basic and will grow in obvious importance as time passes." The editorial cited changes he made in the budgeting system, in the adding of professional staff, and in starting new mental health programs. "The great frustration came in the last two lame-duck years when the Legislature declined to vote new revenues," the editorial concluded.

"But Blair believed a governor should present a program, push it in the manner of a Southern gentleman, and let the Legislature decide what the people wanted."

John M. Dalton led Missouri into the 1960s. Born on November 9, 1900, in the hamlet of Walker in rural Vernon County, he was the sixth of seven children of Frederick Andrew and Jane Poage Dalton. In 1922 Dalton received a law degree from the University of Missouri and soon passed his bar examination. Two years later he married Geraldine "Jerry" Hall. The couple had two children. In 1929 the Daltons moved to Dunklin County in the Bootheel. Dalton lived and practiced law in the county for most of his adult life, gaining a reputation as an excellent trial lawyer. From 1931 to 1937 he was a marshal of the Missouri Supreme Court. He was city counselor of Kennett from 1944 to 1953 and legislative counsel for the Missouri Rural Electrification Association in 1951-1952. As an outgrowth of his law practice he organized and became the attorney for four rural electrical cooperatives. He owned a cotton farm in Dunklin County. In state politics he belonged to the Democratic State Committee and undertook other party functions. For eight years he chaired the Dunklin County Democratic Committee. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church and joined fraternal organizations. He enjoyed meeting people and remembering their names as an aspiring politician should, assiduously developing contacts throughout rural Missouri.

In 1952 Dalton, nicknamed "Scrubby," launched a grassroots campaign for attorney general of Missouri. The jovial, short, stocky, and balding candidate, running as a man of the people, won the Democratic primary without carrying either St. Louis or Kansas City, the first time that had happened in forty years. He swept to victory in the general election, winning another term in 1956. He had considered running against Blair, the party choice for governor, but as a loyal and practical Democrat he prudently decided, as he put it, "to wait my turn."

For all practical purposes, Dalton had started his campaign for governor in 1957, giving an average of more than two hundred speeches annually. He spoke almost anywhere he could find an audience: at school graduations, church picnics, and even at funerals and weddings. In 1960 he gave more than 350 speeches. In one week in July of that year he made thirty-one appearances in the St. Louis area. Dalton, using his automobile as a mobile office, kept and updated forty-five loose-leaf briefing books, carefully cataloging

subjects such as “labor” and “education.” He explained, “When I’m preparing a speech, I will sometimes take two or three paragraphs from several books, and, of course, I do a lot of ad libbing.” He practiced what he called “curbstone politics,” walking the streets of small towns, talking to the citizenry. He said he did it “To meet and know people, to learn the cultures of our state, broadening a man’s horizons.” Frequently, his wife accompanied him. She gave no speeches, confining herself to being seen. Dalton quipped, “People don’t vote for me. They vote for my wife.” He was so effective that key Democratic leaders had little choice except to support him, even though he may not have been their first choice. He was elected governor in 1960.

Dalton said meeting as many people as possible helped shape his campaign platform: “They want their officials to be honest, to have courage and to represent them as they should. All over the state Missourians have expressed concern over our schools. They want the tops in education for their children.” Dalton determined that along with education, industrial development was another concern of Missourians. He called for more industry, saying it was “absolutely essential” to driving Missouri ahead.

Putting a stamp on his administration, Dalton said, “Almost every organization in Missouri has a lobby except for the people, so I intend to be a lobbyist for the people.” He broke established protocol and prowled the halls of the capitol, buttonholing lawmakers. When someone explained to him that a governor of Missouri should not engage in such undignified behavior, he replied, “hell with it . . . If I have to go to lawmakers to get my point over, I’ll do it.”

Dalton’s style asserted itself during the 1961 session of the General Assembly, when he sought to reform what he called “Missouri’s jerry-built tax structure,” successfully pushing for a withholding system. Initially, rural Democrats opposed the proposal, arguing that collecting taxes would unfairly burden family businesses. Dalton did some classic arm-twisting in the General Assembly, calling for the help of the six hundred honorary colonels, almost all outstate politicians, whom he had appointed ostensibly to attend his inauguration and to give him a gift at the end of his term. An impressed freshman member of the house commented, “There are three men—just three men in my county to whom I listen, and the governor somehow got ahold of the names of those friends.” The freshman lawmaker, originally in opposition, voted with the majority to pass the withholding measure.

Effective lobbying became a cornerstone of Dalton's administration. He continued to use the colonels, causing a member of the General Assembly to facetiously suggest that their number be limited to two hundred. In dealing with the General Assembly, Dalton was usually soft-spoken, at the same time making it clear that opposition to his proposals carried a price. In bringing recalcitrant legislators to his side, he would say something along the lines of, "Now, senator, I'd like to help you get that appointment down in your county," or, "Jim, you just need more money for roads in your county." He tried never to overtly attack opponents and went out of his way to say nice things about them. Yet when he wanted something he could be very blunt. When someone claiming to favor a spending bill voted against it on the grounds that not enough money was available, Dalton would say, "Certainly, but why do you weasel on the matter?"

Dalton had a number of successes in the General Assembly. He obtained legislation increasing taxes on beer, liquor, and cigarettes. He succeeded in getting the state sales tax raised by one penny and the gasoline tax raised by two cents per gallon. He signed legislation making drunken driving a felony, establishing a driver point system and compelling the use of seat belts. A large building program upgraded state offices throughout Missouri. Another important bill approved the construction of 294 miles of interstate highways, primarily with federal money. Under Dalton's prodding the lawmakers authorized several new mental health centers, notably in St. Louis and Kansas City. He created a second Little Hoover commission, but little came of its recommendations. He signed token legislation advocating equal pay for women. In what he considered an important move designed to attract industry, he approved a reorganization measure that created the Division of Commerce and Industrial Development. And he made many trips at home and abroad, trying to lure manufacturing to Missouri. At the start of Dalton's term the state had empty coffers. When he left office there was a surplus of \$122 million. Dalton, summing up his administration, said that he followed the proposition that "nothing is politically right that is morally wrong."

Dalton strongly favored and carried through educational reforms, gaining legislative approval for full funding of a foundation program for the public schools, for the establishment of a commission on higher education building on Blair's higher education council, and for increased state funding of a junior college system. He

supported the 1963 merger of the public University of Missouri in Columbia and the private University of Kansas City. That same year the University of Missouri opened a St. Louis campus at the site of a former country club on land given by the Normandy School District. In 1964 the University of Missouri School of Mines and Metallurgy in Rolla, a division of the University of Missouri at Columbia, was redesignated as a separate campus and given its own administration. Within a span of a few months the University of Missouri became a system with a central office in Columbia. The four campuses received letter designations—UMC (Columbia), UMKC (Kansas City), UMR (Rolla), and UMSL (St. Louis).

The acquisition of the University of Kansas City proved the most difficult part of creating a multi-campus University of Missouri. UKC, chartered in 1929 and opened in 1933, was never adequately funded. A 1957 report by a consultant from the University of California at Los Angeles concluded that the school needed a minimum \$20 million in additional endowment funds or that it should seek a merger with the University of Missouri. Several fund-raising campaigns failed and, by 1963, UKC was in dire financial straits and in danger of closing. Even so, some members of the University of Kansas City Board of Trustees, the school's governing body dominated by leaders of Kansas City business community, acquiesced to the merger only out of necessity, and without enthusiasm.

President Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri, a distinguished historian and a principal architect of the new system, said in his 1989 autobiography, *My Road to Emeritus*, "I had always had little difficulty getting support from St. Louis County, but had great difficulty getting as good support from Kansas City as I thought the University deserved. In this case we worked directly with the political factions, the organized labor groups, particularly with James H. Davis, lobbyist for the AFL-CIO and with our usual farm organization support." Rather surprisingly, the General Assembly appropriated \$7.1 million—a sizable figure by Missouri standards—to both the new Kansas City and St. Louis campuses.

Dalton acted like he would have welcomed a chance to run for another term, which would have required a change in the state constitution. He did not pursue the matter. Instead, he returned to his law practice in Kennett and accepted positions on numerous boards, among them those of Stephens College, the School of the Ozarks, Westminster College, and the Board of Visitors of the University of Missouri. In 1968 his friends floated trial balloons suggesting he

should either run again for governor or run for the U.S. Senate. Dalton told reporters, "Of course I have heard these rumors, and I will go as far as to say that certain persons have discussed these possibilities with me." He said there were many "imponderables," a top one being the increasingly unpopular war in Vietnam, which he believed hurt Democratic election chances.

Dalton decided against returning to elective politics, devoting the rest of his life to practicing law and to his civic responsibilities. On July 7, 1972, he died of cancer, following a short illness. An editorial in the *Kansas City Star* attempted to take Dalton's measure: "Governor Dalton gave the appearance of an unassuming man—rather short and with a quiet smile. . . . Governor Dalton, the 44th governor of this state pushed Missouri into the postwar American main stream and out of a lethargic past."

When Dalton left office, Missouri had 33,000 state workers, up from 22,000 in 1950. By the end of the decade that number had risen to 63,800 but then expanded at a much slower rate over the next three decades. In 1900 Missouri had had only 750 civil servants; a century later there were more than 90,000. Missouri State Archivist Kenneth Winn analyzed the reasons for the rise in numbers of bureaucrats in the twentieth century in an article in the *Official Manual* for 1999–2000: "In the twentieth century the tendency has been to transform elected offices, such as appellate judges and the State Superintendent of Schools, into appointive positions. But the most salient feature of twentieth century government—in the face of social need, greater government efficiency, the correction of economic malfunction, or social controversy—has been to create new non-elective bureaucratic organizations, run on a non-political basis."

Several new agencies were authorized in the two decades after the ratification of the 1945 constitution. A problem with the two Little Hoover commissions had been their inability to predict the unforeseen consequences of any administrative recommendations. Would a consolidation program result in the creation of new monster bureaucracies with far more power than had ever been enjoyed by the Little Governors? Would the governor or the General Assembly benefit the most from any comprehensive reorganization? Would small bureaus be submerged and relegated to a lowly status inside large departments? Would great bureaucratic battles follow a reorganization? And would the bureaucracy be closer and more relevant to the people than elected officials? While conventional wisdom favored a reorganization, there was no agreement, and great



apprehension surrounded what had become an obvious and growing problem.

In the twenty years following World War II, Missouri grew under the new constitution of 1945. The General Assembly and the governors, despite some bitter controversies over tax increases, got along reasonably well. A shared goal was to keep the state on a moderately conservative course. Adding new programs desired by the voters led automatically to a larger state government. Even though the voters wanted no dramatic new departures, they had shown that they wanted a state government that was not simply a larger rendition of a nineteenth-century county government.

Donnelly, Blair, and Dalton all made important contributions to the well-being of the state. Donnelly formed the first Little Hoover commission. Blair approved the establishment of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. Dalton supported an expansion of higher education. By the 1960s, highways, welfare, and education accounted for 80 percent of the state budget. Dramatic departures almost always came as a consequence of compelling events such as the Jefferson City prison riot and the Warrenton nursing home fire. The creation of the University of Missouri system addressed a pressing need for public undergraduate and graduate education in St. Louis and Kansas City.

As for civil rights, the state made only a minimal effort to deal with racial matters, leaving the enforcement of the *Brown* decision to local authorities. But there was no call for “massive resistance” or any attempt to establish any sort of “state sovereignty” commission, as in Mississippi, against integration. Instead, the tendency at the state level was to follow a usual Missouri approach of moving slowly. In this instance, it was an ill-advised policy that allowed long-standing injustices to continue.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE HEARNES ERA

The 1950s were a time of holding the line in an America inclined to move cautiously in both foreign and domestic affairs. During the 1960s the line broke under the pressures of war, assassinations, protests, civil disorders, social experiments, and technological change. The decade began with great expectations following the election of President John F. Kennedy and the promise of the New Frontier. But then President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society bogged down and stagnated over Vietnam. By the 1970s, Richard Nixon was in the White House, the Vietnam War had divided the country, the Cold War continued, and the reform impulse gave way to a resurgent conservatism. It was a challenge for politicians to read the shifting situation.

In the 1964 Missouri race for governor, Warren E. Hearnes, a politically attractive Democrat, ran as a reformer calling for new direction from Jefferson City. Born in Mississippi County in the Bootheel on July 24, 1923, the son of the county clerk, Hearnes said he "grew up in politics." The youngest of five children of Earle and Edna Hearnes, he attended and graduated from the public schools of Charleston in Mississippi County, then joined the army during the early years of World War II. He received an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy and earned a B.S. degree in 1946, and thus is the only Missouri governor to have graduated from West Point. In 1948 he married Betty Sue Cooper in a lasting union that produced three daughters. He served three years of peacetime active duty, leaving military service in 1949 as a first lieutenant after an injury sustained while on active duty in Puerto Rico.

Hearnes next enrolled in the University of Missouri, graduating in 1952 with both baccalaureate and law degrees. He subsequently passed the bar examination and practiced law in Charleston. While still a student in Columbia, he had won election as a Democrat in 1950 from Mississippi County to the state house of representatives, a position he held for the next ten years. Recalling his combining of

educational and legislative careers, he said, "I wouldn't do it again." In the late 1950s he became the second youngest General Assembly majority leader. In 1960 he ran successfully for secretary of state.

In October 1963 Hearnese opened a campaign for governor. A lengthy race for the state's highest office was not unusual in Missouri; John Dalton's had lasted four years. Many aspiring governors felt they needed a year or more to meet voters and curry the favor of courthouse politicians. Hearnese was popular in rural Missouri and in St. Louis, but kingmakers in the Democratic party wanted him to emulate Dalton and wait four years. In St. Louis the Steamfitters Union and many ward bosses favored Hearnese. In Kansas City his followers were self-styled reform Democrats. The dominant "factions" in the city, left over from Pendergast days, backed Lieutenant Governor Hilary A. Bush of Kansas City, the heir apparent and a former Jackson County prosecutor. Bush's primary administrative experience had been in the fall of 1945, when he had been military governor of Amori Prefecture in northern Japan. In September 1960 the Democratic State Committee had selected him to fill a vacancy on the state ticket for lieutenant governor. Bush won the post in the general election and was the choice of the party leadership for governor in 1964. Hearnese decided to stay in the race, setting the stage for a hotly contested August Democratic primary election.

Hearnese, without the support of Governor Dalton and his friends across the state, was running against what he called the "establishment." At the same time, he emphasized his experience as a leader and insider in the General Assembly. He attacked Dalton for pressuring state employees to donate money and to work for the Bush campaign. This was a standard practice in Missouri, a state in which patronage appointees were expected to help the person who got them their jobs. Evoking images of the not too distant past, Hearnese told voters, "At one time all Missouri was controlled from Kansas City by a man named Pendergast. This type of machine politics should never be allowed to rear its ugly head again in Missouri politics." Hearnese promised to improve highways, build new correctional facilities, support state civil rights legislation, and hold down taxes. He also pledged to establish new four-year state colleges in Joplin and St. Joseph, a popular move in parts of western Missouri and one that cut into Bush's political base. Furthermore, Hearnese supported a constitutional amendment allowing a sitting governor to serve a consecutive second term.

To Hearnese, the heart of the establishment was the Central Mis-

souri Trust bank in Jefferson City. The "Central Bank" routinely contributed campaign money to the Democratic party. Favored Democrats received other help. In 1962 the institution loaned Hearnese and his wife twenty thousand dollars at a then low 5 percent interest rate to buy a house in Jefferson City. Allegedly, the Central Bank approved or vetoed Democratic candidates for governor. In 1964 the institution backed Bush. Governors Donnelly and Blair had both been friends of Howard Cook, president of the Central Bank, and other bank officials. The Central Bank was a leading depository for state interest-free funds, and it received contracts from the state, usually for four years, signed by the governor and other designated state officials.

Certain other financial institutions shared in the sweetheart arrangement. In 1956 the Bank of St. Louis, a small institution, averaged monthly interest-free state deposits of between \$15 million and \$20 million. A very large St. Louis bank, the Mercantile Trust Company, handled monthly state deposits of from \$1.4 million to \$3 million. According to a newspaper editorial, "In the past, the placing of state interest-free money on deposit has been a prime political plum, which also made political dynamite." Supposedly, "Virtually every politician in the state has attempted to carry water on both shoulders—with the taxpayers saying that the money should earn interest and thus cut the tax bill and, on the other hand with the politicians who have apparently found in the proper payment of campaign money in banks a considerable source of campaign contributions."

Numerous elected officials had taken the position that placing state money in banks was a business decision and not a political issue. No competitive bidding accompanied the deposit of state money. Supporters of the practice, bankers and their political friends, blamed the state constitution of 1945 for any problems, claiming the instrument of government failed to permit the state to receive interest on so-called inactive accounts, one less matter for the electorate to worry about. In 1957 the state had a monthly average of \$107 million in interest-free accounts spread through 264 depositories. The largest amount of money was in the Central Bank. Hearnese, in a campaign slap at the bank, said that he did not want the backing of an "establishment" that wanted to "select rather than elect" governors.

In the primary Hearnese defeated Bush by 59,386 votes. Bush carried Jackson County, but Hearnese won St. Louis City and emerged victorious throughout the rest of the state. In the general election

Hearnes routed St. Louis civic leader and former Washington University administrator Ethan A. H. Shepley by 1,110,651 to 678,919 votes. Hearnes, his election victory never in doubt, had campaigned hard for President Johnson, who defeated Barry Goldwater in Missouri by a resounding 510,809 votes. Hearnes had denounced Goldwater as a dangerous extremist who would be likely to follow a rash course of action in Vietnam. As a consequence, Hearnes told voters, "I am praying and people all over are praying that God gives us a victory Tuesday for Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States."

Young and energetic, Hearnes used soaring rhetoric in his January 11, 1965, inaugural address, telling the people of Missouri what he intended to do in office: "The change we offer is fresh ideas, fresh faces, fresh attitudes, and fresh dreams—dreams of a society which can, if necessary, rise above party politics, which can build a state emblematic of the times in which we live and symbolic of a government worthy of emulation." To his ardent supporters, many of whom were young and idealistic, his destiny was to spark a new Progressive movement in Missouri, a return to the heady days of the early twentieth century when Governor Joseph W. Folk gained national recognition for Missouri by leading a crusade against corruption in government.

As was only to be expected, governing proved to be somewhat different in practice than in theory. Hearnes proved able, like other politicians before and after him, to mix pragmatism with idealism and visions of sweeping fundamental reforms. Like Truman, whom he greatly admired, Hearnes was practical and partisan. He rewarded his supporters and punished his enemies. He made patronage appointments at the same time that he advocated expanding the merit system. He appointed hundreds of his friends as honorary colonels. Defending a controversial appointment to a state commission, he said, "Certainly I didn't go to my enemies for appointments to the highway commission or things like that." A journalist attempting to evaluate Hearnes observed, "The policies of Hearnes the politician do not all fit with clarity. At home he took over a party in 1964 that was supreme in its control of the state. It fell apart as the governor and his state chairman exercised party prowess as personal privileges."

Hearnes tried to create a new kind of establishment, one friendly to him. Accomplishing his goals required mending fences with the same fellow party members he had denounced in the 1964 pri-

mary as creatures of the establishment. In Kansas City he tried to use patronage to bring the factions over to his side. Unfortunately for his purposes, there were only two hundred state appointive jobs in Kansas City, so the factions relied on Jackson County patronage. With imperfect results, Hearnès attempted to unify his key Kansas City well-wishers and the faction bosses. A *Kansas City Star* staff writer concluded, "As in most political feuds, the difficulty has swirled around personal power and patronage." Hearnès had better luck placing his own people in important positions in some of the same state agencies that he had denounced as the heart of the establishment—the Public Service Commission, the State Tax Commission, and the divisions of finance and insurance.

As for the placing of state money, shortly after his inauguration Hearnès refused to approve a new contract to ensure the Central Bank would continue to receive the state's interest-free funds. The state treasurer, a "little governor" with independent powers, simply ignored Hearnès and, after a court decision, continued as usual to deposit money in the Central Bank and other favored institutions. A journalist observed, "If a new establishment is to flower, it will find the growing is better in regulatory agencies than in the depositing of state funds, which is a daily transaction carried out in public. It is easier, however, for a political candidate to excite the public about the placement of state funds than it is to explain the complexities of state agencies that exist to protect the public."

Some pundits predicted that Hearnès would have serious problems getting along with the General Assembly in light of his successful anti-establishment campaign. Several of Bush's election managers had been important Democratic senators. As it turned out, despite the usual differences over the details of legislation, Hearnès got along quite well with the Democratic leadership. Bush left elective politics and was no longer a factor. Hearnès was a product of the General Assembly, and it soon appeared that his anti-establishment position was primarily smart and effective politics.

With the state and nation prosperous, Hearnès persuaded the large Democratic majority in the General Assembly to increase appropriations in all three primary state spending areas—welfare, education, and highways. He thought that federal money given to Missouri and the other states came with too many strings attached. Even so, he was not about to turn down large sums calculated to benefit the state, including federal appropriations to construct new interstate highways. Under Hearnès's prodding the General Assem-

bly appropriated money for nine mental health centers authorized in the Dalton administration. Other funding went to construct new state offices. His first legislative session saw the passage of some 360 pieces of legislation, almost all technical. While this was to the good, none of what transpired represented reforms or a dramatic change of direction from the practices of the previous governors.

An important piece of legislation fulfilled a key Hearnese campaign promise, establishing two new state colleges, Missouri Southern in Joplin and Missouri Western in St. Joseph. Under a compromise arrangement, the state and the new schools' community college districts shared funding. A proposed statewide bond election for higher education, considered impossible to pass, never materialized. The small tax increases of the Dalton administration had proved unpopular; according to the polls, they soured the voters on authorizing the spending of more money.

Hearnese's support of a constitutional proposition to allow a sitting governor to serve two consecutive terms came in for criticism. Perhaps unfairly, critics charged that he wanted the right to run for a second term in 1968. But allowing a governor to stand for a second term had been strongly favored by Dalton and other past governors. Donnelly had claimed that the main reason he ran after four mandatory years out of office was to try to finish what he had started. According to Hearnese, "To me, the best check upon the executive is our political system itself. A governor who has offended the standards of our state cannot be re-elected, neither can he expect to see his chosen successor win his place." In 1965 the General Assembly approved a two-consecutive-term amendment. The proposal, submitted to the people in a special 1966 election, passed easily. Most states already allowed governors to run for reelection.

Given his concerns about the impact of federal money on the states, Hearnese had mixed feelings about the Great Society and the War on Poverty, fearing that increased federal involvement in Missouri would undermine the state government. For the same reason, many other politicians did not like the idea of federal agencies running welfare programs that circumvented the control and aims of elected local officials. Especially controversial was providing the "powerless" with a voice in the distribution of government funds in poor neighborhoods. Controversial individuals, in some cases representing only themselves or advocating a far left ideological position, came to the fore, claiming to speak for masses of the poor.

The War on Poverty was difficult to initiate in Missouri. The

chief poverty-fighting agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, created on short notice, was overly bureaucratic and inefficient. An important thrust of OEO's north central region office in Kansas City was news releases that glorified the virtues of the OEO director, Sargent Shriver. Another poverty program, Volunteers in Service to America, a domestic version of the Peace Corps, had its headquarters for the western half of the country in Kansas City. In Missouri, VISTA never got much further than constructing an operational structure.

The growing controversy over the Vietnam War, the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress, the Republican gains in the 1966 congressional elections, and the decision by Johnson not to seek a second term ended the dream of the Great Society. A growing number of GOP politicians charged that the War on Poverty was simply a more costly replay of old New Deal relief programs. Richard Nixon's presidential victory in 1968 brought a dismantling and gradual killing of key War on Poverty programs. In Missouri the OEO, VISTA, and other poverty programs had minimal long-term impact. In 1969 Hearnnes used his veto to strike down a federal poverty program grant of \$2.3 million to the Human Development Corporation of Metropolitan St. Louis because of \$300,000 earmarked for legal services for the poor to the Legal Aid Society of St. Louis City and County. The Legal Aid Society had become an object of controversy for representing public housing tenants in a rent strike.

