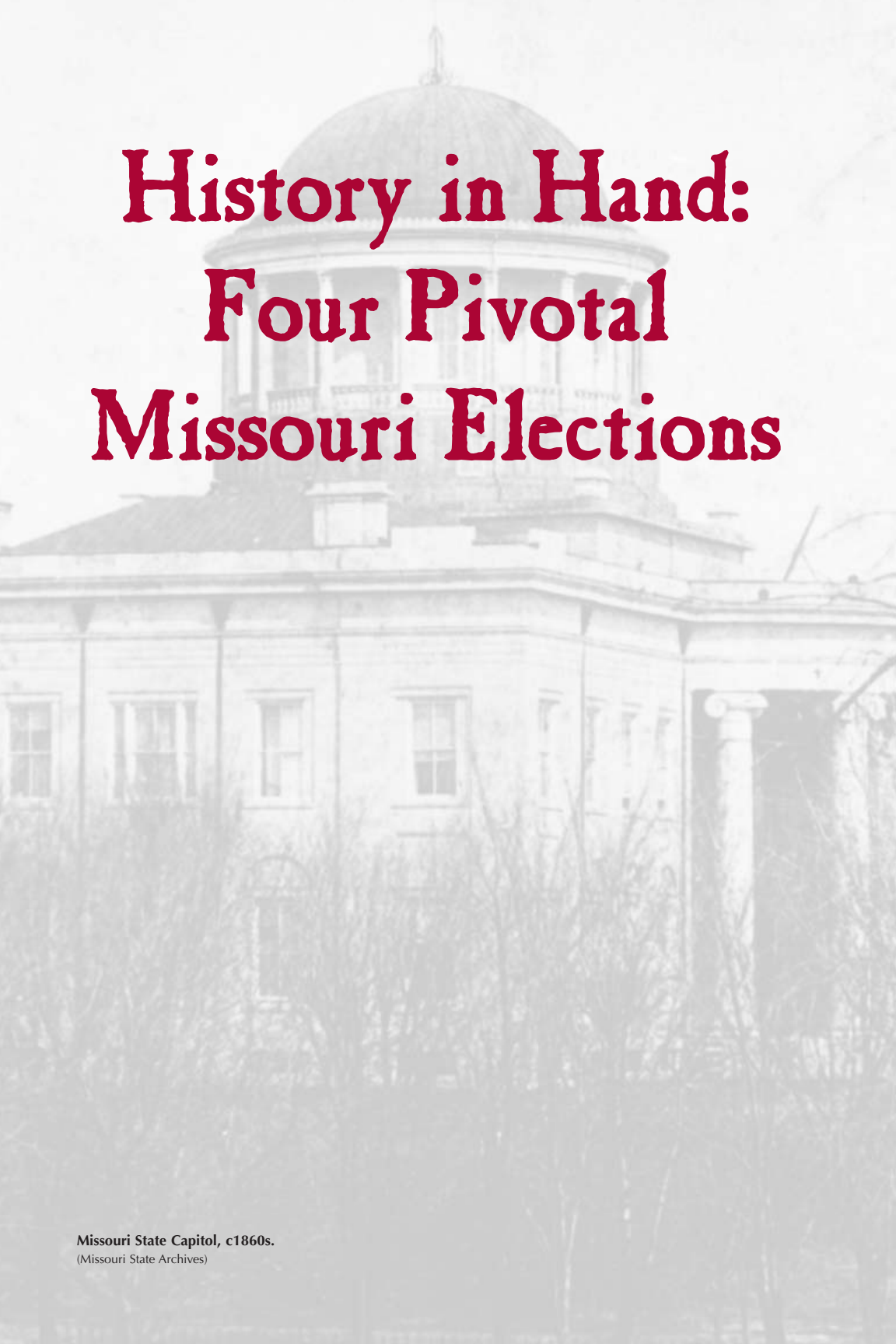


CHAPTER 1
Missouri Almanac



"Feminine Support"
(Missouri State Archives, Putman Collection)



History in Hand: Four Pivotal Missouri Elections

Missouri State Capitol, c1860s.
(Missouri State Archives)

Introduction

Political cynics charge that elections do not mean very much. The more things change, the more they stay the same. “Here comes the new boss, same as the old boss,” the rock band, *The Who* sang in their 1971 song, “Won’t Get Fooled Again.” Today, the cynicism among the young, has, if anything, gotten worse. The National Youth Survey recently reported that half of all young people they questioned thought voting unimportant.

Familiarity with history shows the contrary. Elections do matter. For good or ill, yesterday’s elections shape today, and today’s elections shape our tomorrow. That does not mean that elections are not ironic, or even tragic. In Missouri’s first statehood election famed explorer, Indian agent, and backwoodsman, William Clark, went down to inglorious defeat as the “aristocratic” candidate of the old French and colonial elite. His equally “aristocratic” ally, Thomas Hart Benton, narrowly won election to the Senate only to emerge as one of America’s greatest spokesmen for Jacksonian democracy and the common yeoman farmer. In 1860 Claiborne Fox Jackson won the Missouri governorship with

hopes of aligning the state with southern slaveholders, but died in an Arkansas exile, his state self-destructing in vicious guerrilla warfare.

People make history, but not always as they choose. Even so, things can be changed, and for the better when people take the making of history into their hands. Progressive governors like Democrat Joseph Folk and Republican Herbert Hadley effectively challenged the commonplace political corruption of the early twentieth century. The 1945 Missouri constitution, forged in world war and informed by the bleak reality of economic depression, still determines the character of our state’s politics today.

In the following essays—two from the nineteenth century, two from the twentieth—four Missouri historians use the 1820, 1860, and 1904 governorship elections; and the referendum on the 1945 constitution to illuminate our past, teach us how these past choices made our present; and inspire us how we might, through the example of our ancestors and forerunners, make in our own day, a better tomorrow.

Clark versus McNair: The Decline of the Old Republicans and the Rise of the New Democrats in Missouri's First Statehood Election

William E. Foley

Contemporary Missourians put off by the nasty and accusatory tone of many modern political campaigns may find solace if not comfort in knowing that such practices are not unique to our own times. No less an American icon than William Clark, the celebrated coleader of the Lewis and Clark expedition and Missouri's most successful territorial governor, had to endure a barrage of exaggerated and ill-founded allegations during his failed attempt to become the state of Missouri's first elected governor in 1820. When the illustrious westerner's political opponents spread tales characterizing him as a snobbish aristocrat with little sympathy for plain folk as well as an Indian lover willing to subject exposed frontier settlers to devastation at the hands of ruthless savages, they found a ready audience among the newly arrived farmers and mechanics whose burgeoning numbers had made Missouri's pending admission to the Union possible.

In truth, the partisan words and rhetorical flourishes uttered on the stump and circulated in local newspapers during this campaign were merely surface manifestations of Missouri's changing social and political climate. A combative new brand of popular democracy grounded on a belief that the most ordinary of men could aspire to greatness had already begun to take hold in Missouri. A companion view that Indians stood in the way of settlement and progress had supplanted earlier more tolerant notions about native people prevalent under the colonial regimes of France and Spain. These new ideas, epitomized in the popular imagination by the rising fortunes of Clark's friend Andrew Jackson, drew strength from "Old Hickory's" image as a self-made, tough-as-nails, soldier, Indian fighter, and politician eager to champion the people's interests. While Clark too was a soldier, Indian fighter and public servant, his patrician upbringing, unwavering loyalty to friends, preference for old republican principles, and reputation as a fair-minded Indian negotiator landed him on the wrong side of the political divide in 1820.

Missouri politics had never been a place for the fainthearted. Name-calling, threats of bodily harm, and allegations of military interference were commonplace in the territory's highly charged and



"William Clark by Charles Willson Peale, From Life, 1807–1808." (Independence National Historical Park)

intensely personal political culture. An attempt to challenge the rising political newcomer Thomas Hart Benton's eligibility to vote in a hotly contested 1817 territorial election culminated with a tragic affair of honor that left the promising young attorney Charles Lucas dead by Benton's hand on Bloody Island, a notorious Mississippi River dueling ground near St. Louis. Election day antics seldom degenerated into mortal combat, but partisan squabbles had become the order of the day in the turbulent Missouri Territory.

Missouri's long and arduous struggle for statehood added to the muddle. The territorial assembly's 1818 petition to Congress seeking admission to the union as a slave state unleashed a heated national debate that in the words of former president Thomas Jefferson sounded an alarm "like a firebell in the night." Congressional efforts to impose restrictions designed to gradually eliminate slavery from Missouri caught most territorial residents unawares. Angered by what they perceived to be unwarranted federal intervention in their affairs, they rallied to voice their unalterable objection to all such restrictionist proposals.

Eventually the chieftans in Washington, D.C. hammered out an agreement aimed at reconciling national divisions over slavery while sustaining the Union. Missourians (with the obvious exception of the territory's ten thousand African American slaves who were never allowed to express themselves publicly on such matters) proclaimed their satisfaction with the final settle-

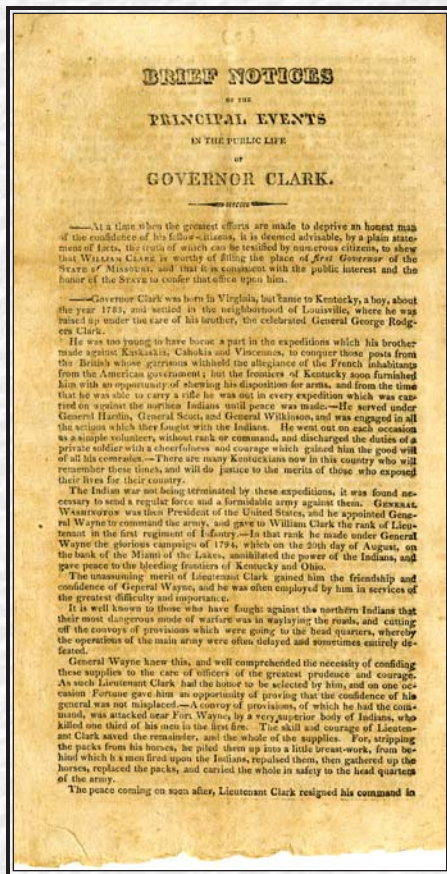
ment because it authorized Missouri's admission to the Union as a slave state. That 1820 agreement, known as the Missouri Compromise, also sanctioned Maine's admission as a free state as a counterbalance to Missouri and closed to slavery all remaining portions of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern latitude (36° 30').

Following receipt of this welcome news, Missouri officials wasted little time in scheduling elections to select delegates for a constitutional convention charged with drafting a framework of government for the soon-to-be twenty-fourth state. In the contest for convention seats, members of the territorial old guard skillfully held at bay the newcomers intent on making the election a referendum on broadening participation in the political process. By keeping public attention focused on the specter of slavery restriction, the old elite persuaded a majority of Missouri voters to play it safe by selecting prominent proslavery property holders to write their constitution.

That momentary victory had by no means ended the opposition. When the convention's proceedings got underway the old divides quickly resurfaced. A conservative coalition representing the territorial establishment successfully fended off a series of newfangled democratic reform proposals. Dubbed the "caucus" by their opponents, the conservatives blocked attempts to make judges elective and not appointive, and they placed gubernatorial and judicial salaries outside the legislature's purview by fixing them in the constitution. The outnumbered pro-democracy delegates strenuously objected to both provisions and branded the two thousand dollar salaries awarded the governor and judges exorbitant. Notwithstanding those successes, caucus members wisely chose not to buck the powerful national trend that favored universal white manhood suffrage without property qualifications.

