

URBAN FRONTIER LEADERSHIP

By

REID ALLEN HOLLAND

Bachelor of Arts
Northwestern State College
Alva, Oklahoma
1967

Master of Arts
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
1969

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 1972

Thesia
1972 D
H 736 u
cop. 2

AUG 10 1973

URBAN FRONTIER LEADERSHIP

Thesis Approved:

Charles M. Dollar

Thesis Adviser

W. James Henderson

Dr. Roy H. Lischer

Homer L. Knight

Keith D. Harries

N. Hurham

Dean of the Graduate College

PREFACE

This study of urban elites in selected Plains cities opens up some new areas of concern for historical research. A major point of the research is that leadership in cities such as Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines at the turn of the century was remarkably alike and remarkably rural in origin. What happened to these men as they migrated urbanward was part of the process of urbanization.

The study would have been impossible without the assistance of many individuals. The author is deeply grateful to a friend and thoughtful adviser, Dr. Charles Dollar, for his valuable insights. Dr. James Henderson, Dr. Keith Harries, Dr. LeRoy Fischer, and Dr. Homer Knight also read and added to the dissertation. The System Science Center at Oklahoma State University made possible parts of the study. Many others have helped, but most of all, the author expresses his appreciation to the staff of the Oklahoma State University Library for obtaining countless volumes through interlibrary loan and to Professor Knight and the Oklahoma State University History Department for their support and confidence throughout the past five years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| II. TULSA: THE LURE OF PETROLEUM | 21 |
| III. KANSAS CITY: SUCCESSFUL COWTOWN | 43 |
| IV. OMAHA: THE GATEWAY CITY | 65 |
| V. DES MOINES: TRADING CENTER IN THE FARM BELT | 84 |
| VI. LEADERSHIP IN THE URBAN PLAINS | 101 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 126 |
| APPENDIX A - CODES AND EXTENDED CODES | 140 |
| APPENDIX B - SAMPLE BIOGRAPHY | 146 |
| APPENDIX C - METHODOLOGY | 148 |
| APPENDIX D - NAMES IN SAMPLE | 150 |

LIST OF TABLES

| Table | Page |
|---|------|
| I. Population Increase by Decade | 2 |
| II. Population Changes: Tulsa | 21 |
| III. Parents' Occupation: Tulsa | 25 |
| IV. Distances Traveled by Quadrant: Tulsa | 28 |
| V. Direct Distance of Birth Place: Tulsa | 29 |
| VI. Mobility Prior to Residence in Tulsa | 30 |
| VII. Level of Education: Tulsa | 32 |
| VIII. Type of Degree: Tulsa | 32 |
| IX. General Primary Occupations: Tulsa | 34 |
| X. Top-Ranked Specific Occupations: Tulsa | 35 |
| XI. Elite Occupations and Parent Occupations: Tulsa | 36 |
| XII. Religious Denominations: Tulsa | 38 |
| XIII. Club Memberships: Tulsa | 39 |
| XIV. Population Changes: Kansas City | 45 |
| XV. Distances Traveled by Quadrant: Kansas City | 50 |
| XVI. Direct Distance of Birth Place: Kansas City | 51 |
| XVII. Mobility Prior to Residence in Kansas City | 52 |
| XVIII. Level of Education: Kansas City | 54 |
| XIX. Type of Degree: Kansas City | 54 |
| XX. Time of Education: Kansas City | 55 |
| XXI. General Primary Occupations: Kansas City | 58 |
| XXII. Top-Ranked Specific Occupations: Kansas City | 58 |

| Table | Page |
|---|------|
| XLVIII. Comparison of General Population Occupations and Elite Occupations | 114 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Four Cities | 8 |
| 2. Oklahoma Territory | 23 |
| 3. Urban Flow: Tulsa | 27 |
| 4. Kansas City and Westport | 44 |
| 5. Urban Flow: Kansas City | 49 |
| 6. Cattle Trails into Nebraska | 66 |
| 7. Urban Flow: Omaha | 70 |
| 8. Des Moines | 85 |
| 9. Urban Flow: Des Moines | 89 |
| 10. Elitosphere | 116 |
| 11. Model of Elite Preparation | 120 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ironically, just as Frederick Jackson Turner announced the disappearance of the last American frontier between 1890 and 1920, a second frontier, the urban-industrial frontier was taking shape in the Mid-Plains.¹ Cities in this region tended to grow and develop later and at a somewhat slower pace than their sister cities on the east and west coasts; thus entrepreneurs, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, bankers, and real estate men came to these bustling urban places at just the right moment to help make them productive. Richard Wade has pointed out a similar combination of timing and leadership in examining the early urban frontier in the late-eighteenth century. Wade's concept of the frontier movement designated Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis as spearheads of the march of American culture westward. To Wade the "pioneer life" in these cities was the genuine western frontier.² In the Plains area the pioneer-urban life came at a later date but mirrored earlier developments.

Between 1890 and 1920 Omaha, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Wichita, Houston and other cities began to boom. More specifically, most of these cities experienced great periods of growth between 1910 and 1930. Denver's population increased 51.8 percent between 1900 and 1910 and the growth of Kansas City was 49.6 percent for the same period. (See Table I.) From 1910 to 1920 several Southern and Western cities ex-

panded. Dallas grew 72.6 percent, San Antonio 67 percent, and Des Moines grew 46.4 percent. Between 1920 and 1930 Tulsa's population increased 97.7 percent, Dallas increased another 63.8 percent, Oklahoma City grew 103 percent, and Houston more than doubled its population.

TABLE I
POPULATION INCREASE BY DECADE

| City | 1930-40 | 1920-30 | 1910-20 | 1900-10 |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------|
| Tulsa | 0.6 | 93.7 | a | a |
| Omaha | 4.6 | 11.7 | 22.6 | 21.0 |
| Kansas City | -0.2 | 20.4 | 28.7 | 49.6 |
| Des Moines | 12.1 | 12.7 | 46.4 | 41.0 ^b |

^aNot available for 1900, but the 1907 population was 7,298 and the 1910 population was 18,182, thus the percentage increase was 148 percent.

^bDes Moines had a population of 38,398 in 1900 and 54,433 in 1910 according to United States Bureau of Census, Census of Population, 1910, Vol. II, p. 600.

Source: Warren Tompson, Growth of the Metropolitan United States, 1900-1940 (Government Printing Office, 1940), pp. 34-35.

In Denver and Omaha the developing mining and railroad transportation had caused rapid growth. Kansas City had also achieved superi-

ority over Fort Leavenworth through its promotion of the railroad. The newer cities in Texas and Oklahoma were almost universally a product of the discovery of oil. However, the mining of valuable minerals and the connecting of important railroads were not solely responsible for the growth of the urban Plains. Rather, a combination of these events and capable men became the basic elements in the process of urbanization throughout the Plains region.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the urban leader who ventured to a city in the Great Plains. Historians do have some knowledge of the so-called "robber-baron" and the wealthy urban speculators. But these men are a small minority of the urban leadership-- it is the lesser known urbanite who made repeated impacts on the urban Plains. From what geographic area did these men originate? What was his ancestral stock? What type of education did he have? When did he come to the city? What was his family and social life like? Was he occupationally mobile as compared to his father? What community and civic clubs did he contribute to? Was he politically active? If tentative answers to these questions could be found, historians would better understand the overriding question of how these men migrated to the city. Perhaps the rags to riches dream took on reality only in the city; or perhaps the dream remained a great American myth.³

While social scientists have emphasized elites and leadership in urban areas, historians have not. However, business historians have been a leading source of elite studies with some apparent urban implications. A pioneering work in this area was F. W. Tausig and C. S. Joslyn's American Business Leaders. Following this lead, several business historians of the 1950s produced studies of elite. William

Miller's "American Historians and the Business Elite" urged more research in the field. Thomas Cochran, Mabel Newcomer, and Susanne Keller supplied ample material but without suggesting urban inferences. Most recent of these works is John Ingham's study of the "Robber Baron Concept," in which he samples six cities without ever really examining the men as urbanites.⁴ Moreover, leaders outside the business world have been ignored. Thus a paucity of urban elitist studies not only exists but also perpetuates itself despite corollary research stimulus from business history. The result is that very little is known about urban leaders--even business leaders--and even less is known about how these men came to the city.

Consequentially, the conclusions historians have drawn concerning urban leaders are confusing. One scholar has categorically stated that the American businessman "was born and bred in the dynamics of American urbanism."⁵ While this statement may be true regarding the making of a businessman, it may not be true regarding the origin and progress of that man. Urban histories often emphasize early nineteenth century speculators and urban promoters such as George F. Train, but this emphasis only colors the picture of urban leadership. Historians simply have not been broad enough in their vision.

Cities maturing in the "urban age" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were developed by complex groups of leaders whose importance cannot be judged through an examination of one or two well known or colorful men. Richard Wade has pointed out that urban leaders in the early westward phase of urbanization felt an urge for their cities "to be like the great cities of the East."⁶ The urban frontier was the westward advancement of this eastern lifestyle. The

hopes of these men were based on a certain amount of urban experience which, according to Wade, they received through familial ties, visits, and the like. If this idea of an urban frontier is valid then it must apply to the development of cities beyond the time and space covered by Wade's research. Unfortunately, by the time the cities of the Mid-Plains matured (circa 1900) the theme of the advancing "urban frontier" becomes cumbersome and unwieldy. By this time the cities of the far West were already metropolises and the resulting urban vacuum in the Plains area makes the concept of an urban frontier confusing.

A more basic problem seems to be the origin of urban advancement. Historians have stressed, without much concrete evidence, that city leaders are important because they provide promotion for the city and because they provide some degree of political and social stability. It seems only natural then that the origin and socio-economic make-up of these men be a subject of study.

One group of scholars has analyzed urban reform leaders and has essentially destroyed the notions that lower or middle class urbanites were responsible for reform. Professor Hays and others point toward the "upper class" or the business and professional leaders as a source of urban progressive reform in the early twentieth century.⁷ Thus, the understanding of the political activities of urban elites is also dim. While the upper class urbanite may have been a reformer, we know little about the typical upper class urbanite.

Sociology has perhaps contributed most to an understanding of the professional, upper or upper-middle class, middle aged, well educated, white Protestant in control of urban America. Several sociologists

have emphasized that urban leaders, or urban migrants in general, more often originate from urban areas. Research shows that the urban migrant coming to another city assimilates better than the migrant from a rural area. However, these studies emphasize the city of the 1960s.⁸ Geographers have researched migration patterns to the city, but have not traced those of the elite. Other research in geography demonstrates that the elite have a fairly definite pattern of residence inside the city.⁹ Blake McKelvey, an urban historian, adds to this geographic dimension by pointing out that urbanites in general tend to move to the city in more than one step.¹⁰

From all of this only a few vague notions of urban leaders in the past exist. Men in the field of real estate have been a prime source of leadership in the American city. This, of course, relates to the idea that town promoters were often the leading citizens. Increasing heterogeneity of the urban population in general is often noted, but no notion of the heterogeneity of the elite has been offered. Indeed, the literature contains a number of conflicting statements about the stability and make-up of the urban elite. In McKelvey's urban history he notes (on the same page, page 71) that cities are often dominated by a "core of stable families" and yet the "power structure" in the city is described as "open and expansive" in the late nineteenth century.¹¹ Furthermore, Wade suggests that the top professionals in cities came from "local rural areas" outside the city. In other words, urban historians know little regarding the origin of early urban leadership.¹²

Thus, research has only added to the list of unknowns about historical urban elites instead of eliminating them. While the origin,

mobility, and socio-economic make-up of urban leaders have interested some researchers, no conclusions have been postulated. Just how open was urban society? A natural answer to this question might be found in a case study approach to several groups of leaders in several cities in the Great Plains in the early twentieth century. If these cities are located in a specific spatial and temporal frame of reference, the elite groups should become easily comparable.

Such a space has been recognized by several scholars¹³ as the last "urban-industrial frontier"--the Great Plains. As urbanization reached the Plains, the importance of leadership still remained "more important than either family background or inherited money."¹⁴ So, examination of leadership on several Plains cities will result in better understanding of urban leadership on the last of America's urban frontiers. Four cities have been selected from the Plains region on the basis of several criteria. Situated along the Missouri River basin (see Figure 1 below) Omaha, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; Kansas City, Missouri; and Tulsa, Oklahoma possess many similarities. They were approximately the same size--all four being between 100,000 inhabitants and 250,000 inhabitants. The average population of the four cities in 1900 was 165,432.¹⁵

Two factors were important in selecting these cities. First, the location of the cities provides excellent geographic dispersal for the purposes of examining the "wave" or "wedge" or urban migration. Secondly, since there are no other major cities between those selected, it may be safely assumed that the choice of the mover was based on the opportunities available in one of the four cities.¹⁶

Assuming that these cities set a spatial stage for an investiga-

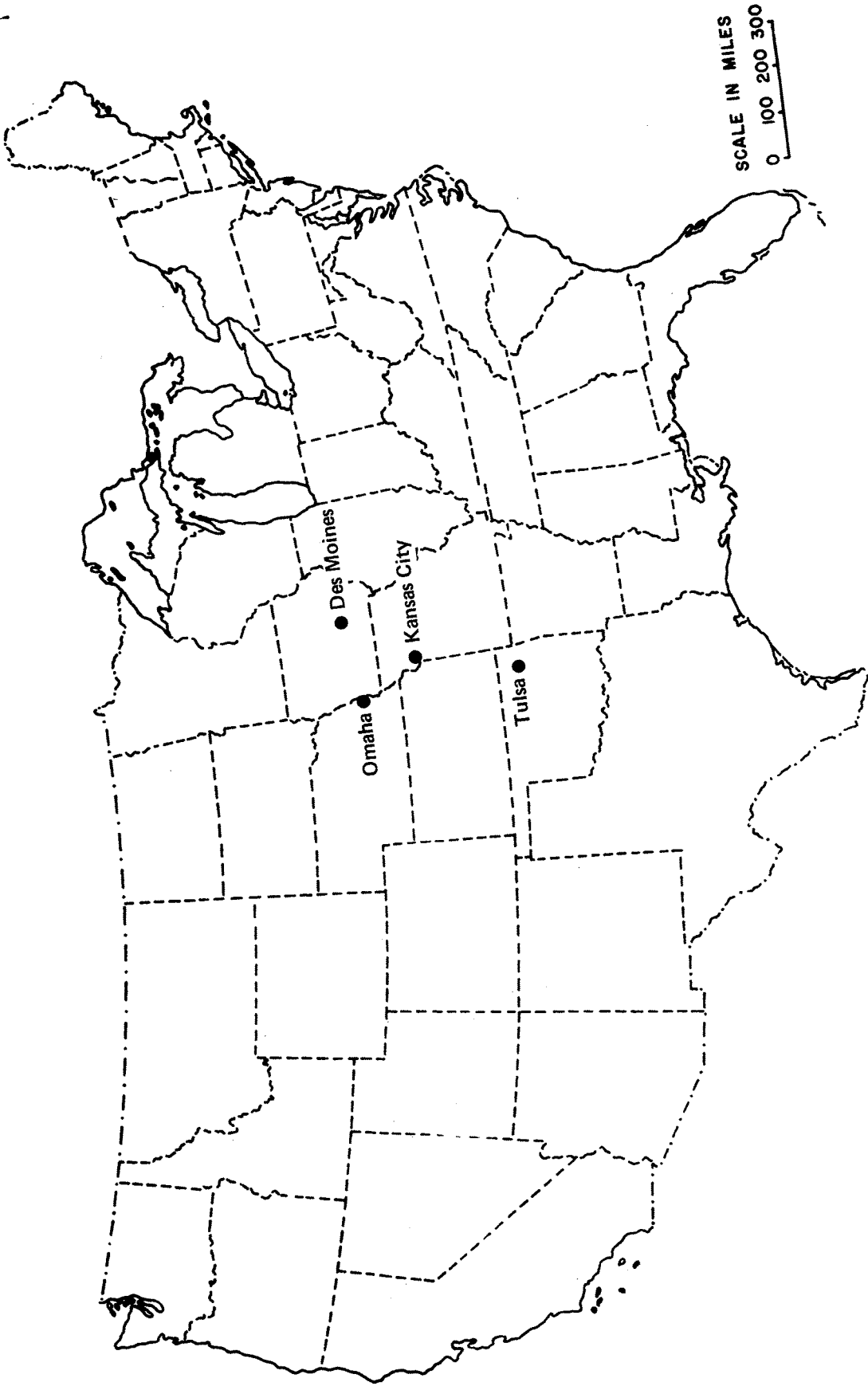


Figure 1. Four Cities

tion of elite, it is necessary to arrive at a time period best suited to examining a set of leaders in each city. Based on the arrival date of various men in these cities, the period from 1900 to 1930 seems to be more than comprehensive enough to assess the broader historical influences of these men. This time period will essentially allow us a glimpse of the first generation of urban leadership on the last urban frontier. However, the assessment of the men themselves has always been a more sticky problem than time or space.

The selection and definition of any group of elites--especially urban elites--has been very difficult. Perhaps most important in restricting the vision of historians in this definition is the infancy of urban history as a result of Turnerian influence. Historians did not turn their eyes away from the agrarian frontier toward the frontier urbanite until the early 1950s. By emphasizing the concepts of free land and individuality, Turner neglected the influence of the newly conglomerated cities as well as the collective force of urban leaders. Another factor retarding the study of urban elites was the absence of pertinent data. Recently however, historians have discovered a series of "who's who" type publications dealing with specific cities at a given time. Most of these volumes were a product of a popular fad existing in American society in the first half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the reputations these collections quickly acquired as "mug books," is undeserving as we shall see later. The doubtful origin of this type of data as well as their sheer volume indirectly illustrates the final explanation of the failure of historians to write about urban leaders. How does the historian handle 2,000 biographical sketches of important men in an American city? The

answer was simple--until the early 1960s historians could make no reliable investigation of this nature. Two developments in methodology, the employment of rigorous research designs and the use of statistical and computerized technology, now make it possible for the historian to consider voluminous data.

The "who's who" notion, made famous by publishers like Marquis Publishing Company and Robert M. Baldwin Corporation includes all types of volumes concerning a variety of subjects. For example, there were "who's who" collections for various years in advertising, American art, American education, American Jewery, politics, sports, banking, insurance, labor, railroading, rock-and-roll, American music, American women, colored Americans, commerce, and many more. Who's Who in America has been published as a major reference work since the late nineteenth century. Municipal, state, and regional "who's who" volumes exhibit the same diversity. State volumes, often published by the state's largest newspaper, include Who's Who in Alaska as well as Who's Who in Texas Today. Regional collections such as Who's Who in the Central States have been published by Marquis. Publishers of urban volumes had a heyday during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. Here again local newspapers along with "blue books" or social registers were dominant, but the publishing firm of Robert M. Baldwin made significant contributions. In the Southwestern region alone, various who's who volumes exist for cities such as Chicago, Denver, Des Moines, Kansas City, Lincoln, Louisville, Omaha, St. Louis, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Wichita. Although this list is far from exhaustive, it illustrates the availability of such data. Contemporaries in the cities covered by "who's who" volumes often recognized the historical

value of these works. Omaha Mayor James C. Dohfman published a letter of March 28, 1928, which was addressed to Robert Baldwin noting the "historical value of your [Baldwin's] book" as "very apparent."¹⁷

These data sources--like so many historical sources--have implicit shortcomings as well as advantages. The biographies are not uniform; the criteria for selection of elites are not clear; and publication of repetitive volumes is inconsistent. However, some of these disadvantages may be carefully compromised while others may be offset by the inherent advantages of the who's who collection. For example, the variance in publishers and writing uniformity may be overcome by selectivity in the cities chosen for investigation and by choosing data from a major publishing firm. The most critical problem--the criteria for the selection of these men and women--is adequately resolved by trusting the contemporary judgments of those who made the selections as more appropriate than the historian's judgment. What criteria could the historian use? No scholar has yet defined for all purposes who is a member of the elite. And, most important, comparable data on a large number of relatively obscure people below the very well known would be impossible to locate. Moreover, the natural advantages of having these urbanites themselves provide facts concerning their lives would be destroyed if the historian were to try to recreate them. Historians have always written of the past with the best available evidence which has usually been very incomplete.

The problem of analyzing and digesting these data is more complex than the problem of defining an urban elite. The burgeoning field of "historiometrics," as it might be called, demands a redirection of historical research goals and procedures on certain types of problems

as well as new directions in data analysis. Each of these new ideas in historical research deserves considerable explanation and comment.

To explain historiometrics in terms of research design and data analysis is relatively simple. First, the approach demands that a research design include at least five elements. There must be a statement of the problem in terms of practical solutions or professional literature. Following this, the research design should expound some hypotheses or suggested solutions to the problem. Historians have often thought about hypotheses but have generally not expressed them. Next, data appropriate to the problem needs to be collected. Here the ground is less familiar to most historians if the data happen to be in numerical form. The next step--analysis of data--is familiar in some respects and unfamiliar in others. Any analysis, whether it is counting with numbers or "digesting" the information in the traditional manner, must meet the criteria of validity and reliability. If the analysis is reliable, the research can be duplicated with the same results by another trained historian. And if the analysis is valid, the answer received applies to the specific question or problem hypothesized about. The final element in the research design is the historical judgment offered by the scholar in which the hypothesis is either accepted or rejected.¹⁸

Within this research design, the actual analysis of data implies the counting of information. Almost any type of data may be counted systematically. Often the number of Senators in a Congressional session may be of importance or the percentage of Blacks in a city's population may be crucial. These uses of numbers are not new to historians. Several good essays trace the origin of quantitative

history to Frederick J. Turner, Orin Libby, Henry Adams, Merle Curti, and Sam B. Warner, Jr. However, the use of data analysis through statistical, and oftentimes computerized, methods is purely a product of the 1960s.¹⁹

A specific quantitative technique--collective biography--will be employed here to help understand why men came to Tulsa or Omaha or Des Moines. The need for the detailed analysis of a collective biography is evident since hundreds of men in four cities will be considered. As mentioned above various scholars have investigated groups of men before, but analysis of large bodies of men with statistical inference is relatively new. Richard Jensen has been a pioneer in upgrading the collective biography technique. In his article, "Quantitative Collective Biography: An Application to Metropolitan Elites," he traces his procedure of data collection, coding, and analysis. He makes a good case for the use of the computer since "no historian can digest 6,000 biographies."²⁰ Jensen discovered several important relationships²¹ between youth and mobility, between Republicans and financial groups, and between education and political partisanship. Jensen concludes by noting some of the drawbacks of this method as well as some of its promises to "answer half the questions that have been unanswerable before."²² As a result of this article work in the area of collective biographies is growing rapidly.²³

A modification of Jensen's method will be utilized here to analyze urban leaders in the Mid-Plains in the early twentieth century. The procedure to be followed in each city is simple and can be categorized into the following steps: sampling data, coding and key-punching data, statistically describing the data, and finally measur-

ing the degree of association between variables. The results from each city will be compiled so that an overview of urban leadership in the region will be possible. Because the number of biographies are in excess of 10,000, the populations--or the total number of names in each city volume--must be sampled. That is, the Who's Who in Omaha is assumed to be a population of the elite for that city in 1928 and representative men were drawn from this population to economize research cost. In each case a 10 percent simple random sample was used.²⁴

The coding and keypunching of the data for machine reading is extremely important if the data are to be valid indicators which assess the problems of urban leadership. If important or revealing variables are ignored in the coding scheme the study will be biased and the results will not relate to the questions at hand. Assuming significant questions are asked, the appropriate variable needed to analyze each question should become apparent. What is needed therefore is a list of variables. (See Appendix A.) Among the facts we need to know about an urban leader are his name, date of birth, place of birth, size of place of birth, ancestry, father's occupation, education, place of education, occupation, religion, political preference, civic activity, mobility, social activity, military service, and marital status. And these do not exhaust the possibilities.

The actual coding process transfers the written information to numbers which are punched in an IBM computer card for ease in counting and manipulating the information. The date of birth is represented by the last three digits of the year of birth. Each state is assigned a specific code. A code may only indicate the absence of something

(0) or the presence of it (1). For the purposes of kenpunching, each code is assigned a specific column in the IBM card which ranges from 1 to 80 columns.

The counting and description of these variables will include percentage description, cross tabulation, mapping variables, and the measurement of association between variables through the use of the C coefficient. For example, the description of the data for each city will reveal the percentage of elites born in a rural place while the cross tabulation of data will reveal the association between those who were born in a rural place and received college educations. The construction of maps plotting the places of origin will display visually the mobility patterns of these elites.²⁵ It is anticipated that when these methods are applied to data from Tulsa, Omaha, Kansas City, or Des Moines some of the complexities surrounding urban elite origins, mobility, and socio-economic status will be better understood.

This understanding should support the thesis that urban leaders, similar in background, made several moves from essentially rural origins until they arrived in a city. They became urban leaders in the city because they received professional education which allowed them to be active urban participants. Stated more formally, the hypotheses to be tested are: (1) that leadership in the four cities will be similar in pattern of origin and migration as well as education and occupation, (2) that migration flows of these urban leaders was from rural backgrounds urbanward, (3) that most of the elite in all four cities were well educated (with at least some college) before coming to the urban Plains and thus prepared for an urban experience, and (4) that this preparation will result in most of the elites fully

engaging in the professional and social activity of the city.

The last urban frontier--that of the Great Plains--drew its leadership from rural areas mainly to the north and east of the Plains region. It is probably true that a majority of non-elite also migrated from this area to Plains cities. Yet, one does not normally associate urban leadership with rural background. As these men moved they attained high levels of education allowing them to contribute professionally to the growth of their respective cities. The men of the urban frontier of the early twentieth century did not receive significant urban experience through visits or relatives in the city. They did, however, become "urbanized" through a process of professional preparation. Urbanization in this context of leadership means professional and social participation in the affairs of the city. When these men came to the city they became involved in these affairs. Into the urban vacuum of the Plains came men with training and desire. They, along with thousands of other people who were never considered to be urban leaders, came urbanward. But the elite were prepared for the move.

The above hypotheses logically lead one to ask questions such as what types of backgrounds did these men have? How well were they educated? These hypotheses also lead to other hypotheses or other angles of this study which are, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this paper. For example, would an earlier "urban frontier" exhibit the same patterns as the Plains urban frontier? Investigation of hypotheses about Plains leadership, although limited, will produce some knowledge of the transformation of the urban frontier into a mature set of urban communities. We will know more about the human

aspect of this transformation. The filth in the muddy streets of Kansas City was controlled by trained physicians. And the frontier trading economy of Omaha matured when lawyers and businessmen founded and operated a legitimate livestock exchange. These conversions were in part a product of the transformation of rural migrants into urban leaders.

As case studies, Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines should prove adequate to assess these hypotheses. After the elite in each of these cities is analyzed, it will then be possible to make some judgments about the origin and make-up of urban leaders in the early twentieth century.

FOOTNOTES

¹Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, pp. 199-227. I am not attempting to define geographically a region here and I will use Plains and Mid-Plains interchangeably. For my purposes the area is delimited as Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Oklahoma.

²Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier (Chicago, 1959).

³Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The City in American History," Missouri Valley Historical Review, 27 (June, 1940), pp. 43-66; William Diamond, "On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History," in Eric Goldman, ed., Historiography and Urbanization (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 67-108; Blake McKelvey, "American Urban History Today," American Historical Review, 57 (July, 1952), pp. 919-929; Richard Wohl, "Urbanism, Urbanity and History," University of Kansas City Review, 22 (Autumn, 1955), 53-61; Eric E. Lampard, "American History and the Study of Urbanism," American Historical Review, 67 (October, 1961), pp. 52-70; Charles N. Glaab, "The Historian and the American City: A Bibliographic Survey," in Phillip Hauser and Leo Schnore, eds., Study of Urbanism (New York, 1965), pp. 53-80. Urban History surveys include McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (Rutgers, 1963); and The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966 (Rutgers, 1968); Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967); and Constance M. Green, The Rise of Urban America (New York, 1965). City biographies include Bayrd Still, Milwaukee (Madison, 1948); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Norfolk (Duke University, 1962); Gerald Cappers, Biography of a River Town: Memphis (Chapel Hill, 1939); Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1878 (University of California, 1964); McKelvey, Rochester, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1956-1960). Period studies include Roy Lubove, The Urban Community: Housing and Planning in the Progressive Era (New York, 1967); George Mowry, The Urban Nation, 1920-1960 (New York, 1965); Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, 1890-1930 (New York, 1966); Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness (New York, 1938), and Cities in Revolt (New York, 1955); Seymour Mandelbaum, Boss Tweed's New York (New York, 1965); Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York, 1970).

⁴Frank W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York, 1932); William Miller, "American History and the Business Elite," Journal of Economic History, 9 (1949), pp. 196-220; William Miller ed., Men in Business (Harvard, 1952); Thomas Cochran, Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890 (Cambridge, 1953); Susan Keller, "Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders,"

(unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia, 1953); John Ingham, "The Robber Barons and the Old Elite: A Structural Analysis," in Charles Dollar, ed., New Directions in American History (forthcoming).

⁵Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York, 1965), p. 115.

⁶Wade, Urban Frontier, p. 314.