Hearnnes had become increasingly disenchanted with the course of the Johnson presidency. In 1966 he had said he felt LBJ would lose Missouri if he ran for reelection. Giving the president what he called a tip from a "Country Boy," Hearnnes said, "If I were giving him advice . . . I'd tell him to get back to the Democratic governors and the people in trying to formulate his policies. I'd quit talking to these people who spend all their time in Washington so much and find out what the people themselves are thinking."

Mayor Illus Davis of Kansas City, a reform Democrat, thought Hearnnes should start listening to people in urban Missouri because he believed a lack of direction had left the state in the doldrums and sinking fast. Davis said a low-tax mentality prevailed in Jefferson City that was out of step with the needs of a modern metropolitan society. "Missouri," he claimed, "cannot keep pace with the rest of the United States until its government wakes up and properly underpins its schools, hospitals, and highway systems."



The *Kansas City Star* agreed with Davis. An editorial in the newspaper on November 19, 1966, contended that, unlike Missouri, the rest of the nation was “alive” with change. Supposedly, the West Coast and Eastern seaboard set the pace, the South was awake and on the move, the Southwest boomed, and the upper Midwest upgraded basic institutions to fit the times. The *Star*’s editors attributed Missouri’s shortcomings to a long-term “lack of leadership over the years where it counts” and to “that old Missouri tradition of not rocking the boat, of not doing anything very daring.” All this kept Missouri “paddling around in the backwaters . . . finding a dozen reasons why a thing cannot be done for each positive answer that is arrived at painfully.” The upshot was to contribute to the “chronic sickness of the patient.” Sentiment grew that Hearnese was not the reformer many had hoped he would be and that it was business as usual in Jefferson City. Indeed, Hearnese appeared increasingly conservative—another Missouri establishment “good old boy.”

Hearnese took a conservative view of overt opposition to the war in Vietnam by the students and faculty of public universities and colleges in Missouri. A special irritant was the university campus in Columbia, where a demonstration following the incursion into Cambodia and the killing of four students at Kent State University attracted an estimated fifty-five hundred students. When student leaders gained concessions over grades for missing classes to oppose the war, Hearnese denounced them in very bitter terms. Protests continued. Underground newspapers attacked the war and raised other concerns. An assistant professor of music made headlines by lying on the pavement in front of the university marching band at a parade in St. Louis. The Hearnese-dominated board of curators summarily fired the professor. The curators threatened to take action against faculty at any of the four University of Missouri campuses who dismissed classes so that students could be part of a national protest. At UMKC the curators expressed their displeasure with a small number of new graduates who gave the peace sign at a commencement ceremony, threatening to withhold their diplomas. In response the American Association of University Professors “blacklisted” the University of Missouri System, a symbolic and embarrassing action not lifted for several years.

In retrospect, Hearnese and the curators overreacted. They accepted the possibility of a worst-case scenario, believing that the United States was in the early stages of an insurgency led by student radicals. In an unkind twist of fate, Hearnese found himself assailed

as a member of a wicked and oppressive establishment. But Missouri experienced no anti-war demonstrations on the level of those in New York, San Francisco, Washington, and Chicago. Before their apprehension, a band of radical revolutionaries set off several small bombs in Kansas City. But there were few indications of any counterculture movement in the state.

Race relations was a subject that Hearnnes and other white Missouri politicians would have liked to avoid. Hearnnes had won the 1964 primary without strong support from African American leaders in either Kansas City or St. Louis. As governor, he claimed to have appointed more blacks than ever before to state boards and commissions. Beyond that, Hearnnes was much slower on promoting equality than black leaders would have liked. Like previous governors, he proposed no dramatic rollback of past practices. Despite *Brown* and the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, the state was not about to change overnight.

The growing civil rights revolution as a matter of course had an impact inside Missouri. Previous black protests outstate, such as the primarily African American sharecropper strike in the Bootheel cotton fields in 1939 and the refusal of black organizations to march at the end of a 1942 war bond parade in Jefferson City, had been mainly symbolic. But in 1961 blacks and whites gathered at the state capital to protest the failure of the General Assembly to pass a public accommodations bill.

The NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other black organizations had trouble establishing activist chapters in Missouri. Most of the state's civil rights activity was in St. Louis. In addition to having a significant black population, it had a substantial African American economic base. There were already 635 black-owned businesses in 1934. The control of African American wards gave black Democratic politicians some leverage and access to patronage jobs. In St. Louis shortly after World War II, young, well-organized black and white activists started a CORE chapter to work to end segregation in public places. Strongly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of peaceful civil disobedience, St. Louis CORE representatives contacted the involved business owners in advance of planned demonstrations and informed the police of the time and place. The CORE integrationists initially targeted the lunchrooms of large department stores that derived only a small percentage of their overall revenue from food services. The goal was peaceful integration and not disruption.

The CORE members endured all sorts of petty indignities and threats during their persistent and, in the end, generally successful efforts. Their campaign, played down or unreported in the media out of fear of fomenting racial violence, preceded by several years the widespread sit-ins associated with the later stages of the national civil rights movement. By 1960 other St. Louis organizations had taken up the desegregation struggle, emphasizing equal treatment in jobs, education, and housing. Many of the black demonstrators were from the vibrant Ville neighborhood, officially known as Elleardsville. In 1961 the St. Louis Board of Aldermen responded by passing a public accommodations ordinance.

Segregation as practiced in the state was inconsistent. The courthouse in Kansas City had integrated bathrooms, but not the Clay County courthouse across the Missouri River in Liberty. Some towns had segregated playgrounds. In practice, the greatest number of public accommodations, restaurants, and entertainment establishments in Missouri were segregated. Change was slow and agonizing, and it came in small steps, such as the voluntary integration in 1949 of three hundred Protestant churches in St. Louis. In early 1954 the Supreme Court, without tipping off how it would rule in the pending education cases, declined to hear the appeal of a 1952 U.S. district court decision desegregating public swimming pools in Kansas City. It made little difference that it was an empty victory for NAACP lawyers, including Thurgood Marshall, leading to segregation in reverse, as most whites stayed away.

During the 1958 Christmas season, black women in Kansas City established the Community Committee for Social Action, demonstrating and launching a boycott against the segregation practices of five downtown department stores. Black customers could not try on clothes or eat at segregated lunch counters. In February 1959 the department stores gave in and desegregated. "Little did I know, we were going to turn the town upside down for a little cup of coffee and a sandwich," the chairwoman of the protest committee, Ruth Kerford, said in 2001. "At no one time did I ever feel that we wouldn't come out on top. I felt God was in the plan, and I just didn't see us going down the drain."

During the Pendergast days in Kansas City, a white sub boss supported by black and white henchmen ran the African American inner city wards for Pendergast, dispensing favors and engaging in massive illegal voting. In the 1940s the white reformers in Kansas City, well aware of the old Pendergast ties, generally ignored the

black community. So black Democrats carved out their own political path, forming Freedom, Inc., which in 1962 elected the first two African Americans in Kansas City history to the city council.

The very creation of the Missouri Human Rights Commission encouraged African American leaders. By the end of 1960, demonstrations, boycotts, and voluntary actions had desegregated many restaurants, cafes, and other eating places. Even so, a number of public accommodations remained segregated. In 1963 a Kansas City restaurant that had operated for forty-three years closed after becoming the target of demonstrators, preferring that to integration. Fairyland Park, a family-owned all-white Kansas City amusement park with a large and popular swimming pool, resisted protests for two years before finally integrating in 1964. On one occasion police arrested activists trying to buy tickets. "Why would someone object to someone else sharing an amusement park?" a demonstration participant reflected decades afterwards. "It was a public place."

In April 1964, in a special election some people felt unnecessary, Kansas City voters by a narrow margin approved a local public accommodations ordinance. The city remained culturally segregated in all but name. In certain patrol districts the police stopped and questioned blacks at night. African Americans, especially young men and women, continued to feel like second-class citizens.

The Harlem civil disorder of 1964 and the violent Watts riot of 1965 sent shock waves across urban America. Urbanologists declared cities "sick" and saw race as the paramount problem. In Missouri officials drew up contingency plans, as they had before the prison riot of Governor Donnelly's day. Urgency was the rule. Conventional wisdom held, incorrectly as it turned out, that if serious trouble came in the state, it was more likely to come in St. Louis than in Kansas City. In St. Louis, dislocations attributed to urban renewal, coupled with a continuing influx of African Americans from the rural Deep South, supposedly created a powder keg ready to explode. Kansas City's black community was considered more conservative, with a solid middle class and established leadership. A considerable number of African Americans in Kansas City worked for the federal government, many in the postal service.

Plans for dealing with a possible disorder in Kansas City had quietly moved ahead in good stead. Police Chief Clarence Kelley, a future director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ordered a riot control plan to be drawn up; in its most extreme form it required a phased mobilization of the police of Kansas City and units of the

Jackson County Sheriff's Department. The State Highway Patrol was included, as well as the possibility of calling out the Missouri National Guard. Kelley kept in close contact with Mayor Davis and the Kansas City School Board. Some of the most militant African Americans were of high school age. Given all the preparation for trouble, any civil disorder would be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Trouble started the morning of April 9, 1968, a few hours before the funeral of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. After King's assassination, disorder had broken out in Chicago, Baltimore, Washington, and other cities. The Kansas City School Board decided to hold school as usual, using the excuse that students could better mourn collectively. Across the state line the schools closed in Kansas City, Kansas, and that city remained calm, in sharp contrast to what happened in Kansas City, Missouri, where students from three predominantly black inner city high schools, Lincoln, Central, and Manual, walked out of their classes and soon merged into an initially uncoordinated march in the direction of downtown. Militants joined the march. Vernon Thompson, a participant, recalled, "We were just getting together to do a little rap talk. The kids were peaceful, but demanding, before the cops got there."

As the march took form, friendly police officers, some of whom were African Americans, herded the students in the direction of the City Hall square in the heart of the Central Business District. Officials hastily planned a formal meeting. Mayor Davis and civil rights leaders joined and led the march. Davis, a highly intelligent and rational man, assumed the marchers would react rationally. But he had walked into an increasingly irrational situation. At times, the militants attempted to galvanize the marchers; at other times, ministers and civil rights leaders tried to take over.

Meanwhile, Chief Kelley, receiving numerous reports of acts of violence, acted with dispatch to initiate "Tactical Alert—Phase II" of the riot control plan. As the police mobilized, Kelley requested help from the state highway patrolmen on the freeways around Kansas City. At 10 A.M., with the situation unclear, Hearnese, acting on a recommendation by Mayor Davis, called out a thousand national guardsmen for deployment in Kansas City.

The marchers, numbering more than a thousand, reached City Hall shortly before noon, walking into an armed camp of lawmen in riot gear. One young marcher surveying the scene declared, "No wonder we're losing the war in Vietnam, we've got all our troops here." Some people thought the array of law enforcement officers

was intended as a deterrent; others thought they wanted a fight. Cherry bombs exploded, fraying nerves. Over a public address system, Davis tried to address the crowd, urging a peaceful solution.

After the mayor finished his remarks, militants and moderates vied for the microphone. One man grabbed it and stated the obvious: "The 'man' has us outnumbered . . . we need to organize. Let's go home and organize." The amplifying system functioned poorly, an aggravating factor. People milled around. Some students left to attend a hastily called dance at the Holy Name Catholic Church, east of downtown in the inner city. To the police, conditions were out of hand, threatening the sixty thousand people working downtown.

At 12:44 P.M. someone, a police officer or crowd member, never identified, threw a tear gas canister. Bottles and rocks soon filled the air. A black shouted, "n—s don't have no country, but before we're through this is going to be a n—r town." Police officers charged the crowd, throwing tear gas canisters. The marchers ran to escape the tear gas. The lawmen chased the bulk of the fleeing marchers back into the inner city, where they dispersed. Groups of men surged through the streets, yelling, throwing objects, and engaging in scattered looting. To compound matters, at the Holy Name Catholic Church, police, not knowing about the dance, believed they had found a gathering point for dangerous militants. Without checking further, they tear gassed the building. Frightened dancers emerged and soon milled about screaming at the police. A young African American told a reporter, "There is an intelligent way to achieve our goals, but if we can't get it the right way it will be 'burn, baby, burn' until the white man learns."

Events moved swiftly. At 3:21 P.M. reports of the first sniper fire reached the police control center. Roughly an hour later, recorded as 4:17, someone threw a Molotov cocktail. Militants attacked and stoned whites found in the inner city. The fragmentary nature of phone calls, two a minute to police and fire emergency numbers, made it difficult for authorities to separate truth from fiction. Conditions looked increasingly out of control. At 5 P.M. the first national guardsmen, carrying M-1 rifles, arrived. Using jeeps, they started to patrol the inner city and its environs. The startling sight of soldiers deployed on the streets of Kansas City failed to stop the violence. As darkness fell, the disorder continued to grow. The troops, many of them white, were unfamiliar with the inner city. Kansas City was so spread out that a relatively small number of troopers, at

first less than five hundred, had no way of securing dozens of square miles of residential and commercial areas.

As was typical of other civil disorders, a night of burning and looting followed. No one knew the number of people involved, most in a fairly confined commercial district. Numerous small fires lit the sky, leaving the impression that Kansas City was burning down. Almost all the trouble was in the heart of the inner city. The main thing many westside residents of the almost all white Country Club District remembered about the night was how quiet it was under a general curfew. Firefighters answering dozens of calls from the inner city were stoned and sometimes driven back by unruly crowds.

Kelley declared that the rioting had reached "Phase III," bureaucratic shorthand for admitting the riot was out of control. As an indication of the confusion, an erroneous report circulated claiming the Country Club Plaza had been looted and burned. This was not true. Morning showed conditions were not as bad as the confusion of the night indicated. But they were bad. More than two hundred inner city businesses had been looted and ninety-four set ablaze. Fortunately, no massive conflagration occurred. Businesses attacked included small groceries, auto parts outlets, and liquor stores, almost all owned by whites. Despite any reports to the contrary, little happened in the rest of Kansas City. The National Guard secured the Central Business District and the Country Club Plaza. In the course of the night one African American died and ten sustained wounds, shot by the police and property owners. Forty-five people were injured. The police made 175 arrests for curfew violations.

Before Thursday, April 10, had ended, Kelley had ordered "Phase IV," believing a serious insurgency in progress. The day began slowly. The school board, repeating the blunder of the previous day, tried to hold classes as usual. Disorderly conduct by students at Lincoln and Central brought a police tear gas barrage. By 11 A.M. the school board had ordered that the inner city schools be closed a day early for Easter vacation.

Real trouble started early in the evening. The inner city was, according to a journalist, "a battleground where snipers dueled with police and national guardsmen in the glow of high reaching flames from fire bombed buildings." Throughout the night police and troopers exchanged gunfire with snipers. All the buildings at one intersection burned as rioters cheered. Before the night was out, forty-five confirmed arson fires raged. The authorities shot and

killed six African American men and wounded twenty others. Snipers wounded two guardsmen, two firefighters, and one police officer. A colonel in the Missouri National Guard, reacting to sniper fire on his headquarters, told a reporter, "The city is in a state of chaos. It was bad last night and it's a whole lot worse tonight."

Almost as suddenly as it started, the violence stopped on Friday, April 11, and while riot control measures remained in place until April 18, the civil disorder ended. On Easter Sunday, April 13, a police function was to direct traffic as automobiles crept bumper-to-bumper through the streets of the inner city. People wanted to see the damage, which on a beautiful sunny afternoon did not look all that serious.

The affair had an expected aftermath. A special "Mayor's Commission on Civil Disorders," convened to study the cause, reached only general conclusions. Away from Kansas City, scholars considered the riot in the context of the national experience, observing that the participants copied what went on elsewhere and that they reacted to a general oppression of black Americans. The conclusion was that many young African Americans believed rioting was their only way to be heard. In Kansas City no one knew much about the actual participants, the snipers, for instance. For that matter, no one knew how many people had rioted; estimates ranged from a few hundred to thousands.

Outwardly, race relations improved in Kansas City. No other disturbance of the magnitude of the 1968 civil disorder reoccurred in Kansas City or anywhere else in Missouri throughout the remainder of twentieth century. The authorities were better organized, and militant African Americans found other ways to express their grievances. In the 1990s both Kansas City and St. Louis had African American mayors and many other black elected and appointed officials. Some people compared the riot to a comet. It came and went just as fast.

Hearnes, as expected, ran for reelection in 1968. Away from the state in the early hours of the civil disorder, he flew to Kansas City on the second day, arriving dramatically at police headquarters. His appearance in Kansas City, given his military experience and his distaste for campus demonstrators, enhanced his prospects of winning a second term. He positioned himself correctly in the political context of the "Law and Order" presidential campaigns of Nixon and third party candidate George Wallace. At a Missouri Democratic convention, black delegates booed him.



Although nothing came of it, Hearnese had briefly considered running for the U.S. Senate in a contest eventually won by Democratic Lieutenant Governor Thomas Eagleton. In his gubernatorial reelection campaign Hearnese faced little primary opposition. His Republican opponent in the general election, St. Louis County Supervisor Lawrence R. Roos, had no base of support elsewhere in the state. Hearnese swamped Roos at the polls, 1,073,805 votes to 691,797. At the same time, Nixon carried Missouri by 10,488 votes.

Hearnese's second term did little to validate the argument that governors of Missouri needed more than one term to complete the goals of their administrations. He gave up trying to make comprehensive changes in the state's banking practices, signing a contract that continued to keep large sums of public monies in the Central Bank. Plans for a reorganization of the state government saw voters approve a constitutional amendment creating an Office of Administration. As might have been anticipated, implementation bogged down in the General Assembly. The passed amendment called for reducing the number of agencies reporting to the governor from eighty-seven to fourteen. One consolidation proposal that failed to pass called for the creation of a "super board" for higher education. It was opposed by entrenched university and college administrators and regional interests.

In the first six years of the Hearnese administration, the number of state employees increased by 30,800. The rise would have been even greater if the General Assembly had approved all of Hearnese's requests, including building a new prison plus upgrading other state services. Abandoning earlier political qualms, Hearnese proposed a significant tax increase. The state senate balked at the idea, and the voters turned down an amendment to increase their taxes. Hearnese suffered a resounding defeat in the General Assembly when he tried to raise money to improve highways, a loss he apparently took in stride, feeling it was all politics. Before he left office he did gain a small tax increase to cope with inflationary pressures. Not as many communities as hoped for took advantage of what Hearnese called "creative localism," a plan under which the state allowed municipalities to levy their own sales tax. As a sop to feminism, the General Assembly passed a law allowing women to work the same number of hours as men, not exactly a significant step toward workplace equality. Political and economic considerations forced Hearnese to scale down his original goals. If Hearnese had any reform zeal left in his second term, he lost it in his unrealized goal of creating a new

pro-Hearnes establishment. Critics somewhat unfairly attributed any success that he enjoyed to the efforts of past governors.

One accomplishment of the Hearnes administration was to raise the national visibility of the governor of Missouri. The chief executives of the state had usually been little known outside the state. Hearnes played an active role in regional governors' conferences. He persuaded the midwestern governors to meet in the Ozarks, and he chaired the National Governors Conference. He used a 1972 meeting of Midwest governors in Bismarck, North Dakota, to make the national news by asserting people on welfare should be forced to work. "You've got to get rough," he said. Hearnes even played at foreign policy, making headlines when he discussed an upcoming summit conference with the leader of the Soviet Union. If Hearnes hoped that a call to run for higher office would materialize, he was disappointed at this time, although four years later he would be chosen as the party's senatorial candidate against John Danforth in the aftermath of Jerry Litton's tragic death.

In the last days of his second term, as his hours in office slipped away and his power waned, Hearnes felt increasingly isolated, finding solace with a few close friends. The General Assembly had rejected his proposal to submit an amendment to the voters allowing him to run for a third term. Hearnes, recalling a recent experience at a University of Missouri football game in Columbia, told a reporter, "You know, something that I think hurts me worse than anything else, as much as what I tried to do for the university, boy, to be booed by the students I think really hurts a man's feelings worse than anything else, and I think it's something you can never get over." He may have felt somewhat mollified when the curators named a multipurpose athletic building, authorized during his administration, after him. He had gotten the General Assembly to significantly increase funding for the University of Missouri. On a somber note, Hearnes observed, "I think the next governor can be happy here, if he isolates himself, something I never did." Hearnes kept his name and telephone number in the Jefferson City phone book throughout his eight years in office.

Governor Hearnes was the biggest domestic political story inside Missouri. Unfortunately for his future political prospects, his sometimes adroit political shifts did not impress voters but instead made him look like a hypocrite. His political posturing tended to negate such successes as greatly improving mental health services and obtaining large amounts of new funding for primary and sec-

ondary education. In general, the state government continued to follow a low-tax mentality heartily approved by the electorate. It could be stated that when all was said and done, neither Hearnese nor the voters in Missouri were ready for dramatic reform.

## CHAPTER VII

### FROM BOND TO HOLDEN

The Republicans won the Missouri governor's office in 1972 and held it for sixteen of the next twenty years. The Republicans implemented important structural changes and procedural improvements of the kind advocated by past Democratic governors. After a long period of one-party rule, it could be argued that a need existed for a new broom. But the Republican hegemony did not result in a dramatic rollback or a striking out in new directions. The usual and expected arguments over political philosophy, scope of state government, and spending levels continued as under the Democrats. The actions of the Republican governors proved compatible with those of the Democratic leaders in the General Assembly, creating a basis for cooperation. Both Missouri Democrats and Republicans strongly favored measures supporting economic development and tended to have mixed views on social issues such as abortion and welfare. There was a considerable degree of continuity in the running of the state that went beyond party politics and which party controlled the Governor's Mansion. Many of the issues faced by a governor had little or nothing to do with partisan politics.

By coincidence, the return of the Republicans coincided with the death of Harry S. Truman. Truman died at Research Hospital in Kansas City on December 28, 1972, at the age of eighty-eight. David McCullough, the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning biography *Truman* (1992), depicted him as a nineteenth-century man living in the twentieth century, a product of an America changing from an agricultural to an urban society.

Truman was a "representative Missourian" in the best meaning of the term. He had an uncanny ability to stay on friendly personal terms with his political enemies. No longer thought of in straight partisan terms, he was an inspirational figure for both Missouri Democratic and Republican politicians. In the *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, Alonzo Hamby, the author of *Man of the People: The Life of Harry S. Truman* (1995), observed, "In retirement he had increasing-

ly become esteemed as a traditional, genuine American leader with no trace of the artificiality of the generation of media-oriented politicians who succeeded him. The myth grew after his death, until most Americans vaguely thought of him as a quintessential representative of American democracy." Truman's burial in the courtyard of the Truman Library, seen on nationwide television and carried out with the pomp and circumstance demanded to honor the passing of a president, came only days before the end of twenty-four straight years of Democratic governors in Missouri.

The Goldwater debacle of 1964 had left the Republican party in desperate condition in Missouri. During the Eisenhower years the rebirth of the GOP in the South and the party's rise nationally in the suburbs had failed to translate into statewide victories in Missouri. In St. Louis and Kansas City the party was little more than a glorified patronage organization. The greater number of rural counties voted Democratic, although many had active and easily expandable Republican factions. Without much notice, many rural and small-town voters throughout the state, concerned about the Great Society and a growing Democratic emphasis on minority rights, had begun to vote Republican. The Bootheel had pockets of Republican voters. The bedrock of party strength was the southwestern Ozarks, which had voted for the GOP since the Civil War. In recent times, Republicans in the Ozarks had lined up solidly with the conservative wing of the party in supporting unfettered free enterprise. Progress and prosperity were doctrine. Conversely, an increasing number of Republicans in St. Louis County favored the Eisenhower approach of "Modern Republicanism," blending pro-development policies with a grudging acceptance of New Deal reforms. A great divide separated the urban and rural Republicans. The Republicans needed to start from scratch at the state level, where they held no elected office, to find appealing candidates with either money or the ability to raise money. As it turned out, such a candidate had already appeared in the same general election in which Roos had lost so badly to Warren Hearnes.

