

KANSAS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1936

by

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PREFACE

The study of political action and reaction is one of the most interesting of man's activities. Such a study becomes even more enlivened when the broad field of political behavior is narrowed down to one specific election with its individual factors of time, men and circumstances. A study of specific elections further points out the elusive nature of political action and the differences rather than similarities in man's reaction as a political being.

Occasionally elections become outstanding through radically different political activity, often representing a fundamental change in party structure or a reaction to candidates and issues. The presidential elections of 1912, 1936 and 1948, although similar in many respects to other elections, are marked by a wide variation from what is considered "normal" political activity. The results were both surprising and unprecedented. The election of 1936 conclusively illustrates a deviation from this norm. In only one other presidential election in the United States has a candidate received so few electoral votes. Seldom have areas steeped in traditional Republicanism turned to the Democratic party in such large numbers. Infrequent are the times when a candidate receives the unanimous support of his party and almost complete rejection by the people. In few cases has a state failed to support its native son.

It is not enough to say that the election of 1936 is different, much less unique. It is therefore the purpose of this study to discover what happened, what were the factors contributing to so drastic a deviation, and if possible from such a study to add further knowledge about man's political activity.

In attempting to analyze the 1936 presidential election as related to Kansas, it became evident that the work necessarily divided itself into three parts. First, information regarding Landon the man, and then as a public personality as the governor of Kansas and a possible presidential nominee. A successful nomination necessitated consideration of Landon as a potential presidential candidate, the Republican platform formation and the full swing of the Landon-for-President campaign. Finally, a study was made of the results of the election in terms of Kansas by means of a county-by-county evaluation.

For this study a general background of economic and political conditions was obtained through wide readings in periodicals and newspapers for the period 1930-1936. County newspapers, the biennial reports of the Kansas Secretary of State and the clipping books on file in the library of the Kansas Historical Society were particularly useful in gathering data regarding the elections in Kansas.

CHAPTER I

LONDON THE MAN

Alfred M. Landon, although born in Pennsylvania, was a typical Kansan. Landon lived all but his early years in Kansas; was graduated from the Law School of the University of Kansas; attempted banking for a time and finally established himself as an independent oilman at Independence, Kansas. Within a few years he was known as a successful businessman, well liked by his associates and relatively free from any criticism regarding his business techniques.

There existed a certain sense or regard for Landon as a representative Kansan. Perhaps more than in other aspects, this sense defined itself in his environment and attitude of traditional Kansas Republicanism. He seemed to exemplify Kansas and thus, Americanism, to Kansans.

Landon's first formal political attempt came as precinct committeeman in Independence. In 1912, Landon was elected "Bull Moose" chairman of Montgomery County. This party office was followed by his selection as chairman of the Republican State Committee. Landon was private secretary to Governor Henry J. Allen in 1920. In the 1928 gubernatorial election he was campaign manager for Clyde M. Reed, who was successfully elected.

By this time Landon was well known to the people of the state and his position in the party was strengthened by each new endeavor. Some writers label this the Landon luck, however it was more than luck for Landon was a loyal hard working campaigner. As early as this, his genius for meeting the people and his business approach to politics had become a major part of his reputation.

Through the 1932 Republican primary Landon was nominated for the office of governor; Harry H. Woodring, then governor, was nominated in the Democratic primary for the same office.

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1932 Primary Election for the Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Republican Candidates	289,820	
Joseph H. Bradley	28,456	9.7
Alfred M. Landon	160,345	55.7
Lacey M. Simpson	101,019	34.6
Democratic Candidates	147,281	
Walter Eggers	13,458	9.1
Donald Muir	42,786	29.2
Harry H. Woodring	91,037	61.7
Socialist Candidate		
H. M. Perkins	185	

In the November election this contest became a three-way split with John R. Brinkley running as an independent on a write-in vote. Landon won this three-way race with a slight plurality.