While delegates debated these issues, the contesting factions set their sights on the new state's upcoming elections. In the absence of organized political parties, members of the caucus proposed a ticket headed by territorial Governor Clark, while their opponents quickly rallied around the banner of Alexander McNair. Clark's supporters believed that his long years of public service and governmental experience would make him a virtual shoo-in, but McNair's backers correctly sensed that the governor's lengthy record might in fact prove to be a liability. Each side agreed upon a slate of candidates for the other state elective offices, and all was in readiness for a spirited campaign.

Clark had declared his availability for the state's highest office in 1819. The rapidly deteriorating health of his beloved wife Julia, who was stricken with breast cancer, however, had given him second thoughts. He vacillated as he pon-



Campaign pamphlet found in St. Charles Circuit Court case file "Rector v. Roberts and Nash, 1822."

(St. Charles Circuit Court)

dered his family's future. The prospect of raising alone five children all under the age of eleven gave him pause. But when his political allies failed to find a suitable alternate, even as the prospects for his wife's recovery dimmed, he consented to allow his candidacy to proceed. Shortly thereafter Clark set out for Virginia, where he had placed Julia and their children under the watchful care of her family. He did not return to Missouri until the fall, and by then the votes had been counted and his political future sealed.

When Governor Clark officially threw his hat into the ring he advised his constituents that personal circumstances would keep him away from the state during the campaign. He hastened to add that his absence would be of little import since the election was the people's business and even if he were present he would steer clear of any direct involvement. This view, fully comport-

ed with the electoral behavior expected by America's Founding Fathers. From this perspective it would have been unseemly for him to take to the hustings in support of his own candidacy.

In a prepared statement, Clark briefly outlined his qualifications for those who did not know him and pledged simply to do his best "to contribute to your prosperity, and to maintain the honor of a State whose name must forever be dear to me." He touted his republican credentials earned in the school of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe and offered Missouri's old inhabitants and the Creole elite as character references. As the establishment candidate, Clark was content to run on his record of bringing peace, order, and stability to the fast growing territory.

In contrast, Clark's opponent Alexander McNair, a popular militia officer, capitalized on the growing appeal of political democratization and expanded opportunities for white men. A onetime member of the "St. Louis Clique," he stealthily maneuvered to bring his public stances into closer conformity with America's changing social and political attitudes. As register of public lands he championed squatters' rights and preemption, policies especially popular in Missouri's rapidly growing outstate region. In the constitutional convention McNair artfully positioned himself to run for governor by voting regularly with the populist minority, further distancing himself from old friends in the caucus.



Alexander McNair.
(Missouri State Archives)



J.B.C. Lucas.
(Missouri State Archives)

Once on the campaign trail McNair sought to differentiate himself from Clark, who he now branded a captive of special interests. He assured voters that in the conduct of his public duties he had never, and would never, show favoritism based on friendship or party. By presenting himself as a man of the people, McNair made farmers, mechanics, and the popular multitude the focus of his attention.

The lines were drawn, and by mid-July political campaigning was already underway. Missouri's partisan newspaper publishers made no effort to disguise their political preferences as they rushed to define issues and shape popular perceptions of the candidates. Joseph Charless, the *Missouri Gazette's* fiery publisher, planted himself firmly in McNair's camp, with behind-the-scenes support from the acerbic federal judge, John B.C. Lucas. Working together they set about to settle old scores and tarnish the public image of their longtime nemesis Clark. Lucas still smarted from the death of his son at the hands of Clark's most strident sponsor, Thomas Hart Benton, and employed his pen to portray the governor as an aloof Virginia aristocrat, out of touch with ordinary voters, and a toady for the old guard. Clark's willingness to identify himself with establishment figures and his aversion to direct campaigning made him vulnerable to such charges. In so doing, he revealed a tin ear, deaf to an evolving political culture that expected candidates to affect a common touch. Equally damaging were the relentless allegations that in his dealings with Indians he favored his native charges over his frontier constituents.



"The Assembly of the Legislature at St. Charles in June, 1821," by Richard E. Miller.

(Missouri State Archives)

Sensing that this carefully scripted portrait of Clark was gaining popular acceptance, Thomas Hart Benton, editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer* fired back, questioning McNair's qualifications for the job. After acknowledging McNair as a good man, "An Old Citizen" openly scoffed at attempts to compare McNair with Henry Clay, asserting that McNair's record as a public servant had been lackluster. But it was McNair's campaigning techniques that drew the greatest fire from his foes. They accused him of pitting the recently arrived farmers and the poor against Missouri's old inhabitants and lambasted his vote begging excursions in underground grog shops and back alleys, and his willingness to resort to the use of hard cider (cheaper than whiskey) to attract a crowd.

Cognizant that things were not going his uncle's way, John O'Fallon drafted a sixteen-page campaign biography calling attention to Clark's sterling record of public service and his many accomplishments. But it was to no avail. When the votes were counted McNair had defeated Clark by a margin of nearly three to one. In the lieutenant governor's race William H. Ashley, a militia officer and rising entrepreneur outpolled Nathaniel Cook, the candidate preferred by the old-timers. The contest for both houses in the General Assembly produced similar results as voters eager for change opted for candidates who favored Indian removal and embraced a populist political dynamic championing the common man. John Scott, the territorial delegate in Congress, who ran for Congress unopposed, was the only statewide establishment candidate to escape the onslaught. The only glimmer of hope

for the old guard came when members of the newly elected General Assembly chose Thomas Hart Benton as one of the state's U.S. Senators. The other slot went to another traditionalist, David Barton, who would inevitably be unable to make the switch to the new order.

For Missourians, the 1820 elections marked the end of an era. An electorate that included many first time voters took the reigns of government from the hands of a well-entrenched St. Louis-based political establishment controlled by a small clique of wealthy special interest groups, French Creoles and willing American allies, and turned them over to an assemblage of relative political novices. That triumph dramatized the growing power and influence of the legions of newly arrived, democratic-minded farmers in central Missouri's thriving Boonslick country. St. Louis, soon to become America's dominant inland city, lost its designation as the capital, as the shifting locus of political power moved to St. Charles, and then more-tellingly six years later, to Jefferson City in the state's center.

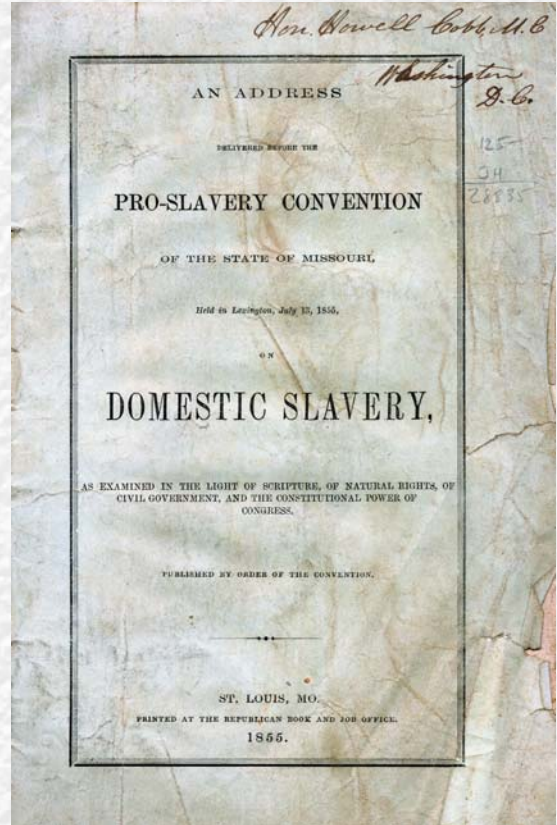
A new style of electioneering was another legacy of this campaign. Henceforth candidates for office in Missouri, whatever their views, found it necessary to court the rank and file voters who now drove the political process. That lesson was not lost on Thomas Hart Benton, who rushed to embrace the causes of democratic politics and the common man. Senator Benton's close identification with the tenets of Jacksonian Democracy and his rising stature in state and national political circles soon signaled the opening of yet another chapter in Missouri's storied political history.

Missouri at the Abyss: the Election of 1860

Christopher Phillips

Most American slaveholders considered the expansion of black servitude into the western territories the life's blood of southern civilization, but few felt it so keenly as Missouri's slaveholders. When Congress announced the opening of Kansas territory for settlement in 1854, Missouri's masters declared it was essential that the new territory embrace slavery if their own human property was to remain secure. Bordered on the east by the "free-soil" state of Illinois and on the north by the "free-soil" state of Iowa, Missouri masters felt isolated. If Kansas to its west also became "free," then runaway slaves would have a haven at every turn, and the example of free blacks practically living among them. Like their fathers before them, Missouri slaveholders also wanted the option of western migration, should they choose. It was an infringement of their liberty to have this opportunity closed to them. To that end, thousands of Missouri slaveholders and their sympathizers temporarily "invaded" Kansas to vote in its elections and eventually to engage in violence against northern free-soil immigrants. By 1856, the escalating conflict known as "Bleeding Kansas" became a national crisis. As the harsh drama unfolded, the initial proslavery "Lecompton Constitution"—adopted with the help of the votes of thousands of "one-day" Kansans from Missouri—failed. To the consternation of southern slaveholders generally, and those in Missouri in particular, it became clear that antislavery settlers from the north outnumbered proslavery settlers from the south, and that Kansas would be "free."

In the wake of slavery's Kansas defeat, many Missourians embraced a proslavery militancy that had only a limited appeal to them previously. Missouri's governor at the onset of the Kansas crisis, Sterling Price, had ineffectively attempted to moderate the growing proslavery belligerency among some political leaders. Although a large slaveholder himself, Price's unwillingness to pander to the proslavery electorate angered those who once looked to him as their leader. Price's successor, Robert M. Stewart, a native New Yorker who had moved to St. Joseph in 1840, did not make the same mistake. He narrowly won election in a special election in 1857, almost exclusively by proslavery voters. From Andrew Jackson's presidency to the late 1850s, a variety of issues had guided the Democratic party. These now collapsed under the single issue of slavery. Recognizing this state



An address given at a pro-slavery convention. Robert L. Hawkins III Collection, 1855. (Missouri State Archives)

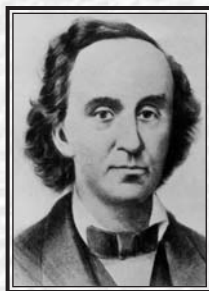
of affairs, Stewart stood up strongly for slavery and states' rights throughout his term.

The 1858 midterm election only confirmed Missouri's transition toward this stronger proslavery stance. Fearful of the Republican party's emergence and its opposition to slavery's westward extension, Democratic voters favored proslavery over free-soil Democrats, even in the free-soil stronghold of St. Louis. Outside of St. Louis, proslavery candidates had even greater support. In all, seventy-four Democrats won seats in the Missouri House, most of them proslavery, while the heavily proslavery Senate Democrats dominated their opposition, twenty-four seats to nine. Separate factional Democratic conventions held at Georgetown and Fayette both adopted resolutions declaring the Democratic Party as the lone barrier to the "Black Republican" onslaught. The author of both of these sets of resolutions was the once discredited politician, Claiborne Fox Jackson.

Jackson, a former Howard County state senator, had been exiled from Missouri politics in 1852 for his role in introducing a series of proslavery resolutions in the state legislature in 1849. The so-called “Jackson Resolutions” were designed to forcefully declare the state’s enthusiasm for slavery’s western expansion, and more specifically, to end Missouri senior senator Thomas Hart Benton’s work on behalf of the free-soil movement. The result was highly contentious. Both Benton and Jackson lost their respective seats, and the political fallout stifled the militant proslavery “Ultras,” as they became known, for much of the decade. By the late 1850s, however, Jackson’s popularity was again on the rise, and by the fall of 1859 he was ready, announcing to a close group of supporters that he intended to run for Missouri’s governorship.