The long road back for the Grand Old Party had begun to take form with the 1968 election of John C. Danforth as attorney general by 73,297 votes. Danforth, born in St. Louis on September 5, 1936, was the son of Donald and Dorothy Clagget Danforth and heir to the Ralston Purina fortune. With a life of privilege open to him, Danforth completed his secondary education at the private St. Louis Country Day School and went on to Princeton University, graduat-

ing with honors in 1958. He continued his studies at Yale University, in 1963 receiving a B.D. degree from the divinity school and an LL.D. from the law school. After living in New York for several years and following both a law career and a religious calling, he returned to Missouri. He passed the state bar examination and joined a prestigious St. Louis law firm. An ordained Episcopalian minister, he was also associate rector of a Clayton church.

As attorney general, Danforth appointed a number of young lawyers as assistant attorney generals, grooming them successfully for larger roles. Governor Hearnest sarcastically called Danforth's assistants "the holier-than-thou boys of the attorney general's office." That was incorrect. Several of Danforth's assistants went on to distinguished public careers. Christopher "Kit" Bond served as state auditor, governor, and U.S. senator. John Ashcroft was state auditor, state attorney general, governor, and U.S. senator, all prior to becoming U.S. attorney general. Brooks Bartlett, at the time of his death in 2001 after a long battle with cancer, was a district judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri. Clarence Thomas was on the bench of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia prior to his appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court. Danforth, following a brilliant strategy and with a fortune behind him, emerged as a kingmaker of the state Republican party.

Bond, a sixth-generation Missourian, was born on March 6, 1939, in St. Louis. He grew up in Mexico, Missouri, where his paternal grandfather had founded a successful and prosperous brick works, the A. P. Green Company. He attended private and public schools, completing his high school education at the exclusive Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts. He matriculated at Princeton University, graduating cum laude in 1960 from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, which instilled an obligation for public service in many of its graduates. He earned a law degree from the University of Virginia, receiving an award as the most outstanding member and graduating first in the class of 1963. After working in 1963–1964 as a law clerk for Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta and practicing law as a member of a Washington, D.C., firm, he moved back to Mexico and started his own law practice in 1967. He married Carolyn Reed, a speech therapist and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Kentucky. They had one son.

In 1968 he lost an election for a congressional seat. Bond worked for Danforth for two years as the chief counsel for the Con-

sumer Protection Division. Considered a new-breed Republican reformer, he ran a high-profile, well-financed campaign for state auditor in 1970, winning by nearly two hundred thousand votes over Democratic incumbent Holman Haskell. Bond was the first Republican elected state auditor since before the Great Depression. A fine campaigner, Bond was viewed by the media as destined for much bigger responsibilities. On November 8, 1970, a few days after Bond's election win, the *Kansas City Star* ran a favorable profile on the "Young Victor" and his wife, writing, "Kit and Carolyn might be the young couple next door. They have been married three years, have a modest middle-class house, own two cars, like to go bicycling in the evenings and occasionally entertain friends at a back yard barbecue." The profile called Bond "boyish" and "the hottest political property in Missouri."

The *Kansas City Star* considered Bond's inauguration as state auditor, normally a low key affair, a "GOP spectacle." Bond cast himself as the leader of a reform movement, reminiscent of Hearn's anti-establishment primary campaign six years earlier. Bond, sounding like he was already governor, issued a call for further reform of the state government. Noting that the auditor had considerable responsibilities over state money, Bond said, "One of the first things I plan to do is to ask the governor and state treasurer what method is currently being used to select the banks for deposit of state funds." Sounding like Hearn in his reformist moments, he continued, "If there seems to be some sort of fair and impartial method then I will approve the accounts, but if I am not satisfied then I will veto them." Hearn responded by playing rough politics, taking away enough of Bond's control of state funds to stifle any Republican-sponsored reform effort. In 1971 Democrats friendly to Hearn in the General Assembly introduced a bill, never passed, to make the state auditor an appointed office.

In 1972, as expected, Bond ran for governor. Danforth, who had lost a close U.S. Senate race in 1970 to incumbent Senator Stuart Symington, did not meet Missouri's ten-year residence requirement to serve as governor. Consequently, Danforth successfully ran and gained reelection as attorney general. Bond said that his "young age and brief exposure in state government," no matter what "skeptics and pessimists" claimed, was not necessarily a liability. He noted that Progressive-era Governor Joseph Folk was only thirty-five when he assumed office. As it turned out, another obstacle that Bond had to face was a lawsuit challenging his own residency status, filed by

his chief primary opponent, State Representative R. F. J. "Kit" King. In late July 1972 the Missouri Supreme Court ruled by a 5 to 2 margin that Bond, even though he had lived out of the state throughout much of the 1960s, had kept Missouri as a residence. The decision cleared the way for his primary victory the following month.

Bond had set the tone for his campaign before he even filed. He made it clear that he intended to make the political climate in Jefferson City during the Hearnese years a primary issue: "It is a fact, and the people of the state know it, that government in Jefferson City today is a huge charade played on the needy and the taxpayer alike. For too long petty political bickering has been substituted for real leadership. For too long many state bureaucracies have been filled by patronage rather than competence. For too long the system of Jefferson City has rewarded backroom shrewdness more than open ethics."

In the general election, Bond benefited from Democratic divisions in Missouri and from widespread disenchantment with George McGovern's presidential candidacy. Bond's Democratic opponent was fifty-four-year-old St. Louis lawyer and former FBI agent Edward Dowd. Dowd never led Bond in the polls and lost on election day by 1,029,451 votes to 832,751. Bond carried in with him William C. Phelps of Kansas City, the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor.

Dowd was the first Democrat to lose an election for governor of Missouri in thirty-two years. Like Lawrence McDaniel, the unsuccessful Democratic candidate in 1940, Dowd was solid and able. So were the Republican losers of seven straight elections—Jean Paul Bradshaw, Murray E. Thompson, Howard Elliott, Lon Hocker, Edward C. Farmer, Ethan Shepley, and Lawrence Roos—all victims of political circumstances. Some fought the good fight, never having a chance, running in the wrong election at the wrong time. Dowd suffered a similar fate. He would have been favored in any of the seven previous contests. As it was, he was relegated to the ash can of politics, after the fact called drab and colorless, not the right person to oppose Bond.

At age thirty-three, Bond on the date of his inauguration was the youngest governor in the United States, and the youngest in Missouri's history. In addressing his first joint session of the General Assembly, he reemphasized his commitment to reforming the state government. He called for measures to make government more open and to increase public trust in both the legislative and execu-



tive branches. He made reform of the state bureaucracy, a goal that had eluded all the other governors holding office under the 1945 constitution, his number one priority, putting forward a twenty-four-point legislative program. He indicated he would favor increases in the General Assembly staff and support workers in exchange for Democratic legislative support of his agenda. He reminded legislators that he expected an open process to keep public confidence. As an indication of his reformist intentions, Bond discontinued the naming of honorary colonels.

Bond initially had problems with the General Assembly that were only partially due to partisan politics. His working style and that of his aides grated on the leaders of both parties—especially the Democratic majority leadership in the state senate. Bond's administrative team had little practical experience, and was written off in the General Assembly as "young amateurs," sarcastically called "bright, honest, and inept." None had ever won an election, leading to the suggestion that a former county sheriff would improve Bond's legislative relations. Bond, perhaps unfairly, gained a reputation in the General Assembly as cocky and self-important. To compound matters, he unnecessarily alienated key assembly leaders by not consulting with them on appointments. His defenders argued that changing over the state government after such a long Democratic tenure was the basic problem, a much more difficult one than expected. An attack at the end of the session in the senate newsletter, under the control of powerful Democratic Senator President Pro Tem William Cason, who had gubernatorial aspirations, accused Bond of failing to provide any leadership and said that instead he "sat out in left field and chirped." As his term progressed, Bond made himself more accessible and willing to compromise. In the meantime, he had more rough sledding in the General Assembly.

Bond proved serious about governmental reorganization. The new Office of Administration, provided for in the constitutional amendment approved by the voters near the end of the Hearn administration, went into operation on January 15, 1973. But much remained to be done. The amendment, which did not affect the administrative offices of the six elected state officials, authorized the consolidation of other state bureaus into not more than fourteen departments. A controversy ensued over whether the executive branch or the General Assembly, specifically the senate, should have the most power over the state bureaucracy. When the General Assembly passed a complex bill supported by Cason and other Dem-

ocrats that would have weakened the executive branch, Bond applied a veto, to news media acclaim. He called a special legislative session, and the General Assembly, under considerable public pressure, passed a measure that Bond signed, the Omnibus State Reorganization Act of 1974. The act established the basic machinery of the state government as it would remain into the twenty-first century.

William E. Parrish, Charles T. Jones, and Lawrence O. Christensen, in their comprehensive history of the state, *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation*, 3rd ed. (2003), concluded that the 1974 legislation was a crucial element in making Missouri a modern state: "For example, under the Department of Social Services were the Divisions of Family Services, Health, Corrections, Youth Services, Probation and Parole, Veterans Affairs, and Special Services. In the Division of Special Services were the Offices of Aging, Comprehensive Health Planning, Manpower Planning, and Economic Opportunity. This largest of departments suggests the many aspects of life for which the state had assumed some responsibility." A new Department of Natural Resources united under one banner fourteen separate agencies, including the divisions of Environmental Quality and Parks and Recreation.

The reorganization act was not the only achievement of Bond's first term. Bond accomplished what Hearnes had not been able to do for political reasons—he deposited most state funds in interest-bearing accounts throughout Missouri, thereby curtailing the power of the Central Bank. Bond approved significant increased appropriations for lower and higher education. While politics had a role in his key appointments, he tended to nominate people with a high sense of professionalism. He personally brought high ethical standards and professionalism to the office of governor. Bond and his wife made a strong commitment to Missouri's heritage, moving ahead on the restoration of the Governor's Mansion and leading a drive to acquire the original George Caleb Bingham drawings for preservation at the State Historical Society of Missouri. Many of the ceremonial aspects of his term were dominated by the American Revolution Bicentennial, which was played by politicians of both parties for every advantage they could get.

The media praised Bond as a popular governor, a rising figure in the Republican party. He added to his stature when he gave a welcoming address at the 1976 Republican National Convention in Kansas City, looking very much the part of an attractive young man on the move. The applause for Bond at Kemper Arena belied that

he had serious problems inside the Republican party in Missouri. At the 1976 Republican state convention, southwestern Springfield Republicans, strong supporters of Ronald Reagan, broke with Bond over his support of President Gerald Ford. The Missouri Reaganites tried to deny Bond a seat in the Republican delegation to the national convention. This would have been a serious affront. It required a personal and very ardent appeal to the delegates by Carolyn Bond to ensure him one of nineteen at-large seats. The bitterness persisted after the convention, and many conservative Republicans threatened to sit on their hands during Bond's fall bid for a second term.

Unfortunately, the August 1976 primary election campaign ended in tragedy. U.S. Senator Stuart Symington decided to retire at age seventy-five rather than seek a fifth term. Four Democrats filed for Symington's seat. Kansas City Mayor Charles Wheeler ran not to win, but to call attention to his opposition to strikes by public employees. Teachers and firemen had recently walked off their jobs in Kansas City in separate illegal labor actions. The other three candidates were former Governor Hearnes and two U.S. representatives, James W. Symington from St. Louis, running to succeed his father, and Jerry Litton from rural northwest Missouri.

Litton, thirty-nine years old, was an agribusiness millionaire and rancher who raised Charolais cattle. Active as a teenager in agricultural organizations, he was a graduate of the University of Missouri. Strongly identified as a champion of farming interests, he was a member of the House agricultural committee. In Missouri he was host of a popular monthly televised talk show on which he interviewed both Democratic and Republican leaders. Litton, an impressive and personable man seen by his many admirers as presidential timber, had won 79 percent of the vote in a swing district when he ran for a second congressional term in 1974. In the 1976 primary for the Senate he came from behind to rout the heavily favored James Symington and to finish comfortably ahead of Hearnes, who ran a surprising second.

On primary election night, after Litton's victory became clear, he prepared to take a short airplane flight with his wife and two children to a victory celebration in Kansas City. At 9:15 P.M. a two-engine Beach Baron aircraft carrying the Litton family started its takeoff at the Chillicothe airport. Seconds after the craft became airborne, the left engine blew out. Inexplicably, the pilot made a fundamental error. Instead of flying straight ahead, trying to regain control on one engine, he banked to the left, lost altitude, and crashed into a farm

field. The plane skidded into a fence and exploded, killing everyone aboard. "That was a terrible explosion," the only eyewitness explained. "The flames were 30 or 40 feet high. You couldn't see anything when I got there. There was no chance to try any kind of rescue."

After a three-week mourning period, the Democratic State Committee designated Hearnese as the party's Senate candidate. James Symington, who had dropped out of the race, appeared a better potential candidate. Hearnese and his wife, Betty C. Hearnese, were the targets of an income tax investigation by the office of the Republican U.S. Attorney in Kansas City. Although the Hearneses were never indicted (as it turned out, they had overpaid their taxes and the government owed them money), Hearnese ran for the Senate under a cloud while the investigation was still in progress. He was easily defeated by Danforth, running again as the Republican candidate for the Senate.

In the 1976 general election for governor, Bond's Democratic opponent was Joseph P. Teasdale, a forty-year-old native of Kansas City whose father, William B. Teasdale, was a prominent Kansas City lawyer. Young Teasdale graduated from Rockhurst College in 1957, received a law degree from Saint Louis University in 1960, and passed the Missouri bar examination the same year, after which he clerked for U.S. District Judge Albert A. Ridge of the Western District of Missouri. Teasdale joined the U.S. Air Force reserves, serving from 1961 to 1967. In 1962 he received an appointment as an assistant U.S. attorney in the Western District, where he headed the organized crime section until 1966.

In 1966 he entered elective politics, running and winning the post of Jackson County prosecutor, becoming the youngest person to ever hold the office. He cited his anti-crime credentials with the U.S. attorney's office as an important asset: "My experience has provided me with invaluable knowledge concerning the workings of organized crime in Kansas City and Jackson County. It is clear that crime, both organized and otherwise, is steadily increasing in our community." He worked to bring what he considered professional standards to the prosecutor's office, winning a four-year term in 1968. Two years later he ran on a reform ticket as a candidate for the administrative position of western judge of the Jackson County Court. He lost, suffering a minimum of political damage. He enhanced his reputation as a reformer, and his term as prosecutor still had two years to go, keeping him in public life.

In the spring of 1971 he admitted that he intended to run for the

Democratic nomination for governor the following year. Pressed on the issue, he told a reporter, "If forced to answer a question on whether or not I'm running for governor, I would say I am." To dramatize his candidacy, on July 20, 1971, he embarked on a zigzagging, 647-mile walk across Missouri, all the way from State Line Road in Kansas City to the Gateway Arch in St. Louis. He walked in stages, sometimes as much as 15 miles a day, frequently returning to Kansas City to perform his prosecutor's duties. He claimed the long march, which he completed in January 1972, was not a political gimmick, but a way to reach ordinary Missourians. What he lacked most was money, and in August 1972 he ran third in the Democratic primary behind Dowd and Lieutenant Governor William S. Morris of Kansas City. The underfunded Teasdale campaign only spent \$150,000, against more than \$1 million each for Dowd and Morris.

In defeat Teasdale greatly helped his political career, earning widespread name recognition as "Walkin' Joe." He later said that his 1972 loss was a key to victory four years later. He had first wanted to run for Senator Symington's seat in 1976, but after attracting only nominal support he instead ran again for governor. Morris had died, and Teasdale picked up much of the Democratic support in Kansas City. On his second try Teasdale easily won the Democratic nomination, which at the time appeared an empty honor. In September a poll of registered voters had Bond holding a 51 to 36 percent lead, with only 13 percent undecided.

Bond, victory seemingly assured, took the high ground, emphasizing his success at reorganizing the state bureaucracy and his high ethical standards. Teasdale went on the offensive, calling Bond an arrogant, wealthy elitist, excoriating him for recent rate increases approved by his appointees to the Missouri Public Service Commission. Catching the Bond campaign off guard in the last days of the contest, Teasdale launched a series of negative television attack advertisements for which the governor did not have an adequate response. "I made a mistake not countering these ads," Bond said, looking back eight years later. "The wisdom at the time was that you don't answer a basically baseless claim." Teasdale said, "Television is the key to everything." Still, Bond had more than held his own in a series of debates. He told an audience of university students, "I'm still waiting to hear my opponent talk about the specifics of problems facing the state."

On election night a Bond victory celebration at the Governor's Mansion did not go as planned. Teasdale, carrying Jackson County

by 35,000 votes, went on to win the state by the small margin of 13,074 votes. Just about everyone had underestimated the impact of the negative television onslaught. A *Kansas City Star* headline stated, "Teasdale does it all wrong and wins." A post-election analysis by the Bond camp attributed the defeat to the bitter split between Bond and the conservative southwestern Missouri Republicans. Many Republicans in that region deliberately withheld their votes from Bond to "teach him a lesson." They did not realize that it would cost the GOP the governorship. Otherwise, Republicans did very well. In addition to Danforth's win in the race for Symington's former Senate seat, Phelps won reelection as lieutenant governor and Ashcroft triumphed in the election for attorney general. In addition, Republicans emerged victorious in two congressional elections, retaining a seat in southwest Missouri and winning in Litton's old northwestern district. Despite Bond's loss, the Republican party continued its comeback at all levels in Missouri politics.

In a nonpartisan turn, the voters approved a landmark special eighth-cent tax earmarked for the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, of great long-run importance in preserving and enhancing the heritage of outdoor Missouri. The tax, still in force in 2003, enabled the state to acquire wetlands, forests, streams, and wildlife habitats, protecting certain endangered species and improving outdoor recreation in general. In retrospect, the passage of the conservation tax was the most important result of the 1976 general election in Missouri, more so than the election of Teasdale.

Teasdale's time in the governor's chair was marked by petty controversies, some partisan and some of his own making. He received criticism for firing Bond appointees and replacing them with his own people, even though he had said during his campaign he would do that if elected. He came under attack for holding a fund-raising dinner in which 40 percent of the money raised came from state employees. Hearnese, who had been passed over for a judicial appointment, called Teasdale a "buffoon." A Democratic senator from Kansas City, after not getting her way on an appointment, called Teasdale an "arrogant buffoon" with "lying lips." Republican state senate leader Richard Webster said Teasdale was a "dumb, gutless demagogue of the worst sort." Even a temporary move to Kansas City with his two young boys and wife while she awaited birth of their third child resulted in political damage. Teasdale had the family cook in Jefferson City prepare meals that were brought to Kansas City by the Missouri Highway Patrol in a practice the *Kansas City*

*Star* called "Meals on Wheels." Warranted or not, Teasdale gained a reputation as a bungler.

Teasdale had considerable trouble working with the Democratic leadership in the General Assembly. In his first legislative session his proposals for utility reform bogged down and failed. The defeat threw his administration off balance, and it never recovered. He was unable to develop alternative plans that attracted either the interest of the electorate or the General Assembly. The main issue for the rest of his term was the state budget. The fiscal 1977 budget, inherited from the Bond administration, was for \$2.6 billion. Of that amount, 23.4 percent went for primary and secondary education, 23.9 percent for welfare, 17.9 percent for highways, 9.1 percent for colleges and universities, 6 percent for revenue payments, and 19.7 percent for other purposes. The percentages stayed about the same in all four of the Teasdale budgets. The big change was in the amounts. Teasdale's last budget reached almost \$4 billion, a product of both more spending and inflationary pressures.

The budget increases sparked support for an anti-tax movement in Missouri, part of a nationwide protest against the increasing costs of government. A California proposition designed to roll back property taxes gained voter approval by a wide margin and received much national attention. In Missouri, Mel Hancock of Springfield, very conservative and a future congressman, championed a tax initiative through his small Taxpayers Survival Association. Anti-tax proposals had been around for a long time in Missouri. Governor Hearnese had warned that a tax limitation proposal would pass if it ever appeared on the ballot in a statewide election. After tax legislation Hancock wanted failed to reach the floor of the General Assembly, he initiated a successful petition drive to place an anti-tax amendment to the state constitution on the ballot in the 1980 general election. Hancock discounted claims that he was selfish and trying to avoid paying his fair share of taxes. He said, "I am talking about stopping politicians buying voters with tax dollars," asserting that excessive spending by the General Assembly threatened the free enterprise system in Missouri.

Actually, his "Hancock amendment" attempted to do much more than control excessive spending. A primary goal was to place permanent restrictions on the size of the state government. The amendment called for a vote of the people at all levels to increase taxes and fees, requiring even a vote for a small greens fee increase at a public golf course. Under certain circumstances the amendment

mandated that the state return money to the taxpayers.

Almost every interest group in Missouri opposed the Hancock amendment. Opponents argued that it was unnecessary, given controls already in place. Teasdale, in political trouble and looking for support wherever he could find it, came out in favor of the amendment, despite recently having approved the largest budget in the history of the state. The wording of the amendment was so obtuse and muddled that many voters did not understand it, but a majority did get the point that a purpose was to keep taxes low and check the excesses of faceless bureaucrats.

In the election the Hancock amendment passed by a vote of 1,002,935 to 807,187. Later court challenges failed. Opponents said the amendment meant that Missouri's state services would gradually fall behind those of surrounding states. They claimed a real possibility existed that in good economic times, many other states would upgrade old projects and start new programs while the state of Missouri would have to return money to the taxpayers. The amendment did have the potential of shrinking the state government, given the reality of almost always having to spend more money annually for services in order to keep ahead of inflation.

Following his unexpected defeat, Bond and his family moved to the Country Club District in Kansas City, where he resumed his law career, joining the conservative Landmark Legal Foundation, a non-profit public law firm based in Kansas City. He took a case that went all the way to the Supreme Court which determined that the University of Missouri–Kansas City could not discriminate against campus organizations on religious grounds. In 1980 Bond ran again for governor. He won the Republican primary, beating back a challenge by Phelps, who thought he had earned the top spot on the ticket as a result of his 1976 reelection for lieutenant governor. Teasdale's inability to articulate a clear vision for the state impaired his chances for reelection. Even so, he ran for a second term, brushing aside primary opposition. Bond, not repeating his political mistake of four years earlier, supported Reagan. Unlike in 1976, he ran an aggressive campaign, accusing Teasdale of virtually bankrupting the state, scoffing at his claims of a \$250 million surplus.

A consistent theme of the 1980 campaign, which Teasdale had trouble answering, was that confusion and chaos marked his administration. This time Bond justified being the favorite. He beat Teasdale by a comfortable 1,098,950 votes to 981,884, gaining 53 percent of the vote and running 2 percent ahead of Reagan's 51 percent



winning margin in Missouri. After Teasdale left the governorship, he withdrew from elective politics and opened a law office in Kansas City. Looking back in 2001 on his time as governor, he told a reporter, "Politics is a rough game. Your life is so public. I found out after 20 years, I didn't have any money. I was broke almost."

His second time around, Bond enjoyed much improved legislative relations. In the senate, Cason, who had been constantly at war with Bond, was gone, and the two new Democratic leaders, President Pro Tem Norman Merrell and Senate Majority Leader Harry Wiggins, were congenial men willing to compromise. Bond had much better staff work and he changed his personal style by becoming less formal and spending more time than in his first term working the halls of the General Assembly and chatting with members. On May 21, 1981, a reporter evaluating the recently adjourned session wrote, "This year the pitchforks have been locked in the barn." Although Bond's legislative relations remained good during the rest of his tenure, he continued to have trouble getting his legislative proposals, even very minor, noncontroversial ones, quickly approved.

