

**POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN THE KINGDOM OF CALLAWAY**

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**A Dissertation**  
**Presented to**  
**the Faculty of the Graduate School**  
**The University of Missouri**

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**In Partial Fulfillment**  
**of the Requirements for the Degree**  
**Doctor of Philosophy**

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**by**  
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, have  
examined a thesis entitled POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN THE KINGDOM  
OF CALLAWAY]

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and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.





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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This is a study of politics in the town of Fulton, the county of Callaway, in the state of Missouri. It is a study which, from one standpoint, is limited in its scope and focus. No attempt is made to describe and to delineate in great detail the formal structure of government and politics in the community. It is not concerned with the efficiency and effectiveness of government. It offers no judgments as to the strengths and weaknesses, faults and virtues of governmental institutions, structures and processes. Rather, the author has sought to analyze relevant sociological, psychological, and anthropological data from the standpoint of the political scientist. The broad purpose is to describe and to understand significant aspects of politics, with particular attention being centered on political perspectives and values as they are expressed in the community of Fulton and the county of Callaway.

In large part, this is the study of a myth. The myth itself was based on an event which occurred during the war between the states, a rather insignificant event, which did not affect the course of the war, and did not have an important, immediate effect on the county of Callaway. It is the study of a kingdom, but a kingdom which never existed

politically or physically. There was no king, no castle, no government separate from the United States. And yet, even today, the Kingdom of Callaway has its own flag, its own song, a Kingdom Supper. During a period of two days, in 1961, the Kingdom had two temporary kings and, for a few months, had its own ambassador to the United States. As it relates to the myth, this study is not concerned so much with historical origins as it is with the reality and effect of the myth, with the conceptions of the myth, its significance and meaning.

The myth of the Kingdom of Callaway is, however, only a part of the study. The study is also concerned with the political affiliation of the community and the county. It considers the style and spirit of politics. Selected public issues are examined. Moral values, necessarily related to political values, are described. Power, as it is perceived by the residents of the community, receives analysis. Considerable attention is focussed on the institutions located in Fulton and role played in the community by the personnel who staff the institutions.

In conducting this study, the author makes no pretense at having sought or having attained a high level of methodological sophistication. There are limits beyond which a single individual may not go in the study of community politics. In the interests of precision of analysis an

individual may sacrifice breadth or scope, or he may choose the opposite course. It is to be hoped that any sacrifice made in precision of analysis in this study is more than compensated by the attention which is directed toward a broad configuration of socio-political factors.

Insofar as methodology is concerned, the present study is indebted to the methodological investigation utilized by James West in examining Plainville, U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> The present author has lived in Fulton, Missouri, for a three-year period. During this time he was more or less immersed in community affairs. A considerable amount of thought, observation and speculation was directed toward the political configuration of the community before the formal investigation began. Extensive use was made of newspaper files, with emphasis being placed on the period between 1940 and 1962. At the conclusion of this phase of the study, brief conversations were held with a number of people to assist in determining who in the community might have valuable or interesting insights relative to the political environment. Formal interviews were arranged with seventy residents of Fulton and Callaway County. These interviews were relatively unstructured, and varied in duration from one to five hours.

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<sup>1</sup>James West, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

With several individuals in this group, discussions were conducted for a second or third time. Brief interviews occurred with approximately thirty other residents. A questionnaire was then circulated among more than one hundred residents until one hundred usable questionnaires were obtained.<sup>2</sup> In the process of distribution, additional conversations were conducted. Six students at Westminster College contributed to this study by conducting some preliminary research in specific areas of concern during the spring of 1962. Their findings, in some cases, were suggestive and served to point the way for further inquiry. The names of individuals who participated in the interviews have been kept confidential. The names of individuals mentioned in the study, in some instances, have been disguised.

While there is some similarity between the methodology used by West and the methodology used by the present author, there is much difference between the studies in terms of purpose. James West examined another Missouri community from the standpoint of an anthropologist and was concerned with the whole community, with particular attention being centered on the relationship between the small, rural, community and larger, neighboring communities. The present study is more limited in its scope, although it utilizes

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<sup>2</sup>See Bibliography F, Other Sources, pp. 287-288.



similar types of data. It is concerned with social structure, religion, ruralism, and other factors as they are related to politics.

Other sociological and anthropological examinations of communities have been of much value, and the reader who is familiar with this literature may detect similarities between them and the study of Fulton and Callaway County. The dominance of one political party is a characteristic which is shared by several of the communities which have been studied. There are attitudes and beliefs described in Middletown which one would encounter in Fulton.<sup>3</sup> One may notice a similarity between the focus of this study and observations made by the Lynds that it is important to consider the way in which a culture orients itself in regard to the concept of the future, as compared with the past and present. "In some cultures," the Lynds observe, "the past lies heavily upon the present as a golden age from which the society reluctantly receded, while in others the past is an imperfect thing to be forgotten."<sup>4</sup>

Since the pioneering studies of the Lynds, other

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<sup>3</sup>Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929).

<sup>4</sup>Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown In Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 468.

communities have been bisected, analyzed, and re-studied.<sup>5</sup>

W. Lloyd Warner's study of Jonesville posed a central question as to the effect of such factors as democracy, social class and social change in controlling and influencing individuals and group behavior.<sup>6</sup> More recently, class, power and religion of Springdale, New York, were examined and described.<sup>7</sup>

Generally speaking, these studies, and several like them, have been broad in scope. They have emphasized class structure and social behavior as they are influenced and conditioned through belief systems, cultural traits, institutions, groups. They have examined a broad spectrum of community life. Sub-cultures have been singled out in other studies. William Foote Whyte lived and associated with residents of a metropolitan slum, describing group leadership, values, habits, attitudes, status and power in a community within a larger community.<sup>8</sup> Of particular interest, in relation to the study of Fulton, is John Dollard's study of the Negro in a southern community, in view of Fulton's

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<sup>5</sup>Art Gallaher, Jr., Plainville Fifteen Years Later (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

<sup>6</sup>W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy In Jonesville (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).

<sup>7</sup>Arther J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town In Mass Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958).

<sup>8</sup>William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

association historically with the South.<sup>9</sup> Of more value, for this study, however, is W. J. Cash's provocative examination of the southern mind.<sup>10</sup>

In the last decade, much attention has been given to the analysis and location of community power. Probably the best known study of this type is Floyd Hunter's study of decision makers in Atlanta, Georgia, in which the conclusion is reached that forty individuals, on the basis of reputation for influence, possessed more power than the rest of the population and comprised the power structure of the community.<sup>11</sup> In considering the exercise of power, Hunter emphasized participation in the achievement of community projects. Persons engaged in business activities dominated the power structure, and their decisions were reached through informal relationships and discussions rather than through institutionalized relationships. Very often, decisions were made public through subordinate, figure-head leaders, usually after the controversial aspects of an issue had been settled. Once

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<sup>9</sup>John Dollard, Caste and Class In a Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

<sup>10</sup>W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1961).

<sup>11</sup>Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

decisions were reached, pressure was brought to bear to insure unanimity. Issues which could not be settled, or which were likely to result in open controversy, were avoided, particularly when the issue involved racial relations and an alteration in the power relationships between the Negro community and the larger community. The professional group, Hunter found, complained of the concentration of power in the hands of the business leaders and sympathized with the masses of the citizenry, but they were not actively concerned, were generally out of touch with the masses, and were not strong enough to be taken seriously by the policy-makers. The professional groups were most inclined to complain of the power structure, but the least inclined to participate in organizing activities which would give them a voice in community affairs, a trait which resulted from their individualism and their opinion that it was unprofessional to participate in activities which resembled those of union organizations.

The findings and the methodology of Hunter have been both praised and criticized. A more elaborate technique was used in the study of New Haven, Connecticut, and no evidence was found to support the findings of Hunter that an economic and social elite determined community policies.<sup>12</sup> Others

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<sup>12</sup>Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems In The Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 6, December 1959, pp. 796-803.

have criticized what they consider to be Hunter's assumption, that the reputation for influence is an index to the distribution of influence, and that power is equally distributed for all issues. The identification of leaders, it is pointed out, is not an adequate description of the political system; power is relative among leaders and is difficult to assess on a comparative basis; a static distribution is assumed by the reputation method.<sup>13</sup> Robert Dahl agrees that some individuals have more influence than others in every organization, but insists that the absence of political equality does not prove the existence of a ruling elite. Furthermore, it does not follow that the influentials will have a consistently high degree of influence in every instance.<sup>14</sup>

This study, being an examination of politics in a community, is necessarily related to the question of power. It is not essentially or primarily a study of the power structure. Rather, it is more concerned with other factors, circumstances and conditions which affect the existence and use of power as it exists politically and the way in which

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<sup>13</sup>Raymond Wolfinger, "Reputation And Reality In The Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, No. 5, October, 1960, pp. 636-644.

<sup>14</sup>Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, Vol. 52, No. 2, June, 1958, pp. 463-469.

power is perceived and affected by various groups in the community.

It is the assumption of the author that each community is, to some extent, unique in its politics. Fulton may share its trait of one-party dominance with Jonesville, Plainville, or Middletown. It may, like Atlanta, have a small group of influential and powerful men. As in Plainville, and in other rural communities, religion may receive some emphasis. Each community is also affected by economic structure, by historical events, and by the image which the residents have of the community. All of these factors exist in association with each other. The political life of the community is affected by their interaction. This interaction, however, does not take place identically. It is the hope of the author that this study will contribute to an understanding of this interplay and interaction and will contribute to an understanding of the effect which a myth has had on the politics of a community.

## CHAPTER II

### CAPITAL OF A KINGDOM

Fulton, Missouri, has many visitors during the course of a year. Many of them, during the warm months, are tourists and vacationers who merely drive through the community on their way to the Lake of the Ozarks or other vacation retreats.

It is improbable that Fulton's appearance to such transients is different from hundreds of other towns. Driving west from St. Louis, as many do, one turns left at Kingdom City. It is seven miles to Fulton at that point. On either side of the highway are rolling fields and wooded hills of Callaway County.

As one approaches the city limits of Fulton, one may notice road signs advertising community services and businesses. The proverbial city limits sign announces that the water system is approved and gives notice that the town of Fulton has a population of 11,131, 1960 census. The highway follows a relatively straight path past "Kleewood," a "restricted" sub-division on the left, William Woods' lake on the right. There is a four-way stop at Tenth Street. One may turn to the left at this point and visit the Fulton Country Club or city park, or turn right and see William Woods College. The highway continues past old houses and shaded

lawns, bends westward at "The Little Store," and two blocks farther enters the business district, or what some people call "down-town Fulton". Used-car lots, supermarkets, church-spires and service stations may be seen by the driver before he is again compelled to stop at a traffic signal at the Courthouse square. Down a hill, across a creek, up a hill, through residential areas, the highway continues. Then, wooded hills and farmlands of the open country are seen again, as one travels on to Jefferson City and points south.

This is all that many people see of Fulton, Missouri, and it is not enough to distinguish it from hundreds of towns of similar size. This is the view of the traveler driving from north to south, through the community.

### I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

There are other views and other things to be seen. On the steps of the red-brick, depression-built courthouse, on its lawn, or the concrete curbing which surrounds the building, old men often sit. Some of them make a daily visit to the square; others are only occasional visitors. Here, they talk of the weather, of politics, fishing, women, farming. A few more may sit on the steps of the old Jameson Building across the street from the courthouse. It is an old building, three stories tall, an old landmark painted red, occupied during the years by men of prominence and influence.



Most of the buildings on Fulton's business streets are old. On Court, Nichols, Fifth, Fourth, and Bluff Streets, new exteriors have been added to the lower floors, but if one examines the second or third floor exteriors, the age of the buildings is apparent, discolored bricks in need of tuck-pointing, paint chipped and worn by rain, sun, and snow. Some of the upper floors are occupied by businessmen, lawyers, and doctors. Others have been converted into apartments where people, many of them retired, some of them feeble or ill, reside. There are, of course, new buildings, an attractive "dry-goods" store, a modernistic bank building, a few others. Fulton is an old town. It has, like other old towns, made use of its old buildings.

The main business street of Fulton is the southern section of Court Street, a broad, parking-metered, one-way street with traffic moving south. Many people say it is the most beautiful street in town. From its beginning, at Tenth Street, south to Seventh, huge maple, elm and oak trees line the street and stretch their branches toward each other. Large, stately, impressive homes stand on broad, deep, green lawns. Many of these homes were constructed before the Civil War and have been restored or carefully kept in good repair, sometimes by the children or grandchildren of the men who had them built. To some, Court Street is the street of the elite, of the old families, a reminder of an age and a way of life

which has been slowly fading. There is a Southern air to Court Street. One might notice a colored cleaning woman busy with her work at one of these houses, with its white columns and wide porch, and remember a town in Mississippi, Virginia, or Tennessee.

Fulton has other streets where the affluent and influential live, Vine Street, Ivy Lane, and others. Hipped roofs and picture windows, car ports and patios, split-levels, tri-levels, and ranch-type houses are the fashion. There are streets in the process of change, Seventh Street with old houses being restored, Jefferson Street with old family residences changing into apartment houses and multiple family dwellings.

There are slum areas, patches of pathetic people huddled on narrow streets in narrow houses, separated in their narrow lives from the bright, the new, the dignity, and the comfort they see around them. There is Short Street, in "Hopkinsville", a block removed from the college fraternity houses where sports cars line four blocks of Westminster Avenue. Some of the people on Short Street are squatters. They have built their one and two-room homes with scraps of wood, metal, and cardboard. Piles of junk may be seen littering the bare, black ground around their shacks. Sadly, one may observe potted flowers, carefully nourished, blooming amidst dirt, pain, ignorance, and degradation. "Poor white

trash," some men call these people, the unfortunates and the "unworthy" of Fulton.

There is a "colored section" in Fulton, referred to by many as "the West." North of Hopkinsville and Short Street, but joined by Westminster Avenue, it is not fair to describe it as a slum area. There are houses which are small and over-crowded, in need of repair, some of them rented from white people in Fulton, but others are well-kept, clean, with aluminum or asbestos siding covering old wood. Many Negroes own their own homes and care for them with pride and passion. Farther north, past their swimming pool and park area, new, ranch-type homes are for sale in Crestwood, the distant cousin of Kleewood, in the sense that it is new, modern, and picture-windowish, and it is restricted in a different sense by custom, if not by abstract.

Like many towns, Fulton was not planned. It grew. Only in recent years have relatively effective zoning laws been passed and enforced. As a result, there are few neighborhoods which are unmixed. A new, modernistic home may have nearby a cheap, poorly constructed, unattractive home, a beauty parlor, or some other commercial enterprise.

Fulton considers itself a religious town and has churches to prove it. The largest churches are located on Court Street, near the business district. On Sunday mornings it is possible to see 1,800 or more town and county

people attending church in a three block area. The Baptist Church is the largest religious group, with a church on Court Street and one in the south part of town. The Christian Church is the second largest, followed by the Methodists and Presbyterians. Other denominations include the Roman Catholic, United Church of Christ, Church of God, Church of God Holiness, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Christian Science. There are separate churches for Negroes: Christian, Methodist, and Baptist.

Fulton has its civic, fraternal, and patriotic organizations, including the Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions, a chapter of the D.A.R., and the Federated Women's Club, A.A.U.W., Freemasons, Oddfellows, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and agricultural organizations such as the Callaway County Livestock Feeders Association. Each has its place in the community social and status system; each has its group of activists.

There is a country club and, as residents are apt to say, a country club group. Years ago, only the wealthy and influential families belonged and the country club membership was more or less equated with the community leadership. Today, some people point out factually and others complain, the Club's membership is a cross-section of the community's social and economic groups, from the lower middle class to the upper class. The clubhouse, located on the crest of a

hill, in the center of the golf course, is one of Fulton's oldest buildings, a white-brick building with a long, wide porch, dating back to the early decades of the nineteenth century.

## II. INSTITUTIONS

Fulton is an institutional community. At the eastern terminus of Fifth Street, sprawling like a separate community in itself, is State Hospital Number One, the oldest state mental hospital west of the Mississippi, founded in 1847, and known originally as the State Lunatic Asylum.

There was a time when Fultonians did not discuss the hospital in polite conversation. It was there, at the end of Fifth Street, and one could see the patients playing, strolling, sitting on the grounds, or could see its many lights burning at night. Economically, Fulton was fortunate in having the hospital, but it was not a subject for conversation. Attitudes have changed. Treatment has changed. The hospital has grown. There was a time when patients were chained to the walls of the buildings, or in the tunnels below the buildings, hidden, removed, and forgotten by society. Today, among the 2,300 patients at the hospital, including the state's criminally insane, there are old men and women who have spent most of their lives in the rather

dreary brick buildings, having been admitted to the hospital as children. There are children and teenagers who have never experienced happy family relationships. There are convicted murderers, rapists, sexual deviants, old women who sit rocking hour after hour with fixed smiles and glassy eyes, old men who, with the joy of children ride forward and backward in the playground swings, or earn tobacco money by selling worms to local fishermen.

In the last decade, the state hospital has become increasingly professionalized. The hospital has long been the largest employer in Fulton, but more and more highly trained specialists, physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers have moved into the community in recent years, obviously contributing to the community income. Over one thousand people work at Hospital Number One, more than ten per cent of the community's population, with a payroll of well over \$2,000,000 per year.

Adjacent to the hospital is the Missouri School for the Deaf, established in 1851 and, like State Hospital Number One, the first institution of its kind established west of the Mississippi. It, too, has experienced a transformation in recent years, old buildings being razed and replaced with new, fireproof structures. A staff of approximately 140 specialized employees is engaged in the difficult but rewarding task of training approximately 250 deaf children for self-sustaining, productive lives.

At the opposite end of Fifth Street, approximately one mile from "Eastminster," as State Hospital Number One is sometimes called, one of Fulton's two colleges is located. Westminster College, affiliated with the Presbyterian Church, has the distinction of being the only Protestant, liberal arts college for men west of the Mississippi. Founded as Fulton College in 1851, it was chartered as Westminster in 1853, sharing its date of establishment with the Missouri School for the Deaf. Westminster is often described as a "quality" institution. Its entrance requirements are high, compared with many colleges of its type in the area. Well over half of its faculty hold the earned doctorate. There is a faculty-student ratio of one to thirteen, and a close, personal relationship between faculty and students is emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

Six blocks northeast of Westminster College is William Woods, a college for women, affiliated with the Christian Church. Originally founded in northwestern Missouri, it relocated in Fulton in 1890 and was originally known as the Orphan School of the Christian Church. An accredited junior college since 1919, a four-year program was instituted in 1962, in cooperation with Westminster.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Westminster College Catalog (Fulton: Westminster College, 1962-1963), pp. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup>William Woods College Catalog (Fulton: William Woods College, 1959-61), pp. 15-16.

Fulton has had other institutions in the past. Its first institution of higher learning was the Fulton Female Seminary, operating between 1850 and 1928. Floral Hill College opened in 1858 and went out of existence during the Civil War. Synodical College, successor of Fulton Female College, was located in Fulton by the Synod of the Missouri Southern Presbyterian Church in 1871.<sup>3</sup>

### III. ECONOMY AND POPULATION

The four institutions located in Fulton are obviously important from an economic and social standpoint. Collectively, the four institutions employ over 1,300 people and have a combined payroll of over \$4,000,000 per year.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to estimate how much additional money is circulated in Fulton by college students, as well as relatives and friends who visit institutional personnel. Students at both colleges are members of the middle and upper economic groups. What they contribute to the community each year is substantial.

The four institutions also create a false impression if one is to use statistics compiled by the Bureau of the

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<sup>3</sup>Ovid Bell, Short History of Callaway County (Fulton: Ovid Bell Press, 1961), pp. 1-27.

<sup>4</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, January 26, 1961.



Census. The population of Fulton, for example, is not actually 11,131, as the 1960 census states, if one is concerned with permanent residents who live and work in the community during the entire year. The actual population, excluding patients and students, is approximately 8,000.

This situation also makes it difficult to compare Fulton with other communities of similar size in terms of social, economic, and educational characteristics. Persons who think of Fulton as a community of 11,000, accepting the census figures, are likely to have false expectations as to the quality of services and community facilities. Police protection, for example, is complicated by having approximately one thousand college students on the streets nine months of the year. There are occasional "panty raids," student demonstrations, along with more dignified college functions. Mental patients, some of them criminally insane, occasionally escape from the state hospital. The inflated population affects merchants and businessmen, public school education, housing, tax assessment, legal classifications. More will be said about such complications later, but it is necessary at this time to point out the misleading character of available statistics and some of the obvious implications of having four relatively large institutions in a rather small community.

While the institutions are important in shaping

Fulton's economic and social character, employing more people and providing a major segment of the community's income, Fulton is buttressed by diversification.

Harbison-Walker Refractories Company of Pittsburgh operates a \$6,000,000 plant in Fulton, employing 250 men, and taking advantage of high grade fire clay deposits in the area. The Danuser Machine Company, a locally owned, fifty year-old concern, produces specialized and light industrial equipment for tractor companies and independent distributors. Another locally owned enterprise is the Ovid Bell Press, Incorporated, a modern plant specializing in the printing of magazines and books. The Missouri Hybrid Corn Company, the first commercial producer of hybrid seed corn in Missouri, has been located in Fulton for thirty years. A relatively new industry, the Central Electric Company, manufactures heavy electrical switches and power station equipment. The Maintenance and Engineering Service, a custom machine shop, provides mechanical and fabrication services for industrial customers in central Missouri.<sup>5</sup> The newest industry is a shoe factory, operated by the Samuels Shoe Company, which has been located in Fulton for over one year, replacing International Shoe, which had operated in

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<sup>5</sup>Fulton Chamber of Commerce, "Fulton Invites You" (Fulton: Ovid Bell Press, n.d.), p. 11.

Fulton since 1933 and terminated operations in the last of its two plants in 1960.

In addition to its industrial activity and the income from the institutions, Fulton's economy is greatly strengthened by agricultural and mineral production. Mineral production alone approximates \$2,000,000 each year in Callaway County. The county ranks third in the state in the production of fire clay, fourth in the production of bituminous coal, and attempts continue to find use for cannel coal deposits. Limestone and dolomite, sand and chert gravel, and limited deposits of sandstone and iron ore may also be found in the county.

Agriculturally, Callaway County is an area of diversified farming and livestock feeding. Until transportation was revolutionized by the automobile and improved roads, the county and Fulton were recognized as mule-trading and feeding centers. One still hears comments about Monday stock sales behind the courthouse, a political and social, as well as an economic function.

In land area, Callaway County is the fourth largest county in the state of Missouri, with 835 square miles.<sup>6</sup> In

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<sup>6</sup>Warren E. Hearnes, Secretary of State, Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1961-1962 (Jefferson City, Missouri: Van Hoffman Press, Inc., 1962), p. 1475.

a sense, it is a cross section of the state in topography, ranging from flat and very productive prairies, to gently rolling land, to creek bottom and glacial terrace bottomlands, to rough and rocky hills.

A variety of crops is raised, corn, wheat, soybeans, alfalfa, with crop yields on the prairie land above the state averages. The prairie is the main feeding area for beef and dairy cattle and hogs. On the rolling hills, grass and small grains are raised. Cow and calf herds, feeder-grazer programs, and sheep production constitute the livestock activity. The bottomlands along the creeks and the Missouri River, at the southern edge of the county, are comparable in crop yield and livestock to the prairie land in the north.

As in most areas of the country, there has been a steady decline in the rural population. In Callaway, this has been true since 1880. In that year, Callaway County had a population of 25,670. Fulton was a community of 2,409. The county reached its low point in 1930, when the population dropped to 19,923.<sup>7</sup> In 1960, the county population stood at 23,858, 23,739 of the people native born, 733 of foreign or

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<sup>7</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, May 17, 1950.

mixed parentage, 119 foreign born, 2,024 listed as non-whites.<sup>8</sup>

The departure from the farm, and the consolidation of small farms, has been noticeable in Callaway County. Between 1953 and 1959 alone, Callaway lost over 100 farm units.<sup>9</sup> One does not have to drive far into the county to see abandoned farm homes, an observation which campaign orators in Democratic Callaway used in the 1960 presidential campaign. A large number of small farm owners do not depend on agriculture as a profession. A number of them work in Fulton, particularly at the state hospital; others, particularly in the southern part of the county, hold state jobs in Jefferson City.

Fulton is the county seat of Callaway County, and is the natural service center for most of the county residents. It is the largest town in the county, the second largest being Auxvasse, with a population of 534. The county offices, the colleges, attorneys, physicians, the county hospital, and shopping facilities of Callaway are concentrated in Fulton.

With more efficient automobiles and improved highways,

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<sup>8</sup>Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 82, Social Characteristics of the Population, for Counties, 1960, p. 27-262.

<sup>9</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, April 22, 1960.

however, merchants and professional people find competition much greater than in the past. One can easily drive from Fulton to Columbia, Jefferson City, or Mexico, Missouri, in thirty minutes, or to downtown St. Louis in two hours. For people in the rural areas of the county the time required to visit one or another of these towns is less. Efforts are made to encourage Callawegians to shop in Callaway, but the temptation to take advantage of services in other communities is great, because of better selection and sometimes lower costs.

Fulton is not an extremely wealthy community, but it is not poor. In 1959, there were 2,027 families in Fulton, with a median income of \$4,990. One hundred and seventeen families had incomes of less than \$1,000. At the other extreme, there were forty families with incomes of \$25,000 or more. This figure, by itself, has little meaning. If it is compared with statistics for other Missouri communities, it has some significance in pointing out the relative size of the upper economic group. While Fulton has forty families with this income, with a total of 2,027 families, Hannibal, Missouri, with 5,373 families, has thirty-two in this bracket. Mexico, a neighbor to the north, with 3,435 families, has thirty-nine in the upper group; Moberly, with 3,749 families, has sixteen, Bellefontaine Neighbors, in

St. Louis County, has twenty-four, with 3,793 families.<sup>10</sup>

In terms of individual income, 131 Fultonians earned \$10,000 or more in 1959; 136 men and 8 women earned between seven and nine thousand dollars. The median individual income for males, however, was \$2,143, for females, \$953, with a total of 3,427 males and 2,857 females employed.<sup>11</sup> The non-whites in Fulton, as might be expected, did not experience such affluence. The median, non-white, family income in 1959 was \$2,892, while the median individual income for non-whites was \$987 for males and \$564 for females.<sup>12</sup>

In 1960, 2,644 individuals between the ages of five and thirty-four were enrolled in schools, over 1,300 in both high schools and colleges. The median number of school years completed by males was 8.7, by females, 9.0. Four hundred sixty-six residents of Fulton had completed four years of college or more. Four hundred twenty women and one hundred seventy-eight men had completed from one to three years of college.<sup>13</sup> When

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<sup>10</sup>Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Table 76, p. 72-243.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Table 78, p. 27-248.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Table 73, p. 27-228.

allowance is made for the institutional population, and the fact that a number of attendants and service workers in the state hospital have had a limited education, it does not seem unreasonable to say that Fulton has a relatively well educated citizenry.

#### IV. CAPITAL OF A KINGDOM

Fulton, with some minor deviations, could be duplicated statistically and descriptively. There are other small communities with institutions, with an economy which is balanced by agriculture and industry. There are thousands of county seats. All communities have experienced the effects of modern transportation and communication in one way or another.

Fulton, like many towns, has a claim to individuality. The close neighbor to the north, Mexico, Missouri, likes to call itself the saddle-house center of the world. Hannibal, farther north, is the home of Mark Twain, and Hermann, to the southeast, each year celebrates its Maifest, and the town's old, German-inspired homes on the bluffs overlooking the Missouri River are opened to the public. Fulton is the capital of a kingdom, the Kingdom of Callaway. How this kingdom originated and has been perpetuated is discussed in the three following chapters.



## CHAPTER III

### THE LEGACY OF THE KINGDOM

The first settlement in Callaway County was Cote Sans Dessein, a fort and village established by French traders in 1808. The Missouri River has gradually removed the location of the site, although the hill on which part of the settlement was located may still be seen. When Missouri was in the process of achieving statehood, Cote Sans Dessein was selected as the state capital by commissioners appointed by the General Assembly. A dispute over title to the land led to the selection of Jefferson City, farther up the river.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year that Frenchmen settled near the Missouri River, in what is now Callaway County, Daniel Boone marked a trail through the area. In 1815 his son Colonel Nathan Boone, surveyed the Boone's Lick Trail from St. Charles to Old Franklin, began a survey of the county in the following year, and completed it in 1817. Today, historical markers indicate the route of the trail.

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<sup>1</sup>Ovid Bell, Short History of Callaway County, p. 2.

## I. PIONEER SETTLERS

The first American settlers came to Callaway from Virginia and Kentucky in 1815. County communities, areas, and streams still bear the names of some of these people, such as Ham's Prairie and Crow's Fork.

In the same year that the settlers began moving into Callaway, the event occurred which later gave the county its name. Captain James Callaway, grandson of Daniel Boone, who commanded a company of rangers in the War of 1812, and had fought Indians in more than one hundred engagements, was killed by Indians as he was swimming across the Loutre Creek near the eastern boundary of what is now Callaway County.<sup>2</sup> Captain Callaway, and the bodies of the three men who were killed with him, are buried not far from the creek, their graves being marked by the Fulton American Legion chapter.

In 1821 Callaway was organized into townships. The town of Elizabeth, no longer in existence, was the county seat until 1825 when political administration was transferred to Fulton, known as Volney until 1826. The original town of Fulton, or Volney, comprised fifty acres of land between what is now Sixth and First Streets, north and south, and Bluff (Highway 54) and Nichols, east and west.

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<sup>2</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, August 31, 1955.

The population of Callaway grew rapidly in the early years, as more and more settlers moved into the area from Virginia and Kentucky. In 1821, Callaway had a population of 1,797. By 1830, it had increased to 6,159, by 1840, 11,765.

In 1828, a brick courthouse was completed in Fulton, described as the largest and most impressive public building west of the Mississippi. When the building was razed, about a quarter of a century later, a local merchant purchased the building and used the bricks to erect a beautiful home at the head of Court Street, which stood until 1911, and was replaced by another brick home, owned today by the same family.

The period between 1830 and the Civil War was a period of growth and expansion. Early in this thirty-year period, Fulton had one branch bank, a brewery, four carriage and wagon shops, a clothing store, and other businesses. John Jameson opened a law office in 1826, followed by Albert Harrison in 1827. In 1839, The Banner of Liberty was established by Warren Woodson as the first newspaper. The Western Bank of Missouri was established in 1857.<sup>3</sup> Descendants of the original stockholders are among the influentials of Fulton today.

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<sup>3</sup>Ovid Bell, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

Until the Civil War, Callaway's political orientation was toward the Whig party.<sup>4</sup> Between 1835 and 1849 the county gave a heavy majority to local candidates for Congress who ran on the Democratic ticket.<sup>5</sup> Captain John Jameson ran as a Democrat and served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives between 1839 and 1849, following Albert Harrison in Congress.<sup>6</sup>

## II. THE CIVIL WAR

The early settlers of Callaway County, like the settlers of adjoining counties of Missouri now known as "Little Dixie," moved to Missouri from southern states and brought with them their slaves, their customs, loyalties, and attitudes. Some of them became wealthy, built big houses and drove fine carriages pulled by blooded horses. Colonel Jefferson Jones, for example, who was to figure prominently in Callaway's Civil War experience, moved to Missouri from Kentucky, constructed a twenty-room house on his large farm in the northeastern part of the county and

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup>Hugh P. Williamson, "The Biography of a Town" (unpublished manuscript, made available by the author in Fulton, Missouri, 1962), n.p.

<sup>6</sup>Bell, op. cit., p. 16.

was one of the larger slave owners in the area.<sup>7</sup>

Slavery, with all of the legendary comfort and gracious living which it brought to the white masters, created tensions and conflicts in Callaway, as in other counties and states. In 1855, for example, a nineteen year-old slave girl named Celia was executed for the murder of her master. Purchased in 1850, when she was fourteen, the girl was forced to have sexual relations with her owner, a prominent Callaway farmer. She became ill and pregnant. When her white master continued to force his attentions, she killed him and burned his body. Acts of cruelty and oppression against slaves followed. After a two-day trial, the girl was convicted of murder. Her execution was delayed until she gave birth to her master's child. In 1860, another Negro woman, accused of killing a second Negro, was hanged by a mob as she was being taken to Fulton by a deputy constable.<sup>8</sup>

In 1860, Callaway County had a population of 12,500 whites, 4,500 slaves, and thirty-one free Negroes. Only three counties in Missouri had more slaves than Callaway.

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<sup>7</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, January 17, 1959.

<sup>8</sup>Clyde Burch, "Callaway County History" (unpublished manuscript made available by the collector, in Fulton, Missouri, 1958), n.p.

Callaway County gave Abraham Lincoln fifteen votes in the presidential election that year. Not a single vote was cast for Lincoln in Fulton. Callaway did not vote for the southern rights candidate, John Breckenridge, however, as he received 472 votes, while John Bell received 1,306, and the votes for Stephen Douglas numbered 839.<sup>9</sup>

With Lincoln elected, however, there was unrest in Callaway. Throughout the winter and spring months mass meetings were held and pro-southern resolutions were adopted. When the war did begin, in the spring of 1861, Callaway's young men were quick to volunteer. It is estimated that between 800 and 1,100 men from Callaway County fought for the Confederacy, while approximately 350 were with Union armies. The first company of men to leave Fulton in defense of the southern cause was organized by Daniel M. McIntire, a senior at Westminster College, who was later to become Missouri's Attorney-General. Other groups loyal to the Confederacy were later formed, while Captains William Snell, Henry Thomas, and J. J. P. Johnson raised companies for the Union.<sup>10</sup>

The first act of violence to occur in Callaway County

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Bell, op. cit., p. 23.

during the war took place on July 17, 1861. Learning that a group of Federal troops were marching toward Fulton from Jefferson City, a force of several hundred men and boys was organized in Fulton to meet the enemy. Hiding in bushes and behind trees, on a farm two miles southeast of Fulton, the home guards waited for the Union troops to appear. When the Federals were within range of their assorted weapons, the Callawegians fired once and ran. The Federals fired once, and also ran. George Nichols, of Fulton, was killed by the single volley. One or more Federal soldiers also were killed.