⁷Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, (October, 1964), pp. 157-169; George Mowry, The California Progressives (Berkeley, 1951); James Weinstein, "Organized Business and the City Commission and Manager Movements," Journal of Southern History, XXVIII (1962), pp. 166-182; H. A. Stone, City Manager Government in Nine Cities (Chicago, 1940); J. C. Phillips, Operation of the Council Manager Plan in Oklahoma (Philadelphia, 1935).

⁸Basin Zimmer, "Farm Background and Urban Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), pp. 470-475; Richard C. Hanson and Ozzie Simmons, "Differential Experience Paths of Rural Migrants," in Eugene Brody, ed., Behavior in New Environment (New York, 1970), pp. 145-165; Seymour Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX (September, 1955), pp. 220-228.

⁹Homer Hoyt, Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (University of Chicago, 1933).

¹⁰McKelvey, Urbanization of America, p. 63.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 43, 64-65, 71, 75.

¹²Wade, Urban Frontier, pp. 210-212.

¹³Walter P. Webb, The Great Plains (Boston, 1931); and Daniel Elazar, Cities on the Prairie (New York, 1970).

¹⁴Elazar, Cities on the Prairie, p. 33.

¹⁵These figures are for 1930.

¹⁶This assumes either a westward or eastward migration.

¹⁷Richard M. Baldwin, ed., Who's Who In Omaha, 1928 (Omaha, 1928), p. ii; Albert N. Marquis, ed., Who's Who in America (Chicago, 1899-1970); Who's Who in Texas Today (Austin, 1968); Who's Who in Alaska (Juneau, 1947-1970); Marquis, ed., Who's Who in Chicago (Chicago, 1905); Who's Who in Denver (Denver, 1908); Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Des Moines (Des Moines, 1929); Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Kansas City (Kansas City, 1929); Who's Who in Lincoln (Lincoln, 1920); Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Louisville (Louisville, 1926); Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Wichita (Wichita, 1929).

¹⁸Quantitative historians hope that these methods of research design will be adopted by all historians since they are not dependent upon quantitative data.

¹⁹Robert Swierenga, ed., Quantification in American History (New York, 1970), Introduction; and Charles Dollar and Richard Jensen, A Historian's Guide to Statistics (New York, 1971), Chapter One.

²⁰Richard Jensen, "Quantitative Collective Biography: An Application to Metropolitan Elites," in Swierenga, Quantification, pp. 390-405.

²¹Relationships were measured with the C coefficient. For more explanation see Dollar and Jensen, Historian's Guide, pp. 80-81.

²²Jensen, "Collective Biography," p. 405.

²³Barry Parker, "Wichita Elites of 1929," (Washington University at St. Louis, ditto, 1969); Tom Kerwin, "The Chicago Elite of 1911," Washington University at St. Louis, ditto, 1969); Reid Holland, "Black Elites in American History," in Leon Blair, ed., Themes in American Civilization (forthcoming).

²⁴Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics (New York, 1960), Chapter 22; Dollar and Jensen, Historian's Guide, pp. 11-13.

²⁵The C value theoretically ranges from 0 to 1.0, but does not always reach unity. However, for our purposes any C of .70 or above is extremely high. See Dollar and Jensen, Historian's Guide, pp. 57-81.

CHAPTER II

TULSA: THE LURE OF PETROLEUM

Tulsa, Oklahoma, renowned as the "oil capital of the World," grew from a small Indian village of 1,500 in 1882 to a major mid-American city of 346,038 in 1960.¹ The few whites living among the Creeks in 1882 increased until the village on the banks of the Arkansas River in the northeastern part of the present day state of Oklahoma became a major trading post and later a center for the production of oil. Four distinct phases of history mark Tulsa's progress. First, as an Indian village, then a whiteman's trading post, then as petroleum producer, and finally as a modern metropolis. The rapid growth of Tulsa in the twentieth century was almost singularly a product of the discovery of oil. (See Table II.)

TABLE II
POPULATION CHANGES: TULSA

| Date | Population | Percent Change |
|------|------------|----------------|
| 1882 | 1,500 | - |
| 1907 | 7,298 | 244.1 |
| 1910 | 18,182 | 149.1 |
| 1920 | 72,075 | 296.4 |
| 1930 | 141,258 | 95.9 |

The beginnings of Tulsa are fairly well known.² The Creek Indian settlement of "Tallasi" or "Tulsee" was first noted by the explorer De Soto on September 18, 1540, in what is now Randolph County, Alabama. After removal from their homelands, the Creeks brought the name of their village with them to a curve in the Arkansas River in the year 1841. Creeks continued to immigrate to the area for some twenty years.³ The tranquil life in this Creek village was destroyed by the noisy intrusions of the whiteman after the Civil War.

The number of whites in the area grew to the point where the United States Postal Department officially declared the Creek town as "Tulsa" and began regular service on March 25, 1879. Shortly after postal service began, the first railroad came to Tulsa in 1881 when a branch of the St. Louis and San Francisco line was extended to Tulsa. (See Figure 2.) On August 21, 1882, the first passenger train pulled into Tulsa. Thus, the white population continued to grow. Since the town was unincorporated, Tulsa had its share of desperadoes, but its future was to overshadow the cowboy and Indian image with which the city is so often associated.⁴

With the trains came the cattlemen and the white populace boomed. After incorporating in 1889, Tulsa became a whiteman's town. Shortly after the whitemen began to buy land from the Creeks, drillers struck oil nearby and brought Tulsa to the nation's attention.⁵ Investors and speculators rushed into Oklahoma and along with them came thousands of men seeking employment.

Although oil was struck to the south of the city, promoters were quick to locate in Tulsa. The biggest impetus to Tulsa's oil business came in 1905 when Richard Galbreath and his partner discovered a large

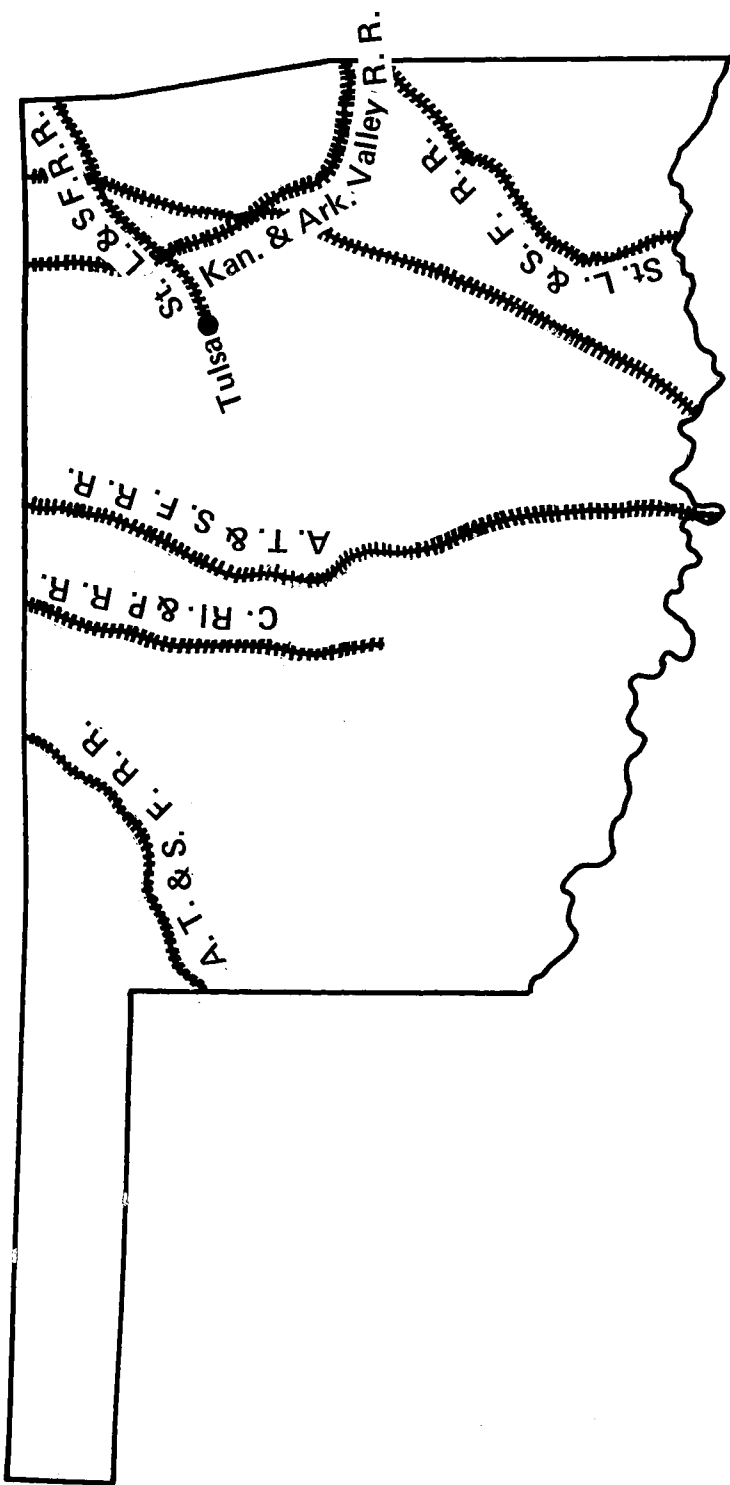


Figure 2. Oklahoma Territory

pool of oil under a wildcat derrick belonging to Ida E. Glenn ten miles south of Red Fork. The Glennpool discovery, as it was called, became one of the largest oil deposits yet discovered. Tulsa's growth immediately reflected the importance of the new industry and the city enthusiastically supported statehood which came November 16, 1907.⁶

Since statehood Tulsa has not only continued to grow as the "oil capital of the World," but also has attracted new industries. During the 1920s, the firm of Armour Meat Packing came to the city. However, it was the Second World War which created one of the largest new industries in Tulsa. By 1940, men were in the city to train as pilots and in 1941 the Douglas Aircraft Company chose the city as an excellent location for one of the major plants of the firm.

Obviously, enterprising men were partially responsible for the success of Tulsa. The growth and prosperity of any city depends in part on the city's leadership or elite. These leaders were businessmen like William G. Brockman of the firm of Brockman Brothers Real Estate, physicians like Dr. Charles Ball a former dermatologist in Tulsa, lawyers like Edward Crossland a past Tulsa county attorney, and oil men like George Coyle of the Prairie Pipe Line Company. There were more--in fact, there were many more men like these who migrated to Tulsa looking for a future; however, little is known about these men or their backgrounds. Where did these leaders come from? Why did they stand out as leading citizens of Tulsa? Did they come from near or far? An examination of the background and geographical origins of these leaders along with a study of their sociological, occupational, and political make-up will help toward understanding how and why these men were able to contribute to Tulsa.

Information about a group of approximately 700 Tulsa leaders in 1921 has been published and is an excellent source for examining the leadership of Tulsa in the early twentieth century.⁷ Chosen by their contemporaries in Tulsa, the lives of men like Brockman, Ball, Coyle, and others will be analyzed in order to assess their similarities or common elements in background, education, or occupations.⁸

The backgrounds of these men reveal the dominance of rural socialization and influence upon the future leaders of Tulsa. Thirty-four percent of the parents were engaged in some aspect of agriculture, usually located on a farm. Very few parents were occupied with businesses or professions. As Table III below shows, only 5.8 percent of the parents indicated they were physicians. Fewer still, 3.8 percent, of parents were lawyers or judges. For example, William Brockman's father was a German immigrant who homesteaded land near Yates Center, Kansas in 1861.

TABLE III
PARENTS' OCCUPATION: TULSA*

| Occupation | *** | **** |
|--------------|-----|------|
| Agriculture | 135 | 34.3 |
| Retail Trade | 38 | 9.6 |
| Physician | 23 | 5.8 |

*Top three only, others less than 5.0%

**Indicates number in sample, n=393

***17.3% were unknown.

Less information was available about the ancestry of Tulsa's elite. Irish, English, and German born parents accounted for 70 percent of the known ancestries; however, only fifty, or 12.7 percent, of the sample indicated their country of origin. Thus, it was impossible to determine when these men or their fathers immigrated to the United States. M. A. Coyle, the father of George Coyle, immigrated from Ireland when he was 24 years old and settled in New York. Despite the fact that such detailed background information was not available for many of the sample elite, it is clear that many of Tulsa's future leadership experienced life on the farm. The geographic location and size of the birth places of the group further demonstrates their rural background.

The birth places of Tulsa's elite was not only typically rural, but also midwestern or northeastern. Coyle, for example, came to Tulsa from Olean, New York and Dr. Ball migrated from Powellsville, Ohio. Figure 3 symbolically illustrates a broad visual perception of the urbanward flow of these men. The paths are heaviest from the northeastern quarter of the map, while flow from the south and west is less intense.⁹ Some additional investigation of Figure 3 reveals interesting facts about distance and direction traveled. If the map is divided into quadrants and the number of origins compared among quadrants, it becomes apparent that the majority, 77.4 percent, of the places of origin were in the northeast quadrant. Of course, it is impossible to assume that these are straight lines of migration; however, it is logical to assume that these future leaders left their birth places seeking greater opportunity and finally, if not directly, arrived in Tulsa. Those migrants traveling from the northeast also

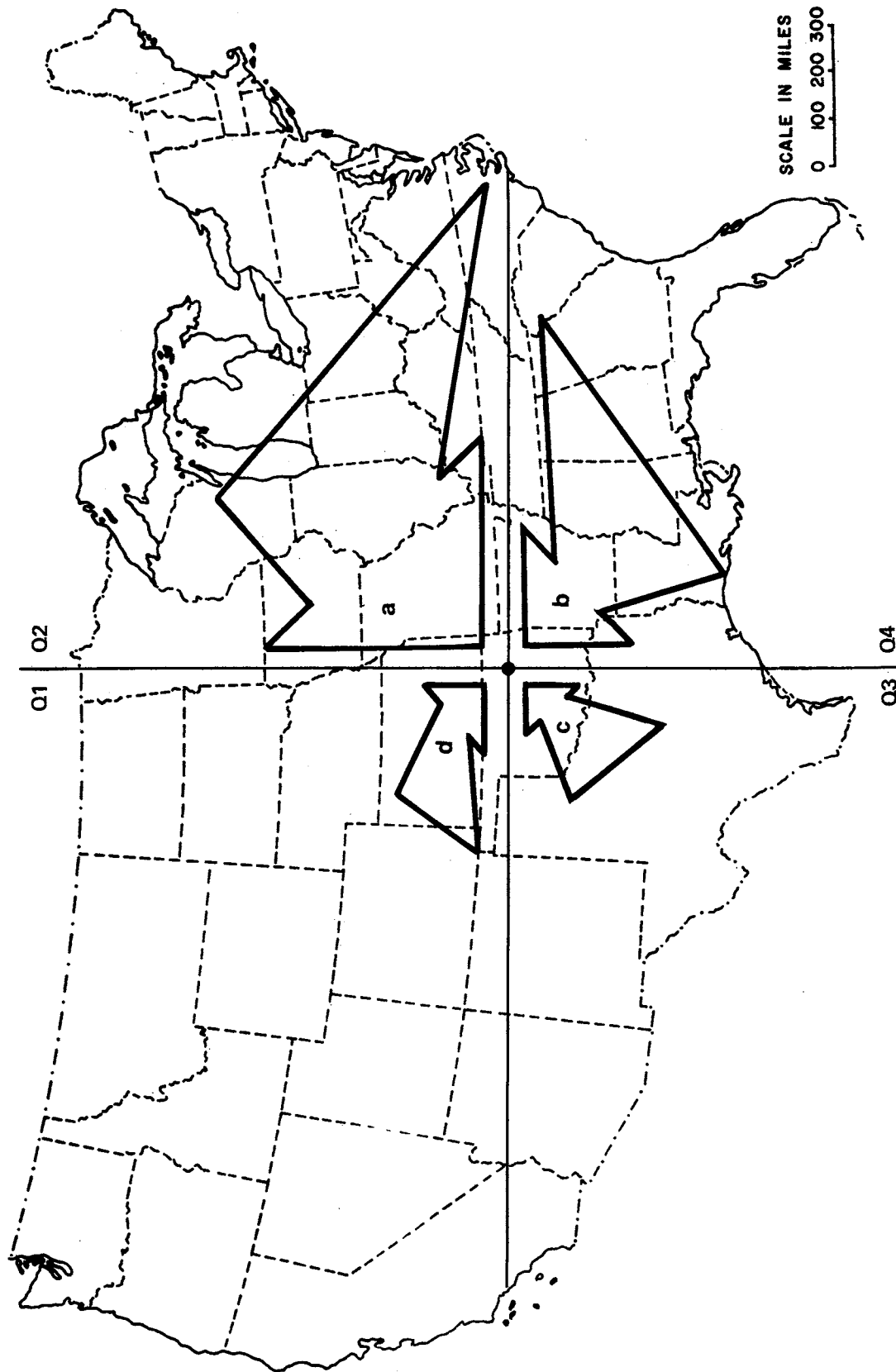


Figure 3. Urban Flow: Tulsa

came the greatest distances. The mean distance between place of origin and Tulsa for this group was 624 miles. For example, Dr. Ball was born 740 miles from Tulsa. A comparison of the distances traveled is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV
DISTANCES TRAVELED BY QUADRANT: TULSA

| Quadrant | Mean Distance* | Variance | Standard Deviation | N |
|-----------|----------------|----------|--------------------|-----|
| Northwest | 5.217 | 34.880 | 5.906 | 17 |
| Northeast | 7.800 | 18.970 | 4.355 | 264 |
| Southwest | 3.525 | 2.122 | 1.456 | 14 |
| Southeast | 5.150 | 8.064 | 2.830 | 46 |

*in scale inches where one inch is 80 miles

When the standard deviation for the mean distance traveled from the northeast is examined, we can note that approximately 67 percent of those elites born in the northeast were born between 280 and 888 miles from Tulsa. Another interpretation of the distances of these places of birth from Tulsa was derived from dividing Map 3 into concentric zones each 80 miles apart and comparing the distances. Two conclusions are at once obvious. Very few people came to Tulsa who were born within 160 miles of the city. (See Table V.) The majority, or 57.2 percent, of the elite were born in places over 320 miles from Tulsa. Twenty-two percent of the elite were born in counties over 560

miles from Tulsa.

TABLE V
DIRECT DISTANCE OF BIRTH PLACE: TULSA

| Distance* | # | % |
|---------------|---------|------|
| less than 80 | 9 | 3.3 |
| 80.1-160 | 19 | 7.0 |
| 160.1-240 | 44 | 16.4 |
| 240.1-320 | 42 | 15.6 |
| 320.1-400 | 20 | 7.4 |
| 400.1-480 | 36 | 13.4 |
| 480.1-560 | 38 | 14.1 |
| more than 560 | 60 | 22.3 |
| | n=268** | |

*in miles

**unknown=125

Not only did most of these men come from farms or towns some 600 miles distant, but also from places less than 50,000 in population. Only 36.7 percent of the elite in Tulsa were born in towns over 50,000 in population. Thus, over 63 percent of the sample were born in what can be termed rural areas. Powellsville, Ohio, the birth place of Dr. Charles Ball, only claimed 100 residents in 1900. Similarly, Tulsa county attorney Edward Crossland, was born in Mayfield, Kentucky a town of 2,909 inhabitants.¹⁰

Although it is evident that the typical urban leader of Tulsa came from the farm or small town of the midwest or northeast, there is

only scattered evidence of his path to Tulsa. A good indication of the mobility of these prospective urban leaders was the number of moves which they made prior to taking up residence in Tulsa. For instance, Dr. Claude T. Hendershot, a physician in Tulsa, moved three times and then made his move to Tulsa. As Table VI below reveals, 40.9 percent of the future Tulsa leadership class moved three times as did Dr. Hendershot. Over 27 percent of the elite moved four times prior to coming to Tulsa.

TABLE VI
MOBILITY PRIOR TO RESIDENCE IN TULSA

| Number of Moves | # | % |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| None | 3 | .7 |
| 1 | 7 | 1.7 |
| 2 | 68 | 17.3 |
| 3 | 160 | 40.9 |
| 4 | 108 | 27.6 |
| 5 | 40 | 10.2 |
| 6 | 6 | 1.5 |
| 8 | 1 | .2 |
| | n=393 | |

This mobility suggests both the unlikeliness of a direct path of migration as well as the likeliness of a desire to find better opportunity somewhere. Tulsa attracted these men from the northeast and midwest to leave their farms or small towns. But why did these men

move so much before coming to Tulsa? And why did they feel they could succeed in an urban atmosphere when they clearly came from rural backgrounds? Dr. Hendershot, for example, made his first move, probably with his parents, to complete high school in the nearby town of New Albany, Indiana. He then moved to Bloomington, Indiana where he graduated from the University. From here he moved to Louisville, Kentucky where he attended the Medical School of Louisville, graduating in 1897. After a short practice in Louisville, Hendershot came to Tulsa in November, 1905. His mobility prior to residence in Tulsa had given him two things. He had received some experience in urban living, and he had earned an excellent professional education which allowed him to continue urban living in Tulsa.

Many other future Tulsans were like Dr. Hendershot. Over 63 percent of these men received at least some college level education. (See Table VII.) Less than one percent of these leaders indicated they received formal education at the grammar school level or below. Just less than thirty percent of the sample received bachelor degrees; and a surprisingly large number, 22.3 percent, were awarded graduate degrees. Thus, the majority of leaders in Tulsa were well educated and professionally trained.

This notion of the well educated Tulsa elite is further supported by the fact that 16.3 percent of the group held bachelor degrees, 19.6 percent of them LLB or other law degrees, and 15.0 percent held medical degrees. (See Table VIII.) These men received a professional education which trained them well for life in the city. For example, Edward Crossland held his LLB degree from Center College at Danville, Kentucky; Dr. Ball studied at Southern Illinois Normal College at

TABLE VII
LEVEL OF EDUCATION: TULSA

| Level of Education | # | % |
|--------------------|-------|------|
| None or unknown | 2 | .2 |
| Grammar | 4 | .7 |
| High School | 137 | 34.9 |
| Some College | 38 | 9.6 |
| Degree | 110 | 27.6 |
| Some Graduate Work | 16 | 4.0 |
| Advanced Degree | 88 | 22.3 |
| | n=393 | |

TABLE VIII
TYPE OF DEGREE: TULSA

| Degree | # | % |
|--------|--------|------|
| None | 181 | 46.1 |
| LLB | 76 | 19.4 |
| BA | 64 | 16.3 |
| MD | 59 | 15.0 |
| PhD | 3 | .7 |
| BD | 3 | .7 |
| MA | 3 | .7 |
| DDS | 3 | .7 |
| | n=392* | |

*unknown=1

Carbondale, Illinois before working several years as a journalist and completing his medical degree at St. Louis Medical College. It is plausible, then, to think of these men as intelligent, rational, and

creative men who had a great deal to offer a growing city. On the other hand a college education did not necessarily mean these were supermen who created a supercity. Their training did, however, assure them of a certain degree of professional success.

Although no definite pattern can be determined from the data, it is clear that education was a stepping stone for these men. Everyone of the elite in this study received their educations, regardless of level, before coming to Tulsa. Most were educated in the state in which they were born, but at another town or city. Thus, the first move many of the Tulsa elite made was to a nearby city to receive an education. Missouri, New York, Illinois, and Kansas were the top-ranked four states in the number of future Tulsans who were educated there.¹¹ Missouri, Kansas, and Illinois were also among the top-ranked states of birth.

After completing their educations on the verge of moving to the city, these men quickly established stable families and modes of living. Most of the Tulsa elite were married shortly before or after their arrival in Tulsa. The vast majority, 89.4 percent, were married only once, with only 2.3 percent of the group married more than once. In addition, Tulsa leaders raised two to three children on the average (the average was 2.55 children per family). Since the men were relatively young when they came to the city, the average age was 24.6 years, the children of these men were brought up in the urban atmosphere of Tulsa. Calvin O. Smith, President of the Smith Oil Company, in 1920 came to Tulsa at the age of 25 after receiving an education at the University of Chicago and Harvard. He married that same year, and at 29 he was the father of two children. Thus far the Tulsa leaders

appear to be young family men with good educations who have moved from their places of birth seeking opportunity and were likely to be anxious for success upon their arrival in Tulsa.

The drive for success which these men undertook is perhaps best displayed by the occupations in which they engaged. The primary occupations (those which consumed most of the subject's time) were law, finance, and manufacturing. (See Table IX.) Over twenty-two percent of the elite were engaged in financial pursuits such as real estate and banking. More than 29 percent were occupied with legal pursuits as either lawyers or judges, and 19.1 percent were active in all fields of manufacturing. Only a few of the sample (36.0 percent) claimed secondary occupations, but the majority of these men had investment interests in oil and other financial fields. Beginning as a bookkeeper, George Coyle, came to Tulsa as superintendent and manager of the Prairie Pipe Line Company which makes him an "oil manufacturer" as well as an investor.

TABLE IX
GENERAL PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS: TULSA

| Occupations* | # | % |
|--------------------------|-----|------|
| Law | 115 | 29.3 |
| Finance | 90 | 22.9 |
| Manufacturing | 75 | 19.1 |
| Medicine | 63 | 16.0 |
| Other Professions | 22 | 5.6 |
| Trade and Transportation | 18 | 4.5 |
| Other | 8 | 2.0 |
| Manual | 1 | .2 |
| n=391** | | |

*see Appendix A

**unknown=2

Among the seven top-ranked specific occupations, finance seems to be most prevalent. Nearly one-third, 29.2 percent, of these top-ranked occupations were in law. Twenty-four percent were engaged in oil manufacturing. Other financial occupations in this group included real estate, banking, and retail trade.

TABLE X
TOP-RANKED SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS: TULSA

| Occupation | # | % |
|------------------|-------|------|
| Lawyer | 75 | 29.2 |
| Oil Manufacturer | 61 | 24.0 |
| Physician | 58 | 22.0 |
| Real Estate | 24 | 9.4 |
| Oil Financier | 18 | 7.0 |
| Banker | 12 | 4.7 |
| Retail Trade | 6 | 2.3 |
| | n=254 | |

Oscar A. Flanagan was a Tulsa Physician who exemplified the influence of these young professionals in Tulsa. Flanagan's father, however, was a farmer near Walton, Indiana. This pattern is repeated by many Tulsa elites. Tulsa's leadership was not only professional, but also was very different from their fathers' occupations. A test of the association between those elites engaged in a certain occupation and those whose fathers' engaged in the same occupation reveals very little statistical relationship. The elite were divided into financiers,

lawyers and doctors, and others in order to determine how many elite lawyers had fathers who were lawyers. The C of .30 in Table XI below demonstrates that few elite parents enjoyed the same professional types of occupations that their sons did. Oscar Flanagan's father, Charles, retired on his farm near Walton, but his son moved to the city and moved up in the realm of occupational status.

TABLE XI
ELITE OCCUPATIONS AND PARENT OCCUPATIONS: TULSA

| PARENTS | ELITES | | | Totals |
|---------------------|---------|------------------|-------|--------|
| | Finance | Law and Medicine | Other | |
| Finance | 66 | 10 | 75 | 151 |
| Law and Medicine | 31 | 33 | 84 | 148 |
| Other | 9 | 3 | 14 | 26 |
| Totals | 106 | 46 | 173 | 325 |

n=325 $\chi^2=25.7271$ df=4 C=.30

Dr. Charles Ball and George Coyle were obviously successful Tulsans if their occupations were any indicator of their economic prominence. But these men and others like them were also political participants, church members, and active Tulsa citizens. In a period of Republican Party dominance on the national scene in the 1920s, it is clear that city leaders in Tulsa were evenly divided between participation in the Democratic or Republican Parties. In estimating this partisanship among Tulsa elite there is, however, a degree or error

since 45.1 percent of the sample did not indicate membership in any party. Over half of the elite did indicate a political preference; with 29.8 percent supporting the Democratic Party and 22.7 percent supporting the Republican Party. Third parties such as the Populists, Independents, and Prohibitionists were occasionally mentioned but apparently had no significant strength among Tulsa leadership. The vast majority of these Tulsans limited their political participation to party membership; however, 14 percent did participate to the extent of actively campaigning for a particular candidate. Only 5.4 percent were either party officials or elected legislators or congressmen.

This absence of overt political participation or activity is puzzling unless we consider the fact that 37.9 percent of these Tulsans were also active in civic and promotional clubs such as the Chamber of Commerce. This information indicates that at least a third or more of the Tulsa leadership might have been more active in municipal politics than indicated by their partisanship. Historians of urban progressive leadership have demonstrated that business and professional men were often active in such civic clubs and by virtue of this participation were genuine progressives. Thus, these Tulsans might have been the type of urban progressive which Sam Hays and others have identified.¹² For example, George Coyle, a pipe line manufacturer and oil financier, was a member of the Tulsa Country Club but he was also a member of the Tulsa City Club, an organization devoted to promoting fair competition among Tulsa businesses and securing new businesses for the city.

Coyle was also a member of the Knights of Columbus and a member of the Roman Catholic Church. In this regard, Coyle was untypical of Tulsa elites, since most of them were Protestants. More than two-

thirds of the sample revealed their religious denomination. (See Table XII.) The top-ranked denominations were Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptists, and Christians. Dr. Hendershot, for example, was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Tulsa and was also the Superintendent of the Sunday School there. Only three percent of the total sample indicated that they were officers of their church as Hendershot was. Although some research¹³ has indicated that religious denomination was important in determining political participation, there was no apparent connection between political activity and religion.