The theme of Bond's second term was austerity. He said the state faced a serious fiscal crisis that he blamed on a combination of the large budget increases of the Teasdale years, the inflationary pressures of the Jimmy Carter administration, and state revenue shortfalls caused by a slowdown in the national economy during Reagan's first two years. In the first eighteen months of the second Bond administration forty-eight hundred state workers were laid off, and there were long delays for tax refunds and the payment of money owed for state services. Bond abandoned a central campaign promise to create thousands of new jobs in Missouri. He opposed tax increases and cut state spending, leading to Democratic charges that he had undertaken a needless tight-spending program.

In 1982 the voters approved a \$600 million capital improvement bond issue that he supported, primarily for college campus improvements and for health centers. Unfortunately for his plans, the Democratic majority in the General Assembly only approved issuing about one-third of the bonds, handing Bond a serious defeat. In 1983 Bond declared the state financial crisis over, citing his good financial management. He proposed a \$151 million tax increase, rejected by the General Assembly in a special session. He came in for criticism for trips to China and elsewhere that he took to promote business in Missouri. Conversely, when State Auditor James Antonio resigned in 1984, Bond received praise from all sides by filling the vacancy with

Cole County Auditor Margaret Kelly, making her the first woman to hold statewide office in Missouri. She won election to the full term two years later and continued in office until 1999.

Bond's second term received ambivalent marks. Republican Senator Richard Webster, noting that Bond's only significant failures were the partial implementation of the bond issue and the failed tax increase, said, "He had a much higher batting average than most governors do when you consider that all four years he was in a position that the dollars were scarce." A universal feeling in Jefferson City was that Bond had kept his integrity. Democratic Lieutenant Governor Kenneth Rothman, his party's nominee for governor in 1984, said that he felt that Bond brought "a touch of class" to the governor's office, but adding, "I'm hard-pressed to say what solid accomplishments he had." Bond contended that he had kept the state from going broke, that he had emphasized economic development, and that he had seen the passage of several programs to help children. He lamented that the fiscal crisis had kept him from doing more. His last budget was for \$4.6 billion, not much more than the final Teasdale budget, an indication that he had applied brakes to large annual increases.

After leaving the governorship, Bond joined a large Kansas City law firm. He expected to be involved in areas in which his governmental expertise had given him valuable experience. However, he returned to politics in 1986 to run for the seat of retiring U.S. Senator Thomas Eagleton. Bond faced only token opposition in the primary. In the general election he won a solid victory over Democratic Lieutenant Governor Harriett Woods. In 1984 Woods had become the first woman elected to a statewide office in Missouri in her own right. Two years earlier she had lost to Senator Danforth in his successful reelection campaign, in which he overcame her very aggressive and effectively negative campaign. Bond, in what was basically a television campaign, portrayed himself as a fiscal conservative, branding Woods as an old-fashioned tax-and-spend liberal. In a race that had ideological overtones, President Reagan and Vice President George H. W. Bush campaigned for Bond. After the election Bond's manager, Warren Erdman, contended, "Voters in Missouri had a clear choice between the candidates and their approach to government, the role government plays in people's lives. Kit has the views and voters of Missouri." The election marked still another setback for the Democratic party inside the state. Two years earlier, in 1984, the Republicans had triumphed in four of the five state offices up for election.

In 1984, for the first time in fifty-six years, the Republican party won the governorship in consecutive elections. Attorney General John Ashcroft defeated Kenneth Rothman by 57 to 43 percent, 1,194,506 to 913,700 votes. Ashcroft carried 107 of the state's 114 counties. As attorney general he had enhanced his reputation by opposing court-ordered desegregation plans in St. Louis and Kansas City. In the last stages of the governor's race Rothman had gone negative, lashing out at Ashcroft in a desperate effort to turn the tide. After Ashcroft won, he declined to comment on his opponent's tactic. His wife said, "I forgive. I don't always forget."

John Ashcroft, born in Chicago on May 9, 1942, was the second of three sons of J. Robert and Grace Ashcroft. The Ashcroft family moved to Springfield when John was six. His father, an Assemblies of God minister, served as a pastor and teacher at Central Bible Institute and Evangel College. Subsequently, he held the post of president of Evangel, a liberal arts college with a Pentecostal theme. There was never any question of Ashcroft not joining the Assemblies of God church. Asked by an interviewer from *Parade* magazine in an article published on April 19, 2002, if he had ever experienced a crisis of faith, Ashcroft replied, "There were times when I had to make a decision that this was the way I wanted to go. . . . I made some pretty clear decisions when I was 12 years old, but I've had to reaffirm those decisions on numerous occasions." In a very real way, Ashcroft's religious commitment defined his political career, leaving him open to charges that he was self-righteous and hypocritical.

Ashcroft, unlike Danforth and Bond, came from a middle-class family rather than a wealthy one. He attended the public schools of Springfield, graduating from Hillcrest High School. A good and well-rounded student, he participated in a variety of extracurricular activities, quarterbacking and punting for the football team and singing in the choir. A knee injury ended his serious football career when he was a college freshman. Music was another matter. He played the piano, even at his inaugural ball, wrote gospel music, and sang in public. On his way up in politics he sang in churches throughout Missouri and as governor he sang the National Anthem before a home crowd at a Kansas City Chiefs football game. In 1991 he harmonized with Grand Ole Opry headliner Ricky Skaggs at the Midland Theater in Kansas City. A reviewer wrote, "If Ashcroft's singing was a little flat at first, his sturdy baritone quickly righted itself. He clapped and gestured broadly with his hands to convey his enthusiasm for the song's gospel lyrics."

Ashcroft left Springfield following high school to attend Yale University, graduating in 1965. After considering and rejecting careers in the ministry and education, he received scholarship help that allowed him to study law at the University of Chicago. In addition to his course work, he played intramural touch football and rugby. He graduated in 1967 and married a fellow Chicago law school graduate of the same year, Janet E. Roede, beginning a lasting union that would include three children.

John and Janet Ashcroft moved to the Springfield area and bought a 151-acre farm. After gaining admittance to the Missouri bar they followed joint law and scholarly careers, opening a law office in Springfield in 1968. In addition to practicing law, Ashcroft taught business law for five years and served as coordinator for judicial affairs at Southwest Missouri State University. He also taught business law courses at Evangel. He wrote scholarly articles and, with his wife, coauthored two books intended for community and business college use, *College Law for Business* and *It's the Law*, which went through several editions. In 1972 he ran and lost a Republican primary election for Congress. The following year Governor Bond, filling the vacancy created by his own election to higher office, appointed him state auditor. After Ashcroft lost election for a full term, Danforth made him an assistant attorney general at the same salary he had received as state auditor. In 1973 the Ashcrofts moved to Jefferson City, where they lived in a pleasant Georgian-style house in an upscale residential section. The Governor's Mansion was only a short distance away.

Governor Ashcroft's inaugural address, very general and only fifteen minutes in length, set the tone for his administration. He echoed Reagan's conservative *Morning in America* Republicanism, stating that government did not exist to establish regulations which interfered with personal liberties: "I reject the notion so long in vogue, that the people are inherently not worthy of trust, that government must exercise its wisdom as a surrogate for the people's ignorance. I stand for the hope that government can help provide an atmosphere of freedom and growth." At a press conference after the address, he signaled the Democrats in the General Assembly that he did not intend to follow a confrontational course and that he considered himself a constructive conservative: "We cannot afford to fight each other. We must be a team."

For the most part Ashcroft accomplished his goal, even though, unlike many previous governors, he did not appear as often in the

legislative halls. Some members thought him prudish. He broke tradition by not serving liquor at formal receptions and only reluctantly allowed spirits at informal policy meetings with the legislative leadership at the Governor's Mansion. He signed 223 and vetoed only 12 bills in his first session. He approved a measure favorable to beer distributors that he had, as attorney general, advised both Teasdale and Bond to veto; he also vetoed a witness protection bill of a kind he had previously supported. Rich Hood, a political writer for the *Kansas City Star*, wrote on September 8, 1985, "One thing Mr. Ashcroft has picked up during his on-the-job training of the last year is that things sometimes look different from the other side of the governor's desk."

During his first term, Ashcroft profited from a generally good state financial picture. State agencies, after the lean years of Bond's second term, received healthy increases. In 1985 public schools garnered a record \$102.5 million augmentation, representing about a 15 percent rise. Over three years public schools, colleges, and universities had combined increases of 37 percent. Ashcroft wanted an assessment program for the schools, and while he raised teacher salaries, he failed to fulfill a campaign promise to bring wages up to the national average. He successfully sought money to fight drug problems and to improve roads and bridges. Ashcroft cited the much touted Excellence in Education Act of 1985 as his major accomplishment in improving public education, playing down the role of the Democratic General Assembly in the framing of the legislation. Colleges and universities received \$200 million for capital improvements. Despite a tightfisted approach to tax increases, he went along with a four-cents-per-gallon increase in the gasoline tax.

Ashcroft tried to uphold his conservative tenets by vetoing a number of revenue bills, claiming that sometimes Democrats asked him to do it. Laura Scott, a reporter for the *Kansas City Star*, wrote on January 24, 1988, "In fact, their little system seems to have worked well for both sides. The lawmakers get to tell their various constituencies that they tried to get more money, but it was the governor's fault they didn't get it. And the governor has come across as tight-fisted with the taxpayers' money." Ashcroft, while aggravating Democrats by not sharing legislative accomplishments to their satisfaction, surprised everyone on one occasion by apologizing to the Democrats for his part in a political ruckus and by heaping lavish public praise on retiring liberal Lieutenant Governor Harriett Woods. His popularity remained very high, and Republican State

Chairman Hillard Selck said, "He represents Mr. Clean to Missouri voters."

Ashcroft put his own stamp on being governor. Taking an active interest in the Missouri National Guard, he drove a tank at Fort Leonard Wood, flew as a passenger in a McDonnell-Douglas F-15 military jet fighter plane, and visited guard units posted in Honduras. He played tennis with John McEnroe, skied with Olympic gold medalist Franz Klammer, and played one-on-one basketball with University of Missouri-Columbia basketball coach Norm Stewart. "I think I have tried more things at the risk of embarrassment than many governors do," Ashcroft observed. "But I would rather be sorry for things I have done than sorry for things I haven't."

The voters approved of his energetic style, his willingness to work with Democrats, and his conservative politics, and he easily won reelection in 1988. The Democrats' contention that he was a do-nothing governor fell on deaf ears. There was no realistic chance of unseating Ashcroft. He defeated State Senator and former first lady of Missouri Betty Hearnese, who had been Democratic state chairman, by 1,339,531 to 724,919 votes, a 64 to 34 percent margin. One consolation was that Hearnese was the first woman to run for governor of Missouri as a candidate of a major party. Ashcroft ran far ahead of successful Republican presidential candidate George H. W. Bush, who carried Missouri by capturing 52 percent of the vote. Early in Ashcroft's first term, Warren Hearnese, having left the political scene after losing a race for state auditor, had said Ashcroft was off to a good start: "There is no comparison between his first year and those of Governor Bond and Governor Teasdale. Ashcroft was far more successful." Presumably, in 1988 Hearnese voted for his wife.

In his second inaugural address Ashcroft made it clear that he considered his new term a continuation of his first and that he planned no abrupt departures. He renewed calls for a better-educated population, and he attacked drug dealers. His only new issue was environmental protection: "We must declare our freedom from a contaminated environment. It steals the birthright of our children and contaminates the very essence from which we draw breath and life itself." He said that he continued to have a total commitment to cooperating with Democrats in the General Assembly and that he wanted to close the books on any still simmering past disputes. There was little in the address to criticize. Democratic House Speaker Robert Griffin observed that Ashcroft emphasized "God, motherhood, and apple pie."

In Ashcroft's last four years in office, he showed a willingness to extend and improve programs in relationship to available revenues. He favored so many new initiatives that if he had been a Democrat he probably would have been called a reformer. He wanted a reduction in the size of the lower house of the General Assembly from 163 to 103 members. As could only be expected, the proposal generated minimal support inside the General Assembly. He promoted "learn fare," home schooling, and he unsuccessfully championed an increase in the mandated number of school days. He signed into law an extensive welfare reform bill that required recipients to participate in programs aimed at getting them into the workforce. A comprehensive ethics code amendment that he wanted, supported by 220,000 signatures on petitions, was struck down as unconstitutional by a 5 to 2 vote of the Missouri Supreme Court. A \$385 million tax increase for higher education that he promoted, Proposition B, designed to cement his reputation as the "education governor," met with an overwhelming defeat at the polls in 1991.

Ashcroft's conservative philosophy was most evident on social issues. In 1989 he told participants in an anti-abortion prayer service in Jefferson City that abortion was an "atrocious" that "shocks the conscience of any sensitive citizen." He asked people everywhere to pray for state officials who opposed *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. That same year he appeared on CBS's *Face the Nation* to support a restrictive 1986 Missouri abortion law. On the crime front, he wanted juvenile murderers and drug dealers as well as other young offenders apprehended, convicted, and sentenced to prison as adults. He specifically targeted perpetrators between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who were immune from prosecution as adults, claiming, "The time has come for us to change the law so that adolescents who commit felonies for the benefit of street gangs should be charged with a Class A felony unless the juvenile court orders otherwise." He said he planned to appoint state supreme court judges who combined strong ethics, vigor, and limited views of the role of government with support of the death penalty. By 1992 Ashcroft had appointed all seven of the state's supreme court judges, including Edward "Chip" Robertson, his former administrative assistant.

When Ashcroft left office in 1993 the state budget had risen to more than \$10 billion, the highest ever. The Hancock amendment had proved more an annoyance than anything else. The increases at the state level did not stop Ashcroft from warning of the conse-

quences of runaway federal spending. He said on one occasion, "The Congress has exhausted its capacity to pay for its programs, deferring to the next generation the responsibility to pay for current programs," creating a condition he called a cruel hoax. In 1990 he confided to students at William Jewell College that he desired no rewards for the wrong reasons and that fame and his place in history did not concern him. "People sometimes ask me how I want to be remembered as governor," he said. "The truth is, I won't be remembered. How many people can remember two governors before 1960? And that was only 30 years ago."

Ashcroft's popularity remained high throughout his second term. After leaving office, he practiced law for the next two years in St. Louis. In 1993 he failed in an attempt to win election as national chairman of the Republican party, but he showed every intention of staying in politics. He moved toward the Republican far right, building an imposing campaign war chest. In 1994 he ran for retiring Senator Danforth's seat. Ashcroft brushed aside minimal primary opposition and in the general election he opposed six-term Congressman Alan Wheat of Kansas City. Wheat, an African American and winner of a hotly contested four-way primary, had a record as one of the most liberal Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives. In an election in which the Republicans gained control of Congress for the first time in forty years, Ashcroft won easily, 1,060,149 votes to 633,897. In the same contest, Missouri voters by wide margins approved propositions for term limits on the General Assembly and for limiting campaign contributions.

In 1992 two attractive potential Republican candidates for governor opposed each other in the August primary. Both were men from southwest Missouri who held state elected offices, and they were close in age. Secretary of State Roy Blunt was forty-two. Attorney General William Webster, the son of recently deceased Republican Senator Richard Webster, was thirty-nine. Another Republican, former congressman and statewide office holder Wendell Bailey, had only pockets of support and ran third in the end. Blunt, depicting himself as an outsider, charged that Webster had accepted illegal campaign money from friends who in turn had profited from favors granted in connection with the state workman's compensation second injury fund. Webster emerged as a badly tarnished victor in the primary. Blunt's charges, repeated by the Democrats in the fall campaign, destroyed any chance Webster had of becoming governor. He received only 41 percent of the vote in the general election, losing



by a count of 1,375,425 to 968,574 to Democratic candidate Mel Carnahan. Interestingly, the Democratic presidential candidate, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, carried Missouri with only 44 percent of the vote in a three-way race with Republican President George H. W. Bush and third party candidate Ross Perot. In the election's aftermath the U.S. attorney in Kansas City indicted Webster for violating the federal election laws. A jury convicted him, and he served time in the federal penal system, bringing an abrupt end to what had started out as a promising political career. Blunt became president of Southwest Baptist University and in 1996 won a seat in Congress. He triumphed in the next two congressional elections and in 2003 he became Republican whip.

Carnahan, elected lieutenant governor in 1988, was a veteran politician and seasoned lawyer. A native of Birch Tree in the Ozarks, both of his grandparents were Missouri farmers. His father, Albert Sidney Johnson Carnahan, was a schoolteacher turned politician and a congressman for fourteen years (1945–1947, 1949–1961). In 1961 President Kennedy appointed the elder Carnahan ambassador to the newly independent African nation of Sierra Leone. Mel Carnahan received an undergraduate degree from George Washington University in 1954. That same year he married Jean Anne Carpenter. They had four children, a girl and three boys, all of whom became lawyers. Following two years on active duty in the U.S. Air Force, Carnahan matriculated at the University of Missouri Law School, receiving his degree in 1959. After passing the bar examination he moved to Rolla to practice law, with every intention of entering politics.

Over the next three decades, beginning with his election in 1961 at age twenty-six as a municipal judge in Rolla, Carnahan compiled an impressive résumé as a moderate Democrat. According to a reporter, “Never the most exciting politician on the Missouri scene, Carnahan stubbornly and quietly plowed through office after office.” In 1962 he won the first of two consecutive terms in the lower house of the General Assembly. After rising to majority leader in his second term, he lost an election for the state senate in 1966. He went back to Rolla and practiced law for the next fourteen years, all the while staying active in civic affairs. In 1980 he won the race for state treasurer. In 1984 he lost the governor’s nomination in the Democratic primary, but he came back to win the post of lieutenant governor in 1988. He was the only Democrat that year to win a statewide office, making him the logical choice of his party to run for governor in 1992. His tenure as lieutenant governor featured

petty clashes over prerogatives with Governor Ashcroft, leaving a legacy of dislike between the two men.

Carnahan experienced a productive and eventful first term in which successes far outweighed setbacks. Among his achievements was pro-business legislation to promote economic development. Early in his administration he signed a bipartisan law to clean up the scandal-ridden second injury fund. The General Assembly approved changes he wanted in welfare regulations, campaign financing, and crime prevention, all of which strengthened existing programs. But while state legislators approved health policy changes called for by Carnahan, they rejected his plan to require health insurers to ignore preexisting conditions in providing coverage and to make medical insurance policies portable between jobs. In dealing with the Clinton administration, Carnahan requested more federal money for flood disaster relief, but he opposed efforts by the Environmental Protection Agency to impose stringent new clean air regulations in St. Louis and he tried to reduce the amount of state money required for school desegregation in Kansas City and St. Louis. In 1996 the voters supported his proposition for a large general obligation bond issue for construction of educational and correctional facilities.

An unanticipated judicial ruling brought a serious crisis in education that resulted in a major reform and a new effort to roll back and curtail future state spending. In January 1993 a judge tossed out Missouri's system of paying for public schools. In a politically controversial move, Carnahan persuaded the Democratic majority in the General Assembly to avoid a vote of the people and to pass the \$310 million Outstanding Schools Act of 1993. Congressman Mel Hancock and his supporters responded by getting Proposition 7, a draconian Hancock II amendment, placed on the November 1994 ballot. The new tax limitation measure was designed to force cuts in local and state services of anywhere from \$1 billion to \$5 billion. Carnahan led an opposition movement that had widespread support around the state. The proposition adversely affected too many people to pass, so a defeat was preordained. On election day Hancock II went down to a five-hundred-thousand-vote defeat, much to the relief of those who thought Missouri needed to spend more money instead of less. Carnahan proposed and in 1996 secured passage of far more moderate tax limitation legislation.

Carnahan's approval ratings were consistently high. When he ran for reelection in 1996, the Republicans tried to brand him as a high-tax governor in connection with the education initiative, plac-

ing themselves in the position of appearing to oppose better schools. He made the Outstanding Schools Act the centerpiece of his campaign, claiming it paved the way for more modern schools, reduced class sizes, and increased the number of computers in classrooms. The Republican candidate, veteran State Auditor Margaret Kelly, had raised her visibility through a series of audits that were widely reported in the media. In 1994 she had swept to victory for a third term by more than 330,000 votes. Her race for governor was another story. She garnered only 40 percent of the votes as Carnahan buried her by a count of 1,224,801 to 866,268. President Clinton again carried Missouri, but by a plurality of 48 percent, over Republican Robert Dole and Perot.

The state budget grew rapidly during Carnahan's second term, reaching around \$19 billion by 2000. There were few new programs, and increases went toward improving existing services and agencies. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* concluded that while the budget increases of the Ashcroft administration were primarily inflationary, those of the Carnahan years reflected the great round of prosperity in 1990s America. So much money poured into the state coffers that the original Hancock amendment kicked in, leading to refunds of \$1 billion to the taxpayers. This was all very well and good as long as the economic boom lasted. An unanswered question was, "What would happen if the economy slowed down?"

As Carnahan's second term progressed, it was a foregone conclusion that he would oppose Senator Ashcroft when Ashcroft came up for reelection in 2000. Both Ashcroft and Carnahan intensified their fund-raising efforts, expecting a very rough and dirty campaign. Even before the start, Republicans attacked Carnahan, a Baptist, for fulfilling a request by Pope John Paul II during a visit to St. Louis in 1999 to commute the death sentence of a vicious killer. A high-minded campaign based on the issues that divided the two men would have been enlightening and educational. Instead, mud throwing was the order of the day. The contest was as bitter as expected, and the result was very much in doubt when the two candidates finished their only scheduled debate at a Kansas City theater.

The following day, October 16, Carnahan campaigned in St. Louis, planning to go on to New Madrid to attend a dinner meeting of African American religious leaders in the Bootheel. At 7:15 P.M. a six-seat Cessna 335 two-motored aircraft carrying a campaign adviser, the governor, and his son, pilot Roger "Randy" Carnahan, took off from Parks Bi-State Airport, across the Mississippi River

from St. Louis. Randy Carnahan, a forty-four-year-old Rolla lawyer, often served as a pilot for his father, who also had a pilot's license. The weather was murky and foggy, with visibility of less than three-fourths of a mile. A few minutes after taking to the air, the flight encountered much heavier fog and rain. Randy Carnahan sent a message to air traffic control in St. Louis indicating he had a gyroscope problem and would either turn back to St. Louis or go to Jefferson City.

At 7:32 St. Louis radar lost contact with the plane, which crashed into rugged country south of St. Louis near Goldman in Jefferson County. "I heard this engine just screaming, like the rods were going to come off; I mean, everything he could give it," said Robert Magraw, who had been watching television at his home uphill from the crash site. "I thought he was going to hit my house. About five to eight seconds later the house just shook like someone picked it up and dropped it." Jefferson County Sheriff Glenn Boyer reported, "The biggest piece of equipment they found was a piece of landing gear." He told a reporter that callers to his department said "they heard an explosion and saw a fireball." The crash was reminiscent of Jerry Litton's campaign plane crash twenty-four years earlier.

Carnahan was the first governor of Missouri to die a violent death while in office. His funeral, on a warm and bright fall morning, an official state day of mourning, was held as a public event on the south side of the capitol before ten thousand people and a large television audience. President Bill Clinton, Vice President Albert Gore, their wives, Senators Bond and Ashcroft, numerous state governors, and other dignitaries were among the four hundred invited guests. Although many of those in the funeral party were there out of friendship and respect for Governor Carnahan and his family, in another sense the somber, distinguished gathering was a statement about the continuing role of Missouri as an integral part of the federal Union. In a moving eulogy, former Senator Eagleton equated Carnahan's life with that of former President Truman: "Harry Truman was Missouri's political saint; there was much of Harry Truman in Mel Carnahan. Mel never confused himself with the office, and never succumbed to the arrogance that often accompanies power."