Despite his remarkable reversal of fortune, Claib Jackson did not enjoy the unified support of the pro-Southern Ultras, much less the entire Missouri Democratic party. The 1860 party convention, which Jackson chaired, was stormy. At its center stood the presidential candidacy of Stephen A. Douglas, who represented the traditional mainstream of the Democratic party, but whose seemingly equivocal stance on slavery the Ultras found wanting. Discord erupted upon Jackson’s relinquishing the chair’s gavel in order to seek the convention’s gubernatorial nomination. That proved just the beginning. Raucous confusion and violent invective reached its crescendo during the nomination of pro- and anti-Douglas delegates to the national convention. Amidst the tumult, Jackson received the party’s nomination for governor on the fourth ballot. In the end, the proslavery faction carried every contest in the convention, from the nominations of Jackson, to that of Thomas Cauter Reynolds for lieutenant governor, to the dictating of the Democratic platform. Still, the discordant convention clearly indicated that Jackson would have no party mandate in the fall election.

While widely regarded as an Ultra, Jackson accepted his role as the standard-bearer for all Missouri Democrats. As such, he sought to harmonize the competing factions, a difficult task that national events soon rendered impossible. The country’s political edifice crumbled during the spring, with four candidates running for president, two of whom came from the Democratic party. While Illinoisan Stephen Douglas had received the traditional Democratic nomination, breakaway southern Democrats nominated Kentuckian John C. Breckinridge. Tennessean John Bell represented the Constitutional Union party, an alignment of old-line southern Whigs (the Whig party now being defunct), and members of the short-lived nativist, anti-immigrant “Know-Nothing” party. The Constitutional

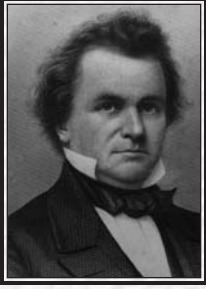


Claiborne Fox Jackson.
(Missouri State Archives)

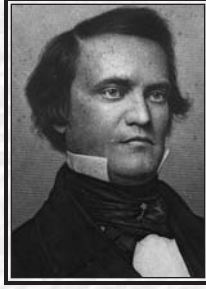
Unionists attempted to assuage the nation’s division over slavery by appealing to Union-loving border residents. The final candidate, Illinoisan Abraham Lincoln, led the antislavery Republicans in their party’s second national campaign. This slate approximated the nation’s sectional alignment. Since the Republicans had taken control of the U.S. House in 1858, proslavery voters grimly had to consider the possibility that Republicans would win the presidency as well in 1860. Many voters, consequently, merged state and national elections in their minds, as a referendum on the fate of the nation.

By endorsing neither Douglas, the party’s “regular” nominee, nor Breckinridge, the southern rights candidate, Jackson hoped to maintain party unity through the maelstrom of popular politics. Any hope of remaining neutral ended, however, as powerful St. Louisans began pressuring him to announce his choice of presidential preference. Believing the largest portion of the state was secure for the Ultras, Jackson determined that his best electoral advantage lay in catering to St. Louis. Boasting nearly 160,000 residents—a full fifteen percent of the state’s free population—antislavery St. Louis could not be ignored. Its voters, however, were resistant to out-state candidates from the politically influential central river counties, particularly a candidate recognized as an anti-Benton, proslavery Ultra. In light of the secessionist flashes emitting from the cotton states, St. Louisans needed assurance that Jackson intended a moderate course if he was elected to the state’s highest office. To keep their favor Jackson concluded to support Douglas, but attempted to straddle the fence by trying to make clear that he—beyond all party affiliation—remained staunchly proslavery, and unwaveringly states’ rights in his views.

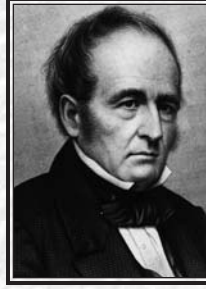
Jackson gambled that his reputation would let him hang onto the majority of proslavery Democrats no matter which national candidate he supported. With St. Louis and central Missouri planned for, Jackson campaigned



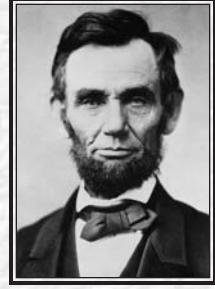
Stephen A. Douglas.
(The State Historical Society
of Missouri, Columbia)



John C. Breckinridge.
(The State Historical Society
of Missouri, Columbia)



John Bell.
(The State Historical Society
of Missouri, Columbia)



Abraham Lincoln.
(The State Historical Society
of Missouri, Columbia)

extensively in the more sparsely settled southwestern portion of the state, a region normally all but ignored by Missouri politicians. The decision was not so quixotic; southwestern Missouri was the home ground of Waldo P. Johnson, who had been Jackson's leading Democratic rival for gubernatorial nomination. Johnson had carried twice as many committed delegates to the recent convention as any of the other candidates. Jackson now sought votes among Johnson's supporters, most of whom shared common origins from the border south. It was only at the end of the campaign did Jackson and Reynolds publicly announce their support for Douglas as the Democratic presidential nominee. As a stunned proslavery audience listened in his Fayette hometown, Jackson argued, somewhat weakly, that the Illinoisian's stance against abolitionism made the party safe in his hands if elected president. Yet Jackson attempted to appease the Ultras by balancing his favorable comments about the controversial Douglas with warm remarks about Breckinridge, who he claimed as his personal favorite. He supported the "regular" candidate, he said, only in pursuit of party unity.

Missouri's gubernatorial race mirrored the national fracture in another way; following Jackson's declaration of support for Douglas, two other candidates jumped into the race. When Jackson embraced the "regular" Democrats, conservative Breckinridge Democrats renounced him as their candidate and named Hancock L. Jackson, a former governor, as their choice. At the same time, an ephemeral coalition of moderate Benton Democrats, former Whigs and Know-Nothings, and even some Republicans, rallied behind Sample Orr. Those supporting Orr became known simply as the "Opposition" and made common cause with the Constitutional Union Party. Orr, himself, was a conservative southwest Missouri judge and farmer. He dogged Jackson for much of his campaign, even speaking in opposition to him at the end of

Jackson's own rallies. James B. Gardenhire of Cole County was the Republican nominee.

The election proved tight. Tension ran high on election day, and for the days thereafter, until state officials finally released the results. Jackson had won by 7,863 votes, carrying forty-seven percent of the 158,579 popular votes cast; Sample Orr finished second with forty-two percent of the votes. The remaining candidates, Hancock Jackson and Republican James Gardenhire, together carried just eleven percent of the electorate. The governor-elect drew support relatively evenly from the various sections of the state; he carried seventy counties while receiving respectable ballots in all of the remaining thirty-five. In the slaveholding Boon's Lick river counties of central Missouri, Jackson drew a mixed response, splitting them fairly evenly with Orr. In St. Louis, the state's only Republican stronghold, Jackson ran a strong second, presumably because of his support for Stephen Douglas (validating his strategy of announcing for Douglas).

With the three-month wait between the state's election and the national election, many moderate Missourians became edgy about the nation's future. The state election saw a raft of Breckinridge Democrats elected to the General Assembly, having claimed 15 of 33 seats in the Senate and 47 of 132 seats in the House. Their strong performance in the state's legislative contests had obvious implications for the November presidential election. Moderate fears, however, were unfounded. Missouri proved the *only* state in the Union that "the regular Democratic candidate" Douglas fully carried in the calamitous election. Breckinridge and Lincoln's candidacies were as sectional in Missouri as that of Breckinridge and Lincoln in the nation. Virtually all of Breckinridge's votes came from sparsely populated counties in the south-central portion of the state, while most of Lincoln's Missouri votes came from Germans in St. Louis and the



Wounded Soldiers and Stragglers, c1860.

(The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia)

nearby German settlements along the Missouri River. By and large, Missourians rejected both “Union splitters and rail splitters” at the polls. Compromise candidates Bell and Douglas garnered nine-tenths of the state’s votes, and more than seven of every ten of the Boon’s Lickers’ ballots. Significantly, moderate Douglas prevailed over moderate Bell in the region by a margin, while not one of the state’s largest slaveholding counties gave their votes to Breckinridge. Despite the inroads of the Breckinridge Democrats in the state legislature, moderate Democrats and Constitutional Unionists outnumbered them ninety to sixty-two. In St. Louis, the state’s Republican stronghold, Douglas ran a strong second to Lincoln, while Breckinridge polled only 544 votes. In the national election, Missourians, above all, had called for temperate action on the issues of slavery and union.

While Missourians evinced a sympathy for the “southern rights,” they did so only as fellow slaveholders, not as secessionists. Unlike southern “fireaters,” Missourians held that individual states could still protect themselves from the

northern majority by invoking, rather than abandoning, the national Union. Even when Douglas had opposed Kansas’ corrupt attempt to enter the Union as a slave state, he opposed it as the champion of individual rights. But individual rights, he added, must include the right to own slaves where legal. Missourians agreed. So long as democracy, however imperfect, prevailed in the Union, and so long as the federal government protected liberty by upholding individual rights (including slaveholding where it existed), Missourians would remain loyal.

Within weeks of Abraham Lincoln’s presidential election, and ten days before Missouri’s General Assembly convened on January 4, 1861, South Carolina claimed as the ultimate state’s “right” to withdraw from the union. Six other cotton states, then holding elections for delegates to conventions, would choose a similar response. The American house was divided. Missouri, the crossroads of the nation, now stood at its own crossroads of union or disunion. To Governor Jackson’s great disappointment, Missouri alone among those states calling a con-

stitutional convention decided not to secede. It wished to be both slaveholding and Union. At the advent of the war, Missourians opted for armed neutrality, even as many of the neighboring border south states seceded after Lincoln's call for troops to maintain the Union following South Carolina's attack on Sumter, the federal island fortress in Charleston harbor.

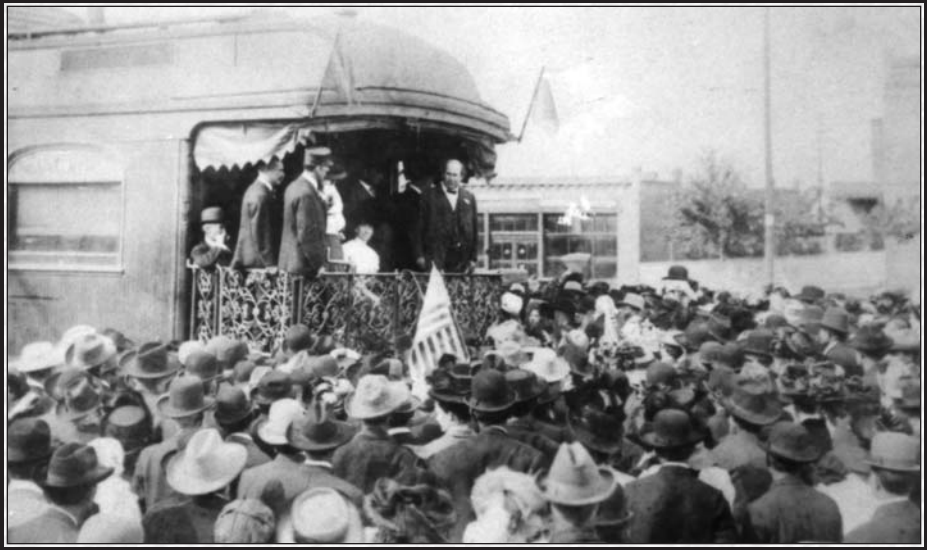
Ironically, the neutrality desired by most Missourians opened the state to four years of an anarchical civil war within its boundaries, one that operated on the margin of the formal military conflict. One-fourth of Missouri's eligible men fought in the federal and confederate armies: 109,000 Missourians for the North and as many as 30,000 for the South. Thousands more fought as guerrillas, subjecting Union soldiers and civilians in virtually all sections of the state to more than three years of rampant bushwhacking, sniping, hit-and-run raiding, arson, and murder. While these partisans represented but a fraction of those who served in the Confederate army, their influence on the state's populace far surpassed any mustered by Missourians in gray. But both sides participated. By one estimate, nearly twenty-seven thousand Missouri citizens lost their lives at the hands of southern and union sympathizing raiders, making Missouri, more than any other state, the scene of such vicious savagery as to leave local hatreds lasting decades after the guns of the Civil War had stilled.