TABLE XII
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS: TULSA

| Denomination | # | % |
|-----------------------|-------|------|
| Unknown | 127 | 32.2 |
| Presbyterian | 69 | 17.6 |
| Methodist | 66 | 16.8 |
| Baptist | 35 | 8.9 |
| Christian | 35 | 8.9 |
| Episcopalian | 21 | 5.3 |
| Jewish | 21 | 5.3 |
| Catholic | 17 | 4.3 |
| Christian Science | 11 | 2.8 |
| Lutheran | 2 | .5 |
| Atheist | 1 | .2 |
| Congregationalist | 1 | .2 |
| Church of Christ | 1 | .2 |
| Seventh Day Adventist | 1 | .2 |
| | n=393 | |

Tulsa leaders were also active socially in clubs and lodges. Over 90 percent of the group cited membership in at least one social club or lodge. Prominent clubs such as the Elks Lodge, the Masons, the Tulsa Country Club, the Tulsa Athletic Club, and the Tulsa Automobile Club attracted large numbers of the city's elite. Over 27 percent of the elite belonged to three clubs or associations. (See Table XIII.) Tulsa's leadership, then, was not only involved in social activity, but also involved in several different activities at one time.

TABLE XIII

CLUB MEMBERSHIPS: TULSA*

| Number of Clubs | # | % |
|-----------------|-----|------|
| 0 | 32 | 8.1 |
| 1 | 29 | 7.3 |
| 2 | 61 | 15.5 |
| 3 | 108 | 27.4 |
| 4 | 84 | 21.3 |
| 5 | 42 | 10.6 |
| 6 | 27 | 6.8 |
| 7 | 3 | .7 |
| 8 | 3 | .7 |
| 9 | 4 | 1.0 |
| n=393 | | |

*includes lodges but not civic clubs:
City Club, Commercial Club, Petroleum
Club, and Chamber of Commerce.

The men who decided to come to Tulsa in the early twentieth century did more than join the Tulsa Athletic Club. They changed

their lives in two essential ways. Most obviously, they achieved a great degree of horizontal mobility which placed them in an urban atmosphere considerably removed from their farm or small town origins. In addition, these elites were also vertically mobile. They secured a professional education prior to coming to the city. And they engaged in professional and white collar occupations vastly different from those of their fathers'. These men were apparently upwardly mobile with their eyes set on the future. Calvin Smith, Claude Hendershot, Charles Ball, George Coyle, and the hundreds of others who comprised Tulsa's leadership between 1900 and 1930 experienced the effect of urbanization. It was a transformation which molded urban leaders from rural migrants through a process of education, mobility, and desire. However, there is no guarantee that this process was unique to Tulsa. Evidence from older more established Plains cities is needed to clarify the picture. Did Kansas City, for instance, attract leaders from the same northeastern section of the country as did Tulsa? Were Kansas City's elite educated prior to their migration to the city? And, most importantly, did the elite in Kansas City possess the same degree of uniformity and compatibility in their professional and social activity?

FOOTNOTES

¹United States Bureau of Census, Census of Population, 1910, Vol. II, p. 625.

²Unfortunately, little has been written about the history of Tulsa. See Angie Debo, Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital (Norman, 1935); James Hill, The Beginnings of Tulsa (n.p., n.d.), Clarence B. Douglas, The History of Tulsa, 3 vols. (Tulsa, 1921).

³Debo, Tulsa, pp. 3, 6, 71.

⁴Ibid., pp. 19-23, 37-38, 45.

⁵Ibid., pp. 50-51, 54, 78-80.

⁶Ibid., pp. 86-87.

⁷Douglas, History of Tulsa, Vols. 2-3. These volumes are biographical including histories of approximately 700 Tulsans. Because this N was considerably smaller than the other data sources a larger sample of 60 percent was taken. Thus, n=393. The coding of these data for Tulsa was made possible through a study grant from the System Science Center at Oklahoma State University, Summer, 1970.

⁸These examples were chosen by the author from the sample merely for the purpose of demonstrating certain characteristics. This same procedure is used throughout.

⁹These urban flows are plotted from the county of birth since so many of the small towns were impossible to locate and such a large scale map would be required to plot these towns. The symbolic maps are used since maps showing actual counties of origin would have to be at least 24" x 36".

¹⁰George F. Cram, Cram's Universal Atlas (Chicago, 1900), pp. 623, 584.

¹¹The C correlation for state of birth and state of education was .83. See Dollar and Jensen, Historian's Guide, pp. 80-81 for information on C. Throughout only one degree, the highest achieved, was coded.

¹²Hays, "Politics of Reform," see also note 7, p. 19. For the purposes of seeking associations between variables a list of ten major variables was taken through two steps. The major variables were size of birth place, level of education, political party, city promotion,

occupation, mobility, time of arrival, distance traveled, quadrant of birth, and time of education. First, each of these variables was cross tabulated with all other variables to determine significant positive or negative relationships. Second, each of these major variables was then used as a third controlling variable while cross tabulations were made for all other possible variable combinations. Almost none of the relationships in controlling situations revealed any associations. This is mostly due to the fact that the data were softened as the n was lowered. In any contingency table high values of χ^2 diminish as n grows smaller, thus the possible value of C also becomes less since C trends toward zero as χ^2 does. See John Mueller, et al., Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, p. 264.

¹³See Paul Kleppner, "Political Realignment of the Old Northwest in the 1890s," in Charles Dollar, New Directions (forthcoming).

CHAPTER III

KANSAS CITY: SUCCESSFUL COWTOWN

Kansas City, Missouri, survived a long difficult struggle with both its booming neighbors and its hilly river front terrain before the site justified the word "city" in its name. The "Town of Kansas," as it was first called, began life as a rich fur trading post along the Missouri River. The trading town continued to function until the end of the Civil War brought the railroad westward. With the coming of the rails, Kansas City became a major western transportation hub. The phase of railroad building was naturally followed by a phase of industrialization in which several major agricultural industries located in Kansas City.

In 1821 Francois Chouteau, and several fellow French traders, were the first white men to settle in the area later known as Kansas City.¹ Between 1833 and 1835, John McCoy, the son of a Baptist missionary, filed a town plat which he named "Westport," to the south of the Chouteau settlement.² (See Figure 4.) McCoy's trade with west bound migrants became lucrative. And throughout the 1830s and 1840s Westport and the Town of Kansas vied for control of trading in the area. By 1845, Westport had become the larger and more prosperous of the two communities. It was not until the two towns were joined and incorporated as the "City of Kansas" in 1853 that the river front area became more attractive to settlers and businessmen.³

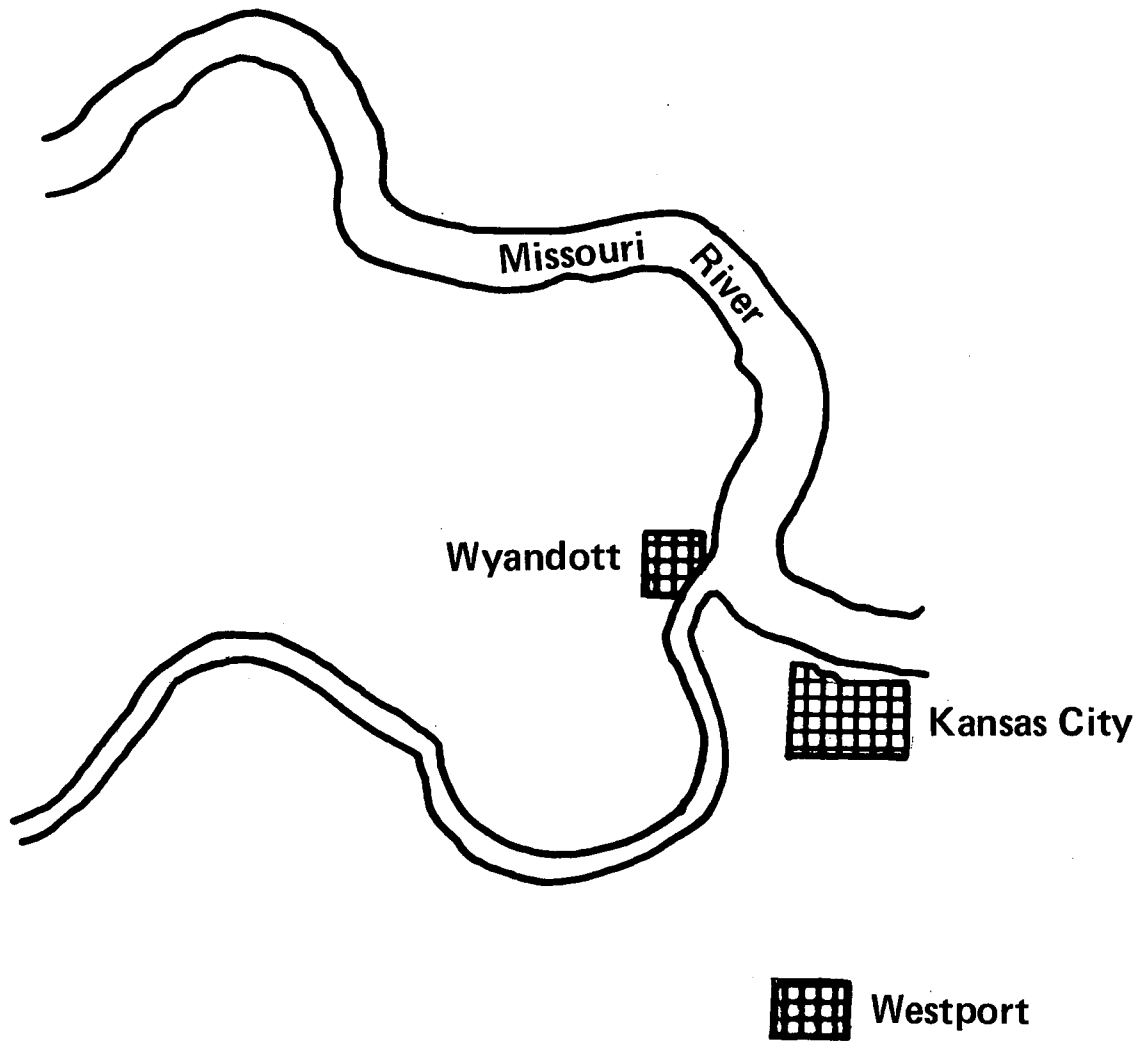


Figure 4. Kansas City and Westport

One of the first settlers to take advantage of the new opportunities in Kansas City was Kersey Coates. Coates became one of the most prosperous and powerful men in Kansas City. He built a bank, a hotel, and even an opera house.⁴ Kansas City was growing and its growth supported Coates and many others like him. By 1890, Kansas City was a bustling town of 132,716. (See Table XIV.) Moreover, the city continued to increase at least twenty percent for four decades after 1890.

TABLE XIV
POPULATION CHANGES: KANSAS CITY

| Date | Population | Percent Change |
|------|------------|----------------|
| 1890 | 132,716 | - |
| 1900 | 163,752 | 23.3 |
| 1910 | 248,381 | 24.0 |
| 1920 | 324,410 | 23.4 |
| 1930 | 399,746 | 23.2 |

This growth, which culminated between 1890-1900, actually began after the Civil War. After the Civil War, Kansas City clearly entered a major stage of development with a major rebuilding campaign and concerted efforts to solicit rail traffic through the city. The reconstruction of Kansas City included many items relatively modern for a western city. In 1866, the city installed its first gas street

lights and agreed to support a fire department with city taxes. Both of these safety precautions had long been neglected. The first street railway was drawn by teams of horses from Fourth Street to Main and from Sixteenth Street to Grand in 1867. One year later, Kansas City completed construction of a city wide water system. Although welcomed improvements, it was the railroad which sealed the successful fate of Kansas City.⁵

The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad decided to locate a terminal in either Kansas City or Leavenworth, Kansas, depending on which city could bridge the Missouri River first. Through the political influence of Coates and other Kansas Citians, Congress approved funds for the "Hannibal Bridge" at Kansas City first. The bridge opened in 1869 and assured Kansas City business leaders that their "Town of Kansas" would be a major transportation center.⁶

That same year the first stockyard in Kansas City opened its doors. By 1871, a major packing company, Plankinton and Armour, had completed a new packing plant in the city. While the cattle business was booming, business in wheat was not far behind. In 1870 the first grain elevator set up operations in the city and a year later the Kansas City Stock Exchange was formed to handle what would become a national volume of agricultural commodities.⁷ Kansas City's future became very bright indeed.

Thus, between 1880 and the turn of the century, Kansas City offered unique opportunities to ambitious men. The men who were lured to Kansas City did not all achieve the fame and wealth of Kersey Coates. Although less famous, the genuine leaders of Kansas City were businessmen like Howard Smith who founded and managed the Consumers

Cake Bakery in Kansas City, or lawyers like Waldo Johnson, or immigrants like Eyvind Heidenreich who owned and operated a Kansas City engineering firm, or Dr. Leonard Harrington who had first been admitted to practice medicine in Kansas City in 1909, or Sam Busler an insurance man who was also a lawyer. Men like these came to Kansas City at the turn of the twentieth century and brought with them a similar educational and social background as well as the desire to make their lives something different from those of their fathers'.

Although it is fairly certain that men like these came westward and urbanward, historians know few reasons for their success. Why did Sam Busler leave his father's farm near Given, Ohio (population, 35 in 1900), attend Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, then Chicago University, and finally obtain a law degree from the Kansas City School of Law? Did the other Kansas City elites leave similar rural origins to come to the city? And were they well educated as Busler was? Were they educated before they came to the city? What characteristics did these men have in common with each other or with the elites in Tulsa?

Like Tulsa, Kansas City leaders in the early twentieth century were often the subject of biographies, mug-books, and "who's who" of various sorts. A publication in 1929 seemed to represent the elite of Kansas City well;⁸ and a sampling of those men should help answer some of the above questions. An assessment of Sam Busler's migration from his father's farm will represent an assessment of why any, or perhaps all, of these men came to Kansas City.

While we know that Busler's father was a farmer of Dutch descent, over 72 percent of the men in the sample did not indicate what their

father's occupation was. Of the 54 known parental occupations, 15 percent were farmers, but the margin of error is too great in this instance to accept this as a trend. Information available on ancestry showed that most of Kansas City's leaders originated from English, Scotch, Irish, or German ethnic stock as did the Tulsa elite. A few of the men came to Kansas City as first generation immigrants as Eyvind Heidenreich did. Heidenreich, however, was born in Bergen, Norway and was one of the few Scandanavians to come to the city and take up a leadership role.

The Kansas City elite, like the Tulsa elite, begin to acquire sharper contours when we examine their place of birth. It is evident that these men were rural migrants. If we take a map of the United States and divide the country into quadrants emanating from Kansas City as a focal point, the visual interpretation of the migration flows reveals the greatest intensity from the northeast. (See Figure 5.) Over forty-eight percent came from the northeast while 24.4 percent came from the southeast. Reminding ourselves that the migration here cannot be direct, it is clear that future elites left their birth places and flowed westward. As Table XV demonstrates, those people from the northeast also tended to travel greater distances. The mean distance of migration from this section of the country was 424 miles; however, as the standard deviation for this mean shows the range of distances traveled by most of this group was anywhere from 80 to 768 miles. The southeastern part of the United States ranked below the northeast in the number of urban migrants as well as the average distance traveled. The far west, as expected, was not a productive area for future Kansas City elites.

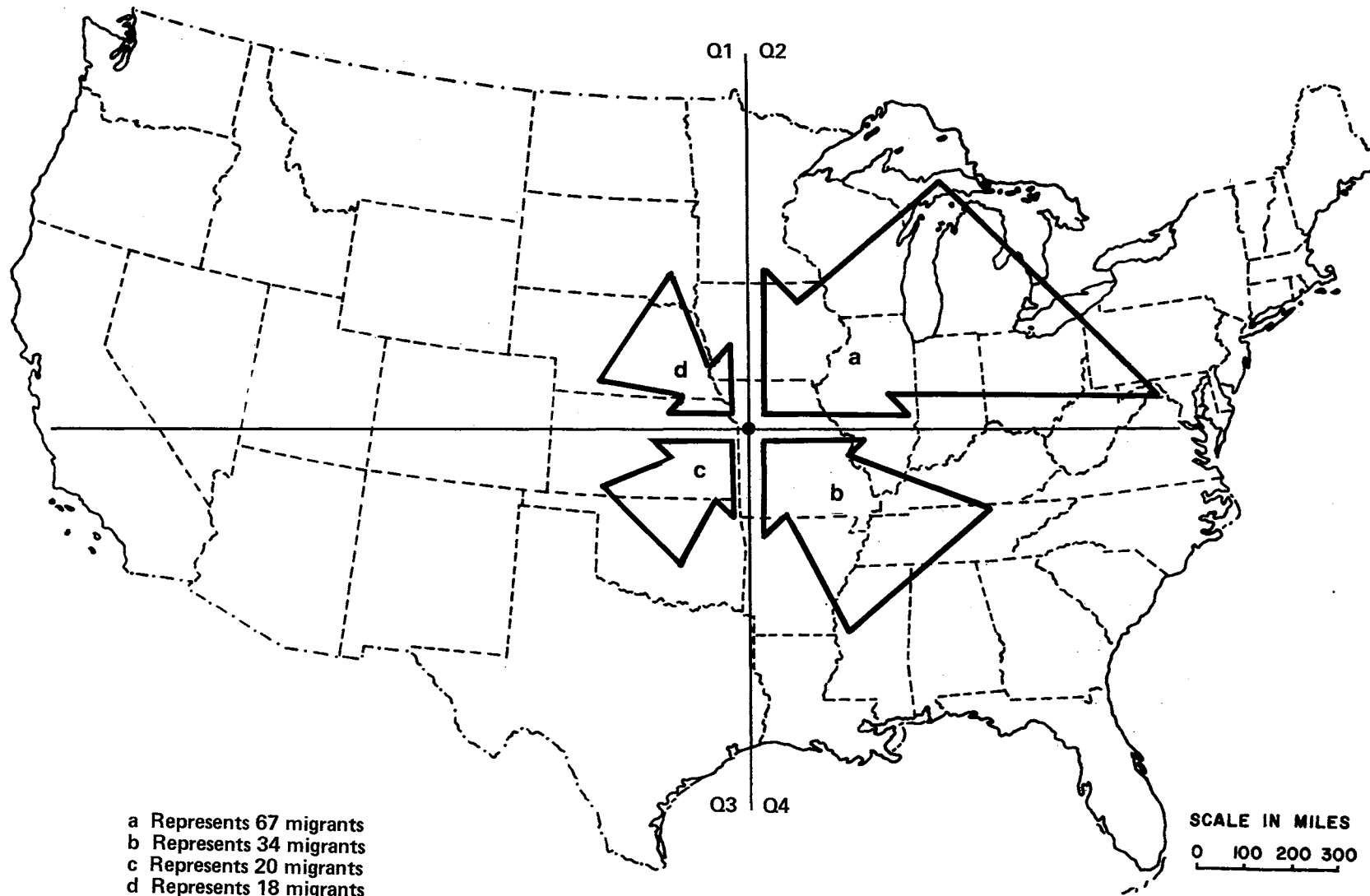


Figure 5. Urban Flow: Kansas City

TABLE XV
DISTANCES TRAVELED BY QUADRANT: KANSAS CITY

| Quadrant | Mean Distance* | Variance | Standard Deviation | N |
|-----------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----|
| Northwest | 3.15 | 19.45 | 4.41 | 18 |
| Northeast | 5.32 | 18.96 | 4.35 | 67 |
| Southwest | 2.106 | 5.72 | 2.39 | 20 |
| Southeast | 3.52 | 12.95 | 3.59 | 34 |

*in scale inches where one inch is 80 miles

Although men like Busler fit a pattern similar to the one set by those who migrated to Tulsa, it is clear that the distances traveled to Kansas City were not as great from place of birth to the city.⁹ In fact, the majority of the Kansas City elite originated from 240 miles from Kansas City or less. (See Table XVI). Tulsa, remember, attracted less than 27 percent of its elite from within 240 miles of the city. However, it is interesting to note that Kansas City, like Tulsa, seemed to attract a relatively large number of people from distances over 560 miles. The explanation for the number of shorter urbanward migrations lies in the fact that Kansas City was older and more established than Tulsa. And therefore the city produced some of its own leadership who were either born in the city, as Howard Smith was, or were born in Kansas or Missouri not far from the influence of the growing metropolis. Nearly a third (31.9 percent) of the leadership was born in Missouri within 200 miles of Kansas City. The long range attraction of Kansas City was similar to Tulsa's, but this short range feature of elite attraction was something Tulsa did not possess.

TABLE XVI

DIRECT DISTANCE OF BIRTH PLACE: KANSAS CITY

| Distance* | # | % |
|---------------|---------|------|
| Less than 80 | 31 | 21.9 |
| 80.1-160 | 22 | 15.6 |
| 160.1-240 | 19 | 13.4 |
| 240.1-320 | 14 | 9.9 |
| 320.1-400 | 6 | 4.2 |
| 400.1-480 | 13 | 9.2 |
| 480.1-560 | 11 | 7.8 |
| more than 560 | 25 | 17.7 |
| | n=141** | |

*in miles

** unknown=56

Men like Howard Smith who were born in Kansas City were not the average case. Despite the closeness of most of the birth places of these future Kansas City elites, they originated from essentially rural backgrounds. Sixty-eight percent of these men were born in towns or farming villages under 50,000 population. This does not mean that all of these men were born on farms. For example, Elmer Archer, a consulting engineer in Kansas City, came to the area from Lockport, New York, which was a small town of 16,038 people in 1900. However, many men were born in much smaller villages as was Dr. Francis Carey, a prominent Kansas City physician, who was born in Schaller, Iowa, a town of 333 inhabitants.¹⁰ Of course, these examples are not the only ones available but they do underscore the notion that most of the men who came to Kansas City and became urban leaders were not the offspring of families already acculturated to urban living.

Dr. Carey apparently made only one move, to nearby Creighton University, before coming to Kansas City; however, Sam Busler, as mentioned above, made several moves prior to settling in the city. This mobility among future Kansas City leaders perhaps emphasizes their desire to find opportunity. If this is true, then these men, like the Tulsa elite, were highly selective since many of them moved three or four times prior to residence in Kansas City. Over 43 percent of the sample made three moves and 25.3 percent of the group made two moves. (See Table XVII.) Seeking upward mobility, these men apparently found what they were seeking in an urban setting. Perhaps the intervening opportunities for these men did not appeal to them. Thus the mobility of future Kansas City leaders meant in reality a series of stepping stones to a urban way of life.

TABLE XVII
MOBILITY PRIOR TO RESIDENCE IN KANSAS CITY

| Number of Moves | # | % |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| None | 12 | 6.0 |
| 1 | 22 | 11.1 |
| 2 | 50 | 25.3 |
| 3 | 86 | 43.6 |
| 4 | 21 | 10.6 |
| 5 | 6 | 3.0 |
| | n=197 | |

Kansas City's leaders not only moved approximately the same number of times as did the elite in Tulsa (40.9 percent of the Tulsa elite moved three times), but they apparently moved for the same reasons. For men like Sam Busler and Dr. Carey their stepping stones to city life were educations and professional degrees. Carey made one move prior to coming to Kansas City and that was to Des Moines to get a medical degree; and Busler is even a better example since the first move he made was to Springfield to attend college, then to Chicago to attend Chicago University, and finally to Kansas City to complete requirements for a law degree.

The high level of education and formal training among the Kansas City leadership in the 1920s substantiates this concept of educational stepping stones for most of the sample. Over 70 percent of these men attended a college or university and 30.4 percent earned a degree. About the same number of elites (28.4 percent) earned graduate degrees. (See Table XVIII.) Only 8.6 percent of the sample had less than a grammar school education.

Not only was the level of education high, but the type of education received was professional in nature, training these men for law, medicine, or finance. As Table XIX shows, 23.3 percent of the sample earned bachelor degrees, 20.8 percent earned law degrees, and 11.1 percent earned medical degrees. Thus, physicians like Leonard Harrington and Francis Carey along with lawyers like Sam Busler or Waldo Johnson accounted for nearly a third of the Kansas City leadership. This information is almost identical to that for Tulsa's leadership. They, too, were well educated.

TABLE XVIII

LEVEL OF EDUCATION: KANSAS CITY

| Level of Education | # | % |
|--------------------|-------|------|
| None | 17 | 8.6 |
| Grammar | 0 | - |
| High School | 41 | 20.8 |
| Some College | 8 | 4.0 |
| Degree | 60 | 30.4 |
| Graduate Work | 15 | 7.6 |
| Graduate Degree | 56 | 28.4 |
| | n=197 | |

TABLE XIX

TYPE OF DEGREE: KANSAS CITY

| Degree | # | % |
|--------|--------|------|
| None | 66 | 34.0 |
| BA | 46 | 23.3 |
| LLB | 41 | 20.8 |
| MD | 22 | 11.1 |
| DDS | 9 | 4.5 |
| BD | 8 | 4.0 |
| MA | 4 | 2.0 |
| | n=196* | |

*unknown=1

The importance of receiving educations of this sort was that the elites were lured to the city where they would be able to practice their chosen profession. If education was a stepping stone to life in a Plains city for these men then we should expect that these men had

received their educations prior to coming to the city or perhaps immediately upon entering the city. In the case of the Tulsa elites all of the men received their educations before taking up residence in Tulsa. In Kansas City the leadership was also educated prior to coming to the city. Seventy percent of the group obtained training before they reached the city and only 15.2 percent of these Kansas City leaders were educated in Kansas City. A few of these men, 2.0 percent to be exact, were born in Kansas City but went elsewhere to receive their education and then returned to Kansas City. Howard Smith of the Consumers Cake Bakery was such a man. Others, like Busler, received the bulk of their education before coming to Kansas City but finished their degree or earned another degree, often in law, from the schools in Kansas City. (See Table XX.)

TABLE XX

TIME OF EDUCATION: KANSAS CITY

| Time of education | # | % |
|--|-------|------|
| Before city residence* | 138 | 70.7 |
| In city | 30 | 15.2 |
| Unknown | 16 | 8.1 |
| Born in city but educated elsewhere | 4 | 2.0 |
| At least some college before city residence | 9 | 4.5 |
| | n=197 | |

*city means Kansas City

Apparently, these men moved first to receive an education and then chose to reside in Kansas City. Thus, the pattern of educational attainment for these Kansas City leaders is remarkably similar to that of the Tulsa elite. Future Kansas Citians obtained both training beneficial to urban living and, in some cases, experience in urban living. Busler's experience is an excellent example because he was born in a small town in Ohio and moved to a town of over 31,000 inhabitants to receive his education at the bachelor's level before living for two years in Chicago attending graduate school. From there he came to Kansas City well trained and with much more urban experience than his childhood in Given, Ohio, could possibly have afforded him. Unfortunately, very little information about the specific cities where each of these men was educated is available in the data. The men, however, were clearly educated before coming to the city and it is only natural to assume both the earning of an education and the move to Kansas City were products of a desire on the part of these men to seek opportunities in the city.

After earning law degrees or medical licenses these men sought a place to practice their professions as well as establish a stable family life. In similar fashion to the Tulsa elite, Kansas City's leadership consisted of young men who were married with growing families. Sam Busler, for example, came to Kansas City to finish his law degree in 1915 and one year after his graduation he married Mildred Hyde and established a home at 6515 Valley Road. Busler was 27 at the time of his marriage. He and his wife raised two children, Robert and Patricia, in Kansas City. Many other Kansas City leaders established their families as Busler did. Over 82 percent of the sample were

married only once and raised an average of 1.63 children per family. These families were established by young elites whose average age upon entering Kansas City was 27.4 years. So Kansas City leaders, like Busler, might be typified as young energetic men seeking growth and opportunity in an urban setting.

If the occupations in which these men were engaged are any indication of opportunity grasped, then these men apparently found the success they desired. Not only was Busler well educated and young, but also was the owner and president of his own insurance company within five years after coming to the city. When these men came to Kansas City from the small towns and farms of Missouri, Kansas, and Ohio they came prepared; and thus, it was only natural that the occupations they chose to follow were professional white collar occupations.

The primary occupational categories in which most of Kansas City elite may be placed are again strikingly similar to those among the Tulsa elite. Twenty-one percent of the sample were engaged in the legal profession in Kansas City. Nearly the same number were occupied in financial and business pursuits while medicine ranked as the third largest category. (See Table XXI.) Nearly half of the elite in Kansas City in the 1920s was connected to the legal or medical professions.

Looking at specific occupations rather than categories, the five top-ranked occupations are lawyer, physician, insurance agent, financial executive, and engineer. Twenty-one percent of the total were lawyers and 11.1 percent were physicians. Oftentimes lawyers were also executives or financiers as Sam Busler was; however, few of the men in the sample specifically indicated a secondary occupation. Thus, it appears that the training which these men received prior to

coming to Kansas City was well utilized by them. (See Table XXII.)