Lieutenant Governor Roger Wilson, a Democrat, became the fifty-second Missouri governor. Born in Columbia in 1949, he came from a long line of Boone County politicians. His father was Boone County collector and his grandfather was county sheriff. Governor Wilson, a graduate of Central Missouri College in Fayette, earned

a master's degree in education from the University of Missouri–Columbia. He and his wife, Patricia Wilson, had two children. After teaching school in the early 1970s, Wilson entered politics and won election to his father's old post as county collector. He moved on to serve from 1979 to 1993 in the state senate. He won election to two terms as lieutenant governor, first in 1992 and again in 1996. In 1998 he announced his intention to leave public life after finishing his second term, ending speculation that he would run for governor in 2000. He took a part-time job with a St. Louis investment firm and, in reply to criticism, claimed it “self-evident” that being lieutenant governor was not a full-time position: “At times, you put in a tremendous amount of time. But other times you don't. We added a lot to the job after I took office, but you still have a lot of discretionary time.”

Despite holding office for less than three months, Wilson wanted to be more than just a caretaker governor. During the balance of his short tenure, which ended January 3, 2001, he had to deal with the death of his predecessor and the transition of the office to the incoming governor, Robert Holden. That Holden was also a Democrat made the transition easier. Wilson called special January 2001 elections to fill two vacancies that gave Republicans control of the state senate, he appointed judges and members of commissions, he moved the Division of the Aged from one department to another, he ordered state agencies to eliminate five hundred state positions, and he arranged for the newly elected Democratic lieutenant governor, Joe Maxwell, to take office early.

In a signature move for his short tenure, Wilson gained the permission of Jean Carnahan to appoint her to the U.S. Senate providing her dead husband, whose name remained on the ballot, ran ahead of Ashcroft in the general election. Under Missouri law the deadline to replace a party nominee was October 13, 2001, three days prior to Governor Carnahan's death. As it transpired, Ashcroft lost to the Carnahan ticket by roughly sixty thousand votes. Wilson, true to his word, named Jean Carnahan to the Senate to fill the vacancy until the next general election, which would determine who served the remainder of the term. Ashcroft had given a gracious concession speech and planned to return to private life. Then, in January 2001, only a few weeks after Ashcroft had left office, new President George W. Bush nominated him as U.S. attorney general. Ashcroft survived a partisan and contentious confirmation hearing and floor vote to become the second U.S. attorney general from Missouri, the first having been Edward Bates in the Lincoln admin-

istration. Jean Carnahan became the first woman from Missouri to serve in the U.S. Senate.

Robert Holden, born on August 24, 1949, in Kansas City, grew up on a farm near Birch Tree, Carnahan's hometown. Holden and his wife, the former Lori Hauser, had two children. He graduated from Southwest Missouri State University in 1973, going on to graduate from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government for Public Executives and from the Flemming Leadership Institute. He returned to Missouri and became an assistant to the state treasurer. Entering elective politics, he won election from a Springfield district to the lower house of the General Assembly, serving three terms from 1983 to 1989. For the next two years he was an assistant to Democratic Congressman Richard Gephardt in his St. Louis office. In 1992 Holden won the first of two terms as state treasurer. In the disrupted 2000 election he narrowly won the governor's office over Republican Congressman James Talent of Chesterfield by 1,352,752 votes to 1,131,307, a margin of only 21,445, very close by Missouri standards. Talent recovered from this defeat by defeating Jean Carnahan by a narrow margin when she sought election in her own right to the U.S. Senate in November 2002.

In Holden's first two legislative sessions as governor he faced a serious shortfall in state finances, forcing large budget cuts. A national recession that began in March 2001 clouded the economic picture in Missouri. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 2001 made Holden a war governor. He had further problems in Jefferson City, where he was the first governor since Donnelly in 1953 to face a politically divided General Assembly—the house was Democratic and the senate Republican. This tended to magnify political mistakes that he made in dealing with a body he had once belonged to. For example, it took him well over a year to receive authorization to get a general obligation bond issue on roads and bridges on the ballot; Missouri voters soundly defeated it in the August 2002 primary election. He further hurt himself when he signed budgets and then turned around and withheld large sums from state agencies, colleges, and universities, blaming new state financial shortages. Tax cuts for individuals and businesses, coupled with tax exemptions for businesses that had been so attractive politically in the good times of the 1990s, came home to roost. Only an influx of tobacco settlement money into the general funds prevented a dire state financial crisis in 2002.

Republicans in the General Assembly nicknamed Holden "Bad

News Bob” or “OTB” (One-Term Bob), unkindly suggesting that he might even have trouble winning the Democratic primary if he stood for reelection in 2004. Carson Ross, a Republican member of the lower house of the General Assembly from Blue Springs, said, “If the next two years are like this, he’ll hand it to us on a platter.” In January 2003, with his approval rating falling and with Republicans in control of both houses of the General Assembly following the 2002 election, he faced an unpromising political future. The Democrats continued to hold the six elected state offices, but Republicans occupied five of the state’s nine congressional seats and both U.S. Senate seats. Primarily because of term limits, there were ninety new house and twelve new senate members in the General Assembly.

Despite his problems, few doubted Holden’s love of the state or the pleasant memories that it held for him. He emphasized his Missouri experiences in a short statement welcoming visitors to Missouri in an official 2002 tourist guide: “I was born in Kansas City, had a wonderful childhood growing up on a farm near Birch Tree, served as a state representative for the people of Springfield, witnessed the birth of our first child when I was working in St. Louis and am now raising both our sons in Jefferson City.”

Governors of Missouri from Bond to Carnahan were quite typical of the state’s chief executives. Wilson was a special case, and Holden was only halfway through his term in 2003. Teasdale was considered the most liberal; unlike the others, he only held office for one term. The rest won easy reelections, with the notable exception of Bond. No governor was from suburban Missouri. Even though Ashcroft was identified as the most ideological, he and the others all followed a moderate course. They all supported spending increases for welfare, education, and highways. None of the governors, with the exception of Carnahan’s special case education initiative, proposed expensive new programs of the kind that could not have gotten through the General Assembly. One administration appeared much like another, melding together in the historical stream. Although the governors all took credit for holding down spending, modern governmental services and inflation required greater and greater spending to keep pace and provide the services that most Missourians wanted.

## CHAPTER VIII

### A MISSOURI MOSAIC AT CENTURY'S END

Floods, contaminated waste sites, federal activities, court cases, equal rights, minorities, desegregation, education, organized labor, crime, religion, sports, and cultural change all formed a mosaic of life in Missouri as the state crossed the bridge from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. In a general way, earlier trends continued with a few new wrinkles. The state moved along in keeping with its Show Me State traditions. A change was the increased role of minorities. There were few dramatic new beginnings. All the great national questions of the day—none with easy solutions—affected Missouri. So did the continual interaction between people and nature, with the Great Flood of 1993 serving as a prime example.

Rivers had always been significant in the life of the state. Despite huge expenditures over the years for flood control, Missouri's rivers and streams moved along as untamed forces of nature, personified by the mighty Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Massive floods were a consequence of living near water. Silt piled up in river channels so that the next flood was always more devastating than the previous one. Compounding matters were the efforts of the Army Corps of Engineers over several decades to streamline the Missouri River channel between Sioux City and St. Louis to improve navigation and to make overflows less likely. That reality helped lead to all sorts of record or near record flood measurements in 1993. Mark Twain had once observed that ten thousand river commissions were not enough to prevent the Mississippi from overflowing.

The 1993 flood was the worst ever. When heavy June rains brought above-average water levels throughout the upper Midwest, few observers expected more than the usual spring flooding and inconveniences to shippers. The Corps of Engineers closed locks along a 215-mile stretch of the Mississippi above St. Louis, temporarily trapping fifty-six towboats and large barges. More dam closings followed, shutting down about five hundred miles of the river. A corps spokesperson explained, "The river is rising and it seems to



be going up pretty fast.” He predicted it would take a month before the river returned to normal.

Ominously, large amounts of rain continued to fall above the dam closures. As the Mississippi rolled along, it crested high above flood stage. The low parts of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, went under water. Downtown Davenport, Iowa, flooded. Levees burst in Illinois and down into northern Missouri. At Hannibal a new \$8 million flood wall kept the commercial district dry. The stopping of barge traffic halted the shipment of billions of bushels of grain. One rainstorm after another affected fourteen states in the north-central United States. Three hundred rivers left their banks. President Bill Clinton commented, “It’s a very, very serious thing for the farmers. It is the most rain they’ve had in over a hundred years.” The president’s comment underscored the growing seriousness of the situation.

In its turn, the Missouri River left its banks as it swept down from Montana and the Dakotas. High water reached northwestern Missouri, closing stretches of Interstate 29 south of Omaha. The waterworks at St. Joseph shut down. Rising water inundated the commercial district of historic Parkville in Platte County. To compound matters, not long after the water went down at Parkville a new surge led to reflooding. “I’m tired of it,” said Lynne Maldonado, a Parkville restaurant owner, as she stood behind sandbags at the front door of her business. “I’m so fed up with the water. We want to get on with life and business.”

The Kansas City area escaped widespread losses. Bean Lake, an eight-hundred-acre upscale residential community north of downtown Kansas City, flooded to the rooftops. The Country Club Plaza experienced some flooding from Brush Creek, but nothing on the scale of the 1977 disaster. Turkey Creek, a Kansas River tributary, flash flooded, damaging buildings in the West Bottoms, including Kemper Arena. The Missouri River and Kansas River flood walls protecting Kansas City held, preventing a repeat of 1951. On July 10, 1993, a staff writer for the *Kansas City Star* explained, “More of Kansas City would have been under flood water this week if it weren’t for the lakes, levees and other flood management projects undertaken over the decades. . . . But it’s also true that fewer families and businesses would be worrying about rising water if other flood control projects had been built as proposed.” Few people worried about flood control in advance of a flood.

Missouri River flood water moved east across central Missouri and on toward the juncture with the Mississippi. The director of the

Missouri Emergency Management Agency warned, "We anticipate we will lose a lot of levees on the Missouri River." Lieutenant Governor Wilson said of the expected cost of the ongoing disaster, "We all know it is going to be in the millions of dollars. We all feel inadequate when you see Mother Nature with this much strength."

As predicted, the Missouri River flood tide broke dozens of levees, covering cultivated river bottoms and threatening populated places. At Lexington, high and dry on a bluff in western Missouri, flood waters forced the closing of the local waterworks. The flooding of a highway isolated Glasgow. High water rushed through a riverside graveyard, uncovering and carrying away coffins. Several stretches of Interstate 70 closed, severely disrupting ground communications in the state. Water poured into the heart of Jefferson City, cresting in time to keep the capitol building safe. Downstream, residents of Hermann watched as high water levels cut off the main highways into their town.

A large temporary lake formed on the floodplain at the confluence of the Missouri and the Mississippi. Flooding Illinois River water from just north of the juncture added to the flow as the Missouri forged a new channel into the Mississippi. Water completely covered the small northern St. Louis County town of West Alton. The city of St. Louis remained dry, attesting to the wisdom of the founding fathers in picking a location safe from flooding. Only about a hundred people required evacuation from low ground in southern St. Louis County.

A combination of flood walls, stout levees, sandbags, and brawn saved Ste. Genevieve. Thousands of volunteers, many from out of town, filled and deployed more than a million sandbags. Crews working around the clock raised the flood protection barrier to 50 feet, just above a crest of 49.67 feet. A flood wall system protected Cape Girardeau. Below the Bootheel city the flood crest dissipated as the Mississippi widened and the flood water rolled on to the sea.

Receding water left behind destruction throughout Missouri. Every river and stream of consequence left its banks, sometimes with dire results. Pattonsburg, a village of four hundred people in northwestern Missouri, had a history of being flooded by the Grand River. In the aftermath of the 1993 torrent, which covered the entire town, the residents abandoned the site and built a new Pattonsburg on high ground. Throughout the state, washed-out highways required extensive repairs. Water rushing from broken levees and overflowing rivers destroyed millions of acres of crops. At least twelve thousand

homes and fifteen hundred businesses sustained significant damage. From June and on into August, more than thirty-two hundred troops from the Missouri National Guard, along with thousands of emergency and volunteer workers, fought the flood. At least twenty-five people died in Missouri from flood-related causes. Environmentalists blamed the usual scapegoat, the Corps of Engineers, for constructing river channels designed to help commercial interests.

The flood was the media event of the summer of 1993. At Des Moines, Iowa, the Raccoon and Des Moines Rivers overflowed, disrupting the water supply and causing a prolonged crisis. At the height of the flood all the bridges closed along a three-hundred-mile stretch of the Mississippi River. As the flood had progressed, a Corps of Engineers "war room" in St. Louis handled more than five hundred emergency calls a day from field observers across the upper Midwest. In an understatement, a corps official commented, "It's very overwhelming."

From start to finish, the flood required involvement from many federal agencies in addition to the Corps of Engineers, ranging from the Federal Emergency Management Agency to the Weather Bureau and the Department of Agriculture. In mid-July President Clinton had attended a meeting of Midwest governors at Arnold, Missouri, near St. Louis. Governor Carnahan, who had lifted sandbags in defense of his state, presided. Clinton, promising federal aid, asked the assembled governors: "First, what do we do now, while everyone is up to their ears in alligators? And, second, how do we keep the effort going in the long run until everyone is up to a full recovery?"

The flood caused problems for Missouri tourism. On July 11, 1993, the *New York Times* ran a feature story on conditions inside the state, leaving the impression that it had become another Bangladesh in the monsoon season. Kansas City and St. Louis tourist bureaus went to considerable lengths to counteract adverse publicity, sending out numerous press releases emphasizing that there was no flood danger. Putting the best face possible on the situation, a St. Louis publicist suggested that the top of the Gateway Arch was a great place from which to watch the flood. A hard-hit tourist destination was Hannibal. Over the summer, attendance at the Mark Twain sites fell by 75 percent. The executive director of the Hannibal Chamber of Commerce lamented, "People are giving up. No one is on the streets." Flooding disrupted the Katy Trail, which usually attracted two hundred thousand hikers and bikers annually. A combination of bad publicity and high water hurt floating excur-

sions on Ozarks streams. Conversely, tourist totals were up in the Branson area.

For the entire state a general recovery came rather quickly; this was normally the case in the wake of a flood. Of course, millions of dollars went into a massive cleanup. And even while dealing with the consequences of serious personal loss, the main goal of flood victims was to move on and see conditions return to normal. People continued running businesses in flood-prone river bottoms and to farm on floodplains, asking the Corps of Engineers to rebuild and construct new levees. Inevitably, flood waters returned again, in 1995. The truth was that floods remained an unavoidable part of living in Missouri.

Environmental issues caused growing concern in Missouri. The complexities and controversies went far beyond the state. Public and private parties in Missouri had no direct means of dealing with "green" issues ranging from acid rain to global warming. Even though all Missourians wanted a cleaner environment, pursuing even the most limited of goals automatically engendered controversy. A 1990 dispute was indicative. Missouri voters resoundingly defeated a proposition drafted in the General Assembly intended to protect free-flowing streams—a noble goal few disagreed with. However, the proposition would have restricted use of the waterways by abutters in what many saw as a threat to private property rights. Other proposals were relatively free of controversy, such as efforts by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources to save from extinction the endangered and secretive great horned owl.

The cleanup of contaminated waste sites posed pressing, unsettling, and controversial problems. In the Kansas City area, a legal controversy accompanied the cleanup of an old, abandoned oil refinery in the industrial suburb of Sugar Creek. Long-term projects involved the removal of contaminated matter from the grounds of the Bannister Federal Complex, entirely inside Kansas City, and from contaminated land around a munition factory at Lake City, near Independence. In 2002 at the eastern town of Herculaneum, the state declared a health emergency in order to better deal with spills and emissions from the large Doe Run Company lead smelter.

To the west of St. Louis, the Department of Energy began in 1986 to remove radioactive waste at Weldon Springs from a former federal plant closed in 1969. The plant had produced TNT during World War II. In 1955 the Atomic Energy Commission had acquired the works and used it to process uranium ore for nuclear weapons.

A private firm contracted to undertake a lengthy environmental cleanup. One aspect of the \$1 billion project, scheduled for completion in 2002, involved storing 1.5 million cubic yards of radioactive material in a large vault that gradually rose into a hill.

In 2000 the nuclear hill became the centerpiece of the new Route 66 State Park. Visitors had the opportunity of climbing the hill to view the surrounding countryside. "I'm sure at first thought they'll think there must be something about it that isn't right," a project manager explained. "But I'm willing to bet that most people will go up. Even if they're not sure, they'll do it out of curiosity." The hill qualified as an unusual tourist attraction. A member of the Eastern Missouri Sierra Club commented, "We're glad to see these areas being re-used for a good purpose, but in a way the cows are already out of the barn." Prospective climbers had to pass through tight security.

Included in the new park was the ghost town of Times Beach, the location of an environmental disaster that received national attention equivalent to that of Love Canal near Buffalo, New York. Times Beach, a "working-class" resort town on the banks of the Meramec River, once had a population of two thousand. In the late 1970s a waste hauler oiled the city streets with a chemical mix that contained dioxin, a substance believed to cause cancer and other illnesses. In 1982 federal authorities forced all the residents of Times Beach to leave. A buyout plan for home owners reached the White House and sparked congressional hearings. A cleanup, finished in 1997, cost \$200 million. Workers either transported the dioxin residue to a site in Kansas or burned it in an incinerator.

The park visitor center, in a building that during the Times Beach cleanup was a headquarters of the Environmental Protection Agency, displayed photographs of the decontamination work and pleasing pictures of wildlife that inhabited the park. The nuclear hill was a short walk from the visitor center. An official of the Route 66 Association of Missouri claimed, "This is probably the cleanest ground in the United States. I'm convinced you could eat that dust and it would not hurt you." Former Times Beach property owners were encouraged to move back. A past mayor of Times Beach, asked if she considered the community safe, responded, "I'd rather not answer that question. I'm pleased for the people who want to go back. I'm just not quite sure how I feel about it. But it's time to turn the page, time to move on."

Contrary to the brave talk about returning government to the

states, the federal role continued to grow. Sometimes this was welcomed, as in the case of the Great Flood of 1993, and sometimes it was unwelcome, as in the case of the missile fuel plant at Weldon Springs. President Reagan calling government the enemy and President Clinton proclaiming the era of big government over had little practical effect. Entitlements were ingrained, and the federal government kept working to extend authority over a wide variety of state matters. The federal roles in social security, education, and Medicare were issues in the 2000 presidential campaign. The response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq brought a further expansion of federal power, embodied in the Homeland Security Act, the USA Patriot Act, and other protection legislation. Regulations that required state compliance made for continuing sore points. All was not negative, as military and aerospace spending solidly contributed to Missouri's economy. Moreover, federal civilian employment was very heavy; more than twenty-three thousand federal civil servants worked in metropolitan Kansas City in 2003.

Needed or not, the Corps of Engineers continued to regulate and improve Missouri's navigable waterways. Critics claimed it all a waste of money, arguing that river transportation on a large scale had seen its day with the coming of the railroad in the nineteenth century and with the rise in the twentieth century of long-haul truck transportation. In 2003 St. Louis and Kansas City were trucking centers, with headquarters of big trucking companies and large truck transportation complexes. Kansas City aspired to be a great distribution point for Mexican products brought by truck into the United States under the free trade agreement, a modern version of the old Santa Fe trade. Every day, ninety-five hundred long-haul trucks alone crossed Missouri on Interstate 70.

Throughout the twentieth century, supporters of river transportation always contended that a resurgence of river commercial traffic was just around the corner. Statistics for 1996 compiled by the National Waterways Conference showed that Missouri's waterborne commerce by volume amounted to 28.8 million tons and had a value of \$3.5 billion. "In Missouri, industries using barge transportation employ over 31,300 people and generate \$194 million in state and federal taxes in counties located along the waterways," the Waterways Conference claimed. "Over one-half of these jobs are in the agriculture and chemical industries." The bulk of barge traffic was on the lower Missouri River below Sioux City, Iowa. Loads of

sand, gravel, and agricultural products accounted for 57 percent of all shipments. The states of Tennessee, Illinois, West Virginia, and Louisiana were Missouri's chief trading partners in the water transportation business, contingent on the availability of navigable rivers and streams. One deterrent to any dramatic increase in river commerce in Missouri was that only a few cities, St. Louis among them, had adequate river ports. The Missouri River in its entirety carried less than 2 percent of the nation's river commerce. A source indicated that the Missouri River transported 2 million tons of commerce a year, compared with 100 million tons on the Mississippi River. In any event, the corps, with its responsibilities over flood control projects, water supply, hydro power, and recreation, in addition to river transportation, seemed bound to continue for the foreseeable future as a consequential force in Missouri.

Missouri remained important to national defense. Fort Leonard Wood and Whiteman Air Force Base stayed in operation. Leonard Wood continued in the role of a training base. The implementation of arms limitation agreements led to the closing of intercontinental ballistic missile sites at Whiteman. From the 1960s until they were phased out in the 1990s, missile sites at Whiteman housed enough missiles to devastate the Soviet Union. In 2003 the base remained an important component of American military might as the home of the expensive B-2 stealth bombers. The controversial craft—an unkind government report even suggested that the \$2 billion bat-winged plane was ineffective in wet weather—received needed favorable publicity for their use in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 1999 intervention in Kosovo and in subsequent conflicts. B-2s flew bombing raids all the way from Missouri to Kosovo and back without landing. No planes were lost on the thirty-one-hour flights. Under dramatic circumstances, the use of the planes in combat underscored the extent of federal power in Missouri. In 2001 B-2s were used over Afghanistan, and in 2003 over Iraq.

Two Supreme Court decisions in Missouri cases had national implications. Both involved divisive issues that raised religious questions over patients' right to die and abortions. The right-to-die issue centered on Nancy Cruzan, a young woman rendered comatose in a 1983 automobile accident in southwest Missouri. She failed to regain consciousness and required feeding through a tube inserted in her stomach. In 1987 the Jasper County Court approved a petition from Cruzan's parents calling for removal of their daughter's life-support system. On appeal by the state, the Missouri Supreme Court over-

turned the decision. *Cruzan v. Missouri Board of Health* reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled the tube could be removed if at some time prior to the accident Cruzan had indicated that she would not want to live in her present condition. In 1990 the family produced evidence to that effect. The Jasper County Court again ordered removal of the tube, and Cruzan died shortly afterward. The Supreme Court ruling upheld the validity of right-to-die wills legalized by several state legislatures.

The other Supreme Court decision, *Webster v. Reproductive Services*, had its origins in 1986 legislation passed by the General Assembly intended to limit abortions by placing restrictions on certain medical procedures. U.S. District Judge Scott O. Wright of the Western District of Missouri invalidated the Missouri law, ruling that it ran against *Roe v. Wade*. The state appealed. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit upheld Wright. The case generated national interest while reaching the Supreme Court. In 1989 the high court stated that the Missouri General Assembly had the right to place limited restrictions on abortions, but did not use *Webster* to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Abortion continued as an issue in the General Assembly. In 2000 the state legislators overturned Governor Carnahan's veto of a bill that outlawed late-term abortions.

Women generally improved their status and broadened their roles in Missouri in the last half of the twentieth century, albeit at a slower pace than many would have liked. In the 1950s many well-educated women in the workforce had to settle for secretarial jobs. Teaching and social work remained traditional alternatives. No matter what the occupation, qualified women received lower pay than men performing comparable work. Conditions started to change in the 1960s. An increasing number of married women worked outside the home, with many in such low-paying service jobs as waitressing and telemarketing. By the new century it was common to encounter women in middle management, in professional positions, and in small-business management. But despite legislation and the onset of the feminist movement, pay differentials remained, and very few women held high-ranking executive positions. An exception was in all levels of educational administration. In 2002 the chancellors of UMSL and UMKC were women.

Since the nineteenth century, Missouri women had championed reforms, notably temperance, through local voluntary organizations. By the 1980s and 1990s activist women dominated many neighborhood associations. In Kansas City and St. Louis neighborhood asso-



ciations were important policy-making bodies, defining and framing political issues. In 2003 the mayor of Kansas City, Kay Barnes, and the Jackson County executive, Katherine Shields, were women. The admission and graduation of more women from law schools was a factor in increasing their political influence. Throughout Missouri a large number of women held elected and nonelected positions in local and county government.