A much more serious and sustained battle occurred in the following year, however. In July of 1862, Colonel Joseph C. Porter moved into Callaway, from Audrain County, with a force of 125 Confederate cavalrymen. After encamping on the Auxvasse Creek, approximately two miles northwest of what is now the village of McCredie, he was joined by reinforcements from Boone and Randolph Counties. After still more reinforcements arrived, the force of Confederates totaled approximately 260 men.

Receiving word of the mobilization in Callaway, Captain Odom Guitar, at the Federal Headquarters in Jefferson City, immediately marched north with a force of 135 infantrymen. Fifty additional troops were added to his group in Fulton. Still later, the Jefferson City group was joined by 500 more Federals and two pieces of artillery,

giving the Union forces a strength of 740 men.

While the Union forces were marching toward the reported Confederate encampment, Colonel Porter moved his force down the Auxvasse Creek below the village of Moore's Mill, no longer in existence.

Discovering that the Confederates had broken camp, Guitar followed Porter. At a point below what is now Calwood, a few miles northeast of Fulton, the Union forces were ambushed by the Confederates at approximately twelve noon, July 28.

The Federal troops were at first thrown back, but then turned their artillery pieces on the Confederates, who had attacked from behind the creek bank as the Federals marched down the road. Porter then ordered his men to charge. Surprising the Federals, the Confederates temporarily captured the artillery pieces, before being driven back. The battle continued until four o'clock in the afternoon. Exhausting his ammunition, Porter retreated. The Federals, exhausted from their long march and the heat of the battle, did not press the attack.

Reports vary as to the number of killed and wounded. Approximately one hundred men were probably killed outright, and several hundred others were wounded. A large number of the dead, Federals and Confederates alike, were buried in a common grave near the side of the road.



Colonel Porter, later killed in a battle in Wright County, Missouri, retreated to the north. Colonel Guitar continued to serve with the Federal troops, attaining the rank of general, and lived until 1909, practicing law in Columbia.<sup>11</sup>

### III. THE FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM

Shortly after the skirmish at Overton Run, Fulton was occupied temporarily by forces of the militia under the command of Colonel John McNeil, who had led the troops at Overton Run, and Lt. Col. Adam Hammer, who joined McNeil with a force from St. Louis. There was a brief reign of terror in Fulton, during the occupation period. The School for the Deaf was closed, as was the state mental hospital. Patients were sent home. Westminster College opened its classrooms in December, rather than in September.

In the middle of October, word was received that Callaway County was to be invaded again by militiamen from Pike County. On hearing this, Colonel Jefferson Franklin Jones, referred to earlier, sent riders through the towns and countryside, raising a force to resist the on-marching Union troops.

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<sup>11</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette., July 13, 1962.

On October 17, a group of several hundred old men and boys, with an assortment of weapons, assembled at Brown's Spring on the Auxvasse Creek, approximately three miles northwest of McCredie. A few of the men were from Boone and Audrain counties, but most of them were loyal sons of Callaway. Encamped, the men were organized into companies and drilled by officers who had experienced some military training. They then moved their campsite to a more strategic location, farther from the main-travelled, Fulton-Concord road. A few days later, they moved again to a point approximately three miles northeast of the village of Shamrock.<sup>12</sup>

The opposing Union force, which reportedly was moving toward Callaway, was composed of from 400 to 500 well-equipped and well-trained soldiers, a regiment organized in Pike County the previous year, and under the command of Colonel T. J. C. Fagg. The Callawegians, in comparison, were a motley lot, ill-equipped, untrained, many of them either too old or too young to offer effective resistance. Perhaps because of this, the Callawegians relied on their imagination. They constructed at least one wooden cannon, a log painted black, which they hoped would be mistaken for

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<sup>12</sup>Ovid Bell, The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway (Fulton: The Ovid Bell Press, Inc., 1952), pp. 6-7.

the real thing by the Union forces. Colonel Jefferson Jones then took a bold step, which was to have lasting significance in Callaway County.

Colonel Jones dispatched two of his officers to negotiate with the Federal troops. The officers first contacted Colonel Fagg, who detained them overnight at Wellesville, and then went on to deliver Jefferson Jones' note to the commanding general of all Union forces in northeastern Missouri, General John Brooks Henderson, who was soon to serve in the United States Senate from Missouri.

The note was, in a manner of speaking, a request for a treaty between Callaway County and the United States Army. It announced that the Callawegians would not tolerate an attempted invasion, or occupation by military forces of the United States, and that the force under Colonel Fagg would be met with resistance. Colonel Jones recognized, however, that it might be necessary for Union forces to march through Callaway, on occasion. Such necessary troop movements would be permitted, the note allowed, as long as the Union soldiers did not molest any of the citizens of Callaway, and as long as the Union paid full value for all they received while in the county. If the United States would agree to such an arrangement, Callaway would provide every guarantee under the Constitution of the United States, as it affected persons and property. Law would be kept and observed. Callaway

would keep faith with the United States. The force of Callawegians, now encamped, and armed with cannon, would be dispersed. Men would go to their homes and remain peaceful. If the Union did not agree, Colonel Jones warned, then the United States government would be met with force and resistance. In effect, it would mean war.

According to the legend, unsubstantiated, an agreement was made. Colonel Jones' emissaries returned with the good news that the Union forces would return to Pike County, from whence they came, and that, thereafter, Callaway would not be invaded by Union forces.

Thus, a treaty of peace had been made between a county of Missouri and forces of the United States government. Callaway was acting independently of the state, negotiating directly with the government of the United States. Colonel Jones, perhaps with some emotion, or even ceremony, dissolved his force. The old men and young boys returned to their homes to live in peace.

The Union forces were not as honorable. Just four days after the agreement was made, time to allow the Callaway army to disband, the Yankees from Pike County, along with a group from St. Charles, Missouri, marched into Fulton with a combined force of 1,200 men. Arriving on November 1, they camped in fields northeast of the state hospital. Callaway had been invaded and occupied.

A few weeks later, Jefferson Franklin Jones was arrested. A group of 100 Union soldiers, sent by General Henderson, went to his farm, looted his property, and deported him, along with his family. In the following year, Jones was tried by a military tribunal in Danville, and was acquitted of a charge that he had violated the agreement he had made with General Henderson. Nevertheless, he remained a prisoner in St. Charles, and much of his property was confiscated.

These were the dramatic events of the Civil War in Callaway, an individual county in the border state of Missouri, which experienced violence, warfare, crime, political instability, fear, bitterness, and hatred. There were other events and episodes, less well known, which collectively served to weld the people of Callaway together into a cohesive group. Arrests were made, from time to time, by Union soldiers. Homes were looted. Livestock was stolen. Demands were made on the people of Callaway by the occupying forces.

Between 1864 and 1872, Missouri was governed by the Radical Party. One third of Missouri's citizens were barred from the polls. Supreme Court members were forced from the bench. Puppet governments replaced local, legally, constituted governments. Lawyers, priests, ministers, and teachers, whose loyalty was questioned in one way or another,

were barred from their professions by an "Ironclad Oath." All slaves were made free, with no compensation for their owners.<sup>13</sup>

Callaway suffered more than many counties of Missouri. Because of the stubborn opposition it evidenced, as through its treaty with General Henderson, it was often cited as the hot-bed of southern loyalty. For two successive terms, Callaway was denied representation in the Missouri House of Representatives, and a state senator, who happened to be a Callawegian, was not seated.<sup>14</sup> The senatorial district, of which Callaway was a part, found it necessary to elect a replacement from a different county. In tabulating the vote for United States representatives, voters in Callaway were not counted, and the county was not represented at the constitutional convention of 1865.

There are two variations of the story as to how Callaway County became known as The Kingdom of Callaway. There are those who say that Colonel Jefferson Jones, himself, coined the name when he was successful in reaching

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<sup>13</sup>Walter H. Toberman, Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1959-1960 (Jefferson City: Von Hoffman Press, Inc., 1960), pp. 3-31.

<sup>14</sup>Ovid Bell, The Story of the Kingdom of Callaway, p. 26.

the agreement with General Henderson. Others contend that the appellation came later, when John Sampson, a state representative, stood in the Missouri General Assembly and announced that he was the chosen representative of The Kingdom of Callaway and a loyal son of the South, an act which led to his removal from the House.

Whatever the truth may be, The Kingdom of Callaway remained as a symbol, even as a myth. There was never a King in the Kingdom during this period of war and reconstruction. There was no independent government. The United States government did not abide by the agreement made by Jones and Henderson. Yet, even today, in the county of Callaway, the eyes of some men shine and become moist, at the mention of the Kingdom.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE KINGDOM

Even if there were some serious questions about the sovereignty of The Kingdom of Callaway, and even if the Yankees did move into Fulton, and Jefferson Jones was arrested, the people of Callaway remained proud. They called the bluff of the United States government, at least for four days. They organized their own army, even if it was not a very impressive force, and its only cannon was a painted log. They negotiated with the United States. Few counties, not even states, could claim that distinction.

The Springfield, Missouri, area had the battle of Wilson's Creek. At Palmyra, there was a genuine massacre of non-combatants committed by Colonel John McNeil, the same man who commanded the troops at Overton Run, and who retreated in the face of gunfire from the hands of Callawegians. Clay County had its Jesse and Frank James, following the Civil War. The Battle of Pilot Knob was fought in Iron County.

Callaway had a whole Kingdom! More than that, the Kingdom was formed by their own, county people, pioneers, or sons of pioneers, from Kentucky and Virginia. This was unique. There was something different about Callaway and its people. Other events took place, over the course of



years, which added status and individuality, but The Kingdom remained the most important and significant symbol of identity.

### I. JEFFERSON DAVIS VISITS FULTON

One such event was the visit by Jefferson Davis, the ex-president of the Confederacy. When it was learned that Jefferson Davis was traveling to Kansas City, the people of Callaway extended an invitation for him to visit Fulton and the county fair. President Davis accepted, traveled all the way from Memphis, and on September 11, 1875, spoke at the fairgrounds to a group of 10,000 people, certainly the largest crowd ever assembled at one time in The Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> At the fairgrounds, located at what is now Priest Field, the athletic field of Westminster College, Jefferson Davis stood in the shade of a huge elm tree and asked the people of The Kingdom to forget the animosities and the bitterness of the war. Strong men wept, it is said, and the women of Callaway desperately rushed forward to kiss or even touch the garments or body of the great man.

Jefferson Davis was lodged in the home of John Hockaday, the Attorney-General of Missouri at the time. The old house still stands on a hill overlooking the town.

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<sup>1</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, May 8, 1948.

One can see it at a distance from several points in the community. A prized-possession in Fulton has been the chair occupied by the President when he ate dinner in this house and talked with a number of Callawegians about the Confederacy and the war.

President Davis did not have to come to Fulton. He could have gone to any of the other towns or counties where good men had been true to the South. But he chose Fulton and The Kingdom of Callaway.

Men still talk about the Jefferson Davis speech. Some say that the event settled, for all reasonable people, an argument as to which town in Missouri could be considered the capital of the Little Dixie area.<sup>2</sup> Others whisper that on a September night one can still hear the rebel yell of 10,000 men and women, as they welcomed Jefferson Davis to The Kingdom.

## II. KINGS ROW

Many things happened in Fulton and Callaway between 1875 and 1940. For one, Fulton grew from a town of 1,600 to a community of over 8,000 people, including the transients at the institutions. The old courthouse was torn down, much to the disappointment of many, and a new building, which

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

did not look anything like a courthouse should, was erected, partly to provide work for Callawegians during the depression years. The Palace Hotel opened, way back in 1879.

W. Ed Jameson established his real estate agency in the Jameson Building at Fifth and Court. Callaway went through a period when it was one of the leading mule-trading centers in the state. And then the automobile terminated mule-trading as a prosperous enterprise. During the depression years, three of Fulton's four banks closed. Only the Callaway Bank remained. The men of Callaway fought in two other wars. A Fulton girl participated in the Olympic games.

An event which evoked much conversation, however, and one which is still discussed in Fulton, was the publication of a novel by Henry Bellaman, entitled Kings Row.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Bellaman is still a controversial figure in Fulton. It has become traditional that newcomers be told that Fulton was the locale for Kings Row, shortly after they move there. Worn copies of the novel may be borrowed, or paperbacks may be purchased, when they are available. When information about "the Bellaman book" is provided, the new resident may be further instructed that the novel is not a

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<sup>3</sup>Henry Bellaman, Kings Row (Garden City, New York: The Sun Dial Press, 1950).

subject for polite conversation. A typical comment is, "I don't mind talking about it, but a lot of people in town do mind." Who cares to discuss it, and who does not care to discuss it, is frequently a speculative problem.

Henry Bellaman was born in Fulton on April 28, 1882. He was an intelligent and sensitive boy, living in a Victorian age, in a town with a peculiar mixture of midwestern and southern traditions, where class divisions were rather rigid, firm, and obvious. Mr. and Mrs. George Bellaman, and two other children, lived in a large white house in the western section of Fulton, a few blocks west and north of Westminster College. One can still see the house, now moved from its original location, or one can see the little stone house where Henry's grandmother lived and raised garden vegetables to sell. In Kings Row, Henry's grandmother becomes a fine, wealthy lady, Marie Arnaut von Ein, the grandmother of Parris Mitchell, a woman who could speak French or German by preference, and a woman who did not fit into the usual categories of what the town considered foreign elements.<sup>4</sup>

In order to see the houses, one must drive past one of the new elementary schools, located on a wide, paved street, and continue north over a rough, single-laned,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

gravel road, which winds its way roughly through woodlands, and along the side of a rock-bedded creek, a sylvan setting described in the novel. One doubts, however, that the estate in the wooded area was ever quite the appealing country place depicted in Kings Row.

George Bellaman, Henry's father, was not an ordinary house painter. He was a craftsman, with German pride in his work. Not only did he perform his vocation with care and talent, he also loved music. After working long and hard hours, he would return to his house at night and play piano, a recreation which was to become a professional interest for Henry and his young sister.

Henry Bellaman lived in Fulton for eighteen years. He studied music under Mrs. Anna Heurmann Hamilton, a German born composer and pianist in Fulton. After graduating from the public schools, he attended Westminster, where he was impressed with the friendship of a language professor. In 1890, he left Fulton, received a degree at Denver University, and went on to study music in Paris. For the next ten years, he commuted between Europe and the United States; for seventeen years he taught music in South Carolina. His talent for music brought him fame and recognition: professor of music at Vassar, acting director of Juilliard Musical Foundation, dean of the Curtis Institute of Music. On two occasions, he was decorated by the French government.

Bellaman wrote other novels, before and after Kings Row, a number of them also based on happenings in Callaway County, but he is best known, in Fulton and elsewhere, for Kings Row, a best-seller, which was serialized in a number of newspapers, was used as the basis for a radio program, and was adapted for the screen in a movie starring Ronald Reagan, Robert Cummings, Ann Sheridan, and Charles Coburn.

The novel was not flattering to Fulton. It depicted the community as a conservative, staid, class-conscious, hypocritical town whose ugliness was in its mentality, rather than in its physical appearance. It exposed family scandals and sordid episodes in the life of the town, and created others. There was the prominent and respected physician, whose sadistic perversions led to the death or disfigurement of several citizens in the community. Another member of a prominent family scandalously lived with his Negro maid. The strange Dr. Alexander Tower murdered his wife, his daughter, and took his own life, before divulging the incestuous affair which had taken place inside his visitorless house. Homosexuality, brutality, embezzlement, corruption, vice, crime, sex, insanity, and feeble-mindedness were thrown in for good measure.

Kings Row was not just an accounting of events which had taken place in Fulton during the late nineteenth century. Some of the descriptive passages in the book were not

suitable for use by the local Chamber of Commerce:

Other towns had profited and grown. Kings Row had been drained of prosperity and, in a similar degree, of vitality. Colonel Skeffington had often remarked, and so had Thurston St. George, that there were "no chances" for a young man in Kings Row now. Now as Parris ran over the names of the promising younger people he realized that they had gone away. They had not found places for themselves in Kings Row. The town could lose more and more of its blood until it became as empty and dry as a locust shell. So many things, people--individuals and organizations--retain their form long after life itself has withdrawn.<sup>5</sup>

Social stratification was a major concern to Bellaman in the novel, perhaps, as some people say, because of the way he was treated when he lived in Fulton. Union Street, Federal, Walnut and Cedar, or, more accurately in Fulton, Court, Fifth, Nichols and Bluff, collectively constituted the best neighborhoods of Fulton.

These were social boundaries. Every step away from these clearly marked precincts took one a step downward in the well-defined and perfectly understood social order of Kings Row.

Wealth and occupation were the determining factors. Lawyers, doctors, bankers, landowners, and the more important merchants made up the first families. To be sure, even this restricted category was crossed by lines of religious denominations. The Presbyterian was the "high-toned" church. The Campbellite ranked second, though a good many newcomers had somehow been enrolled there. The Baptist and Methodist graded equally, but certainly much lower than the first two.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 445.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

The reception which Kings Row received in Fulton is not easily described. Some Fultonians were indignant, and remain so today. Some deeply resented the book's publication. "He did not have anything good to say about Fulton," one man pointed out. "I don't care if he wanted to tell some of the bad things about the town, but he could have said some good things, too, and he didn't." Others comment that many of the episodes in the book never occurred and that others were magnified. "He stretched a lot of things just to make the book more interesting."

On the other hand, a number of Fultonians were pleased that the book was published, and delighted in the anxiety and discomfort which some families allegedly experienced when the novel was mentioned. "Half the people in Fulton were angry because they saw themselves or their relatives in the book," a friend of the author said, "and the other half was angry because they could not find themselves or their relatives in the book."

Several explanations are given as to the motives of Bellaman. Some people say that he was simply interested in creating a best-seller, and that the best way to publish a popular novel was to fill a book with sex, scandal, and violence. Others opine that Bellaman was bitter, that he wrote the book because of the treatment he received as a boy, or because Fulton had never given him the recognition



which he felt was deserved.

Bellaman denied that the book was descriptive of Fulton specifically. He consistently argued that when he wrote the book he naturally thought of Fulton, since he lived there as a boy, but that the events and characters described were purely fictional. He further added that individuals in several towns, in other states, also claimed that Kings Row was written about them.

Fultonians were not convinced. A citizen of Fulton who reviewed the book for the local Lions Club, said that there was no doubt in his mind that Kings Row and Fulton were the same.<sup>7</sup> When the novel was serialized in the local paper, the editor stated:

Fultonians who have read Kings Row, which has now been filmed, are positive that it is based on the lives of inhabitants of Fulton and Callaway County about forty-five years ago. And while Bellaman, a former Fultonian, has denied this, there is no doubt in the minds of local residents, who knew the town in the 1890's, that the story concerns this city.

Those who have read the story have not only picked out such sites as Westminster College, the courthouse, west public school, state hospital, and others, but they have identified characters as former citizens.<sup>8</sup>

There is the feeling among some people in Fulton, as was mentioned earlier, that Kings Row is not a topic which

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<sup>7</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, January 22, 1941.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., February 19, 1942.

should be discussed. The opinion is frequently expressed that a number of local citizens become quite angry at the mention of the book, or feel some discomfort in talking about it. When this opinion is expressed, however, the person usually states that he does not mind talking about it, but others do. Sometimes names of those who care are given. However, the persons who are allegedly irritated, often make the identical statements, in reference to someone else.

Although there has been criticism of the book and of Bellaman, the author also has his supporters. "It seems to me," one county native said, "that Bellaman depicted Fulton rather accurately, not only as it was in 1890, but to some extent, as it is today." Another person, who was as well acquainted with the author as any Fulconian, expressed the opinion that Bellaman, whether justifiably or not, described Fulton as he believed it existed, a small town in the midwest, during a period of Victorian morality, not unlike many towns across the country.

Henry Bellaman died in 1945, at a time when he was writing a sequel to Kings Row. The book, Parris Mitchell of Kings Row, completed by his widow, did not enjoy the popularity of the previous novel, but nevertheless evoked more

comment in Fulton.<sup>9</sup>

To those who read Kings Row, which was a best-seller, the new book will probably be a disappointment. Many of the most interesting characters in the first book do not appear in the current work. The malevolent besmirching of pioneer families which characterized Kings Row is refreshingly subdued in the new book. There are fewer sex episodes in Parris Mitchell of Kings Row, but they are there. Abhorant to an extreme is the bestial con-niving leading up to the brutal criminal assault of a fifteen year-old girl by two young men of prominent families. To revenge the wrong, the sweetheart of the girl armed with a meat cleaver waylaid one of the assailants, chopped off his foot and then his head. The other assailant was shot squarely between the eyes. In one chapter of the book there is revealed a revolting relationship between two brothers. The sadistic stoning to death of a dog with a lovable disposition and the pathetic accidental drowning of a small boy add little to the plot.<sup>10</sup>

Kings Row has had its effect in Fulton. Several years ago, when a new and attractive sub-division was being developed in Fulton, on what is now the northern section of Vine Street, the name Kings Row was unofficially adopted by some of the residents in that area. When a particularly appealing bit of gossip reaches the ears of town residents, one is likely to hear such comments as: "Just like Kings Row." Although Fulton has used other events in its history to promote the community, it has not used Henry Bellaman and

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<sup>9</sup>Henry and Catherine Bellaman, Parris Mitchell of Kings Row (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948).

<sup>10</sup>Brent Williams, Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, April 21, 1948.

his novel. One does not see Kings Row mentioned in Chamber of Commerce statements, or on road signs, and if a curious newcomer asks about characters, events, streets, or landmarks mentioned in the book, he is likely to be told: "I wouldn't ask many people about that. I don't mind talking about it, but a lot of people do."

### III. THE IRON CURTAIN SPEECH

Winston Churchill's visit to Fulton, and his address at Westminster College, on March 5, 1946, was a different matter. Fulton found itself being discussed all over the United States, even abroad. Editions of the local paper poured out the news and an editorial, on the memorable day of the address, was entitled "Today Is Fulton's Day," further recalling that Jefferson Davis also visited Fulton in 1875.<sup>11</sup>

People all over the United States wondered why Fulton, Missouri, of all places, should be chosen as the site for an address by the wartime prime minister of Great Britain, the great man of the century, in the opinion of many people.

The stock story is that the idea of inviting Sir Winston came to the president of Westminster College, Dr. Franc McCluer, while he was on vacation during the

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<sup>11</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, March 5, 1946.

summer of 1945. He did not expect that Churchill would accept, but he thought it was worth an attempt. Members of the Westminster Board of Trustees were contacted. The proposal was discussed with Tom Van Sant, a Fulton banker who knew President Truman personally, and with Harry Vaughn, a well-known friend of the President, and a graduate of Westminster College. Finally, the proposal reached Mr. Truman himself. The invitation was prepared. Mr. Truman gave his endorsement. On December 19, 1945, the public announcement was made that Winston Churchill had accepted.

Fulton was proud. The rest of the country was surprised. Larry Hall, of the Associated Press, wrote: "There hasn't been such a stir in the Kingdom of Callaway since Jeff Davis spoke here back in 1875."<sup>12</sup> The Chicago Tribune announced: "Missouri's Old Rebel Kingdom Waits for Churchill Lecture," and commented that Harry Truman was dividing his patronage between East and West, that is, between St. Louis and Kansas City.<sup>13</sup>

March 5 had been anticipated, but few people realized, in Fulton or elsewhere, that the speech made by Sir Winston would color and shape the foreign relations of the United

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<sup>12</sup>Larry Hall, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, January 26, 1946.

<sup>13</sup>Chicago Tribune, February 3, 1946.

States for years to come. An "iron curtain," Sir Winston said, had descended across the continent, a shadow had fallen upon scenes recently lighted by the allied victory.

Fulton's streets were crowded on that day, but no one saw hill-billy farmers riding mules and smoking corn-cob pipes, as big-city journalists predicted. Sir Winston ate genuine, Callaway ham, and was said to have commented that the pig had reached the highest stage of evolution in Missouri.

When the great day was over, the people of Fulton could sit back with pride. Fulton was on the map, once again. "The Kingdom of Callaway has again joined the Union," commented one Missouri journalist.

The final treaty was completed yesterday when Fulton, the capital of the Kingdom, was host to the President of the United States and to Winston Churchill, war-time Premier of Great Britain.<sup>14</sup>

Unlike Kings Row, the Fulton speech, as it became known, was institutionalized and formalized. Westminster College created a Churchill Room, with copies of the speech, newspaper files, and portraits of Sir Winston and Harry Truman. Later, the Churchill Quadrangle was dedicated on the campus. Fulton named a new street Churchill Drive. Newcomers were told: "This is where Winston Churchill gave

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<sup>14</sup>The Independence Examiner, March 6, 1946.

the iron curtain speech, you know."

Ten years after the event, the city council of Fulton made Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of Fulton and William L. Ryan, a news analyst for the Associated Press, visited the town for several days and wrote a feature article for newspapers across the country. "A bolt of lightning struck this easy-going town just ten years ago," he wrote. "It left a permanent mark."<sup>15</sup>

In 1959, when Nikita Khrushchev was touring the United States, the city council adopted a resolution inviting the Russian leader to visit Fulton.

The City of Fulton hereby conveys to the United States Department of State an invitation and request that the itinerary of the Premier of Russia be arranged to include a visit to the Kingdom of Callaway, Fulton, Missouri.

It is the considered judgment of this governing body that this historic community, site of Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech, and rich in agricultural, industrial, and institutional diversification, is a logical place for the Russian Premier to visit.<sup>16</sup>

Let Henry Bellaman write his novels. Fulton had been vindicated.

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<sup>15</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, March 5, 1956.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., August 7, 1959.

#### IV. THE POST-CHURCHILLIAN ERA

Since Sir Winston's visit, other famous and sometimes unusual speakers have appeared in Fulton, adding interest if not prestige to the community. Few people realize, for example, that Fulton has been the location for three national conventions of a political party, or that a presidential candidate received his nomination in Fulton.

In 1960, the Theocratic Party held its nominating convention in Fulton, the home of a local minister who was the national chairman of the organization, and selected Bishop Homer A Tomlinson as its standard-bearer.

Taking advantage of the historic setting of Fulton and the Kingdom of Callaway, the self-styled King of the World, Bishop Tomlinson, stood on the campus of Westminster College, without invitation, and proclaimed an end to the cold war, undoing the work of Winston Churchill. The bishop addressed a crowd somewhat smaller than the group which had heard Sir Winston, and the press coverage was not as extensive.

In his campaign for the presidency, which he predicted would be won by a miracle, Bishop Tomlinson asked for a union of church and state, for one hundred per cent tithing, which would replace taxation, and for the establishment of the King James Bible as the foundation of righteousness. He pledged that he would end wars, crime, and



delinquency, that he would unite families and prevent divorces. There would be no gambling. People would cease to use tobacco, intoxicants, and narcotics. A new civil and criminal code would be adopted which would replace Roman law and English common law.<sup>17</sup>

The miracle did not occur. In 1961, at the second annual convention in Fulton, Bishop Tomlinson forgot about such worldly things as the presidency of the United States and informed delegates that he foresaw a day when the inhabitants of the earth would be planted on heavenly bodies. This made it necessary for party workers to be ready for the exportation of theocracy as the government of peace, for those leaving the earth to inhabit the heavens.<sup>18</sup>

In 1962, at the third convention, he opened the meeting with an hour-long address in which he called for an end to democracy and the creation of a theocracy. Presidents, he argued, should be replaced with kings, juries with judges, lawyers with ministers, and women should submit to men.

Other speakers have enjoyed a more traditional and

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<sup>17</sup>The Theocratic Party, "Bishop Homer A Tomlinson for U. S. President" (campaign circular published by the national headquarters of the Theocratic Party, Queens Village, New York, 1960).

<sup>18</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, June 7, 1961.

acceptable reputation. In 1962, the commencement speaker at Westminster College was the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. Earlier in the year, Henry Luce, editor-in-chief of Time, Incorporated, Frederick R. Kappal, board chairman of American Telephone and Telegraph, and Douglas Cater, Washington editor of The Reporter spoke at Westminster. In previous years, Harry S. Truman, Alban Barkley, Charles Malik, J. Edgar Hoover, James Farley, Roscoe Pound, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. Lin Yutang, and the Right Honorable Viscount Hailsham, Lord Privy Seal, visited the college.

Fulton has had other men who have contributed to society. Not all of them are well known, but their accomplishments have been notable. The inventor of several farm implements, including the Carrington terracer, was a resident of the community. Henry Bellaman was only one of several authors who lived in the county. There was Mr. B. F. Douglas, who moved to Fulton from Kentucky as a small boy. He farmed near Fulton for twenty-one years, moved away, and returned following his retirement. The story is that Mr. Douglas, being disturbed by house-flies one summer, hit upon the idea of attaching a piece of screen wire to a stick, which could then be used readily to exterminate the pests. In short, Mr. Douglas invented the

fly-swatter and, it is said, made a small fortune from his invention.<sup>19</sup> Colonel Joseph K. Rickey, a colorful Mississippi River figure, also lived in Fulton for many years during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was Joseph Rickey who introduced a drink later known as the gin-rickey, although gin was not a part of the original formula and was disliked by the inventor.<sup>20</sup>

To many people of Callaway, however, all of these events are of secondary importance when compared to the Kingdom of Callaway. No event has been institutionalized and perpetuated as has that dramatic event of 1862, when the men of Callaway challenged the United States. Indeed, it might be argued that all of the events which have taken place since 1862 have merely reinforced the belief that there is something different about Callaway, that it is a unique place in which to live, and that one should be proud of being a Callawegian.

Before Jefferson Davis visited Fulton and stood in the shade of the big tree on Priest Field, there was a Kingdom. Perhaps Jefferson Davis would not have visited Fulton if there had been no Kingdom. Kings Row may have

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<sup>19</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, May 27, 1942.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., November 2, 1949.

made residents somewhat defensive and suspicious, but it may have made them proud as well. Not every town has a novel written about it. Winston Churchill publicized Fulton as it had never been publicized before, with the name of Fulton appearing on the front pages of newspapers across the globe. Fulton has its old institutions, old at least in reference to settlement west of the Mississippi. It was settled by pioneers, crossed by Daniel Boone.

Is the Kingdom of Callaway different from other counties? Is Fulton, as the capital of the Kingdom, a unique community? There are those who say proudly, yes.

## CHAPTER V

### MANIFESTATIONS OF THE KINGDOM

One can not live in Fulton many days or weeks without experiencing some awareness that the Kingdom still exists, or at least is used as a promotional device.

#### I. THE USE OF THE KINGDOM

One restaurant in the community has used place-mats which briefly and somewhat imaginatively describe the Kingdom of Callaway. While waiting for dinner to be served, one can read about the origin of the Kingdom, and the Kingdom as it exists today. Closer to the business district, one may be served in the Kingdom Cafe. Milk served in restaurants or purchased in the stores may be Sky-Go milk, produced "from the rolling green pastures of the Kingdom of Callaway." The owner of the dairy has commented that he has promoted the Kingdom as much as any individual, since thousands of milk cartons mentioning the Kingdom have been sold. There is also a Kingdom Federal Savings and Loan Association, a Kingdom Feed Service, and the Kingdom Oil Company. The local Chamber of Commerce is appropriately known as the Kingdom of Callaway Chamber of Commerce, and the local newspaper defines its role in "serving the Kingdom of Callaway." City automobile license decals, produced in the geographical

shape of Callaway County, are decorated with Highway 54 running through the center of the county, Fulton being indicated by a crown signifying the county seat. The decals read: "The Kingdom of Callaway." A few years ago, "Kingdom recipes" were published in the local newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

The name Callaway alone is also used as a name for businesses and organizations. One may transact financial affairs at The Callaway Bank, "serving the Kingdom of Callaway for over one hundred years." One may bowl at the Callaway Lanes, ride in a Callaway Cab, or be buried in the Callaway Memorial Gardens. There is the Callaway Electrical Co-op, the Callaway Farmers Equipment Company, the Callaway Lumber Company, the Callaway Rock Quarry, and the Callaway Sales Company.

In 1961, when local businessmen were attempting to put new life into the Chamber of Commerce, persons in the community were asked to submit suggestions for re-naming the businessmen's group, which was to expand its membership availability to include the entire county. After a period of appropriate suspense, it was announced that the new Chamber name would be The Kingdom of Callaway Chamber of Commerce, since most of the suggestions had included either

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<sup>1</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, April 4, 1956.

Callaway or Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, in 1943, Callaway County had the opportunity to name an Air Force bomber if the people of the county subscribed for the purchase of a given number of defense bonds. There had been previous bond campaigns, but new zeal was added when the naming of an aircraft was offered as an incentive. The bonds were sold in a matter of days. More than one hundred suggestions were submitted, including "Captain Callaway," but, as one might predict, the B-25 was given the name, "Kingdom of Callaway - Missouri."<sup>3</sup>

Historic celebrations are also the occasion for the Kingdom to be given its due respect. When Westminster College and the School for the Deaf celebrated their centennials, elaborate plans were made to honor the institutions. Fulton merchants displayed merchandise of the previous century in their store windows. Men, women, and children wore costumes popular in the past. The newspaper carried feature stories on Callaway history. Kentuckian Alban Barkley was the commencement speaker at Westminster. In the centennial parade, there were floats representing each decade of the county's history, the float for 1861-1871 being The Kingdom of

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., July 20, 1961.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., June 12, 1943.

Callaway. Winston Churchill and Harry Truman sent their congratulations. Thousands joined in the celebration and 2,500 people were served free barbecue. There was general agreement that it was the most colorful celebration ever held in Fulton. The press summed it up: "The day will go down as one of the Kingdom's biggest events."<sup>4</sup>

Even the college students, with the cooperation of the community, take advantage of, and pay homage to, the Kingdom. For a number of years, the Kappa Alpha fraternity at Westminster College has entertained the community each spring with its Old South Ball parade. Students dressed in Confederate uniforms, accompanied by southern belles from William Woods, ride down Court Street on horses or in horse-drawn carriages, terminating their parade at the courthouse square. An oration is given by a local person known for his speaking prowess, extolling the cause of the South and declaring the secession of the Kingdom of Callaway. The flag of the United States is lowered, and in its place flutters the Stars and Bars. Some have said that tears come to the eyes of a few Callawegians.

This is not to say that Callawegians are unpatriotic in relation to the Union. Quite to the contrary, patriotism

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., June 4, 1951.



is emphasized in the Kingdom. One of the most impressive demonstrations of this was seen shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, in 1941. A parade was staged, which probably had no equal until the centennial celebration a decade later. Approximately eighty men, organized and led by a man whose family had fought in four wars, marched down Fulton's streets, demonstrating their support of the government. Some men carried their own weapons on their shoulders, but a local gun collector aided others by distributing fifty-six old guns and muskets to those who were unarmed.