TABLE XXI
GENERAL PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS: KANSAS CITY

| Occupations* | # | % |
|--------------------------|-------|------|
| Law | 43 | 21.8 |
| Finance | 42 | 21.0 |
| Medicine | 38 | 19.1 |
| Other Profession | 36 | 18.0 |
| Trade and Transportation | 21 | 10.5 |
| Manufacturing | 9 | 4.5 |
| Other | 7 | 3.5 |
| Manual | 1 | .5 |
| | n=197 | |

*see Appendix A

TABLE XXII
TOP-RANKED SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS: KANSAS CITY

| Occupation | # | % |
|---------------------|-------|------|
| Lawyer | 43 | 21.8 |
| Physician | 22 | 11.1 |
| Insurance Agent | 12 | 6.0 |
| Financial Executive | 11 | 5.5 |
| Engineer | 11 | 5.5 |
| | n=197 | |

As might be expected, the occupations held by Kansas City elites were more professionally oriented toward law, medicine and business than the occupations held by their parents. For example, Sam Busler's father was a farmer, and Elmer Archer's father came west in the 1830s to raise cattle in Arkansas. This does not mean that all of the fathers of Kansas City's future elite were farmers; in fact, Waldo Johnson's father was a former judge and United States Senator and later Confederate Senator from Missouri. But the majority of these men were not engaged in the same types of professional white collar jobs which their sons undertook in Kansas City. By comparing occupational categories such as law, finance, medicine, and other between fathers and sons we note that there is little or no relationship between the two variables. (See Table XXIII.) Among all 43 elite lawyers only 5 had fathers who were lawyers. In other words, the coefficient of .27 indicates that parents' occupation was most often in the "other" category while the sons tended to be placed in legal or financial categories. Only 11 members of the sample had fathers engaged in the same occupation. This means that the move to the city for these men was coincidental with an upward surge in occupational status away from the occupational status of their fathers.

Another area of success in the urban way of life which the Kansas City elite experienced in addition to success in professional leadership of the city was their political and social leadership. Sam Busler was not only the owner of his own insurance firm and a prominent claims attorney, but also active in civic, professional, and social clubs. He was not active in politics, however. Most Kansas Citians indicated a political preference but went no farther in des-

TABLE XXIII

ELITE OCCUPATIONS AND PARENT OCCUPATIONS: KANSAS CITY

| PARENTS | ELITES | | | | Totals |
|----------|--------|---------|----------|--------|--------|
| | Law | Finance | Medicine | Other* | |
| Law | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| Finance | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| Medicine | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Other | 36 | 40 | 36 | 64 | 176 |
| Totals | 43 | 42 | 38 | 74 | 197 |

*see Appendix A

n = 197 $\chi^2=16.45$ df=9 C=.27

cribing their political activities if they had any. Busler indicated that he was a member of the Independent party. Twenty-seven percent of the sample claimed to prefer the Democratic Party and 32.4 percent preferred the Republican Party. Unlike Tulsa elites, then, Kansas City leaders tended to prefer the Republican Party. More than 16 percent claimed to be Independents as Busler did. Very few of these men mentioned that they actively campaigned, much less ran for office.

In a period when city governments were supposed to be in a state of flux awaiting reforms, it seems odd that the elites were not more actively engaged in politics. However, if membership in civic and promotional clubs such as the Chamber of Commerce is an indicator of municipal political concern, then 23 percent of the Kansas City elite qualify as urban reformers and municipal politicians. If businessmen and professionals in urban areas were responsible for programs of urban reform, then it is fairly certain that some Kansas Citians engaged in

such programs.

Busler was a member of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce and also a member of the Christian Church as were 19.7 percent of his fellow elite Kansas Citians. Christian, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Methodist advocates ranked highest among Kansas City's leadership. (See Table XXIV.) Catholics like Dr. Francis Carey only registered 7.6 percent of the sample, and no Jews were among the elite.

TABLE XXIV
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS: KANSAS CITY

| Denomination | # | % |
|-------------------|-------|------|
| Christian | 39 | 19.7 |
| Unknown | 36 | 18.2 |
| Presbyterian | 26 | 13.1 |
| Episcopalian | 17 | 8.6 |
| Methodist | 17 | 8.6 |
| Baptist | 15 | 7.6 |
| Catholic | 11 | 5.5 |
| Christian Science | 4 | 2.0 |
| Lutheran | 3 | 1.5 |
| Church of Christ | 1 | .5 |
| Unitarian | 1 | .5 |
| | n=197 | |

Kansas City clubs were also filled with members of the leadership class. Clubs such as the Blue Hills Country Club, the Masons, the Elks, the Mission Hills Country Club, the Kiwanis, and the Kansas City club attracted many elites. The average number of club and lodge

memberships which the Kansas City elites listed was 2.8. Only 13.7 percent of the sample indicated they did not associate with any social or recreational club. A few indicated hobbies of interest such as sports, but most elites did not mention hobbies.

Activity in clubs, participation in civic promotion, interest in professional occupations, education commensurate with urban living, and mobility from rural backgrounds all blend together in this group of men a unique similarity which brought them to Kansas City anxious and anticipating. The Sam Buslers or Leonard Harringtons or Waldo Johnsons of Kansas City left their rural origins and migrated westward with a purpose. They secured either professional training or practical experience and prepared themselves for the success they hoped to find in Kansas City. In effect, they, like the men who came to Tulsa, changed their lives completely. They married and raised an urban family socialized in the ways of urban living. Most likely life would have been far different for Sam Busler had he remained in Given, Ohio.

The Kansas City elites were perhaps more mature than the Tulsa elites. Kansas City was older and more settled than Tulsa. Kansas City elites also had more professional men among their number and less "manufacturers," and overall the educational level of Kansas City elites was slightly higher than among Tulsa elites. But the similarities outweigh these differences. Both groups of leaders came from small towns or farms, received more than adequate educations, engaged in successful professional and business ventures, established stable family lives, became members of Chambers of Commerce, and attended Protestant churches. However, before examining these likenesses and differences in greater detail it becomes necessary to examine another Plains city--

Omaha, the home of the transcontinental railroad--which was not as established or as large as Kansas City nor as young as Tulsa.

FOOTNOTES

¹H. C. Haskell, Jr., and R. Fowler, City of the Future (Kansas City, 1950), pp. 24-25; George F. Green, ed., A Condensed History of the Kansas City Area (Kansas City, 1968); A. T. Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1878 (University of Missouri, 1963), pp. 9-10.

²Date is in conflict see Haskell, City of Future, p. 24; and Green, Condensed History, p. 315; and Brown, Frontier Community, pp. 49-50.

³Green, Condensed History, p. 316.

⁴Haskell, City of Future, pp. 33-45.

⁵Ibid., p. 44.

⁶Ibid., pp. 44-48; Brown, Frontier Community, pp. 129-130.

⁷Green, Condensed History, p. 316.

⁸Robert M. Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Kansas City (Kansas City, 1929).

⁹Of course the northeast quadrant will vary for each city depending on its location.

¹⁰Cram, Atlas, pp. 578, 612.

CHAPTER IV

OMAHA: THE GATEWAY CITY

Omaha, named for a branch of the Sioux Indians, has been known as the "gateway city" since the first transcontinental railroad located its eastern terminus in the city. This development has been the single most important element in Omaha's history.¹

The railroad made Omaha even more important in the transportation of goods cross-country. Grenville Dodge was responsible for fixing the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha in 1859. After rail traffic had been established, Omaha quickly became the most important meat packing city west of Chicago except for Kansas City. (See Figure 6.) It was in 1867 when the first stockyards located in the city. And shortly thereafter James E. Boyd arranged the first large scale meat packing plant to come to Omaha by promoting the Union Stock Yard Company formed in 1884. Large companies from the east, like George P. Hammond's company, located in Omaha between 1880 and 1885. The giant among meat packers came to Omaha in 1886-- Armour-Cudahy. In 1890, Cudahy bought out Armour and secured a near monopoly among the packers in Omaha.²

It was in the 1880s when industry began to come into Omaha that the population first grew. (See Table XXV.) In the five years between 1880 and 1885 the city's population increased 96.7 percent. The next five years in Omaha registered a 68.1 percent increase to bring

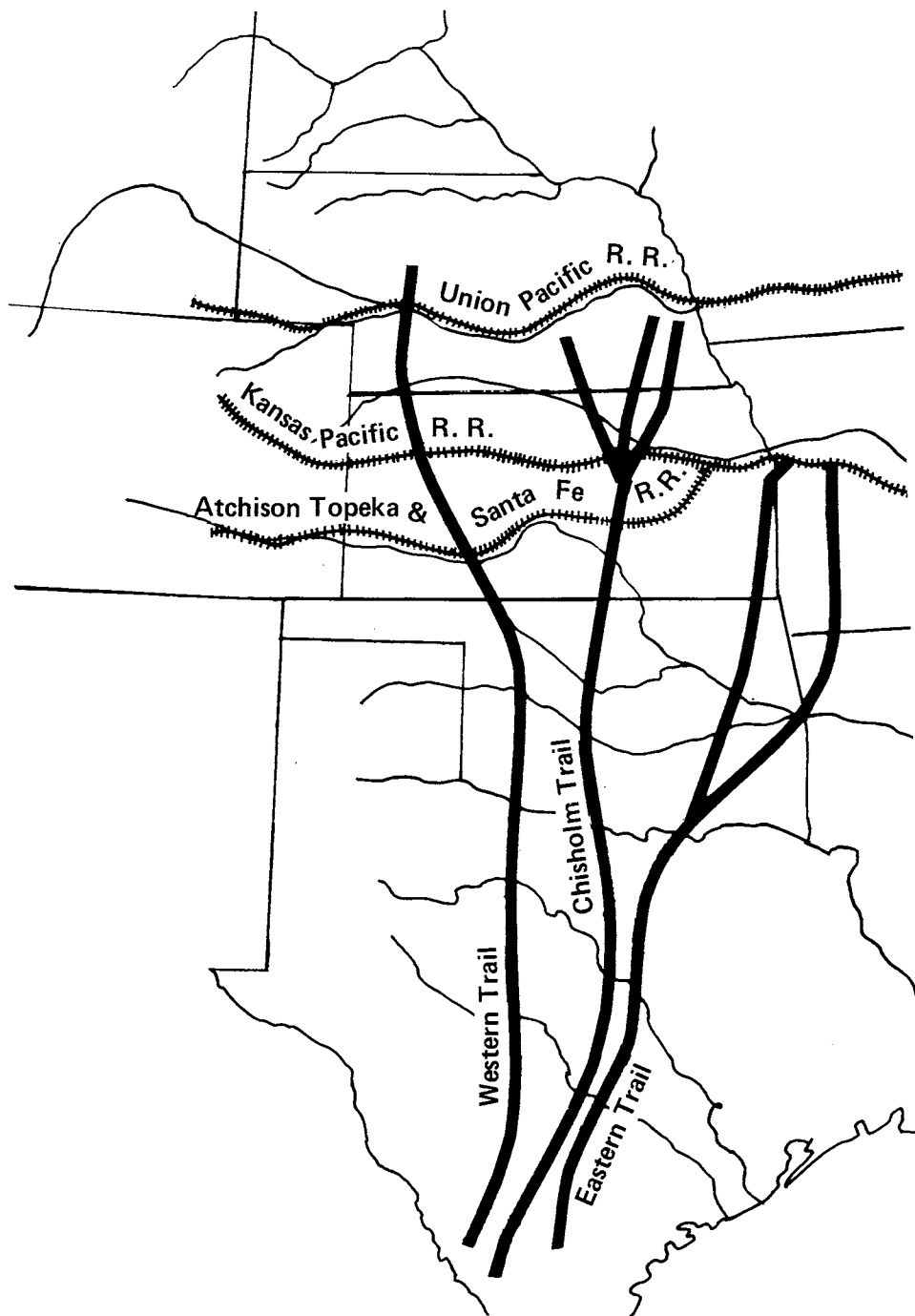


Figure 6. Cattle Trails Into Nebraska

the city's population to 102,555. The new people, the new industries, and the new urban atmosphere in Omaha attracted men who, like the men who came to Tulsa and Kansas City, were anxious and ambitious.

TABLE XXV
POPULATION CHANGES: OMAHA

| Date | Population | Percent Change |
|------|------------|----------------|
| 1880 | 30,000 | - |
| 1885 | 61,000 | 96.7 |
| 1890 | 102,555 | 68.1 |
| 1900 | 124,096 | 21.0 |
| 1910 | 140,452 | 13.1 |
| 1920 | 191,601 | 36.4 |
| 1930 | 214,006 | 11.6 |

Men naturally wished to take advantage of the opportunities such growth brought. Dr. Solon Towne came from far away Stowe, Vermont to practice medicine in Omaha; and Arthur Palmer came from nearby Louisville, Nebraska to found the law firm of Palmer and Palmer in Omaha. Omaha, like Kansas City, also produced some of its own elites. William Perry, for example, was born in Omaha, educated at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, and returned to Omaha to engage in the wholesale produce business. Many came from small towns and rural backgrounds, but they came prepared to work in the new urban atmosphere of Omaha. In 1928, the biographies of many representative Omaha leaders were brought together in a single volume and published.³ It is this

volume which will enable us to characterize the typical Omaha elite. Were the men who came to Omaha different in their educational attainment, occupational interests, or mobility from the elite in either Tulsa or Kansas City? Again, it is best to first assess the backgrounds of these men and then proceed to analyze their occupational and social make-up.

We know that Dr. Towne's father was an English descendant (his biography even notes that two of his not-so-lucky ancestors were hanged as witches in 1692), but we do not know what his father's occupation was. In reverse fashion we know that Arthur Palmer's father was a Swedish merchant before he came to this country. Approximately, thirty percent of the parental occupations were unknown; however, of the known parental occupations farmers, retailers, and educators ranked highest. (See Table XXVI.) Over 19 percent of the total sample were farmers and all other parental occupations numbered less than 7.0 percent each.

TABLE XXVI

PARENT OCCUPATIONS: OMAHA*

| Occupation | # | % |
|-------------------|----|------|
| Unknown | 50 | 29.2 |
| Farmer | 33 | 19.2 |
| Retailer | 12 | 7.0 |
| Educator | 10 | 5.8 |
| Railroad engineer | 9 | 5.2 |
| Lawyer | 6 | 3.5 |

*top six shown, percentages computed from total, n-171.

The parents of the future Omaha elite also came from northern and western European stock as did the parents of elites in Tulsa and Kansas City. Seventy-five percent of the sample gave known ancestry, and the ranking of those listed is as follows: English, 21.0 percent; German, 15.7 percent; Scottish, 14.0 percent; and Irish, 9.3 percent. More information was available on the Omaha elites concerning their ethnic origin or stock, and yet we find the same emphasis on northern European ancestry as in other cities.

In further assessing the background of these elites we find that they originated from the north and east of Omaha and came from rural areas to start life in a city. As Figure 7 portrays, most leaders came to Omaha from an easterly direction. Migration to Omaha from the west was negligible. Forty-three percent of the sample came from the northeastern quadrant of the map. Charles Poynter, a city physician with graduate study at Vienna and Harvard, was born in Eureka, Illinois, a town some 400 miles to the northeast of Omaha. This distance between Dr. Poynter's birth place and Omaha is not unusual since the mean distance traveled by migrants from the northeast was 611 miles. This compares with a mean distance in the southwest of only 92 miles. (See Table XXVII.)

When the direct distance is measured it is evident that the Omaha elite migrated approximately the same distance as the Kansas City leadership. Over 45 percent of the Omaha group were born under 240 miles from Omaha; and yet there were still a large number of men who came to Omaha from over 560 miles. (See Table XXVIII.) Many, like Arthur Palmer, traveled less than 50 miles from Cass County to Omaha; however, others, like Ambrose Epperson, a United States attorney in Omaha, were born 280 miles or more from Omaha.

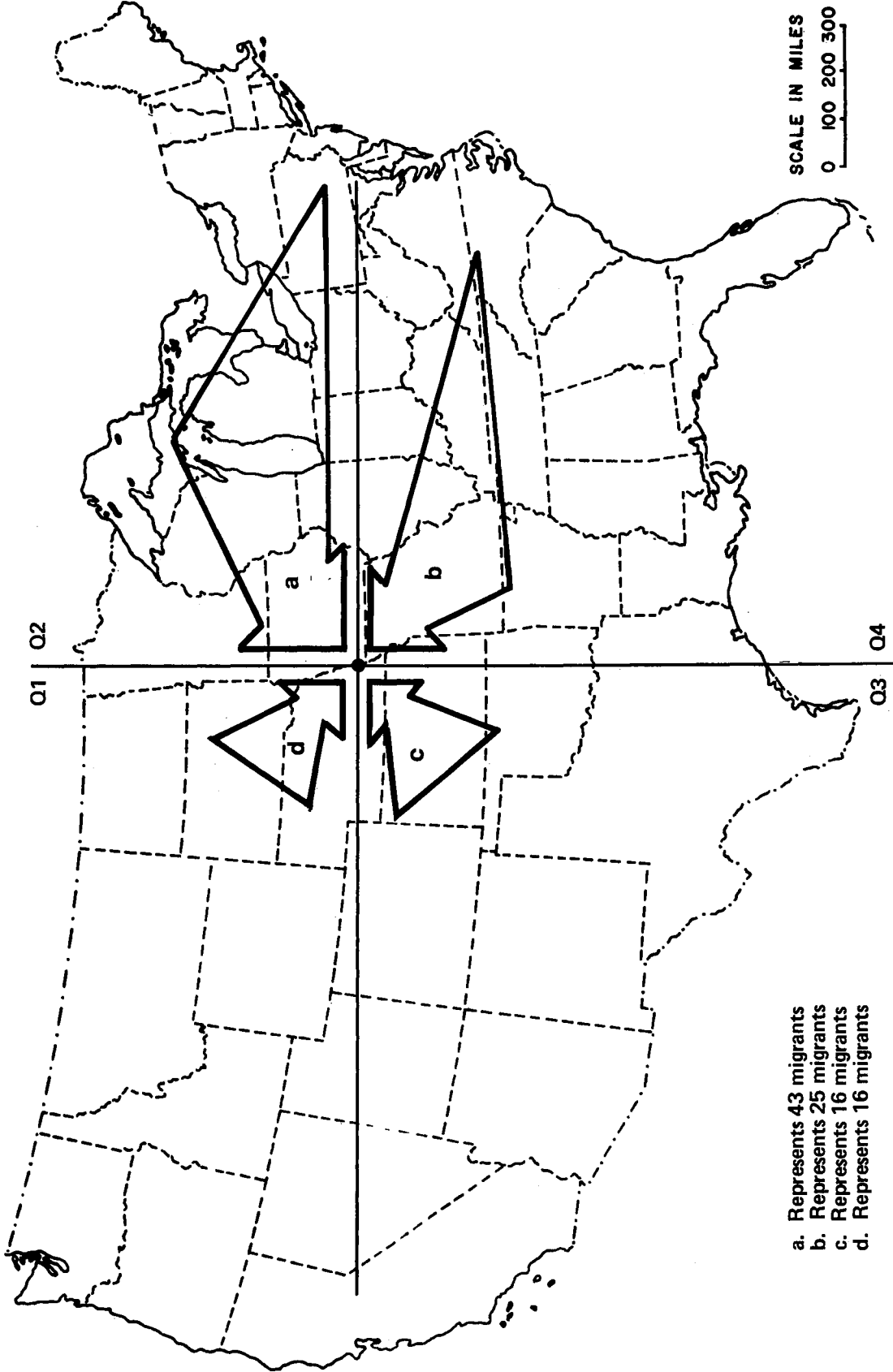


Figure 7. Urban Flow: Omaha

TABLE XXVII
DISTANCES TRAVELED BY QUADRANT: OMAHA

| Quadrant | Mean Distance* | Variance | Standard Deviation | N |
|-----------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----|
| Northwest | 1.61 | 3.15 | 1.77 | 16 |
| Northeast | 7.76 | 24.09 | 4.90 | 43 |
| Southwest | 1.15 | .38 | .61 | 16 |
| Southeast | 4.43 | 9.26 | 3.04 | 25 |

*in scale inches where one inch is 80 miles

TABLE XXVIII
DIRECT DISTANCE OF BIRTH PLACE: OMAHA

| Distance* | # | % |
|---------------|---------|------|
| less than 80 | 20 | 19.8 |
| 80.1-160 | 20 | 19.8 |
| 160.1-240 | 6 | 5.9 |
| 240.1-320 | 13 | 12.8 |
| 320.1-400 | 8 | 7.9 |
| 400.1-480 | 3 | 2.9 |
| 480.1-560 | 4 | 3.9 |
| more than 560 | 27 | 26.7 |
| | n=101** | |

*in miles

**unknown=70

Thus, like Dr. Towne and Arthur Palmer, future leaders in Omaha came from both far and near. The closeness of some of these future elites to the city is shown by the fact that 37.4 percent of the sample were born in Nebraska. Iowa, Illinois, and Pennsylvania ranked

below Nebraska as birth places for elites. But the size of birth place is also important in determining the type of background these men left behind, and is a more true indicator of their rural origin.

Omaha attracted an overwhelming 68.9 percent of its future leaders from places under 50,000 population. For example, Epperson was born in Adair, Illinois, population 169 in 1900; Bretislav Dienstbier, a dentist, was born in Schuyler, Nebraska, population 2,160; Poynter's home town boasted 1,481 inhabitants, and the list could be extended. Those who were born in urban areas were most likely born in Omaha like William Perry.

Even though Omaha seemed to attract men from short distances, they were only slightly less mobile than those who migrated to Tulsa and Kansas City. The average number of moves made was 1.8. Even men like Arthur Palmer, born almost on the fringe of Omaha's urban area, moved to attain an education before they settled in Omaha. Thirty-two percent of the sample moved twice and 26.3 percent moved three times. The large percentage of future elites who were born in Omaha (21.6 percent) accounts for much of this lack of mobility. (See Table XXIX.)

The closeness of Cass County to Omaha was apparently not enough to draw Palmer there without first receiving an education. Palmer left Louisville, Nebraska, to attend Wesleyan University, and then moved to finish his bachelor degree at the University of Nebraska. He spent the next three years at Harvard University earning an LLB degree. Palmer actually moved away from the Omaha area to receive an education and then moved back to live in Omaha. However, William Ballard is a better example of the moves made by future Omaha elites. Ballard was born in Elgin, Illinois, and received a Bachelor of Science degree from Ames

TABLE XXIX
 MOBILITY PRIOR TO RESIDENCE IN OMAHA⁴

| Number of moves | # | % |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| None | 37 | 21.6 |
| 1 | 22 | 13.6 |
| 2 | 55 | 32.1 |
| 3 | 45 | 26.3 |
| 4 | 8 | 4.6 |
| 5 | 4 | 2.3 |
| | n=171 | |

College in Iowa and then earned a law degree from Nebraska University in Lincoln before moving to Omaha. Ballard was thus prepared to enter the professional life of the city. Thus, as these future leaders moved westward they also acquired a professional education. Over 60 percent of the men in leadership positions in Omaha held at least bachelor degrees. (See Table XXX.) While 32.7 percent of the sample received bachelor degrees, over 28 percent did at least some graduate work. Only 8.1 percent of these men indicated that they received less than grammar school training.

The types of degrees these men received further illustrates that men like Palmer and Ballard saw professional opportunities in the degrees they sought. Over a third of the sample earned B. A. degrees in various subjects; but 11.1 percent held law degrees and 9.3 percent held medical degrees. (See Table XXXI.) It is unfortunate that more information about the major subjects studied by those receiving bachelor degrees was not available. It must be pointed out, however, that a degree was not a prerequisite to urban success. Paul Havens, the

TABLE XXX
LEVEL OF EDUCATION: OMAHA

| Level of Education | # | % |
|--------------------|-------|------|
| None | 14 | 8.1 |
| Grammar | 12 | 7.6 |
| High School | 25 | 14.6 |
| Some College | 14 | 8.1 |
| Degree | 56 | 32.7 |
| Graduate Work | 5 | 2.9 |
| Graduate Degree | 44 | 25.7 |
| | n=171 | |

TABLE XXXI
TYPE OF DEGREE: OMAHA

| Degree | # | % |
|--------|-------|------|
| None | 65 | 38.0 |
| BA | 58 | 33.9 |
| LLB | 19 | 11.1 |
| MD | 16 | 9.3 |
| DDS | 6 | 3.5 |
| MA | 5 | 2.9 |
| BD | 1 | .5 |
| PhD | 1 | .5 |
| | n=171 | |

Secretary-Treasury of the Equity Finance and Investment Company in Omaha, graduated from the Omaha Central High School in 1906 and apparently was employed by the Minnesota Life Insurance Company in the same year. He managed that firm until 1921 when he organized the Equity

Finance firm.

This professional training whether in law, medicine, or business was an essential part of the migration to the city for most of these men. Omaha elites, like those of Tulsa and Kansas City were educated prior to residence in Omaha. As Table XXXII illustrates, 54.3 percent of the elite were educated before coming to Omaha, and 3.5 percent received at least some college before coming to Omaha. A little over a quarter of the sample did receive their highest level of education in the city of Omaha. Many of those educated in Omaha were either graduates of the Omaha public school system or graduates of what was then Omaha University. But most Omaha leaders were similar to Dr. Towne who was trained as a physician in New Hampshire and came to Omaha. Most of the men were trained in the state of their birth which meant that these elites graduated from schools in Nebraska and Iowa.⁵

TABLE XXXII

TIME OF EDUCATION: OMAHA

| Time of education | # | % |
|---|-------|------|
| Before city residence* | 93 | 54.3 |
| In city | 44 | 25.7 |
| Unknown | 14 | 8.1 |
| Born in city but educated elsewhere | 14 | 8.1 |
| At least some college before city residence | 6 | 3.5 |
| | n=171 | |

*Omaha

These men began their families soon after receiving their education. The year after Arthur Palmer received his law degree from Harvard he began practice in Omaha. Two years after Paul Havens had graduated from high school he was married and beginning a family. In short, these men had educated and trained themselves to work in the professional world as well as the social world of the city. Perhaps these men felt that success in their newly adopted urban home was partially dependent upon a stable and useful family life. In any case, most of the Omaha elite did immediately settle down and begin normal family living. Over 78 percent of the sample were married and none of them reported more than one marriage. Havens and his wife had two children and this was about average for an elite family in Omaha since the mean number of children per family was 1.53. Moreover, these were young and growing families. The average age of these men when they came to Omaha was 24.9 years, which means that young, well educated, and ambitious men comprised the leadership of Omaha.

A combination of training and ambition was most likely responsible for these elite finding success in their chosen professions and businesses. Havens, for example, had begun work in the insurance business at the age of 18 and in ten years was the owner and secretary-treasurer of a private insurance firm. Palmer was 26 years old when admitted to practice law in Omaha and by the time he was 30 he was counsel to the Swedish Consulate and the Federal Reserve Bank in Kansas City. The youthful ambition of these men was not atypical. In fact, it seems evident that most of the Omaha elite found positions in their respective professions.

Professions such as education, law, medicine, and finance were

most numerous among Omaha's elite. (See Table XXXIII.) Those elites engaged in law and medicine and finance all numbered 15.7 percent respectively. These three occupational categories are the same categories which ranked high among the Tulsa and Kansas City elite. The category of "other profession" which is ranked highest among the Omaha elite is influential here due to the large number of educators who fell into the sample as a result of the numerous public schools Omaha supported.

TABLE XXXIII
GENERAL PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS: OMAHA

| Occupations* | # | % |
|--------------------------|-------|------|
| Other Professions | 44 | 24.7 |
| Law | 27 | 15.7 |
| Medicine | 27 | 15.7 |
| Finance | 27 | 15.7 |
| Trade and Transportation | 23 | 13.0 |
| Manufacturing | 17 | 10.3 |
| Other | 4 | 2.3 |
| Manual | 2 | 1.1 |
| | n=171 | |

*See Appendix A

The top three specific occupations among the Omaha leadership were lawyers (15.7 percent), physicians (12.2 percent), and educators (12.2 percent). A few of these men indicated that they had secondary occupational interests. Arthur Palmer, for instance, was interested in banking and investment and Charles Poynter was both a practicing physician as well as an instructor of anatomy at the University of

Nebraska Medical School. However, most of the Omaha elite involved themselves with the profession or business for which they were trained.

Their training brought men like William Ballard both professional success as well as professional status beyond what their fathers had achieved. By assuming that professions such as law, finance, and medicine are more prestigious than all other professions and comparing the number of elite lawyers whose fathers were also lawyers we find that few of the parental occupations matched the prestige which their sons' occupations achieved. (See Table XXXIV.) If those men who were leading lawyers in Omaha had fathers who were also lawyers we could expect a high correlation coefficient but the C coefficient of association between these two variables is only .28. Ballard's father was a farmer who retired outside Elgin, Illinois while his son migrated to an urban area and engaged in the profession of law. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the data to indicate that Ballard's success at law was any more lucrative than his father's success at farming might have been; however, the increase in occupational prestige as well as upward economic mobility seems more than plausible. As in the case of Tulsa and Kansas City elites, this upward mobility suggests purpose and planning in the migration of these formerly rural inhabitants.

Omaha's urban elite were men on their way up--in educational achievement, professional status, and family stability. These men were also active in the political, civic, and social life of the city. Men like Richard Hunter, both lawyer and businessman, naturally sought an active voice in their municipal government since they most likely desired to protect their status and stability.