At a steady pace, women broadened their political roles in modern Missouri, taking a measure of inspiration from State Auditor Margaret Kelly and Lieutenant Governor Harriett Woods, who went on to head the National Organization of Women. Betty Hearnese was the first Democratic woman to run for governor and Kelly the first Republican. Lenore Sullivan, Pat Danner, Joan Kelly Horn, Karen McCarthy, and Jo Ann Emerson served in Congress. Ann Covington was both the first woman judge and first woman chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court.

Few women were in the General Assembly prior to the 1972 election, in which women won ten seats. Black women members of the General Assembly were even fewer. The first African American woman to win election as a state legislator was DeVerne Lee Calloway, elected to the house in 1962. Gwen Giles, the first African American in the state senate, captured her seat in a special 1977 election. Both Calloway and Giles represented St. Louis districts. By the 1993 legislative session women held 37 of 197 seats in the General Assembly, slightly under the national average. Despite their minority status, women were very influential on child care, family, and educational issues. According to a veteran male legislator, women members improved the quality of the General Assembly because of their thoroughness in studying proposed legislation.

A drawn-out issue in the General Assembly was the fight over ratification of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In 1973 the amendment reached the house floor, losing by an 81 to 70 tally. Introduced again in the house in 1975, the ERA gained narrow passage, 82 to 75, only to fail in the senate by a count of 14 for and 20 against. Brought up again in 1977, the ERA lost in the senate by a 12 yes to 22 no tally. Five years later, in 1982, when supporters made a last-ditch effort, the ERA did not even reach the senate floor. As with abortion, the battle in the General Assembly over the ERA saw women members on both sides of the question. Missouri was one of fifteen states that did not ratify the ERA.

It was hard to draw any definite conclusions about the number of gay men and women in modern Missouri. No one counted them, so estimates of the size of the gay population were of limited use. A question asked by the 2000 census about partners living together represented a tentative and imperfect start. An assumption was that most gays and lesbians resided in Kansas City and St. Louis, with small pockets in Columbia and a few other college towns. A few gays were fairly visible in Missouri because they took activist stands. There was little "outing" (unwanted public identification of gays) in Missouri. Most gays stayed in the background, keeping their sexual practices private. Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, initially treated almost exclusively as a gay problem, evolved into a national issue with the potential of infecting anyone. Still, a great many people continued to associate AIDS with gays. Beyond legal considerations, the extent of acceptance of gays was unclear.

Urbanization was an important factor in expediting "gay liberation," providing anonymity in a crowded environment. In the 1970s a climate favorable to social and political gay liberation created possibilities for greater acceptance of homosexuals. Openly gay people gradually entered the mainstream, with faith-based organizations frequently helping to ease the transition. The Metropolitan Community Church played a significant role in St. Louis from 1969 to 1980. Some gays organized for political and social action. In St. Louis on June 27, 1993, a gathering of supporters of Lesbian and Gay Pride Month was a pivotal event. Mayor Freeman Bosley told a Forest Park crowd of more than a thousand, "I want you to know today that if anyone comes for you, I'll speak up." He signaled that he considered himself an ally of the gay and lesbian community. To show his good intentions, he announced the appointment of human rights activist Laura A. Moore to the St. Louis Civil Rights Commission. Bosley wanted to end police harassment and hostility directed toward gays and lesbians in public parks and around predominantly gay bars. Conditions had changed since the 1960s, when St. Louis had no organized homosexual community.

In 1999 the General Assembly, in part responding to highly publicized hate crimes in the United States, passed legislation superseding the 1988 law raising penalties for offenses such as assault, motivated by racial or religious bias, targeted against "ethnic intimidation." The new measure had punishment-enhancement provisions that added criminal acts based on victims' gender, sexual orientation, or disability to the classification of hate crimes.

By 2003, African Americans in Missouri had a measure of legal protection of their rights that they had not enjoyed at the time of *Brown* forty-nine years earlier. Despite the great improvements, legislation could only go so far. Legally, African Americans could reside anywhere other Americans lived, but residential separation of the races continued. On the job, blacks and whites worked together, most visibly in service occupations. Fairness in hiring remained a goal rather than a reality. Undeniably, however, equal employment legislation, minority hiring quotas, and racial preference plans had been of considerable help. After work, blacks and whites went their separate ways. By custom, social segregation continued as a common practice in Missouri.

In 2003 numerous African American Missourians held elective and appointed political offices, a far cry from 1953. In the 1950s the few blacks holding public offices were almost entirely from minority jurisdictions. Breakthroughs for blacks seeking white votes in Missouri came in the 1980s and 1990s. By the twenty-first century the race of politicians was no longer a crucial issue in the state. When Congressman William Clay retired, his son William Lacy Clay won his old congressional seat in 2000 in a district that no longer was overwhelmingly African American. Alan Wheat, who won six congressional elections in a row in Kansas City starting in 1982, represented a district with a white majority that included the Country Club Plaza, the Country Club District, and the Ward Parkway corridor. In the 1990s Emanuel Cleaver, a United Methodist minister, captured around 40 percent of the white vote in twice winning four-year terms as Kansas City's mayor.

According to the 2000 census, the residential districts of St. Louis and Kansas City were highly segregated. From 1953 to 2003 there was little new residential construction in either of the inner cities. In St. Louis, decades of white flight from the confines of the city's restricted municipal boundaries exacerbated the situation. In Kansas City, while some blacks started moving west of the unofficial Troost Street boundary, the Missouri River threatened to become a new demarcation line. North of the river in Kansas City, in 2000, a total of 107,051 people—90.2 percent—counted themselves as white, while only 4,534, or 3.8 percent, identified themselves as black. (The white percentages were about the same as those for Overland Park, Kansas.) It could be said that white flight occurred inside Kansas City. A total of 133,345 blacks lived south of the river, inside the interstates and the State Line Road boundary, accounting

for 41.3 percent of all residents, up from 37.2 percent ten years earlier. White percentages fell from 59 percent to 49.8 percent in the same span. Whites numbered 160,880. "Basically, more and more white people are living north of the river," *Kansas City Star* journalist Yael T. Abouhalkah wrote in an article, "Same city, two Worlds," on April 15, 2001. "Meanwhile, growing numbers of black people are living south of the river, while the much reported flight of white residents continues."

As the twentieth century drew toward a close, a controversial issue between local, state, and federal governments was that of school desegregation in St. Louis and Kansas City. Seeking an acceptable racial balance was more easily said than done, in spite of a great amount of time and money spent on legal actions. Between suits filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, interested citizens, the state of Missouri, and the various school boards, it seemed as if everyone was suing everyone else, with the students as pawns in a battle royal. A vexing consideration was that the St. Louis and Kansas City schools became more African American in composition. Monitoring committees, widespread court-mandated busing, and mandatory school pupil assignments had inconclusive results.

In St. Louis, after the minority enrollment in the city district approached the 80 percent mark, U.S. District Judge William L. Hungate of the Eastern District of Missouri approved in the summer of 1983 a proposal intended to include St. Louis County school districts in an innovative desegregation plan. A creative approach was a voluntary exchange of students between the St. Louis School District and county districts. A magnet school system in St. Louis attempted to lure white students from the county. In concert, the county districts were expected to bring their minority enrollments in five years or less to within 15 to 25 percent of their total student populations. The cost, absorbed by the state, the St. Louis city government, and local county districts, was expected to total anywhere from \$30 million to \$100 million, meaning no one knew what the plan would cost. By the 1990s only twelve thousand students were in schools outside their home districts. What sounded like a good idea worked imperfectly in practice. Implementation of the plan cost hundreds of millions more dollars before the federal courts finally ended their intervention in St. Louis in the late 1990s.

In Kansas City, the results of intervention by the federal courts constituted a case study of how good intentions based on legal precedents and featuring an earnest attempt to break new ground

led to results that satisfied no one. In 1977 the Kansas City School District sued eighteen suburban districts and other parties as part of a strategy to obtain a metropolitan desegregation plan. The patrons of the Kansas City district had consistently failed to pass school bond issues by the state's constitutionally mandated two-thirds vote. Four bond proposals failed within a two-year period. In 1984 U.S. Western District Judge Russell Clark released the suburban districts from the case, finding the state responsible for failing to correct continuing adverse effects from pre-1954 segregation. Two years later he approved the establishment of an extensive magnet school system, in effect ending neighborhood schooling in the Kansas City School District. Massive busing followed.

In an unpopular move, Judge Clark in 1987 ordered a tax surcharge without a vote of the people to fund the magnet school plan. The dispute over the controversial surcharge went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which had to determine whether Clark followed the "code of the hills" or the laws of the United States. In 1990 the court ruled that the Kansas City School Board, rather than a district judge, had the authority to approve an increase without a popular vote. The state was part of the case, so it had to pay a share of the costs. Over the years, roughly \$2 billion went into upgrading the Kansas City School District, the country's most costly desegregation remedy. Many new school buildings replaced older structures deemed obsolete.

In 1996 the Kansas City School Board and the state of Missouri fashioned an overly optimistic plan, approved by Judge Clark, to phase out state funding in three years. A final state payment would amount to \$314 million. In November 1999, after Clark took senior status, another federal district judge, Dean Whipple, dismissed the case, ordering a monitoring committee to stay in place. In 2000 an appeals court overturned Whipple. What seemed a case without end finally ended in 2003. By then, many students not even born when the case began had started and completed their educations in the Kansas City School District. The massive building program received adverse national publicity, and declining enrollment led to the closing of several school buildings and the conversion of others into charter schools. The elected school board was in turmoil throughout the long duration of the case, running through twenty superintendents in thirty years. In the spring of 2000, after years of low test scores, the state withdrew accreditation from the Kansas City School District. By the fall of that year the predominantly African American

district had only thirty thousand students, less than half the number at the time of *Brown*.

Hundreds of thousands of Missourians banked on labor unions to help protect their rights. Yet in the face of Missouri's lofty rank as an important industrial and strongly unionized state, organized labor was not as powerful as in the heavily industrialized Midwest states of Michigan and Wisconsin. In those two states the United Automobile Workers had wielded considerable political power since gaining recognition back in New Deal days. The Missouri UAW, one of the largest unions in both metropolitan St. Louis and Kansas City, never had the same kind of political power. The Missouri leaders were not as astute and able, and the distances between Kansas City and St. Louis made cooperation difficult. That Kansas was a right-to-work state hurt the UAW and other unions in the Kansas City area. Differences in the character and aims of various craft unions further impaired the labor movement. But the AFL-CIO central labor councils in St. Louis and Kansas City exercised considerable influence by endorsing candidates—usually Democratic ones—at election time. In Greater Kansas City alone the AFL-CIO had more than 180,000 members.

The General Assembly was lukewarm toward organized labor, and Democratic governors who wanted and gained union support were not inclined to go very far in making the passage of pro-labor legislation a primary agenda item. In a twist of fate, business support in 1980 of a Missouri right-to-work amendment, rejected at the polls, generated an unexpected degree of cooperation among labor leaders across the state. A Kansas City business executive wistfully commented that unions were seldom heard from as a force in Kansas City before the right-to-work campaign, led by influential Kansas City businessman Miller Nichols. No fundamental changes followed the defeat of right-to-work, and labor legislation continued to languish in the General Assembly.

In St. Louis, construction unions, led by the Steamfitters Union, were powerful in local politics, more obviously so than their counterparts in Kansas City. Conventional wisdom held that Kansas City construction unions were much more amenable to an accommodation with contractors on large projects. Public employee unions, restricted by state law, had bad media images in Kansas City, a residue of illegal stoppages in the 1970s by teachers and firemen. The reputation of unions in general suffered a serious setback with a disclosure in federal court that Roy Williams of Kansas City had ties to

organized crime when he was leader of the national Teamsters Union. With changes in the economy leading to a general lessening of the influence of organized labor throughout the nation, in 2003 the future of unions in Missouri looked unpromising, despite an executive order by Governor Holden granting twenty thousand state workers under his direct control the right to collective bargaining. Union opposition in Missouri and elsewhere failed to stop either the North American Free Trade Agreement or the importation of Japanese automobiles. Nationally, the percentage of workers belonging to unions declined markedly from 1953 to 2003.

Diversity continued to best describe the religious views of Missourians. The last religious census taken in the United States was in 1936, given the controversial nature of the subject; few Americans approved of the federal government asking them questions about their religious preference. Religious bodies counted communicants differently, making it difficult to obtain accurate modern statistics. Public opinion polls consistently indicated that most Missourians were among the more than 80 percent of Americans who believed in a Supreme Being. Beyond that broad consideration it could be said that most believers were Christians, of whom Roman Catholics numbered the single biggest group, but Missouri also had a significant Jewish population. Smaller denominations became more visible in accordance with general national trends. Fundamentalist Pentecostal denominations remained important, most notably in the Springfield area and the rural Ozarks. Missouri was the headquarters of several religious bodies. By 2003 there was much more of a spirit of ecumenism than in the 1950s.

Regular church attendance in Missouri, around 55 percent of members every Sunday following World War II, declined over the next fifty years, again following national norms. Prior to the end of legal segregation, many of the Protestant denominations were divided along racial lines. Reconciliation was generally completed by the 1990s, but congregations continued to be either predominantly black or predominantly white. Black clerics were the bulwark of the Civil Rights revolution, sometimes assisted by activist white clergy. Over the years activism became ingrained, both on the Right and the Left. Numerous white churches closed in the inner cities of St. Louis and Kansas City, many times selling their properties to predominantly African American congregations. A significant development was the forming of new, rapidly growing suburban churches, sometimes outstate, such as around Columbia.

A three-decade study by University of Missouri–Columbia professors of ninety-nine representative Missouri rural townships from 1957 to 1982 determined that the number of churches fell by only 5.9 percent; 130 churches had closed and 98 new ones had opened. Roman Catholics, Southern Baptists, United Methodists, and Disciples of Christ lost 13.8 percent of their churches, counterbalanced by a 15.6 percent rise in the number of houses of worship among congregations that the study considered “non-mainline.” According to the survey, rural churches were more self-sufficient and therefore less affected by changes in the larger society. A professor involved in the project said of rural congregations, “They don’t need a lot of resources. Their church is a simple building. Repairs often are done by people in the congregation. They have a long tradition.” The study concluded, “The differences between mainline and non-mainline congregations in facilities, internal organization and activities, which had been so pronounced in 1952, had diminished substantially.”

Higher education underwent a transformation from 1953 to the start of the twenty-first century. In 1953 about sixty thousand students attended colleges and universities in Missouri. More than half the enrollees were in private schools. Washington University and Saint Louis University were the largest private schools. A significant number of small liberal arts colleges, almost all with a religious affiliation, were fundamental components of higher education in Missouri. The five state colleges, with a total of five thousand students, were relatively undistinguished former normal schools. Junior colleges, both private and public, along with various specialized schools from seminaries to military academies, were part of the higher educational mix. Until *Brown*, small, traditionally black Lincoln University in Jefferson City was, with rare exceptions, the only state-supported higher education institution that accepted African Americans. The segregated University of Missouri was the largest public school with about fourteen thousand students on its Columbia and Rolla campuses. Following *Brown*, the public schools in Missouri had quietly dropped racial restrictions.

In 2003 more than 200,000 students matriculated at institutions of higher learning in Missouri. Washington University and Saint Louis University were still the largest private schools, each with around fifteen thousand students. While the liberal arts colleges remained much the same in character and function, many had shed their religious affiliations and modernized their curricula. Most survived, with the notable exceptions of Tarkio College and



Boonville's Kemper Military School. Some previously single-sex schools became co-educational. Very large public community college systems were a new feature. In all, 80 percent to 90 percent of students in Missouri went to public colleges and universities, a very significant change from midcentury and one in line with national trends. The old state colleges, all redesignated as universities and greatly improved in quality, had roughly sixty thousand students. The two state colleges created in the 1960s, Missouri Southern and Missouri Western, plus Harris-Stowe, which became a state school in 1979, had a total of roughly ten thousand to fifteen thousand students. Lincoln changed markedly, becoming a mostly white commuter school for Jefferson City.

The largest institution of higher education in the state, the campus of the University of Missouri in Columbia, had approximately twenty-four thousand students. The University of Missouri System had a total enrollment of well over fifty thousand on its four campuses. Given regional considerations and rivalries, creating a unified university proved a difficult proposition to achieve in practice. As late as 2003, each campus had different basic general degree requirements. The university had separate medical and law schools in both Columbia and Kansas City. All the campuses fought for more autonomy and freedom of action.

Administrative problems and the failure of the University of Missouri board of curators to resolve the fundamental question of autonomy versus centralization and to adequately define the relationship between the campuses guaranteed confusion and waste. Highly touted and expensive five-year plans were imperfectly conceived, inflexible, and obsolete at their inception. The financial problems that had plagued the University of Missouri following its establishment in 1839 continued, and after 1980 administrators and faculty alike increasingly blamed the Hancock amendment. Through it all, gigantic amounts of public money went toward new construction on the four campuses. The quality of teaching and research advanced. University building had gone ahead with the expansion of the Columbia and Rolla campuses, along with building from scratch the University of Missouri–St. Louis and upgrading the former University of Kansas City. In 2003 the University of Missouri System was a more than \$1.8 billion operation.

According to the *Official Manual* for 2001–2002, Missouri had thirteen public and twenty-three independent four-year colleges and universities, plus nineteen public and two independent two-year

schools. In addition, there were twenty-three technical, professional, and theological institutions.

Missouri had always had a crime problem. Lawlessness was common in frontier days. In the Gilded Age the James and Younger brothers contributed to the image of Missouri as the "Bandit State." Crime and the Pendergast machine went hand-in-hand in the first half of the twentieth century. Narcotics distribution and use created serious long-term crime problems. Missouri's centrality and its superior transportation network made the state a prime drug distribution point. In the World War I era a railroad express official ran an extensive interstate drug ring from the old union depot in Kansas City, and in the 1930s one of the largest drug networks in the country operated out of a Kansas City store only a block from the federal courthouse. By the twenty-first century, Missouri ranked first among the fifty states in illegal methamphetamine production. While not first in any other representative crime categories, Missouri consistently ranked in the upper half of the states.

The number of violent crimes rose from 7,468 in 1960 to 27,419 in 2000. In the same span property crimes increased from 71,743 to 225,919. In 2000 the recorded incident rate for violent crime was 490 per 100,000 people; for property crimes it was 4,037.7 per 100,000. The state ranked nineteenth in occurrence of violent crimes and sixteenth in property crimes. The state was fifteenth in murder, twentieth in burglary, twentieth in larceny, and fifteenth in vehicle theft. Crimes in all five areas doubled or tripled between 1960 and 2000. Burglary had peaked in 1980 at 81,798 incidents and then dropped to 41,685 in 2000, a somewhat bright spot in an otherwise dark picture.

The rise in crime taxed the criminal justice system. In 2000 around 28,000 felons were serving sentences of a year or more in Missouri correctional institutions. A total of 17,500 individuals were on parole and another 48,000 were on probation. Many of the prisoners had been moved out of the antiquated old state prison. The state had twenty-one correctional facilities and two community release centers. A response to criticism that the courts were biased against minorities had helped lead to change from the top down in the composition of the state courts. By 2003, for instance, the Missouri Supreme Court had shifted from being all Republican at the end of the Ashcroft era to a majority of Democrats and had become more integrated and diversified, with a former professor whose legal experience was primarily in government service, a Jewish man, a black man, and a woman.

Sports at all levels continued as an important interest of many Missourians. High school athletics were a fixture of Missouri and national life throughout the twentieth century. From high school athletic events in small hamlets to professional ones in St. Louis and Kansas City, sports teams were important unifying factors in local and state affairs, affording a sense of community. In 2003, for example, the Kansas City Chiefs' Super Bowl victory of thirty-three years earlier was still considered in many quarters to be important in defining the spirit of modern Kansas City.

Of the tens of thousands of games and hundreds of championships won or lost between 1953 and 2003, few were as memorable as the electrifying 1964 stretch drive by the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team. The Cardinals overcame a six-and-a-half-game deficit with only twelve games to play to win the National League, then defeated the New York Yankees in the World Series four games to three. Other much remembered athletic contests included the Cardinals' subsequent World Series triumphs in 1967 over the Boston Red Sox and in 1982 over the Milwaukee Brewers; the Chiefs' 1970 Super Bowl victory; the 2000 Super Bowl win by the St. Louis Rams; and the I-70 World Series of 1985 that saw the Kansas City Royals beat the Cardinals in seven games.

In college athletics, the University of Missouri fielded many powerful and successful football teams during the 1950s under Dan Faurot and in the 1960s under Dan Devine. The glorious 1960 season had a sour note when a loss to Kansas cost Missouri the national championship, but the team bounced back to defeat Navy in the Orange Bowl. In 1968 Missouri won a memorable 35 to 10 victory over a heavily favored University of Alabama team in the Gator Bowl. For three decades Coach Norm Stewart consistently produced winning University of Missouri basketball teams as well.

From the Great Depression and on into the 1950s, old economic rivalries were perpetuated by small-town high school basketball games played by energetic farm boys in crackerbox gyms. The games, usually performed before packed houses, were a significant part of social life in communities in which there was little else to do during the winter months.

In *Down Home Missouri*, Joel Vance, who played for the Keytesville Tigers, captured the color and explained some of the complications involved in playing small-town basketball, using the Keytesville school as an example: "The architecture was Depression utility, no gingerbread, just ugly dark red bricks patiently piled one on the

other until they made a small-town school. The small gym was dimly lit, with fold-down bleachers along one wall and a stage at the other side. There was no out-of-bounds. You shot a lay up and hit the wall a microsecond later. The protection mats were as thin and unresilient as Rye Krisp." Vance found playing on the road an unforgettable experience: "We usually played in gyms as idiosyncratic as ours." Some had quirks that made them dangerous. "Brookfield's baskets were fastened directly to the wall, even closer than ours. Again, there was no out-of-bounds; players rebounded off the wall like pool balls. Glasgow's floor was on the auditorium stage, and an enthusiastic player leaping for a runaway ball risked soaring off into the orchestra pit like Peter Pan, only less aerodynamically." The special phenomenon of small-town high school basketball, curtailed by such circumstances as school consolidation and rural depopulation, was an experience that players, coaches, and spectators remembered and savored over ensuing years, a lost part of Missouri culture from one century to the next.

Methods of electronic communication changed dramatically from 1953 to 2003. In 1953, St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, and Columbia had the only television stations in Missouri. All had limited range, and there were few viewers. Television sets were costly and the small screens frequently had fuzzy and rolling pictures. In the 1960s the quality of reception improved and the price of sets dropped. Color television became widely available in the 1970s, cable television in the 1980s. By the 1990s television was universal and satellite dishes were available. Digital television was on the horizon. Television had threatened to run a large number of motion-picture houses out of business until multi-screen theaters with much improved technical systems, many located in suburban malls, gave the movies a new lease on life. A predicted demise of radio never materialized.

Big-city newspapers had an unsatisfying half century. Two venerable mass circulation papers folded. The evening *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* died for financial reasons. The *Kansas City Times*, the morning edition of the *Kansas City Star*, expired abruptly in 1990 when the *Star* shifted from evening to morning publication. Throughout the state most smaller dailies and weeklies survived, and continued to specialize in local news and advertising, although a number of them were being absorbed into various syndicates. By 2003 many newspapers had Web sites, potentially broadening their readership. In the American interior, away from the coastal and

Great Lakes states, only two daily Denver papers had larger circulations than the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Kansas City Star*.