An eighty-two year old man led the parade, carrying the United States flag. He was followed by five snare drummers and a base drummer. Robert Lee Creed, named for the great Confederate General, Robert E. Lee, carried a banner which stated that he was over seventy and "raring to go." Then came the white men, followed by the colored men, in marching formation. The oldest white man was eighty-seven, the oldest Negro, eighty-two, the press reported.

The organizer of the parade walked along the side of the group carrying a wooden gun, nine feet long, said to have been used as a display by locksmiths in Fulton for

fifty years, and which was reportedly more than one hundred years old.<sup>5</sup>

## II. INSTITUTIONS OF THE KINGDOM

The Kingdom has not only been used, it has been institutionalized. Each year, the local Kiwanis Club presents a stage production which, in a sense, has become an institution for summing up, or lampooning the previous year's events in the Kingdom. In 1957, when the thirty-fifth annual show was presented, the title of the production was "Corn Pone County." Good-humored criticisms were directed toward the police and fire departments, the bank and civic clubs, and the performance was terminated with the "Kingdom of Corn Pone Supper," at which time "Henry Bellaman" was the guest of honor.<sup>6</sup>

In 1961, anticipating the centennial of the Kingdom, the civic group again concentrated its attention on Callaway and the heritage of the Civil War. On this occasion, a "King of the Kingdom" was named and crowned, the honored person being a resident of Fulton on the first night, and a county resident the second night. Furthermore, a Kingdom flag was unveiled, designed by Mrs. Don Kurtz for

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., December 15, 1941.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., February 5, 1957.

the production, who stated at the time that the design had little significance. The finale was an original song, "The Kingdom March."<sup>7</sup>

The most important institution of the Kingdom, however, has been the annual Kingdom of Callaway Supper, an event which has been held regularly in January for fifty-six years. In January, 1906, the editor of the Fulton Daily Sun, A. C. Bush, proposed that the business and professional men of Fulton have an annual supper or banquet. It was believed that such a social function would be useful in solving community problems. During its early history, the dinner was restricted to business and professional men of Fulton, and was known as the Fulton Commercial Club. In 1918, it became a county-wide, Kingdom of Callaway Supper. During the 1920's, women were invited to attend, and it was decided that an annual award would be made to a native Callawegian who had left the county and had "made good." A second award, for community service, was also established.

The Kingdom Supper has become one of the major events of the county and community. The dinners are served at the large churches of Fulton. Quotas are established for each church, and a limited number of tickets is sold, usually from six hundred to eight hundred, each selling for two

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., March 14, 1961.

dollars and seventy-five cents. The program of the evening is later presented at the high school auditorium. At each dinner, a president of the supper is elected. The selection of the president is determined prior to the event. He is nominated and elected by acclamation, and the arrangements for the next dinner become his responsibility. It is customary for the president to be a resident of Fulton one year, a resident of the county the following year.

Outside speakers are invited for the evening program. They may be educators, journalists, businessmen, agricultural experts, politicians, entertainers, etc. Brief histories of the Kingdom of Callaway are printed on the programs.

The major event of the evening, however, is the honoring of a Callawegian who has left the county and made good. Such guests have included lawyers, doctors, businessmen, farmers, artists, scientists, public servants, and military personnel who have attained some degree of success in their professions.

The award for community service was established by Dr. J. B. McCubbin, a Fultonian, and was continued by the Sun-Gazette after Dr. McCubbin moved away from the community. A committee selects the person who made the greatest contribution to the county during the previous year. An award is not always given, as the committee does not always decide that such an award is justified.

Helen Stephens, an Olympic track star, W. Ed Jameson, a realtor, Franc McCluer, president of Westminster College, Harold Slusher, a county agent, Callaway armed service men, George Carrington, an inventor of farm implements, Henry Danuser, a manufacturer, and Truman Ingle, superintendent of the School for the Deaf, have been among the recipients.

Particular attention was given to the 1961 Kingdom Supper, due to the approaching centennial of the Kingdom. On that occasion, the Kingdom reaffirmed its sovereignty and appointed an ambassador to Washington. In doing so, advantage was taken of a rather ordinary occurrence. Dr. David Horton, a professor of political science at Westminster College, was taking a leave of absence in order to conduct research. As a matter of fact, Dr. Horton was in Washington at the time that his appointment as the Kingdom Ambassador was announced, but the certificate of appointment was forwarded to him.

A resolution was prepared and read at the dinner which restated the story of Colonel Jefferson Jones' covenant with the United States. It announced that Dr. Horton was being appointed for the purpose of securing recognition of the Kingdom of Callaway "as the home of a proud and noble people dedicated to gracious living and hospitality."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., February 1, 1961.

A few days later, the Kingdom's ambassador presented his certificate of appointment to Missouri's United States Senator Stuart Symington in Washington, and newspaper reports stated that his credentials would later be presented to the United States Department of State.<sup>9</sup>

The Kingdom of Callaway did not have a local historical society until 1960. Earlier attempts had been made to form a chapter. Officers had been elected, but no organization was sustained. Once the organization came into being, however, it flourished. In its first year of operation, the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society had almost six hundred members. Programs were held each month. Activities and projects were planned. Consideration was given to the development of a local museum.

The Kingdom flag soon gained new significance. Originally designed for the Kiwanis show, as mentioned earlier, it was discovered that the design of the flag did have significance, after all. The purple background was emblematic of the royalty of the county. Two blue bars represented the battles of Overton Run and Moore's Mill. In the center of the flag was a white outline of the county, and in the center of the outline was a golden crown,

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., February 7, 1961

indicating a kingdom. On the points of the crown were five jewels, representing the five streams in the county. The red lining of the crown was symbolic of the blood shed by citizens of Callaway during the Civil War, and the stars on the bars crossing the flag indicated the townships which existed in 1861, the central star representing Fulton. Plans were announced for having the flag manufactured and sold by the Historical Society. It would be produced in three sizes, a large one for business and industry, a medium sized one for stores, and a small one for home displays. The County Court, by official resolution, adopted the flag as the official flag of the county and enjoined residents of the county to display it on public occasions. The Chamber of Commerce gave its endorsement, and the newspaper supported the action with an editorial.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, it has been impossible to carry out such plans. It was found that the cost of producing the flags was prohibitive. However, the Historical Society has used the design of the flag. Letter openers, lapel pins, spoons, and ladies' dress pins have been produced, bearing the emblem of the Kingdom, and have been sold by the group.

The flag was again displayed, and its significance

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., October 30, 1961.

explained, when the Historical Society dedicated a diorama of the Battle of Moore's Mill. The impressive ceremony was held on the steps of the courthouse, with the flag displayed above the door. At three o'clock on the afternoon of July 28, one hundred years after the battle to the hour, the Battle of Moore's Mill was described by Judge Hugh P. Williamson, lawyer, author, historian, orator, politician.<sup>11</sup>

Other suggestions for the use and institutionalization of the Kingdom have been made from time to time by individuals and groups. There are those who feel that the Kingdom provides a valuable promotional device. In 1961, a proposal was made that a pageant be held, enacting and celebrating the formation of the Kingdom in 1862. It has also been suggested that highway signs be erected on the major roads and highways, advising motorists that they are entering or leaving the Kingdom of Callaway.

### III. COMMENTS ON THE KINGDOM

In addition to the use of the Kingdom as a business and promotional device, and the institutionalization of the Kingdom through organizations, manifestations of it may be seen and heard in other ways.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., July 30, 1962.



On one occasion, rivalry between several counties of Missouri, all claiming to be the capitals of the Little Dixie area of Missouri, led to invoking the name of the Kingdom in the defense of Fulton and Callaway. Claims had been made by both Columbia and Mexico newspapers that their communities had the most substantial claim to the title, each citing reasons for supporting the contention. The Fulton newspaper joined the controversy, arguing that Fulton's right to the title was established by the visit of Jefferson Davis, in 1875.<sup>12</sup> Even newspapers in St. Louis became involved in the argument, with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch expressing the viewpoint that Monroe County should be considered the heart of Little Dixie, due to its larger Democratic vote.<sup>13</sup>

If one has lived in Fulton for some time, it may be noticed that there is a status system in the community which is related to Callaway and the Kingdom. This system may mean little to most residents, but it is respected by others, and is most likely to be expressed at moments of crisis or emotion. Those with the highest ranking in this status system are the pioneer families, descendants of those hardy souls who came to Callaway early in the 1800's and

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1948.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., May 15, 1948.

remained. As might be expected, there is a sub-status system within this group, ranging from those who accumulated much wealth and influence, to those good, solid, church-going people who were not quite so successful socially and economically, down to the lesser sort of people, who, in some cases, have disgraced the others.

Indications of the esteem held for the pioneers is usually expressed in conversations with individuals, although it is occasionally expressed in a more public fashion, as through this real estate advertisement:

Dunlaps were among the earliest Callaway settlers. The brothers Robert and David entered Government land northeast of Fulton in 1821--four years before there was a Fulton. It was Robert who suggested the name of Fulton for the county seat. The descendents are still here--good, substantial folks, too; and they still farm Callaway land successfully. You cannot do better than imitate them and own a farm.<sup>14</sup>

There are "pioneer Callawegians" and just plain Callawegians. The term Callawegian, however, is not to be taken lightly. This term signifies that a person was born in Callaway County, but came to the county, or his family came to the county, some time after the pioneers, perhaps 1840, or later. Again, there are sub-status systems within this group.

Callawegian may mean something different to Fultonians

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., January 13, 1944.

and people who live outside of Fulton, who are sometimes called "county people," by Fultonians, but who think of themselves as being Callawegians. Obviously, a Fultonian is a Callawegian who was born in Fulton. Then there are the "naturalized citizens," the "newcomers," "outsiders," and "foreigners." It is most desirable, to many people, to be a naturalized citizen. Such people are not of pioneer stock in Callaway, and were not even born in Callaway. They are people who have lived in the community for many years and have been accepted, almost as if they were Callawegians.

It is difficult to differentiate between a newcomer, an outsider, and a foreigner. Generally speaking, the term newcomer has no connotation of criticism, although it may have on some occasions. Men who have lived in the community for a quarter of a century, and who have been relatively active in community affairs, have been introduced to other Callawegians as newcomers. On the other hand, one sometimes hears complaints that the newcomers, or a single newcomer, is "causing trouble" in the community. The term outsider is sometimes used synonymously with newcomer, but is more apt to be used in a condemnable manner than is the other term. The word foreigner, which is synonymous with the other terms, in the sense that it refers to a person who has only recently moved into the community, is never

used to flatter.

It must be pointed out that this status system exists in addition to other status systems. Degrees of status also depend on church membership, wealth, neighborhood, profession, community participation, and sociability. This would be no different than in many other towns. It is the status system in relation to the Kingdom which has some singularity. With all of its divisions, it still does not include the Negro or the "poor white trash," or the "unworthy," as they are sometimes designated.

One may detect this status system in conversing with Callawegians. One man, a newcomer, tells the story that shortly after he moved into the community, he asked a neighbor if a certain individual in Fulton was considered one of the influential leaders of the community. The reply was: "Gosh, no. He isn't even a Callawegian." A Fulton mother relates that her young child came running into the house one afternoon, weeping as if some overwhelming tragedy had occurred. When questioned, the child confessed that a young friend had told her that she was not a Callawegian. Still another man, who has lived in Fulton thirty years, describes an event which demonstrates this attitude. At the birth of his son, it was convenient for his wife to be admitted to the Boone County Hospital, instead of the Callaway County Hospital. After the mother and new son had

been dismissed and friends came to see the new arrival, one Callawegian complained: "You didn't do right by that boy. Now, he will never be a Callawegian."

Frances Dunlap Heron gives some evidence that this attitude exists when she describes Miss Emma Owen:

True, her father wasn't of an old Callaway family, having migrated to Missouri with his bride only in 1867, and not from Virginia or Kentucky, but from Ohio. Nobody, though, still held it against Alfred Isaac (Ike) Owen for being an Easterner, a Union veteran, and a Republican.<sup>15</sup>

One may see the emphasis and attention given to pioneer status in ordinary news stories, such as obituaries, instances when a member of a pioneer family has been honored, or at family reunions:

The descendants of the late James and Frances Canada Simcoe, who came with their family from Virginia to Missouri around the year 1835 and settled in Callaway County near Fulton, held their family reunion Sunday at the McCredie Hall.<sup>16</sup>

In 1954, the Sun-Gazette sponsored an essay contest in which individuals were encouraged to write essays describing what they liked about Fulton, with the hope, as the newspaper expressed it, that it would make the citizens realize the many good things that Fulton offered. Over one

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<sup>15</sup>Frances Dunlap Heron, Here Comes Elijah (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1959), p. 61.

<sup>16</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, September 8, 1952.

hundred essays were submitted, but many exceeded the one hundred word limitation. The winning essay stressed the gracious way that native Fultonians welcomed newcomers and the people of the county into their inner circles, and made the point that the Kingdom of Callaway organizations helped to tie the people of the town and of the county into a close-knit group. Appreciation was expressed for the market farmers found for their products.

**I'm proud of Fulton's dependable old bank--her reliable businesses (many handed down for the second generation), her growing Christian colleges--her state institutions and her expanding industries: Our county seat is a progressive town!**<sup>17</sup>

Other essays stressed the religious and educational nature of the community and its county facilities. The fourth place winner was particularly eloquent:

**It's a clean town. And it's a quiet town. It's a town where you can leave your house unlocked at night. It's a town where neighbor doesn't mean 'just lives next door.' It's a town where it isn't sissy to go to Sunday School or Church. It's the kind of town where people know what's going on in the world and often take a hand in it themselves. It's independent, and a dictator wouldn't stand a chance here. It isn't big buildings that make a town, or busy boulevards, or factories belching smoke. It's the people who make a town. It's the people who make Fulton. And there aren't any better on earth.**<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., February 24, 1954.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., March 1, 1954.

While this essay contest was not concerned with the Kingdom, the pride in the Kingdom spills over into the community attitudes of Fulton, and the two are not easily separated. It is difficult to say whether or not community pride would be as great, if it were not for the heritage of the Kingdom. One must also keep in mind, that this was an essay contest, with prizes, concerned with what people liked about Fulton, and not what they disliked about it.

Questions arise as to the justification for such pride and such interest in the history of the county and towns. Why is it important for a person to be a Callawegian? Is it really important? Why is so much emphasis given to the Kingdom? What is a Callawegian, in the minds of the people? Has this heritage had an effect on the community?

Attempts have been made to answer some of these questions. An advertisement published for The Callaway Bank attempted to define a Callawegian:

A true Callawegian is a loyal citizen who appreciates our county and its advantages, and is loyal to our enterprises, institutions, and interests.

Our farmers, professional men, banks, merchants, and other business institutions pay the taxes which support our schools, churches, roads and enterprises of various kinds. When we cooperate and confine our patronage as far as possible to our home institutions, we help each other and help ourselves. Outsiders do

not pay our taxes and local expenses and money spent away from home takes just that much from local circulation.<sup>19</sup>

A similar advertisement, making the same arguments, stressed loyalty to the community, and ended with the charge: "Be a loyal American--a loyal Missourian--a loyal Callawegian--a loyal Fultonian."<sup>20</sup>

These are not explanations or definitions as much as they are expressions of fear that competing communities are going to attract customers, however. A better explanation was given more recently, when the Chamber of Commerce received a letter from an Illinois resident asking if the Kingdom of Callaway was a part of the United States, and if the people living in the Kingdom paid federal income tax. A reply by the Chamber of Commerce described the history of the Kingdom, and went on to say:

So, at best, the existence of the Kingdom is only a memory embellished, quite probably, in the course of being recalled through the years. Nevertheless, The Kingdom is a fact in the form of an attitude possessed by its citizens both past and present--an attitude of self-sufficiency, independence, or, if you insist, stubbornness.<sup>21</sup>

There are many manifestations of the Kingdom. More will be examined below. There is pride in Callaway and

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., July 22, 1941

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., October 30, 1951.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., January 13, 1961.



Fulton, but there is some question as to whether the heritage of the community is a serious matter, a promotional device, or a community joke.

The Kingdom has its flag. It has had an ambassador. It is given recognition by businesses, by individuals, and by institutions. The Kingdom would not be complete without a song, and it has that as well, also adopted by the Historical Society as its official song.

The robin lingers yet in Callaway,  
Till winter winds are blowing  
The violets spring up in Callaway  
To find it still is snowing.  
And glad they come and glad they stay  
In Callaway, in Callaway.

Though rich the hills and vales of Callaway,  
And fair her woods and waters,  
The best of all the wealth of Callaway  
Her loyal sons and daughters:  
There's wealth and health and happiness  
In Callaway, in Callaway.

Oh, brave and true the sons of Callaway,  
And joyful all their labors;  
Free as the clear-winds over Callaway,  
And good and kindly neighbors:  
God keep thee well and prosper thee,  
My Callaway, my Callaway.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>"Callaway," (words by Dr. J. B. Reeves, music by John H. McDonald).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SONS OF CALLAWAY

The old lawyer leaned back in his swivel chair and neatly folded the newspaper he had been reading. "You know," he began, "my family dates back here to the time before Missouri was a state. My great-grandfather established one of the first stores here, just across the street." He pointed over his shoulder with his thumb. "I have deep roots here, you see."

He sat and thought for a minute, and removed his rimless glasses, still holding them gently in both hands, against his chest.

Does the Kingdom mean anything? That's an interesting question. Of course it does. I've lived here for over seventy years. There was talk of the Kingdom, and meaning to the Kingdom, a long time before there was any Chamber of Commerce, and a long time before there was a Kingdom Dinner. Many times, when I have been away on trips, someone would ask me where I was from and what county Fulton was in. I would say Callaway, and they would say, 'you mean the Kingdom of Callaway.'

Some people who move here get a little irritated about this Kingdom business, you know. They don't understand what the Kingdom means. It's not their fault. You just have to live here a good number of years, you know, to understand it. And, some people may be jealous because in their county they didn't have this kind of tradition. People are proud here. They are proud because they had the courage to stand up for what they believed in, to act independently. And they are proud of being Callawegians, because Callawegians always looked after each other. They were loyal to

each other. Sometimes, when I talk to young people, I wonder if all of this isn't fading away, if this pride, and this feeling for the county is not going to die.

## I. THE LOYAL SONS

There are many different viewpoints as to what the Kingdom of Callaway means, and how significant it has been in coloring and conditioning the attitudes of the people. Some strong men become emotional and sentimental when asked about the Kingdom. In listening to them discuss their attachment to the county, one can easily become sympathetic and pleasantly sad.

Although one may discover many Callawegians with a definite love for the county, individuals for whom the Kingdom is significant, it is difficult for most Callawegians to express the reasons for their attachment, or the reasons why they feel that the Kingdom has had some meaning. Perhaps it is much like asking a man why he fell in love with his wife. He insists that he loves her, but can not explain why, or why he loves her rather than someone else.

The type of response one is likely to receive, as a result, is: "Yes, the Kingdom means a great deal to me, but I couldn't tell you why." "I am just devoted to the Kingdom, just devoted. I would not want to live anywhere else, that's all." "There is just something unique about the Kingdom, something a little bit different, that other

counties don't have." "I just think it's a nice place to live, the people are so nice, but then, I have never lived anywhere else."

There are people, however, who are quite articulate, who have definite ideas as to what the Kingdom means to them, as individuals. "The Kingdom of Callaway is not just a place to live, it is a way of life," one young man stated. There were no radical elements in the county, he further explained. "Callaway wants to remain the same. It doesn't want to change, just for the sake of change, the way some counties do." This, the young man appreciated. It gave him a sense of security. "It is not just a place to live and work; it is something which is a part of you, something you love, and you know it is going to stay the same as it was before." Other counties, he pointed out, do not have the pride that Callaway has. People live in the same place all of their lives; they like their communities, but they do not love them the way Callawegians love the Kingdom.

"The Kingdom is a spirit which we try to preserve," a member of a pioneer family asserted. The pioneers had a spirit which can not be understood today. They understood hard work, pain and hardship. They were independently minded. It is that kind of spirit which Callaway preserves. Much of the meaning of the Kingdom, he believed, was that people in the county experienced events together, and

helped each other. "Our daddies and grand-daddies knew each other. They always had something to talk about, and they knew they could depend on each other."

A business man was more specific. "The important thing is that the people of Callaway did this themselves. They were the ones who went out and fought their own battles, and settled their own affairs. This was a local episode." At Gettysburg, or Wilson Creek, he pointed out, local people were not involved, except that they happened to live there. In Callaway, it was quite different.

The feeling and the pride that people have toward the Kingdom of Callaway is both a negative and a positive thing. There is pride in what was done by the people, but there is also pride in the act of pride, or pride in the associations that people have. It is much like a college fraternity and the pride which one finds expressed in a fraternal organization, the close ties a person has, the mutual respect and trust.

A younger Callawegian attempted to explain the Kingdom objectively and methodically. Most of the people who moved to Callaway came from Kentucky and Virginia. They had a common experience and, like people who had not traveled a great deal, they had a close association. Coming from the South, although they did not live in the South, they felt a loyalty to it. When Lincoln was elected, this loyalty was strengthened. The Kingdom episode and the Battle of Moore's Mill, were just two experiences, but they were very dramatic experiences. The Kingdom, particularly,

set Callaway apart from counties nearby. Other people knew about it, and that helped to make it important in Callaway. The visits by Winston Churchill, Jefferson Davis, and all of the other events added to this feeling that there was something different about Callaway; otherwise all of these things would not have happened in Callaway. The Kingdom is not simply a promotional scheme. Many people in Callaway, who have a strong attachment to the Kingdom, object to its use as a promotional device. It is almost sacrilegious, a perversion of the true meaning of the Kingdom. There is pride in being independent. People like to feel independent, whether they are or not. Where else in the country, at least in Missouri, did the people exert enough independence to negotiate separately with the government of the United States? The Kingdom, he further explained, is not simply a provincialism, as some are apt to describe it. The people who really believe in the Kingdom do not go around talking about it, or trying to sell it. They will talk about it if asked, and they will discuss it with pride, but they will be opposed to using it as a business gimmick. It means too much to them to use it in that way.

Still another man pointed out that he did not have as much claim to being a Callawegian as many people did, since his family had only lived in the county for sixty years. Nevertheless, he asserted, he was as proud and as loyal to

the Kingdom as any member of the pioneer families. The basis for his feeling, he explained, was his personal feeling toward the South, although he did not consider Callaway purely southern, and his admiration for the men who had the courage to call the bluff of the Union troops.

Very frequently, a fear was expressed that the existence of the Kingdom was being threatened. "Years ago," one man declared, "parents told their children about the Kingdom. They grew up knowing what it was about. Parents don't seem to do that anymore." Several people suggested that the Kingdom heritage was breaking down because of the influx of new people in recent years, particularly since World War II, and rather dramatically in the last eight years. At the same time, younger natives of Callaway have been moving away from the county. Youth is also blamed by many people. "You know, you have to be old to appreciate things that are old. Maybe these young people will appreciate the Kingdom when they are older, but I'm not sure. Things are changing so fast." There is an emphasis on tradition and, as one man said, old things. "I like old things," a Callawegian declared, not untypically of others. "Most of my furniture is old. I like old books. There is just something nice about things that are old." Still another Callawegian was concerned that buildings of modern architectural design were being constructed in Fulton.

Objections were directed toward the new courthouse, new buildings at Westminster, William Woods, State Hospital Number One, the School for the Deaf, and family residences. "Buildings should be in keeping with the traditions of the community," he reasoned. "I say let Texas and California, and developing states have their modern buildings. Buildings here in Fulton should be of a colonial design, at least their exteriors should be." Changes in the institutionalization of the Kingdom also are criticized. "I personally don't like this idea of having a King of the Kingdom appointed every year. There never was a king. There is nothing in the tradition which suggests a king."

These are the loyal sons of the Kingdom. There is nothing amusing about the heritage to them. It is a matter to be taken seriously, and is not to be corrupted by enterprising businessmen. How many people have such deep feelings about the Kingdom is difficult to say. Many who have such feelings of attachment find it difficult to express them, although they claim a deep pride and affection. The loyal sons are not only the members of the old families, nor are they all elderly people. Young people, and individuals who can not claim pioneer status, very often have as much pride as any pioneer.



## II. THE MODERATES

Another group of Callawegians might be described as the moderates. They are not as emotional in their attachment to the Kingdom, but at the same time the Kingdom has a considerable amount of importance.

One man stated that he took the Kingdom half-way seriously and partly with tongue-in-cheek.

I'm proud of being a Callawegian. You know how important it is to be a Callawegian! I have found that this has helped me in my business. It means something to some of my customers. I can't explain this feeling. These things just build up over the years. I think a person should have some pride in his community. It may help business. But it is not just a business or practical thing with me, either. I really don't know what it is.

The businessman went on to say, however, that the heritage of the Kingdom has tended to retard development and growth in the community. "People here are only interested in moderate changes, and sometimes this is not good, although you wouldn't want to go to an extreme."

There may have been a time, a number of people stated, when the Kingdom was taken very seriously, but it is no longer true. The Kingdom has some importance, and is considered to have some importance, but not as much as a few people contend, and much of it is simply a subject for light conversation.

"There is nothing unusual about Callaway," one of the

community's most influential citizens stated. "Certainly, we are not very well off financially, when you compare us with Mexico, or some other towns. But there is more of a feeling of pride here, a feeling of being unique."

Others in this group say that the Kingdom is simply a carry-over from the Civil War, and that the people who take the heritage very seriously are simply those who feel close to the war because they are old, or because their relatives were deeply affected by it.

The Kingdom has, of course, had an effect, in the sense that it has given the people something to hold on to. This Kingdom Supper did not start as a Kingdom function, but as a business meeting. But I doubt very seriously that it would have continued for as long as it has if it had not been for the Kingdom. The Kingdom gave it some significance, some color.

There is some criticism of those who object to the use of the Kingdom as a means to promote business enterprise. "People who object to that are just out of touch with the times. This is a natural. Why not use it?" There is criticism of those who take it very seriously. "Some people get carried away with this thing and become rather snobbish about it, like they were better than other people."

A number of individuals in this group are convinced that the heritage of the Kingdom of Callaway is fading into the background, many of them attributing this trend to the decrease in the rural population. On the other hand, the

position is also taken that the Kingdom receives more attention today than it ever received in the past.

When I was younger, people didn't talk much about the Kingdom. They knew about it, but not much was said. And then new people began moving into the county. They were interested in it, curious about it, and before too long people began taking it seriously.

A few people agree that more attention is given to the Kingdom today than in the past, but give different explanations. "The Kingdom is being challenged and threatened," one lady stated. New people, and many of the younger people, she observed, either do not take it seriously, or they are rather critical of it. The older residents are afraid that the Kingdom is passing out of existence and losing its importance.

"Much of this talk about the Kingdom," argued another, "is an emotional response to the change that is taking place around us. People are insecure. They grasp for the Kingdom because they are confused, or because they don't want the world to change." Even so, this man admitted, he had a pride in the Kingdom.

There is the attitude in this group that a certain amount of pride in the Kingdom is justified and desirable, but that a number of people take it too seriously. There is no objection to using the Kingdom as a promotional device. Instead, the Kingdom is seen as an asset which can be used, if the pride which people claim can be channelled in the

proper direction. An admission is made that the heritage of the Kingdom has sometimes been used to prevent change, that the Kingdom has contributed to a conservatism, and an opposition to new ideas, a sometimes unreasonable desire to preserve and perpetuate customs, institutions, and physical objects which are of no further value or use.

### III. THE DISLOYAL

Not all Callawegians are loyal to the Kingdom or even moderate supporters. A number of people, who theoretically might be expected to be great defenders of the traditions and the heritage of Callaway, are severe critics. "The Kingdom of Callaway doesn't mean a damned thing to me," one young merchant stated abruptly.

My grandfather didn't set me on his knee and tell me about the heritage or how he fought in the Civil War, or what side he fought on. He was more interested in the future than he was in the past. For that matter, he couldn't remember what happened yesterday. These people who take the Kingdom seriously are as crazy as a bunch of hoot-owls.

It was the opinion of another Callawegian that only members of the old families, especially those with some wealth, took the Kingdom seriously. He contended that if one asked members of the working class, their opinions would be quite different. "This is a heritage for the affluent," another Callaway native asserted. "For one thing, you have to have two dollars and seventy-five cents

to go to the Kingdom Supper, and not everybody can afford that." "People in the working class may not feel that Callaway is such a wonderful place in which to live, since they are not experiencing a high standard of living."

Other natives of the county denied that the Kingdom had any meaning in any other way than as a promotional device. "The Kingdom is interesting historically, but not taken seriously. It is no different than claiming to be the peach or apple center of the state, or something like that."

The observation that the Kingdom Supper was a business function or social function, and not an important affair symbolically was stressed. It was pointed out that a large number of those who attend the supper regularly are not Callawegians. Many of them are people who have lived in the community only a short period of time. "I never go to the dinner myself," admitted one merchant. "I might if I thought I would get a good meal and hear a good speaker, but I'm pretty sure I won't get either."

Even among members of this group, however, one detects traces of nostalgia and sentimentality. One Callawegian, who was particularly critical of the Kingdom, also reflected:

I wish they had never torn down the old courthouse. I thought it was a beautiful building. Now we have this W. P. A. monstrosity that looks like it's going to fall down. If the old courthouse looked run-down it

made you sad, but if the new one looks run-down you just want to throw up.

The removal of the courthouse, the trees that once lined the business district of Court Street, the old houses which have been razed or remodeled, and the discontinuance of the Monday stock sales on the courthouse lawn were among the disappointments enumerated by the Kingdom's critics. One man, after a rather heated criticism of individuals who attach much importance to the Kingdom, then stated in a softer voice:

When I was young, the Kingdom meant something. But it can't now. The county has too many new people. You can't maintain such a feeling anymore. I used to be proud of the Kingdom. It meant a lot to me. But it doesn't anymore.

The Kingdom of Callaway means different things to different Callawegians. Being a descendent of a pioneer family has significance to some but not to others. At least, this is what Callawegians will say, if you ask them.

As attitudes are conditioned by historical events, however, they are also affected by social interaction. Perhaps Callawegians say that the Kingdom is important because they think it should be considered important. Perhaps some Callawegians say it is not important because they know that there are people in the community who ridicule the heritage, or because they believe that a critical attitude

is more in keeping with the age in which they live, is an indication of individuality, or is what they are expected to say to a person who has not shared the heritage.

## CHAPTER VII

### POLITICAL PARTIES

As one might expect, Callaway County is strongly Democratic in terms of political affiliation. As stated earlier, Abraham Lincoln received only fifteen votes in the presidential election of 1860. The people of Callaway have never given a majority of their votes to a Republican in a state or national election, and no Republican has been elected to county office. Only at the city level, in Fulton, have Republicans triumphed.

#### I. DEMOCRATIC DOMINANCE

Support for the Democratic Party has been particularly decisive at the state and county level. In recent years, a larger Republican vote has been cast in presidential elections. One hears more discussion of the possibility of Republican candidates being elected at the county level, but Democrats are not greatly alarmed. Republicans, rather than Democrats, seem to have faith that a candidate from the minority party could be elected.

Between 1896 and 1916, the ratio of Democratic votes



to Republican votes was four to two at the national level.<sup>1</sup> Earlier, as in 1892, there was a four to one ratio, a ratio which continued four years longer at the state level.<sup>2</sup> In 1920, with women voting, the ratio jumped at both the national and state level to six to three.<sup>3</sup> In 1928, when the issues of Catholicism and liquor figured prominently, support for the Democratic Party at the national level wavered somewhat, with the ratio dropping five to three.<sup>4</sup> At the state level, the six to three ratio remained constant.<sup>5</sup>

In 1932, the Democrats increased their strength. For every two Republican votes, there were seven Democratic votes, and this level of support was also indicated at the state level.<sup>6</sup> There was a slight decline in 1936, with a seven-three ratio for both the presidential race and the

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<sup>1</sup>Office of the Secretary of State, Official Manual of the State of Missouri. 1895-1896, p. 15; 1899-1900 p. 11; 1903-1904, p. 13; 1907-1908, p. 542; 1911-1912, p. 790; 1915-1916, p. 442, 1919-1920, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1892-1893, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1920-1921, p. 409.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1929-1930, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1933-1934, p. 213.

gubernatorial contest.<sup>7</sup> This decline continued in 1940, with a seven-four ratio.<sup>8</sup> Fewer people voted in 1944, and there was a six-three ratio.<sup>9</sup> In 1948, with native-son Harry Truman running for the presidency, Callaway Democrats turned out in force, with a six to two margin for the man from Independence.<sup>10</sup>

Since 1948, however, the margin of Democratic support has decreased at the national level. There are, of course, explanations for this. Dwight Eisenhower was a hero in Callaway County, as well as in other sections of the country. Adlai Stevenson was not a popular or attractive figure to many Callawegians. There were those who did not understand his eloquence. There were objections to having a divorced man in the White House, a reaction against the Truman administration and, to some extent, against the New Deal. A number accepted the slogan, it was time for a change. The Korean War figured prominently; Eisenhower promised he would go to Korea.

There was some shock in Callaway when the votes were

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1937-1938, p. 248.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 1941-1942, p. 260.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1945-1946, p. 324.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 1949-1950, p. 876.

counted and Democrats have not been as confident since 1952. On the day following the election the local paper stated:

Callaway went Democratic as expected Tuesday and elected Democrats to all county offices, but the Republicans cut sharply into the usual Democratic majority as 8,975 voters went to the polls in the county.<sup>11</sup>

Contrast this statement with 1948, when the paper reported: "Callaway County, one of the Little Dixie counties, ran true to form Tuesday as its voters gave the Democratic Party a two and one-half to one majority."<sup>12</sup>

In 1952, split-ticket voting was demonstrated in every ward and precinct. For the first time, two of Fulton's wards, the first and fourth, voted Republican. Adlai Stevenson received 5,278 votes, while United States Senator Stuart Symington received 5,812, and U. S. Representative Clarence Cannon received 6,086, to his opponent's 2,803.<sup>13</sup>

In 1956, the support for Eisenhower was not as great, but Adlai Stevenson was the only candidate to receive less than 5,000 votes in the county, with the first ward of Fulton and the Steedman precinct having majorities for

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<sup>11</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, November 5, 1952.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1948.