More peaceable Missourians, however, shared much of the same high emotion as the bushwhackers, but used politics to avenge their wartime grievances. The harsh Drake Constitution, enacted in 1865 by Missouri's pro-Lincoln Radicals, barred former confederates from voting or office-holding until 1871. After that date they soon swept into state offices, including confederate Lieutenant Governor Thomas Cate Reynolds, who served in the state legislature; Francis M. Cockrell, a former Confederate general, who became a U.S. Senator; and George G. Vest (who had represented Missouri in both houses of the Confederate Congress), who subsequently joined Cockrell in the U.S. Senate in

1879. Cockrell eventually served three decades in the Senate, while Vest stayed nearly a quarter century. The postwar Confederate rise culminated with John Sappington Marmaduke's election as Missouri governor in 1884. Marmaduke, a former Confederate general, was not only the son of a former governor, but the nephew of its exiled rebel governor, Claiborne F. Jackson.

Evidence suggests that Missourians' pro-Southern political defiance merged with a new Confederate identity in which their former status as westerners and unionists became obscured. Many Missourians now claimed the state had been southern all along. Within a few years of the war's end, small towns and cities throughout Missouri erected monuments honoring their Confederate dead. Former Confederates, such as General Daniel M. Frost, championed the establishment of a confederate veterans home and confederate cemetery in Higginsville. Such memorials not only honored the valiant dead, but also served as a counterweight to charges that these soldiers were unpatriotic and treasonous by fighting for the South. Indeed, Missourians sought to preserve the memory of those who sacrificed their lives repelling federal invaders from their state. Memorialization bound Missourians with other Confederate state residents, not only in the replication of such activities as was occurring throughout the South, but also by entwining their shared experience of war.

Once complete, Missouri's Confederate mystique capped a process that spanned decades. Perhaps the most lasting symbol of Missouri's Confederate heritage was the adoption of the term "Little Dixie" as the name of the former slaveholding center of the state. The common sobriquet reflected more than voting trends; it stood as a distorted symbol of what many Missourians believed they were culturally, yet never were, and what they never were politically, yet now believed they had always been. These once-westerners now looked to the region that embodied their sense of betrayal and victimization—the beleaguered south—for their identity.



William Jennings Bryan Campaigning at Blackburn, Mo., c1900.
(Missouri State Archives)

Conscience of the People: Progressivism and the 1904 Election

Bonnie Stepenoff

In 1902, journalist Lincoln Steffens came to St. Louis to find out if democracy had failed there. With the help of a local reporter, he exposed bribery, corruption, bad government, and collusion between powerful businessmen and politicians. But he also made a hero, Joseph Folk, the prosecutor who fought to bring these men to justice. Democracy might have stumbled in St. Louis, but it had not fallen. Its future depended on people's willingness to act in the best interest of the community and to make their leaders do the same. Faith in human decency, the impulse to create a better society, and belief in the possibility of clean government carried progressive candidates to victory in Missouri's path-breaking election of 1904.

Forty years earlier, the Civil War had battered these simple articles of faith. Among the casualties that limped from the battlefields were three antebellum reform movements: abolition, women's rights, and temperance. When slavery ended, the old abolitionists scattered, leaving the struggle for racial equality to future generations. After the Fifteenth Amendment pointedly omitted the word "sex" from its promise of voting rights, the women's movement faltered. During the Civil

War and Reconstruction, the temperance movement failed to find a comfortable home in the Republican and Democratic parties.

In the decades following the war, reform-minded people gradually regained their enthusiasm. In the 1870s, thousands of disenfranchised women rallied to the anti-liquor banner with a surprisingly powerful organization, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Other people responded to other causes. "Populist" farmers swelled the presidential crusades of Nebraska Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who stood up for the common man against the moneyed interests. "Single-taxers," like William Marion Reedy, editor of the *St. Louis Mirror*, pleaded for economic equality through tax reform. Labor reformers demanded factory inspections, wage and hour laws, workmen's compensation, and a ban on child labor. Clubwomen spoke out against tainted food, spoiled milk, and ineffective drugs. Having been energized by other reform efforts, women resumed their struggle for the right to vote. The threads connecting all these groups were the desire for change and an adamant optimism.

This was not the optimism tied to dreams of the expanding frontier. The war and its aftermath had tarnished that. The trailblazer in buckskin belonged to the past. On Missouri's burned-out western border, Jesse James came to symbolize hopeless resistance to the power of banks and railroads. Passenger trains brought businessmen in starched collars and derby hats. In booming St.

Joseph, Pony Express riders enjoyed a moment of glory, but grain dealers and livestock tycoons built far more substantial monuments. The lavish mansions of the city's Hall Street proclaimed a new era of big money, big spending, and even bigger dreams. Mark Twain called it the Gilded Age.

Steffens was not alone in wondering if American cities had surrendered their souls to greed, arrogance, and corruption. In Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson, publisher of the *Evening Star*, declared that his city was no longer a border town and demanded responsible government, street cleaning, building inspections, better sanitation, parks, and boulevards. Beginning in the 1880s, he exposed election fraud and wrongdoing by public utility companies. On the positive side, he praised the creation of wide, tree-lined parkways, gardens, and fountains, springing from the ideal of the well-planned modern city. According to historians A. Theodore Brown and Lyle Dorsett, Nelson represented the "urban Jeffersonians," who wanted to bring the ethics of the old agricultural republic to a new industrial society.

Industrial development penetrated every corner of Missouri. Louis Houck, a lawyer and an entrepreneur, moved heaven and earth to build railroad lines connecting the wetlands of the Bootheel to Cape Girardeau and the wider world. Sawmills whirred at every depot, as lumber companies harvested the hardwood and cypress trees of the southeastern lowlands. By 1905, the Little River Drainage District had begun digging a massive system of ditches to carry water out of the swamps and funnel it into the Mississippi River.

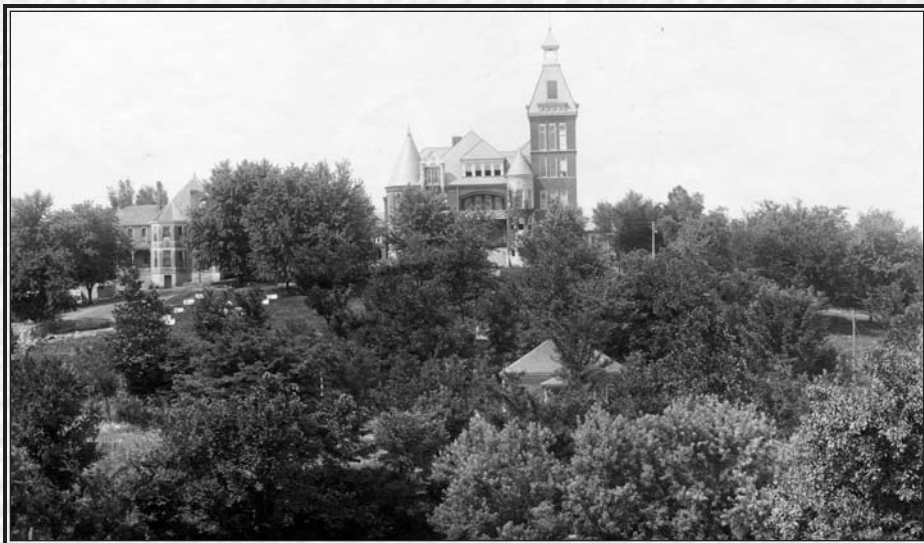
With the ground shifting under their feet, people looked for ways to control the world around them. Temperance advocates found sympathetic audiences in Missouri. Rural areas offered the strongest support for a ban on liquor, but some urban middle class progressives viewed it as a way to clean up corruption, elevate the lower classes, and strengthen democracy. The flamboyant reformer, Carry Nation, famous for her hatchet-wielding attacks on bars, made dramatic appearances in the state. Less theatrically, but perhaps more effectively, other women handed out pamphlets and taught Sunday school lessons about the evils of strong drink. Many Protestant clergymen supported the cause. In 1887, the state legislature had passed a local liquor option law, allowing counties to decide whether or not to issue liquor licenses. By 1917, 96 of Missouri's 114 counties had gone dry.

The temperance crusade underscored divisions in Missouri society. Rural counties voted for prohibition, while urban areas opposed it. Some cities, such as Joplin, remained "wet" holdouts in dry counties. St. Louis depended heavily on the brewing industry and so had much to lose. Kansas City, which had a powerful temperance movement, remained sharply divided on the issue. Baptists, Methodists, and evangelical Protestants generally supported temperance. Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews tended to be against it. The counties with large German-American populations along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers remained staunchly "wet" in a state that was going dry.



Cleared timber, Little River Drainage District, Southeast Missouri, 1919.

(Missouri State Archives)



Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., c1900.

(Missouri State Archives)

In a more positive effort to cope with a changing world, Missourians improved their system of elementary, secondary, and higher education. St. Louis school superintendent William Torrey Harris promoted the public schools as allies of industrial progress. Throughout the state, citizens built colleges and universities to train young people for careers and professions. The University of Missouri extended its offerings to include law and medicine at Columbia and engineering at Rolla. To provide the public schools with teachers, the state created normal schools at Kirksville, Warrensburg, Cape Girardeau, Springfield, and Maryville. Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City trained African-Americans to teach in the black schools. All of Missouri's public schools were still segregated.

On the eve of the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Missouri was a state with persistent racial divisions, tension between urban and rural communities, corrupt municipal governments, but possessed of a strong desire to make a positive impression on the world. Steffens' revelations could not have come at a worse moment. In October 1902 and March 1903, *McClure's Magazine* published articles, written by Claude Wetmore and edited by Steffens, proclaiming that St. Louis had the second worst city government in the United States (after Philadelphia) at the same time it was inviting everyone to come there for the fair.

It was in this context that one man – one slightly built man with a firm chin and a soft voice – emerged as the hero of the day. His

name, Joseph W. Folk, suggested honesty and a connection to the common people. His enemies, and some of his friends, called him "Holy Joe." He had a solid middle class background, a record of prosecuting grafters as St. Louis circuit attorney, a healthy political ambition, and a program that he called "The Missouri Idea." Basically Folk wanted to bring the state back to "Jeffersonian orthodoxy," restoring honesty to government and moral rectitude to the people. Although he did not push for prohibition, he rigidly enforced the dram-shop (saloon-licensing) laws and dry Sundays, and closed the race-tracks. He also supported a wide range of reform that placed him at the center of Missouri's Progressive Movement.