Missouri had an impressive arts and entertainment tradition, but unfortunately the shift of national emphasis away from the center and back to the coasts rather abruptly forced a scaling down of cultural objectives in the early twentieth century. Missouri cultural personalities whose careers spanned World War II had little choice except to leave the state to gain national and international recognition. Although there were other mitigating factors, animated filmmaker Walt Disney, writers T. S. Eliot and Langston Hughes, and playwright Thomas Lanier "Tennessee" Williams made their marks elsewhere: Disney in California, Eliot in Great Britain, Williams in New York, and Hughes in Harlem. In a departure from normal practice, artist Thomas Hart Benton left the state, achieved fame outside it, and then, in a move controversial to those in eastern art circles, returned to promote regional art. Another exception was Laura Ingalls Wilder, who moved to Mansfield in the Ozarks in 1894, where she lived until her death in 1957 and wrote her *Little House on the Prairie* books. In the last half of the twentieth century many talented Missourians continued to leave the state to gain fame and fortune. Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Lanford Wilson, born in Lebanon, left his native state for New York in 1960. Even so, Wilson, who set some of his plays, such as *The Fourth of July* of 1978, in Missouri, was very much in the tradition of Mark Twain and Eugene Field. David Parsons left Kansas City for New York to first dance with Paul Taylor and then to organize his own modern dance company.

Even so, the artistic drain did not necessarily lead to a decline of either interest or quality. As Missouri moved ahead into the twenty-first century, several cities, in addition to Kansas City and St. Louis, had flourishing artistic communities. Columbia and other college towns were outstate cultural meccas. Dozens of small towns, including Camdenton, had active amateur theater groups. In a number of ways, Missouri continued to build on its rich cultural heritage.

Words scrolled in Latin on the Great Seal of the State of Missouri, adopted by the General Assembly on January 11, 1822, remained the source of the state's noblest aspirations in 2003: *Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto*, "Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law." A belt that encircled the state shield on the seal, translated from the Latin, read, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall." Let us hope that all Missourians take those words to heart and work together to build a better Missouri, something they could best accomplish by going

about their daily lives. The range of problems and interests of Missourians over the last half of the twentieth century were much the same as those of all Americans. Most Missourians thought of themselves as Americans first and Missourians second. In the new millennium the Gateway Arch memorial to western expansion and the Liberty Memorial commemorating overseas involvement in World War I remain as symbols of Missouri in America.

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## ESSAY ON SOURCES

This bibliographical essay concerns the kind of source materials used in producing this analytical synthesis of the history of Missouri from 1953 to 2003. The study is an overview rather than an exhaustive and lengthy day-by-day chronology and compendium. It makes substantive use of scholarly books and articles, along with newspaper accounts, reference works, census data, manuscript and archival documents, and Web sites. Discussions with many of the knowledgeable individuals cited in the “Preface” were of considerable help.

For much of the period, I was a “participant observer,” having lived in Kansas City, Missouri, since 1964—thirty-nine of the fifty years covered. While residing in Missouri for that long hardly makes me all-seeing, it has helped immeasurably in acquiring a ready general knowledge and placing a sharper focus on many events and developments. As a professor of American history at the University of Missouri–Kansas City, I watched the building of the University of Missouri system. I lived in the Country Club District in Kansas City at the time of the inner-city civil disorder of 1968. I saw the aftermath of the 1977 flood in the Country Club Plaza, and I have been a visitor in the same courtroom where the slayers of Bobby Greenlease received the death sentence. I have driven the roads of the state, seen many of its communities, attended numerous long-forgotten sporting events, and have gone, as a good Missourian should, to the top of the Gateway Arch.

Living in modern Missouri has given me a special advantage of sorts over scholars of earlier periods in the history of the state, among them those of territorial, antebellum, and Civil War times. However, there are disadvantages, including experiencing instead of reading about the great Kansas City winter ice storm of 2002.

I want to add a few words of caution and explanation. It is hoped that this bibliographical essay will be of use to anyone wishing to pursue in-depth study of modern Missouri, but it is not designed to be definitive, and instead concentrates on what I found most useful



in the preparation and in the writing process. For many subjects, such as the building of the Gateway Arch, no scholar has as yet drawn articles about the project together into a scholarly book. Most primary records, essential for such a work, are as yet unavailable. I should add that I have listed some earlier works (books, for instance, on cultural personalities of the past and the shape of the economy) that I found of value both for use and for background. Another reality is that very little has been done on ordinary Missourians, so there is no body of evidence to draw upon. For that matter, no scholarly biography exists for any of the men who served as governor after 1953. Several of the state's former governors were still alive in 2003, and their personal papers were not yet in historical depositories. A challenge that every historian of recent history faces is to draw conclusions on the basis of incomplete evidence.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

*MHSB* for *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*  
*GH* for *Gateway Heritage*  
*MHR* for *Missouri Historical Review*  
*OMSM* for *Official Manual, State of Missouri*  
*W.S.* for Web sites

#### GENERAL HISTORIES AND REFERENCE

No general history of Missouri covers the 1990s. Works of "recent history" seldom carry a story up to their copyright date. And the closer they get to the present, the more functional and chronological the coverage.

Two of the most recent Missouri histories are William E. Parrish, Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen, *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation*, 3rd ed. (Arlington Heights, Ill., 2003) and Duane G. Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1982). I found the former of great use in determining what was important through the 1980s. The latter is a comprehensive survey of economic and political life to the 1970s. David D. March, *The History of Missouri*, 4 vols. (New York, 1967), which extends the story of the state into the first Warren E. Hearnes administration, is a standard history of Missouri, comprehensive and clearly written. Paul C. Nagel, *Missouri: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1977), is an overview that considers the heritage of the state as a whole. Works Progress

Administration, *Missouri: A Guide to the 'Show Me' State*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, 1998), is still useful for information on historical, cultural, and environmental aspects; it is a 1930s version of a useful tourist guide. Two older histories are Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrast and People of Achievements*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1943), and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (Norman, Okla., 1962).

The five previous volumes of the History of Missouri, which together form a whole, are William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri, Vol. I, 1673 to 1820*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 1999); Perry McCandless, *A History of Missouri, Vol. II, 1820 to 1860*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 2000); William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Vol. III, 1860 to 1875*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 2001); Lawrence O. Christensen and Gary R. Kramer, *A History of Missouri, Vol. IV, 1875 to 1919* (Columbia, 1997); and Richard S. Kirkendall, *A History of Missouri, Vol. V, 1919 to 1953* (Columbia, 1986). All five volumes have detailed bibliographies that I found useful. Foley, McCandless, and Parrish have updated bibliographies. Two other useful books are William E. Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri: From Frontier Outpost to Statehood* (Columbia, 1989), and David Thelen, *Paths of Resistance: Tradition and Dignity in Industrializing Missouri*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 1991). *Paths of Resistance* is a controversial "New Left" analysis of Missouri's past. Two state histories that I used as models of how to write state history are James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, rev. ed. (Lincoln, 1987), and Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts*, rev. ed. (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1999). See also Craig Miner, *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854–2000* (Lawrence, Kans., 2002).

Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kremer, and Kenneth H. Winn, eds., *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia, 1999), contains biographical essays on the lives of more than seven hundred individuals who contributed to the building of Missouri. I found it of special use for the public careers of the three post-World War II governors: "Donnelly, Phil M. (1891–1962)," by Michael E. Meagher; "Blair, John Thomas, Jr. (1902–1952)," by Erika K. Nelson; and "Dalton, John Montgomery (1900–1972)," by Fran Dalton Cooper. See also Stanley B. Botner, "Missouri Governors: A Composite Portrayal," *MHR* 79 (July 1985): 480–86. For John Ashcroft's religious heritage, a valuable article is Edward Klein, "We're Not Destroying Rights, We're Preserving Rights," *Parade* (May 19, 2002), 4–6. See also John Ashcroft, *Lessons from a Father to His Son*, with Gary Thomas (Nashville, Tenn., 1998). For data on

Missouri women see Mary K. Dains, ed., *Show Me Missouri Women*, vol. 1 (Kirkville, 1989), and Mary K. Dains and Sue Sadler, eds., *Show Me Missouri Women*, vol. 2 (Kirkville, 1989).

ABC Clio provided me with a comprehensive bibliography of recent articles and books on modern Missouri; "ABC-CLIO Online Search Results for Lawrence H. Larsen," April 24, 1999.

## ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

The National Archives–Central Plains Region, Kansas City, Missouri, has federal archival records of historical importance that pertain to recent Missouri history. But comparatively few runs of recent federal agency records have as yet been transferred to the archives. The two major manuscript collections in Missouri are those of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis and the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, a Joint Collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri and the University of Missouri, on the four University of Missouri campuses in Columbia, Kansas City, Rolla, and St. Louis. The Kansas City branch is especially good on Kansas City political figures and the city's architectural heritage. Of special note is a monumental study, Jennette Terrell [Nichols] and Patricia Zimmer [Thompson], "The Economic Base of Greater Kansas City (Preliminary Draft of Text, September 27, 1949), Prepared for the Economic Research Department of the Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City." The Columbia branch has the records on numerous politicians, including the scrapbooks of Governor Blair. The National Archives–Central Plains has voluminous Missouri federal records and records of the Army Corps of Engineers, most prior to 1950. The administrative papers on some Great Society poverty programs are open for research. Among the federal court case files are the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri, *United States v. Hall and Heady* (1953), and the U.S. District Court for Kansas, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). The Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City made an invaluable contribution to this study by providing me with long runs of the *Official Manual, State of Missouri*. The "Blue Book," in addition to detailed information on the state government, almost always contains a comprehensive scholarly article on state history, ranging from the role of women in Missouri politics to the history of Jefferson City.

## NEWSPAPERS

The *Kansas City Star* and its now discontinued morning edition, the *Kansas City Times*, proved essential to the writing of this book, especially for the last quarter-century. The *Star* and other major state newspapers such as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* cover important developments and events throughout Missouri. The *Post-Dispatch* is unavailable on microfilm in the Kansas City area. I used the *Star* and *Times*, because many of the back issues are on microfilm at several depositories in the Kansas City area. Even though the *Star* does not have a comprehensive index, the *New York Times Index* can be used for specific dates, events, and obituaries.

The Missouri Valley Room of the Kansas City Public Library has a voluminous and well-organized clipping file of mainly the *Star* and *Times* that covers much of the last half of the twentieth century. For example, there are thick files for all the governors and for important events, including the Warrenton nursing home fire of 1957 and the statewide flood of 1993. The *Star* and other papers produce the true “manuscripts of the state.” The Missouri Valley Room files were indispensable to this history of modern Missouri.

## CENSUS

The U.S. Census illustrates the progress of Missouri in relationship to the United States as a whole. I made considerable use of the population figures, characteristics of the population, and the manufacturing, economic, and agricultural schedules for six censuses—1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. Recent statistical data can be found on Web sites, including the population and characteristics of all populated places, the population and characteristics of all counties, the population of metropolitan areas and their adjoining counties, and so on. (I found the comprehensive tables in the 1997 economic census of special value.)

Almanacs are a handy, easily used source for basic census information. I used the *World Almanac and Book of Facts*, especially the 2002 edition. Another compilation is *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*. An easily followed and understood history of the U.S. Census is Margo Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven, Conn., 1990). For crime statistics see “Disaster Center: Missouri Crime Statistics, 1960–2000” (May 16, 2002 W.S.)

POLITICS

The *Almanac of American Politics*, 1972–2002, published every two years, is a basic source that has social, economic, and social data on congressional districts, plus election statistics and political analysis. The *Almanac of American Politics* was of great value in studying Missouri politics in the last three decades.

Many of the books and articles cited below were primarily of use only for background in considering state politics. The most written-about personality in modern Missouri politics has been Harry S. Truman, seen by his admirers as a representative Missourian. The life of Harry S. Truman is covered extensively in many places. I consulted David McCullough, *Truman* (New York, 1992); Robert H. Ferrell, *Harry S. Truman: A Life* (Columbia, 1994); Alonzo L. Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (New York, 1995); Margaret Truman, *Harry S. Truman* (New York, 1973); Alfred Steinberg, *The Man from Missouri: The Life and Times of Harry S. Truman* (New York, 1962), and Margaret Truman, ed., *Where the Buck Stops: The Personal and Private Writings of Harry S. Truman* (New York, 1989). For a concise analysis of Truman's life, see "Truman, Harry S (1884–1972)" by Alonzo L. Hamby in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*. Paul I. Wellman, *Stuart Symington: Portrait of a Man with a Mission* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), is a campaign biography, mentioned because there are so few useful books on recent Missouri political leaders. A notable exception is James C. Olson, *Stuart Symington: A Life* (Columbia, 2003). A memoir, by John K. Hulston, *Moments in Time* (Springfield, 2000), contains personal impressions of many governors. See also John K. Hulston, *An Ozarks Lawyer's Story: 1946–1976* (Republic, 1976).

There are several items of note on the state political system. I found of special use Kenneth H. Winn, "It All Adds Up: Reform and the Erosion of Representative Government in Missouri, 1900–2000," *OMSM: 1999–2000*, 28–51. The constitutional convention of the World War II is considered in Martin L. Faust, *Constitution Making in Missouri: The Convention of 1943–1944* (New York, 1971). David Leuthold, "The Legislature in Missouri's Political System," in *Midwest Legislative Politics*, Samuel C. Patterson, ed. (Columbia, 1967), is a study of the General Assembly in action. See also Robert F. Karsch, *The Government of Missouri* (Columbia, 1968). A long view of Missouri politics is Morran D. Harris, "Political Trends in Missouri: 1900–1954 (master's thesis, University of Missouri, 1956).

As good as any scholarly assessment of the Hancock amendment is Max Skidmore, "Scholarly Commentary: Famine and Feast, Funding Public Services in Missouri," *SWSU Journal of Public Affairs* 4 (2000), 121–32.

The contributions of women politicians in Missouri are highlighted in Mary K. Dains, "Forty Years in the House: A Composite Portrait of Missouri Women Legislators," *MHR* 87 (April 1993), 150–67; Candace O'Connor, "Missouri Women in Political Life: 1972–1993," *OMSM: 1993–1994*, 12–35. Two books on first ladies of Missouri are Jerena East Giffen, *First Ladies of Missouri: Their Homes and Their Families*, 2nd ed. (Jefferson City, 1996), and Jean Carnahan, *If Walls Could Talk: The Story of Missouri's First Families* (Jefferson City, 1998). The Missouri Governor's Mansion is profiled in Ann Liberman, *Governors' Mansions of the Midwest* (Columbia, 2003). How a state law enforcement agency received a boost as a result of a prison riot is told in Roy D. Blunt and Gary R. Kremer, "The 1954 Missouri Prison Riot and the Image of the Highway Patrol," *MHR* 87 (April 1993), 293–305. See Richard A. Watson, *Law Enforcement in Missouri: State Highway Patrol* (Columbia, 1960). Richard A. Watson and Rondal G. Downing wrote about the selection of state judges in *The Politics of the Bench and the Bar: Judicial Selection under the Missouri Nonpartisan Court Plan* (New York, 1969). How the state treated an environmental problem is analyzed in Linda Elgine James, "Missouri's Dioxin Contamination, 1968–1988: The Politics and Administration of a Hazardous Waste Catastrophe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri–Columbia, 1988).

Big-city politics in the state was a story of bossism and reform. Pendergast days in Kansas City are told about in Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Pendergast Machine*, repr. (Lincoln, Nebr., 1968); William M. Reddig, *Tom's Town: Kansas City and the Pendergast Legend*, repr. (Columbia, 1986); Maurice M. Milligan, *Missouri Waltz: The Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine by the Man Who Smashed it* (New York, 1948); Lawrence H. Larsen and Nancy J. Hulston, *Pendergast!* (Columbia, 1997). Lawrence H. Larsen, *Federal Justice in Western Missouri: The Judges, the Cases, the Times* (Columbia, 1994) has information concerning the legal troubles of Thomas J. Pendergast and his organization. Bill Gilbert lauds reform city manager L. Perry Cookingham in *This City, This Man: The Cookingham Era in Kansas City* (Washington, 1978). Reform efforts in St. Louis are explored in *Municipal Reform in St. Louis: A Case Study* (New York, 1960). The efforts of Charles Binaggio and other gangsters to renew civic cor-

ruption in Missouri had far-reaching consequences: Lester Velie, "New Menace in Missouri," *Collier's* 124 (October 29, 1949), 13–15, 82–86; Estes Kefauver, *Crime in America* (New York, 1951); William Howard Moore, *The Kefauver Committee and the Politics of Crime* (Columbus, 1974). The anatomy of a famous kidnaping and the search for the ransom money is placed in perspective in James Deakin, *A Grave for Bobby: The Greenlease Slaying* (New York, 1990).

## EDUCATION

Many individual colleges and universities have their own histories, a cross section of which taken together illustrate the course of higher education in the state during the last half-century: Ann Cathryn Coe Craig and Jane Craig Naylor, *Tarkio College: 1883–1992: An Illustrated History of the Crown on the Hill* (Rock Port, 1992); Frank W. Clippinger and Lisa A. Cooper, *The Drury Story* (Springfield, 1982); Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Mount Holyoke of the Midwest: Virginia Alice Cottey, Mary Lyon, and the Founding of the Vernon Seminary for Young Ladies," *MHR* 90 (January 1996), 187–98; William E. Parrish, *Westminster College: An Informal History*, rev. ed. (Fulton, 2000); Mayme Lucille Hamlett, *The Noonday Bright: The Story of Southwest Baptist, 1878–1984* (Bolivar, 1984); Walter H. Ryle, *Centennial History of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College* (Kirksville, 1972); W. Sherman Savage, *The History of Lincoln University* (Jefferson City, 1938); Roy Iva Johnson, *Explorations in General Education: The Experiences of Stephens College* (New York, 1947); Leta Hodge, *Soldiers, Scholars, and Gentlemen: The First One Hundred Years of the Missouri Military Academy* (Mexico, 1988); Tom Brown, *Better Than They Knew: A 75-Year History of Trenton Junior College/North Central Missouri College, 1925–2000* (Trenton, 2000); and Lawrence J. Nelson, "The Demise of O'Reilly Hospital and the Beginning of Evangel College, 1946–1955," *MHR* 81 (July 1987), 417–46.

The creation of the University of Missouri system has been written about in a number of scholarly books and articles. For background, two works of value are Jonas Viles, *The University of Missouri: A Centennial History* (Columbia, 1939), and Frank F. Stephens, *A History of the University of Missouri* (Columbia, 1962), published on the eve of the transformation of the school into a four-campus system. James C. Olson, "MU Becomes a System," *MHR* 88 (October 1993), 1–21, is an authoritative account, especially of the merger

of the University of Missouri and the University of Kansas City. See Carleton F. Scofield, *A History of the University of Kansas City: Prologue to a Public Urban University* (Kansas City, 1976). The building and administration of the system is discussed in a firsthand account, James C. Olson, *Serving the University of Missouri: A Memoir of Campus and System Administration* (Columbia, 1993). James C. Olson and Vera Olson, *The University of Missouri: An Illustrated History* (Columbia, 1988), covers all four campuses. Blanche M. Touhill wrote about the rise of the St. Louis campus in *The Emerging University: The University of Missouri—St. Louis, 1963–1983* (Columbia, 1985). Lawrence O. Christensen and Jack B. Ridley, *UM-Rolla: A History of MSM/UMR* (Columbia, 1983), covers the troubled relationship between the Rolla and Columbia campuses. Elmer Ellis, *My Road to Emeritus* (Columbia, 1989), candidly tells about his career as a professor and administrator at the University of Missouri.

Useful for the understudied history of primary and secondary education in Missouri are Margot Ford McMillen, "Missouri's Child: Culture and Education in the Show-Me State," *OMSM: 1995–1996*, 12–34; Edwin J. Benton, "A History of Public Education in Missouri, 1760–1964" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1965); James L. Morris, "New Times, New Challenges for Missouri's Public Schools," *OMSM: 1985–1986*, 32–46; Lyle G. Boynous, "A Survey of the Effects of the Missouri School District Reorganization Law of 1948" (Ed.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1954); Harold E. Green, "A Comparison of School Districts in Missouri: Before and After Reorganization" (Ed.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1953); Henry C. Williams, "The Status of Public School Education in Missouri from 1820 to 1954: A Legal History" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1954).

For desegregation, I found of value Monroe Billington, "Public School Integration in Missouri, 1954–64," *Journal of Negro Education* 35 (Summer 1966), 252–62. In retrospect, Billington's conclusion, which ran against prevailing wisdom that desegregation was going very well in Missouri, is insightful. See W. Sherman Savage, "The Legal Provisions for School Segregation in Missouri from 1865 to 1890," *Journal of Negro History* 16 (July 1931), 309–21; John Clayton Thomas and Dan H. Hoxworth, "The Limits of Judicial Desegregation: Remedies after *Missouri v. Jenkins*," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 21 (Summer 1991), 93–108. For desegregation efforts in the St. Louis area see Daniel J. Monti, *A Semblance of Justice: St. Louis School Desegregation and Order in Urban America* (Columbia, 1985);



David L. Colton and Kathleen Hull, "Court Intervention in St. Louis," *Education and Urban Society* 15 (February 1983), 225–33; Joan E. Hoffman, "A History of the Voluntary Desegregation Program in the Parkway School District (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1994). I found of special help the only published scholarly historical article on the desegregation of an important outstate district, Lori Bogle, "Desegregation in a Border State: The Example of Joplin, Missouri," *MHR* 85 (July 1991), 422–40.

#### AFRICAN AMERICANS

The most comprehensive history of the African American experience in Missouri is Lorenzo Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 1993). A number of items deal with the Civil Rights movement in St. Louis, with an emphasis on fair housing: Nancy H. McKee, "New Urban Housing in the Nineties: St. Louis's Best Practices," *GH* 18 (Summer 1997–1998), 14–24; John E. Farley, "Race Still Matters: The Minimal Role of Income and Housing Cost as Causes of Housing Segregation in St. Louis, 1990," *Urban Affairs Review* 21 (April 1995), 244–54; Patricia L. Adams, "Fighting for Democracy in St. Louis: Civil Rights during World War II," *MHR* 80 (October 1985), 58–75; Daniel T. Kelleher, "St. Louis' 1916 Residential Segregation Ordinance," *MHSB* 26 (April 1970), 239–48; John E. Farley, "Metropolitan Housing Segregation in 1980: The St. Louis Case," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 18 (March 1983), 347–59; John E. Farley, "Black-White Housing Segregation in the City of St. Louis: A 1988 Update," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 26 (March 1991), 442–50; Karen Lehman, "Beyond Oz: The Path to Regeneration," *Social Policy* 18 (Spring 1988), 56–58; Barry Checkoway, "Revitalizing an Urban Neighborhood: A St. Louis Case Study," *National Civic Review* 73 (October 1984), 430–40; Eugene Meehan, *The Quality of Federal Policymaking: Programmed Failure in Public Housing* (Columbia, 1979); Michael G. Tschlis, "A Macrostructural Analysis of the Impact of Racial Change in Perceived Housing Values in St. Louis during the 1980s" (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis, 1995); Dennis R. Lubeck, "University City: A Suburban Community's Response to Civil Rights, 1959–1970" (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1978). See also Bonita H. Vallen, *The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation* (Washington, 1956).

A recent history of race relations in Kansas City is Sherry Lamb Schirmer, *A City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900–1960* (Columbia, 2002). A housing study is Michael S. Lenrow et al., *Fair Housing: An Overview with Special Reference to Kansas City, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1968); Kevin Fay Gotham, “Constructing the Segregated City: Housing, Neighborhoods, and Social Divisions in Kansas City, 1888 to Present” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1997). I found of major use a scholarly article on the 1968 civil disorder: Joel P. Rhodes, “It Finally Happened Here: The 1968 Riot in Kansas City,” *MHR* 91 (April 1997), 295–315. For the complex dynamics of shifts in the population of Kansas City residential areas, see Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, *Population Growth among Negro Citizens in Kansas City, Missouri: An Analysis and Interpretation of Population Trends* (Kansas City, 1967). A new study is Mary Kimbrough and Margaret W. Dagen, *Victory without Violence: The First Ten Years of the St. Louis Committee of Racial Equality (CORE), 1947–1957* (Columbia, 2000).