<sup>13</sup>Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1957-1958, p. 1,006.

Eisenhower, and there were very close races in Fulton's fourth ward and the precinct of Portland. Only three votes in the fourth ward, and only one vote at Portland, separated Eisenhower and Stevenson. Not only was there strong support for the Republican presidential candidate. The margin of support for the Democratic candidate for governor also diminished as James T. Blair received 5,278 votes to Republican Lon Hocker's 3,374.<sup>14</sup>

There is wide-spread agreement that religion figured prominently in the 1960 campaign in Callaway, although other issues came into play as well. There were criticisms of Kennedy's program, although this may have been used to conceal religious prejudice, and Callawegians had discovered that the world would not end if they voted for a Republican. John Kennedy carried Fulton by 252 votes. Two of Fulton's wards, the second and fourth, had Republican majorities, as did four precincts in the county. John Kennedy received 5,344 votes, to Richard Nixon's 4,054.<sup>15</sup>

Although no Republican has been elected to county office, Republicans have served in county offices. In 1940, Missouri elected a Republican governor, Forrest Donnell.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 1956-1957, p. 985.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 1961-1962, p. 1,095.

While in office, vacancies occurred in Callaway and Republicans were appointed as probate judge and public administrator. It was the first time that two Republicans had ever been in office at the county level. Democrats were distressed. There was a possibility of having a third Republican in office. The prosecuting attorney, Henry Lamkin, was called to active service, in 1941, and attempted to name his own successor. Republicans demanded that he resign. When he delayed, a petition was filed in the Circuit Court. Lamkin did resign, but there was no Republican lawyer in the county, and it was necessary for Governor Donnell to appoint a Democrat to replace him.

Republicans have won election to the city council in Fulton from what previously was the first ward, and what is now the fourth ward, the boundaries being changed in 1958. This ward, located in the northwest section of the community, incorporates the "West," or the colored section of Fulton. Republicans have not been consistently successful in this ward, however, and have seldom attempted to elect candidates to the council in the other wards of Fulton.

There is a reaction of surprise in the community when the Republicans do attempt to assert themselves. In 1940, the Sun-Gazette announced:

Callaway County Republicans are laying the foundation for one of the most extensive presidential campaigns in the Kingdom in the history of the party, including the

selection of a county ticket, establishment of a county headquarters in Fulton, and the booking of numerous speaking dates, with leading candidates of their party to be brought here for talks.<sup>16</sup>

The Republicans did file a list of candidates, but they were beset with difficulties. Their candidate for county prosecuting attorney withdrew, stating that he had been a life-long Democrat and could not force himself to run as a Republican. In the course of the campaign, a disagreement developed among the Republicans, and they soon had two Republican headquarters operating in Fulton. In spite of Republican efforts, Callaway remained Democratic, even though spirits were at a high pitch and on election day an altercation occurred in front of the county courthouse when a Democrat was accused of buying a Negro man's vote for twenty-five cents.<sup>17</sup>

The Republicans were relatively successful in the state in 1940, however, with a Republican elected governor, and Callaway Republicans were given new hope. In the following year, they filed a complete list of candidates for the city council. Only a few days had passed, however, before

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<sup>16</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, September 18, 1940.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., November 5, 1940.

one candidate withdrew, stating that he had not been asked to run for office, and he had no desire to be a candidate.<sup>18</sup>

In the course of the campaign for city election, the Republicans charged that organized attempts were being made to intimidate and influence Republican candidates not to remain on the ballot. Much of their attention was directed toward the public schools, as school board members were, at that time, elected on a partisan basis. Republicans complained that the public schools were not being managed properly, that nepotism was being practiced, and that public school teachers were required to contribute to the Democratic Party in order to retain their positions.<sup>19</sup> Although the election was spirited, only one Republican was elected, the nominee from the first ward, who had no Democratic opposition. Over 800 ballots were cast in the election, and over 600 of them were cast by Democrats.<sup>20</sup>

A Republican was elected in the first ward the following year, winning by twenty-three votes.<sup>21</sup> No G.O.P. candidate filed for the county election in 1942. They were able to demonstrate some strength in the county early in

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., March 20, 1941.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., March 28, 1941.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1941.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., April 8, 1942.

1943, when a special election was held to fill a vacancy created by the death of State Senator W. B. Whitlow, of Fulton. In the preceding November, Whitlow had received 3,507 votes in Callaway. In the special election, the Democratic candidate received 2,906, while the Republican candidate received 1,366. The Republican was the victor in the senatorial district, the first Republican to hold that office in forty years.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1943 city election, there was only one contest, and a Republican was reelected in the first ward. Republican E. W. Erdman was reelected the following year in that ward. No Republicans filed for county office in 1944. With the term of the Republican governor coming to a close, there was dissatisfaction among the Republicans. Although they had criticized the Democrats for the operation of a political "lug" at the state institutions, and for taking advantage of the institutions for patronage purposes, there were complaints by Republicans that they had not received enough patronage during the administration of Forrest Donnell, and they had solicited funds from state hospital personnel. An indication that the institutions of Fulton were influenced by patronage considerations came in 1946. With a change of administration in Jefferson City,

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., January 5, 1943.



Dr. C. C. Ault, Superintendent of Hospital Number One, resigned. The reason stated by the Sun-Gazette was that Dr. Ault was a Republican.<sup>23</sup>

In the city election of 1946, E. W. Erdman, veteran Republican of the first ward, was replaced by Republican Frank Renner, in the only city contest. Later, in the August primary, two Republicans were tied for the position of committeeman from the Fulton township, each candidate having seventy-five votes. The dilemma was settled by flipping a coin. The press took the opportunity to describe a conversation overheard in relation to the contest: One man was said to have asked another what action was going to be taken to break the tie. The response of the man questioned was that both of the Republicans should be drowned.<sup>24</sup>

In the following year, the city Republicans committed a mistake which was to prove costly. Holding their mass meeting, for the off-year election, they passed over Ben Thurmond, who had served sixteen years on the city council, and nominated Winston Stark, who had not campaigned for office previously. Thurmond charged that insufficient

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1946.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., August 10, 1946.

notice was given that the mass meeting would be held, and that only a few people knew it was being called. Although the Democrats considered naming Thurmond as their candidate, Earl Fishburn was given the nomination at a first ward mass meeting attended by twenty-one people, the largest number of Democrats ever assembled in that ward, and the first time that women had ever participated, there being seven present.<sup>25</sup> The result was that the Republicans were defeated and the first ward was represented by a Democrat for the first time since 1936. Fishburn defeated his opponent by six votes. There were sixteen write-in votes for Ben Thurmond. The following year, Thurmond returned to the council, when the incumbent Republican, Frank Renner, decided not to seek renomination. The Republicans did surprise the community in 1948 when they filed candidates for seven county offices. All were defeated, in a year when the Democrats increased their margin of victory for the state and national candidates.<sup>26</sup>

In the first ward mass meeting of the Democrats in 1949, an organized group nominated Harry Findley, in place of Earl Fishburn. The Republicans did not call a mass meeting, and the Republican committeeman stated that his

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., February 26, 1947.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1948.

party was satisfied with Findley. This decision resulted in the loss of Republican representation on the council for several years.<sup>27</sup> In 1950, Ben Thurmond was renominated for the first ward at a mass meeting. A few days later, his nomination was challenged. A city ordinance required that no nominations could be made by a political party, through the convention system, if the party had polled less than three per cent of the vote cast in the previous city election unless a petition was circulated by the party, attaining an equal number of signatures. Thurmond, who was completing his eighteenth year on the council, secured an injunction preventing the removal of his name from the ballot until a ruling had been made by the circuit court. The court ruled that the Republicans had failed to comply with the ordinance which had been passed in 1920, and the Republican's name was removed. A write-in campaign was attempted, but Thurmond was defeated 79-73.<sup>28</sup> The Republican hold on the first ward had been broken.

The Republicans did file a complete ticket for the county election in 1950. Ben Thurmond filed for county representative, but was defeated in November 3,972 to

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., March 26, 1949.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., April 5, 1950.

1,447, receiving the second largest number of votes among the Republican candidates.<sup>29</sup>

The Republicans attempted to regain a position on the council in 1952, when a petition was filed and Frank Renner's name appeared on the ballot. He was defeated by ten votes.<sup>30</sup>

No Republican was elected to the council until 1961, when Gale Barnes, a telephone company employee, was elected in the fourth ward, formerly the old first ward. Nominated at a mass meeting, he was advised of the city ordinance and instructed that it would be necessary to circulate a petition. After circulating a petition, he was advised that signatures had to be witnessed. Candidate Barnes circulated another petition, accompanied by a local attorney as a witness. Other attempts allegedly were made to prevent his name from appearing on the ballot.

Westminster College students played an active role in the campaign which followed. Campaign meetings were held at fraternity houses. Negroes were invited to attend. A radio campaign was conducted. Students and interested Republicans walked from door to door in the fourth ward.

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., November 8, 1950.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1952.

The Republican was elected by an eleven vote margin.<sup>31</sup> The enthusiastic college students, pleased with the victory, telephoned Washington, calling first at the White House, where a Democrat lived. By a circuitous route, they were able to contact Republicans, and the next day received a telegram congratulating the Republicans of the Kingdom for their stunning break-through.

In 1951, Fulton voters did have an opportunity to make a decision at the city election, rather than at the primary or mass meetings. Two men ran as independents against incumbent Democrats. Their campaign grew out of dissatisfaction with the administration of the public utilities, streets and sewers under one superintendent, a system of administration which had been adopted two years before. It was the first time in a number of years that a contest had been held outside of the first ward. One of the independents was elected by two votes.<sup>32</sup>

## II. WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A REPUBLICAN

When Gale Barnes ran for the city council in 1961, a number of people, many of them businessmen, advised him

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., April 5, 1961.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1951.

that they were going to vote for him, but requested that he say nothing about it. Until a few years ago, only one Fulton businessman would permit the display of Republican posters in his window. Several Fultonians whispered to this Republican that they voted or intended to vote Republican, but posed as Democrats.

Republicans do find more acceptance today, however, than they did in the past. "When I lived here as a girl," one Callawegian said, "there were only two respectable white people in town who were Republicans. Negroes were Republicans, but you never thought of having a friend who was a Republican."

A merchant recalled: "My family has lived here for one hundred years. We always supported the Republican Party. But I have had people sit in my living room as guests and make insulting remarks about it."

The strength of the Democratic Party has been the subject of much light-hearted discussion in Fulton, but this does not deny its serious undertones. The dilemma of the Republican is illustrated by one of several stories appearing in the newspaper over a period of years. In 1943, a loyal Republican went to the polls intending to support the party's nominees. He looked first at the Democratic column, as he wanted to vote for a friend who was a candidate for the Missouri Senate. Knowing the Democratic candidate for

superintendent of schools, he also voted for him, as well as for Democrat Clarence Cannon.

The Republican voter turned back to his party's ticket, and it was then he discovered that there were no other contests in which he could give his support to the G.O.P. He cleared his conscience, however, by placing an "X" under the Republican party emblem, thus enabling him to give his moral support to the party.<sup>33</sup>

Republicans have their fun, as well, particularly H. Clay McGregor, whose advertisements delight the people of the Kingdom, even if he is not a loyal Democrat:

**Paradoxical!**

Dr. Henry Harmon, former president of William Woods College, never was quite able to understand how a 'Damn Republican' could make a living off of Kingdom of Callaway Democrats! Our guess is, the 'Kingdom' brand must be superior to the country's average.

Anyway the first party that agrees to pay us for 'not' making, cleaning, and altering clothes, we will surely join.

By the way, try our services and you'll really have something to complain about, besides 'taxes.'<sup>34</sup>

Republicans sometimes estimate that over seventy per cent of the business men in Fulton are Republicans, but will not admit it or will not take part in Republican Party activities because of fear that it will affect their business. They recognize weaknesses in organization,

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., November 5, 1942.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1958.

indifference, and public relations. There are predictions that a Republican councilman could be elected from the first ward of Fulton, but they have been unable to persuade a qualified person to become a candidate. There are conflicting accounts as to the amount and degree of social pressure on Republicans, ranging from stories that a given business man was boycotted by Democrats, to the view that there is no pressure at all. A number of Democrats express a benevolent tolerance toward Republicans. "Republicans have a right to their opinions, and a lot of them are real nice people. You know, we have to have a two-party system for our government to operate." Democrats can afford to be benevolent in the Kingdom.

There are those, in the Republican ranks, who are bitter. "I'll never vote for a lousy Democrat," one supporter of the party of Lincoln declared. "I don't think there is a Democrat alive who is honest. There are Democrats in this town who would vote for a nigger if he ran as a Democrat." Others, like many Democrats are more tolerant.

### III. DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION

The Democratic county committee is composed of one committeeman and one committeewoman from sixteen townships in the county, the fifth precinct of Fulton, and the four



wards of the community, plus a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer, for a total of forty-six members. Until 1958, Fulton Township was equally represented with the other townships of the county, having only one committeeman and one committeewoman, a situation which led to a considerable amount of dissension. There is a city Democratic committee, as well, representing the four wards of Fulton. Usually, there is no contest for positions on the committees, at least no contest which is made public. There have been occasions when competition has developed, as will be seen later, and it has sometimes been bitter.

In addition to the formal organization of the political party, there is a Young Democrats Club in Callaway, and a Democratic women's organization. Until 1951, the Young Democrats was an active group, particularly in the presidential election years. In 1941, the membership of the Young Democrats totaled 450, and a Fulton attorney, Hugh P. Williamson, after an active campaign, was elected state president of the Missouri Young Democrats. For a number of years, in addition to having regular monthly meetings, the Young Democrats conducted a charity program in the county, distributing Christmas baskets to needy families, a practice which led to criticisms that the organization was playing politics and was sending baskets to Democratic families only.

The Young Democratic Club has gradually declined, although attempts have been made in the last year to instill new life into it. During 1960-1961, and at the height of the presidential election, the Young Democrats did not have any meetings. Since the autumn of 1961, meetings have been held rather regularly. Programs generally consist of speeches by politicians and party activists of the state, a number of them being members of the executive branch of state government from Jefferson City. Membership in the last year has been under one hundred, and an attendance by forty is considered a good crowd. Many of those who do attend, however, are not young Democrats, but men and women over forty years of age. County officials are among the most loyal participants.

The most active party organization is the women's group. Formed in September of 1951, it became the largest club of its type in the ninth congressional district by the summer of 1952, with 255 members. Since that time, its membership has increased to over 800. The group meets each month at various communities in the county. A "pot-luck" dinner is served and it is not unusual for four hundred or more men and women to attend. It is not necessary to be a female in order to become a member of the women's group. Some of the most active and regular participants are men.

Following the regular dinner at the meetings,

allegiance is pledged to the United States Flag. Entertainment by local talent usually follows. State and county officials, as well as visitors from other clubs across the state, are introduced. Candidates for public office are asked to stand, or may be asked to make some brief comments. Such comments often consist of information describing one's family background, statements about the Kingdom, and why the person is seeking the office. Policy statements are seldom made. The candidate simply states that he needs the job, that he is putting his son through college, that he has been a loyal Democrat, and that he would be diligent, honest, and fair, and would perform the functions of public office to the best of his ability, if elected. The minutes are read with some ceremony and seriousness. Various reports and announcements are made. Speeches are presented by politicians of considerable prominence in the state of Missouri. All of the speakers are Democrats, and the content does not vary greatly. The women are told of the importance of participation in public affairs. The Democratic Party is praised as the champion of the working man, the common man, and the farmer. Accomplishments of the New Deal are given particular attention. The Republican Party is depicted as the party of big business and obstructionism. The Kingdom of Callaway is appropriately mentioned and almost always praised for its loyalty to the

Democratic cause. Sweeping victories are forecast. Appeals are made for "getting out the vote." Men and women cheer exuberantly. A departure from this format is not met with approval by some members of the club. "The Speaker of the House made a speech and offered some constructive criticisms," one club member recalled, "and a number of people became irritated about it. People like to be praised and not criticized."

It is difficult to separate the social function from the political function of the organization, but one wonders if the social function is not the more important. For many this is an opportunity to see and visit with people from all over the county. It affords a convenient and effective way to visit, gossip, and discuss crops. This is not to deny the political importance. It is essential for candidates, and potential candidates, to make an appearance at the women's club meeting. Sudden interest in the organization is taken as an indication that a person intends to file for office, or at least has some political ambitions.

The formal party organizations insist that their function is almost entirely of an administrative nature and that they have little or nothing to do with selecting candidates or supporting individual candidates before the primary elections are held. Their primary concern is with

voting procedure, the selection of judges and clerks, and recommendations to fill vacancies or patronage positions. However, interest in county and city politics has decreased, and party officials have taken action in a few instances to persuade candidates to run. Commented a committee official: "It's a shame that no one is interested in holding local offices. A lot of the people who do run are in their dotage and aren't good for much." Instances are known of candidates being asked to run by committee members, or by other political office-holders. This is particularly true in the case of the city council. "I had to practically beat Harry Flack into running," admitted a city office holder, and the candidate himself stated that he was contacted by several party officials, asking him to be a candidate.

The committee is largely financed by individual donations, although the Young Democrats and the women's organization contribute. Much of the money comes from state employees and politicians, but contributions are not mandatory for the latter. Many state and local employees contribute two per cent of their annual salaries to the organization. In the past, institutional personnel in Fulton, public school teachers as well as personnel at the two state institutions, allegedly were required to contribute. There is no evidence that this practice continues.

In the early 1940's there was much criticism of this practice, but it was defended by the Democrats. In 1940, when the criticism was particularly vocal, a prominent Fulton Democrat responded to the charges:

This may be a good or bad system, but good or bad, it is now and always has been the American way, it will continue to be for some years to come, and, good or bad, people must govern their actions according to the facts as they are, not as they perhaps should be.<sup>35</sup>

The writer went on to argue that the party had a perfect right to ask for contributions from those who had been assisted, asserting that they should gratefully repay the debt they owed and should have the intelligence to recognize that it was in their interests to do so.

#### IV. ONE-PARTY POLITICS

There are residents of Callaway County who are critical of the Democratic dominance. This is particularly true of people moving into the community, but one also hears comments from native Callawegians who are Democrats. "I wish the Republicans were stronger," one Democrat said. "I believe that a two-party system is essential. We need some loyal opposition, but I could not bring myself to support the Republican party."

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., September 24, 1940.

Republicans often complain that there is only one newspaper in Fulton, and that it supports the Democratic Party. The radio station, on the other hand, reportedly has Republican sentiments, but it is not considered as important in terms of political persuasion. Generally speaking, Republicans do not criticize the press as being unfair, for distorting news stories, or for discouraging Republican statements or advertisements, but simply regret that Republicans do not have a comparable supporter. One does, of course, encounter individuals who are openly and sometimes bitterly critical, but they are members of a small minority. As a matter of fact, both the newspaper and the radio station appear to have a conservative bias which is much more in keeping with the national posture of the Republican Party, or, to state it differently, a bias which is in keeping with the Democratic Party of the South. Every Sunday afternoon, a conservative public forum program, with origins in Mississippi, is broadcast by the radio station. The newspaper has opposed federal aid to education, medical care for the aged under Social Security, and an increase in the minimum wage, among other proposals.<sup>36</sup>

Being a one-party county, the process of nomination, as in the South or many counties of Little Dixie,

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., February 12, 1960, April 19, 1961.

constitutes election to office in almost all instances. The city primary is held in February in even-numbered years, with mass meetings in the wards being substituted in odd-numbered years. There are two councilmen from each of the four wards, serving staggered terms. The primary for state, district, county, and township offices, is held on the first Tuesday in August, of even-numbered years.

Attendance and participation at the ward mass meetings is generally small. Usually, information as to who is to be nominated in a given ward is circulated before the mass meeting is held. The mass meeting is simply a routine, cut-and-dried ceremony, decisions being made informally, prior to the meeting. In a few cases competing groups have organized and have nominated a different candidate. A former chairman of the city committee related that on one occasion a mass meeting was called, and he was the only one present. Telephone calls were made. Three other men finally gathered, and a candidate was nominated. This was an unusual case. In 1949, the nomination of the councilman from the second ward was decided by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-seven, while in 1961 one hundred and seven people voted. In 1949 the third ward candidate was selected after



four people were nominated, the vote being distributed thirty-four, sixteen, four, and one.<sup>37</sup>

Attendance still is not impressive, however, when it is considered that nomination at the mass meeting constitutes election, for all practical purposes, unless a Republican candidate is nominated in the fourth ward, formerly the first. While one hundred and seven people attended the mass meeting at the first ward in 1961, 1,233 people in that ward voted in the presidential election of 1960.<sup>38</sup>

Primary campaigns have frequently been hotly contested, with a few contests determined by one or two votes. There have been instances when campaigns have reflected bitter conflicts between opposing community groups, a situation which will be described in some detail at a later time.

In 1942, the most heavily contested race at the city level was the contest for city collector, for which six candidates had filed, while at the county level, the closest race was for county representative, a contest which was complicated for a time because the vote at New Bloomfield was reported twice.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., March 4, 1949.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., November 9, 1960.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., February 28, 1942.

In 1944, James Moore won the nomination for county representative by one vote.<sup>40</sup> He lost in his bid for renomination in 1946.<sup>41</sup> In 1948, the county campaign was rather dull, even though a Fulton man campaigned for the state senate, opposing Edward Long.<sup>42</sup>

The city primary of 1950 was vigorous. J. Frank Hensley, mayor for fourteen ywars, was not a candidate, and Raymond Walker opposed Jack Garrett for the nomination. Council posts were contested in three wards. One candidate pledged that there would be no under-cover government if he was elected.<sup>43</sup> The eligibility of one third ward candidate was challenged on the basis of residence.<sup>44</sup> Jack Garrett won the nomination for mayor, defeating Walker 1,162 to 819.<sup>45</sup>

Two years later, another heated discussion developed as citizens of Fulton prepared to nominate city officials. Controversy centered around two issues, publicly, the

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., August 2, 1944.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., August 7, 1946.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1948.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., March 4, 1950.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., March 6, 1950.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., March 8, 1950.

operation of the municipal utilities and the criticism that the city council was irreconcilably divided into two groups. The Fulton Chamber of Commerce suggested that the utilities be placed under the control of a board of public works, stating that the utilities should be taken out of politics, or, in other words, taken out of the control of a committee of the council. In making the proposal, it was stated that the Chamber had no quarrel with anyone, nor was any criticism of individuals intended. A representative of the Chamber went on to state, however, that there was dissatisfaction with the council because of its inability to reach decisions.

A group opposing the Chamber proposal was formed, calling itself the Fulton Good Government League. In public statements, the League stated that it did not favor any candidate, and was not, therefore, campaigning for any particular group. It observed that an effort had been made to picture the council as being divided, and rejected this criticism as being false, stating that between April and July of 1952 there had been only three tied votes, and that over an eight-month period, one hundred sixty-five votes, out of one hundred seventy-six, had resulted in unanimous decisions. The League went on to list a number of questions, which it argued every thinking citizen should ask. Why was an effort being made to stir up discussion and distrust? Was the effort to discredit the council also an

effort to discredit members who were seeking reelection?

Who would benefit from such unrest?

Is this effort to create public dissatisfaction of the Council also the advance move to take the management of our public utilities out of the Council's hands, and put them under a politically appointed 'utilities board,' as advocated by T. H. Van Sant at a Chamber of Commerce meeting earlier this month?<sup>46</sup>

The League did not know the answers, but declared its intention to find out. The question of control of the utilities and the use of power became a matter of much discussion.

A candidate for the council in the third ward announced that he stood for the right of every councilman to vote as his conscience and judgment dictated, "without pressure or domination by any political boss or special group."<sup>47</sup> Another candidate stated that he believed in the municipally owned utility system and would defend it from any selfish interest that existed inside or outside of Fulton.<sup>48</sup> Still another candidate campaigned through newspaper announcements, stating that most people knew him, since he had lived in the same ward for forty-four years, and people knew him to be honest and sincere. He had earned

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., February 29, 1952.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., March 1, 1952.

all that he had through thrift and hard work. He would watch the expenditure of money as if it were his own, if elected to the council, and would not be influenced by any boss or pressure group.<sup>49</sup>

On the same day, the Chamber of Commerce published a statement denying that it was involved in politics, stating that the names of its members were available to the public, and that its one purpose was to do what was best for the community as a whole. The Chamber did not want the citizens of the community to be misled by statements published by the Good Government League, however, and declared that insinuations by that group were untrue. The Chamber's goal, in proposing the utilities board, was to remove the utilities from politics. The proposed board would be non-partisan. No criticism of the council was intended.<sup>50</sup>

The campaign continued. An advertisement called on fellow Democrats to vote for a particular list of candidates if they desired harmony in the party, new life and vigor, and party primaries instead of mass meetings.

Contests for the city council were close. In the second ward, Harry Gannaway defeated Bert Wagener by a six vote margin. In three of the four wards there were contests

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1952.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

for the position of Democratic committeeman, a position which is infrequently contested. Two of those elected were men who had been critical of political control and bossism.<sup>51</sup> Shortly after the election, the council delayed action on the controversial board of public works. The proposal was filed for discussion, but the council made no comment.<sup>52</sup>

In the August primary of 1952, most of the attention was centered on the nomination for county sheriff, with six men in the race for the Democratic nomination. One candidate declared that he was a Democrat by birth and by belief, that he had lived in Callaway County for twenty years, and further informed the voters: "I do not and have not used intoxicating liquor, nor do I buy it for others to influence them for votes."<sup>53</sup> A second candidate advised voters that he was born and reared near Fulton, had been employed at the shoe factory, the state hospital, and had also operated a farm, while a third, the incumbent, used poetry to persuade the citizens that he was the man for the job:

We can't catch them all, for some leave no clue--  
They don't leave their cards, like the candidates do.  
Sometimes they plead guilty, and the judge will scold,  
And half the country will want them paroled.

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., March 5, 1952.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., March 7, 1952.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., August 2, 1952.

They blame the depression, the New Deal, the Tariff,  
 But most of the folks put the blame on the sheriff.  
 So it's quite a game if you stay right in--  
 You'll get a pat on the back, and a sock on the chin.<sup>54</sup>

Nine stanzas of poetry, concluding with the hope that he would serve four more years, did not do the trick, however, as the candidate ranked fourth in the field of six, the winning candidate receiving a total of 1,697 at the polls, while the sixth man received forty-four votes.<sup>55</sup>

Again, in 1954, there was a contest for the office of mayor, a young realtor competing with a restaurant operator. And again there were charges and insinuations, both public and private, of factions and of bossism. In campaign advertisements, one candidate asserted that he had no quarrel with any person or group, nor was he being supported by any person or group. "I am asking to be your mayor because I believe that you, like myself, want to see certain things done that will make Fulton a growing, progressive, and happy community, and a better town in which to live."<sup>56</sup> In considering community needs, he proposed the encouragement of new industry, the building of a community center, adequate police protection, and a reexamination of

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., August 6, 1952.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., February 22, 1954.

utility rates. His opponent advocated sensible expansion, sane living, and sound business.<sup>57</sup>

The campaign continued vigorously, with Ed Estes, the restaurant owner, declaring: "I have no political machine to force you to vote for me, nor do I have any so-called 'Committee for Mayor' to tell you how to vote. If you choose me for your mayor it will be of your own free will and because we believe in the same things."<sup>58</sup>

The mayoralty contest was decisive. Ed Estes defeated his younger opponent, 1,021 to 670.<sup>59</sup>

The August primary of 1954 was quietly conducted. There was a four-way contest for county collector. The incumbent state representative, Bernard Simcoe, member of a pioneer family, defeated John Cave, son of an attorney and judge who had been prominent in county and state politics for a number of years.

Failing in this attempt to win the nomination for county representative, Mr. Cave, a graduate of Harvard Law School, filed in 1956 for the position of city attorney. He was opposed by Clyde Burch, a young attorney who was not a

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., March 5, 1954.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., March 8, 1954.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., March 10, 1954.



Callawegian and was not practicing law, but was teaching in the Fulton High School. Although it was a cold winter and snow was on the ground, Mr. Burch campaigned from door to door in Bulton. His opponent, on the other hand, did not wage an active campaign, partly because he was deeply involved at that time as an attorney in a criminal case, and partly, it is sometimes said, because he was confident of victory. The Callawegian was defeated by a vote of 460 to 403.<sup>60</sup>

Attention in the August primary was again centered on the sheriff's race, with four candidates competing for that office. There were contests for the nomination to fill the offices of representative, assessor, and county judge of the western district. In 1958, in the city election, there were three contests for the council. Former mayor Ed Estes was defeated in a bid for the first ward council seat. Frank Hensley, the former mayor, who had stepped down in 1952, returned as mayor with four hundred four votes. Two other individuals received write-in votes. It was a quiet campaign with no campaign ads or statements preceding the election.

A quiet campaign followed in the August primary of the following year. When the filing date had passed, the

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., February 29, 1956.

newspaper reported:

Those who follow politics closely received a surprise this year when the filing deadline for the August primary arrived, for the number who filed for county office hit what is believed to be a new low.<sup>61</sup>

There were contests, however. A write-in campaign was conducted for Howard Davis, a candidate for the county court. "Mr. Davis," a campaign advertisement informed, "is a life-long resident of Callaway County," a member of a prominent "pioneer family," and a successful farmer and livestock raiser.<sup>62</sup> A close race developed between two candidates for the position of county collector. After absentee ballots were counted, it was found that Glenn Massey had defeated W. L. Cave by two votes.<sup>63</sup>

The 1960 city primary was relatively quiet, with two contests. There was a considerable amount of surprise later in the year, however, when it was learned that a Fulton physician had filed as a candidate for the United States House of Representatives, in competition with Clarence Cannon, the patron saint of many Democrats in Callaway. There was great speculation about the candidacy, and a number of rumors were circulated. As the primary

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., May 7, 1958.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., August 2, 1958.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., August 8, 1958.

approached, the candidate, Dr. Rutledge Gish, defended himself in a letter to the newspaper. He stated that he was a Presbyterian, not a Catholic. He denied that he was merely grooming himself for the 1962 campaign, and criticized what he termed "some of the dirtiest and most vicious slandering," by people in the county, some of whom, he said, would not recognize him if they saw him on the street.<sup>64</sup> In the primary, Dr. Gish received over eight hundred votes. Clarence Cannon received more than three thousand. Again, the contest for sheriff of Callaway County attracted attention. Kermit Truitt, with most of his support in Fulton, was defeated by W. A. Dawson, a popular figure in the county.<sup>65</sup> Other county contests were for the county court and the office of coroner.

Two council contests developed in 1962, the closest being in the second ward, where W. C. Whitlow, the incumbent, defeated M. A. Heckman, receiving nine more votes than his opponent. In August, attention was focussed on the county collector race. W. L. Cave, defeated by two votes previously, was elected by a surprisingly large margin of votes. There were contests for presiding judge, and for

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1960.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., August 3, 1960.

judge of the eastern district of the county. Clarence Cannon received 3,464 votes in Callaway, compared to six hundred twenty-eight for Rutledge Gish, in the race for United States Congress.<sup>66</sup>

In a number of counties in the state of Missouri, the office of prosecuting attorney attracts many candidates and frequently provides the most interesting contests. In Callaway, there has been competition for this office on occasion, as in 1944, when a very active campaign was waged, but in recent years, there has been no contest. There are several explanations for this. All of the lawyers in Callaway County are Democrats. No Republicans have contested for the office. While it has proved to be a political stepping-stone for a few people, it has not been beneficial to others except in terms of giving them experience. The salary, to an established lawyer, is not particularly attractive and the duties require a considerable expenditure of time.

It has become traditional for the prosecuting attorney to serve two terms, before relinquishing the office to another attorney. Although some lawyers deny that there is any agreement made among themselves, others state that this is the case. One attorney stated that he and two other

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., August 8, 1962.

attorneys were discussing the office on one occasion and he mentioned that he would like to serve. The incumbent stated that he had held the office long enough; the other attorney did not want the position at that time. It was decided that the first attorney would seek the nomination. He had no competitor. More recently, when a young attorney was asked why he was running for the office, he replied: "It's my turn."

#### V. WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A DEMOCRAT

Callaway County is Democratic, and proud of it. One sometimes wonders why. If one discusses political issues with individuals in the county, the impression is received that there is a conservatism to political perspectives which is more in keeping with the Republican Party. The local newspaper, although it supports the Democratic Party, is rather critical of many of the proposals which the party has supported. One individual, a member of an old, Democratic family in Callaway, declared: "Barry Goldwater is my man." Another described the situation in this way: "There is a conflict between the political ideas of the people of Callaway and their support of the Democratic Party. I considered myself a Democrat for many years, but I don't find my sentiments expressed in either party." Still another man remarked that he did not feel he should leave

the Democratic Party simply because he did not agree with its platform or proposals. "I feel that I should stay in the Party and attempt to influence it if it becomes too liberal."

While most people say that Callaway is conservative in perspective, a questionnaire circulated in the community of Fulton indicated a more liberal viewpoint than had been anticipated. Respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved of eight different proposals. Forty-one per cent of the individuals approved of medical care for the aged under the social security system, while forty-three per cent disapproved, and sixteen per cent had no opinion. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents approved of increased federal funds for public housing and urban renewal, while thirty per cent disapproved, and eight per cent had no opinion. Federal aid to education, for public schools only, met with the approval of fifty-three per cent of the people; thirty-three per cent disapproved. Only seventeen per cent approved of aid to parochial schools as well as to public schools, sixty-nine per cent of the people disapproving, and fourteen per cent having no opinion. One question was intentionally made rigid. It asked if individuals approved or disapproved of a constitutional amendment permitting states to pass laws requiring prayers in public schools, thus over-ruling a

Supreme Court decision. Forty-three per cent of the people said that they favored such an amendment; forty-two per cent did not, and fifteen per cent had no opinion or were undecided. The extension of wage and hour laws to cover retail stores was approved by fifty-three per cent, disapproved by twenty-three, while sixty-eight per cent of the people said that they approved of the extension of anti-trust legislation to cover labor unions as well as business. Only five per cent of the people objected to this, while twenty-seven per cent had no opinion.<sup>67</sup>

Certainly, if the results of the questionnaire are to be given any weight, it could be argued that, given the Democratic majority, the questionnaire does not indicate a liberal viewpoint in keeping with the national party leadership. Surprise resulted, in conducting the survey because comments made during interviews were almost consistently critical of big government, centralization of power, and the growth of the welfare state, if not of socialism.