TABLE XXXIV

ELITE OCCUPATIONS AND PARENT OCCUPATIONS: OMAHA

| PARENTS | ELITES | | | | Totals |
|----------|--------|---------|----------|-------|--------|
| | Law | Finance | Medicine | Other | |
| Law | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Finance | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Medicine | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Other | 23 | 24 | 25 | 112 | 184 |
| Totals | 21 | 28 | 26 | 117 | 198 |

n=198 $\chi^2=17.19$ df=9 C=.28

Politically, Hunter was a Democrat, a member of the Nebraska legislature in 1915, a municipal court judge, a candidate for attorney general, and a candidate for railway commissioner. He was also active in the Omaha and Nebraska bar associations. However, the political activity of most of the Omaha elite was not as overt as Hunter's. Glenn Jennings, Vice President of the Wright and Welhelmy hardware dealers, is a more representative example. Jennings listed his political preference as Republican, but was never a candidate for office. Among the leadership in Omaha, 59.6 percent of the sample were Republicans like Jennings, with only 15.7 percent indicating preference for the Democratic Party. Less than 2.0 percent of the sample had been candidates for public office at any one time. Hunter's activity, then, was atypical, but this did not necessarily mean that Omaha's elite was unconcerned about municipal affairs. Over 41 percent of these men were members of civic clubs often association with urban reform and civic responsibility such as Chambers of Commerce, the Ad-Sell League, and

the Omaha Club. In reality, we simply don't know how active these men were in municipal affairs, but there is some reason to assume that they might have been active. But clearly, this activity whether in Tulsa, Kansas City, or Omaha was not manifested in campaigning or running for office. It is important to note, however, the strength of Republican partisanship seems to be changing among the urban elite since the Republican majority is stronger among the Omaha elite than it was among either the Tulsa or Kansas City elite.

Glenn Jennings was also a member of the Methodist Church in Omaha and as such was representative of 12.2 percent of the sample. In Omaha as in the other cities examined this far, Protestant church membership registered above non-Protestants; yet Catholics were stronger in Omaha than in either Tulsa or Kansas City. Over 11 percent of the Omaha elite were Catholic. (See Table XXXV.)

Omaha elites were more active in social clubs and lodges than either politics or religion. The average number of club memberships held by Omaha leaders was 3.2. For example, Jennings was a member of the Rotary, was a 32d degree Mason, a member of the Happy Hollow Club, the YMCA, and the Omaha Athletic Club. Hunter was also a Mason as well as an Elk. Paul Havens, an insurance executive, was a mason as well as a member of the local P.T.A. Many of the elite were members of the Omaha chapter of the famous Ak-Sar-Ben (Nebraska spelled backwards) club which was founded in Omaha. Only 9.3 percent of the total sample did not have at least one social club or lodge membership.

When the typical Omaha elite came to the city he not only was active in clubs like the Masons or the Chamber of Commerce, but also was a professional man contributing to the economic life of the city.

TABLE XXXV
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS: OMAHA

| Denomination | # | % |
|-------------------|-------|------|
| Unknown | 22 | 12.8 |
| Methodist | 21 | 12.2 |
| Presbyterian | 21 | 12.2 |
| Catholic | 20 | 11.6 |
| Christian | 20 | 11.6 |
| Lutheran | 14 | 8.6 |
| Episcopal | 12 | 7.0 |
| Congregationalist | 11 | 5.8 |
| Jew | 8 | 4.6 |
| Protestant | 6 | 3.5 |
| Unitarian | 5 | 2.9 |
| Other | 5 | 2.9 |
| Baptist | 3 | 1.7 |
| Christian Science | 1 | .5 |
| Church of Christ | 1 | .5 |
| | n=171 | |

Like Tulsa and Kansas City, the migrants to Omaha came west from near and far searching for success. Omaha's elite migrated shorter distances but still thought it necessary to obtain their educations before taking up residence in Omaha. Consciously seeking success in the city, these men left their parents' farms or small town homes and moved perhaps two or three times before settling in Omaha. Once in the city they were able to adapt well to urban living if family stability and occupational professionalism were any indication of urban adaptability. Unlike Tulsa and Kansas City, Omaha elites were born closer to their future home. More Catholics and Republicans were found among the Omaha elite than in either of the other cities examined. But the overall pattern of vertical, horizontal, and occupational mobility is

strikingly similar to the patterns in Tulsa and Kansas City.

To help test the validity of this pattern for the urban Plains we have examined three cities, and one final group of urban elites remains to be studied. Did elites coming to Des Moines, Iowa, exhibit the same mobility and adaptability? Des Moines, like Omaha, was a less established city than Kansas City and an older city than Tulsa, but was the leadership similar?

FOOTNOTES

¹James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (University of Nebraska, 1955), p. 108; Virginia Faulkner, ed., Roundup: A Nebraska Reader (University of Nebraska, 1957), p. 151; Walter Wyman, "Omaha: Frontier Depot," Nebraska History, XVII (June 1956), p. 144.

²Faulkner, Nebraska Reader, pp. 41-43.

³Robert M. Baldwin, ed., Who's Who In Omaha (Omaha, 1929).

⁴Here again it seems natural that when variables such as mobility or perhaps size of place of birth are controlled for that relationships between education and occupation or education and mobility would become evident; however, the C for education and mobility was .08. See note 12, pp. 42-43.

⁵The C for state of birth and state of education was .77.

CHAPTER V

DES MOINES: TRADING CENTER IN THE FARM BELT

Des Moines, Iowa, developed into the only major urban center in the state due to three principle influences; the location of the capitol, the spreading of the rail westward, and the industries such as printing and insurance which located in Des Moines. Originally, the area now Des Moines was a part of the Sac and Fox Indian reservation until the land was purchased by the government on October 11, 1842. However, the Sac and Fox were displeased with the arrangement and continued to harrass the settlers in the area. The federal government accordingly sent Captain James Allen to the area with orders to construct Fort Des Moines. The fort was named for the surrounding countryside which early French traders had called "de moyen" or "des moine" in the belief that monks had once inhabited the land. Traders now came to the site under the protection of the United States Army but no town of any size was erected until the site was chosen for the state capitol.¹

In 1855, Des Moines was picked as the capitol. It took two years to move all of the furniture and gear from Iowa City to Des Moines, but by 1857, the town was taking definite shape. In that same year the town was incorporated as Des Moines. (See Figure 8.) In less than ten years, the Des Moines and Keokuk Railroad had connected Des Moines to Iowa City and the west as well as to Chicago and the

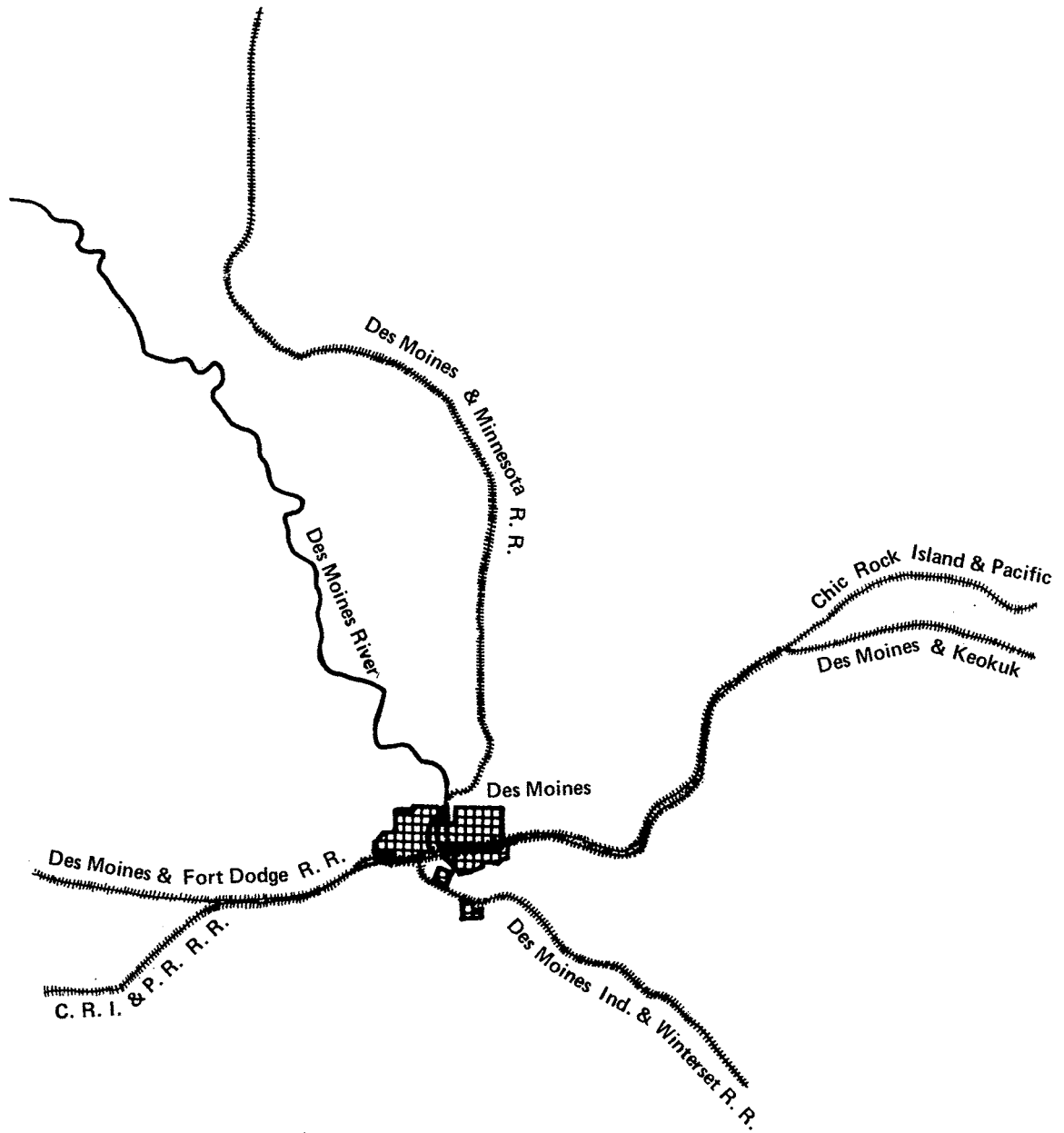


Figure 8. Des Moines

east.²

Actually, before the railroad or the state capitol came to Des Moines, the printing industry located in the town. In 1849, the "Iowa Star" printed its first issue. The publisher, Barlow Granger, was the first in a long line of enterprising men who came to Des Moines to engage in the printing and publishing business. The Mills brothers, Walter and Frank, soon made the city their headquarters for a major printing business. The insurance business also came to Des Moines in the 1860s. Two early companies, Banker's Life and Equitable of Iowa, both had agents throughout the Plains and Southwest. In 1875, the first nationally chartered bank in the state, the Iowa National Bank, opened its doors.³ Between 1860 and 1870 the population quadrupled. (See Table XXXVI.) This unprecedented growth continued for 20 years.

TABLE XXXVI

POPULATION CHANGES: DES MOINES

| Date | Population | Percent Change |
|------|------------|----------------|
| 1860 | 3,965 | - |
| 1870 | 12,035 | 203.5 |
| 1880 | 22,408 | 86.1 |
| 1890 | 50,093 | 123.5 |
| 1900 | 62,139 | 24.0 |
| 1910 | 86,368 | 38.9 |
| 1920 | 126,468 | 46.4 |
| 1930 | 142,559 | 12.7 |

This predominance of Des Moines as the only major city in the state and as the center of industries in printing and insurance brought men from nearby towns and villages throughout the state to the city. Claude Maynard, for example, came from Grand Junction, Iowa, to become President and manager of the Maynard Printing Company. Forrest Larmer left his father's farm in Ravenwood, Missouri to come to the city as organizer and Vice-President of the Des Moines Livestock Exchange. Many others were drawn to the city in similar fashion. By the 1920s a first generation of urban leaders was well established in Des Moines, and over 3,000 of these leaders were the subject of a series of biographical sketches about important urban citizens.⁴ Examination of these biographies will help establish the make-up of Des Moines' elite and also determine the differences or similarities between leaders in Des Moines and other Plains cities.

Many of the future leaders in Des Moines left farms and came to the city just as Forrest Larmer did. Thus, the backgrounds of these future urbanites was rural. The parental occupations of these men varied a great deal, yet only one occupation--farming--stood out among the many listed by the parents of future elites in Des Moines. Twenty-six percent of the elite indicated that their parents engaged in farming. All other occupations numbered less than 5.0 percent each. Larmer's father was descended from Scottish stock as was 9.5 percent of the rest of the sample. In Des Moines as in the other cities, northern and western European stock was dominant among these elites. English, Scottish, Irish, and German ancestry were most numerous. A fairly large number, 6.7 percent, of these elites had Scandanavian ancestors.

The geographic origins of these men are somewhat different from those of the cities examined above, yet they still illustrate the pattern of east to west migration and rural origins. As Figure 9 shows, it is clear that most of Des Moines' leaders originated from the northeast or southeast. Unlike the three cities previously studied, more migrants came to Des Moines from the southeast than from the northeast. The greatest difference between Des Moines and the other cities reveals that future elites traveling to Des Moines were born much closer to Des Moines. The mean distance of migration from the northeast was 238 miles; and the distance from the southeast was 219 miles.⁵ (See Table XXXVII.)

TABLE XXXVII
DISTANCES TRAVELED BY QUADRANT: DES MOINES

| Quadrant | Mean Distance* | Variance | Standard Deviation | N |
|-----------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----|
| Northwest | 1.26 | 4.55 | 2.13 | 31 |
| Northeast | 2.97 | 6.53 | 2.55 | 42 |
| Southwest | 1.64 | 1.77 | 1.33 | 30 |
| Southeast | 2.74 | 8.18 | 2.86 | 57 |

*in scale inches where one inch is 80 miles

The closeness of origins to Des Moines becomes more clear when we note that 65.1 percent of the sample were born less than 160 miles from the city of Des Moines. (See Table XXXVIII.) While Tulsa and Kansas City

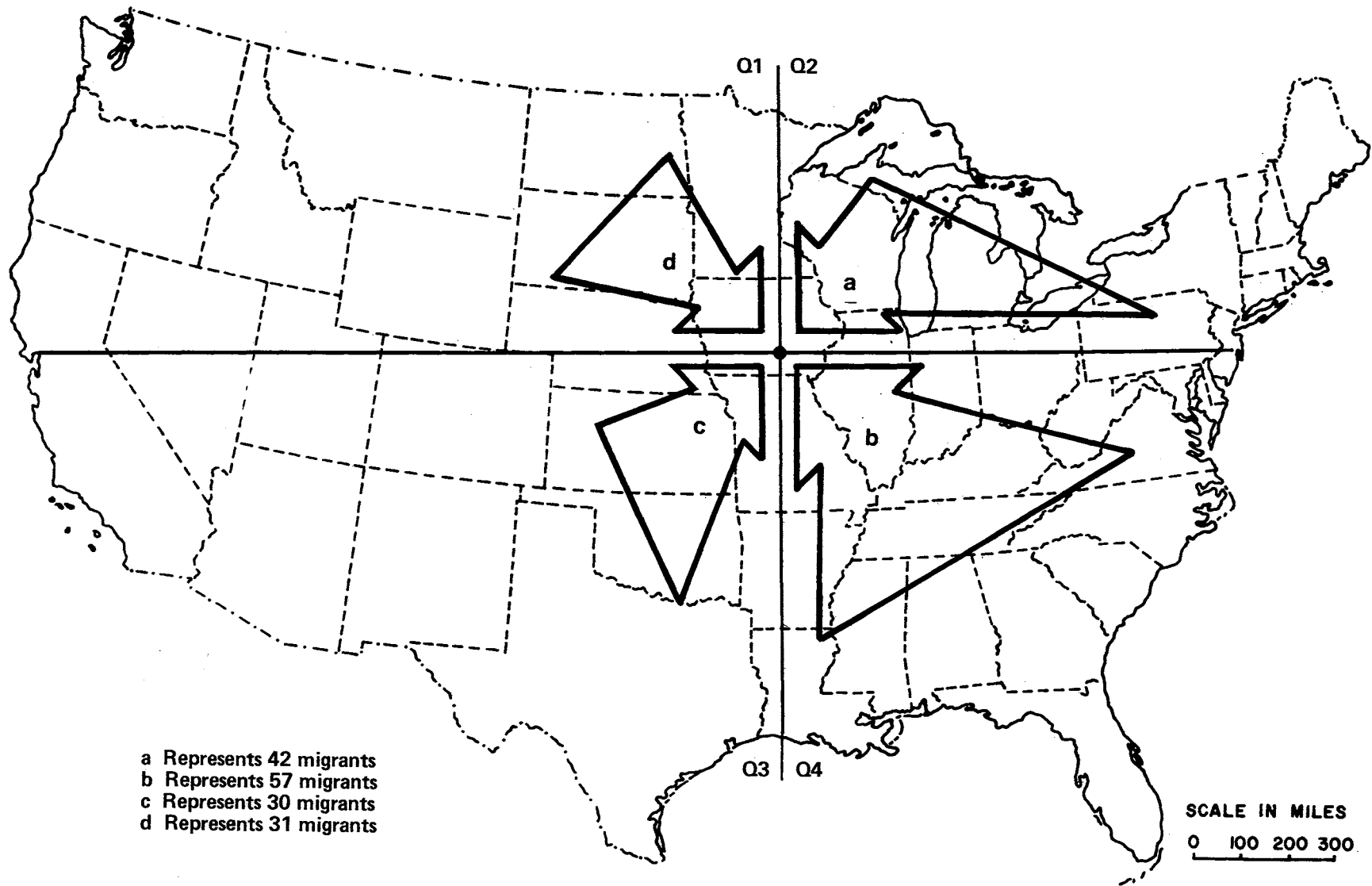


Figure 9. Urban Flow: Des Moines

claimed at least 20.0 percent of their elites born more than 560 miles away, only 5.0 percent of Des Moines' leadership was born more than 560 miles from the city. Accordingly, the majority, 64 percent, of the Des Moines elite were born in the state of Iowa.

TABLE XXXVIII

DIRECT DISTANCE OF BIRTH PLACE: DES MOINES

| Distance* | # | % |
|---------------|---------|------|
| less than 80 | 54 | 34.1 |
| 80.1-160 | 49 | 31.0 |
| 160.1-240 | 14 | 8.8 |
| 240.1-320 | 16 | 10.1 |
| 320.1-400 | 5 | 3.1 |
| 400.1-480 | 7 | 4.4 |
| 480.1-560 | 5 | 3.1 |
| more than 560 | 8 | 5.0 |
| | n=158** | |

*in miles

**unknown=93

The state of Iowa acted as a staging ground for the men destined to come to Des Moines and assume leadership roles. Claude Maynard was born in Grand Junction, Iowa, less than 40 miles from Des Moines; John Mahedy, executive secretary of the Des Moines Drug Company, was born in Latty, Iowa, only 140 miles from Des Moines; and Edward Lytton, business manager at Drake University, was born near Muscatine, Iowa, 120 miles from the capitol city. Yet despite the closeness of their birth to the city, these men were raised in towns which were definitely

rural. For example, Grand Junction had 932 inhabitants in 1900, Latty, Iowa claimed only 32 people, and Muscatine was a town of 11,454. Over seventy-five percent of the men who became leaders in the city of Des Moines were born in such rural areas.

Since Des Moines attracted men from such limited distances these men were noticeably less mobile prior to taking up residence in the city. Nearly half, 45.0 percent, of the future Des Moines elite moved only once. Over 20 percent of the sample made two moves prior to coming to Des Moines. (See Table XXXIX.) For these men there was apparently one big move to the city.

TABLE XXXIX
MOBILITY PRIOR TO RESIDENCE IN DES MOINES

| Number of Moves | # | % |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| None | 48 | 19.1 |
| 1 | 113 | 45.0 |
| 2 | 52 | 20.7 |
| 3 | 33 | 13.1 |
| 4 | 4 | 1.5 |
| 6 | 1 | .3 |
| | n=251 | |

Geographic mobility meant the same for Des Moines elites as it did for the other elites. For instance, Mahedy's one move between Latty, Iowa and Des Moines was to Iowa City where he attended Elliot's Commercial College before going to Des Moines. Forrest Larmer made

two moves--to Baldwin, Kansas to earn a bachelor degree and to Chicago to receive an M.A. degree from the University of Chicago. Education was apparently the same type of stepping stone for these men as it was for elites in Kansas City, Omaha, or Tulsa.

Out of the total Des Moines sample, 61.6 percent received at least some college level training or better. (See Table XL.) Over 24 percent earned bachelor degrees; and 25.8 percent either did some graduate work or received a graduate degree. This level of education among the elite is very similar to the levels found among the elite in Tulsa or Kansas City.

TABLE XL
LEVEL OF EDUCATION: DES MOINES

| Level of Education | # | % |
|--------------------|-------|------|
| None | 26 | 10.3 |
| Grammar | 19 | 7.5 |
| High School | 51 | 20.3 |
| Some College | 29 | 11.5 |
| Degree | 61 | 24.3 |
| Graduate Work | 8 | 3.1 |
| Graduate Degree | 57 | 22.7 |
| | n=251 | |

Professional degrees were not as numerous among the Des Moines elite as among the leaders from other Plains cities. Twenty-six percent of the group received bachelor degrees, and 11.1 percent received

law degrees. Only 4.7 percent of the sample earned medical degrees, however. Unfortunately, we do not know if the bachelor degrees these men received were business oriented; but such emphasis was very possible since Des Moines supported a number of commercial schools such as the Capitol City Commercial College and since so many men were educated in Iowa. Moreover, it seems likely that the educations afforded these men acted as stepping stones to urban living since even among Des Moines' elite 50.7 percent of the group received their educations prior to coming to Des Moines. (See Table XLI.)

TABLE XLI
TIME OF EDUCATION: DES MOINES

| Time of education | # | % |
|---|-------|------|
| Before city residence* | 128 | 50.7 |
| In city | 63 | 25.0 |
| Unknown | 26 | 10.3 |
| Born in City but educated elsewhere | 26 | 10.3 |
| At least some college before city residence | 9 | 3.5 |
| | n=251 | |

*Des Moines

Forrest Larmer completed his formal education in 1918 and one year later moved to Des Moines and married Margaret Peck. In the next year, 1920, Larmer organized his own investment company acting as secretary-treasurer. Obviously anxious for life in the city, Larmer and most of

the other Des Moines elite quickly established families and homes. Over 80 percent of the Des Moines sample were married, while 18.4 percent were single. Most elite families in Des Moines raised one or two children since the average for the group was 1.68 children per family. As in the cities already studied, the elite in Des Moines were young men (the average age was 25.7 years) who, like Larmer at age 22, were just beginning their urban experience but who also had considerable preparation for that experience.

As quickly as these men entered the city and established homes, they entered the professional ranks of their new urban setting. Among Des Moines elites the businessman and financier was more numerous than the doctor or lawyer. Within the general occupational categories, finance ranked highest with 22.1 percent of the elite engaged in financial pursuits. The category of "Other Professions" ranked second with 20.4 percent. (See Table XLII.) Larmer, as an executive, and Maynard, as owner of a printing company, are two excellent examples of the type of elite included in these categories. Elites engaged in law numbered only 13.8 percent and those practicing medicine numbered only 9.0 percent.

When these categories are broken down into specific occupations the five top-ranked occupations are: lawyer, educator, insurance agent, financial executive, and physician. (See Table XLIII.) This means that more of the elite in Des Moines were engaged in the specific occupation of lawyer than any other single occupation. Thus, some of the professionalism found in other city elites is also evident among Des Moines' elite. Educators were numerous among the Des Moines elite, as they were among the Omaha elite. These educators, like

Stephen Bakalyar, who was head of the Math Department in the Des Moines High School system, had excellent opportunities to teach in Des Moines public schools or commercial schools such as the Capitol City Commercial College.

TABLE XLII

GENERAL PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS: DES MOINES

| Occupations* | # | % |
|--------------------------|---------|------|
| Finance | 57 | 22.1 |
| Other Professions | 53 | 20.4 |
| Trade and Transportation | 42 | 16.1 |
| Law | 35 | 13.8 |
| Medicine | 23 | 9.0 |
| Manufacturing | 21 | 8.0 |
| Other | 15 | 5.6 |
| Manual | 4 | 1.5 |
| | n=250** | |

*see Appendix A

**unknown=1

TABLE XLIII

TOP-RANKED SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS: DES MOINES

| Occupation | # | % |
|-----------------|--------|------|
| Lawyer | 33 | 13.1 |
| Educator | 27 | 10.7 |
| Insurance Agent | 22 | 8.7 |
| Financier | 15 | 5.9 |
| Physician | 13 | 5.1 |
| | n=251* | |

*percentages based on total n

Because many of the leaders in Des Moines were businessmen, financiers, or insurance agents, there was less occupational mobility among this group of elites when they are compared to the occupational status of their fathers. (See Table XLIV.) Maynard's father, for example, was also a publisher and printer who edited the Grand Junction Headlight for thirty years. His son carried on the same tradition. However, for many elites, the relationship is still weak. For instance, only 10 of the 35 lawyers had fathers who were also lawyers.

TABLE XLIV

ELITE OCCUPATIONS AND PARENT OCCUPATIONS: DES MOINES

| PARENTS | ELITES | | | | Totals |
|----------|--------|---------|----------|-------|--------|
| | Law | Finance | Medicine | Other | |
| Law | 10 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 14 |
| Finance | 2 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 21 |
| Medicine | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| Other | 23 | 50 | 20 | 119 | 212 |
| Totals | 36 | 57 | 23 | 128 | 254* |

*three men were counted twice due to indecision about occupations

The pattern of occupational mobility is still very apparent for such men as Forrest Larmer who left his father's farm to earn a Master's degree from the University of Chicago and later became Vice-President of the Des Moines Livestock Exchange. The life of Edward Lytton as accountant and business manager at Drake University was also

quite different from life on his father's farm outside of Muscatine, Iowa. In addition to professional and financial activity in an urban setting, these men were also busily involved in the political and social life of Des Moines. Lytton, for example was an active Republican and assistant to a mayor of Des Moines as well as an author of a "Bibliography" of works on the so-called "Des Moines" plan of municipal commission type government. In politics, Des Moines' elite, more than the elite of any city thus far studied, was overwhelmingly Republican in partisanship. Seventy-one percent of the elite in Des Moines preferred the Republican Party. Only 6.3 percent of the sample indicated a preference for the Democratic Party; and 9.5 percent of these leaders called themselves independents.

The influence of the Republican Party may have had an affect on urban reform in Des Moines through these men since so many of them preferred the Republican Party. But this is not certain. Again, it is relatively impossible to estimate how active the average Des Moines elite was in politics or civic government. More than 23 percent of the sample were members of such civic and promotional clubs as the Chamber of Commerce and the Des Moines Commercial Club. One Des Moines' historian has pointed out that the Commercial Club was especially influential in "city administration," but little else is known.⁶

In the religious and social life of the city the elite in Des Moines were very much like the elites in the other cities studied. Most elites in Des Moines were Protestants. The Methodists, with 21.9 percent of the sample, ranked highest among all denominations. Christians numbered 15.5 percent and Presbyterians numbered 11.5 percent. All other denominations were represented by less than 5.0 percent

each. Forrest Larmer, for example, was a Methodist and was also a member of the Masonic Lodge and the Wakonda Country Club. Lodges and clubs like these were apparently important in the lives of Des Moines elites since leaders were on the average involved in 2.9 clubs or lodges.

Perhaps "involved" describes more than the social lives of these leading citizens of Des Moines during the 1920s. They were involved in a definite migration pattern which brought them perhaps 100 or 200 miles away from a small home town or a family farm and settled them in an urban area. And because they were involved in obtaining an education prior to coming to the city or shortly thereafter, the Des Moines elite were also capable of involving themselves and their families in the professional leadership of the city as company vice presidents or lawyers or educators. In sum, the men who came to Des Moines possessed the same unique similarities of educational attainment, professional and financial occupations, and ambition which characterized the elite in Tulsa, Kansas City, and Omaha. These were men ready to make the transformation from rural migrant to urban leader. Their readiness brought them success.

The transformation which took place in the lives of these men was a part of the process of urbanization, and by examining their lives some generalizations about this transformation should be possible. How were these men transformed from rural to urban living? Were there significant differences among the men who came to these four Plains cities. Is it possible that the concept of rural youth obtaining an education and going to the city has anything new to offer toward an understanding of the men in responsible positions in cities throughout

the country? More particularly, is it possible that this concept has any application in other regions at other times? In short, what does this transformation mean?

FOOTNOTES

¹William J. Petersen, ed., "Des Moines," New York Daily Graphic, September 17, 1878 reprinted in Palimpsest, LI (May, 1970), pp. 243-244; Herbert Hake, Iowa Inside Out (Iowa State University, 1968), p. 130.

²Irving B. Richman, Ioway to Iowa (State Historical Society, 1931), p. 379.

³Petersen, "Des Moines," pp. 227-229.

⁴Robert M. Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Des Moines (Des Moines, 1929).

⁵The extremely large standard deviations here point out the abnormality of this sample distribution. Also the reader should note that portions of the United States in the southeast quadrant of Des Moines were in the northeast quadrant of Tulsa. Thus, a quadrant is not the same for all of these cities. This problem is discussed in Chapter VI.