## CULTURE

Much has been written about legendary Missouri personalities, including Matthew Baigell, *Thomas Hart Benton* (New York, 1975); Henry Adams, *Thomas Hart Benton: American Original* (New York, 1989); Linda McMurtry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist and Symbol* (New York, 1981). Missouri has a rich musical history. A book on the St. Louis Symphony is Katherine Gladney Wells, *Symphony and Song: The Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra, the First Hundred Years, 1880–1980* (Woodstock, Vt., 1980). A general history of music in Kansas City is James Milford Crabb, “A History of Music in Kansas City, 1900–1965” (D.M.A. diss., University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1967). The basic historical study on the significance of Kansas City jazz is Ross Russell, *Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971).

For information on the history of Missouri journalism see William Howard Taft, *Missouri Newspapers: When and Where, 1808–1963* (Columbia, 1964); William Howard Taft, *Missouri Newspapers and the Missouri Press Association: 125 years of Service, 1867–1992* (Marceline, 1992); Jim Alec Hart, *A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Columbia, 1961); William Howard Taft, “Missouri Newspapers, 1908–1966,” *OMSM: 1965–1966*, 1–32.

The history of religion is a wide-open field. Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1976), has data on religion in the state. Almost all congregational histories are chronological and functional. An exception is Frank T. Adler, *Roots in a Moving Stream: The Centennial History of Congregation B'nai Jehudah of Kansas City, 1870–1970* (Kansas City, 1970). Joseph P. Shultz, ed., *Mid-America's Promise: A Profile of Kansas City Jewry*, Jewish Community Foundation of Greater Kansas City (Kansas City, 1982), takes a larger view of the Jewish experience in Kansas City. The basic study of St. Louis Roman Catholicism is William B. Faherty, S.J., *Dream by the River: Two Centuries of St. Louis Catholicism, 1766–1980*, rev. ed. (St. Louis, 1999). A useful sociological article is Edward W. Hassinger and John S. Holik, “Changes in the Number of Rural Churches in Missouri, 1952–1967,” *Rural Sociology* 35 (September, 1970), 354–66. A social religious study that I used is Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969–1980,” *GH* 14 (Fall 1994–1995), 34–47.

There are numerous popular histories concerning sports teams in Missouri. An example is Bob Broeg, *Ol' Mizzou: A Story of Missouri Football* (Huntsville, Ala., 1974). An excellent baseball history is Peter Golenbock, *The Spirit of St. Louis: A History of the St. Louis Cardinals and Browns* (New York, 2000). A standard study of a professional African American baseball team is Janet Bruce, *The Kansas City Monarchs: Champions of Black Baseball* (Lawrence, Kans., 1985). An important biography is James N. Giglio, *Musial: From Stash to Stan the Man* (Columbia, 2001).

Other cultural studies are Alan Havig, “Mass Commercial Amusements in Kansas City before World War I,” *MHR* 75 (April 1981), 316–45; Joe E. Smith, “Early Movies and Their Impact on Columbia,” *MHR* 74 (October 1979), 72–85; Kathleen Hagarty Thome, *The Story of the Starlight Theatre* (Eugene, Ore., 1993); Juanit A. J. Dempsey, “Histories of Parks and Recreation: City of St. Louis” (master's thesis, University of Missouri–Columbia, 1983). For two very different features of Kansas City cultural life, see Sifra Stein and Ruth Davis, *All About B-Q, Kansas City Style: Sifra Stein's Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1997), and Kristie C. Wolferman, *The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art: Culture Comes to Kansas City* (Columbia, 1993). An article on preservation and restoration is Ronald W. Johnson, “Historic Preservation in Missouri: Origins and Development through the Second World War,” *MHSB* 32 (July 1976), 222–46.

## THEORY

The importance of images is considered in two thoughtful dissertations: Edgar D. McKinney, "Images, Realities, and Cultural Transformation in the Missouri Ozarks" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri–Columbia, 1990), and Donald B. Oster, "Community Image in the History of St. Louis and Kansas City" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri–Columbia, 1969). At one time, Missouri had a clear cultural identity: Frederick Simpich, "Missouri, Mother of the West," *National Geographic* 43 (April 1923), 421–60. Efforts to define the modern state that I found of great use include Mark Sullivan, "Today's Missouri," *OMSM: 1967–1968*, 1–31; Lew Larkin, "Missouri: 150 Years of Statehood, 1820–1970," *OMSM: 1969–1970*, 1–33; Duane Meyer, "The Ozarks in Missouri History," *MHR* 73 (January 1979), 143–49; and Lawrence O. Christensen, "Missouri: The Heart of the Nation," in James Madison, ed., *Heartland: Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988). For what might be called a contrary view, see Richard Rhodes, "Cupcake Land: Requiem for the Midwest in the Key of Vanilla," *Harper's* 275 (November 1987), 51–57. Two interesting perspectives are Eugene D. McKinney, "Like Family: Kinship Perceptions of Ozark Radio Entertainers and Spread of Consumer Culture," *GH* 11 (Spring 1991–1992), 26–39; and Marjorie Dysart, "Missouri's Namesakes of the Navy," *MHR* 50 (April 1956), 225–34. See also John C. Fisher, *Catfish, Fiddles, Mules, and More: State Symbols* (Columbia, 2003). A valuable public report is Missouri Bicentennial Commission, *Missouri: A Bicentennial Report Concerning America's Bicentennial* (Jefferson City, 1976). See Glen E. Holt, "The Future of St. Louis: Another Look Ahead," *MHSB* 34 (July 1978), 211–17; and Grey Harley and Floyd Gilzow, "Missouri 2000: The State of the Future," *OMSM: 1987–1988*, 36–47. MacKinlay Kantor, *Missouri Bittersweet* (New York, 1969) focuses on rural Missouri as the essence of the state.

For early visions of impending greatness, see Alan Share, "Logan Reavis: A Study in Prophecy and Promotion in Late Nineteenth Century St. Louis" (University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1969); Logan U. Reavis, *Saint Louis: The Future Great City of the World*, 5th. ed. (St. Louis, 1881); J. Christopher Schnell, "Urban Promotion: The Contribution of William Gilpin in the Rise of the American West" (master's thesis, University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1968); William Gilpin, *The Central Gold Region* (Philadelphia 1860).

# ECONOMICS

Much remains to be done on Missouri economic development, and in some important areas the material is a little dated. Basic to understanding the state's economic past is James Neal Primm, *Economic Policy in the Development of a Western State: Missouri, 1820–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954). Richard Weiss Sears, "Early Promotion and Development of Missouri's Natural Resources" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri–Columbia, 1972) deals with a subject of fundamental importance.

Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Wilderness Bonanza: The Tri-State District of Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* (Norman, Okla., 1972), and Robert Thomas, *The Changing Occupational Patterns of the Tri-State Area: Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1953), are about the southwestern Missouri mining area. Materials on mining include A. M. Gibson, "Lead Mining and Manufacturing in a Frontier Environment: The Iron Industry in south central Missouri in the Nineteenth Century," *Locus* 1 (Spring 1989), 13–30; Jo Burford, "Underground Treasures: The Story of Mining in Missouri," *OMSM: 1977–1978*, 1–33; Arthur B. Cozzens, "The Iron Industry of Missouri," *MHR* 35 (July 1941), 509–38; Clarence N. Roberts, "The History of the Brick and Tile Industry in Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1950). See also "What Mining Means to Missouri" (May 2001 W.S.). The lumber industry is personified by a biography of a leading lumberman: Lenore K. Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the Gilded Age* (Durham, N.C., 1989). I found useful information in Missouri Forest Products Association, "Forestry Facts" (May 18, 2001, W.S.). For water commerce in Missouri see "National Waterways Conference" (January 2000 W.S.).

A good survey of Missouri agriculture is Cordell Tindall, "Bounty of the Fields: Missouri's Agriculture Heritage," *OMSM: 1979–1980*, 1–31. See "Missouri's Agriculture, 1987, 1992" (May 22, 2001, W.S.); "Animals-Animals-General Information" (May 2001 W.S.); "Missouri Farm Facts for Agriculture" (May 22, 2001, W.S.). I made use of an informative pamphlet, John A. Dillingham, *It's All About Eating: Kansas City's History and Opportunity*, Charles N. Kimball Lecture (Kansas City, October 21, 1999). Of special value is Jim Richmond, "Farms Fade Away," *Kansas City Star Magazine*, February 27, 2000. No bibliographical essay on agricultural history would be complete without a reference to Missouri mules: G. K.

Renner, "The Mule in Missouri Agriculture, 1820–1950," *MHR* 74 (July 1980), 433–57. The story of the beef and grain industry is told in Rudolf A. Clemen, *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (New York, 1940); Gilbert C. Fite, *Beyond the Fence Rows: A History of Farmland Industries, Incorporated, 1929–1978* (Columbia, 1978); Alice Lanterman, "The Development of Kansas City as a Grain and Milling Center," *MHR* 42 (October 1947), 20–33; Arthus Glieriat, "Growth and Development of the Kansas City Stock Yards—A History: 1891–1947" (master's thesis, University of Kansas City, 1948); G. K. Renner, "The Kansas City Meat Packing Industry before 1900," *MHR* 55 (October 1960), 18–29; Charles L. Wood, *The Kansas Beef Industry* (Lawrence, Kans., 1980).

Studies of Missouri companies include James E. Collier, *Trends in Manufacturing in Missouri* (Columbia, 1965); Timothy W. Hubbard and Lewis E. Davids, *Banking in Mid-America: A History of Missouri's Banks* (Washington, 1969); Raymond F. Pisney, "Ozark Airlines: From Missouri Feeder to National Air Carrier," *GH* 6 (Summer 1985), 2–21; Raymond F. Pisney, "James S. McDonnell and His Company: A Vision of Flight and Space" *GH* 2 (Summer 1981), 2–17; Robert Serling, *Howard Hughes' Airline: An Informal History of TWA* (New York, 1983); Andrew D. Young and Eugene Provenzo, Jr., *The History of the St. Louis Car Company: "Quality Shops"* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977); Marjing F. Fendlenman, "Saint Louis Shoe Manufacturing" (master's thesis, Washington University, 1947); Charles N. Kimball, *Midwest Research Institute: Some Recollections of the First 30 Years: 1945–1975* (Kansas City, 1985); and Dan J. Forrestal, *Faith, Hope, and \$5000: The Story of Monsanto, The Trials and Triumphs of the First Seventy-Five Years* (New York, 1978).

Edwin James Forsyth, "The St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Union, 1887–1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1956), and William B. Sears, "The Kansas City Building Trades and Labor Union" (master's thesis, University of Missouri, 1947), both many decades old, deal with the development of two unions. For a newer more general account, see Gary M. Fink, *Labor's Search for Political Order: The Political Behavior of the Missouri Labor Movement, 1890–1940* (Columbia, 1973), and Robert J. Moore, Jr., "Showdown Under the Arch: The Construction Trades and the First Patterns or Practices; Equal Employment Opportunity Suit, 1966" *GH* 14 (Fall 1994–1995), 30–43. To say the least, a need exists for solidly researched books on the role of labor unions in the state.

For Kansas City and St. Louis big businesses, I used "The Impact

of Missouri's Fortune 500 Companies" (May 17, 2001, W.S.). A regional economic survey is "Star 50: An Annual Guide," *Kansas City Star*, May 15, 2001.

## URBANIZATION

Like many other areas, the rise of urban Missouri is woefully underresearched, with few "urban biographies" by professional historians. Those books that have been written are mostly about St. Louis and Kansas City.

The standard professionally rendered urban biography of St. Louis is James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, rev. ed. (Columbia, 1998). Ernest Kirschten, *Catfish and Crystal* (New York, 1960), is useful, as are Selwyn Troen and Glen Holt, eds., *St. Louis* (New York, 1977), and Elmer M. Oyten, *St. Louis: Portrait of a River City*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis, 1977). Two innovative environmental histories of the "built up" environment are Andrew Hurley, ed., *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1997), and Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of the American Urban Landscape* (Philadelphia, 2001).

A need in Kansas City for an up-to-date comprehensive history has been fulfilled by a major project of the *Kansas City Star*: Rick Montgomery and Shirl Kasper, *Kansas City: An American Story*, Monroe Dodd, photo ed. (Kansas City, 1999). An earlier history, written by two *Star* editors, is Henry C. Haskell, Jr., and Richard B. Fowler, *City of the Future: A Narrative History of Kansas City, 1850–1950* (Kansas City, 1950). A more recent urban biography is A. Theodore Brown and Lyle W. Dorsett, *K.C.: A History of Kansas City, Missouri* (Boulder, 1978). For economic progress see Fredrick M. Spletstoser and Lawrence H. Larsen, *Kansas City: 100 Years of Business*, Kansas City Business Journal (Kansas City, 1988). For architecture see George Ehrlich, *Kansas City, Missouri: An Architectural History, 1826–1990*, rev. ed. (Kansas City, 1992). See Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Richard McKinzie, *At the River's Bend: An Illustrated History of Kansas City, Independence, and Jackson County, Missouri* (Woodland Hills, Calif., 1982).

Hardly any studies have been done on suburbanization in Missouri. For an insightful account that places St. Louis and Kansas City in a larger suburban perspective, see Roger W. Lotchin, "Angels and Apples: The Late Twentieth Century Western Cities Urban Sprawl

and the Illusion of Urban Expansion,” in Richard W. Etulain and Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The American West in 2000: Essays in Honor of Gerald D. Nash* (Albuquerque, 2003).

Other urban studies of varying quality include Robert L. Dyer, *Boonville: An Illustrated History* (Marceline, 1987); George O. Carney, “Branson: The New Mecca of Country Music,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 14 (Spring–Summer 1994), 17–32; Alan R. Havig, *From Southern Village to Midwestern City: Columbia, an Illustrated History* (Woodland Hills, Calif., 1981); Gary R. Kremer, “The City of Jefferson: The Permanent Seat of Government, 1826–2001,” *OMSM: 2001–2002*, 12–35; J. Hurley Hagood and Roberta Roland Hagood, *The Story of Hannibal: A Bicentennial History* (Hannibal, 1976); Gail K. Renner, *Joplin: From Mining Town to Urban Center, an Illustrated History* (Northridge, Calif., 1985); Larry W. Clark, “Moberly, Missouri: A Study in Town Promotion, 1866–1966” (master’s thesis, University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1966); Robert Willoughby, “Unfulfilled Promise: St. Joseph, Missouri, Nineteenth Century Competition to Become the Regional Metropolis” (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1997); Harris Dark, *Springfield, Missouri: Forty Years of Growth and Progress, 1945–1985*, Phylis Dark, ed. (Springfield, 1984); and John A. Wright, *University City, Missouri* (Chicago, 2002).

Very little has been done by professional historians on small Missouri communities and their fundamental contributions to outstate society and to the heritage of the state. The standard work on small-town America remains Lewis E. Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border*, rev. ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1984). See also Marian M. Ohman, *Twenty Towns: Their Histories, Town Plans and Architecture*, University of Missouri Extension Division (Columbia, 1985); Marian M. Ohman, *A History of Missouri’s Counties, County Seats and Courthouse Squares*, University of Missouri Extension Division (Columbia, 1983); Lawrence O. Christensen, “Small Town Missouri in 1890,” *Midwest Quarterly: A Journal of Contemporary Thought* 31 (Spring 1990), 396–407. A personal account of growing up in small-town Missouri is Joel M. Vance, *Down Home Missouri: When Girls Were Scary and Basketball Was King* (Columbia, 2000).

Given the problems involved in studying outstate Missouri towns, for my purposes I found community Web sites of fundamental aid. The ones I used included “City of Camdenton Missouri Community Profile and Economic Development” (May 16, 2001,



W.S.); "Joplin Metro Area" (2000, W.S.); "City of Lebanon Message" (May 15, 2001, W.S.); "Kirksville, Mo., Statistical Profile-1998" (May 2001, W.S.); "Maryville, Missouri Demographics; Population Study, Education, Telecommunications" (May 16, 2001, W.S.); "Moberly-Randolph Economic Development" (May 16, 2001, W.S.); Ste. Genevieve, "Economic Development" (October 30, 2000, W.S.); "History of Springfield, Missouri" (May 11, 2001, W.S.); St. Joseph, "Demographic and Miscellaneous Information" (May 21, 2001, W.S.); "Trenton—Economic Development" (May 2001, W.S.); "Cape Girardeau, Missouri: City of Roses on the Mississippi River" (May 2001, W.S.). Both St. Louis and Kansas City have extensive Web sites.

Although it is very spotty, with great gaping holes waiting to be filled, there is some useful material on background and specialized aspects of the history of Kansas City and St. Louis. There are comprehensive bibliographies of materials available on both cities in Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, and Montgomery and Kasper, *Kansas City*.

Some of the accounts that I used for background on Kansas City were Charles N. Glaab, *Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis* (Madison, Wisc., 1962); A. Theodore Brown, *Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870* (Columbia, 1963); Fredrick M. Spletstoser, "A City at War: The Impact of the Second World War on Kansas City" (master's thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1971); Robert Unger, *The Union Station Massacre: The Original Sin of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI* (Kansas City, 1997); Lawrence H. Larsen and Nancy J. Hulston, "Through the Eyes of a Medical Student: A Window on Frontier Life in Kansas City 1870-1871," *MHR* 88 (July 1994), 430-45; James L. Soward, *Hospital Hill: An Illustrated Account of Public Healthcare Institutions in Kansas City, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1995). Real estate man Jesse Clyde Nichols is analyzed and discussed in William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia, 1990); Robert Pearson and Brad Pearson, *The J. C. Nichols Chronicle: The Authorized Story of the Man, His Company, and His Legacy, 1880-1994* (Kansas City, 1994); and William S. Worley, *The Plaza: First and Always* (Lenexa, Kans., 1997). The City Beautiful movement in Kansas City is covered in Sonajune Sandusk Aber, "An Architectural History of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri, 1918-1935" (master's thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1988), and William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City* (Columbia, 1964). Two books on disasters in the Kansas

City area are Brian Burnes, *High and Rising: The 1951 Kansas City Flood* (Kansas City, 2001), and Carolyn Glenn Brewer, *Caught in the Path: The Fury of a Tornado, the Rebirth of a Community* (Kansas City, 1997). On the Great Society, the sole scholarly assessment for Kansas City is Charles Coulter, "Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty in Kansas City: The Human Resource Corporation, 1965–1971" (master's thesis, University of Missouri–Kansas City, 1993).

For St. Louis, two valuable background works are Wyatt Belcher, *The Economic Rivalry between St. Louis and Chicago, 1850–1880*, rept. (New York, 1968), and Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill: Italian-Americans in St. Louis, 1882–1982* (Urbana, Ill., 1986). The architectural heritage of St. Louis is detailed in Paul E. Sprague, "The Wainwright—Landmark Built and Saved," *Historic Preservation* 26 (October–December 1974), 5–11; Lawrence Lowic, *The Architectural Heritage of St. Louis, 1803–1891: From the Louisiana Purchase to the Wainwright Building* (St. Louis, 1982); George McCue and Frank Peters, *A Guide to the Architecture of St. Louis* (Columbia, 1989); Carolyn Hewes Toft, *St. Louis: Landmarks and Historic Districts* (St. Louis, 1988); Edmund G. Rafferty, "Orderly City, Orderly Lives: The City Beautiful Movement in St. Louis," *GH* 11 (Spring 1991–1992), 40–62; Renee Wrest, "No Contradiction Here: Beauty and Utility during St. Louis's City Beautiful Era," *GH* 13 (Summer 1993–1994), 34–45. The saving of the St. Louis Union Station is explained in Roger Hahn, "Biggest Project in the USA: At Vast Union Station in St. Louis, Innovative Development Expands the Limits of Adaptive Use to Save Treasured Landmark," *Historic Preservation* 37 (June 1985), 34–39. An article on the Arch is Sharon A. Brown, "Creating the Dream: Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 1933–1935," *MHR* 76 (April 1982), 302–26. Thomas M. Spencer, *Origins and the History of the Veiled Prophet Celebration in St. Louis, 1877–1895* (Columbia, 1996), attributes dark motives to St. Louis civic leaders. For three differing positions see Alphonso J. Cervantes, *Mr. Mayor* (Los Angeles, 1974); *St. Louis Currents: The Community and Its Resources* (St. Louis, 1986), and Eugene Baum, "A Portrait of St. Louis—as the Poor See It," *Focus* 48 (July 1970), 28–31.

Information on airports in St. Louis, Kansas City, and outstate can be found on three Web sites: "Other Facts about Lambert" (May 13, 2001, W.S.); "Kansas City Airports" (May 21, 2001, W.S.); "Missouri Department of Transportation: Transportation Alternatives—Aviation" (May 15, 2001, W.S.)

TOURISM AND WATER

Rivers and how to tame them have been central to the history of Missouri. Rufus Terral, *The Missouri Valley: Land of Drouth, Flood, and Promise* (New York, 1947), is an older work with a title that sums matters up very well. Various river conditions are dealt with in Louis George Johnson, "Flood and Flood Control in the Missouri River Basin" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1959); Robert L. Branyan, *Taming the Mighty Missouri: A Study of the Kansas City District Corps of Engineers, 1907–1971*, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District (Kansas City, 1974); John Pitlick, "A Regional Perspective of the Hydrology of the 1993 Mississippi River Basin Floods," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (March 1997), 135–51. The commercial use of rivers is discussed in "Missouri Fast Facts: Water Resources Programs for Missouri" (May 2001 W.S.). For the saving of Ste. Genevieve from the 1993 flood, see Andrea Oppenheimer Dean, "Deliverance," *Historic Preservation* 46 (July–August 1994), 40–47, 97–98.

Among studies of Missouri's water resources are John R. Hensley, "In the Shadow of the Table Rock Dam: The Army Corps of Engineers, Civil Engineering and Local Communities," *MHR* 80 (April 1986), 255–72; Stephen N. Limbaugh, "The Origin and Development of the Ozarks National Scenic River Project," *MHR* 91 (January 1997), 121–32; Linda Myers-Phinney, "Arcadia in the Ozarks: The Beginnings of Tourism in Missouri's White River Country," *Ozarks Watch* 33 (Spring 1990), 6–11; Clyde Weeks, *Lake Country: Days of Glory, 1680–1964* (St. Joseph, 1972).

I found of great value two publications of the Tourist Division of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources in Jefferson City: *Missouri State Parks and Historic Sites*, and *2002 Official Missouri Vacation Planner*. The Missouri Natural Areas Committee published *Directory of Missouri Natural Areas*, rept. (Jefferson City, 1996). See Harold Bell Wright, *The Shepherd of the Hills* (New York, 1907); David Klostermeier, "First Missouri State Capitol State Historic Site," *Missouri Resources* 166 (Winter 1999–2000), 20–22; "About St. Louis" (May 10, 2002, W.S.); "The Shepherd of the Hills Outdoor Drama" (May 14, 2002, W.S.); "Riverboat Casino: Missouri Gaming Commission" (May 2002, W.S.); "Convention and Visitors Bureau of Greater Kansas City" (May 14, 2002, W.S.). Some examples of tourist brochures are *Boone's Lick State Historic Site*, *Scott Joplin House State Historic Site*, *Missouri Mines State Historic Site*, and *Gen.*

*John J. Pershing Boyhood Home State Historic Sites*, all, along with many others, published by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, plus *Arrow Rock, Missouri*, *Negro Leagues Baseball Museum*, *Harrisonville Courthouse Square Historic District*, *Jesse James Birthplace, Clay County, Missouri*, and *Patee House Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri*, all published by sponsoring organizations. For Silver Dollar City, see Crystal Payton, *The Story of Silver Dollar City* (Springfield, 1992).

Helpful information on geography can be found in Thomas R. Beveridge, *Geologic Wonders and Curiosities of Missouri*, Missouri State Geological Survey (Rolla, 1978); Robert N. Saveland, *Geography of Missouri: A Story of the People and the Regions of the "Show Me" State* (St. Louis, 1954); James E. Collier, *Geographic Areas of Missouri* (Parkville, 1959); Milton Rafferty, Russell L. Gerlach, and Dennis Hrebec, *Atlas of Missouri* (Springfield, 1970); Milton Rafferty, *The Ozarks: Land and Life*, rev. ed. (Norman, Okla., 2001); and Edgar E. Hulse, *The Ozarks: Past and Present* (Springfield, 1878).

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