It has already been pointed out that the Republican Party has received more support in recent years at the national level than was formerly the case. It is difficult

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<sup>67</sup>See Appendix A.

to say how significant this is, since this trend began in 1952, with a national hero campaigning for the presidency, and continued through 1960, when religion was an issue. The Democratic vote also dropped in 1928, when Al Smith was the Democratic candidate.

Republicans sometimes run for city offices as Democrats, and are elected. Furthermore, Republicans vote in the Democratic primary and Democrats who are aware of this do not seem to object. Again, it is difficult to reach any conclusions. On the one hand, one might conclude that party allegiance means very little. Voters are acquainted with the candidates personally and make a decision on an individual basis, rather than in terms of party affiliation. The Democratic ticket becomes a nonpartisan ticket at the local level. On the other hand, one might conclude that the party designation is particularly important at the local level. Republicans campaign as Democrats and vote as Democrats because they know that it would be futile to run and vote as Republicans. Democrats, following this argument, will vote for Republicans and allow Republicans to vote as long as they act like Democrats. While Democrats will vote for Republicans when they campaign as Democrats, they would not vote for the same man if he filed as a Republican. A number of people who were interviewed, it might be added, expressed this viewpoint, and among them were people who had



voted for Eisenhower. A third conclusion is possible. Republicans act like Democrats because they have no organization worth giving the name. In order to be effective, either in winning a political contest or in giving support to a candidate in a contest, work and effort would be required. Even then, success would be doubtful, as the Democrats would react against the threat. To act like a Democrat is simply the easiest way to have a voice in the Kingdom.

In any case, the party at the local level appears to have a different significance than it does at the national level. This may be the result of the increased attention given national affairs, and a corresponding decrease of interest in local affairs, or it may indicate that attention is focussed on policies at the national level, and on administration at the local level.

Several reasons can be given for the dominance of the Democratic Party in the Kingdom of Callaway. The county was settled by individuals who migrated from southern states. The solid South is both Democratic and conservative. Party allegiance was inherited.

This is directly related to the Civil War experience, and some individuals emphasize that period. "I can tell you why people vote Democratic," one man said. "It's because of the way they were treated by Union troops. I can remember my mother telling about how they would come to her house and

demand that she prepare supper for twenty or thirty of them. They would steal the horses and shoot the livestock. It's hard to forget something like that." Another Callawegian stated: "Callawegians are Jeffersonian Democrats. They are opposed to every liberal idea the Democrats ever came up with. But they don't like the Republicans because of the Civil War."

There are practical, or seemingly practical reasons for voting Democratic. Missouri is a Democratic state. Fulton has two state institutions. Hospital Number One employs more people than any other institution or business in the county. Furthermore, a large number of people in Callaway, particularly in the southern part of the county, work for the state government in Jefferson City, just across the Missouri River from the county. Callawegians thus employed have friends and relatives. This type of loyalty is not as rational as it was a few years ago, when employment at the institutions was controlled by patronage. As one man described it: "If a person had been a good Democrat, he could get a job. This meant something to the families of individuals as well as to the individuals themselves. Of course, that situation has changed, but the tradition is there just the same."

One can not discount social pressure. One finds it difficult not to be a Democrat, if it is only for the sake

of appearance. That some of this pressure to conform does exist is evidenced by the whisperings of individuals that they were going to vote for a Republican, and by the complaint by Republicans that they have been insulted because of their political views. One man confessed: "I was a Republican when I moved here. But how can a fellow be a Republican in the Kingdom of Callaway."

There is an additional explanation, or perhaps a reinforcement of Democratic loyalty: the myth of the Kingdom. A part of the ideology of the Kingdom is that Callawegians are Democrats. Being a Callawegian is given some emphasis. "It is good to be a Callawegian." Callawegians are loyal to the Kingdom and to each other. The heritage of the Kingdom is respected by good Callawegians. Callawegians should conform. They should accept the Kingdom for what it is, "the best place in the world to live," as one politician said. They should not be critical, or cause trouble. Republicans did cause trouble: the Civil War, the freeing of the slaves, the reconstruction period, the depression.

All of these reasons, and perhaps others, can be given as an explanation for the dominance of the Democratic Party, and for the behavior of individuals in expressing their loyalty to the party. There is reason to stress, however, that the Democratic Party is a symbol, related to and used as a reflection of the Kingdom of Callaway. Just

as Callawegians are proud of the Kingdom, and are proud of having been born in the Kingdom, they are proud of being born Democrats. If they waver in their loyalty in presidential election years, it may be for the same reason that one Callawegian gave: "I did not leave the Democratic Party when I voted for Nixon. The Democratic Party left me."

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SPIRIT AND STYLE OF POLITICS

That the Democratic Party wins the support of a majority of Callawegians is evident. That the Civil War heritage is related to this political affiliation is an interpretation which can be applied to Callaway, as it is applied to a number of counties and states which have experienced an identification with the South. That support of the Democratic Party is symbolic of support of the Kingdom is, at least, an interesting interpretation.

As in many rural counties, the style of politics in the Kingdom of Callaway places emphasis on informality, trust, friendship, and neighborliness. Evidence of this may be seen not only in the attitudes which voters express toward candidates, but in the manner of campaigning, and in the conduct of elections.

Elections themselves often become social affairs, with groups getting together on election night to watch television and listen to the radio as the results are announced. During the day, groups of men may be seen on the courthouse lawn, in barber shops and on street corners, speculating about the election and innumerable other subjects. The Sun-Gazette sponsors an election party on

the night of the August primary. Temporary benches, made of boards and concrete blocks, are erected in the street in front of the newspaper building. Traffic is diverted to other streets. Callawegians sit, talk, and listen as election returns are announced over a public address system and figures are entered on a large board.

Years ago, the Monday stock sales, held on the lawn of the old courthouse, were the occasion for political activity. Old timers say that many an election was determined by conversations and campaigning conducted on the Monday before the Tuesday election.

### I. CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

Since the 1930's campaigning in the Kingdom has been slight, if one thinks in terms of speeches and statements of policy. The local newspaper, in the last twenty years, has consistently complained of this and has asked the candidates to make statements. Few candidates respond, except those who are campaigning for the Fulton Board of Education. In 1946, prior to the August primary, the newspaper observed that speaking engagements were being arranged in counties around Callaway, but not in the Kingdom itself.

It has been six or more years since a candidate for Callaway office has took [sig.] to the stump in

an effort to convince voters that he's 'the man,' and there are no indications that the once popular 'speakings' will return any time soon.<sup>1</sup>

Ten years later, the newspaper again commented about this. "Here in Callaway, campaigning has become an ice cream social and card passing affair."<sup>2</sup> Individuals also complain that campaigning is not what it was formerly, that candidates in years past spoke on issues and what they hoped to accomplish if elected.

There have been occasions, particularly during presidential election years, when rallies and speaking engagements were arranged. In 1944, an old-fashioned, torch-light parade was staged in Fulton in support of a fourth term for Franklin Roosevelt. Two years later, the Democrats used an airplane and a public address system to campaign in the county. And in 1950, a local quartet, known as "Clarence's Cannonballs" sang at rallies and Democratic dinners on behalf of Representative Cannon. In the 1960 presidential campaign, religion was the major question in the Kingdom, or at least provoked the greatest amount of conversation, and Democratic campaigning was taken seriously. Democratic speakers appeared before various groups and

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<sup>1</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette., June 29, 1946.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., May 21, 1956.

discussed the issue. Shortly before the election, a criminal libel suit was filed against a county resident for circulating the viciously misrepresented "Knights of Columbus Oath." The county prosecuting attorney explained the suit, later dropped, in the following way:

The deliberate trying to hurt any organization, or its members, through the spreading of false and lying statements, is very, very wrong and illegal, whether the organization is the Knights of Columbus, the Masons, the Odd Fellows, a Civic Club, the MYF of the Methodist Church, the Training Union of the Baptist Church, the Christian Women's Fellowship of the Christian Church, the men's class of the Presbyterian Church, or any organization.

In the case of the Odd Fellows and the Men's Class of the Presbyterian Church, I would personally have to step aside as prosecutor because of my membership and would have a special prosecutor appointed.<sup>3</sup>

Candidates for county and city offices ordinarily campaign on an informal basis. They attend ice cream socials at various points in the county. Summer or winter, candidates attend meetings of the Democratic women, where they are introduced, stand, and wave confidently to the crowd. Most of the campaigning, however, is conducted on street corners and front porches. Every candidate has an adequate supply of printed cards advising people that he is a candidate and that their votes will be appreciated. The candidate walks from house to house, ringing door bells or

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., November 4, 1960.



inserting the card in the mail box or screen door. It has become traditional that the candidate also place an advertisement in the newspaper stating that he has distributed his cards. If he has missed anyone, the statement traditionally asserts, he is sorry. Appreciation is expressed for the many kindnesses shown during the campaign. Telephone numbers are listed for the benefit of voters who may need transportation to the polls.

Some of the campaign statements have been described in the previous chapter. Frequently, emphasis is placed on being a native of Callaway County. Previous employment, number of children, church membership, veteran status, and membership in organizations are described. Much is made of being a Democrat. One candidate advised the voters that he was a life-long Democrat, always active, earnest and whole-hearted in his work for the Democratic ticket, while one advertisement simply listed the candidate's name and declared: "An Unwashed Democrat, You Know Me."<sup>4</sup>

Another candidate was more elaborate, stating that he had lived in Callaway for forty-nine years and had raised two sons who were much more intelligent than their father. His own father, the man explained, was a life-long Democrat,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1942.

with whom he had attended Democratic rallies as a boy. With a father having such strong convictions, he could not be anything but a Democrat, and he was.

Sure I have at times criticized some things we have done but it never made a Republican of me. No doubt, if I am elected to be your judge, some of you will criticize some of the things I will do. But if you do, I sure won't call you a Republican.<sup>5</sup>

Fulton, Missouri, and the Kingdom of Callaway are often cited in the statements. In the August campaign of 1956, a candidate asserted that most people were acquainted with him personally and he did not feel that his politics needed any explanation, and certainly no apologies. He had lived in the Kingdom all of his life, he informed the voters, and had spent his entire life in what he considered a great county.<sup>6</sup> A victor of the 1962 August primary, after thanking the voters of Callaway for their support, added as an afterthought: "I still think Callaway County is the best place in the world to live."<sup>7</sup>

Even Fulton businessmen sometimes rejoice over Democratic victories. In 1944, a businessman published an advertisement for several days which commanded:

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., July 16, 1954.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., August 3, 1956.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., August 8, 1962.

Let's Go.  
Things are normal for four more years.<sup>8</sup>

On front porches and on street-corners, candidates warm the hands of voters and again state that they are Democrats and Callawegians, and always have been. A candidate is expected to be down-to-earth, sincere, friendly, and unpretentious. In some instances, a physical handicap, loss of job, or illness is also stated as a reason for running for office. If one questions a candidate, he can not always describe how he would administer the office he is seeking, except to say that he would perform the duties of the office to the best of his ability. In most cases, no criticisms will be made of opponents, who may be described as being good men also.

Family relationships and friendships play an important role in campaigning. There are close and extensive family ties in Callaway. Inter-marriages have been frequent and have become complicated since the Kingdom was settled. "You have to be careful who you talk about," a newcomer observed, "because he might be related to the person you are talking with." Some candidates have relatives scattered all over the county. Politics becomes, in no small way, a family affair. No one could defeat the county representative in an

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., November 25, 1944.

election, it was suggested by one politician, unless the opposing candidate was related to as many people as the incumbent and came from another family of pioneer stock. County candidates have to be known to be elected, with the exception of the prosecuting attorney. This situation is cited by relatively new residents as a reason for not attempting to campaign for office.

Close family ties are important outside of the purely political context and affect power relations, as well. Six families in Fulton, representing a substantial part of the influential and affluent members of the community, are related to each other by family ties, with interests in banking, insurance, real estate, farming, and business. There are families which have participated in politics for a number of years. A city councilman, often referred to as the dominant member of the city council, was the son of a lawyer who held county and state offices, and his brother-in-law was once a candidate for mayor. Political participation often dates back several generations in a given family. Even when family relationships are distant, or when personal associations are relatively insignificant, family names which have become familiar over the years are considered with respect.

Even with the emphasis on being a Democrat, Republicans, campaigning as Democrats, have been elected to

the Fulton City Council, as mentioned earlier. This has happened in at least two instances, and perhaps in more. Democratic Party officers and activists are aware of it. "I don't like it," said one party official, "but the people who have done this were never really active in Republican Party activities. So, I guess it doesn't make too much difference." Another political leader commented that this could be done only if the person was not widely known as a Republican. However, it was discovered that a considerable number of people were aware that office holders were sometimes Republicans in Democratic clothing.

## II. ELECTION PROCEDURE

Not only have Republicans been elected as Democrats on the city council, but many Republicans vote in the Democratic primary. Theoretically, Missouri has a closed primary election. When voters arrive at the polls, they are asked which party they intend to support in the general election. They are then given the ballot designated, it being assumed that the individuals will vote for candidates of that political party in November. In recent years, however, no known or admitted Republicans have campaigned for county office, and have seldom campaigned for city offices. As a result, Republicans simply ask for a Democratic ballot. At the general election, they vote as

they please for state and national candidates.

Again, election judges and other individuals are aware that this practice is followed. One man, who had been an election judge on several occasions, admitted that he knew some of the voters were Republicans, but he did not challenge their voting as Democrats. "I knew it was the custom here," he explained, "and I didn't want to cause a fuss about it." A number of people were asked about this practice, and their comments were much the same.

"Personally, I don't see anything wrong with Republicans voting in the Democratic primary, or even running for office as Democrats," an attorney said. "I feel like they should be able to express themselves. If they didn't vote as Democrats, they would have no voice at all."

Even though Fulton has a population of over 10,000, there is no registration of voters, as there is in other towns and cities of that size in Missouri. In 1950, the decennial census indicated that Fulton had reached a population in excess of 10,000. This, of course, included patients and students at the institutions. Registration was held. By early February, 2,500 voters had registered, out of an estimated 3,000 qualified voters. Difficulties developed in the first city election. Some voters were registered on election day, a legitimate practice if the voters had been ill or out of town during the registration

period. Difficulties continued with registration, although they were being gradually overcome. In 1957, the Callaway County representative to the General Assembly introduced legislation excluding Fulton from the registration requirement, citing the fact that the community did not actually have a resident population of 10,000. Even though the expense of registration had been met and residents had become accustomed to the use of the system, registration was dropped.

Voting procedures in Callaway have been the subject of controversy on several occasions. In 1940, the gubernatorial election was contested by the Democratic candidate, Lawrence McDaniel, who charged that 140 votes were miscounted in Callaway. Forrest Donnell, the Republican victor, in turn suggested that all of the ballots at the Holts Summit, Younger and Wainwright precincts should be thrown out on the basis that voting booths were not supplied at those places.

At Holts Summit, there was a discrepancy of four votes, between the number of ballots cast and the names on the polling books. This was explained, after some argument, when it was discovered that the four names had been written on scraps of paper rather than in the polling books.<sup>9</sup> At

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., April 7, 1941.

Wainwright, a Democratic judge admitted that there were no booths, no screens, and no apartments of any kind at the precinct to enable voters to mark their ballots secretly. The judge at Holts Summit described voting in that precinct similarly.<sup>10</sup> A recount began. A representative of Governor Donnell challenged all of the votes at Mokane, New Bloomfield, Younger, Wainwright, and Holts Summit, on the grounds that there were insufficient voting booths. A representative of the Democratic Party challenged thirty votes on technicalities.

Controversy of a minor sort arose in 1943, during a special election for the state senate. The Republican county chairman objected to a Democratic plan to have election judges make carbon copies of the names of voters which, it was said, could be used to determine who had voted. The plan had been used before, with the agreement of both party chairmen. The Missouri Attorney-General was telephoned for an opinion, and advised against using the plan unless there was agreement by both chairmen.<sup>11</sup> Election laws did not mention the plan, and it had not been tested in court. There have been other instances, as in the

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., April 12, 1941.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., January 4, 1943.



city election of 1948, when there was a shortage of official ballots at the polls, and improvised ballots were used in their place.<sup>12</sup>

Voting in Fulton does have a rather informal appearance. Criticisms are most frequently made by individuals who have moved into the community only recently and are accustomed to a more rigidly controlled system.

When a voter enters the building where voting for that precinct or ward is being held, his name is entered in the polling book along with a number. After the ballot is marked, the voter delivers it to one of the clerks, who writes the number on the back of the ballot, along with his or her initials. A black sticker is then placed over the number and the initials, and the ballot is placed in the ballot box.

Few people are challenged as to eligibility. Commented one judge: "I have wondered about qualifications sometimes, but it's embarrassing to challenge voters." There have been cases when a large number of people were attempting to vote at one time. Some were marking their ballots on tables; others were holding them against the walls of the room. Voting booths were large enough for two people to vote at one time, and there were no

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1948.

partitions separating the people. For a number of years, until the August primary of 1962, the voting booths did not have curtains attached. Frequently, one might see voters handing unfolded ballots to the election officials. It is the custom for the officials to insert the ballots in the ballot boxes themselves. In the August primary, of 1962, the ballot box was under a table behind the officials in one ward, and it was impossible for the voter to insert the ballot himself. One Westminster College student, a resident of a different county, was given a ballot in the city primary of 1962. In a school bond referendum of 1960, several Westminster College students voted, not because of any dishonesty, but because the officials did not believe the students unqualified.

There have been criticisms of election procedures. A letter to the newspaper complained in 1960 that voting conditions were crowded, that two voters were seen in one booth at the same time, that voters turned in unfolded ballots, and that the ballots were being counted in the room adjacent to the voting area at the time the individual cast her ballot.<sup>13</sup>

The complainant was answered by a letter which

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., November 9, 1960.

described the voting laws of the state and explained the voting procedure. The answering letter agreed that secrecy was important, but proposed that it was not the only thing to take into consideration. Complete secrecy, the writer suggested, could be obtained by burning the ballot immediately after it was marked. The action taken by the election official, folding the ballot for a voter, was only a courtesy. State laws simply required that the ballots be kept in the first ballot box for one hour after the polls opened. At the expiration of that hour, the receiving judge could deliver the ballots to the counting judge, and the ballots could be tabulated. If the ballots were not counted during the day, before the polls closed, officials would have to work into the late hours of the night, it was observed.<sup>14</sup>

### III. THE POLITICS OF INFORMALITY AND TRUST

The informality which characterizes the conduct of elections has had some questionable, if not dishonest consequences. In one city primary, for example, a candidate for local office was campaigning in the same building where citizens were voting. During the same

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., November 11, 1960.

primary, word was circulated during the afternoon that an incumbent official was being defeated by a small number of votes. A telephone campaign was initiated, and in the late hours of the afternoon, according to several reliable sources, the voting trend was turned; the incumbent was reelected. Information of this nature has been divulged in other elections and referendums. After 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon, a telephone campaign attempted to overcome an unfavorable vote on an urban renewal proposal. School board contests have been influenced similarly.

This is not to say that there is intentional dishonesty or unethical conduct on the part of election officials. The informality of the process, however, and the propensity people have for advising their friends of the course the election is taking--friends who are told not to tell anyone else--leads to conduct of questionable ethics. People who are involved in the telephone campaigns no doubt have the interests of the community in mind, that is, the interests of the community as conditioned and determined by their own perspectives. This is not the way the process of democracy is supposed to function, however, and the opportunities and temptations for attempted manipulations of the process could become attractive to unscrupulous individuals or groups. There is a faith that this will not happen. "We're all honest here in Callaway," one man explained.

## IV. THE POLITICS OF TRUST

Callawegians do trust each other. A man is expected to be a gentleman and to be honorable. A public official serves in the interests of the people. A politician, at least a Democratic politician, to many people is obviously and unquestionably trustworthy. Otherwise, the reasoning is, he would not be elected. One should not criticize. One should not stir up trouble. The newspaper reflected this attitude in one editorial:

Don't listen to some of these fellows who are always worrying and criticizing. They were whining back in 1932 that the country was 'going to the dogs.' In 1939 they predicted our doom if we entered the war and in 1942 they thought their point was proved.

This is a great country. Have tremendous confidence in it, and sense enough to back it up 100 per cent. It paid dividends in the past and it will pay dividends in the future.<sup>15</sup>

The traits of trust, faith, and informality may result from a number of factors, each having some importance individually, but more important when considered in a state of interaction.

Fulton, despite its sophistication as a county seat, college town, and institutional community, still has a rural character. The enterprise of the county is largely agricultural. Many of the residents of Fulton have farming

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., September 16, 1943.

backgrounds. Political behavior is influenced by this rural character. Family relationships are close, as it was mentioned before. The relationship between relatives, friends and neighbors is important. Furthermore, a part of the tradition of the Kingdom is the belief in loyalty and the belief that Callawegians have always cooperated with each other, united against common foes. Much of this dates back to the Civil War, or even earlier, to the common origins in Kentucky and Virginia. These factors are coupled with Democratic dominance and affiliation.

Given the existence of all of these traits and characteristics which interact with each other, the emphasis on trust, informality, and faith may be explained. A more formalized political system, with strict safeguards and a certain amount of institutionalized suspicion, as in terms of the administration of elections, might be in conflict with the traditions, the values, and the character of the county.

## CHAPTER IX

### RELIGION AND MORALITY

Religion seemed to permeate the air in Plainville, U.S.A., James West observed, and the moral conduct of the community was largely measured by the norms established by the churches.<sup>1</sup> In the first study of Middletown, it was noted that voters were sometimes instructed by ministers of the church, and in the second examination of the community religion and patriotism appeared to merge completely.<sup>2</sup>

#### I. A CHURCH TOWN

Religion, and the moral values established by religion, appear to be taken seriously in the Kingdom and in Fulton. That there are "a lot of good, church-going people," is an expression frequently heard. Church surveys, conducted in recent years, have indicated that well over eighty per cent of the people of Fulton either were members of churches or attended churches. "Fulton has always been recognized as a church town," the Sun-Gazette commented

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<sup>1</sup>James West, Plainville, U.S.A., p. 162.

<sup>2</sup>Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown, p. 419, Middletown In Transition, p. 312.

following one survey, "and we know of no better recognition for a city."<sup>3</sup>

The emphasis on religion is not a new development. Religion figured prominently in the movement to change the name of the community from Volney to Fulton. Volney, suggested Robert Spence Dunlap to the city fathers, was the name of an infidel, and a French infidel at that. This was an insult to the Christian tradition of the community, in addition to being unpatriotic. The community's name should reflect the Christian tradition and Americanism.

Robert Fulton, an American, and presumably a Christian, had invented the steamboat; his name was acceptable and suggestive of the kind of image the town deserved.<sup>4</sup>

Henry Bellaman, as it was mentioned earlier, noted the importance of religion in Fulton. In the 1890's, if one is to rely on Bellaman, social status in the community was reflected in church membership. The Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, Baptists and Methodists were the dominant groups. There was a Catholic church and a German church (United Church of Christ), but they were not

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<sup>3</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, October 30, 1953.

<sup>4</sup>Frances Dunlap Heron, Here Comes Elijah, pp. 13-14.



considered in the same hierarchy.<sup>5</sup> Other churches have been established since then, and while there is a tendency for status to be reflected by church membership, the Catholic Church and the United Church of Christ, have become more acceptable, although their membership is small.

Older residents of Fulton sometimes say that there formerly was a considerable amount of rivalry between church congregations. This has certainly diminished. Recently, the larger churches have discussed the possibility of building a common educational building; joint programs and activities are held on special religious occasions. Catholics formerly experienced religious prejudice, but there is no significant evidence of this today. In the 1890's, the period described by Henry Bellaman, there were only thirty Catholic families in the community, and many of them were in the lower economic group. Today, the Catholics have a new, attractive church and school, in one of the more affluent sections of the community. There are more than one hundred families of the faith, reflecting a range of economic status.

Religious and moral concern is sometimes evidenced in the newspaper. Poems of a religious nature rather

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<sup>5</sup>Henry Bellaman, Kings Row, p. 22.

frequently appear bereaving the death of a friend or relative. Occasionally, there are letters critical of motion pictures and their possible moral influence on young people, or letters critical of liquor advertisements. During the Christmas season particular emphasis is placed on religion, and letters have appeared urging people to attend church more regularly. A series of such letters appeared in 1960. Church services were described rather appealingly:

The pastor is ready to begin his message. He has such a warm friendly smile and you know he is very happy for each and every present and gives thanks to God for this. Then as you glance around and see each person spellbound with the wonderful sermon he brings, perhaps he has the congregation using their imaginations to go back to the time of Christ and relive days with Him.<sup>6</sup>

Church groups have been active in areas related to politics and government. The Council of Churches has been particularly important in achieving better racial relations. The church women were instrumental in removing "colored" and "white" signs from the doors of the courthouse rest-rooms. A fund for the destitute was established by the Council of Churches; food baskets and gifts have been distributed to the needy. An attempt to obtain passage of a city ordinance prohibiting business operations on Sunday was not successful.

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<sup>6</sup>Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette, November 30, 1960.

Religious education in the public schools has had the approval of a large segment of the community. One public school teacher in particular is frequently praised for her contribution to the religious training of public school students. Individual complaints have been expressed from time to time; other individuals express their objections privately. "I don't like it," one man confessed, "but you know what kind of reaction a complaint would receive. I am really afraid to complain, to be honest about it." In August of 1962, following a Supreme Court ruling on the New York Board of Regents prayer, the Fulton Board of Education announced that teachers could continue to use prayers in their classroom, if they chose to do so, with participation by the students being optional.<sup>7</sup>

A Fulton magistrate judge, a few days earlier, announced that he would open each session of court with a prayer. The Supreme Court decision was not mentioned in the announcement, but the inference was rather clear:

This practice I believe to be consistent with the principles and desires of the vast majority of people in this largely Christian nation. It was by following these principles that this Country became great and strong, a thing which I believe all of us, and

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., August 15, 1962.

all of our Courts of Law, especially our higher Courts, should well remember.<sup>8</sup>

Ministers and priests do not always share the impression that Fulton is a particularly religious community, although they have no quarrel with the opinion that it is a town where emphasis is placed on church attendance.

Of the ministers interviewed, not one was of the opinion that the people were more religious than the people of other communities in which they had served, and a number of the ministers felt that there was less religious concern. "In every church where I have served," one minister commented favorably, "a few families more or less ran things, others attended regularly, and others did not much care whether the church continued to exist or not." Fulton, he said, was not unique.

That people attended church because they were expected to, and not because they were interested in the church, was the view of five ministers in Fulton. Two ministers were of the opinion that there was less interest in church affairs than they had observed in other communities. Five ministers, of the eight who were interviewed, believed that there was some relationship between religious activity and the heritage of the Kingdom. Said one:

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., August 9, 1962.

It is true that Callawegians feel that they should go to church on Sunday. I don't think this is because they are interested in the church as an active, important institution, playing a significant role in the community. With some of them, I think, church attendance is related to the Kingdom. The Kingdom itself has become their religion. Attending church is just one way that they express this attachment, or this loyalty to their real religion, the traditions of the Kingdom.

Similarly, a second minister described attitudes toward the church in this manner: "The idea seems to be that Callawegians are good people. Good people, it is generally said, go to church. Therefore, Callawegians go to church."

Three of the ministers either had witnessed some indications of the Kingdom heritage, and did not believe that it was of dramatic importance, or stated that they had not lived in the community for a period of time sufficient for them to make a judgment. "I have noticed," one reflected, "that there is a great concern here with the little things of life, the social graces, but people do not seem to become aroused over something like adultery."

## II. HONOR, FAITH AND TRUST

The observation by the minister, that there seemed to be more concern with the social graces than with a matter like adultery, and the religious spirit of the community generally, may be related to the values of faith, honor and

trust, referred to earlier in reference to the conduct of elections and politics.

Such values are evidenced in personal relationships. Callawegians are assumed to be honorable men. Individuals are expected to behave like gentlemen. A criticism which suggests a lack of trust is an affront to a man's honor. Several businesses in the community do not send monthly statements to their customers. A local distributor, new in the community, expressed some surprise at this custom. Shortly after he purchased the business, he mailed statements to his customers. Individuals soon appeared to settle their accounts and asked why the statements had been sent to them. They were accustomed to paying their debts, they informed the newcomer, and would continue to pay them, but only when they were ready and able. A number of merchants and members of professions follow a rather complicated billing system. Customers who request monthly statements receive them. Others are not billed. There is hope, if not always faith, that the bills will be paid. A request for payment, or information as to the amount of money due, might result in the loss of a customer or patron.

Faith, trust, and related values contribute to an avoidance of controversy, a rejection of criticism and critical opinions. During interviews, the comment was frequently made that Callawegians disliked controversy and

critical opinions. A newcomer, particularly, should not be critical. If at all possible, criticisms and conflicts should be discussed privately, not in public.

An affront to a man's honor may result in the justification of violence. A Fulton attorney commented that in Callaway County, and particularly in the southeastern section of the county, there is the attitude that a husband is justified in taking another man's life if he has been too familiar with his wife. "There is an unwritten law," the attorney said, "and it is pretty definite."

In 1961, as an example, a Callaway farmer sat patiently in his house with a shotgun resting on his knee. When a prominent Callawegian drove into his driveway and walked toward his house, the farmer walked to the porch and shot the visitor. He then telephoned the county sheriff and advised him that he had just killed the man.<sup>9</sup> Legally, this could well be considered first degree murder. It was premeditated to the extent that the farmer waited for the man to arrive, killed him when he did arrive, and admitted the act.

Before the trial began, however, there was much consensus that there would be no conviction. In the spring of the following year, the evidence was heard. The

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., June 16, 1961.

defendant described an experience of scandal, shame, and terror which had existed for several years. While employed in another community, several years before, the deceased man had become intimate with his wife. The relationship continued. The murdered man had taunted the husband and asked him what he was going to do about the affair. Finally, the defendant could tolerate the situation no longer. Earlier in the day of the shooting, the prominent county resident had become angry during a visit to the farm. He left the farm, stating that he would return and made threats as to what he would do upon his return. The farmer had warned the intruder several times over the years. He loaded his shotgun, waited, and shot the man. In a trial in which all of the lurid details were presented, there was no conviction.

"In an offense involving property," a local attorney stated, "justice is likely to be administered rapidly and effectively in Callaway." It is different with a crime against the person. "Juries are more likely to be understanding, particularly when deep emotions are involved." There may be some justification for this opinion, particularly as it relates to cases in the county, outside of Fulton.

In 1958, a young, pretty, and intelligent girl, who had recently graduated from a high school in the southern



section of Callaway, shot her father four times with a revolver as he lay asleep, after he, while in a state of intoxication, had threatened the girl's mother, who was pregnant with her eighth child. Again, predictions were made that there would be no conviction. At the trial, the girl pleaded guilty to a reduced charge of manslaughter. She was placed on probation for a three-year term.<sup>10</sup>

Two years earlier, when a young boy was hunting in the same area of the county, his hound was shot and killed by a farmer who was annoyed at the dog's barking.<sup>11</sup> The hunter raised his rifle and fired in the direction of the farmer, who was standing two hundred yards from the boy. Ballistics experts said that if the boy had aimed he would not have hit the farmer. The farmer was struck by the bullet, however, and died instantly. The young lad was held on a charge of second degree murder. The case was never tried.

There have been convictions, of course. In 1946, a Negro man was convicted of killing another Negro in an argument over thirty cents. He was convicted by an all-white, male jury, and sentenced to a term of seven years.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., December 8, 1958.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., October 15, 1956.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., March 27, 1946.

In 1949, a Callaway man shot his stepfather and, with the help of a friend, threw his body into the Missouri River. Pleading guilty to a reduced charge of manslaughter, he was given a sentence of nine years.<sup>13</sup> In 1956, another Negro man shot his wife. The man claimed that it was an accident, that the shot was fired when he was putting the gun away. Earlier in the evening, however, he had been drinking and had threatened to kill a man. He was convicted of manslaughter, reduced from first degree murder, and received a sentence of five years.<sup>14</sup> In 1958, a Callaway farmer, who also worked as a prison guard in Jefferson City, was shot and beaten to death by a farm worker. The defendant, who had been serving a life-term in the Missouri penitentiary since 1927 and had been paroled to the Callawegian two years before the incident, had been taken to the farm and had been living in a shack near the farmer's house. The defendant declared that he had become a slave and had been mistreated by his benefactor. The case was transferred to Columbia on a change of venue, where the defendant was given a new life term.<sup>15</sup> In agreeing to the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., January 20, 1950.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., March 11, 1957.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., October 7, 1958.

change of venue, it was reportedly speculated that Boone countians would not impose the death penalty on one Callawegian for shooting another one. The defendant, however, was not born in the county.

In 1954, an autopsy was ordered after a girl, fifteen, died in the county hospital. The girl's death had been described as being caused by peritonitis, discovered when physicians performed an emergency operation. Conflicting reports caused the coroner to order the body exhumed. Autopsy reports indicated that the girl's death had been caused by an infection resulting from an abortion. Two brothers were charged with incest. One, aged nineteen, refused to testify at a coroner's hearing. Officers testified that one boy had confessed, before the hearing, to having performed an abortion with a lead pencil. The older brother was tried. The jury established a two-year term; the sentence was delayed by the judge.<sup>16</sup>

Similar offenses have occurred. After attempting to assault his daughter, a resident of a community north of Fulton received a sentence of one year.<sup>17</sup> One child molester received a sentence of one year, a second, two years, and a third was fined twenty-five dollars. Other

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., June 25, 1954.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., January 19, 1952.

cases of this type were dismissed.