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1932 General Election for the Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	800,024	
Republican:		
Alfred M. Landon	278,581	34.9
Democratic:		
Harry H. Woodring	272,944	34.1
Independent:		
John R. Brinkley	244,607	30.5
Socialist:		
H. M. Perkins	3,892	0.5

Landon was one of nine Republican governors to be elected in the nation, and the only Republican governor elected west of the Mississippi River in this predominately democratic year. Franklin D. Roosevelt carried Kansas in this election with a total of 424,204 votes as compared to the Hoover vote of 349,498.

In 1934, Landon was re-elected governor on the Republican ticket. He defeated the Democratic candidate Omar B. Ketchum.

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1934 General Election for the Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	788,651	
Republican:		
Alfred M. Landon	422,030	53.5
Democratic:		
Omar B. Ketchum	359,877	45.7
Socialist:		
George M. Whiteside	6,744	0.8

His popularity had greatly increased during his first term as governor as was evidenced by the fact that he carried all but fourteen of the hundred and five counties in the second contest. This time Landon was the only Republican governor in the nation to be re-elected. However, six other states elected Republican governors. The nation was now alerted to the record of the Kansas governor.

Landon's success to some degree carried through and perpetuated his popularity and general appeal to Kansans. Stone credits the victories in 1932 and 1934 to Landon's ability to get out and meet the voters and to his hand-shaking, friendly greetings and chats with the people.¹ His friendly appearance

¹ Irving Stone, They Also Ran (New York, 1943), p. 311.

as a fellow Kansan gave him added popularity.

As governor Landon was considered efficient, business-like and honest. He was noted as progressive, although not radical. By this time he had gained some national notice, for Kansas was one of the few states that could boast balanced budgets at both local and state levels and reduction in state debts. These are credited as direct results of Landon's pay-as-you-go-policy. Here again his personality and attitudes were reflected to the people through this type of common sense approach. It signified simplicity, honesty and sincerity. Kansans had accepted Landon.

The success of Landon as governor can be measured to some degree by the strength of his legislative program, by the amount of cooperation obtained from the legislature and the effectiveness of his administration in meeting the needs of the people. At least in the first two areas, Landon again spelled success. It must be noted, however, that success with the legislature might in part be due to the fact that at no time did Landon face a Democratic majority, although the Republican majority had been waning since 1928. In the 1933-1934 legislature there was a Republican majority of only six in the Senate and five in the House; whereas in 1935-1936 there was a Republican majority of twelve in the Senate and twenty-five in the House.

Party Membership in the 1933-1936 Legislatures

	Senate (40)		House (125)	
	1933-34	1935-36	1933-34	1935-36
Republican	23	26	65	75
Democratic	17	14	60	50

The 1933-34 legislature was called into special session on March 1, 1934 by the governor to consider extension of a mortgage moratorium act which was to have expired on March 4. The original moratorium had been enacted at the regular session of the 1933 legislature and had been extended the stipulated six months. The governor still felt a state of emergency existed and wanted power to extend the moratorium another year in order to give the Kansas mortgagor "a breathing spell and an opportunity to avail himself of the help that is being offered by the federal agencies, and to take advantage of improved conditions."² A similar resolution had failed to be adopted by a previous special session because of questions regarding its constitutionality. These questions having been cleared up by a later decision of the Supreme Court, Landon felt justified in asking the legislature to reconsider the situation. By the second day of the session both the Senate and House had passed a bill providing for an extension of the moratorium. In July 1935 Landon called another special session of the legislature to consider relief measures particularly concerning a needed amendment to the state constitution. Passage of this amendment would allow Kansans to participate in the federal social security program. Three days after Landon's opening message, the legislature passed a resolution to submit a constitutional amendment to the people in the next general election. These illustrations offer strong evidence of Landon's determination as a leader and his ability to obtain cooperation from the legislature. They further point out his realistic approach to the problem of relief.

² Kansas Senate Journal for Special Session, March 1-7, 1934, p. viii.

One of the most appealing of Landon's campaign slogans was "Don't spend what you haven't got." A carry through of this philosophy was seen in the adoption of a cash basis law, a new budget law and a tax limitation law. Upon Landon's recommendation the 1933-34 legislature passed legislation which brought holding companies under the State Corporation Commission. A graduated state income tax was also passed. Landon did not seem afraid of his party nor his adversaries. His one goal was to firmly approach government and legislation with sound business principles.