⁶James Brigham, History of Des Moines, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 1911), p. 570. See also Eli D. Potts, "A Comparative Study of the Leadership of Republican Factions in Iowa, 1904-1914," unpublished MA thesis, State University of Iowa, 1956.

CHAPTER VI

LEADERSHIP IN THE URBAN PLAINS

For men like George Ball, Sam Busler, Arthur Palmer, or Forrest Larmer the American dream was genuine. Their names are not today recognized by freshman American history students but they are historical elites nonetheless. And yet their successes have been overlooked or underestimated. The view of the urban elites has been incomplete, unclear, and top heavy. Their assessment has been incomplete because very few groups of urban leaders have ever been studied. The portrait has remained unclear because few studies relate their findings to the urbanization process. Information has also tended to be biased since most research examined only the obviously wealthy or powerful.¹

The Typical Urban Elite

According to a traditional frontier historian, "the great occupation of Kansasans and Nebraskans in the 1850s and 1860s was town building."² Unfortunately, historians have neglected these town builders just when they were making towns into cities. More is known about the Andrew Carnegie's than the Sam Busler's or Arthur Palmer's. But were they so less important? If successful men in frontier cities did not have Carnegie's luck, what did they have? Focus on big businessmen has left the "average" urban leader with an unknown past. However, if Blake McKelvey's suggestion about the openness of a matur-

ing city's leadership is true,³ there is little corroborative information about how these men came to the city and how they attained their success. A review of the findings in Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines will yield some conclusions about these men as well as some conclusions about the urbanization process in which these men and the cities to which they migrated were very much involved.

The typical urban leader who migrated to cities in the Plains was remarkably prepared to engage in urban life. If just one "composite man" is assembled from the 1012 biographies examined this preparation for urban living may be more evident. Born the son of parents who immigrated from England and came to America to farm or to engage in a small retail business, our composite leader was clearly of northern European extraction. He was born either in a small town or on a farm, and grew out of childhood in the rural atmosphere of Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, or perhaps Iowa. He probably moved to a larger city to receive a college degree and perhaps moved again to earn a professional degree in law or medicine.

These moves may have brought this man to the city of his choice, but if they did not, he would soon move there to practice his profession or engage in business. Shortly before or just after his move to the city he married and began to raise two children in the urban atmosphere. Thus, he and his family were beginning their urban assimilation, or socialization, while he was a young man in his late 20s. He most likely was a lawyer or a businessman. He probably owned his own business or if a lawyer was a member of a partnership. As a secondary occupation he may have invested in financial enterprises or acted as an instructor in a local college or university. Our composite was

ing city's leadership is true,³ there is little corroborative information about how these men came to the city and how they attained their success. A review of the findings in Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines will yield some conclusions about these men as well as some conclusions about the urbanization process in which these men and the cities to which they migrated were very much involved.

The typical urban leader who migrated to cities in the Plains was remarkably prepared to engage in urban life. If just one "composite man" is assembled from the 1012 biographies examined this preparation for urban living may be more evident. Born the son of parents who immigrated from England and came to America to farm or to engage in a small retail business, our composite leader was clearly of northern European extraction. He was born either in a small town or on a farm, and grew out of childhood in the rural atmosphere of Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, or perhaps Iowa. He probably moved to a larger city to receive a college degree and perhaps moved again to earn a professional degree in law or medicine.

These moves may have brought this man to the city of his choice, but if they did not, he would soon move there to practice his profession or engage in business. Shortly before or just after his move to the city he married and began to raise two children in the urban atmosphere. Thus, he and his family were beginning their urban assimilation, or socialization, while he was a young man in his late 20s. He most likely was a lawyer or a businessman. He probably owned his own business or if a lawyer was a member of a partnership. As a secondary occupation he may have invested in financial enterprises or acted as an instructor in a local college or university. Our composite was

occupation and a particular city. Utilizing the G coefficient as an indicator of association we would expect the data to generate Cs approximating zero if differences between cities is null for these variables.

For example, if significantly more rural born elites had migrated to Omaha and Des Moines than had migrated to Tulsa and Kansas City, Table XLV below would show some other relationship than zero. In other words, each city had approximately the same proportion of elites from rural areas and the same proportion from urban areas. Statistically, this phenomenon is termed randomness, which, for the four cities considered here, means a degree of uniformity in elite origins.⁴ The pattern of rural origin is the same for each city.

TABLE XLV
CITY AND SIZE OF BIRTH PLACE

| CITY | SIZE OF BIRTH PLACE | | Totals |
|-------------|---------------------|-------|--------|
| | Urban | Rural | |
| Tulsa | 142 | 251 | 393 |
| Kansas City | 61 | 136 | 197 |
| Omaha | 53 | 118 | 171 |
| Des Moines | 62 | 189 | 251 |
| Totals | 318 | 694 | 1012 |

n=1012 $\chi^2=9.3413$ df-3 G=.09

The same low correlation is found when the level of education for all elites is crosstabulated with the cities. Here, the C of .11 indicates that each city's leadership possessed about the same proportion of men who received some college education or less and those who received at least a college degree. (See Table XLVI.) Thus, one city did not have a better educated elite than any other city.

TABLE XLVI
CITY AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

| CITY | EDUCATION | | Totals |
|-------------|------------------|--------|--------|
| | Some College | Degree | |
| Tulsa | 179 | 214 | 393 |
| Kansas City | 66 | 131 | 197 |
| Omaha | 66 | 105 | 171 |
| Des Moines | 125 | 126 | 251 |
| Totals | 436 | 576 | 1012 |
| n=1012 | $\chi^2=14.3699$ | df=3 | C=.11 |

The general occupational groups--finance, law, trade, manufacturing, medicine, other profession, manual, and other--likewise differed little among the four cities examined. After ranking these occupations according to size in each city, a rho rank order correlation coefficient was derived for each pair of cities. This measurement approximates 1.0 or unity when the ranking is the same for a pair of cities. In other words, if Tulsa and Omaha both listed the top elite occupations as law, finance, medicine, and other professional in that order

rho would be "high" or near 1.0. As Table XLVII demonstrates, the rho for Tulsa and Omaha is .62, the lowest in the table. All cities seemed to rank occupations among their elite in similar order. If it were not for the numerous elites in education and insurance in Des Moines and Omaha, these cities would more closely resemble the occupational rankings in Tulsa and Kansas City.

TABLE XLVII
RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR OCCUPATION BY CITY

| CITY | Tulsa | Kansas City | Omaha | Des Moines |
|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|------------|
| Tulsa | - | | | |
| Kansas City | .74 | - | | |
| Omaha | .62 | .84 | - | |
| Des Moines | .65 | .62 | .84 | - |

These Plains cities clearly attracted the same kinds of men. The challenge of an "urban frontier," which these cities proffered was met by young men from non-urban backgrounds with professional and business educations who came to the city to participate in its economic and social life. Certain subtle differences did exist among the elite in these cities. For example, Tulsa's youth as an urban place made it impossible for future elites to originate from Tulsa itself or even the surrounding territory. Yet older cities like Kansas City produced their own elite in part. Tulsa's leadership also traveled greater distances

than future elites migrating to other cities. But the overriding fact remains that the lives of elites in these four cities in the Missouri River basin during the early twentieth century were remarkably similar.

However, this similarity might forever remain an historical peculiarity unless it can be compared to assessments of urban leadership in other cities or to the general American population in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although the research design employed here does not utilize the concept of a formalized control group, it is possible to make some general statements about other research concerning urban elites.

Comparing Other Cities and Non-Elite Americans

Utilizing Memphis, Tennessee as a control group for a few select variables it seems very likely that the pattern of elite migration, education, and occupation found in the Plains was repeated in Memphis.⁶ Sixty percent of the elite from Memphis were born northeast of Memphis while 24.3 percent were born southeast of the city. Fifty-eight percent of all Memphis leaders were born within 160 miles of the city. Thus Memphis is very similar to Des Moines. The migration pattern is even more similar. Seventy-two percent of the elite left rural backgrounds to come to Memphis, and 71.0 percent of the sample obtained their educations before coming to the city. The average age of these men upon arrival was 31.39 years. The level of education among these elites was not as high as among the elites on the Plains. The majority, 59.7 percent, only received high school diplomas or some college education. Probably it was not as necessary to have an education in Memphis as in Kansas City due to Memphis headquartering

manufacturing centers for lumber, cotton, and foodstuffs. This function of the city was reflected in the occupations of its leaders. Over 41 percent of these leaders listed their occupations as manufacturer. Unfortunately, the Memphis data seemed biased in favor of these manufacturers and should not be considered without error. Other published research, however, may offer better comparisons.

One student of Richard Jensen completed a study using some of the same variables of this study which is well suited for comparison.⁷ In studying Chicago in 1911, Tom Kerwin found over a third of the Chicago elite were born in the Midwest. The average number of moves made by these men was over three. And 59.3 percent of the Chicago elite received at least some college education. The three top-ranked religious denominations among this elite group were Episcopalian, Utilitarian, and Presbyterian. So it would appear that Chicago's elite compares very favorably with elites in Plains cities. Both groups were mobile, well educated, and Protestant. Occupationally, 26.0 percent of the Chicago elite were involved in trade and transportation. In cities like Tulsa and Kansas City, possibly because they were less mature as a city than Chicago, trade and transportation was not as numerous among the elite. However, 17.3 percent of Chicago's elite were lawyers and 19.0 percent were manufacturers which more closely fits the pattern found in the urban Plains. Kerwin found that the elite families in Chicago had an average of 2.5 children per family which was slightly higher than the number for families in Tulsa or Omaha a decade later. Kerwin also discovered what he termed an "overwhelmingly Republican affiliation," among the Chicago leadership.⁸ Forty-five percent of the elite were Republican and only 9.1 percent

were Democratic. This partisanship exhibited by elites in 1911 was to be expected and agrees nicely with the partisanship among Plains elites.

Professor Jensen has re-examined this group of Chicago elite as well as elites in St. Louis, the Twin Cities, Detroit, Wichita, and Chicago again in 1926 in his article "Quantitative Collective Biography," and makes some interesting statements.⁹ Some of the observations made by Jensen do not agree with findings in Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, or Des Moines. The Chicago elite were apparently older than elites in the Plains since Jensen notes that men in their "twenties or thirties rarely had acquired solid business or professional reputations..." and were excluded from consideration as elites.¹⁰ This difference is to be expected, and, in fact, supports the consideration of the Plains cities as belonging to an urban frontier where young men made the city. All of the four Plains cities examined attracted men in their 20s. Also, the variable of age was important in predicting the distance traveled by men coming to Chicago, but was not for the Plains cities. Jensen found that older men traveled greater distance to Chicago and Wichita than young men.¹¹ However, since young men were so predominant in cities such as Kansas City and Des Moines no association between age and distance of migration existed.

Discussing the origins of these men, Jensen concludes that more of all age groups tended to come from Chicago in 1926 than in 1911. Thus Chicago's leadership was apparently closing ranks. This is clearly not the case in Tulsa or other Plains cities in the 1920s but may have occurred later. However, Jensen's analysis of the elites birth places in 1911 agrees closely with the results from the Plains

elites. He notes that "small cities of 2,500 to 20,000 population contributed 18 percent of the men, while villages of under 2,500 population claimed 33 percent."¹² The city of Chicago attracted rural oriented men in the 1880s and 1890s in similar fashion to cities on the Plains. Jensen suggests that since men in Chicago and St. Louis were business and professional minded they might have been involved in municipal politics. Otherwise, he did find a relationship between those of the Republican Party and those with associations in civic clubs. No such relationship existed for cities on the Plains which suggests that Democrats and Republicans alike were active in civic affairs even though Republicans largely outnumbered the Democrats. Unfortunately, Jensen puts none of this material into context as his only conclusions are methodological rather than substantive.

A recent study by John Ingham examines urban leaders on some bases comparable to elites examined herein.¹³ Studying the upward mobility of businessmen in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Wheeling, Ingham makes only a few observations which may be compared to the research at hand. He found that the new businessmen in these cities were nearly all native born. He also notes that the ancestry of these men was northern and western European (mostly English, Welsh, Scotch, German, and Irish).¹⁴ This agrees solidly with findings in Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines. Another point in agreement with the data for the Plains elite was the obvious Protestant religious preference among the businessmen. Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations ranked highest in these five cities. On these variables, which one might naturally associate with elitism, Ingham's elite are strikingly similar to urban leaders

in Plains cities.

On one particular variable--urban reform leadership--there has been some research which is interesting to examine in light of the findings about leaders in cities such as Omaha. Oddly enough, political participation among the urban leaders studied here was not evident. And yet these men were living in a period of turmoil and flux when great demands were made on the municipal system of government. Some of the research in Pittsburgh and other cities indicates that political activity may have been less overt than assumed. One historian strongly states that "the initiative for commission and manager government came consistently from chambers of commerce and other business organizations."¹⁵ If urban leaders were active through such organizations, and if they were men of "enlightened self interest" who were looking out for their own interests as well as the welfare of their city, then, in this broader sense, many of the elite in the Plains cities might have been urban reformers. However, the data available cannot determine this. A more certain body of research has examined urban migration, and finds patterns contrary to those of the Plains urban elite.

Only a few selected points can be taken from the vast array of sociological research concerning urbanward migration. However, several of the generally accepted notions derived from this research conflict with notions of migration patterns of the urban leaders in the 1920s. Studying a sample of "rural migrants," one authority identified four categories of migrants.¹⁶ The "losers," "strugglers," and "stumblers" all failed in varying degrees to assimilate into the urban atmosphere. The "thrivers" did assimilate as well as prosper. These thrivers might not be classified as elites; however, they do

exhibit some of the same characteristics which helped them accept urban life which elites on the Plains held. The thrivers had good educations, property accumulation, high level employment, and club membership. However, it is also suggested that these men thrived partly because they had some previous urban experience or were coming to a city where numerous relatives lived who could help with adjustments to their new environment. Urban elites coming to cities on the Plains had little urban experience and the number of relatives among the elite in the cities examined was not even large enough to justify tabulation.

A whole host of other sociologists has examined this question and concluded that rural migrants were less likely to make a successful life in the city than migrants from other urban areas.¹⁷ One researcher showed that rural background of migrants to a city in the 1950s correlated negatively with social involvement in the community. This conclusion is suspect for the early twentieth century based on the cities examined above. One cannot suggest that in 1900 all rural migrants found success in the city. But in the emerging cities on the Great Plains most of the elite clearly came from rural backgrounds. Another study, based on questionnaires, implied that education and income were not related to the aspiration to leave the farm. This may be true among the majority of people who left the farm. But apparently for those who did leave the farm or rural background, educational and occupational ambition were a necessity for survival and most likely a reason for leaving the rural atmosphere and migrating to the urban atmosphere. In addition, Seymour Lipset has suggested that the larger a person's community of orientation, the more likely he was upwardly

mobile. This is definitely not true for urban elites in Tulsa or Kansas City in the 1920s.

These comparisons reveal two things. In the first place, the elite of Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines possessed certain attributes such as northern European extraction, education, and professionalism which authorities generally ascribe to elite or upper class groups. Secondly, these elites also possessed a uniqueness of rural origin and successful urban assimilation which is a product of their migration to the last "urban frontier." But how did these elites differ from the general population in these cities in 1920?

Many variables determined for the elite are unavailable for the general population, so selection has to be carefully made. For example, the percentage of foreign born whites in the city population illustrates that the general population had up to two or three times the percentage of newly arrived immigrants as did the elite class. Des Moines population included 12.0 percent foreign born, Omaha had 29.8 percent, and Kansas City had 12.6 percent. All four elite populations had less than 10.0 percent foreign born.¹⁸ However, it may be assumed that the truest indicator of class or status differences was occupation. Comparing one higher status occupation (lawyer) with one less prestigious occupation (manufacturing), it is evident that more elites were lawyers than the general public and that more of the general populace was involved in manufacturing than the elite group. (See Table XLVIII.)

The elites in the Plains cities exhibited both a similarity among themselves as well as a uniqueness when compared to other urban elites. These men remain unique primarily because they successfully bridged

TABLE XLVIII
COMPARISON OF GENERAL POPULATION OCCUPATIONS
AND ELITE OCCUPATIONS

| CITY* | LAW | | MANUFACTURING** | |
|-------------|---------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Elite % | Population % | Elite % | Population % |
| Kansas City | 21.8 | 0.9 | 4.5 | 31.7 |
| Omaha | 15.7 | 0.7 | 10.3 | 40.7 |
| Des Moines | 13.1 | 0.3 | 8.0 | 16.0 |

*Tulsa data unavailable

**One should beware that elites in manufacturing would tend to be in higher positions than the general population

Source: 14th Census, Occupation, Vol. IV, 1920, Table 19.

the gulf between rural and urban living. In a very real sense the process of urbanization which affected so much of physical America between 1880 and 1920 also altered and enhanced Americans themselves. There is no way to even estimate how many Americans left rural backgrounds and came to Tulsa or perhaps Des Moines hoping for a better life and failed. Yet from the lives of those men who became urban leaders one thing is clear. These men planned as well as hoped for success. That was the critical difference. Caught in the vortex of urbanization, these men decided that the attraction of city streets and high rise office buildings where they could pursue chosen professions was their future. The paths they chose to make their ways urbanward make possible some additional concluding thoughts about the attractive forces which the cities on the urban frontier exerted.

The Elitosphere

It seems apparent from the urbanward flows of these future elites that each of the cities studied lured its leadership from distinct regions which might appropriately be termed "elitospheres." The general shape of the elitosphere is not a true sphere but an arrangement of pie-like wedges of various length and width surrounding the city like fattened wheel spokes. (See Figure 10.) Several general principles regulated the construction of this elitosphere. It is assumed that these men possessed a natural desire to succeed and moved urbanward to fulfill that desire. It is assumed that this movement is not directly toward one of the four cities. The regions included in this elitosphere represent birth place fields and not migration fields. Lastly, there is no implication that the attraction of an elite toward a particular city is a function of the size of the city, its distance from other cities, or the size of other accessible cities.¹⁹ The basis of the elitosphere--the field of birth place--was chosen because it represents the place where these future leaders were socialized as children. As indicated above, most of the moves these men made prior to coming to the city were made to receive educational or other training and their residence there was usually brief. Thus, the transition from the field of birth place to the urban field offers the most useful contrast.

The hypothetical elitosphere may be thought of as having five sectors surrounding the city. These sectors in turn comprise three "regions of attraction." Sector one is the most distinctive. Stretching north and east this sector represents most of the elite migrating from far away states like Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania. The

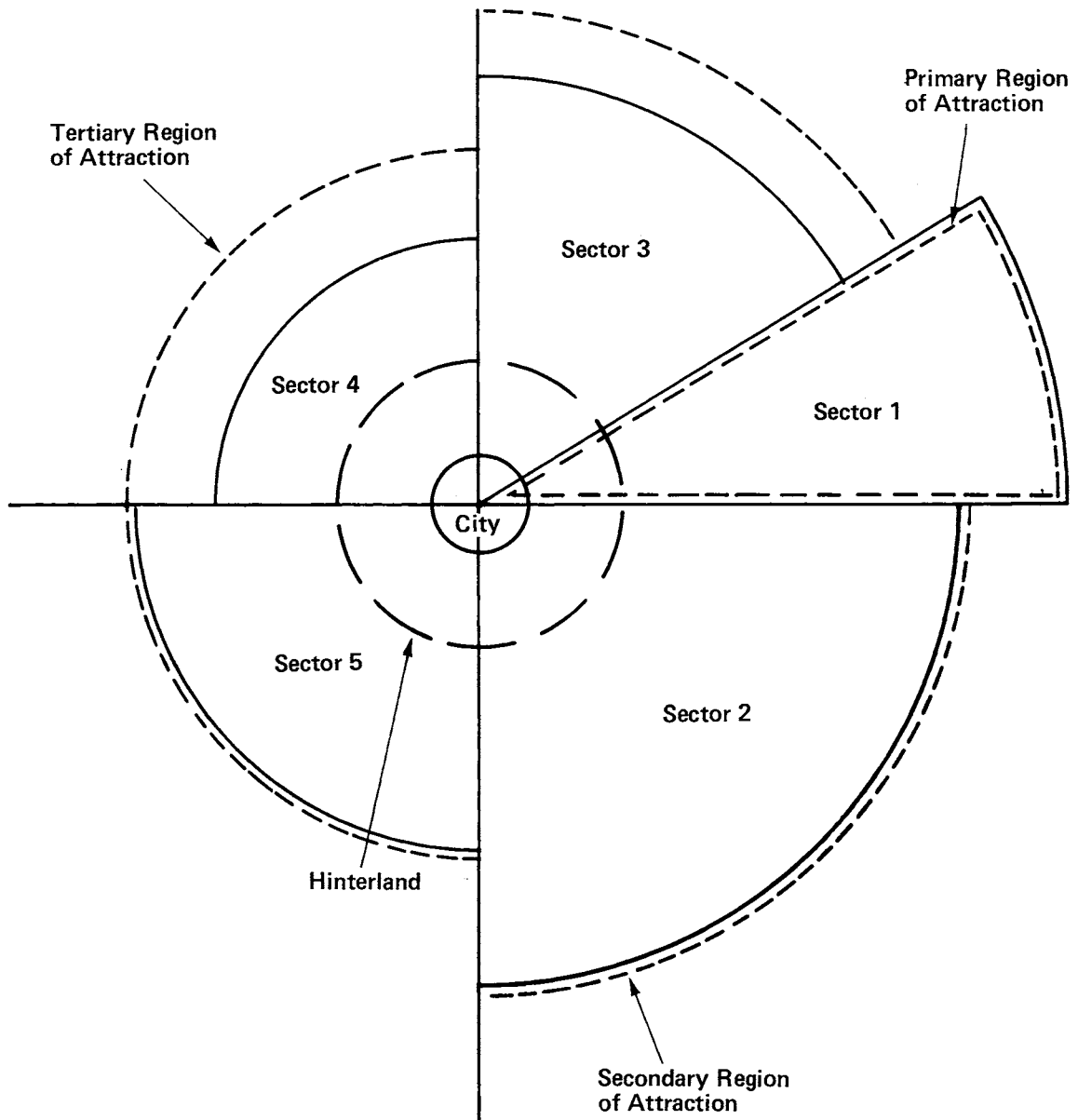


Figure 10. Elitosphere

truest representation of this sector is found in Tulsa, and Des Moines represents the least likely city to fit this sector pattern. However, all cities did attract leaders through a northeasterly corridor.

Sector one constitutes the "primary region of attraction."²⁰

Sectors two and three make-up the "secondary region of attraction." Sector two represents the entire birth place field to the south and east of the city. And sector three is comprised of the remaining birth place field north and east of the city not taken up by the primary region of attraction. From these areas men still traveled westward to their new urban homes. Sector two, for example, was the second most numerous area of elite births except for Des Moines when slightly more future elites came from the southeast than from the northeast. Generally speaking, men born in this region did not travel as far as those from the primary region.

Sectors four and five are the weakest of all sectors. Together they comprise the "tertiary region of attraction." Very few elites migrated east from these sectors. Most traveled very short distances, except in the case of a few from California, Utah, and Montana.

In addition to these five sectors, the elitesphere also provides for a special "hinterland" from which a city attracted anywhere from one-third to two-thirds of its leadership. Arbitrarily, we might set the boundaries for this hinterland at 160 miles from the city. Both Kansas City and Omaha attracted one third of its elite from this 160 mile wide concentric zone around the city. Des Moines drew two-thirds of its elite from within a 160 mile radius. Tulsa clearly had no hinterland.

The cities do not dominate these hinterlands in the traditional

sense of a hinterland. For example, 137 elites who were born within the Omaha hinterland migrated to one of the other three cities studied. The hinterland concept applies only to the number of men who came to the city, not to all of the possible men who could have migrated to that city. Only when each city is considered separately is noticeable pull or attraction of elites from within this hinterland area evident.

Indeed, the entire concept of an elitosphere is based on the four cities studied but does not suggest there is an exclusive set of regions of attractions for each city. Of course research of elite attraction in other cities at other times might generate a much different idea. Chicago's elite in 1911, for example might fit this type of elitosphere but the migration in 1926 would probably not.

The concept of an elitosphere may also be supported by an entirely different perspective of the flow of elites into Plains cities. As noted earlier, the so-called "northeast quadrant" of birth places for Tulsa was actually the "southeast quadrant" of birth places for Des Moines. If, instead of looking outward from the city toward the places of birth, we look inward from the places of birth toward the four cities we find a "feeding region" from which many men migrated to come to the urban Plains. Nearly one-third (32.8 percent) of all the elite in the four cities were born in a belt of states east and north of the Plains region. The four states, each adjacent in a line to one another, which comprise this feeding region are: Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. It would be important to verify the existence of such feeding regions for other groups of cities either to the east or west of the Plains. Such an undertaking, although beyond the scope of this study, could be made in the Ohio Valley with

cities like Cincinnati and Louisville.

The point remains that on the urban frontier cities like Tulsa or Omaha must have projected some of the same magic--the same excitement--as the mountain streams and forests had projected to earlier trappers and explorers. Perhaps the news of the growing city spread into well defined areas; but whatever the cause, cities along the last urban frontier drew men away from small towns or farms and molded them into leading citizens.

This molding, which produced the typical urban leader discussed above, was perhaps a secondary part of the urbanization process. Although already described chronologically in discussion of each city's elite, it is possible to fit a verbal model of "elite preparation" to this molding process. Through such a model the process can be seen more clearly as a change in social orientation. (See Figure 11.) This re-orientation was a product of education, movement, and occupation. These three elements created a necessity for each prospective elite to make two types of movements. The first, and most obvious, was a chronological movement in age. As each man received his education he naturally moved out of childhood (which he had spent in a rural atmosphere) and adolescence into early adulthood. As he began to practice his profession or engage in business he naturally increased in age spending his life from the time of early adulthood or late adolescence in an urban atmosphere. The second type of movement demanded that each prospective urban leader physically move his home or place of residence. Initially, he may have moved to receive an education. This move almost surely brought him into brief contact with a larger town or city. Well trained, perhaps overtrained, these men next moved to

| <u>SOCIALIZATION*</u> | <u>TIME</u> | <u>MOBILITY</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------------------|
| Rural | Childhood | None |
| Education | Adolescence | Another town or city |
| Occupation | Early adult | City |
| Urban leadership (professional associations, club and church member- ships, political activity) | Early adult | City |

*many subtle behavioral elements undoubtedly went into the transformation of these rural migrants which are beyond measurement. Others just as subtle--such as a set of values may have carried over.

Figure 11. Model of Elite Preparation

another or larger city in the Plains where there was a ready market for his chosen occupation. Their professions, in turn, demanded social and civic activity, and so, the elite moved into full participation of urban life.

These ideas--a similarity among urban elites of all four cities, characteristics naturally associated with elitism, unusually intense rural to urban assimilation, an urban region of attraction, and conscious preparation for the future--are not mutually exclusive, but are actually complementary. Together they can be thought of as supporting a concept of elite gravitation. Men with human desire and influenced by an age of urbanization were lured to the city in search of success. Men gravitated toward the city first for education, then for employment and opportunity. It is not surprising, then, that these men shared such a common background. The gravitational pull of city life "urbanized" these men where less educated rural migrants

failed to become assimilated. Adjustment for these men meant urbanization.

Urban Frontier Leadership

Historically speaking, the second frontier on the Great Plains was an urban frontier. And although not a part of this study, it seems correct to assume that the second frontier would not have been possible without the first. However, one cannot say that the first frontier had any greater effect on history than the second. The men who came to the urban frontier were as much "moving Americans" as the earlier mountain men. The behavior of these men migrating to and working in the city definitely classifies them as "upper class," according to Edward Banfield. Banfield defined a member of the upper class as one who is "psychologically capable of providing for a distant future."²¹ Planning for distant futures was something all of these urban leaders seemed to have in common.

Instead of planning how many supplies they might need to cross the Rockies, these men planned what type of occupation might bring them success in the city. Theirs was a different kind of planning but it made possible the same kind of assimilation into a new environment. In the case of these men the transformation was from rural to urban lives. It was no accident that future urban leaders attained high levels of education prior to coming to the city. Likewise, it was not a coincidence that urban leaders in each city were engaged in occupations of higher status than their fathers.

It is possible to conclude from the data that Tulsa, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines were "rural cities" attracting people from rural

areas. This is especially tempting since it is commonly believed that life in these cities is perhaps not as urbane as life in New York or Philadelphia. This conclusion might even be supported by certain unknown qualities of these men. For example, how could one show that an urban elite in Kansas City did not retain the set of values and beliefs he acquired as a child on a farm in Illinois? Furthermore, in many ways these Plains cities have always been attached to an agrarian way of life. They are principle marketing centers for agricultural commodities as well as service areas for smaller farming communities surrounding them.

While this notion has some credibility, it seems more theoretically sound to consider these cities as very young cities--at a stage where Pittsburgh, or some other more mature city, was a century earlier. The occupational similarities between elite in Kansas City and Chicago illustrate that leaders in the two cities were professional as well as rural in origin. And it does not seem plausible to dismiss Chicago as a rural city. The urban Plains may be a unique case, but that remains to be seen.