The state's Democratic convention nominated him for governor by an overwhelming majority in 1904. His rise to fame had been rapid. He helped organize the Jefferson Club, an organization of young Democrats, who campaigned for Bryan as President in 1896. A great admirer of Bryan and an active member of the club, Folk headed the organization in 1898-1899. In 1900, he mediated a transit strike and won the support of organized labor. During that same year, he won election as St. Louis circuit attorney. The *McClure's* articles helped give him national recognition as a reformer. His platform rested on morality and honesty in public life, faith in the common people, and opposition to special privilege. In the 1904 election, he was the only Democrat to win a statewide executive office. Indeed, presidential candidate Theodore Roosevelt was the first

Republican to carry Missouri since Ulysses S. Grant in 1868. Progressivism, which crossed party lines, swept the state.

Folk's inaugural address in January 1905 sounded more like a sermon than a political speech, but his administration achieved important reforms. Anti-bribery legislation attempted to clean up state politics. A statewide primary law gave the people a greater role in choosing public officials. Folk proposed amending the state constitution to allow the initiative and referendum. Passed in 1908, the measure opened the doors for citizens to place issues on the ballot. (In 1910, 1916, and 1918, anti-liquor advocates placed prohibition referenda on the ballot. The large "no" vote in St. Louis clinched their defeat. But the temperance crusaders did not give up.)

Under Folk's leadership, Missouri adopted protective legislation for workers and children. An eight-hour law applied to workers in mines and smelters. New legislation limited railroad workers to no more than sixteen straight hours of work followed by at least eight hours of rest. The governor signed a law prohibiting children under the age of fourteen from working in factories. School attendance became compulsory for children between the ages of eight and fourteen, and the state established detention homes for delinquent and dependent children, who might otherwise end up in jails or poor houses.

The Folk administration strenuously enforced anti-trust laws, attempting to curb the power of big business. Herbert Hadley, the Republican Attorney General, initiated significant legal action against Standard Oil. By taking on this corporate giant, Hadley rose to national prominence. His investigation provided the basis for similar actions in other states and at the federal level. According to Missouri's constitution, Folk could not succeed himself as governor. Hadley, who headed the statewide Republican ticket in 1908, won a decisive victory and continued to push a progressive agenda.

Folk's political opponents however, succeeded in bringing an abrupt end to his career. In 1908, he ran for his party's nomination to the United States Senate, but he lost. Lined up against him were business interests and party regulars. His anti-vice campaign alienated some powerful men in urban centers like Kansas City, where Tom Pendergast was rising as a political boss. Hadley, a Kansas City man, continued to fight crime and corruption in his hometown, but eventually Pendergast and his cronies prevailed over the Republican Progressive's good intention as well. Folk, who still had a national reputation, made an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination to the Presidency in 1912. Woodrow Wilson, who was also a Progressive Democrat, won that election.



Joseph Folk
(Missouri State Archives)



Herbert Hadley
(Missouri State Archives)

Progressive enthusiasm waned quickly in the aftermath of World War I, just as earlier reform efforts had crumbled during the Civil War. The aging William Jennings Bryan opposed American involvement in the European conflict, insisting that the three great reform movements of his day were peace, prohibition, and women's suffrage. In 1917, on a nationwide speaking tour, he delivered an impassioned address to the Missouri legislature. The 49th General Assembly issued 7,500 printed copies of his oration, including 2,500 copies in German. After the war, Missouri ratified the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution, preparing the way for national prohibition. Women finally won their voting rights when the 19th Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1920. Peace remained an elusive ideal.

The legacy of Progressivism was mixed. On the plus side, women won their voting rights, and workers gained some protection from exploitation. The state embraced the idea that all children deserved an education. In the negative column, prohibition proved to be bad public policy. Corrupt political bosses continued to wield power in the cities. Big corporations found ways to evade government regulations. Economic inequality, urban-rural tension, and ethnic divisions triumphed over good will. Folk's administration gave citizens more control over the electoral process, but did not guarantee all people the full rights of citizenship. Progressive reforms did nothing to alleviate racial discrimination.

Still, with all its faults and complexities, the Progressive Movement had hit upon one essential truth. In order to create a better society, it was necessary to appeal to the conscience of the people. The civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s would test this idea and prove its power. Human beings are far from perfect, and therefore, political leaders are far from perfect. But democracy depends on a belief in the fundamental decency of humans, and an insistence that leaders must answer to the people.

A Bridge to the Future: The 1945 Constitution and the Modernization of Missouri

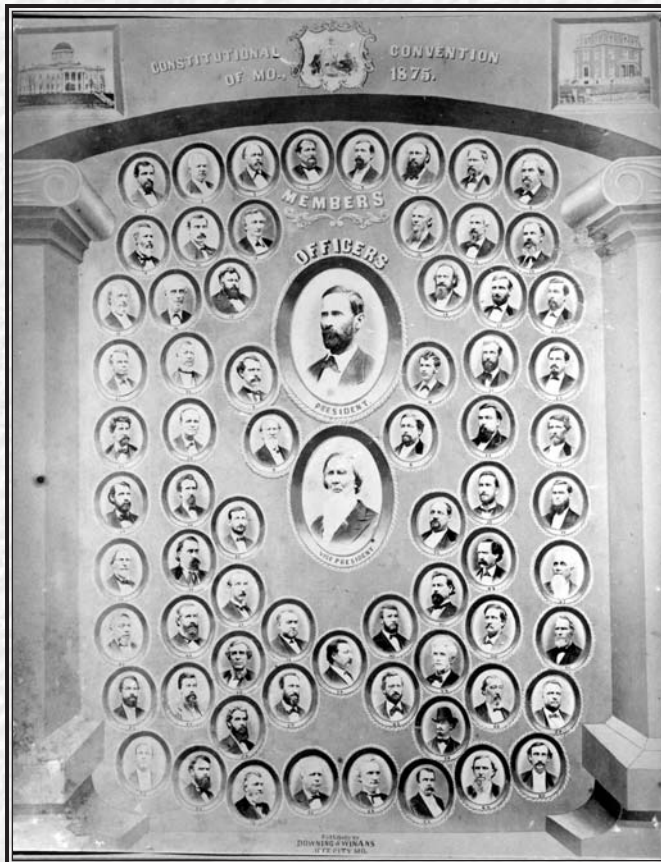
John Korasick

On February 27, 1945, Missourians voted to adopt a new constitution to better manage the problems presented by the modern world. The previous constitution, adopted in 1875, was primarily designed to place a severe limit on the power of state government. This led to the writing of a highly detailed document, but forced the regular adoption of amendments to keep it viable. Indeed, the people amended the constitution sixty times. The first attempt at a comprehensive revision of the 1875 constitution came through an initiative petition in 1920, resulting in a convention in 1922-1923, but produced little by way of reform. The convention, however, successfully proposed a referendum on the holding of a constitutional convention every twenty years. The first required vote came in 1942. With support from many organizations, most prominently the Statewide Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution and the Missouri League of Women Voters, the measure authorizing a convention passed. The ensuing assembly, held in 1943-1944, produced a new constitution, which won voter approval in 1945.

If the 1945 constitution was meant to modernize and reform Missouri government, its 1875 predecessor was intended to right the wrongs wrought by the 1865 constitution. Adopted by the Radical Republicans at the end of the Civil War, the infamous “Drake Constitution,” so-named for the convention’s dominant spirit, Charles Drake, contained provisions meant to permanently disfranchise Southern sympathizers and keep the Radicals in power. Historians estimate that the constitution disfranchised as many as one-third of all adult males through its infamous “Ironclad Oath,” which required a potential voter to avow that he had never fought for, aided, or sympathized with the Confederacy. It also barred Southern sympathizers from working as attorneys,

teachers, clergymen, or serving on corporation boards. To ensure the judiciary’s sympathy for Radical measures, the convention adopted an “Ousting Ordinance,” turning out of office all incumbent judges, county clerks, circuit attorneys, sheriffs, and recorders, and filling their places by gubernatorial appointment.

From the beginning many Missourians, including many Unionists, opposed the draconian elements within the new constitution. By 1870, a coalition of Liberal Republicans and Democrats successfully captured the governor’s office and the General Assembly, and adopted a constitutional amendment abolishing the hated test oath. In the 1874 election, the Democrats gained decisive control of state government, as well as all thirteen Congressional seats. With former confederates fully enfranchised, the pressure for change lessened. There, nevertheless, remained a desire for a permanent bulwark against the “tyranny” endured under the



1875 Constitutional Convention of Missouri Composite.
(Missouri State Archives)

Radicals. That year, the General Assembly passed an act authorizing the people to vote for a constitutional convention. Reflecting the easing of tension, the widely ignored proposition narrowly passed by fewer than three hundred votes.

What the conventioners drew up was a masterpiece of nineteenth century localism. While it reflected the Democrats' general anti-government resentment born of their experience under the Drake Constitution, it even more specifically aimed at curbing the power of the General Assembly. Before the Civil War, the legislature had issued bonds to fund private railroad construction. By 1860, nearly twenty-five million dollars in bonds had been issued. By the war's end, many of these railroads went bankrupt, and the legislature foreclosed on the loans. But the practices of the commissioners charged with recouping the thirty-one million dollars of debt led to charges of corruption. The St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, for example, was sold for \$550,000 when it was really worth nearly \$3 million. The legislature's role in these outrages convinced many Missourians that it could not be trusted.

Thus, the framers of the 1875 constitution displayed a hostility to government, based on the perceived abuse of both political power and the power of the purse. They equated cheap and limited government with good government. An article from the January 1876 edition of *The American Law Review* marveled that Missouri's *elected* representatives should be so severely restricted in their power. Surely "these changes in the Constitution of Missouri," the article declared, "are a departure from the theory of our form of government."

While harsh legislative limitations were popular and workable in a rural society, as time progressed, Missouri, like the rest of the country, became increasingly urban and economically complex. The need for governmental, particularly legislative, flexibility became apparent to many observers. In 1900, nearly sixty-four percent of Missourians lived in rural areas. By 1920, the percentage of rural Missourians had fallen to fifty-three, and was rapidly declining.

It was in this context that in 1920 a group of private citizens called the New Constitution Association successfully circulated a petition calling for a constitutional convention. In the end, the subsequent 1922 convention failed to significantly change the 1875 constitution because it could not muster the support of rural voters. While urban voters generally backed the amendments, rural voters overwhelmingly turned against them. Even though the Great Depression remained some years off, the Missouri farm economy had already plunged

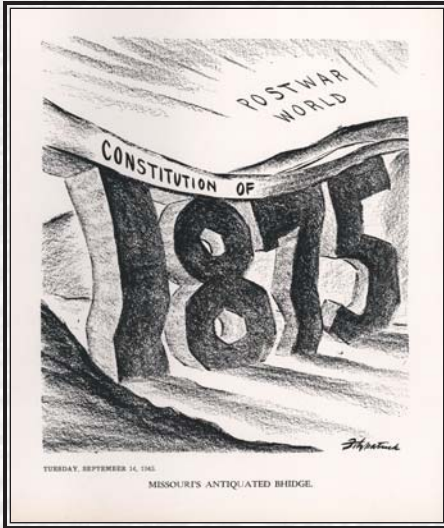
into depression. The rural way of life faced an uncertain future. In this context, the expense incurred in the long convention incited anger. To make matters worse, rural cultural values seemed under siege. Urban social change associated with the "loose living" of the "roaring twenties" was anathema to many rural citizens. Mired in economic hardship and surrounded by social transformation conservative rural Missourians voted for the status quo.