The Finney bond scandal occurred during Landon's first term as governor. This had no direct connection with Landon. His prompt action in closing the Finney banks and the eventual imprisonment of the forger and those involved offers evidence of Landon's position. Although this probably created a weakness in Landon's record to some people of Kansas, it no doubt had the completely opposite effect upon others. In the final analysis Landon's political position and future possibilities were little damaged.

During 1935, with the presidential election only a year off, there was much speculation regarding who might become the Republican standard bearer. It was certain in nearly all circles that Franklin D. Roosevelt would undoubtedly be renominated on the Democratic ticket; although even at this date the certainty was more in regard to the man than the Democratic Party. The names of many prominent Republicans were heard at all levels of election speculation; frequently mentioned were Herbert Hoover, William Borah, Frank Knox, Arthur Vandenberg, Landon and the customary long list of favorite sons.

Actually Landon had been first mentioned as a possible contender much earlier by William P. Helm, Washington correspondent for the Kansas City

Journal-Post.³ William G. Clugston also suggested Landon as the 1936 Republican Candidate in November 1934 after Landon's surprising re-election as governor. As early as May 1935, the Topeka Journal noted that several Landon-for-President clubs had been organized throughout Kansas and Missouri.

In the fall of 1935, Landon attended the American Legion convention at St. Louis. There he discovered large groups of enthusiastic supporters pledging themselves in the Landon-for-President movement. According to Landon's own words he was shocked and amazed that these people were really serious. Stone declares that from this time on Landon was determined to become president.⁴

Needless to say, the campaign was underway at least in the Midwest. During this time Landon gave no sign of acknowledgement; his public appearance was one of disinterest and unconcern. He made no comment regarding the obvious and unmistakable activity focused around him. Many requests for speeches and public appearances were declined. Frequent appeals to enter Landon in preference primaries were also refused. Landon was not ready to make any gesture which might indicate his position. Landon feared that being defeated, particularly in the traditional Republican areas, at this early pre-convention stage would probably be fatal to any hopes he had regarding the national convention. As yet, Landon was not well known in many of the Republican circles, especially those characterized as the old guard. He knew this and bided his time with

³ William A. White, the Topeka Journal, Time and other sources name Clugston as first suggesting Landon. Helm clarifies his position in a letter to the editor of Time, June 1, 1936. Helm had suggested Landon September 7, 1934; Kansas City Journal-Post, p. 1.

⁴ Stone, They Also Ran, p. 310.

good purpose. By this time many of the other contenders were well underway in making their bids for the Republican nomination. Landon and his backers adopted a "wait-and-see-what-happens" strategy. This was a waiting period in which Landon and his supporters were to discern the real nature of their support and, if possible, to formulate a winning strategy.

The formal act of putting his hat in the presidential ring came in October 1935, when Landon held a writer's conference at Topeka. Forty nationally known writers, representatives of the nation's most influential newspapers, met with the governor to consider methods of winning the 1936 election. This conference created more national comment than any other event thus far in the Landon-for-President movement. When the initial act was formally over, an onslaught of publicity began.

William Randolph Hearst sent Damon Runyon to Topeka to talk with the governor. The result--an article "Horse and Buggy Governor" which appeared in Cosmopolitan. This was about the first real personal account of Landon that the people of the nation received. The article carried an array of honey pictures of the governor and his family and it was saturated with informal, homespun philosophy. The apex of the publicity boom was reached late in December when Hearst himself made a personal appearance at the governor's mansion. This was, of course, followed by a publicity extravaganza in all Hearst publications. The nation was informed that Hearst thought Landon was "marvelous." Pre-convention campaign offices were opened at Topeka, Kansas City, Mo. and New York. John D. Hamilton was chosen as Landon's campaign manager. Through all of this Landon remained in the background until Kansas Day, January 29, 1936.