One historian of the Plains has noted that "hard times produced leaders" on the frontier.²² While this may be true for the man in the sod house, it clearly does not apply to the man in the multi-storied office building. Instead, the promise of "good times" along with the assurance of professional and business training brought these men to the leadership class in Plains cities. Of course, there are many elements of behavior among these men far too subtle to ever be measured. In attempting to generalize about these elites much of this subtly is lost. Yet, generally speaking, they were successful

men and behaved accordingly. Their successes may not have been phenomenal, but they cannot be denied. These businessmen or lawyers or doctors of the urban Plains developed what their frontier predecessors only utilized briefly.

The conversion of small farms in Iowa or Indian lands in Oklahoma is thus illuminated in a different light. These newly initiated "urbanites" building modern frame houses, working in downtown cloud-skyscrapers, opening legal or medical or business offices by the score, joining Chambers of Commerce or Automobile Clubs, engaging in politics, attending churches, and patronizing theatres molded the Great Plains into an urban region. Moreover, these leaders were a compact group held together by similar educational, social, and political experiences which allowed them to work well together in molding their urban region. Yet, the molding clearly originated from a leadership with a rural background--from leaders often born on farms who moved to sequentially larger towns and cities until they found success.

FOOTNOTES

¹See Chapter One.

²Everett Dick, Sod House Frontier (New York, 1937), p. 40.

³McKelvey, Urbanization of America, p. 71.

⁴This notion of important negative or random results from C runs counter to the research design suggested by Jensen. He examines only positive relationships of .3 or .4, but a design can utilize a null hypothesis which is positive in hopes of securing support for a negative relationship with evidence of random association.

⁵The C statistic was not use here since the resulting table would be 8 by 4 cells and the n too small in some cases to use C.

⁶The data source for this control was C.P.J. Mooney, ed., The Mid-South and Its Builders (Memphis: The Mid-South Biographical and Historical Association, 1920). The volume includes biographies of men from Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee. The total was N=392, and 201 of this group were from Memphis. The predominance of lumber, cotton, and food manufacturers throughout the volume suggests a strong bias. In addition, since the volume is not specifically concerned with one city, but rather with a region, it is not comparable to this study. It is possible to utilize other research for some general comparisons without incurring the additional research costs of a formalized control group. See Stephen Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress (Harvard, 1964).

⁷Tom Kerwin, "The Chicago Elite of 1911," ditto, Washington University, St. Louis, 1969. His data source was a Marquis edition of Who's Who in Chicago.

⁸Ibid., p. 26.

⁹Jensen, "Quantitative Collective Biography."

¹⁰Ibid., p. 391.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 396-397.

¹²Ibid., p. 399. It would be highly desirable to compare the four cities examined herein at a later date as Jensen does for Chicago. However, this is impossible since no second editions of these data sources were ever printed.

¹³Ingham, "Robber Barons."

¹⁴Ibid., Statistical Appendix, Table A.

¹⁵Weinstein, "City Commission and Manager Movements," p. 170. The assumption that members of chambers of commerce were urban reformers cannot be substantiated without a detailed search of local records, tax files, obituaries, etc.

¹⁶Hanson and Simmons, "Rural Migrants," Table 2, p. 162.

¹⁷Zimmer, "Farm Backgrounds;" Roy, "Factors Related to Leaving Farming;" and Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization."

¹⁸Fourteenth Census, Population, Vol. 1, 1920, Table 38, pp. 179-180.

¹⁹The development of such a scheme based on actual data is technically possible (witness the various gravity models in geographic research) but is unlikely given the incomplete data available.

²⁰This fact is clearly shown in each of the tables showing distance traveled by quadrant of birth. However, it is not assumed that every man from the primary region of attraction was born a greater distance from the city than every man in the secondary region of attraction.

²¹Edward Banfield, Unheavenly City (New York, 1968), p. 48.

²²Carl H. Kraenzel, The Great Plains in Transition (Oklahoma University, 1955), p. 147.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Urban History and Sociology

The books and articles included in this section are meant to offer the reader a general introduction to some of the research which has been done by urban specialists. Although the inclusions are highly selective, an attempt has been made to locate the most recent literature.

- Alexandersson, Gunnar. Industrial Structure of American Cities. University of Nebraska, 1956.
- Arden, Edward. "The Evil City in American Fiction," New York History, XXXV (July, 1954), pp. 259-279.
- Atherton, Lewis. Main Street on the Middle Border. Indiana University, 1954.
- Banfield, Edward. The Unheavenly City. Harvard, 1968.
- Blumberg, Louis. "Urban Migration and Kinship Ties," Social Problems, VI (September, 1959), pp. 328-333.
- Boskoff, Alvin. The Sociology of Urban Regions. New York, 1962.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl. Cities in Revolt. New York, 1959.
- _____. Cities in the Wilderness. New York, 1938.
- _____. Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin. New York, 1942.
- Buder, Stanley. Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930. New York, 1967.
- Callow, Alexander, ed., American Urban History. New York, 1969.
- Cappers, Gerald. Biography of a River Town: Memphis in Its Heoric Age. Chapel Hill, 1939.
- Chapman, Edmund. Cleveland: From Village to Metropolis. Cleveland, 1964.
- Clark, Terry. Community Structure and Decision Making. San Francisco, 1968.

- Conkin, Paul. Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program. Cornell University, 1959.
- Davies, Allen. Spearheads of Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914. New York, 1967.
- Diamond, William. "On the Dangers on an Urban Interpretation of History," in Eric Goldman, ed., Historiography and Urbanization. Baltimore, 1941.
- Dobriner, William. The Suburban Community. New York, 1958.
- Dorset, Lyle. The Pendergast Machine. New York, 1968.
- Drake, St. Claire and Robert Clayton. Black Metropolis. New York, 1945.
- Elazar, Daniel. "Urban Problems and the Federal Government: An Historical Inquiry," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXII (December, 1967), pp. 505-525.
- Eldersveld, Samuel. Political Affiliation in Metropolitan Detroit. University of Michigan, 1957.
- Glaab, Charles. The American City: A Documentary History. New York, 1963.
- _____. "Historians and the American City: A Bibliographic Survey," in Phillip Hauser and Leo Schnore, eds. Study of Urbanism. New York, 1965.
- _____, and A. Theodore Brown. The History of Urban America. New York, 1968.
- Glazer, Nathan and Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, 2d ed. New York, 1970.
- Grant, Bruce. Fight for a City: The Story of the Union League Club of Chicago, 1880-1955. Chicago, 1955.
- Green, Constance McL. Washington: Village and Capital. Princeton, 1962.
- _____. American Cities in the Growth of a Nation. New York, 1957.
- Handlin, Oscar. Boston's Immigrants. Cambridge, 1941.
- _____, and John Burchard, eds., The Historian and the City. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1963.
- Hatt, Phillip and Albert Reise, Cities and Sociology. Glencoe, 1957.
- Hawley, William. Search for Community Power. Yale, 1968.

Hays, Samuel. "Politics of Reform in Municipal Governments in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LV (October, 1964), pp. 157-169.

_____. The Response to Industrialism. Chicago, 1957.

Holt, William. "Some Consequences of the Urban Movement in History," Pacific Historical Review, XXII (November, 1953), pp. 337-351.

Hunter, Floyd. The Community Power Structure. New York, 1963.

Jackson, Kenneth. The Ku Klux Klan in the City. New York, 1967.

Janowitz, Morris. Community Pressure in an Urban Setting. Glencoe, 1952.

Kirkland, Edward. Men, Cities, and Transportation. Cambridge, 1948.

Lampard, Eric. "American Historians and the Study of Urbanism," Wisconsin Magazine of History, XLVII (Autumn, 1963), pp. 12-25.

Lang, Albert and Richard Soberman. Urban Rail Transit. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1964.

Lerner, Daniel. Passing of the Traditional Society. Glencoe, 1958.

Lieberson, Stanley. Ethnic Patterns in American Cities. New York, 1963.

Lockridge, Kenneth. A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts. New York, 1970.

Lubove, Roy. Community Planning in the 1920s. Pittsburgh, 1965.

_____. The Progressive and the Slum. Pittsburgh, 1963.

_____. "The Twentieth Century City: The Progressive as Municipal Reformer," Mid-America, XXXI (October, 1959), pp. 195-209.

_____. Twentieth Century Pittsburgh. New York, 1969.

Mandelbaum, Sidney. Boss Tweed's New York. New York, 1965.

Mann, Peter. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965.

Mayer, Harold and Richard Wade. Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis. University of Chicago, 1969.

McKelvey, Blake. "American Urban History Today," American Historical Review, LVII (July, 1952), pp. 919-929.

_____. Rochester, 3 vols. Harvard, 1945-1958.

_____. The City in American History. New York, 1969.

- McKelvey, Blake. The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915. Rutgers University, 1963.
- _____. The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966. Rutgers University, 1968.
- Meier, Richard. A Communications Theory of Urban Growth. Cambridge, 1962.
- Middleton, William. The Time of the Trolley. New York, 1967.
- Miller, Zane. Boss Cox's Cincinnati. New York, 1968.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite. New York, 1954.
- Mohl, Raymond and Neil Betten. Urban America in Historical Perspective. New York, 1970.
- Mowry, George. The Urban Nation, 1920-1960. New York, 1965.
- Osofsky, Gilbert. Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, 1890-1930. New York, 1963.
- Polsby, Nelson. Community Power. Yale, 1963.
- Pillsburg, Richard, "The Urban Street Pattern as a Cultural Indicator: Pennsylvania, 1682-1815," Annals of the American Association of Geographers, LX (September, 1970), pp. 428-446.
- Powell, Sumner, Puritan Village. Wesleyan University, 1963.
- Pred, Allan. Spatial Dynamics of United States Urban Industrial Growth, 1800-1914. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1966.
- Richardson, James. The American City: Historical Studies. New York, 1972.
- Rose, Arnold. The Power Structure. New York, 1968.
- Schlesinger, Arthur. "The City in American History," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVII (June, 1940), pp. 43-66.
- Smith, Page. As A City Upon a Hill: The Town in American History. New York, 1966.
- Still, Bayrd. Milwaukee: The History of a City. Milwaukee, 1965.
- Thernstrom, Stephen. Poverty and Progress. Cambridge, 1964.
- Vance, Rupert. The Urban South. New York, 1954.
- Wade, Richard. The Urban Frontier. Harvard, 1959.
- Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. Streetcar Suburbs: Boston, 1870-1900. Harvard, 1962.

- Weber, Edna. The Growth of the Cities in the Nineteenth Century. reprint, Cornell University, 1963.
- Weimer, Daniel, ed. City and Country in America. New York, 1962.
- Wertebaker, Thomas. Norfolk: Historic Southern Port. Duke University, 1962.
- White, Morton and Lucia White. The Intellectual Versus the City. Cambridge, 1962.
- Wiebe, Robert. The Search for Order. New York, 1967.
- Wohl, R. Richard. "Urbanism, Urbanity, and History," University of Kansas City Review, XXII (August, 1955), pp. 53-61.
- Zink, Harold. Bosses in the United States. Duke University, 1939.

General Urban Geography

Unfortunately, urban historians have not utilized the vast array of research available in geographic literature. Included in this section are some studies which will only serve to introduce the reader to the field. Much of the work here is highly quantitative which perhaps explains its lack of use by historians. Other articles and books herein relate to the significant body of theories which geographers have built and of which historians should be informed.

- Berry, Brian, and A. Pred. Central Place Studies: A Bibliography. Royal Society Institute, 1965.
- Blake, Nelson. Water for Cities. Syracuse, 1956.
- Bollen, John. Exploring Metropolis. San Francisco, 1961.
- Carroll, John. "The Relationship of Homes and Work Places to Spatial Patterns of Cities," Social Forces, XXX (March, 1952), pp. 271-281.
- Chapin, Francis. Urban Land Use Planning. New York, 1965.
- Chorley, Richard and Peter Haggett. Socio-Economic Models in Geography. New York, 1967.
- Cowgill, Donald. "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Sociological Review, XVI (December, 1951), pp. 825-831.
- Duncan, Beverly, Georges Sabaugh, and Maurice Van Arnold, Jr. "Patterns of City Growth," American Journal of Sociology, LXVII (January, 1962), pp. 418-429.
- Forstall, Richard. "A New Social and Economic Grouping of Cities," Municipal Yearbook, 1970, pp. 102-123.

- Gottman, Jean. Megopolis. New York, 1961.
- Harris, Chauncey and Sidney Ullman. "The Nature of Cities," Annals of the American Association of Geographers, XXIV (November, 1955), pp. 269-280.
- Hadden, John and Edgar Borgatta. American Cities. Chicago, 1965.
- Haggett, Peter. Locational Analysis. New York, 1965.
- _____. Network Analysis. New York, 1970.
- Herbert, John and Benjamin Stevens. "A Model for the Distribution of Residential Activity in Urban Areas," Journal of Regional Science, II (Fall, 1960), pp. 21-36.
- Hoyt, Homer. "Recent Distortions of Classical Models," Journal of Land Economy (August, 1964), pp. 199-212.
- _____. Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities. Boston, 1931.
- Kneedler, George. "Functional Types of Cities," Public Management, XXVII (July, 1945), pp. 197-203.
- Lowry, Ira. Urban Development Models. Highway Research Board, 1957.
- Lynch, Kevin. Images of the City. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1964.
- McRae, Duncan. "Urbanization and Voting," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (July, 1958), pp. 290-298.
- Mayer, Harold and Clyde Kohn, eds., Readings in Urban Geography. Chicago, 1959.
- McKenzie, Richard. The Metropolitan Community. New York, 1933.
- Meadows, M., et al. Urbanism, Urbanization, and Change. New York, 1969.
- Meyerson, Martin, Barbara Terrett, and William Wheaton. Housing, People and Cities. New York, 1962.
- Mumford, Lewis. Culture of the Cities. New York, 1938.
- _____. Sticks and Stones. New York, 1955.
- Pred, Allan. "Industrial Advantage and American Metropolitan Growth," Geographical Review, LV (April, 1965), pp. 158-185.
- Reps, John. The Making of Urban America. Princeton, 1965.
- Rodwin, Lloyd. Housing and Economic Progress. Cambridge, 1961.

- Smailes, Arthur. A Geography of Towns. New York, 1953.
- Stein, Maurice. Eclipse of Community. Princeton, 1960.
- Strauss, Anselm. Images of the American City. Glencoe, 1961.
- Tiebout, Charles. "Inter-Urban Locational Problems," American Economic Review, LI (May, 1961), pp. 271-278.
- Wingo, Lowdon, ed., Cities and Space. Johns Hopkins, 1963.

Elites and Urban Migration

The list of articles and books here represent an inter-disciplinary approach to the research problem of elites. The reader should note that very few of these works deal with the elite in both a historical and urban setting. Also, much of this literature emphasizes the political elite or emphasizes the very upper class elite. Several of these works offer helpful bibliographies.

- Adams, Stuart. "Origins of American Occupation Elites, 1900-1955," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), pp. 360-368.
- Baltzell, Edward. Philadelphia Gentlemen. New York, 1958.
- Beck, Carl and John McKechnie. Political Elites: A Select Computerized Bibliography. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968.
- Bergsten, Karl. "Variability in Intensity of Urban Fields as Illustrated by Birth Places," in Studies in Rural-Urban Interaction, Lund Series, No. 3, University of Lund, Sweden, 1951.
- Biddle, William. The Cultivation of Community Leaders. New York, 1953.
- Bottomore, T. B. Elites in Society. New York, 1964.
- Brody, Eugene, ed., Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations. Beverley Hills, California, 1969.
- Bruchey, Eleanor. "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," Unpublished PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins, 1967.
- Burgess, M. E. Negro Leadership in a Southern City. Chapel Hill, 1962.
- Coleman, Richard. Social Status in the City. San Francisco, 1971.
- Cunningham, John. Urban Leadership in the 1960s. Brandeis University, 1970.

- Esslinger, Daniel. "The Urbanization of South Bend's Immigrants, 1850-1880," research in progress, reported in Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. II (June, 1969), p. 23.
- Fite, Gilbert. "Flight from the Farm," Nebraska History, XL (September, 1959), pp. 159-176.
- Freeman, Linton. Local Community Leadership. Syracuse, 1960.
- Hanson, Robert and Ozzie Simmons. "Differential Experience Paths of Rural Migrants to the City," in Broady, ed. Behavior in New Environments, pp. 145-158.
- _____. "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities," Human Organization, XXVII (Summer), pp. 152-158.
- Keller, Susan. "Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1953.
- Ladd, Everett. Negro Political Leadership in the South. New York, 1966.
- Lasswell, Harold. Comparative Study of Elites. Stanford, 1952.
- Lipset, Seymour. Elites In Latin America. New York, 1967.
- _____. "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX (September, 1955), pp. 220-228.
- _____, and Reinhard Bendix. Class, Status and Power. New York, 1966.
- _____. Social Mobility in Industrial Society. University of California, 1959.
- _____, and N. Smelser. Social Structure and Mobility. Chicago, 1966.
- Lowry, Ira. Migration and Metropolitan Growth: Two Analytical Models. University of California, 1966.
- Lowry, Ritchie. Who's Running This Town. New York, 1962.
- Mann, Arthur. Yankee Reformers in an Urban Age. New York, 1954.
- Merrill, John. The Elite Press. New York, 1968.
- Mills, C. Wright. "The American Business Elite," Journal of Economic History (Supplement, 1945).
- Miller, William. "American Historians and the Business Elite," Journal of Economic History, IX (1949), pp. 184-208.

- Miller, William, ed., Men in Business. Cambridge, 1952.
- Newcomer, Mabel. Big Business Executive, 1900-1950. New York, 1955.
- Nijhoff, M. Rural Migrants in an Urban Setting. The Hague, 1963.
- Olmstead, D. W. "The Organization of Leadership in a Small City," American Journal of Sociology, XIX (June, 1954), pp. 273-287.
- Packard, Vance. The Status Seekers. New York, 1959.
- Pareto, Vilfredo. The Rise and Fall of Elites. New York, 1968.
- Payne, Raymond. "A Study of Leadership and Perception of Change in a Village Confronted with Urbanism," Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), pp. 264-269.
- Peck, Sidney. Rank and File Leader. New Haven, 1963.
- Pierson, George. "The M-Factor in American History," American Quarterly, XIV (Summer, 1962), pp. 275-289.
- Pihlblad, C. T. and C. L. Gregory. "Occupation and Patterns of Migration," Social Forces, XXXVI (October, 1957a), pp. 56-64.
- Rendon, Gabion. "Prediction of Adjustment of Rural Migrants to The City." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Colorado, 1968.
- Rose, Arnold. "Distribution of Migration and Socio-Economic Status of Migrants," American Sociological Review, XXIII (August, 1958), pp. 420-423.
- _____, and Leon Warshay. "The Adjustment of Migrants in Cities," Social Forces, XXXVI (October, 1957), pp. 72-76.
- Roy, Phillip. "Factors Relating to Leaving Farming," Journal of Farm Economy, XLIII (August, 1961), pp. 666-674.
- Singer, Marshall. The Emerging Elite: Political Leadership In Ceylon. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1964.
- Smith, Arthur. The Men Who Run America. New York, 1936.
- Thompson, Daniel. The Negro Leadership Class. New York, 1963.
- Taussig, Frank, and C. S. Joslyn. American Business Leaders. New York, 1932.
- Visher, Stephen. Geography of American Notables. New York, 1928.
- Wilkinson, Rupert. Governing Elites. New York, 1969.

Windham, Gerald. "Urban Identification of Rural Migrants,"
Mississippi Quarterly, XIV (Spring, 1961), pp. 78-89.

Zimmer, Basil. "Farm Background and Urban Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), pp. 470-475.

The Plains Frontier

Because this study deals with the urban frontier, the reader should be directed toward some of the literature on the traditional frontier. Below are some books and articles which will introduce the subject.

Aikman, Duncan. Taming the Frontier. New York, 1925.

Allen, James. The Company Town in the American West. Oklahoma University, 1966.

Brown, A. Theodore. Frontier Community. California, 1964.

Dykstra, Robert. The Cattle Towns. New York, 1970.

Elazar, Daniel. Cities on the Prairie. New York, 1970.

Garwood, Daniel. Crossroads of America: The Story of Kansas City. New York, 1948.

Glaab, Charles. "Jesup W. Scott and a West of Cities," Ohio History, LXXIII (1964), pp. 4-12.

Irving, Washington. Tour of the Prairies. Chicago, c.1885.

Kraenzel, Carl. The Great Plains in Transition. Oklahoma University, 1955.

La Farge, Oliver. Santa Fe. Oklahoma University, 1959.

Leighton, George. Five Cities. New York, 1939.

Martin, Robert. The City Moves West. Texas University, 1969.

Mayo, Bernard. "Lexington: Frontier Metropolis," in Eric Goldman, ed. History and Urbanization.

McKenna, John. Growth and Problems of Metropolitan Wyandotte County. University of Kansas, 1963.

Quiett, George. They Built the West: An Epic of Railroads and Cities. New York, 1934.

Rister, Carl. Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881. Cleveland, 1928.

- Turner, Frederick. The Frontier in American History. New York, 1920.
- Wheeler, Kenneth. To Wear a City's Crown. Cambridge, 1968.
- Webb, Walter. The Great Plains. Boston, 1931.
- West, Ray, ed. Rocky Mountain Cities. New York, 1949.

City Biographies

A reflection of the newness of urban history as a field of inquiry is the paucity of serious works on the cities in the Plains area. The selection below centers on the cities used in this study. Many are only popular works with little documentation. Others are only state histories with references to its urban development.

- Allen, James. City Beginnings in Oklahoma. Oklahoma University, 1939.
- Brigham, Johnson. History of Des Moines and Polk County, 2 vols. Chicago, 1911.
- Cole, Charles. Iowa Through the Years. Iowa City, 1940.
- Debo, Angie. From Creek Town to Oil Capitol. Oklahoma University, 1943.
- "Des Moines," New York Daily Graphic, September 17, 1878. Reprinted in Palimpsest, V (May, 1970), pp. 217-247.
- Douglas, Clarence. The History of Tulsa, 3 vols. Tulsa, 1921.
- Faulkner, Virginia. Roundup: A Nebraska Reader. Nebraska University, 1957.
- Green, George, ed. A Condensed History of the Kansas City Area. Kansas City, 1968.
- Hake, Herbert. Iowa Inside Out. Iowa State University, 1968.
- Hall, James. Beginnings of Tulsa, n.p., n.d.
- Haskell, Henry and Richard Fowler. City of the Future: A Narrative History of Kansas City, 1850-1950. Kansas City, 1950.
- Honig, Louis. Westport, Gateway to the Early West. n.p., 1950.
- McReynolds, Edward. Missouri: History of the Crossroads State. University of Oklahoma, 1962.
- Olson, James. History of Nebraska. Nebraska University, 1955.

- Petersen, William. Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys. State Historical Society, 1941.
- Richman, Irving. Ioway to Iowa. State Historical Society, 1931.
- Sorenson, A. The Story of Omaha. Omaha, 1923.
- Wakeley, A. Omaha: The Gateway City. Omaha, 1917.
- Wyman, Walter. "The Story of Omaha," Nebraska History, XVII (July, 1936), pp. 143-155.

Data

Perhaps most useful to the reader will be the partial list of what can be regarded as primary material for studies such as this one. Many of the citations given are incomplete since the author has not personally examined each one. Locating this material is very tedious since many letters must be sent to local archives and public libraries to compile a list. Then one must find a library that will loan the material through mail if the researcher is unable to travel around the country. Therefore, data for other regions of the country was not compiled here, but this data does exist.

- Avery, O., ed. Who's Who: A Social Register of Cincinnati's Families. Cincinnati, 1892.
- Baker, William, ed. Who's Who In Church History. New Jersey, 1969.
- Beasley, A. Phoenix, Arizona and Maricopa County. Phoenix, 1908.
- Berrett, H. Who's Who In Topeka. Topeka, 1905.
- Biographical Directory of the Arizona Legislature, 1901-1905. Phoenix, 1905.
- Blue Book of Topeka. Topeka, 1910.
- Connors, J. Who's Who In Arizona. Tucson, 1913.
- Dilling, E. The Who's Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots. Chicago, 1935.
- Fell, F. V. Who's Who In Rock and Roll. New York, 1968.
- Fowler, D. Leaders of Our Town. Kansas City, 1952.
- Hill, R. Who's Who In American Negro Press. Dallas, 1960.
- Jayne, B. Who's Who in Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, 1958.
- Johnson, J. R. Representative Nebraskans. Lincoln, 1954.

- Kistler, W. H. Who's Who In Denver Society. Denver, 1908.
- Marquis, Albert. Who's Who In America. Chicago, 1898-1972.
- _____. Who's Who In Chicago. Chicago, 1905.
- Schwitalla, A. Who's Who In Little Rock. Little Rock, 1921.
- Valdes, D. T. Who's Who In Colorado, Denver, 1958.

Methodology

Since the quantitative approach is still relatively new within the field of history, it is anticipated that the collection of books and articles below may help some readers. This selection is very brief, but covers theoretical and applied research. In addition, the method of collective biography is covered. For more bibliographic leads in this area see the Bibliography in Dollar and Jensen, Historian's Guide to Statistics.

- Aydelotte, William. "Quantification in History," American Historical Review, LXXI (April, 1966), pp. 803-825.
- Berkhoffer, Robert. Behavioral Approach to History. New York, 1968.
- Berry, Brian. "The Research Frontier," in Hauser and Schnore, eds. Study of Urbanism.
- Blalock, Hubert. Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research. New York, 1968.
- _____. Social Statistics. New York, 1960.
- _____. Theory Construction. New York, 1969.
- Clubb, Jerome and Howard Allen, "Computers and Historical Studies," Journal of American History, LIV (1967), pp. 599-607.
- Dollar, Charles. "Innovation in Historical Research," Computers and the Humanities, III (January, 1969), pp. 139-152.
- _____ and Richard Jensen. A Historian's Guide to Statistics. New York, 1971.
- Edinger, Lawrence and Donald Searing, "Social Background and Elite Analysis," American Political Science Review, LXI (June, 1967), pp. 428-445.
- Jensen, Richard, "Quantitative Collective Biography: An Application to Metropolitan Elites," in Robert Swierenga, ed., Quantification in American History, pp. 390-405.

- Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco, 1964.
- Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling. New York, 1965.
- Mueller, John and Karl Schuessler. Statistical Reasoning in Sociology. Boston, 1961.
- Palumbo, Dennis. Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science. New York, 1969.
- Schlesinger, Arthur. "The Humanists Look at Empirical Research," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), pp. 768-771.
- Snedecor, George and William Cochran. Statistical Methods. Iowa State University, 1967.
- Stuart, Frederick. Fortran Programming. New York, 1970.