When Missourians were legally obliged to consider calling a new constitutional convention twenty years later, the population shifts, evident since the beginning of the twentieth century, had made urban voters a majority. This time support for a new constitution was much stronger. Organizations like the Statewide Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution, the Missouri League of Women Voters, and the Missouri State Teacher's Association waged an educational campaign in support of a constitutional convention on radio, billboards, and newspapers.

Opponents to a constitutional convention offered essentially three arguments—two related to America's participation in the World War. First, the constitution should not be revised during a time of war when many Missourians were overseas. Everyone should have a voice. Second, even the Missourians at home were really too preoccupied with the war to give the issue due consideration. The final objection focused on the high cost of a convention.

Proponents responded to these charges by arguing that reorganizing state government would actually help the war effort by making government more efficient. They also asserted that the 1875 constitution was so outdated it would be wholly inadequate for dealing with post-war issues. The final argument in favor of calling a convention in 1942 was that it was likely going to be the last opportunity to do so for twenty years. Demands on state government had changed. Proponents stressed that the 1875 constitution had been written before telephones, electric lights, cars, airplanes, and concrete highways. Missouri had industrialized, and was now the home of sophisticated business enterprises with greater governmental needs. The Great Depression had, moreover, produced a new "welfare state." Demands for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and direct relief—things never dreamed of in late nineteenth century Missouri—were now commonplace.

On election day, voter turnout was very low. The "hottest" issue on the ballot was the race for State Superintendent of Schools, then an elected post. The number of votes cast for the Superintendent was 924,683, only about half of



Constitution cartoon, 1943.

(The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia)

the turnout for the 1940 election, and two-thirds of the turnout for the 1938 election. Just two-thirds of those voting for the Superintendent bothered to vote on the convention question, which passed 366,018 to 265,294. Almost one-third of the “yes” votes were cast in St. Louis. It was, in fact, the urban vote that carried the question.

Eighty-three delegates were selected for the convention. Following the rules established for the 1922–1923 convention, voters chose two delegates from each of the thirty-four Senate districts—one Democrat and one Republican. The remaining fifteen delegates were, in theory, non-partisan, placed on the ballot by petition. Civic groups, in particular the League of Women Voters, had organized the petition process, though in reality, each party approved seven “non-partisan” candidates, and agreed that a fifteenth, Robert E. Blake, an anti-New Deal Democrat would serve as president of the convention.

Of the eighty-three delegates, forty-one were lawyers. Farm interests were represented by seven representatives, including R.W. Brown, President of the Missouri Farm Bureau. There were six newspaper editors, four college professors, and two labor representatives, including Reuben T. Wood, President of the Missouri Federation of Labor. There were also two women delegates, down from four in 1922–1923. Sixty-nine delegates were native Missourians, and two were foreign born. Twenty-six were from St. Louis or Kansas City, and twenty-eight came from towns of less than five thousand inhabitants.

The delegates possessed a wealth of political experience. Among their numbers were a former governor, two former Congressmen, a St. Louis mayor, twenty-four state legislators, five circuit judges, three probate judges, a justice of the peace, and eleven prosecutors. The average delegate’s age was fifty-five. Nearly two-thirds of the convention members had attended college.

The convention met for two hundred fifteen days between September 21, 1943, and September 28, 1944. Using the 1875 constitution as their starting place, delegates deleted many sections, rewrote others, and adopted many new ones. The resulting document was eleven thousand words shorter than the 1875 constitution. The convention considered three hundred seventy-seven proposals. In months of public hearings, organizations and individual Missourians offered testimony as to how the new constitution should be shaped. Ultimately the convention decided to submit the document to the electorate as an undividable whole. That is, voters would not be allowed to rummage through the document and pick among its various parts. The authors of the proposed constitution had conceived it as a single piece, and in their view, the rejection of any part of it would render the whole unsatisfactory.

The proposed bill of rights included many modern social reforms: the right of women to serve on juries, the expansion of freedom of speech to include media broadcasts, and the right of workers to bargain collectively. The major change in the legislative section involved



Missouri State Government employee, c1950.

(Missouri State Archives)

the reapportionment of senatorial districts every ten years. Regarding the executive branch, there had been a strong push to eliminate most statewide offices in favor of a cabinet system, though, in the end, all offices were retained, except for the State Superintendent of Schools. The conventioners, nevertheless, attempted to eliminate the problem of the “six little governors” by carefully defining each office’s duties. New departments also came into being. All tax collecting was routed to the new Department of Revenue. The constitution also established the Departments of Agriculture and Public Health and Welfare. The constitution, furthermore, signaled the growing interest in depoliticizing some parts of government. Heretofore, partisans had run all divisions of government, no matter how specialized. Now, for the first time, a “merit system” was proposed for the hiring of staff for the state prisons, and eleemosynary institutions, such as Missouri’s mental health hospitals, its Blind Commission, and the state’s veterans homes. In the judicial section, the nonpartisan court plan originally approved by the voters in 1940 was retained despite a spirited attempt to destroy it. The justice of the peace system, dating from statehood, was fully replaced by magistrate courts. Other provisions adopted included: state aid to libraries, forestry, state parks, historical sites, and home rule for cities and counties. One of the most controversial provisions authorized the legislature to make exceptions to mandatory school segregation.

Missouri politicians, by and large, did not support the document; it upset too much of their world. Its promotion also had to compete with war news. But many Missourians found the arguments on behalf of a new constitution compelling. Despite the obstacles placed in its path, the new constitution won overwhelming approval, garnering sixty-three percent of the vote, albeit in a light electoral turnout. Once again, the urban vote carried the measure, winning by four to one in Jackson County and three to one in St. Louis City and County. Despite some innovative measures, most people still regarded the 1945 constitution as a conservative document, sharply limiting the power of state government. Nevertheless, because citizens from outside the formal political structure thought the time for change had come, Missouri received a new, more modern constitution, which remains the state’s basic law today.

Since its adoption sixty years ago the Missouri Constitution has weathered many crises. Like its predecessor, it, too, has been amended many times. Some amendments have been quite mundane, others controversial. Despite frequently voiced unhappiness with its restrictive nature, three opportunities to call a convention have come and gone. Given the reluctance to call a convention through the legislature or initiative petition, it seems likely that the 1945 constitution will become the longest-lived constitution in Missouri history.

About the Authors

William E. Foley is Professor Emeritus of History at Central Missouri State University. He is the author of many books and articles, including *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark and The Genesis of Missouri*.

Christopher Phillips is Associate Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati. Among his books are: *Missouri’s Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* and *The Union on Trial: The Political Journals of Judge William Barclay Napton, 1829-1883*.

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FOUNDATIONS OF MISSOURI: EXPRESSIONS OF ARCHITECTURE AND THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF MISSOURI

Dear Fellow Missourians:

For many of us, the physical foundations of our state pass by unnoticed. But those frequently underappreciated “brick and mortar” buildings are important parts of our everyday lives. The architecture and structures that surround us help define our lifestyles, affect our families and reveal the history of our communities.

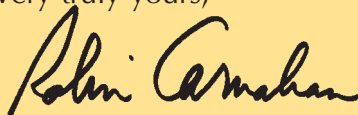
When we take a moment to examine some of these structures, we often discover something meaningful or unique. Photographers from across the state have taken the opportunity to express their individual perspectives by composing the images included in this section.

I am especially pleased to present to you this special section of the 2005-2006 edition of the *Official Manual*. Our theme for this year’s Blue Book photo contest, “*Foundations of Missouri: Expressions of Architecture and the Building Blocks of Missouri*,” is a tribute to those Missouri buildings and structures that play a role in our daily lives.

We received a large number of photographs from Missourians throughout the state. The photographs show the diverse elements of contemporary and historic architecture in Missouri. Choosing the winners among all of the outstanding entries was extremely difficult. I am grateful to everyone who submitted photos and to the staff members who assisted with the selection process.

I hope this collection of photographs will serve as a reminder of the unique beauty and character of the foundations of our state — the state of Missouri.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Robin Carnahan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Secretary's Choice



Yang Shen — Jefferson City

Spire atop the Missouri State Capitol.

LIVING ROOM CEILING

To be covered with
U-S-G WEATHERWOOD
100 DENSITY INSULATING TILE
BRUSHED SURFACE GLUED ON
WITH U-S-G STRUCTURAL STICKUM
Put on by EXPERTS

SEE DETAIL SHEET #7

NOTE

Get Contractors To lay out
CALL LINES FOR SUB CONTRACTORS

NOTE

Linda
Paul &
Barrett

RESIDENCE Mr & Mrs R.C. WATSON

Henry Lee TERRY

People and Architecture

First Place



Joel West Ray — Cape Girardeau

Reflections of workers and their work at the Bill Emerson Memorial Bridge.



John Langholz — St. Louis
Missouri Botanical Garden.

Second Place



Third Place

Carrie Pierce— Cabool
"Sole Provider" sculpture at Missouri Botanical Garden. Presented as a gift to the People of the United States, by the People of Zimbabwe and the Chapungu Sculpture Garden, in memory of 9/11/01.

Buildings of Industry & Commerce

First Place



Martin Spilker—Columbia

Amish farmers, near Clark, gathering wheat shocks, threshing and storing grain in a barn.



Joel West Ray — Cape Girardeau

Construction workers leave the deck of the Bill Emerson Memorial Bridge at the end of a hard day.

Second Place



Third Place

**Kyle Whiteside —
Koshkonong**

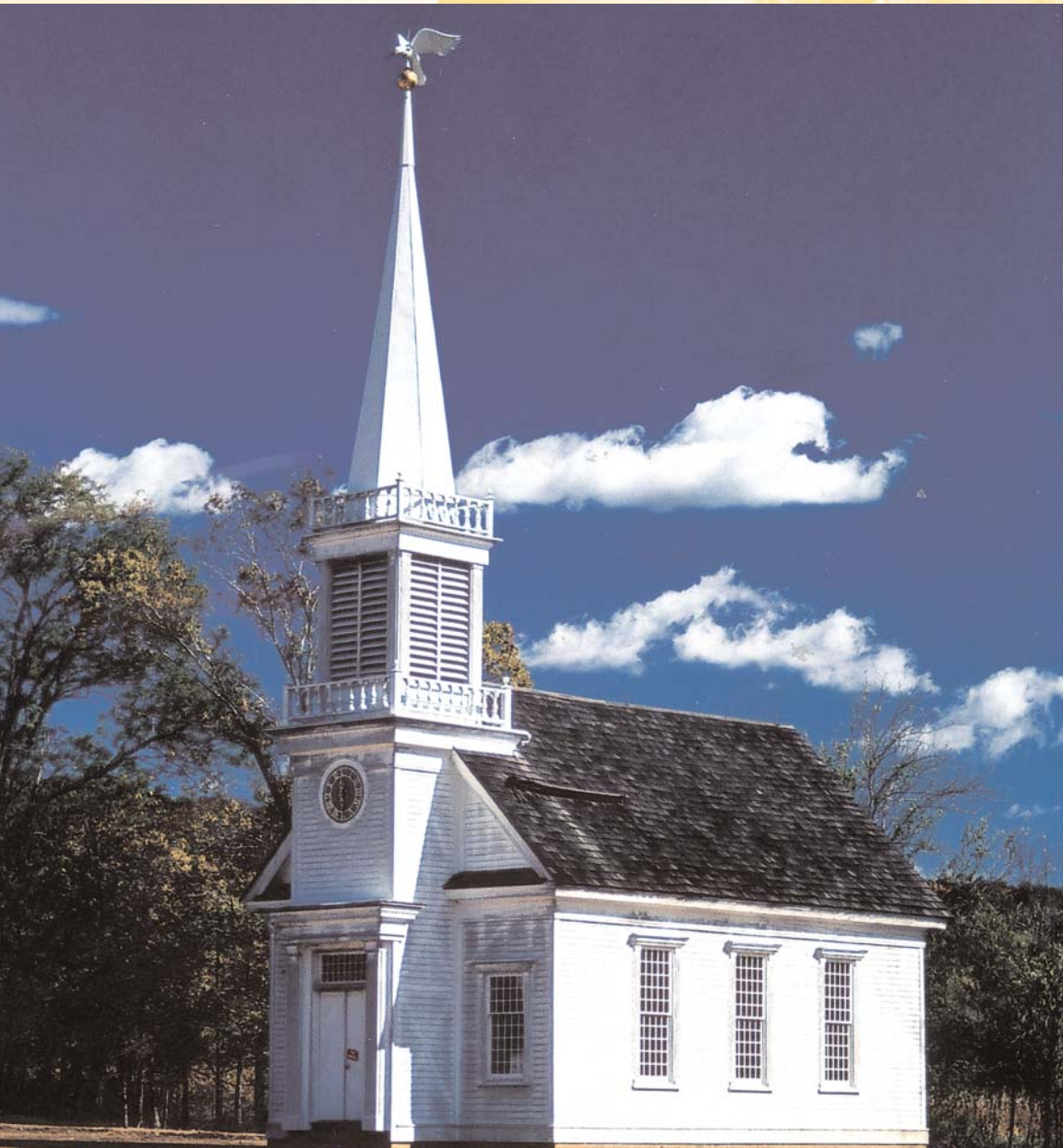
Winfield's Restaurant
sign in Eminence.