This Kansas Day celebration was one to be remembered. The attendance reached the record breaking number of 2,500. Reporters from all over the

nation were on hand to observe the celebration. The usual business meeting and discussion of the primaries were dismissed. No concern for a successor to Landon was shown; all time was given over to the question of the availability of Landon for president. The morning business session ended with two important tasks accomplished. The date of the State Convention was set for March 4 and the unanimous acceptance of Jay Scoville's resolution to formally present Landon to the Republicans of the nation at the State Convention.

At the same time in another business meeting of the Republican Ex-service Men's Club, these words were heard:

Now therefore it is resolved that Kansas Republican
Ex-service Men's Club does hereby commend to the ex-service
men and citizens of the nation the record of Alfred M.
Landon....⁵

This resolution was also unanimously adopted. The story was the same in every group gathered that day at Topeka. Extreme enthusiasm for Landon showed everywhere. The name Landon and the presidency became synonymous.

The climax of the day's activities was reached at the evening banquet; there Landon "fired the first gun" in the 1936 campaign. The speech was unmistakably his first bid for the Republican nomination. Opening the speech with a brief acknowledgement of Kansas Day, Landon proceeded to deliver a purely political speech. The speech consisted of a complete outline of his policies and program. Landon made his own position clear and straight forward but not at the expense of the Democrats or the New Deal. One of the most highly acclaimed aspects of the speech was the moderation of tone and poise with which it was delivered. With this speech the Landon campaign was formally underway.

⁵ Topeka Journal, January 29, 1936.

Such newspapers as the New York Times, the Chicago Herald and Tribune and the Kansas City Star carried full accounts of the celebration and the governor's speech. Charles Michaels of the New York Times wrote Landon was

... a natural for the Presidency ... his assertions on currency and his placing of recovery ahead of any attempt to make social and economic reforms of government, will appeal to Eastern persons, fed up with hastily conceived government, much of which has been invalidated by the Supreme Court....⁶

Michaels viewed Landon as a "liberal constitutionalist and not a standpatter"; and described Landon as "a middle-of-the-road man between the standpatter and the liberal."⁷ He also felt that Landon would be willing to make government reforms suitable to economic and industrial changes. Similar reports, although somewhat more reserved, were written by the Chicago reporters Charles Wheeler and Victor Ator. Numerous newspapers told the nation of the great importance of Kansas in the national election and insisted that Kansas reflects the problems and farm mind of the great plains states.

Never before had a Kansas Day celebration received such nation-wide publicity. It was almost as if the nation had been waiting to hear from the Kansas governor. The quiet strategy was now paying off in full.

The campaign prior to the convention was characterized across the nation by a tremendous interest in public opinion polls and straw votes. In few elections has the nation shown such a strong desire to chart the course of the campaigners. In the February 23rd issue of the Daily Oklahoman the following poll of the Institute of Public Opinion was reported:⁸

⁶ New York Times, January 30, 1936, p. 1.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Daily Oklahoman, February 23, 1936.

	November percentage	February percentage
Landon	33	43
Borah	26	28
Hoover	12	17
T. Roosevelt Jr.	12	—
Knox	8	7
Mills	5	—
Vandenberg	3	4
Dickenson	1	1

The Landon lead had increased since the December report; Roosevelt and Mills had been dropped completely by the February poll whereas they had polled 17 percent in November. Vandenberg's percentage increased although he was not really in the race as yet. At this point it appeared to be a race for the Republican nomination between Landon and Borah with Hoover trailing.

Herbert Hoover put himself out of the running; for he had called an early halt to the formation of Hoover organisations and to his entrance in preference primaries. Returning from a campaign tour at the end of May, Hoover issued this statement from Chicago: "It should be evident by this time that I am not a candidate." He further stated that, "not a single delegate from California or any other state is pledged to me."⁹

As the pre-convention campaign drew to a close the field of Republican contenders had narrowed down to a contest between Landon, Knox and Borah. However, Vandenberg, Taft and Dickenson offered strong opposition for the nomination if in no other way than to represent the old guard in a "stop Landon" drive.

⁹ Time, May 25, 1936.