APPENDIX A
CODES AND EXTENDED CODES

| <u>Variable</u> | <u>Column</u> | <u>Description</u> | <u>Codes</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|--|
| 1 | 1-20 | last name | alphabetical |
| 2 | 21-23 | year of birth | 844=1844, 000=unknown |
| 3 | 24-25 | state of birth | see extended code |
| 4 | 26 | size of birth place | 1=urban (50,000+), 2=rural, 0=unknown |
| 5 | 27 | marital status | 1=married, 2=single 3=married more than once, 0=unknown |
| 6 | 28-29 | number of children | 0-98, 99=unknown |
| 7 | 30 | level of education | 1=grammar, 2=high school 3=some college, 4=degree, 5=graduate work, 6=graduate degree |
| 8 | 31 | type of degree | 0=none, 1=AB or BA, 2=BS, 3=PhD, 4=LLB, 5=BD or DD, 6=MD, 7=MA, 8=DDS, 9=other |
| 9 | 32 | veteran status | 1=yes, 2=yes, officer, 0=no or unknown |
| 10 | 33 | military service | 1=Spanish-American war, 2=World War I, 0=unknown |
| 11 | 34 | general religion | 1=Protestant, 2=Catholic, 3=Jewish, 0=unknown |
| 12 | 35-36 | denomination | see extended code |
| 13 | 37 | church activity | 1=member, 2=officer, 0=unknown |
| 14 | 38 | political party | 1=Democrat, 2=Republican, 3=Progressive, 4=Socialist, 5=Independent, 6=Populist, 7=Prohibition, 0=unknown |
| 15 | 39 | political activity | 1=member, 2=campaigner, 3=candidate for local office, 4=candidate for national office, 5=party officer |
| 16 | 40 | clubs and lodges | 1-9, 0=none or unknown |
| 17 | 41 | civic promotion | 1=yes, 2=no, 0=unknown |
| 18 | 42-43 | occupation | see extended code |
| 19 | 44 | position in firm | see extended code |
| 20 | 45 | mobility | 1-9, 0=none or unknown |
| 21 | 46 | sex | 1=male, 2=female |
| 22 | 47 | race | 1=white, 2=Negro, 3=Indian |
| 23 | 48-49 | ancestry | see extended code |
| 24 | 50 | publishing | 1-8, 9=9 or more, 0=none or unknown |
| 25 | 51-52 | state of education | see extended codes, "state of birth" |
| 26 | 53 | blank | |
| 27 | 54-55 | secondary occupation | see extended codes, "occupation" |
| 28 | 56 | hobbies | 1=art, 2=sports, 3=social, 4=others, 0=unknown |
| 29 | 57-58 | parent occupation | see extended code |

| <u>Variable</u> | <u>Column</u> | <u>Description</u> | <u>Codes</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
| 30 | 59 | parent politics | see variable 14 |
| 31 | 60-62 | year of arrival | 899=1899, 000-unknown |
| 32 | 63 | blank | |
| 33 | 64-69 | blank | |
| 34 | 70 | origin | 1=northwest, 2=northeast, 3=southwest, 4=southeast 0=unknown or foreign, |
| 35 | 71 | distance | 1=less than 160 miles, 2=161 to 320, 3=321 to 560, 4=over 560 miles, 5=born in city |
| 36 | 72-74 | blank | |
| 37 | 75 | time of education | 1=before coming to city, 2=in city, 3=unknown, 4=born in city but educated elsewhere, 5=some college before coming to city, rest in city |
| 38 | 76-79 | identification | 1=n |
| 39 | 80 | deck number | 1=Tulsa, 2=Kansas City, 3=Omaha, 4=Des Moines |

EXTENDED CODES

Occupations

00 unknown

Financial

10 general
 11 capitalist, director
 12 banker
 13 insurance
 14 real estate
 15 broker
 16 oil financier
 17 accountant

Trade and Transportation

21 railroads
 22 other general transportation
 23 wholesale trade
 24 retail trade
 25 construction
 26 publishing
 27 utilities
 28 auto industry
 29 salesman
 30 oil trade

Manufacturing

31 heavy
 32 food
 33 clothing
 34 miscellaneous
 35 oil and gas

Medicine

40 physician
 41 surgeon
 42 dentist

Law

51 partner
 52 corporation lawyer
 53 judge
 54 lawyer in public office
 55 lawyer with oil specialty
 57 politician

Other professional

60 pharmaceutical
 61 educator
 62 author
 63 social worker
 64 fine arts
 65 clergyman
 66 military
 67 engineer
 68 architect
 69 oil geologist or engineer

Manual

70 unskilled
 71 farmer
 72 craftsman

White collar

80 managerial
 81 clerk
 82 state or national public
 official
 83 housewife
 84 local public official
 85 other
 86 landlord

EXTENDED CODES

State Codes

00 unknown
20 in city under consideration

Midwest

30 Iowa
31 Kansas
32 Michigan
33 Minnesota
34 Nebraska
35 North Dakota
36 Ohio
37 South Dakota
38 Wisconsin
39 Indiana*

Northeast

40 Connecticut
41 Maine
42 Massachusetts
43 New Hampshire
44 New Jersey
45 New York
46 Pennsylvania
47 Rhode Island
48 Vermont
49 Illinois

Border

50 Delaware
51 Kentucky
52
53 Missouri
54 Oklahoma
55 Tennessee
56 West Virginia
57 District of Columbia
58 Maryland

South

60 Alabama
61 Arkansas
62 Florida
63 Georgia
64 Louisiana
65 Mississippi
66 North Carolina

South (Contd)

67 South Carolina
68 Texas
69 Virginia

West

70 Arizona and New Mexico
71 California
72 Colorado
73 Idaho
74 Montana
75 Nevada
76 Oregon
77 Utah
78 Washington
79 Wyoming

Europe

80 Belgium & Holland
81 Britain
82 Ireland
83 Germany
84 Scandinavia
85 France
86 Italy
87 Russia & Poland
88 Scotland
89 other European

Other Foreign

90 Canada
91 Mexico
92 China
93 Japan
94 other

*Indiana and Illinois are separated as they are for coding purposes.

EXTENDED CODES

Church Denomination

0 none
 20 Jewish
 30 Catholic
 40 Protestant
 41 Baptist
 42 Methodist
 43 Lutheran
 44 Presbyterian
 45 Unitarian
 46 Episcopalian
 47 Christian
 48 Christian Science
 49 Atheist
 50 Congregationalist
 51 Church of Christ
 52 Seventh Day Adventist
 53 Nazarene
 90 other

Ancestry

01 English
 02 Scottish
 03 Irish
 04 Welsh
 05 French
 06 German
 07 Spanish
 08 Italian
 09 Australian
 10 Slave
 11 Russian
 12 Canadian
 13 Swiss
 14 Indian (American)
 15 Syrian
 16 Turkish
 17 Scandinavian
 18 Dutch
 19 Pole
 20 Balkans

Position in Firm

0 unknown
 1 president
 2 vice president
 3 secretary treasurer
 4 manager
 5 superintendent
 6 partner
 7 proprietor
 8 other

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE BIOGRAPHY

EPPERSON, Ambrose Clarence, Lawyer; b. Adair, McDonough Co., Ill., Nov. 18, 1970; s. John Lowrey and Sarah Catherine (Rhine) Epperson. (Father b. Lafayette, Ind., Nov. 6, 1834; d. Fairfield, Nebraska, Feb. 1, 1910; lawyer; ancestors came from England prior to the Revolution. Mother b. Franklin Co., Penn., Dec. 11, 1837; d. Clay Center, Aug. 7, 1908.) Ed. B.L., U. of Neb., 1892. M. Blanche Adenide Haylett (b. Brooks, Iowa, June 24, 1873; English ancestry) Feb. 18, 1891, Willow Springs, Mo. Ch. Charles Haylette, Jr., 36, Stockton, Calif.; Nildred, 32 (m. Dr. Irving Gartell), Clay Center; Kathryn, 30 (m. Evan L. Jenkins), White City, Kan. Republican. Clay county attorney 8 years. Supreme Court Commr. 3 years. Chm. Neb. State Republican comm. Now asst. U.S. attorney. Began practice with father and brother at age 20. Mem. First Christian Church. Council of Defense, Clay county. World War. Mason, (grand master, A.F.&A.M., 1918-19). Home: 3723 Dodge Street. Office: Federal Building.*

*Robert M. Baldwin, ed. Who's Who In Omaha. (Omaha, 1929), p. 65.

APPENDIX C
METHODOLOGY

The research methodology utilized in this study is relatively new and experimental. Therefore, with the benefit of hindsight, it seems appropriate to comment on some of the natural shortcomings of a study of this kind. In addition to some of the disadvantages of this type of study which were mentioned in Chapter One, some other shortcomings are now evident. The methodology used has also brought to mind several critical areas where research of urban elites in the past should proceed from here.

One major limitation in this study was the size of the sample selected. This should not be interpreted as a bias or sampling error. For certain statistics, however, the *n* derived was simply too small to manipulate--as in the case of controlling for third variables. The sample is actually stronger than the Jensen sample since his was not a true random sample drawn with the aid of a table of random numbers. A second limitation of the study was the vagueness of parts of the data. This vagueness was expected; however the resulting difficulty in coding was not. What this meant was that the coding scheme had to be dichotomous at times when it would have been more rewarding to utilize a categorical coding device. In other words, the size of birth place variable was coded either urban or rural instead of rural (less than 2,500) or small town (2,500 to 20,000) or small city (20,000 to 50,000) or metropolis (over 50,000) due to the vague information available. More detail might have been possible otherwise. The detail of these "who's who" type collections varies with Marquis probably being the most detailed, Baldwin next, and the various editions put out by local city publishers least informative. Thus, a certain degree of data obscurity and a small sample have limited the study at hand but have not weakened it substantially.

The methodological considerations necessary for this study have given rise to several new questions which would necessitate newly formed hypotheses and newly organized research designs. Several similar types of research should be pursued as natural continuations of this work. A larger number of cities could be examined with a variation in size. Also different cities in regions other than the Plains and at earlier historical periods could be subject to study. Most interesting for the assessment of the openness of urban society would be an examination of one city's elite through two, three, or four editions of a "who's who" publication. This should produce a view of the changing urban elite over time. Most difficult to complete because of the scant data available, would be a study of urban leaders and their economic and political backgrounds. Despite investigation of wills, tax records and the like, economic data for every man in a collection of two to three hundred men is nearly impossible to find. Also it would be informative to correlate political voting trends with findings about urban leaders, yet this too would be a difficult task. An assessment of the geographical distribution of these men in the city would be relatively easy however. Baldwin almost always included the address of elites and other elites might be located residentially through the use of telephone directories. Also easily obtainable social and civic club membership lists might be investigated to serve as variable controls for a group of urban elites. Doubtless, the list might go on and on.

Hopefully, other researchers will undertake these and other studies as well as benefit from this study.

APPENDIX D
NAMES IN SAMPLE

Tulsa:

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Sinclair, E. | Reeder, C. | Smith R. |
| Flint, C. | Roach, L. | McAnnally, J. |
| Terrill, R. | Stuckey, W. | Gardner, J. |
| McCullough, G. | Dickey, W. | Farmer, A. |
| Flesher, M. | Bunche, W. | Lain, M. |
| Crump, D. | Rice, B. | White, H. |
| Fellows, R. | Lyons, T. | Dresser, L. |
| Campbell, R. | Miller, J. | Lhevine, M. |
| Smith, J. E. | Abbott, W. | Ryan, J. |
| Janeway, G. | Ham, E. | Bowmaster, E. |
| Adams, R. | Gunn, A. | Hendershot, C. |
| Clinton, F. | Brooks, L. | Dowling, E. |
| Hull, J. | Haver, J. | Brockman, W. |
| Barrows, E. | Jones, E. | Hartshorne, G. |
| Rice, C. | Goodman, S. | Davidson, A. |
| Kiskadden, W. | Eakes, M. | Vandever, C. |
| Petit, L. | Seaver, W. | Wheeler, H. |
| Bradstreet, L. | Kemp, E. | Monahan, J. |
| Blake, W. | Ewing, R. | Dutton, W. |
| Buckles, R. | McCullough, W. | Wilson, P. |
| Frederick, W. | Washington, L. | Presson, L. |
| Davis, G. | Lockwood, M. | Beesley, W. |
| Avery, C. | Wainright, A. | Brinkley, A. |
| Dehner, A. | Randolph, H. | Berger, R. |
| Abel, J. | Bassett, S. | White, J. |
| Pape, C. | McNutt, H. | Boone, G. |
| Strouvell, C. | Alder, R. | Harvey, E. |
| Adkinson, J. | Kannedy, S. | Franklin, W. |
| Boorstin, S. | Burns, F. | Cronk, F. |
| Hopkins, C. | Chappie, J. | Glass, M. |
| Lee, T. | Ford, H. | Flanagan, O. |
| Cox, S. | Maxey, S. | Sweet, C. |
| Hurley, P. | Douglas, R. | Dick, R. |
| Bailey, F. | Berry, G. | Rodolf, M. |
| Swindler, J. | Kistler, W. | Pearces, J. |
| Swisan, G. | Easton, J. | Cohen, D. |
| Braden, G. | Sinclair, A. | Insull, F. |
| Martin, H. | Hurley, A. | Downing, W. |
| Hanna, R. | Russell, C. | Still, W. |
| Springer, W. | Davidson, R. | Guiberson, W. |
| Humphrey, W. | Stagg, E. | Dillard, F. |
| Burgher, G. | Goodrich, H. | Lindset, L. |
| Richardson, J. | McCarty, I. | Burdick, J. |
| Springer, M. | Wilet, C. | Moss, A. |
| Walker, R. | Hildt, J. | Shaffer, G. |
| Yadon, C. | Gubser, N. | Thomas, A. |
| Boone, R. | Skelly, W. | Wolverton, J. |
| Crawford, J. | Collins, P. | Day, N. |
| Bowling, F. | Roy, S. | Burns, H. |
| Winters, G. | Boot, H. | Lashley, E. |
| Hollyman, T. | Billings, L. | Bland, H. |
| Bradshaw, E. | Henderson, F. | Walter, F. |

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Linn, C. | Nabhan, J. | Morley, R. |
| Wertzberg, E. | Sates, M. | Greer, F. |
| Ball, C. | Hooper, J. | Smith, C. |
| Jacob, E. | Hart, R. | Hagan, H. |
| Woods, C. | Gillette, G. | Brown, W. E. |
| Richards, A. | Rudd, A. | Perry, E. |
| Grotkop, B. | Biddison, A. | Allen, F. |
| Satterwhite, J. | Woodard, J. | Lindsay, R. |
| Woodring, E. . | Rogers, R. | Rosser, I. |
| King, C. | Blair, W. | Viner, A. |
| Shanks, M. | Connor, B. | Green, G. |
| Byrd, J. | Denny, J. | Adams, R. |
| Carrick, W. | McClure, H. | Roth, A. |
| Goldes, B. | Brown, G. | Sherman, R. |
| Wagner, R. | Leavell, J. | Coyle, G. |
| Crutch, E. | Knoblock, C. | Crossland, E. |
| Meserv, E. | Grimes, C. | Justice, H. |
| Childs, J. | Brockamn, H. | Casebeer, F. |
| Crutchfield, J. | Fenwick, C. | Byrd, C. |
| Watkins, F. | Hamilton, W. | Childs, H. C. |
| Bethell, H. | Benedict, C. | Levering, L. |
| French, J. | Long, P. | Fair, H. |
| Emerson, A. | Cunningham, E. | Stryker, W. |
| John, W. | Cunningham, J. | Henthorn, E. |
| Williamson, G. | Heiring, J. | Stallings, T. |
| Backenstoc, E. | Burns, R. | Dent, C. |
| Killmer, W. | Vaughan, C. | Hedges, M. |
| Cannon, J. | Bragassa, J. | Webb, J. |
| Butler, G. | Bothwell, D. | Kirk, C. |
| Munrde, T. | Cole, H. | Gillette, J. |
| Diggs, J. | Chamness, W. | Lemmon, W. |
| Ernest, R. | Evers, J. | Riddle, F. |
| Duffy, P. | Warren, G. | Perry, J. T. |
| Robinson, E. | Reed, F. | Cone, L. |
| Brown, E. | Jopling, R. | Arnold, J. |
| Armstrong, G. | Crotchett, C. | Wright, W. |
| Springer, J. | Thurwell, C. | West, P. |
| Speed, H. | Sanders, N. | Hays, W. |
| Wroght, A. | Huston, E. | Burhan, S. |
| West, H. | Aby, H. | Upp, O. |
| Harrington, L. | Moroney, P. | May, G. |
| Campbell, H. | Garabedian, G. | Robinson, J. |
| Brewer, C. | Fraker, W. | Osborn, G. |
| Irvan, H. | Reed, J. | Willims, M. |
| O'Hern, C. | Clark, J. | Chandler, J. |
| Ransom, G. | Simpson, J. | Perry, M. |
| Johnson, R. | Landsittel, A. | Brennan, E. |
| Martin, D. | Standeven, H. | Dillon, C. |
| Nelson, F. | Dalton, W. | Abbott, L. |
| Allen, R. | Shirk, R. | Kopplin, F. |
| Gold, R. | Long, I. | Hawkins, J. |
| Grosshart, R. | Lewis, S. | MaGee, P. |
| Daniels, L. | Sweeney, A. | Mayo, C. |
| Simmons, J. | Smith, C. O. | Newlin, A. |

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Steger, W. | Preston, H. | Carswell, F. |
| Charbonnet, P. | Broomfield, R. | Carter, E. |
| Greis, H. | Grant, B. | Clear, P. |
| Lewis, W. | Porter, J. | Clevidence, G. |
| Niles, A. | Kerr, C. | Clough, F. |
| Koons, D. | Miskell, P. | Coates, V. |
| Barton, L. | Fuller, R. | Coleman, W. |
| Dix, E. | Gill, J. | Connor, E. |
| Cavitt, F. | Veasey, J. | Cooke, T. |
| Flinston, J. | Houcker, C. | Cooper, E. |
| Chitwood, W. | Houser, M. | Cortner, P. |
| Riley, R. | Grider, A. | Craver, C. |
| Davis, G. | Gillette, C. W. | Crawford, R. |
| Moore, G. | Rivkin, J. | Dana, M. |
| Hayden, E. | Wiley, A. | Davidson, S. |
| Gillespie, F. | Davis, M. | Daily, H. |
| Terwill, E. | McBirney, J. | Dale, C. |
| Breckinridge, M. | Kramer, O. | Davis, H. |
| Pigford, W. | Rogers, J. | Deer, I. |
| Foster, J. | | Denison, L. |
| Hughes, V. | Kansas City: | Dickey, F. |
| Mossman, B. | | Dickey, W. |
| Halliburton, F. | Adams, L. | Disman, B. |
| Owen, J. | Allard, D. | Diveley, R. |
| Woodford, J. | Anderson, I. | Dominick, A. |
| McGlenn, A. | Archer, E. | Donnelly, H. |
| Tucker, W. | Ashley, H. | Drummond, W. |
| Clover, J. | Atwood, R. | Edson, J. |
| Hegge, M. | Bates, W. | Edwards, H. |
| Larsen, C. | Balliet, C. | Eldredge, J. |
| Freeborn, F. | Barnes, A. | Elliot, E. |
| Bush, C. | Barns, H. | Ellyson, E. |
| Yancey, C. | Bates, L. | Elrod, H. |
| Buell, J. | Beedle, G. | Evans, W. |
| Wiest, E. | Bennett, G. | Everham, A. |
| Lundy, R. | Best, A. | Finucane, F. |
| O'Mera, J. | Bisceglia, J. | Frick, H. |
| Sanders, J. | Boehmer, H. | Galbraith, C. |
| Whiteside, C. | Bovard, E. | Gard, G. |
| Shuler, I. | Boydston, C. | Garnett, W. |
| Whiteside, W. | Boyer, E. | George, B. |
| Mulligan, W. | Brace, H. | Gill, E. |
| Lord, C. | Braden, D. | Glazer, J. |
| Moore, W. | Bunker, M. | Gordon, A. |
| McFann, H. | Burd, V. | Grauerholz, J. |
| Cole, P. | Burns, I. | Groner, P. |
| Guthrey, E. | Bush, C. | Groves, R. |
| Valerius, M. | Busler, S. | Gumbine, R. |
| Eagleton, W. | Cady, T. | Guyer, U. |
| Trainer, W. | Campbell, G. | Hall, J. |
| Witwer, L. | Canine, W. | Hands, W. |
| Manion, J. | Carey, F. | Hanger, C. |
| Rambo, H. | Carpenter, N. | Hanna, J. |
| Hunt, E. | Carrothers, H. | Harbison, L. |

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Harrington, G. | Nash, A. | Walbridge, C. |
| Haskins, C. | Nelson, A. | Fifield, J. |
| Heidenreich, E. | Nelson, B. | Hopmann, H. |
| Herrod, A. | Newbill, T. | |
| Hill, F. | Nickerson, K. | Omaha: |
| Holde, E. | Nolan, P. | |
| Horner, C. | Nothnagel, H. | Ainsworth, A. |
| Hudson, J. | Opperheimer, B. | Alexander, J. |
| Huff, J. | Parish, H. | Allwine, H. |
| Jackson, G. | Pesmen, W. | Ames, A. |
| Jenkins, S. | Pickett, C. | Anderson, H. |
| Johnson, J. | Pierson, E. | Anderson, W. |
| Johnson R. | Quigley, J. | Baker, K. |
| Johnson, W. | Rader, W. | Ballard, W. |
| Johnston, J. | Ramsey, L. | Bath, J. |
| Jones, G. | Reilly, F. | Battell, E. |
| Jones, L. | Reilly, H. | Baum, D. |
| Joyce, J. | Reynolds, C. | Baumer, W. |
| Kensit, G. | Rice, R. | Beaton, C. |
| Kingsley, G. | Rice, R., Jr. | Beisel, I. |
| Kling, E. | Rock, G. | Benson, G. |
| Kornbrodt, C. | Rose, W. | Berry, H. |
| Kruger, L. | Rulau, G. | Bexten, L. |
| Larkin, J. | Sandhaus, W. | Bilby, H. |
| Lawrence, J. | Schroeder, J. | Black, L. |
| Lawrence, J. B. | Schutte, E. | Bleick, L. |
| Leimer, W. | Sernes, D. | Bliss, R. |
| Lester, J. | Shabon, F. | Bode, A. |
| Lindsey, H. | Shively, R. | Bond, H. |
| Long, R. | Shumate, D. | Bostick, J. |
| Longan, G. | Siersdorfer, P. | Boyd, G. |
| Longstreet, H. | Skoog, A. | Boyle, F. |
| Lowenstein, H. | Smith, A. J. | Bradshaw, E. |
| Lower, M. | Smith, B. H. | Brady, T. |
| Lucas, W. | Smith, B. J. | Brown, C. |
| Lynn, E. | Smith, E. W. | Buchanan, W. |
| Lyons, T. | Smith G. A. | Campbell, H. |
| Mangum, O. | Smith, J. W. | Carr, L. |
| McCartney, W. | Stephens, G. | Chesebrough, B. |
| McCaul, M. | Stevens, W. | Chew, J. |
| McCoy, F. | Steward, E. | Clark, A. |
| McCoy, W. | Stivers, V. | Codington, B. |
| McCulley, C. | Stocking, W. | Cohen, D. |
| McMann, B. | Straub, E. | Cohen, H. |
| McPherrin, S. | Stuben, R. | Comb, S. |
| Meredith, J. | Swanson, T. | Corneer, S. |
| McNair, R. | Talbott, I. | Cross, J. |
| Michaels, W. | Tiffany, J. | Culbert, T. |
| Minor, J. | Tomlinson, M. | Cummings, P. |
| Moore, A. | Treadway, H. | Davis, E. |
| Morris, R. | Turner, J. | Dienstbier, B. |
| Mosely, R. | Tyler, F. | Dinning, R. |
| Mueller, R. | Vandeventer, C. | Doerr, O. |
| Myers, M. | Wahl, H. | Douglas, E. |

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Dudley, A. | Martin, J. | Stryker, H. |
| Eddy, H. | Masengarb, E. | Svoboda, R. |
| Egan, T. | May, A. | Taft, G. |
| Eldredge, R. | McPherrren, W. | Tagg, W. |
| Elasser, F. | Meyers, H. | Thomsen, A. |
| Epperson, A. | Miller, M. | Towne, S. |
| Erman, J. | Mills, D. | Ulvilden, R. |
| Ernst, A. | Morearty, C. | Vanorsdel, R. |
| Evans, E. | Mulick, G. | Visek, S. |
| Evans, J. | Mullin, C. | Walsh, C. |
| Fairchild, N. | Murdock, A. | Webster, J. |
| Farrington, F. | Murphy, D. | Weissir, W. |
| Findley, R. | Murphy, H. | Wilson, C. |
| Finlayson, K. | Mussleman, A. | Wilson, R. |
| Fitch, F. | Myers, M. | |
| Forgan, G. | Myers, W. | Des Moines: |
| Frentress, H. | Neef, H. | |
| Fries, C. | Newberg, J. | Accola, M. |
| Gannett, E. | Nickolson, H. | Adair, J. |
| Gleason, J. | O'Keefe, J. | Adelman, J. |
| Haney, W. | Palmer, A. | Aidrich, E. |
| Hansen, T. | Parker, K. | Alexander, A. |
| Hardy, C. | Pascale, M. | Anderson, C. |
| Havens, P. | Patzman, A. | Anderson, L. |
| Heafey, P. | Paulus, W. | Arney, A. |
| Heath, W. | Perry, W. | Austin, A. |
| Higgins, H. | Peterson, J. | Bacon, J. |
| Hillmaner, W. | Pettegrew, E. | Bakaly, A. |
| Holmes, O. | Phillips, H. | Barrett, E. |
| Holmes, P. | Polian, H. | Baumgart, C. |
| Holoubek, J. | Pound, J. | Bennett, A. |
| Honig, H. | Pynter, C. | Biggs, E. |
| Hopkins, J. | Pritchard, L. | Bloom, C. |
| Hubbell, M. | Reisman, J. | Blotchy, A. |
| Hunter, R. | Riklin, A. | Bohlman, H. |
| Irwin, B. | Ritch, W. | Bossert, H. |
| James, H. | Russel, L. | Bovey, R. |
| Jennings, G. | Saunders, W. | Boyt, A. |
| Johnston, H. | Schimmel, A. | Brake, F. |
| Kaiman, A. | Schlossin, W. | Benton, C. |
| Kelley, W. | Schoening, H. | Brockett, W. |
| Kimball, T. | Scott, A. | Brown, B. |
| Kling, M. | Scott, D. | Brown, F. |
| Knight, A. | Shawcross, M. | Bruner, D. |
| Krug, W. | Showalter, J. | Burkett, D. |
| Larsen, E. | Simpson, J. | Burkamn, C. |
| Leddy, J. | Skans, G. | Burr, A. |
| Levenson, M. | Smiley, H. | Burris, C. |
| Levin, I. | Spor, P. | Byers, B. |
| Levine, F. | Stastney, O. | Caldwell, D. |
| Little, J. | Stebbins, C. | Canfield, L. |
| Luce, G. | Stebbins, E. | Carrell, F. |
| Madison, R. | Steele, W. | Carson, A. |
| Mallory, R. | Stringer, E. | Carter, O. |

Carver, O.
Chandler, F.
Charlton, C.
Chesley, O.
Church, W.
Clark, J.
Cline, H.
Clubb, G.
Clulow, D.
Cohen, M.
Collamn, W.
Conner, L.
Copeland, R.
Cotnam, L.
Crawford, R.
Cunningham, B.
Davis, W.
Degraff, L.
Devin, J.
Dewey, C.
Deyoe, A.
Donovan, G.
Dunlap, W.
Dunlavy, P.
Dunley, M.
Dunn, L.
Dyson, J.
Eberfuhr, O.
Ebersole, M.
Ede, V.
Elliott, G.
Elliott, N.
Ely, H.
Emery, R.
Emmert, S.
English, E.
Fenton, S.
Ferrell, W.
Field, G.
Finch, R.
Findley, W.
Fitzsimmons, E.
Flanagan, J.
Foster, M.
Fountain, C.
Frech, R.
Flynn, R.
Frost, F.
George, E.
Gilbert, M.
Ginsberg, B.
Ginsberg, H.
Gobel, L.
Godfrey, C.
Goff, E.
Goff, W.
Goiens, L.
Goldizen, V.
Grask, E.
Gray, L.
Griffiths, J.
Haffa, D.
Hagensick, M.
Hainline, R.
Hammand, E.
Hammond, W.
Hansell, W.
Hansen, H. A.
Hansen, H.
Harder, W.
Hatch, A.
Hathorn, P.
Heim, A.
Halmick, D.
Hendrix, M.
Herrick, A.
Herring, C.
Hervey, P.
Hoffman, P.
Holland, G.
Holliday, G.
Holmes, R.
Howard, G.
Howe, H.
Huckleberry, J.
Hughes, G.
Hughes, J.
Hunter, D.
Hurd, H.
Hutchins, A.
Jaeger, C.
James, P.
Johnson, F.
Jordon, W.
Jorgensen, G.
Keller, C.
Keller, H.
Kellogg, C.
Kendrick, W.
Kennedy, J.
Kimmelshue, E.
Kirby, J.
Kirkwood, C.
Knudson, G.
Kraetsch, W.
Kreidler, A.
Kring, V.
Kuble, F.
Kucharo, H.
Kullander, A.
Ladd, L.
Lagerquist, H.
Lamereaux, B.
Larkin, F.
Larmer, F.
Ledig, C.
Lee, A.
Leise, R.
Logan, G.
London, H.
Long, F.
Lorentzen, J.
Lorenz, S.
Losh, C.
Lowery, O.
Lytton, E.
McCrae, M.
Mahedy, J.
Mallett, F.
Marple, F.
Mason, E.
Methis, H.
Maynard, C.
McCallum, A.
McClellan, E.
McClellan, J.
McGuire, J.
Meis, C.
Metzger, O.
Miller, A.
Miller, E.
Miller, F.
Miller, G.
Mitchell, F.
Moore, J.
Morgan, J.
Motis, C.
Mulhern, R.
Myser, S.
Nash, E.
Nichols, C.
Nichols, H.
Nichols, J.
Nichols, R.
Nielsen, N.
Northup, H.
O'Brien, J.
Ortman, H.
Osborn, J.
Ouderkirk, P.
Paden, C.
Parrish, W.

Parsons, A.
Penford, E.
Perry, E.
Phillips, R.
Pickerill, F.
Porter, G.
Proctor, L.
Prouty, E.
Reed, H.
Reiley, R.
Rhoads, S.
Roberts, G.
Robson, E.
Rosenbaum, C.
Ross, M.

Scott, E.
Scott, O.
Simmons, W.
Smith, C.
Smith, L.
Sprey, W.
Stader, A.
Stevens, F.
Stewart, W.
Stipp, C.
Stoddard, E.
Stone, H.
Strock, W.
Sullivan, E.
Swanson, E.

Thoma, H.
Thompson, J.
Thompson, L.
Thornburg, M.
Tischer, A.
Trick, D.
Turner, J.
Wagner, A.
Weeks, E.
Westerman, G.
White, C.
Wickham, J.
Murrow, T.
Patrick, R.
Pye, C.

VITA

Reid Allen Holland

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: URBAN FRONTIER LEADERSHIP

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, August 27, 1946, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Holland.

Education: Graduated from Alva Senior High School, Alva, Oklahoma, in May, 1964; received Bachelor of Arts with high honors in Social Science from Northwestern State College, Alva, Oklahoma in 1967; received Master of Art in History from Oklahoma State University in 1969; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at Oklahoma State University in May, 1972.

Professional Experience: Part-time instructor of extension history classes, Oklahoma State University, 1970-1971. Part-time instructor of Social Science, Oklahoma State University, 1971. Graduate teaching assistant, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, 1967-1972. Research assistant, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, 1972.