Several deaths, occurring under unusual circumstances, have either been declared accidental, or have never been solved. The wife of a Carver School teacher was found dead in 1956, the body being discovered by her husband. A house dress, still on a clothes hangar, had been twisted around her neck. Her body lay on the basement stairs, with her head and shoulders on the floor. Other clothes and belongings were nearby, indicating that she had been planning to leave her home. The theory was that she received a severe restriction of the neck, which was then released. She fell, injured her head, died, and slumped into the position in which she was found. The death was caused accidentally.<sup>18</sup>

In 1943, the body of a woman was found in a clay pit which had filled with water. Although there was no water in her lungs, a coroner's jury speculated that she might have drowned, but declared that she died of unknown causes. There was no evidence of foul play.<sup>19</sup> In 1950, a man's death was declared accidental even though it was known that a fight had taken place between the deceased man and his brother and that they had struggled over a gun, following

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., January 24, 1956.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., January 11, 1943.

the altercation in which the deceased man had threatened his brother with a knife.<sup>20</sup> Five empty cartridges were found on the floor of the house. The man involved in the altercation stated that four shots had been fired; his wife testified that only one had been fired. Two children, present during the argument, could not remember what had happened.

A coroner's jury found no evidence of foul play when a boy, aged thirteen, was found hanged in a barn near his home.<sup>21</sup> The boy was naked. His hands were tied behind his back.

A Fulton High School athlete died in 1961 after being dismissed from the hospital twelve hours earlier. He had been a patient in the hospital for ten days, having suffered an abdominal wound. On the night that he was injured, he explained to police officers that he had fallen on broken glass. There were reports that a fight had taken place that night between the boy and another youth, who had been arrested on a charge of assault. Witnesses at first testified that the boy had been stabbed with a knife. After the young man's death, however, witnesses repudiated their

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., August 30, 1950.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1959.

earlier statements and explained that they had simply heard the fight. No charges were filed after the death.<sup>22</sup>

The most frequently discussed death, however, occurred in 1949. On a Saturday afternoon in June, one of Fulton's prominent physicians, a man seventy-four years of age, who had been honored a few days earlier for his work at the Deaf School, was found seriously injured in his home. His jaw and nose were broken. His eyes and ears were bruised. There was a gash over his eye. Impressions on his throat appeared to have been made by fingers. His tie was drawn tightly around his neck. Two reports circulated initially. He had fallen down the stairs on his face. He had been beaten. The Highway Patrol discovered blood on a hammer and on a flashlight. The injured man reported to the nurse attending him, a woman who had worked for the doctor for a number of years, that he had been beaten by a man whom he discovered in his home.<sup>23</sup>

After being treated as a patient in a Columbia hospital, the physician returned to Fulton after a period of a month, where he was cared for by his former nurse. His condition improved, but no visitors were allowed to see him, as they had not been since the injuries were sustained. Two

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., March 2, 1961.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., June 6, 1949.

weeks later, the physician died.

Following his death, the Missouri Highway Patrol announced that it was closing its inquiry and would reopen the case if new evidence was discovered. There was an immediate reaction from Fulton townspeople. Police officers assured the public that every effort would continue in the investigation of the case, but there was no evidence which would justify an arrest.

Only one police officer had talked with the doctor, and this conversation occurred on the afternoon that the deceased man had been found. A number of rumors circulated in the community, the most popular one being that the assailant was the son of one of Fulton's most respected families, or that the assailant, known to the physician, was a drug addict desperate for narcotics. If the doctor knew the identity of the murderer, or if he divulged the information to the nurse, it remained their secret, although there are Fultonians who believe that they have solved the mystery.

Other instances of crime, violence, and scandal could be cited. There have been cases of embezzlement, charges of operating stills, slander suits, thefts, burglaries, armed robberies. Fulton is a community where gossip is widespread, and it is not difficult to become acquainted with scandals of various types.

The purpose in discussing such affairs is not one of exposure, but to raise questions relative to the values attached to personal behavior. When one examines the total picture, it is possible to reach tentative and qualified conclusions that:

Law is interpreted flexibly. There is an attempt to examine and understand motivations and emotions of an individual who has become involved in an unfortunate episode.

There is a tendency to justify or explain acts of violence when they are committed as a result of threats to the home, or when they are committed at a time of passion and emotion.

There is a reluctance to use the tools of justice hastily.

One sometimes hears the statement that there are certain matters which a man should settle for himself, or matters which should be kept within the control of the family group. In a number of cases, this attitude seems to have been expressed.

Once a person has been involved in a situation which conflicts with the law, there appears to be an attempt to forget, to forgive, and to defend.

There appears to be hope and faith that conflicts and controversies will work themselves out, that difficulties can be minimized, that gentlemen, if left alone, will behave honorably.



It can be argued that in certain respects the style of politics is in keeping with the style of living, that there is a code of conduct and a sense of values which applies to individual as well as to group and institutional behavior.

## CHAPTER X

### CAPITAL ISSUES

Public issues and controversies develop in every community. The nature of the issues, the manner in which they are resolved, and the arguments which are used in their resolution, often reflect the community's values and perspectives of itself.

In large part, politics is the process through which decisions are made and through which power, considered in terms of causing men to act and react, is exercised. The use of power and the decision-making process are influenced by the social and cultural configuration of the community, group, or society. The ideology of the community, that is, the body of doctrine, mythology, belief and symbols, influences and conditions the political process and system.

One could not hope to discuss all of the issues that have occurred in Fulton, the capital of the Kingdom, during the last twenty years. Many of the issues, while important, would not be relevant to the scope of the study. The issues selected for examination are simply suggestive of the manner and the style in which practical problems are expressed and resolved.

## I. THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE

Some of the issues selected, as a matter of fact, would be considered unimportant in many communities. Rather petty and mundane matters sometimes result in personal conflicts and become subjects of heated dispute. One issue of this type concerned the cleanliness of the restrooms in the county courthouse.

The county courthouse is important in Callaway, not only because of its function in providing a location for county government, but because it has other functions as well. For some people it is a meeting place for gossip sessions, essentially a service for males. Its circuit court room is not merely used for the purpose of administering justice, but is used by such groups as the Young Democrats as a place to have meetings. On occasion, the courthouse is the location for other public gatherings, such as the dedication of the Historical Society diorama of the Battle of Moore's Mill, or for the Kappa Alpha flag-raising ceremony for the Old South Ball. Geographically the courthouse is important as it stands in the center of the business district. It has a symbolic importance, indicating that Fulton is the county seat of the Kingdom of Callaway. Years ago, it was the location for the Monday stock sales, an important social and economic event. The county sheriff

lives in the courthouse. Welfare programs are administered there. Elections are conducted. Births, marriages, deaths and tax payments are recorded.

Perhaps it is because of its recognized importance that the courthouse has been the subject of some controversy. There is some disagreement, for example, as to whether or not the new courthouse should have been constructed. The people of the county had to vote on the question twice, and perhaps the second proposal would have been rejected if it had not been for the economic depression. In any case, there are a number of people who wish that the old courthouse was still standing on the square.

Even if the new courthouse does not look as much like a courthouse should, it is still the source of pride with some people and in 1948 it was the object of a controversy between a civic-minded group and the county court of the Kingdom.

The first public word on the controversy came in the middle of October. The Junior Chamber of Commerce believed that the rest rooms in the courthouse were not as clean as they should be, substantiating the viewpoint a number of people had made privately, and offered to render them spotless, if the judges would continue to have the service performed properly. The county court judges were not

convinced of the merits of the plan and answered by stating that the rest rooms were clean enough.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, this was an affront to the Jaycees, as they then became critical of the judges, stating that they were inefficient and wasteful. As an example, the judges spent one day arguing the merits of paying a four dollar and seventy-five cent bill which had been charged to the county. Since the judges were paid five dollars per day, and there were three judges, this meant that the taxpayers were spending fifteen dollars a day to get judges to pay four dollar and seventy-five cent bills.

Such criticism of the county court could not be left unanswered and the county engineer spoke in support of the judges. "They are men that have helped to make this county a good place to live and men that you and I would like to have as neighbors," the engineer declared, "and are well supplied with a qualification most desirable for a County Judge, that is sympathy for your fellow man."<sup>2</sup>

The judges came to their own defense, stating that inspections had been made and that, although there was some paper on the floor, the rest rooms were in a clean condition.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., October 18, 1948.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., October 19, 1948.

This did not satisfy the Jaycees, however. In a letter for all of Fulton to read, they released information that they had taken pictures of the urinals, indicating that dirt had accumulated over a long period of time. Unfortunately, they were not able to visit the women's rest room to observe its condition. Taking advantage of information they had uncovered during their research, they dared the judges to look at the rest rooms in the Pike County Courthouse at Bowling Green, Missouri. There were some clean rest rooms in Pike County. Furthermore, the Pike County Courthouse had six rest rooms instead of four, and the lawn surrounding the courthouse was in excellent condition.<sup>3</sup>

The controversy between the Jaycees and the county court continued for over a month, with running accounts in the press. Apparently, the project never achieved acceptability. One still hears complaints about the condition of the rest rooms. Until two years ago, separate rest rooms were available for colored and white. Today, rest rooms in the building housing the seat of justice are integrated.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., November 29, 1948.

## II. THE CITY MANAGER PLAN

Another issue in 1948 which involved many more individuals and groups in Fulton, was of much more importance. A group of citizens, late in 1947, circulated a petition calling for a referendum to determine whether or not Fulton should adopt a city manager form of government. The newspaper commented that only a few Fultonians had been interested in the plan until the week the petitions were circulated, but the petition rapidly provoked controversy.<sup>4</sup>

Over six hundred people signed the petition in the period of one week. The signature of one hundred twelve was necessary for a referendum and the Fulton mayor agreed to call for a vote in February, requesting at the same time that the people inform themselves of the plan's merits and weaknesses.

Early in the next year, an active campaign was begun by the Citizen's Civic League, supporters of the manager plan. Apparently, there was some confusion about the system of government, as the Galveston, Texas, experience with the commission form of government was cited as an indication of the manager plan's desirability. There were statements by newspaper men from other communities, advising

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., December 12, 1947.

Fultonians of their experience with the plan. It was pointed out that over one hundred communities would be voting on the plan that year.

Early in February, the People's Committee for the Council-Manager Form of Government was formed. The first meeting of the group was attended by twenty people, including several members of the city council, as well as the mayor. The city officials, however, stated that they were attending the meeting in an advisory capacity.<sup>5</sup> As this group was formed, the controversy increased. The Citizens Civic League pointed out that a pattern of opposition had been experienced in other communities where the plan had been proposed. For the most part, the League spokesman observed, opposition came from those who were in a position to lose something politically or economically. The opponents, it was stated, were attempting to obstruct civic progress and the welfare of the community because of selfish interests.<sup>6</sup> Neither governments nor citizens should place an individual in office merely because he had political ambitions or mercenary motives, the League argued. Individuals should be elected or appointed to office because of qualifications, training, and ability. Retention in

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., February 10, 1948.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



office should not depend on friendship, personal favors, or political aspirations, but on the basis of efficiency and service to the public. The League went on to state its disappointment that the citizens of Fulton had been done an injustice. Those opposing the plan had resorted to a whispering campaign in their efforts to defeat the proposal.<sup>7</sup>

The opposition did come out into the open, as the League had asked in the closing arguments of its statement. A newspaper statement entitled "A Fireside Chat on the City Manager Plan" appeared in the newspaper on the same day that charges of a whispering campaign were made.

The opponents asked a number of rhetorical questions. Who was dissatisfied with the existing form of government? Who was agitating for a change? What were the motives of instigating the referendum?

The opponents openly confessed their motives. "Understand folks, we as a committee are trying to do, just what any loyal citizen of Fulton should do, if he is, as he should be, interested in the welfare of our home town, presenting this matter before you as we see it, so that you will be able to cast an intelligent vote."<sup>8</sup> The manager

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

form of government, the group said, was a "new-fangled thing." They were not charging anyone with ulterior motives, but they were cautious in their attitude.

Another question was asked. Was there any evidence that the government of Fulton was inefficient? The question was answered. No, there was no evidence that the affairs of the community had ever been handled in anything other than a capable, honest, and satisfactory manner. Furthermore, community affairs had been administered by "competent, loyal, and sincerely honest men and women" who were neighbors and friends, chosen by the people of Fulton to assume such responsibilities.

The opponents were proud of these people. They "gloried in their accomplishments" and bragged about them. Fulton had modern institutions and civic improvements which were enjoyed by all of the citizens as a result of the untiring devotion and loyal service by the public officials.

Was it good business, the group asked, to relinquish control to an unknown person, "possibly an incompetent," unfamiliar with the community, "for the sake of an idea or somebody's whim to experiment with a new toy or get a firmer stranglehold," on governmental affairs?

The opponents confessed that they were unaware that anything was wrong with the city government until "a few disgruntled citizens accompanied by some fellows from the

gristmill" came along and told them how deplorable conditions were and, the group said, gave them a stomachache.

So folks let's get back to law, let's recall that our forefathers fought and died to obtain for us the very thing that we are being asked to sacrifice and abandon. Let us apologize to those same ancestors for momentarily forgetting the caution they gave us to guard those sacred rights with microscopical care against any person or group who might attempt an infringement against them. The right to representative form of government, to elect the officers to govern us from among our neighbors and friends, and the privilege to cuss and discuss them and their conduct as we please. Let us not admit that we have fallen down on the job and are unable to carry out the heritage thus handed down to us, and must now turn the affairs of our government over to some diploma mill product. These sacred rights and privileges of citizenship in a free democracy have been handed down to us and preserved through the years with watchful care by our patriotic forefathers, who have time and again been tempted by high sounding schemes, by guys with big ears and sharp teeth, with grandmother's syrupy voice and lacy nightgown, but have weathered the storm so that we the beneficiaries of such a heritage, might carry on the responsibility of preserving it to coming generations of this glorious country of ours, and have the privilege of enjoying the benefits of it while and as we protect it.<sup>9</sup>

Public meetings were held and the plan was discussed. The Citizens Civic League continued to make rational and logical arguments in support of the plan, citing the experience of other communities, the saving of tax money, increased efficiency. The Sun-Gazette announced its support.<sup>10</sup> Opposition continued, as well, with the

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., February 13, 1948.

opponents describing the growth of Fulton under its former mayors: a blacksmith, a realtor, an insurance agent, a banker, grocer, educator, lawyer, and shipping manager for a manufacturing company. Controversy and debate warmed as the referendum approached.

The Citizens League terminated its campaign with a mass meeting. The newspaper noted methods of campaigning:

Reports from 'the West' today said that City Marshal Tom L. Edson, in uniform, spent the major part of Sunday in that part of Fulton where the majority of the city's Negro residents live, showing them how to vote against the proposed council-manager form of government.<sup>11</sup>

A heavy vote was being cast in the referendum, the newspaper reported on the day of the election.<sup>12</sup> On the day after the voting, the results were announced, clear and decisive. The manager form of government did not carry in a single ward, being defeated by three hundred fifty-seven votes, the total vote being 1,101 against the plan, to 744 for the plan. The vote in the first ward, which included "the West," was most decisive. Eighty individuals voted for the manager form of government, while two hundred fifty-six were opposed to it.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1948.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., February 17, 1948.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., February 18, 1948.

Fear was a major issue in the proposal for a managerial form of government. There was fear on the part of politicians, as the Civic League pointed out. Individuals in the community believed that they would lose control of the city government, although it may be questioned as to whether or not they had any control. The plan was undemocratic, others said. It was something new, experimental, "new-fangled." The traditions of the community would have been destroyed. An "outsider" would be running the government. It would cost too much, some people said. There were objections to the salary required to obtain a competent city manager. Fulton, being a small town, would not be able to keep a good city manager. Young managers would come to Fulton for experience and then move on to larger towns. As a result, government would be unstable. Another man expressed a different reason, and it is difficult to say how many people shared his opinion: "The city manager plan was supported by the National Municipal League. Everybody knows that's a communist organization."

### III. THE POLICE DEPARTMENT MERIT SYSTEM

The administration of the Fulton Police Department was the subject of controversy for a number of years and one still hears complaints about the quality of law enforcement,

as one would in many communities. Police protection in Fulton is made difficult by the institutional nature of the community. During nine months of the year, one thousand college students are residing in the community, a problem which may be complicated by the fact that there are two colleges, one for men and one for women. The geographical and organizational separation may tend, as some people believe, to increase the attraction of one sex for the other, if that is possible. Since 1941, Missouri's criminally insane mental patients have been under treatment at Hospital Number One. Occasionally, patients escape. Some of them are dangerous. These factors, as well as others, make law enforcement difficult in a small community. The need for personnel varies from time to time. Specialized equipment and training are not possible to provide and maintain in the small community.

Until seven years ago the administration of the police force was under the control of a city marshal who was popularly elected. His responsibility was to supervise the work of the police department, to maintain the city jail, collect fines, and of course enforce city ordinances. The marshal was subject to the mayor, alone. The council could pass ordinances relating to the department, and could raise and lower salaries, but the functions of the police department were under the two men, marshal and mayor.

The election of the marshal was sometimes hotly contested. However, Tom Edson was elected in 1947, after serving on the force for twenty years, and continued to be elected until a merit system was adopted.

The first public attempt by the city council to gain more control over the police force came in the summer of 1952, when the council approved an ordinance creating a commissioner of public safety. Under the ordinance, the commissioner received a salary of \$3,060 per year, somewhat higher than the salary of the marshal. He was given the authority to employ or remove all "special" policemen, and to establish standards for the department, which would be approved by the police committee of the council. Personnel of the department were classified into four grades. All policemen would initially be classified as probationary patrolmen, and would be promoted from that classification according to ability and service.<sup>14</sup>

In March of the following year, the validity of the police ordinance was challenged by Tom Edson. His attorneys, from Columbia, Missouri, argued that there was no justification for the ordinance under the statutes of Missouri. The reaction of the council was to employ a

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., June 28, 1952.

special attorney to defend the ordinance and to negotiate with Marshal Edson. The marshal's attorneys then filed a suit in the circuit court, under the name of the Missouri Attorney-General, who had given his consent to the suit. The attorneys charged that the duties of the city marshal had been assumed by the council-appointed commissioner, Woodrow Lewis, who had previously been employed as a patrolman under Edson.<sup>15</sup>

The suit was later amended, again claiming that the ordinance was invalid. Among the charges listed by Edson's attorneys were the following: that the city marshal had been circumvented on orders given to patrolmen, and on the employment and removal of personnel, that the commissioner had attempted to destroy the public confidence in the marshal, and that the commissioner and council had attempted to intimidate the marshal.<sup>16</sup>

Attorneys for Woodrow Lewis requested that the suit be made more specific. The circuit judge took the suit under advisement. While the regular circuit judge was on vacation, his replacement announced that he would rule on the ouster suit, and a hearing was set.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., May 19, 1953.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., June 11, 1953.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., June 25, 1953.



When the day of the hearing arrived, the city marshal testified at length, listing changes which had taken place since the passage of the ordinance. The hearing attracted an audience of one hundred people. The attorney for the commissioner persisted in asking Edson questions relating to the conduct of the department before passage of the ordinance, a practice to which the opposing attorney objected.<sup>18</sup>

The decision of the court was reached on July 23. Commissioner Lewis was ousted from his position, and ordered to pay the court costs. The judge suggested that the ordinance be repealed, stating that the marshal had been elected to office by the people, and that the council's ordinance in effect removed him from office.<sup>19</sup>

The council announced that it would study the ruling. In its August meeting, the ordinance was repealed. "Special" policemen were again described as regular policemen. In 1954, Tom Edson was reelected city marshal by a two to one margin.<sup>20</sup>

Between the time of the ouster suit and the next developments in the dispute, the Missouri legislature

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., July 21, 1953.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1953.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., March 10, 1954.

approved a statute, introduced by the Jasper County representative, which permitted cities of the third class to adopt merit systems. Before the bill was even signed into law by Governor Phil Donnelly, the Fulton City Council began studying the possibilities of a merit system for the police department.<sup>21</sup>

Four months later, the council adopted the new system on a trial basis. A non-partisan merit board, composed of three Republicans and three Democrats, was established. Negroes were represented on the board with one member. Tom Edson, the council announced, would remain as police chief until April of 1956, when a merit examination would be given. Fulton, it was pointed out, was the first, third class city in Missouri to adopt the more modern merit system.<sup>22</sup> Carthage, Missouri, also adopted the plan.

There is some disagreement in Fulton as to why the merit system was adopted and why the attempt to administer the department through a commissioner was made earlier. One might conclude that the effort to change the system was led by forces in support of modernization. A number of people say that it was an attempt to take the police department out of politics, an argument raised in reference to

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., June 10, 1955.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., October 13, 1955.

other proposals. Law enforcement had been lacking, others contend. The desire of the council to control the department is also cited. Tom Edson, some people say, was old and independent, hostile toward innovations and the use of modern techniques. Others are of the opinion that Tom Edson was a very efficient city marshal. "He treated everybody alike," one man said, "and some people didn't like it. That's why they wanted to get rid of him." A few people emphasized racial relations. "Tom Edson had things pretty well under control in the West. People didn't know what it would be like without him."

In the year following the adoption of the merit system, the controversy continued and spread to the city elections. In February, a petition was submitted to the council, signed by two hundred seventy-five people, asking that the merit system be reconsidered. The petitioners questioned Fulton's claim that it was a third class city, citing the fact that the population was under 10,000 if one subtracted patients and students, information which was later used to drop voting registration. The petition was rejected.<sup>23</sup> A second petition was submitted in March, and was also rejected.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., February 10, 1956

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., March 9, 1956.

In April, a group opposed to the merit system attempted to elect two candidates to the council in a write-in campaign. A large advertisement was placed in the newspaper: "The People Want to Elect Their Chief of Police," by the Democratic Committee to Abolish the Appointive Chief of Police.<sup>25</sup>

The write-in campaign failed, but pressure continued to be exerted against the merit system. A Columbia attorney, representing a group of citizens, was successful in persuading the council to delay action temporarily, but a week later the council announced that a chief of police would be selected from a list of three qualified men. Two months later, Woodrow Lewis, the former commissioner, was named chief of police.<sup>26</sup>

The merit system was established, and while there was some antagonism, little more was said in public. Then, in September of 1960, a city councilman, backed by two other councilmen, proposed the calling of a referendum. The three councilmen argued that when the system was established in 1955 there was an agreement that it should be tried for one year, after which a referendum would be held asking whether or not it should be continued. A petition signed

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1956.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., June 8, 1956.

by three hundred fifty people was submitted to the council. Three votes were taken on the question of tabling the petition: three - five, three - five, and four - four, the last vote resulting in tabling the petition. The chairman of the police committee, the press reported, was particularly irritated by the surprise move, complaining that no effort had been made by the three councilmen to discuss the matter with the police committee. The chief of police stated that he would resign rather than see the department destroyed.<sup>27</sup>

As in most communities, opinions vary as to the efficiency of the existing police department. While a majority of the people questioned believed that police protection was satisfactory, an impressive number expressed some dissatisfaction. There are charges of favoritism. "I can name a dozen men who have received special treatment," a former policeman said. Negroes complain that there is no police protection in their section of town, and a policeman stated: "Negroes have their own system of justice. They don't want policemen to interfere up there." In the summer of 1962, the wife of a Negro man complained to a city councilman that a policeman struck her husband when

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., September 9, 1960.

he was arrested on a minor traffic charge. The councilman told her that she could complain if she wanted to, but it would not do any good. There are accusations that the police know of gambling in the community, but do nothing about it, that some policemen take pleasure in "giving niggers a hard time."

At the same time, the department has a good reputation compared with departments in communities of similar size. A number of city policemen have later become members of the Missouri Highway Patrol and of metropolitan police departments. Whatever its faults, there is a merit system and the majority of people seem to believe that it has worked well.

#### IV. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

No community service has persistently created more controversy than public education. School board politics have been competitive. The community has been divided into angry groups when arguments over school finances, administration, and personalities have developed.

In 1947 and 1948, the major dispute was over the salaries of public school teachers and the passage of a school tax levy sufficient to support a salary increase. Early in 1947, a citizens committee was formed, appointed by the mayor, to support the salary increase. When the tax

increase was rejected by the voters, following its endorsement by twenty-two civic and service clubs, forty-five of the community's teachers announced that they would not sign new contracts unless salaries were increased.<sup>28</sup>

A new campaign began in preparation for a second opportunity for public opinion expression. The Fulton Ministerial Alliance spoke in favor of the tax, as did individuals and the newspaper. A record number of people voted when the proposal was presented the second time. A house to house campaign had been conducted by the citizens committee. Opponents offered transportation to the polls. Westminster College students attempted to vote, but were turned back. The proposal was again defeated.<sup>29</sup>

Only seven teachers finally refused to sign contracts for the coming year. In 1948, the board decided not to ask for an increase, but in 1949, a tax increase was approved.

In 1951, another tax levy increase was defeated, in an election which provoked a considerable amount of discussion. The question of a tax increase was presented to voters at the city election, as had been the case in

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1947.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., April 30, 1947.

previous years. There were many complaints in two wards regarding the conduct of the election. In the fourth ward, election officials had an insufficient supply of ballots, and at six o'clock in the evening voters were not permitted to cast ballots on the school tax levy. An attempt was made to transfer ballots from the first ward, but officials in that ward stated that the ballots had already been initialed and could not be transferred. There was a shortage in two other wards, the second and third, but officials prepared an improvised form which they permitted voters to use. Late in the day, the fourth ward officials also improvised ballots, but no votes were cast on the school tax for at least thirty minutes.

In the first ward, the polls were closed at six o'clock for the school election, one hour earlier than in the other wards. After closing, the polls were again reopened, and officials claimed that only six persons were prevented from voting. The vote in the first ward was forty for the tax increase, sixty opposed. Only in the second and third wards was the increase approved by a majority of the voters.<sup>30</sup> In a second attempt, the tax increase was approved.

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1951.



Racial relations was an issue at the mass meeting for the nomination of school board candidates in 1952. At that time, school board members were nominated by the Democratic Party, although this was not required by ordinance. When a mass meeting was called that year, four hundred people crowded into the court room where nominations were to be held. This was not a reflection of overwhelming interest in education. One person seeking the nomination had been active in attempting to promote racial equality in the community. When it was learned that she was seeking the nomination, a telephone campaign began and her alleged intentions were described. Four people were proposed as candidates. The lady received the fourth largest number of votes.<sup>31</sup>

Later that spring, the high school became a subject for much discussion. On the night of commencement exercises, students staged a demonstration in the middle of the address, demanding that three seniors, who had been disciplined by the administration, be allowed to graduate. What should be done in the case became a major issue with the school board having some difficulty in deciding. There was a real question as to who was administering the school,

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., March 12, 1952.

the students or the administration.<sup>32</sup> The principal resigned.

A school tax increase and a bond issue were approved in 1953, with little difficulty. In 1954, the board's school tax proposal was defeated twice. The board then reduced the proposed tax levy by thirty cents per one hundred dollars valuation. As the date of the third referendum approached, the board made a public statement. It was regrettable, the statement read, that personalities had entered into the question. The real issue was whether or not the people of Fulton wanted good schools.<sup>33</sup> The school tax was rejected again. The board announced that a fourth election would be held.

Two days after the voters of Fulton rejected the proposed tax for the third time, the Supreme Court of the United States announced its decision in *Brown vs. Topeka*. In reporting the decision, the newspaper stated that no statement was available from the local school board at that time, but a statement would be issued in the next few days. On the following day an editorial concerning the Supreme Court's decision appeared:

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., May 20, 1952.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., May 13, 1954.

The Supreme Court decision is being challenged by some southerners, and while it is true that it breaks a tradition that has existed here since public schools were established more than a century ago, we believe the people of Callaway and the people of Missouri will uphold the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court. This can be done if patience and common sense are practiced by both the white and the colored. It cannot be accomplished overnight, but we are confident that common sense will prevail in Callaway County.<sup>34</sup>

The school board announced that it was waiting for more information on the desegregation plan, that it would invite questions about the school system, and that voters would have the opportunity to vote for the new tax in the following month. A campaign began. There were statements by some of the community's most influential citizens. Facts on salaries, administrative expenses, and the general costs of education were publicized. The increase, in the fourth election, was approved.<sup>35</sup> Two weeks later, the board announced that Fulton's high school would be integrated when school began in September.<sup>36</sup>

The practice of nominating candidates on a partisan basis ended in 1955. The school board announced early in the year that the names of any and all qualified candidates

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., May 18, 1954.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., June 5, 1954.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., June 16, 1954.

would appear on the ballot.<sup>37</sup> The Democrats did nominate candidates in a mass meeting that year, but other candidates filed as well, and a new spirit of competitiveness entered public school politics in Fulton.

An issue that was to be discussed for the next five years was made public in the school board election of that year. Two candidates campaigned on the basis that the West School, an elementary school, had not been represented on the school board in the last year. The East School had four members on the board, the South School, two. The candidates asked the public if this was democratic and American. It constituted, they said, taxation without representation. The two candidates were elected.<sup>38</sup> A week later, the West School again figured in the news. It was announced that the board had deferred action on a petition submitted by the West School asking for the reappointment of the school's principal. The board had decided to replace the principal with a man, in what was referred to as a modernization plan. A week after this, three of the board's six members, including the president, resigned, leaving the two newly elected members and one veteran member. Specific reasons for the resignations were not given. It was stated

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1955.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., April 6, 1955.

by the three men that many people were dissatisfied with the manner in which they had conducted school administration, and there had been interference by individuals who, the men said, were unfamiliar with the problems of public education.

Pressure from the West School area was an issue, however. The residents in that section of town had asked for a study of the school building to determine its structural safety. The study indicated that the building was safe as long as certain activities, such as rhythmic dancing, were not conducted. The group further requested that an auditorium be provided for the school, it being the only elementary school without one.

Replacements for the three men were appointed by the county superintendent. Action was taken on the petition relative to the removal of principals. A supervisory principal for all elementary schools, an administrative assistant, and two administrative teaching assistants, were substituted for the principals in each of the elementary schools.

Later in the summer of 1955, it was suddenly announced that the Fulton superintendent of schools was leaving the community, "by agreement." In its announcement, the board referred to a conflict based upon honest differences of opinion. Commented the press: "The new board apparently

has not seen eye to eye" with the superintendent on several matters of policy, "but no public discussions of their disagreement have been held."<sup>39</sup> Further surprise was expressed later in the month when the board announced that the high school principal was being named superintendent for one year, even though he had not filed an application for the position, as had a dozen men from other communities.

School board affairs were conducted rather quietly in 1957. Six individuals filed as candidates for two positions on the board, but the campaign was not highly controversial. In 1958, however, another spirited campaign for the board was experienced. James E. Lewis, a Negro graduate of Lincoln University in Jefferson City and an employee of a Fulton manufacturing company, filed as a candidate. Four white men filed also. Statements appeared by each of the candidates describing attitudes toward school administration. The spirit of the campaign was not evidenced in public, however. There were telephone campaigns. Statements were made privately. "There is no sense in inviting trouble by electing a Negro." During the afternoon of the election, it has been alleged, James Lewis was receiving the second largest number of votes. There was another telephone campaign in the afternoon and rumors of irregularities in

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., August 13, 1955.

election procedure. Lewis placed third, trailing his nearest opponent by over one hundred votes.<sup>40</sup>

Building plans for new elementary schools were discussed in 1958. There was a disagreement as to whether or not a new West School should be constructed, if an addition to the South School should be made, and if an entirely new North School should be built. In October, the board announced that the construction of a new West School would be delayed. Two board members voted against the plan; one of them resigned. In 1959, however, the board reversed itself, and plans for a new West School were included in the proposed bond issue of \$430,000. Civic groups backed the plan. A Citizens Committee for Better Schools was formed. Candidates announced for the school board election and a six-way contest developed for two seats. Letters and statements appeared both supporting and opposing the bond issue. In April, the voters cast their ballots and rejected the plan. Opposition, it was believed, resulted from the planned location of the schools and from the cost of the program.

Approval by the voters was again requested in July. The newspaper reported that a telephone campaign was conducted against the bond issue, and the board said that

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1958.

callers were claiming that the board had contracted to pay \$3,000 per acre for the land upon which the schools were to be built.<sup>41</sup> This, the board declared, was not true.

Another attempt to win approval failed. Negative votes doubled in number.

Early in 1960, candidates for the board campaigned actively. In January, the West School Parent-Teachers Association demanded priority for a school in their area. A committee was appointed to present the views of the group to the board. A committee for a new West School was formed and made public statements through the press. Letters from board candidates appeared, one calling for more information as to the board's plans and activities. There was a response from a former board member suggesting that candidates should inform the public of their beliefs and organizational memberships. The candidate answered, arguing that the letter from the former board member was typical of the attitude "keep out, this is board business." The former member, the candidate said, "admits having cautioned a P.T.A. group for what he calls meddling in administrative affairs by interfering in the education requirements of teachers."<sup>42</sup> The candidate further answered

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., July 14, 1959.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., March 31, 1960.



questions asked by the former board member, stating her church membership, membership in educational organizations, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The election campaign ended. Controversy over building the new schools did not. In April, the board announced a revision in its plans. There would be a new West School and a Northeast School, if the bond proposal was approved. In May, Parent-Teachers Association leaders from the various schools joined forces to campaign for the bond issue. A week later, the Carver P.T.A., the Negro elementary school, announced it would oppose the bond issue unless the board agreed to employ a Negro instructor for the junior high school. Inferences were made again that irregularities occurred during the 1958 school board election when James Lewis had been a candidate. A school board member charged that the P.T.A. request amounted to blackmail.

As the date of the election approached, controversy increased. School children staged a parade supporting the proposal. Letters appeared frequently in the newspaper:

As a taxpayer, I feel that all children regardless of race, creed, or color should benefit from it. If every child is permitted to attend the school, participate in any activity and belong to any organization then, and only then shall we benefit from this present bond issue.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., May 20, 1960.

I think the bond issue is one big mistake.<sup>44</sup>

Since we are seemingly recognized only when a bond issue is in progress, will it take another 20 years before another small word like color is amended in our favor?<sup>45</sup>

We have been told that it takes time to break down segregation. It has been hundreds of years now, and we are just one step ahead.<sup>46</sup>

...the lack of placing Negro teachers in the system also reminds our youth that there are no doors of opportunity for them in the teaching field.<sup>47</sup>

On May 25, the bond issue was approved by a margin of seventy votes. Nearly one third of the votes were cast in the last three hours of the election day.

It might be asked why the location of the new elementary schools became such an issue, and why the Carver P.T.A. opposed the bond issue. The explanation for this is complex, and can be traced over a long period of time.