Places of Worship

First Place

Michelle Ochonicky—Eureka

Old Peace Chapel, at the Daniel Boone Home & Boonesfield Village in
Defiance.





Second Place

John Langholz — St. Louis

All Saints Chapel, designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany, at the Cathedral Basilica of St. Louis.

Third Place

Erin Cutraro — St. Louis

Sculpture depicting the Ten Commandments in Hebrew at Shaare Zedek Synagogue in St. Louis.



Architectural Elements & Embellishments

First Place

John Langholz — St. Louis

Detail of the Soldier's Memorial Military Museum in St. Louis.



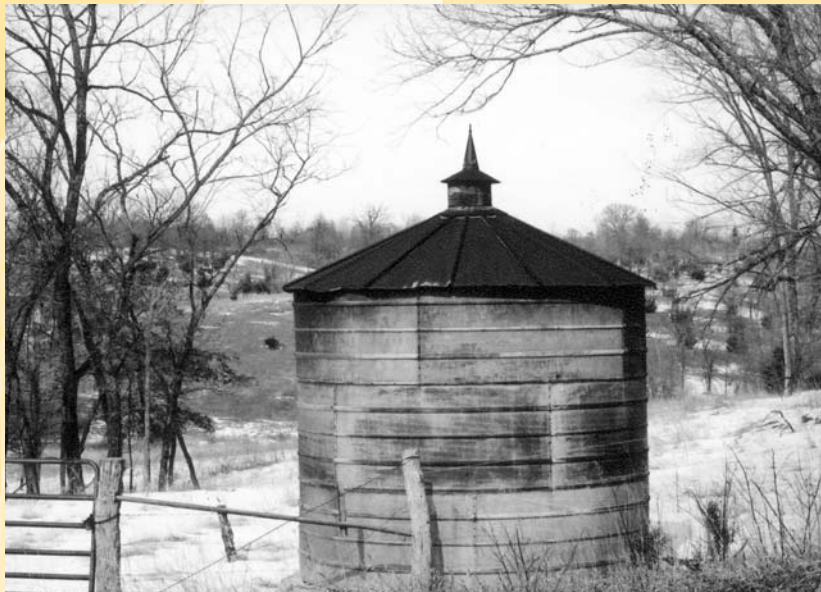
Second Place

Jane Linders — Maryland Heights
Posts and gates at Lafayette Park in St. Louis.



Third Place

Danelle Engel
— Worth
Ornamental finial on an old grain bin in Worth County.



Landmarks

First Place



Kelly Sanders Smith — Jefferson City

A portion of the Berlin Wall at the Winston Churchill Memorial in Fulton. The steeple of the 17th century church of St. Mary Aldermanbury rises in the background.

Second Place

**Erica C. Brandel —
Jefferson City**

Shuttlecocks, part of an installation in the sculpture garden of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City.



Third Place

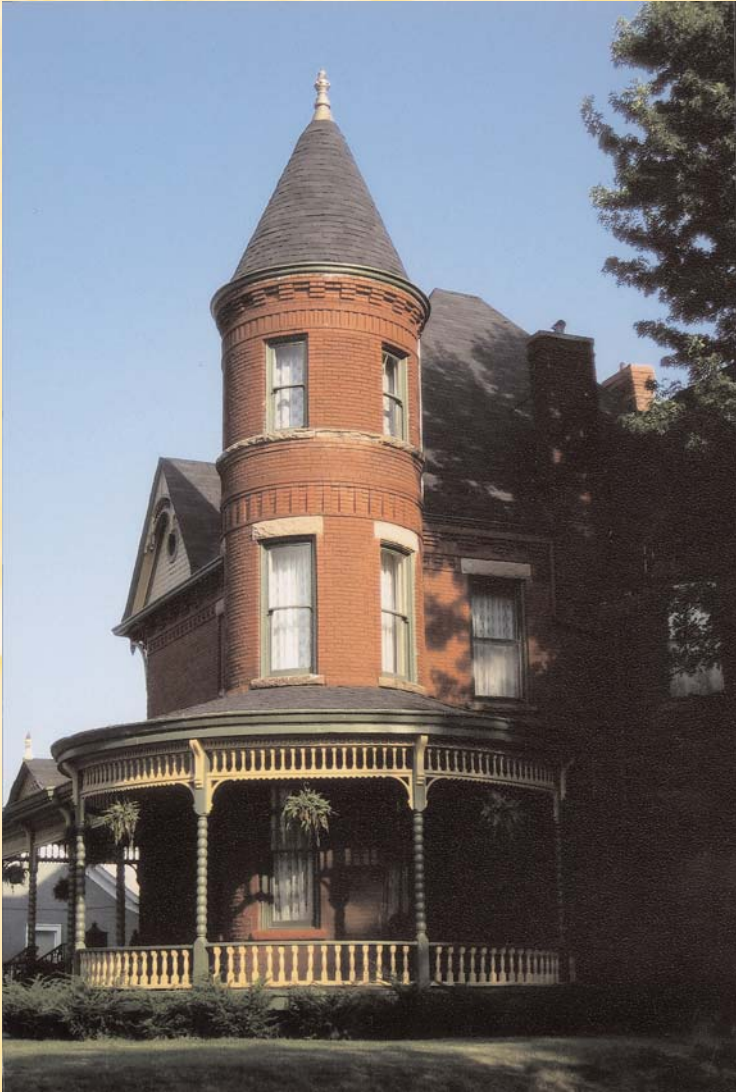
**Sheila Haid
Wilson —
Jefferson City**

Construction of the Gateway Arch at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, with "The Old Cathedral" framed by the construction.



Residential

First Place

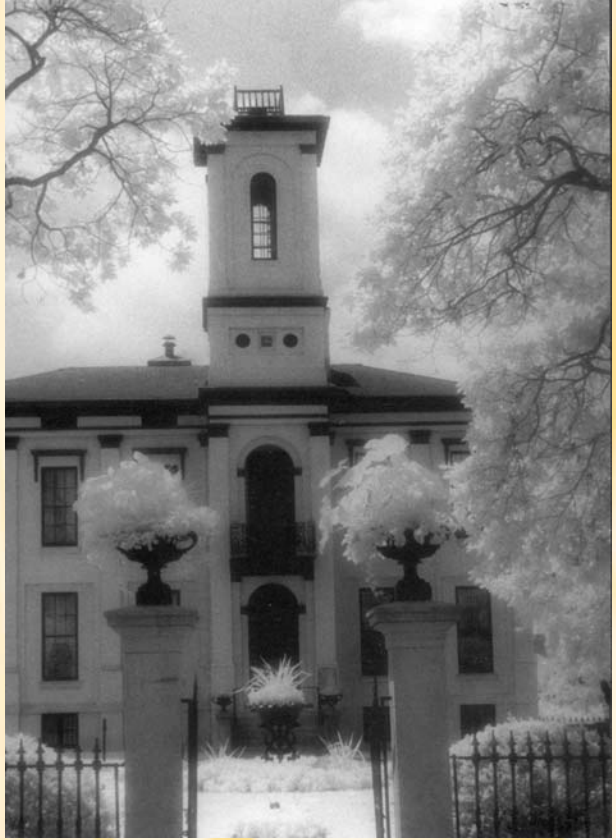


Rebecca Seitz — Lexington

Antebellum Queen Anne style Victorian home in Lexington.

Second Place

Jane Linders —
Maryland Heights
Infrared, black and
white photo of the
Henry Shaw Home at
the Missouri Botanical
Gardens in St. Louis.



Third Place

Matthew Staats —
Rogersville
Log home, Christian
County.



State Symbols of Missouri



THE GREAT SEAL OF MISSOURI

The Great Seal was designed by Judge Robert William Wells and adopted by the Missouri General Assembly on January 11, 1822. The center of the state seal is composed of two parts. On the right is the United States coat-of-arms containing the bald eagle. In its claws are arrows and olive branches, signifying that the power of war and peace lies with the U.S. federal government. On the left side of the shield, the state side, are a grizzly bear and a silver crescent moon. The crescent symbolizes Missouri at the time of the state seal's creation, a state of small population and wealth which would increase like the new or crescent moon; it also symbolizes the "second son," meaning Missouri was the second state formed out of the Louisiana Territory.

This shield is encircled by a belt inscribed with the motto, "United we stand, divided we fall," which indicates Missouri's advantage as a member of the United States. The two grizzlies on either side of the shield symbolize the state's strength and its citizens' bravery. The bears stand atop a scroll bearing the state motto, "Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto," which means, "The welfare of the people shall be the supreme law." Below this scroll are the Roman numerals for 1820, the year Missouri began its functions as a state.

The helmet above the shield represents state sovereignty, and the large star atop the helmet surrounded by 23 smaller stars signifies Missouri's status as the 24th state. The cloud around the large star indicates the problems Missouri had in becoming a state. The whole state seal is enclosed by a scroll bearing the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri." (RSMo 10.060)

THE STATE FLAG

Nearly 100 years after achieving statehood, Missouri adopted an official flag on March 22, 1913. The flag was designed by the late Mrs. Marie Elizabeth Watkins Oliver, wife of former State Senator R.B. Oliver. The flag consists of three horizontal stripes of red, white and blue. These represent valor, purity, vigilance and justice.

In the center white stripe is the Missouri coat-of-arms, circled by a blue band containing 24 stars, denoting that Missouri was the 24th state. (RSMo 10.020)



THE STATE FLORAL EMBLEM

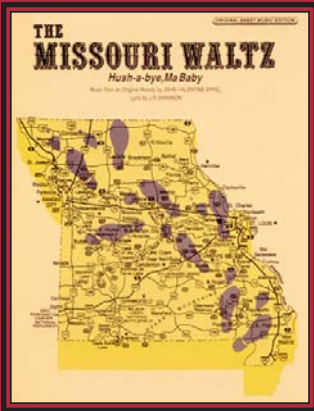
On March 16, 1923, a bill was signed naming the **white hawthorn blossom** the official state floral emblem of Missouri. Known as the "red haw" or "white haw," the hawthorn (*Crataegus*) is a member of the great rose family, which resembles the apple group. The hawthorn blossoms have greenish-yellow centers and form in white clusters.