The West School building was the oldest elementary school in town. A rather small building, built in the first decade of the twentieth century, it had no auditorium and no gymnasium, and had been considered unsafe for such activities as rhythmic dancing. The school building was located across

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., May 21, 1960.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

the street from the main Westminster College campus. There had been talk that an agreement had been made. Westminster would purchase the old building as soon as a new elementary school had been constructed. This was not the most important fact about its location, however. Many of the students who attended the school were of the lower economic group in the community, some of them from the Hopkinsville area, previously mentioned. There were complaints by patrons of the West School that there was discrimination against the West School, that the old, discarded books were taken from the other elementary schools and used in their school. Improvements, patrons believed, were less likely to be made in the West School than in other schools. There was no doubt that a new building was needed. There may be some doubt about some of the impressions of discrimination. Whatever the case, there were those who opposed building a new school in the western section of the community. Some of these people did not want to build a school in that area because they did not want to spend tax money on the "unfortunates" of the community. Others felt that the children of the western section of town should be divided into groups, believing that they should associate with children of other social and economic groups. The racial question also was an issue. If the elementary schools were integrated, Negroes would attend school in the western

section of town, as most of the Negroes of Fulton live in that area. The issue, then, was not simply a dispute between neighborhoods of the community, but a dispute which involved racial and social pressures.

Experiencing what they considered to be prejudice, a group of individuals in the West School area attempted to form a coalition with the Negroes. Working together, they could act as a veto group in opposition to any plan which did not include the construction of an elementary school in the western part of Fulton. Meetings were held, and an organization was formed. The school board was advised of their solidarity. It was this coalition, at least in the opinion of members of the organized group, that caused the board to change its plans and agree to the construction of a new elementary school in that area.

Once this was achieved, however, the Negroes could gain very little. They would not attend the elementary school immediately, as elementary schools were not integrated. For some time they had requested that a Negro teacher be employed for the junior high school and high school. The bond proposal provided an opportunity for them to exert pressure to accomplish this goal. There is the possibility, however, that they aided in the passage of the bond issue, as there was a reaction against their attempt to use pressure.

Dissatisfaction with the public school system continued. The West School continued to complain that they were receiving materials which had been discarded in the other schools. Student discipline in the high school was said to be a problem. There was favoritism among teachers and students. The morale of the teaching staff was described as being low. Teachers, it was said, were taking sides with the administration against one another. Criticisms were made of the curriculum. The administration would not support teachers in disciplinary problems. Some people objected to what they considered to be religious training in the public schools. In one elementary school, it was alleged, denominational Sunday School books were being used by one teacher as reading material. Prayers were said in most schools. "My son learned more about the Bible when he was in the first grade," one woman said, "than he ever learned at church." Students in one school were rewarded on Monday morning if they had attended Sunday School the day before. There were criticisms of the examination system in the high school. If a student had attended school regularly, he did not have to take final examinations, a practice which encouraged students to attend school, but one which caused an exchange student from Japan to express his bafflement when he was asked by the local press to describe his feelings toward the United States.

All was not well, then, when the campaign for the school board began that year. One candidate, who surprised school personnel and townspeople by visiting all of the schools, was quite vocal in his criticism. "A communist," one man said. "He's a friend of John Williams," a known integrationist, "and must be a communist." Others said he wanted to curtail religious training in the schools, or that he was "going to stir up the racial issue."

The board recognized that there were problems. Before the election began, the faculty and administration of the high school were asked to draft a statement of policy concerning a number of subjects, including student discipline, classroom procedures, administrative relations, and extra-curricular activities.

The campaign was spirited and interest was increased when it was reported that five members of the high school coaching staff and faculty had resigned, three of them resigning because of dissatisfaction with the system. This was an old story in Fulton. In five years, there had been four football coaches, four basketball coaches, and a number of assistant coaches. On the day of the election, it was announced that the football coach had been relieved of his duties because of a breach of professional ethics. He had made public statements critical of the school system

without first contacting the board, it was explained.<sup>48</sup>

Interest in public school activities reached a new peak. Mark Burns, the coach who had been released, requested the payment of his salary and a public hearing. He denied that he had committed a breach of professional ethics. He stated that he was relieved of his duties while instructing a class at the high school. The superintendent of schools, he related, interrupted his class, told him to collect his personal effects, and turn in his keys.<sup>49</sup>

The board agreed to consider a public hearing. The Citizens Council for Better Schools asked that the board consider the request favorably. The high school P.T.A. added its support, although teachers attending the meeting did not participate in the vote on the motion. On April 11, the school board met. Such a large crowd was present that the meeting had to be shifted to a court room. Burns would be paid in full, the board announced, but there would be no public hearing. The Parent-Teachers Association, it was suggested, might have a meeting in which all school problems, in general, could be discussed.

The following day, petitions were circulated in Fulton

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1961.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., April 5, 1961.

calling for the removal of the superintendent of schools. By noon, two hundred people had signed the petitions. Principals in the schools reacted with a statement in support of the superintendent.<sup>50</sup> Again, letters appeared in the local press. The school board, one man said, "pulled down the iron curtain." Wrote another person: "Open your eyes, Fulton! The Mark Burns affair has finally been revealed for what it was, an underhanded and deceitful attempt of certain 'civic-minded' people to rid themselves" of the school superintendent.

I plead with you fellow Fultonians, Americans, to once again bury the hatchet (but not in someone as it has happened before), and give your vote of confidence in your constitutionally elected representatives and thus give no minority the right over the will of the people nor the majority the right to dissolve minority rights.<sup>51</sup>

In one day, five hundred people signed the petition being circulated. The public school teachers voted their support for the superintendent. There were some people who questioned the conditions under which voting was conducted, however, and a number of teachers abstained.

Letters continued. The firm stand taken by the board was described by one writer as "a typical method used by Fulton officials for silencing anything controversial in the

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., April 13, 1961.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.



community." "Give the board a chance," pleaded a woman. "There are plans for reform," advised a new board member. "We should all cooperate," purred one. At least one Callawegian was involved in the controversy. A number of people had asked, a woman said, why she, "the wife of a Callawegian, would be circulating a copy of the petition." She proceeded to tell the curious to mind their own business.<sup>52</sup> The classic letter of the entire episode, however, appeared several days later:

I think that this public criticism of our school board has gone far enough. How in the world can our democratic institutions work if the public is always sticking its nose into business.

Our schools have stood the test of time, and I for one know that our young people don't smoke and curse the way some outsiders say.

'There will come upon thee a time of troubles,' Cor. 12:8. But I certainly didn't think it would come to Callaway County.

The people of the state know Callaway and nothing said by outsiders in our midst can worsen that picture. I say trust our democratic leaders and our county will remain the best place in the world to live and the favorite visiting spot of such men as Jefferson Davis and Winston Churchill.<sup>53</sup>

The controversy was not over. Mark Burns was a stubborn young man. Retaining a Columbia attorney, he sought an injunction for reinstatement, arguing that his

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., April 15, 1961.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., April 26, 1961.

dismissal was a violation of state law, in that a school board did not have the authority to dismiss a teacher, and claiming that his professional reputation had been impaired. The board answered the charges by pointing out that Burns accepted a check for the balance of his salary, constituting a full release from all contractual obligations. The board further denied that the coach was dismissed in the classroom.

Burns' request for the injunction was denied. A motion for a new trial was filed. The motion was denied in 1962. From his own standpoint, he had committed a mistake in accepting the check from the board. The school board had at first been reluctant to make the payment, from all appearances. In the initial phases of the affair, before the acceptance of the check, the legality of his dismissal was questionable.

The attempt to remove the superintendent through the use of the petition is another story. Tempers cooled. It was at first decided that the petition would not be presented to the board until after the termination of the school year. The petition was never submitted. At least two people claim credit for persuading the group not to present the signatures for consideration. Early in the next school year, rumors circulated that the superintendent would resign. Several months passed, however, before an

official announcement was made. There are at least five people in the community of Fulton who believe they were responsible for the resignation. "I had a promise from the board," one man commented secretly. "You have to work behind the scenes," another explained. "That's the way things are done in Fulton," a third winked.

## V. RACIAL RELATIONS

When asked about the process of change in Fulton, residents are apt to cite public school integration as evidence that changes do occur, and occur easily.

There was no difficulty in 1954 when Negro students attended the high school for the first time. Prior to 1954, Negro high school students attended Jefferson City schools, twenty miles south of Fulton. Bus transportation for the students necessitated the expenditure of several thousand dollars each year by the Fulton school system.

Predictions had been made that trouble would result. There are several reasons why it did not. Discussion of racial equality had been voiced in Fulton for a number of years. During the 1940's, a few individuals in the community invited Negroes to social functions. There was too much criticism of the practice, and it was discontinued, but other efforts were made by several individuals to overcome racial prejudice.

A number of people attribute the ease of integration to one Negro boy, whose academic record was superior to any of his classmates, who graduated with honors, was president of his class, and was awarded a scholarship by Westminster College, becoming the first Negro student at that institution. In college, he also led his class. After four years, he was awarded one of the best medical school scholarships in the country. It was difficult to think of such a boy as being inferior. Other students in the first integrated class also contributed to a peaceful transformation. Several Negro students were outstanding athletes at the high school.

Credit must be given to the people of Fulton. "My attitudes have certainly changed," one native Fultonian admitted. "I was raised as a southerner, with all of the prejudices of the South, but I forced myself to change." Commented another man: "One of the big moments at our house was when our son came home with a Negro boy and introduced him to us as his friend."

Integration began in the high school and spread to the junior high school. "We have our own elementary school," a Negro explained. "If the teachers there would be employed in the other elementary schools, we would ask for our school to be closed." White people often explain it more simply: "The Negroes want to keep their elementary school."

In the summer of 1961, several restaurants, cafes, motels, and a hotel were persuaded to serve or accommodate Negro customers. The local Council of Churches, supported by other individuals, was active in this accomplishment. In 1961, barber shops agreed to admit foreign, colored students from Westminster College.

Problems have existed. There are restaurants, motels, and other businesses which practice discrimination and refuse to admit members of the Negro group. Progress has been made. Prejudice still exists, as one would expect, and there are many evidences of it.

The racial question figured prominently in the public school bond issue, as it was mentioned previously. More recently, it was expressed when an urban renewal program was proposed in a referendum.

The history of this episode is long and complicated. It can be traced back to 1959, when interest developed in the creation of a public housing authority. The "West" and "Hopkinsville" were areas which had been in need of redevelopment for a number of years. Interest in the project, in part, grew out of a concern over blighted areas.

A public housing authority was created. Plans were developed for the construction of eighty, low-rent units. As the planning continued and meetings were held, there were suggestions that the city combine the public housing

authority project with an urban renewal project. This, it was reasonably contended, would allow for a more flexible, less costly, and more extensive redevelopment. One project was not dependent on the other, but a more efficient program was possible by simultaneous development.

In June, 1961, approval was granted for the construction of the low-cost housing units. Later in the year, an informational campaign began relating to urban renewal. A referendum was scheduled to be held coincident with the city election of 1962. Prior to the referendum, mass meetings were held to explain the issue. Long articles appeared in the press. Service clubs were contacted. Three groups in particular were deeply involved in either administering, planning, or supporting the proposal: The Fulton Planning Commission, the housing authority, and a Citizens for Progress Council.

The question was presented to the public for its decision in a city election which called upon the voters also to elect candidates for city office, and to approve an increased school tax levy. The tax levy and the urban renewal proposal were defeated in an election characterized by light voting. Of the 1,153 voters who went to the polls, 610 voted against the plan, 543 for it. It was in the fourth ward, however, that the vote against the proposal was

decisive, 132 favoring the project, 309 opposing it.<sup>55</sup> The fourth ward is the ward which includes the "West."

The Negroes were organized on this issue, as they had been in electing a Republican councilman in 1961 and, to a lesser extent, as they had been in 1960 when they attempted to bargain with the public school board. The proposal did not receive wide support in any of the wards. In the third ward, an equal number of people supported and opposed the plan. In the second, only seven more people favored than opposed it. Only in the first ward was there a decisively favorable vote, 219 to 116.

The reasons why the Negroes opposed the urban renewal plan have been the subject of much informal discussion in Fulton. The reasons are numerous and complex.

The Negroes believed that they had not been given enough consideration when the plans were being formulated. There were complaints that the decisions were made; the Negroes were then informed as to what the decisions were. There was fear and mistrust, both in the manner in which the plan had been administered, and because of the individuals involved in the planning. Westminster College was represented on the planning commission. The conjecture

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1962.

in the "West" was that the college was primarily concerned with its own self-interests, obtaining land which had been condemned and cleared, redeveloping the area adjacent to the institution. The chairman of the public housing authority, on the other hand, was a man with considerable economic power. Negroes believed that he would profit from the program in some way. Otherwise, he would not be as interested in it as he was. A new sub-division had been opened north of the area to be developed. Houses in the ten thousand dollar price range were available for sale to Negroes. There was the impression that urban renewal and the new development were related. If Negroes who owned their homes had to relocate, why not in the new sub-division? There was no other area in Fulton to which they could move. Friends of the Negroes, in other communities, were important in influencing attitudes. They had heard of unhappy experiences in other communities. Other rumors circulated. Westminster Avenue, it was said, would become a major thoroughfare with the re-routing of U.S. Highway 54. Businessmen were interested in developing the "West" in anticipation of this relocation.

More practical problems existed. Where would the Negroes go if their homes were razed? Not enough houses would be available, it was believed, between the time the program began and new housing was constructed. Some of the



Negroes who would have to move would not be eligible for the low-rent housing. Compensation for homes was insufficient. They could not duplicate their existing homes with the amount of money which would be offered. A sentimental, or emotional attachment to their existing homes was sometimes present. The home might not be attractive to white people, but it belonged to them.

Both genuine and imaginary reasons existed for opposing the plan. There was a general thread to the opinions: Negroes had no reason to trust the white men. They had been misled before. There was reason for them to believe that it would happen again.

In relation to some of the practical difficulties, only a few Negroes would be affected. Only a relatively few would actually lose their homes. Only a few would not be qualified for the low-cost housing. Comparatively, however, only a few Negroes would lose their jobs if the Carver School closed. The Negroes were as one, a group, holding together for protection. How many people would be affected was not the issue. Some of their friends would suffer. They were opposed.

The urban renewal proposal will be made again. A more extensive informational campaign will be conducted. A greater attempt will be made to encourage people to vote. Perhaps, the next time, it will be approved. "We'll fight

it again," a Negro leader said. "We're organized now, and we'll be organized better. Maybe we won't win, but we're tired of just accepting things."

Improvements have been made in racial relations, it is generally said. What more do the Negroes want?

We want a teacher in the junior high school. Just one, you know. That isn't much to ask. But the board always says that no one who qualified has applied. My son is going to get a Ph.D. next year. I wonder if they would hire him.

They want a Negro policeman, if not that, better police protection.

This place is like a jungle, just like a jungle. I know what they say: the Negroes want to be left alone. It's not true. They say the policemen have to patrol at William Woods, around girls. I don't know why this is a problem.

"We want fair employment. Give us jobs and you won't see slums. How can you buy a big house when people won't sell it to you if you have the money, and won't give you a job so you can make some money?"

These old attitudes people have. They just hang on and hang on. I can understand it with these people. Their families had these attitudes. They were handed down from generation to generation. They aren't bad people. They don't think they're wrong. Improvements are being made. New people are moving to the community--ministers, teachers, doctors. They bring in new ideas and they get people to do something. Others will help too, you know, but they have to have somebody who isn't afraid to make the first move. Some people sympathize, but they're scared, or don't want to cause trouble, or they're afraid they'll make their friends mad. We've been living on promises. Some of them were fulfilled, some of them weren't. People say we have to be patient. But you wonder sometimes how long you can be patient.

People say, tomorrow, next week, a year from now. I say, now. We've waited. We've been patient. We've fought. We're going to keep it up. It's going to be like that from now on.

The streets in the West are rough and narrow. After it rains, water stands in the holes of the pavement. Big, used cars stand parked in front of the little houses, some with flower-pots on the front porch. Pig-tailed girls skip rope in the streets. Laughter is heard, deep and hearty. A few blocks to the South are the fraternity houses with their columned porches. There is laughter there too, a different kind, and the cars are new. A few blocks to the East is Court Street, with shaded lawns and big white houses. Usually, one does not hear loud laughter there. This is the Kingdom of Callaway, and the people in the "West" were once slaves.

## CHAPTER XI

### PERSPECTIVES OF POWER

Public issues can not be decided and politics can not exist without the existence and use of power. In Fulton, there are conflicting conceptions of power and influence.

An abrupt query as to who has power in the community is apt to result in an abrupt and prompt response. A banker, lawyer, an insurance agent, a realtor, a publisher, and a merchant, are individuals commonly suggested. The names of three men in this group are cited most frequently.

If one continues to question, however, additional names are mentioned. The status initially ascribed to individuals is qualified. Areas of influence are located more specifically, including one or more additional individuals, or excluding others. Conditions under which power may be exercised are described. Possibilities of a reaction against such influence are suggested. Finally, denials of the actual existence of such power and influence may be made with such statements as:

People think they have power and influence, but I am not sure that they do. A lot of people will turn against a proposal just because these people are connected with it.

Obviously, power relationships are not static. Who has power, the manner in which it is used, or the issues and areas in which it may be exercised, vary from decade to

decade, if not from year to year, or from day to day. For one obvious reason, the powerful and the influential die, like other men. Old age may weaken them. They may become satisfied, complacent, incompetent, apathetic, or simply lose in the unremitting and unpredictable struggle that is power's characteristic.

Power and influence vary, according to areas of interest and concern. While one man, or a small group of men, may have much influence in determining who will be a candidate for office, or who will be elected, a different individual or group of individuals may decide the location of a new elementary school building, while another may establish the policies of law enforcement in the community. There may be coalitions and agreements between such individuals in making any or all of these decisions. In other instances, the same individuals may have little influence, or perhaps no interest. They may not be able to use power repetitively. Power may be challenged, and power relationships may be altered as a result of unforeseen circumstances, events, and developments, by the emergence of new influentials, or by the demise of the old ones.

## I. THE OLD ELITE

There was a time, many people in Fulton contend, when a small group of men exercised a considerable amount of influence and control over community affairs. There is disagreement as to the extent of this power, as to whether or not the exercise of power was beneficial, when it ceased to exist, and whether or not it has been transferred to other individuals and is still being exerted.

Individuals are more likely to agree that such a powerful group existed in the past than they are that such a group exists today. At least, the power of the old elite was greater than the power of today's group of leaders. The power of the old elite, if one considers individuals, ceased to exist three or four years ago. The power relationships began to change during and after the second world war.

Although estimates vary as to the size of the old group, the names of five men are most frequently mentioned, and it was largely due to economic and political power that they are said to have exercised control.

One man in this group is sometimes described as being the political boss of Callaway County. In this study, he will be called John Sampson. He was not a native Callawegian. He came to Fulton as a student, and with the

exception of a few years, lived there for the remainder of his life. In time, he became powerful. He was considered as a Callawegian, even if he was not by birth. At one time, it was rumored that he would become state chairman of the Democratic Party. Later, he was offered a position as an assistant departmental secretary in Washington. The President of the United States was his personal friend; he had other important associations in Washington, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Jefferson City. For a number of years, he was an officer of the county Democratic committee, and the Fulton committee as well. He was a member of the county hospital board and a college trustee. A blunt, abrupt, opinionated man, he was considered eccentric by many Callawegians. He had hobbies which did not seem in keeping with his personality. Although he was believed to be wealthy, he admired thrift, a virtue which a number of people believed was carried to an extreme.

There are those who say that a man could not run for office in Callaway County without checking with John Sampson. It was largely due to his efforts, it is said, that Fulton's representation on the county committee was increased, although this did not take place until after his death. "He set the process in motion," one man said. "He and the chairman didn't get along. The chairman wanted to be the chairman, but John thought he should be when it came

to running the committee." While John was alive, others say, new businesses and new economic institutions could not survive in Fulton if he did not approve of them. "He stopped one institution from coming in here, you know. The building had been leased, and John contacted his friends."

John exercised power, there is no doubt. How much power he had is disputable. "John was a political boss," one Callawegian said. "He wanted to run everything, and he didn't care what he had to do to win." Said another person: "A political boss? No, he wasn't. He just got things done, that's all. Why, if someone needed a job, he would call Jefferson City, and he got the job." Others contend that John's power could be exercised in Washington and at the state level, but not in Fulton.

"Sampson was a brilliant man, a complex man, a man with many peculiar traits and many ambitions," an old politician said. "One ambition was to be a political leader. But he wasn't. As a matter of fact, if two men were running for office, and one could get John's support, the other one was sure to be elected." Commented another: "People wanted someone to blame for things they didn't like, and they blamed John. Power? My wife beat his school board candidate in one afternoon by calling people on the telephone."

A former office-holder tells the story of his



election campaign. When he decided to file for office, John Sampson advised against it. "He said he'd beat me if I did, and that I would not be elected." The man filed, nevertheless. A few days later, he related, one of his best friends came to see him in his office. The friend advised the candidate that he would vote for him, but he could not openly support him. He was afraid of John Sampson and what he might do, the candidate explained. "Well, I went right down and talked to John about it, asked him if it was his policy or the policy of his business to put pressure on people. He just waved his hands and said that he had completely divorced himself from the campaign." The former candidate doubted that his friend was justified in his fear. "That was just the way people thought, you know, even if they had no reason to. John did have a lot of power, a lot of it. If a man wanted to run for office, it was expected that he would see John."

A businessman told of being called by John Sampson and asked to come to see him in his office. Sampson, the businessman related, told him that he was not managing his business properly, and he wanted to help him. "I don't get mad easily," the businessman declared, "but I told him to go to hell. He didn't know what he was talking about, and it wasn't any of his business."

Whether powerful or not, John Sampson could be

challenged. The candidate described above was elected. Sampson, himself, was twice defeated as a candidate for committeeman. On another occasion, candidates supported by him were defeated by candidates campaigning independently of the party. Sampson resigned from one board position, declaring that other members were by-passing him in making decisions. "That time some people ran against him," one woman said. "That was awful. The things they said about him. There must have been money behind it. None of it was true, but you know he never did regain his support." A man who defeated Sampson in one campaign for committeeman explained: "You know how people are. He was a big man and people like to knock a big man down and stomp on him." On the day following the election, the former candidate remembered, a local attorney made a special visit to see him: "I want to congratulate you on defeating John Sampson," the attorney explained. "However, I would like to say that anyone could have done it." John Sampson still has the reputation of being a powerful man. He was, but his power could not always be used, and at times made him weak.

There were other men, more powerful than John Sampson, who were not concerned with politics in the usual sense, but whose influence and control shaped political decisions at the local level. These men were natives of the county, members of pioneer families. In the 1940's,

there were at least a dozen men who could be considered members of the elite. Many of them were related to each other. Over the years there had been intermarriages; they were cousins, or their wives were cousins, and they had much in common. Through hard work, thrift, intelligence, luck, and inheritance, they accumulated wealth, through real estate, banking, insurance, and retail businesses. They, or their fathers, had much to do with establishing the public utilities in Fulton, with developing the Kingdom Supper, establishing the country club, supporting the institutions of the town, and establishing Fulton as the service center for the surrounding agricultural area. There is no doubt but that they contributed considerably to the community.

They have their critics, however. "This group of men," a grandson of one stated, "didn't want Fulton to change. They liked it the way it was, a quiet, institutional community. They would say that Fulton should not try to get more industry, for example, because it would bring in undesirable people." Others are of the opinion that they simply did not want competition. "They admitted this," one merchant said. "They had made their money, or were making it. They were leading a good life. They didn't want anything to rock the boat."

One objection to their leadership, however, was

simply the assumption by the men that it was their obligation to make decisions for other people. "If they felt that you could not afford to buy a house," one man said, "you did not buy a house unless you had it financed in some other town, and that was difficult to do." Automobile loans would not be made, another commented, simply because of a belief that such items as automobiles should not be purchased on credit. "When I decided to enter the insurance business," one man recalled, "I was warned that I would fail, that I just would not be successful in such a venture. I didn't think it was any of their business." There was a conservatism, one merchant said, a reluctance to take risks, and an opposition to new ideas and new attitudes. There was a desire to preserve the community as it had existed for many years, with the same social groups, the same social divisions. "Some of these people had a notion of worthiness," an older man said.

They had the idea that if a man was poor, it was simply his own fault. He was lazy or worthless. Perhaps some people were, but not all of them. They didn't have a chance to be anything else.

Not all individuals in Fulton are critical of the old elite. "For the most part," a banker said, "they were enlightened leaders, doing a pretty good job, although they did make mistakes." Others speak nostalgically of the old leadership. "They gave of their time, their money,

themselves. They were the real kings of the Kingdom," one woman exclaimed emotionally. "I just think it's terrible to think of some of the people who are in positions of leadership today," a widow said indignantly. "My husband would turn over in his grave. Why, when I was younger, some of these people were just trashy."

And there are other views. "Most of these old men have gone to heaven now. They are better off, and Fulton is better off. Fulton needed tombstones."

## II. THE NEW LEADERS

A considerable difference of opinion exists in Fulton today as to the shape and form of the leadership structure. One finds the attitude expressed that the sons and grandsons of the old elite have inherited power and influence as well as wealth, and that the power structure has simply been transferred to a younger group, still members of the old, elite families. Others express the opinion that power has been dispersed and weakened. There are several variations of this theory. The sons and grandsons would like to have the power of their predecessors, but have not been able to perpetuate it. The sons and grandsons could have had this power, but they have not attempted to exercise it, or have not desired to exercise it. They are interested in different things. Social activities are more important to them, for

example, than with their predecessors. Others believe that it is impossible for such power to be exercised or perpetuated because of a greater influx of new personnel, and because of a rising standard of living among individuals who formerly had no voice and no authority. The younger group, it is said, have different attitudes. They have open minds, are interested in progressive reforms, are concerned that Fulton has fallen behind other communities in the area, or is not progressing as it should. Still another viewpoint, not as frequently expressed, maintains that there is an absence of leadership in Fulton today. The last of the old leaders died three or four years ago. There has not been time for power to be reorganized or reasserted. Fulton, it is stated, is in a state of transition, in terms of leadership, power, and authority. No one has attempted to replace leadership, or no one has been able to replace the previous leadership. There are supporters of this view who extend the theory. There is an actual absence of leadership, but there is the belief among many people that leadership is concentrated in a small group. The conception that power and control do exist, even though they do not, creates unfounded tensions and results in a very fluid situation which makes it difficult to accomplish anything. Age is stressed by some individuals. The old leaders did not suddenly spring into power. Power was

attained over a long period of time. Some of them were still powerful men, or at the peak of their power, when they were in their eighties and nineties. Not only has the shift of leadership taken place rather recently, the new leaders are young and have not had time to accumulate the prestige which was enjoyed by their predecessors on the basis of age and long participation in community affairs.

The conceptions which individuals have of community power vary somewhat depending on a number of factors. The length of time a person has lived in the community, where the person lived before moving to Fulton, the social and economic prestige and acceptance of the individual, type of employment, degree of interest and participation in community affairs, and the individual's social and cultural, and economic expectations and perspectives tend to influence and color perspectives of power.

A number of institutional and professional personnel tend to perceive community power and leadership in the following ways: Power is concentrated in the hands of the old families, particularly those who are involved in business and financial enterprises. In order to assume a position of leadership, it appears essential that an individual live in the community for a long period of time. Traditions in the community create a hostility toward radical or rapid changes. There is opposition to change,

particularly when advocated by new personnel. Very often, there is a suspicion, if not a hostility, toward new personnel, simply because they are new. While leadership and power are vested in the old, rather affluent families, this leadership is reinforced and accepted by other, less influential families, who have also lived in the community for a long period of time, and who anticipate that decisions will be made by members of families who are accustomed to making decisions. The hostility toward change is channelled downward, into the lower economic and social groups. There is a faith and trust in the status quo. There is a satisfaction in the community and the county which is reflected in the emphasis on the Kingdom of Callaway and on being a Callawegian.

These perceptions are further complicated. While there is a criticism of the old families, in terms of the power which is believed to be exercised, there is also a tendency on the part of institutional and professional personnel to emulate the old families, to seek their acceptance, and to become a part of the social group to which they belong. As one succeeds in this goal, there is a tendency to become less critical. Social acceptance contributes to acceptance of conditions and attitudes which were formerly repudiated and criticized.

At the same time, there is also a tendency by



individuals in this group to identify themselves with members of the less fortunate members of the community, the have-nots, in conflict with the socially and economically prestigious groups. There are those who see themselves as the liberal crusaders, champions of the oppressed and the downtrodden, in opposition to the inheritors of wealth, influence, position and power.

Non-institutional and non-professional groups, many of whom are natives of the county, but not of the elite, also believe that the old families of the community have power and influence, largely due to their economic position. With many of these people, there is often an acceptance, although it is sometimes a begrudging acceptance, that power is centered in the old families. There is a tendency, however, to further associate professional and institutional personnel with the old families. This is particularly true in relation to Westminster College faculty members. That is, a number of people believe that the community influentials are the old, elite families and members of the college faculty, and that the two groups have common attitudes, perspectives, and viewpoints.

There are several possible explanations for this. Several members of the old families graduated from the college. Some of them have served as members of the

college board of trustees. The college is affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church has been considered by many to be the church with the greatest social prestige. Henry Bellaman pointed to this in Kings Row. Of all the institutions, Westminster has contributed more participants in community affairs. One faculty member was a mayor; one faculty member and one staff member have served on the city council; a number have served on the school board, and in other positions. Westminster is a college attended by wealthy students. There is a misconception that this wealth is shared by faculty members. A number of marriages have occurred between children of faculty members and children of the old families. The college itself has had a rather conservative bias in the past.

There are other occasions, and sometimes with different individuals, when the non-elite residents identify themselves with the old families in opposition to new personnel, whether institutional personnel or not. This is sometimes evidenced when proposals for change are made, particularly when such changes involve an increase in taxation, or when the customs and traditions of the community are challenged or criticized by new residents. A challenge to the myths of the community may result in an alliance of previously unfriendly, inhospitable groups.

The reverse may also be true. Persons who do not share influence, or affluence, often resent its existence or react against individuals whom they believe enjoy it, or more particularly, have inherited or have exercised economic, political and social power. They sometimes enjoy a challenge to the elite and throw their support to the group or the individuals who are threatening the status quo. That there is this feeling was evidenced by the opposition to John Sampson, mentioned above. On another occasion, during a campaign for a position in the state senate, a group of the community influentials announced their support for a candidate in a public statement. The names of the supporters were listed. One man commented: "I know who I am going to vote for now," indicating that he would vote for the other candidate. Despite the efforts of the old families, their candidate did not receive the support of Fulton townspeople in the election.

As a matter of fact, the old families of Fulton do not have much influence in election campaigns, or in control over purely political matters. There are other individuals in the community, with much less wealth and social status, who have more power in terms of delivering votes and influencing elections. The power of the old families can not be transmitted to the election polls, except under certain circumstances. Their power and influence is economic

and social. They may influence candidates once they have been elected, or before they are elected, but they can not deliver votes unless they work through other individuals. The attempt to do so, as a matter of record, may lead to their own defeat.

Conflicting conceptions of power tend to perpetuate power as it exists. Conceptions of power, to an extent, determine the existence of power. Ambivalent attitudes of groups further complicate the situation. While some institutional personnel complain of the concentration of power in the hands of the old, elite families, they respect these families and often attempt to win their social acceptance, while at the same time they consider themselves the champions and defenders of individuals in lower social and economic groups. Members of the less influential groups, on the other hand, criticize the concentration of power as they believe it exists, associate professional, institutional personnel with the old families, in terms of power, but sometimes align themselves with the old elite against new personnel who advocate change. Members of the old elite often deny that they have power and influence and complain that there is a lack of interest and participation in community affairs by new personnel, and yet are critical of new personnel who attempt to achieve change.

It is doubtful that any monolithic group exists in Fulton. Conceptions of power create monolithic groups. The old families quarrel with each other. While there are individuals in this group who seek to perpetuate the status quo, there are others who seek change. While there are institutional personnel who support liberal reforms, they may be ineffective, and there are others who are opposed to change, or they are indifferent to change. There are those in lower economic groups who accept power as it exists, and believe that it should exist as it does, and there are others who visualize the community as a world against them, with coalitions of power too difficult to overcome.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE NEWCOMERS

The newcomers have been mentioned several times in this study. It has been said that there is a status system which relates to the period of time a person has lived in the community, and as to whether or not a person was born in the county. The increase in the number of new personnel since World War Two has been noted. The economic importance of the institutions, and the people who staff them, has been suggested.

#### I. THE VIEW OF THE KINGDOM

Just as Callawegians view the Kingdom differently, so do the newcomers. A mild-mannered young man, who might not be expected to express himself so vigorously, stated that he considered the Kingdom heritage as a community sickness. "When I see these people with their flag and their Kingdom Supper, I wonder what is going to happen to this town, and wonder if these people don't belong in the State Hospital." The Kingdom, to his way of thinking, was based on shaky history, as even the historians did not seem to agree on what actually happened in 1862. "I have an idea that a group of local people might have gone out, got drunk and tired, and came back and told this story."

It was his opinion that the heritage of the Kingdom had been entirely detrimental to the community. People may have grasped this myth, or episode, he conjectured, "because they had no status, or nothing to be particularly proud about. They needed something to make them feel significant." The young man was not alone in his interpretation. The irrationality of the attitude, as many outsiders believe it exists among Callawegians and the belief that the Kingdom is largely a myth, were frequently mentioned.

To others, the core of the Kingdom ideology was described as being composed of attitudes of white supremacy and elitism. The Callawegian, using this argument, does not consider the majority of the people as being in the group known as Callawegians. Negroes, the people of Hopkinsville, members of the lower economic group, and much of the working class, are excluded. The argument was advanced that only individuals with substantial wealth, or yeoman character, were heirs of the Kingdom. "If it were not for white supremacy and elitism," one newcomer was convinced, "the ideology of the Kingdom would fall apart." Observed another: "I've never seen any Negroes at the Kingdom Dinner." Negroes, particularly, are critical of the Kingdom from this standpoint, believing that the perpetuation of an event which had its roots in the Civil War, tends to preserve southern

attitudes toward racial relations, and the continuation of prejudice. Some find it ironic, as do white people as well, that the churches serve the meals for an event which has some flavor of the old South, the institution of slavery, and racial prejudice.