More than 75 species of the hawthorn grow in Missouri, particularly in the Ozarks. (RSMo 10.030)

THE STATE BIRD

On March 30, 1927, the native **bluebird** (*Sialia Sialis*) became the official state bird of Missouri. The bluebird, considered a symbol of happiness, is usually 6½ to 7 inches long. While its upper parts are covered with light blue plumage, its breast is cinnamon red, turning rust-colored in the fall. The bluebird is common in Missouri from early spring until late November. (RSMo 10.010)





THE STATE SONG

The “**Missouri Waltz**” became the state song under an act adopted by the General Assembly on June 30, 1949. The song came from a melody by John V. Eppel and was arranged by Frederic Knight Logan, using lyrics written by J.R. Shannon. First published in 1914, the song did not sell well and was considered a failure. By 1939, the song had gained popularity and six million copies had been sold. Sales increased substantially after Missourian Harry S Truman became president. (RSMo 10.050)

THE STATE TREE

On June 20, 1955, the **flowering dogwood** (*Cornus Florida L.*) became Missouri’s official tree. The tree is small in size, rarely growing over 40 feet in height or 18 inches in diameter. The dogwood sprouts tiny greenish-yellow flowers in clusters, with each flower surrounded by four white petals. The paired, oval leaves are olive green above and covered with silvery hairs underneath. In the fall, the upper part of the leaves turn scarlet or orange and bright red fruits grow on the tree. (RSMo 10.040)



THE STATE MINERAL

On July 21, 1967, the mineral **galena** was adopted as the official mineral of Missouri. Galena is the major source of lead ore, and the recognition of this mineral by the state legislature was to emphasize Missouri’s status as the nation’s top producer of lead. Galena is dark gray in color and breaks into small cubes. Mining of galena has flourished in the Joplin-Granby area of southwest Missouri, and rich deposits have been located in such places as Crawford, Washington, Iron and Reynolds counties. (RSMo 10.047)

ished in the Joplin-Granby area of southwest Missouri, and rich deposits have been located in such places as Crawford, Washington, Iron and Reynolds counties. (RSMo 10.047)

THE STATE ROCK

Mozarkite was adopted as the official state rock on July 21, 1967, by the 74th General Assembly. An attractive rock, mozarkite appears in a variety of colors, most predominantly green, red or purple. The rock's beauty is enhanced by cutting and polishing into ornamental shapes for jewelry. Mozarkite is most commonly found in Benton County. (RSMo 10.045)



THE STATE INSECT

On July 3, 1985, the **honeybee** was designated as Missouri's state insect. The honeybee, (*Apis Mellifera*) yellow or orange and black in color, is a social insect which collects nectar and pollen from flower blossoms in order to produce honey. The honeybee is common to Missouri and is cultivated by beekeepers for honey production. (RSMo 10.070)

THE STATE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT

The **fiddle** became the state's official musical instrument on July 17, 1987. Brought to Missouri in the late 1700s by fur traders and settlers, the fiddle quickly became popular. The instrument was adaptable to many forms of music, could be played without extensive formal training and was light and easy to carry. For generations, the local fiddle player was the sole source of entertainment in many communities and held a position of great respect in the region. (RSMo 10.080)





THE STATE FOSSIL

The **crinoid** became the state's official fossil on June 16, 1989, after a group of Lee's Summit school students worked through the legislative process to promote it as a state symbol. The crinoid (*Delocrinus missouriensis*) is a mineralization of an animal which, because of its plant-like appearance, was called the "sea lily."

Related to the starfish, the crinoid which covered Missouri lived in the ocean more than 250 million years ago. (RSMo 10.090)

THE STATE TREE NUT

The nut produced by the black walnut tree (*Juglans Nigra*), known as the **eastern black walnut**, became the state tree nut on July 9, 1990. The nut has a variety of uses. The meat is used in ice cream, baked goods and candies. The shell provides the soft grit abrasive used in metal cleaning and polishing, and oil well drilling. It is also used in paint products and as a filler in dynamite.

(RSMo 10.100)



THE STATE ANIMAL

On May 31, 1995, the **Missouri mule** was designated as the official state animal. The mule is a hybrid, the offspring of a mare (female horse) and a jack (male donkey). After its introduction to the state in the 1820s, the mule quickly became popular with farmers and settlers because of its hardy nature. Missouri mules pulled pioneer wagons to the

Wild West during the 19th century and played a crucial role in moving troops and supplies in World Wars I and II. For decades, Missouri was the nation's premier mule producer. (RSMo 10.110)

THE STATE AMERICAN FOLK DANCE

The **square dance** was adopted as Missouri's official American folk dance on May 31, 1995. Square dances are derived from folk and courtship dances brought to the United States by European immigrants. Lively music and callers are hallmarks of square dancing. The caller directs the dancers by singing the names of figures and steps to be performed. (RSMo 10.120)



THE STATE AQUATIC ANIMAL

The **paddlefish** (*Polyodon Spathula*) became Missouri's official aquatic animal on May 23, 1997. Only three rivers in Missouri support substantial populations of the paddlefish: the Mississippi, Missouri and the Osage. They are also present in some of the state's larger lakes. The paddlefish is primitive, with a cartilage skeleton,

rather than bone. They commonly exceed five feet in length and weights of 60 pounds; 20-year olds are common, and some live 30 years or more. (RSMo 10.130)

THE STATE FISH

On May 23, 1997, the **channel catfish** became the official fish of Missouri. The channel catfish (*Ictalurus Punctatus*) is slender, with a deeply forked tail. Young have spots that disappear with age. The catfish does not rely on sight to find its food; instead, it uses cat-like whiskers to assist in the hunt. The channel cat is the most abundant large catfish in Missouri streams. Its diet includes animal and plant material. Adults are normally 12 to 32 inches long and weigh from a half-pound to 15 pounds. (RSMo 10.135)





THE STATE HORSE

On June 4, 2002, the **Missouri fox trotting horse** became Missouri's official state horse. Missouri fox trotters were developed in the rugged Ozark hills of Missouri during the early 19th century. Bloodlines can be traced from early settlers to Missouri from the neighboring states of Kentucky, Illinois, Tennessee and Arkansas. The distinguishing charac-

teristic of the fox trotter is its rhythmic gait, in which the horse walks with the front feet and trots with the hind feet. This gait gives the rider a smooth gentle ride. (RSMo 10.140)

THE STATE GRAPE

On July 11, 2003, the **Norton/Cynthiana grape** (*Vitis Aestivalis*) was adopted as the official state grape. This adaptable, self-pollinating variety has been cultivated since the 1830s and is likely North America's oldest grape variety still commercially grown. Norton/Cynthiana has long been prized by Missouri vintners for its hardy growth habit and intense flavor characteristics, which produce lush, dry premium red wines of world-class quality and distinction. (RSMo 10.160)



THE STATE DINOSAUR

Hypsibema missouriense is a type of dinosaur called a Hadrosaur or "duck billed" dinosaur. It was a herbivore with jaws that contained over 1,000 teeth. Hypsibema had evolved specialized teeth to handle the tough, fibrous vegetation of the time. Hypsibema lived in Missouri during the Late Cretaceous Period.

Hypsibema was first discovered in 1942 by Dan Stewart, near the town of Glen Allen, MO, and became the state's official dinosaur on July 9, 2004. (RSMo 10.095)

THE STATE AMPHIBIAN

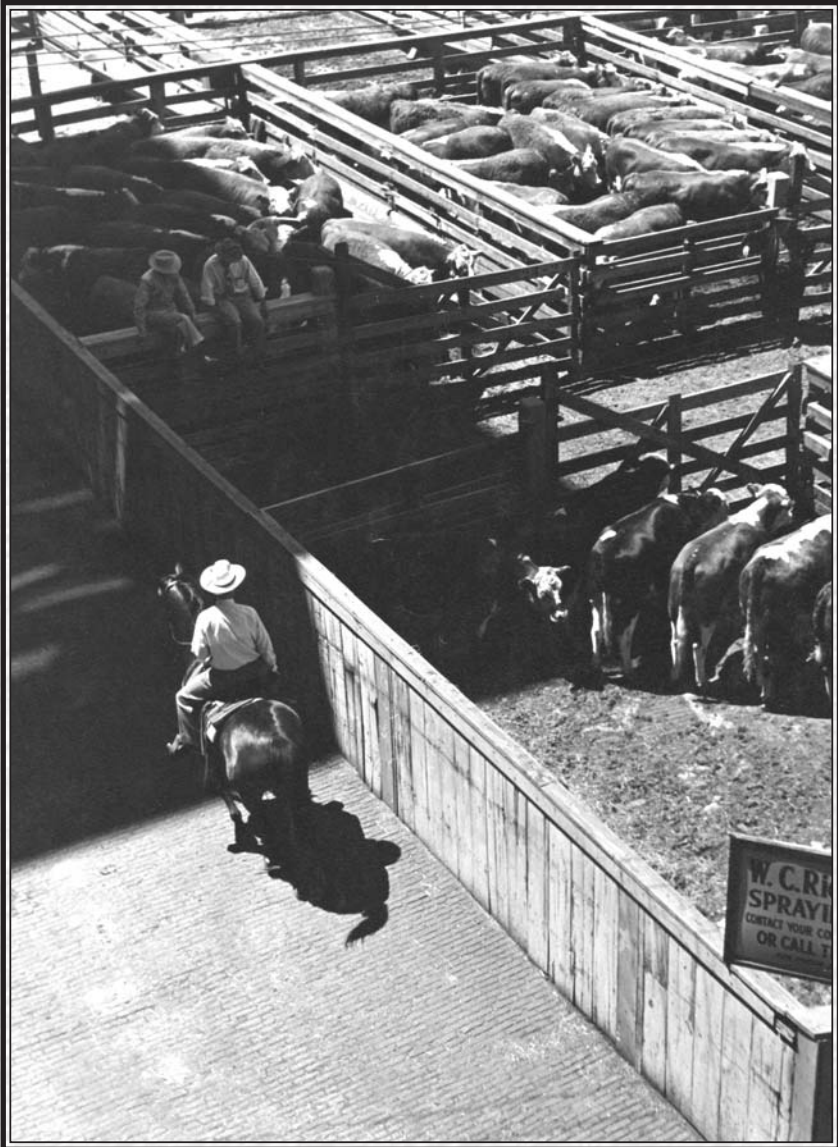
On June 5, 2005, the **American Bullfrog** (*Rana catesbeiana*) became the official state amphibian. The bullfrog is the largest frog native to Missouri and is found in every county. Most Missourians are familiar with the deep, resonant “jug-of-rum” call, which is typically heard on warm, rainy nights between mid-May and early July.

The idea for the bullfrog designation came from a fourth grade class at Chinn Elementary School in Kansas City. (RSMo 10.170)



MISSOURI DAY

On March 22, 1915, the 48th General Assembly set aside the first Monday in October each year as “Missouri Day,” due to the efforts of Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn, a native Missourian. In 1969, the 75th General Assembly changed the date to the third Wednesday in October. Missouri Day is a time for schools to honor the state and for the people of the state to celebrate the achievements of all Missourians. (RSMo 9.040)



“Cattle Buyer”
(Missouri State Archives, Putman Collection)