There are other criticisms, and some people see in the Kingdom a mixed blessing. There is praise for the pride which people have in the community, but this pride is also seen as a retarding influence. There is the feeling that it has tended to result in attitudes of self-satisfaction, complacency, and indifference to what is happening in the world outside of Callaway County. "The Kingdom has provided a way for some people to escape from responsibilities which are larger and more important than Callaway County. The people here group themselves within a coil, and feel safe, removed, and satisfied." In much the same vein, another man worried:

I look around and see the towns around us. These are attractive, bustling, competitive towns. And then I think of Fulton, with its self-satisfaction and lethargy. It worries me. A town never stands still. It moves forward, or it falls behind. Fulton may have waited too long. Too many people here have been more concerned with preserving the past than in moving ahead.

A businessman who had lived in the community only a few years described the Kingdom ideology as having a political orientation. Instead of contributing to expansion,



growth, and development, he reasoned, the pride in the Kingdom has resulted in a desire to maintain power, a desire to perpetuate the status quo. One of the reasons for this orientation, in his opinion, was the existence of the four institutions in the community. Expansion, innovation, competitiveness, and flexibility were not crucially necessary. The town could rely on permanent institutions, and it could afford to become introspective.

One of the most frequently mentioned criticisms was directed toward the status-system. "When I came here," a professional man stated, "I was told that I would be accepted if I was a Callawegian and a Democrat. I can't become a Callawegian, and I won't become a Democrat."

There is the opinion, expressed many times, that unless one is either a native-born Callawegian, has lived in the community for many years, or has been "sponsored" by a few of the Callawegians, there is little chance for active participation in the community. There is the expectation that one should live in Fulton for a long period of time before assuming a position of leadership, or before asserting a claim that one belongs in the community. A man in his nineties commented: "I can not tell you much about the Kingdom and what it means. I have only lived here sixty-five years. You should talk to some of the Callawegians." Observed another:

There are members of old Callaway families here who feel that they have a proprietary right to power and control. It is not simply a matter of having been born here, or having grandfathers who were born here. Their grandfathers settled the town. This is their town. They inherited it. They rule by divine right. The Kingdom, I think, gives them some legitimacy, at least they feel it does. In a way, the Kingdom is a constitution which justifies control.

Not all newcomers are critical of the Kingdom. Indeed, some are adopted sons, and are as loyal as the pioneers. A young businessman, who had lived in the community three years, confessed that he was proud that his infant son had been born in the county and was, therefore, a Callawegian. "I don't know why it should make any difference, but I'm sort of proud just the same."

Commented an educator, who had lived in the county for thirty years: "The sentiment for the county grows on you after awhile. Some people, after living here a number of years, begin to feel like they are Callawegians. You get to feeling: It's nice to be a Callawegian. There is something different about it."

Another educator related that when he moved to Fulton he considered it the strangest community in which he had ever lived. As time passed, however, he began to wonder what it was that he had considered odd. Others professed similar experiences. When they first moved to Fulton, they surmised that the Kingdom was considered an amusing episode of history. "I found out first of all that it was not

something to laugh about, and then I began to feel that it had given the community a great sense of pride and cohesion."

If newcomers do not become warm supporters of the Kingdom, many quietly tolerate and accept it. "I view the Kingdom with benevolent indulgence. Every community has some kind of heritage to hang its identity on, some way to differentiate itself from others."

## II. THE ROLE OF THE NEWCOMERS

In a sense, Fulton is not just one community, but several. The community is divided into sub-groups which are relatively independent. It is divided between those who were born in Callaway and those who were not. It is divided into social and economic groups. There are individuals who were attracted to the community because of business and industrial interests. There are staff members of the state hospital, some of whom live on the hospital grounds, a community in itself. Some of these people are near retirement age, and are not deeply concerned about community affairs. Others are young psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, and physicians who do not plan to live in the community permanently, but who hope to move on to more lucrative positions in other states. A number of personnel at the hospital, particularly Negro staff

members, do not live in Fulton, but commute from Jefferson City or Columbia, larger communities, offering better facilities. Participation in community affairs is restricted by law, to some extent, as hospital personnel are employed under merit systems with political restrictions. The two colleges and the Deaf School have also experienced an increase in size and specialization. What is said of the hospital, can be said also of the other institutions to a point.

Some of the institutional personnel participate in a variety of community activities, but the number is small, and several explanations are suggested. There is no interest in participation. Some institutional personnel live in the community, but are not a part of it. A few have moved to homes outside of the city limits; others live in other towns. With some people, there is a rejection and a repudiation of the community. Their work is important to them; they tolerate the town, sometimes complain about it, but do not participate actively. There is little time for participation. Professional interests occupy their attention. While they would enjoy participating more fully in community affairs, they do not feel that their professional interests permit the time, or their leisure time is spent in activities outside of the community. In the summer months, for example, there are no classes at the

colleges, and there is a mass exodus from Fulton. Typical of the attitude of many is the comment of one person who has lived in the community twenty years:

I have never cared much about what went on in the community, except in the area of public schools. I have never really considered myself a part of the town, being concerned primarily with intellectual activities at the college. I've never been active in politics, and I have no interest at all in the social whirl.

Others believe that it is impossible or difficult to participate in community affairs, that they have been excluded, that a newcomer must become resigned to the role of a passive observer. Fear, perhaps unjustified, is also a factor. "I have a number of complaints about this community," one educator explained, "but I am afraid to voice them. After all, observe who is on the board of trustees. And there is a public relations problem, you know." Another individual expressed it more succinctly: "I am not a Callawegian. What could I do?" An institutional employee observed of his fellow workers in this manner: "The trouble is, educators and professional personnel want to start at the top in local affairs. Intellectuals have an exaggerated notion of their own importance. They don't want to work at the blood bank. They want to be the mayor or run for the Senate. There are opportunities for participation, but you can't start at the top."

One also detects a criticism by non-Callawegians that other "newcomers," who have become active, have either compromised their principles or reflect attitudes and traits which are in keeping with community attitudes:

When I look around and try to think of institutional personnel who play an important role in the community, I can name only a few, and I can only think of three who have been accepted as Callawegians. One of them has been here so long--I don't know if he has just become one of them, or if he had the same attitudes that they did when he came. Another one has just fallen in with the group because he apparently accepted the status quo. I don't know how to explain the other man. He seems to have some very liberal ideas, but he may not express them when he is around Callawegians. I can't understand how he has been accepted.

New members of the community have been successful in achieving positions of leadership on some occasions. They have been elected to the school board and to the city council, as prosecuting attorney, and as city attorney. There was seldom a contest for the latter two positions, but in one instance a newcomer defeated a Callawegian. "One of the reasons I was elected," he explained, "was because of a reaction against the old entrenched group. I was an underdog, and people voted for me because of that reason."

One new resident, who has been successful in assuming a position of leadership, stressed the necessity for acceptance before any attempt at participation is made. "Sometimes, you have to take a rather circuitous route, rather than take the shortest distance between two points.

Fulton is conservative, which I don't think is a bad thing, and you have to appear conservative." He had received criticisms from both Callawegians and non-Callawegians, he said, several complaining that he was too radical, others that he had conformed to the pattern set by the community leaders.

You have to bore from within. You can't move in here and tell people what they should or should not do. They have to trust you. They must be made to believe that you are sincere, that you are interested, and that you have some ability and competence. This isn't any different than it is anywhere else. People will listen to you. They will respond. What you say has to have some merit, of course.

The use of such tactics is not acceptable to other individuals. Perhaps they believe that their principles would be compromised. "I call it brain-washing," exclaimed a non-Callawegian who had married a local girl. "People move in here, and they try to take part, but they get discouraged. After awhile, you give up. You tell yourself that things aren't so bad after all, or that you can't do anything about it." A number of individuals, he further said, become accepted into the established group socially and then are reluctant to express themselves honestly.

A few new people have asserted themselves forcefully and in conflict with the established power. An example was the football coach at the high school. Another individual was quite active in attempting to further racial equality.

"Callawegians hate his guts," a native said. "I've heard people call him a nigger lover, a Communist, and even a Republican." There is a term which new people sometimes use to describe individuals who have been particularly vocal or active in challenging the traditions and practices of the town. They are sometimes referred to as "tainted individuals." One psychologist related that he invited one such individual to his home for dinner. "The whole neighborhood complained about it," he laughed.

Participation and influence has been most noticeable in two areas, racial relations and public schools. A number of new people have held offices and have been active in such groups as parent-teachers associations, pre-school associations, and a Citizens Committee for Better Schools. The campaign which resulted in the approval of a bond issue for the construction of two, new elementary schools was in large part led by new personnel. Much of the support for Mark Burns, as well as criticisms of public school administration which led to improvement, came from new personnel, businessmen, professional people, and institutional personnel who had lived in the community for a relatively short period of time. The attempt in the summer of 1961 to persuade restaurants and motels to accommodate Negroes was led by ministers and interested citizens who were not native-born.



This is not to say that no Callawegians were involved in any of these episodes. It is to say that new personnel asserted themselves most vigorously and most effectively in these two areas. It may be that this is symptomatic of the attitudes common to new personnel. They may passively accept or tolerate many practices, habits, and attitudes in the community. The education of their children, however, is too important. This is the crucial area of concern. Racial prejudice is blatant injustice which many can not tolerate or accept, and is, furthermore, related to community education.

Callawegians and new residents both agree and disagree as to whether or not it is difficult to win a place of influence in the town of Fulton, but all agree that some importance must be placed on the extent and means of change and reform.

There are Callawegians who are critical of Callawegians. "They don't think you should complain about anything. If an outsider is critical, they tell him to go somewhere else to live." Another woman explained that Callawegians considered some outsiders as trouble-makers. Callawegians would accept change, she said, indicating a view typical of many, but they did not want change forced on them. "Callawegians I know," she said, "do not like controversy. They want to ignore it, or hide it, or act

like it isn't there. But they particularly dislike controversies created by people who have not lived here all of their lives."

Some people move into the community and are not satisfied with the town or the people, one Callawegian explained. They build a wall around themselves; they are not happy; after a few years they leave. "They are happier somewhere else," he surmised, "and people here are happy to see them go." Others move into the community, he continued, and become assimilated. "You don't have to be a chameleon to do this, but you do have to adjust to the community, its traditions, and ways of doing things."

Callawegians do not oppose change for the sake of opposing it, an attorney commented. They prefer to suggest their own proposals for change, however.

There is this pride, this close-knit feeling, and a pride of ownership. People who have lived here for years feel that they have a great stake in the community. Other people come and go. They are going to stay here. Other towns are similar in this respect, but they do not have the myths that Callaway has, or the same frame of reference. Here, the Kingdom provides an emotional justification.

Other Callawegians described the Kingdom as a myth or a tradition which has influenced participation and attitudes toward participation in community affairs. "Some people think that because there are these traditions, the Kingdom, that it is hopeless to achieve change. They are correct to

a degree. The Kingdom has given people a sense of history and a sense of pride, so that they are reluctant to change anything."

One businessman observed that the Kingdom was given more emphasis by newcomers than by Callawegians, in terms of being an obstacle to revision.

I have an idea that the Kingdom has been more important to new people than it has been to Callawegians. New people sit around and speculate about it. They think it is important, and see it as a deterrent. If the Kingdom is an obstacle, it is because new people believe it is.

A non-Callawegian, on the other hand, expressed a contrary viewpoint:

Of course, Callawegians will tell you that new people can participate. They naturally would. But look around you. This fellow at the hospital had his ears pinned back several times, and there have been others. People have asked me how I have tolerated some of the attitudes here. As long as I've lived here, I have heard people say they were going to change things. They don't, because they can't, unless they do it so slowly that you don't notice it. If you get the idea that it is not important to be a Callawegian, try to change something, religious education in the public schools, for instance, and see how far you get.

The fact that Fulton had changed, particularly since World War II, was emphasized by several Callawegians and non-Callawegians who had lived in the community for twenty years or more. "When I came back from the Navy," a business leader recalled, "I couldn't believe it was the same town. There was an altogether different spirit. The old attitudes

had been broken. Many people don't realize how much this town has changed. But you can't push it. You have to ease it along."

Not only is there an observation of change, but a genuine concern on the part of many Callawegians, some of them believed to be opponents of change, that Fulton has not kept pace with surrounding communities, or has not progressed to the point which they consider desirable. "A number of us," one of the influentials commented, "feel that Fulton has fallen behind. Certainly, not all of us feel that way. There are people here who are satisfied and are too much concerned with the past. They are gradually being pushed into the background."

One of the real difficulties, it appears, is the conception many people have, both Callawegians and non-Callawegians, that there are formidable and cohesive groups in the community. There is a tendency to visualize power in monolithic terms, a tendency to describe newcomers as if they were all of one mind and spirit, and a tendency to speak of Callawegians as if they were identifiable at sight. Indeed, there are individuals who are referred to as Callawegians who have lived in the community for only a short period of time. Furthermore, if one examines the relationships between individuals who are members of the presumed elite, one finds that serious conflicts and

disagreements exist among them. "I have found," informed a minister, "that there are some very real divisions between the so-called leaders of the community. But they accept the fact that they have to live in the same town, and their differences are concealed."

Fulton, by its nature, with its institutions and specialization, is composed of several sub-communities, existing in a broader, more general, and in a sense less meaningful community. The divisions between institutional personnel and townspeople, Callawegians and non-Callawegians, the highly specialized and the unskilled, are overcome with difficulty, and the perpetuation of the Kingdom, as it is interpreted by many people, does not aid in closing the gaps.

## CHAPTER XIII

### CONCLUSIONS: THE EFFECT AND MEANING OF THE KINGDOM

The heritage of the Kingdom of Callaway has existed in association with other conditioning factors in shaping the community's politics. Rural conservatism, identification with the South, a relatively stable economy, inherited wealth and status, the existence of state and private educational and correctional institutions, peculiar historical events such as visits by Winston Churchill and Jefferson Davis, as well as other factors and circumstances, have existed collectively and have interacted with each other. The Kingdom of Callaway has sometimes been used as a descriptive phrase to encompass the total individuality and personality of Fulton and Callaway County.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that the Kingdom of Callaway, as a separate and individual factor, has had effect and meaning in Fulton, Missouri, and the county of Callaway.

The Kingdom of Callaway has existed as a myth. Out of the myth, an ideology has been created. The Kingdom has given a sense of uniqueness, a sense of pride, acceptance, and faith in established institutions, practices, attitudes, and social and political relationships.

The ideology of the Kingdom has not been based on a loyalty to the South as much as it has been based on beliefs, experiences, and attitudes relating to an idealized relationship between residents of the county and the community.

The myth of the Kingdom has been perpetuated by a variety of somewhat accidental events, circumstances, experiences, and tensions which have occurred over the years.

The myth of the Kingdom has provided an ideological context in which public issues and controversies have been stated, defined, and debated.

Although there has been widespread recognition by natives of the county and of Fulton that the heritage has existed, there has been disagreement as to the nature and degree of importance which has been accorded to the Kingdom.

New residents have tended to perpetuate the myth of the Kingdom by their interest, curiosity, and discussion. Newcomers have often been inhibited from participation in community affairs as a result of the perceptions they have had of the myth's importance.

The myth has tended to perpetuate and reinforce community conservatism. The belief in conservatism, or the belief that change can not be achieved rapidly, has

contributed to an attitude of caution and restraint.

The myth has both created and maintained power relationships. The myth of the Kingdom has given a claim of legitimacy to groups and individuals who have been closely associated with the heritage of the county, either through family relationships or friendship groups.

### I. THE BELIEF IN UNIQUENESS

It was stated earlier that individuals who expressed a belief that the Kingdom was significant and meaningful often explained that Callaway was unique, that there was something different about the people, the customs, and the traditions of the community. When asked to describe this uniqueness, individuals often stressed the sense of loyalty Callawegians have traditionally had for each other, the sharing of common experiences, the pioneer background, the Civil War and reconstruction period, the traits of self-sufficiency, pride, trust, and honor in personal relationships.

One might question the justification for describing Callaway as being unique, however, given any or all of these reasons for the belief in uniqueness.

Pioneers did cross Callaway. The Boon's Lick Trail is marked. Pioneers settled Callaway and their descendants still reside in the county, giving them a status which is



accorded some importance. One might question the uniqueness of this, however, as every county was settled by pioneers, if one uses this term to signify individuals who established settlements and developed land and resources. Callawegians who stress pioneer status do not seem to take into account that there are people all over the country who can claim such a distinction.

There are other communities with state and private educational and correctional institutions, as well as pioneer families. Fulton and Callaway may have some claim to economic diversification and stability, but there are wealthier communities, and communities with more diversification. While Callaway did experience a dramatic event during the Civil War, there were other communities and counties with more significant and equally dramatic experiences. Callaway, agriculturally, is something of a cross-section of the state of Missouri, but this could be considered as an unfortunate condition as well as a thing in which to have pride. There has been a close relationship between townspeople and rural people, but this is difficult to compare with other communities and counties, and there is no reason for believing that this characteristic is peculiar to Callaway.

The fact of uniqueness is less important than the belief in uniqueness. Many Callawegians have no basis for

judging the uniqueness of other counties simply because they have not lived in any other county. The belief and pride in uniqueness has repercussions politically and socially.

## II. IDENTIFICATION WITH THE SOUTH

Fulton is frequently described as a southern town, in view of its association with Little Dixie, the Civil War, the establishment of the Kingdom, and certain customs and attitudes which are observed or expressed. There are individuals who believe that it is fairer to say that Fulton has both southern and midwestern characteristics. Others, particularly individuals who moved to Missouri from the South, stoutly dispute Fulton's claim to a southern personality. A questionnaire, circulated among more than one hundred residents of Fulton, indicated that the term "southern" was not considered as descriptive as terms such as "religious," "conservative," or "traditional."<sup>1</sup>

W. J. Cash has described the traits, attitudes, and perspectives of the South.<sup>2</sup> If one accepts his analysis, the similarities with Fulton, or certain residents of Fulton, are striking. One must be careful with Cash,

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup>W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South.

however. What he describes is the imposition of a sophisticated manner of living on a simple culture, that is, the emergence of the plantation in a frontier setting. Furthermore, it was not until 1820 that the plantation system was established. Forty years later, less than a life-time, the plantation system was destroyed. The Old South was remembered for this forty year period, not for the long history which came before the plantation. The idea of the South was a development of the Civil War. Before that conflict, Cash argues, the South had no meaning except as a geographic area.<sup>3</sup>

Callaway's pioneers, for the most part, were natives of the southern states, particularly Kentucky and Virginia. It is reasonable to assume that they were individuals who were not as successful in the South as they desired. Had they achieved success, they probably would have remained in the South. They were not, then, members of the southern aristocracy, or were not successful members of the southern aristocracy.

The plantation system, as known and idealized in the South, did not exist in Missouri. The climate did not allow for the long growing season, except in the southern tip of the state. Different types of crops were raised. While the

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-70.

pioneers of Callaway might have had attitudes similar to those found in the South, and might have owned slaves, they did not have the identical economic, social, and cultural setting.

It has already been stated, furthermore, that Callaway County did not support the southern cause in the election of 1860, even though it did not support Lincoln, either.

As the identity of the South was created by the war, so was Callaway's identification with the South. It was the war and the aftermath of reconstruction which pinned a label on Callaway and gave Callaway a sense of identity.

The South united for the war effort. A separate government was formed, even if it was a loose governmental relationship. The South did withdraw from the Union. It formed armies and fought battles seriously. It identified itself as a group of states in opposition to the United States.

The truth of the matter, in relation to Callaway, is that there never was a Kingdom. Callaway did not secede from Missouri or from the United States. There was no separate government. There were no standing armies. The claim to the Kingdom was based on a four-day interval between the time of threatened invasion and occupation. Furthermore, when the agreement was made between the forces of Jefferson Jones and the Federal troops, Callaway pledged

that it would uphold the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and did not declare its unconditional opposition to the United States. The goal of the negotiation was to prevent the invasion and occupation of Callaway. Finally, there is no agreement as to how the term, Kingdom of Callaway, originated in the first place.

### III. THE MYTH OF THE KINGDOM

The Kingdom was, and is, a myth. The Kingdom was real, conceptually. It became more meaningful as time passed. How the Kingdom received its name, how the treaty between Jefferson Jones and the Federal troops was negotiated, and what the terms were exactly, became academic questions which were unimportant. One may meet Fulton residents today who believe in the Kingdom, who state that they are proud of the Kingdom, but who have only slight acquaintance with the history of the Kingdom. The important thing was that Callawegians banded together, at least temporarily, willing to defend their county against the Yankees. Callawegians had remained loyal to their convictions, to their friends and relatives in the southern states, to a way of life, the institution of slavery, to popular sovereignty and states rights. They remained true to their ideals, at least in spirit, and at least temporarily.

The focus of the Kingdom was the county. It was the county of Callaway which was protected. County people negotiated the settlement. During the period of the Radical government following the war, county people remained true and loyal. The county representative openly declared his loyalty and devotion to the Kingdom of Callaway. Perhaps it was because of this focus that it became important for one to be born in the county. One inherited beliefs and attitudes. A Callawegian could be trusted. A Callawegian, with such a proud heritage, had a responsibility to preserve and protect the county against those who challenged its traditions and values.

Perhaps the Kingdom would have been forgotten with the passage of time, and perhaps there would have been less pride in being a Callawegian, if history had left Fulton and Callaway alone, if no other exceptional events had occurred. The reconstruction period was hardly over, however, when Jefferson Davis visited Fulton and reminded Callaway of its role in the Civil War. Fulton had already achieved some identity because of its institutions. Education, physical disability, and mental disease, are still treated with some respect, and a small community having institutions designed to accommodate all three has some claim to singularity. During the depression years, Fulton and Callaway did not suffer to the extent that many

communities and counties did, largely because of the institutions. Kings Row was published, became a best-seller, a movie, a radio program. Perhaps people in other communities did not know that the novel was written about Fulton, but Fultonians and Callawegians were aware of it. Some of them were indignant and others were proud, but in any case attention was directed introspectively. Not every community had a novel written about it. Then, in 1946, Fulton became internationally known when it was visited by Winston Churchill and the President of the United States.

Not only events conspired to reinforce and perpetuate the belief in uniqueness. The Kingdom was institutionalized. Each year, at the Kingdom Supper, the history of the great episode was described again. Callawegians who had left the county and had "made good" were honored. Callawegians met as a group, a close-knit group, and found pleasure and reassurance in the company of each other. Where else could one find such unity, loyalty, and trust?

There were challenges to the Kingdom. Being an institutional town, Fulton had its transients, individuals who had not shared in the heritage, who because of a different background and professional training were perhaps more skeptical and critical. Some of them were Yankees, even Republicans. A true Callawegian would defend his heritage against such criticisms and against such critics, against

those who sought to change the heritage with new ideas and new ways of thinking.

#### IV. THE IDEOLOGY OF THE KINGDOM

The Kingdom, with all of its component parts, has provided an ideology. The Kingdom has given satisfaction, faith, security, pride, and confidence to those who have shared in the heritage. It has given an emotional support to convictions, a sense of correctness. On some occasions, involving public issues, it has served as a symbolic device to which appeals could be made when the traditions of the Kingdom were being challenged. It has served as a device to preserve practices and institutions, as in terms of the arguments used in relation to the city manager plan, the police merit system, racial relations, and public school education. In party politics and election campaigns it has provided a context for political rhetoric: "I still think Callaway County is the best place in the world to live." It has given status. An individual born in the county, having no other distinctiveness, at least shared in the heritage and achieved some identity as a Callawegian. He achieved status in relation to new, non-native residents, and kinship with his fellows. There may be fear, not only that the Kingdom will be tarnished, but that its unreality will be exposed. Suspicion of the newcomer may not result merely from a belief



in the good character and proven wisdom of Callawegians, but from a fear of withdrawal from romanticism.

Not all Callawegians are believers. There are gradations of emotion in relation to the Kingdom, ranging from those who express a deep attachment to those who openly repudiate the attitudes and beliefs associated with the heritage. Even those who repudiate the Kingdom sometimes give evidence of being influenced by it. If in no other way, they live and work in a community in which there are people who take it seriously. It may be necessary to pay lip-service to the heritage, or at least tolerate the manifestations of the Kingdom. Those who reject the Kingdom may at the same time exhibit traits which are in keeping with it. Individuals have matured with the ideology and the myth. The Kingdom is a part of their lives.

#### V. THE KINGDOM AND THE NEWCOMERS

It was stated earlier that both Callawegians and new residents view the Kingdom differently, and that there is a gradation of meaning attached to the Kingdom by both Callawegians and non-Callawegians. Similarly, new residents, like natives of the county, have contributed to the perpetuation of the myth and have caused the myth to have much of its importance. Moving into the community, new residents become curious and interested in the Kingdom.

The questions they ask and the comments they make tend to perpetuate interest and tend to reinforce the sense of uniqueness. It is with some facility that the newcomer may attribute undue significance to the myth and to the importance of being born in Callaway. Impressions that one has not been accepted by the community, or that the people of the community are hostile toward new people, may be attributed to the myth without justification.

New residents, particularly those employed at the institutions, tend to associate with each other, professionally and socially. Many of them are former residents of metropolitan areas, or areas of the country which have not been influenced by similar, historical experiences. The "Kingdom" becomes a descriptive term for the rural character of the community, for its parochialism, its conservatism, and what some people consider its complacency and self-satisfaction. In its attitudes and perspectives, Fulton may not be appreciably different from other small communities in Missouri or in other states. The Kingdom, however, provides a convenient and significant appellation which may not be available in other communities.

This tendency, to characterize traits which may not be flattering, through the terminology of the Kingdom, may result in resentment on the part of Callawegians, thus exacerbating tensions which are likely to result in any case,

causing a reaction of defending the Kingdom.

The Kingdom, to many new residents, is viewed as a deterrent in terms of participation in community affairs. Newcomers sometimes express a sense of incapacity and hopelessness. As one was quoted earlier: "After awhile, you give up. You tell yourself that things aren't so bad after all, or that you can't do anything about it." Others simply reject the community, become apathetic and indifferent. As one twenty-year resident said, he had never really considered himself a part of the town. Others have assumed the role of reformers. They have taken upon themselves the responsibility for leading the forces of change. In some cases they have been successful, in other instances they have failed. "I've heard people call him a nigger lover, a Communist, and even a Republican," one person was quoted earlier in relation to a newcomer. There are others who become, as it is said, naturalized citizens, staunch defenders and champions of the heritage.

The perception which newcomers have of the Kingdom, furthermore, contributes to a conservative estimate of the possibilities for change. Believing that the community is conservative, assuming that the Kingdom is important and that it exists in support of established traditions, individuals tend to behave with caution and restraint. As one successful newcomer said, one has to bore from within,

one can not move into the community and tell people what they should or should not do. One must appear conservative.

Considered as a tool in the context of power relationships, the Kingdom has been used by Callawegians to preserve and perpetuate existing social, economic, political, and institutional relationships. It has given justification and rationalization to practices which might otherwise be defended with difficulty. On the other hand, new residents have sometimes over-emphasized the Kingdom as an obstacle to reform and to community participation. It has been, in a sense, a double-edged sword.

It is possible for newcomers to participate and to play an active role in the community. Much depends on the level of participation and the nature and extent of the change which is advocated. The zealous social reformer is likely to be rebuffed, particularly if his interest in reform centers on such issues as racial relations, political control, or religion. The reformer is likely to encounter opposition in any community, however. Furthermore, many Callawegians are dissatisfied with and feel some animosity toward leadership as it has existed in the community, or as it is believed to have existed. There are Callawegians who find themselves in sympathy with the newcomer in their real or imaginary battle with those who seek to preserve the status quo.

## VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KINGDOM

Just as there are disagreements relative to the origin and meaning of the Kingdom of Callaway, there is disagreement as to when it began to have some importance. Old-timers disagree as to whether there is more or less attention given to the Kingdom today than there was in the past. The argument can be made that the Kingdom is a relatively new development. The Kingdom Supper, the flag, the song, the organized interest in the county's history, and the interest in promoting the Kingdom are developments of relatively recent years. The Kingdom Supper, furthermore, did not originate as a Kingdom function, but as a meeting for businessmen.

It is possible that the meaning of the Kingdom has shifted over the years. In its origins, it may have been closely associated with the questions of slavery, of states rights, of war, and reconstruction. It may be that the emphasis has shifted, that these issues are now academic, and that the Kingdom is now a symbol of the tensions which have been created by the influx of new personnel, by the exposure of Fulton and Callaway County to a greater society, and by the development of new threats to the established political and social structure.

The significance of the Kingdom of Callaway has not resulted from the event of 1862, when Jefferson Jones

negotiated with the United States. The Kingdom of Callaway has been significant because of the meaning which people have attached to it. The perception of the Kingdom has been more important than the reality of the Kingdom. The belief that the Kingdom of Callaway is unique has, in a sense, made it unique. The belief that change is difficult to achieve in Fulton has added to the difficulty of achieving change. The belief that Fulton is divided into sub-communities has tended to divide it into sub-communities. The belief that power has been concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and groups has tended to place it there.

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**Personal Interviews.** As stated in Chapter One, much of the material for this study was obtained through personal interviews. Altogether, more than one hundred residents of Fulton and Callaway County were questioned. Seventy individuals were interviewed at length. Since this study does not attempt to disguise the community, as has been the practice in many sociological and anthropological studies of a similar nature, and since the interviews were conducted in confidence, it is necessary that the names of the participants are withheld. The author was very careful to record the

interviews accurately and fairly. Notes were taken during and immediately after the interviews. Much of this information would not have been given by the participants had they not been assured that their names would not be used. Persons were selected for the interviews for various reasons. Some of the individuals were selected because of the author's knowledge of their interest and involvement in the community. Others were interviewed as a result of suggestions made by interviewees. Participants included persons who had resided in the community for a long period of time or were born in the community, and persons who had only recently moved to the community. For the most part, they were members of the middle or upper-middle economic group. The interviews were conducted between January, 1961, and August 1962, although the majority of the interviews were conducted during the summer months of 1962.

**Questionnaire.** One hundred residents of Fulton completed a questionnaire prepared by the author. The results of the questionnaire will be found in the appendix. The author does not claim that this questionnaire represents a scientific examination of the community. The questionnaire had two major functions. It was distributed in order to test some of the information received through the interviews. It was considered as a device, excuse, or pretense to interview individuals at random. Some of the most valuable information obtained through the use of the questionnaire resulted from the casual comments made by individuals as they answered questions on the questionnaire. The questionnaire, in short, was used not only as a source in itself, but as a means to obtain additional information through informal interviews. The questionnaire was distributed during the months of July and August of 1962. The author attempted to obtain a sample based on economic and social neighborhoods. A number of individuals who refused to complete the questionnaire were perfectly willing to give their comments orally. These people are in addition to the one hundred individuals who completed the questionnaire in writing.

## **APPENDIX**

**APPENDIX A**

These are the results of a questionnaire circulated among one hundred residents of Fulton. Individuals were simply asked to indicate whether they approved or disapproved of eight legislative proposals.

**1. Medical care for the aged under Social Security.**

Approve . . . . . 41%  
Disapprove . . . . . 43%  
No Opinion . . . . . 16%

**2. Increased federal funds for public housing, as under urban renewal.**

Approve . . . . . 62%  
Disapprove . . . . . 30%  
No Opinion . . . . . 8%

**3. Federal aid to education, public schools, only.**

Approve . . . . . 53%  
Disapprove . . . . . 33%  
No Opinion . . . . . 14%

**4. Federal aid to education, parochial schools as well as public schools.**

Approve . . . . . 17%  
Disapprove . . . . . 69%  
No Opinion . . . . . 14%

5. Constitutional amendment permitting states to pass laws requiring prayers in public schools, thus overruling a recent Supreme Court decision.

Approve . . . . . 43%

Disapprove . . . . . 42%

No Opinion . . . . . 15%

6. Extension of public electrical power facilities, such as TVA.

Approve . . . . . 50%

Disapprove . . . . . 19%

No Opinion . . . . . 31%

7. Extension of federal wage and hour laws to cover retail stores.

Approve . . . . . 53%

Disapprove . . . . . 23%

No Opinion . . . . . 24%

8. Extension of anti-trust legislation to cover labor unions as well as business.

Approve . . . . . 68%

Disapprove . . . . . 5%

No Opinion . . . . . 27%

## APPENDIX B

These are the results of a questionnaire distributed among residents of Fulton, Missouri. Individuals were simply asked to check words which in their opinions described Fulton. They were further asked to indicate how many years they had lived in the community and whether or not they were born in Callaway County. They were not asked to give their names. One may notice that a different priority is given to the words on the list by Callawegians and non-Callawegians. Obviously, values reflected in the selection of words are difficult to determine. The word conservative may or may not be considered flattering. Some people were not acquainted with such words as complacent and dynamic. It is difficult to define such words without influencing judgment.

<u>Persons born in Callaway County</u>		<u>Persons not born in Callaway County</u>	
Religious	24	Conservative	51
Friendly	22	Traditional	41
Pretty	21	Religious	39
Conservative	21	Friendly	36
Proud	19	Proud	36
Democratic	19	Satisfied	36
Christian	16	Class conscious	35
Traditional	15	Complacent	30



Persons born in  
Callaway County

Class conscious	15
Honest	14
Satisfied	14
Modern	13
Stable	13
Southern	12
Tolerant	12
Progressive	11
Sociable	11
Old fashioned	10
Forward Looking	10
Midwestern	9
Complacent	8
Independent	8
Norrowninded	8
Liberal	7
Solid	7
Ambitious	7
Flexible	6
Unfriendly	5
Aggressive	4
Prejudiced	4
Broad minded	4

Persons not born  
in Callaway County

Stable	29
Southern	29
Christian	26
Honest	26
Prejudiced	25
Old Fashioned	24
Sociable	20
Democratic	18
Pretty	18
Independent	15
Narrow Minded	14
Rigid	12
Midwestern	11
Progressive	10
Suspicious	10
Solid	10
Unfriendly	7
Forward looking	7
Backward	7
Snobbish	6
Tolerant	6
Modern	5
Lazy	5

Persons born in  
Callaway County

Suspicious	3
Undemocratic	3
Wealthy	3
Backward	3
Snobbish	2
Dynamic	1
Lazy	1
Hostile	1
Ugly	-
Poor	-
Rigid	-

Persons not born  
in Callaway County

Ambitious	5
Undemocratic	5
Broad minded	5
Flexible	4
Wealthy	4
Liberal	3
Ugly	3
Hostile	3
Poor	2
Dynamic	1
Aggressive	-

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