CHAPTER II

LONDON THE CANDIDATE

By February, it was obvious that the nation fully anticipated Landon's nomination at the Republican convention. Certainly the newspapers and campaign literature left little room to doubt his nomination or his eventual election to the presidency. It was not an exaggeration to say that Landon was proclaimed as a political messiah who possessed the magical formula for recovery. Speeches and literature were mostly concerned with acclaiming Landon's character, record and experience.

The campaign became involved in domestic issues and economic problems. Little was said regarding Landon's views on foreign policy and international affairs. Domestic issues became the ready-made theme for the campaign because of the tremendous concern over the questionable social legislation of the New Deal and the apparent changing philosophy of the Roosevelt administration. The United States had returned to a diplomacy of isolationism and had continued to refuse the role of leadership which had been made possible since 1917. It was only logical that unemployment and the economic confusion brought on by depression days should be of major concern in the 1936 campaign.

In this period of Landon ballyhoo and propaganda, the other Republican possibilities became blurred and finally lost to the public mind. It was only a matter of time until the hopeful contenders would join the public in acclaiming Landon. However, behind the scenes in the Republican party and in the group of Landon supporters, the question of the nomination was much less settled and certainly not obvious.

The possibility of Landon as the 1936 candidate forced the Republican leaders to face many questions. Would the industrial-supported East accept the midwestern Landon? Would the problems of labor which had always disturbed Republican leaders be intensified by Landon's candidacy? In every aspect Landon represented agriculture which had been the life long enemy of labor. The Democrats were widely proclaiming Roosevelt for re-election by this time. Republican leaders knew that their candidate would have to equal the man Roosevelt if they were to be victorious. Landon was new in national politics, new enough not to have made many enemies, but perhaps too much of a novice to attract sufficient voters, especially if pitched against the master-campaigner Roosevelt. Republican leaders everywhere questioned if Landon was the candidate that could pull the party together and secure harmony within the party. Weakness caused by widely separated factions within the party had been a growing plague since the turn of the century. With the open split in 1912 came defeat and a sullen return to conservatism by many Republicans. This political disaster was still a vivid memory for many of the older members of the party. The defeat of Taft in 1912 also provided a warning to the younger factions of the party. Did Landon possess the winning combination?

Many of the same questions were puzzling leaders in the Landon organization. One exception was noted. Landon's sponsors did not so much question his ability to win, rather they feared that the old guard would not permit Landon's nomination. The work of the Landon group now became an intense drive to make possible his nomination. Since Kansas Day the strategy of waiting had been replaced by an all out effort to publicise Landon to the nation. It was now time to convince the party that true Republicanism and Landon were one and the same.

Late in May, two weeks prior to the opening of the convention, the Landon organization established themselves in the Hollenden Hotel in Cleveland. Here were gathered the few top leaders of the Landon-for-President movement. These men were new to politics at least on the national level, their political experience having been strictly midwestern--Kansas and Missouri. The group was mostly composed of alumni of the University of Kansas, small town Kansas editors, journalists and two of the mainstays of the Kansas City Star--Roy Roberts and Lacey Haynes.

Roberts was the only man in the Landon camp who had had any actual knowledge or experience in national politics. He had been the Star's Washington correspondent before becoming managing editor. It is doubtful that this experience was of real help to the Landon group, except in regard to national leaders he may have known. Roberts' real asset to the group lay in his ability to organize and to set in motion the work which would eventually fulfill the purpose of the group. White likens Roberts' work at the convention to a "night of a big downtown fire in the Kansas City Star office--everybody busy, everybody taking orders, with 'Roy' snapping his directions."¹ Roberts was the coordinator of the organization at Cleveland just as he had been from the start of the Landon movement.

The work of Lacey Haynes had a significant influence on the Landon boom. Haynes was the contact man for Roberts' organization. He had been fundamental in organizing the movement for Landon in the West. Haynes had won state delegation after state delegation in the West for Landon.

With the exception of John D. Hamilton, the work of the other men gathered at Cleveland had been largely done long before the opening of the convention.

¹ William A. White, What It's All About (New York, 1936), p. 23.

The editor, Oscar Stauffer, of the Arkansas City Traveler, had been put in charge of the office in Kansas City. Following his lead other Kansas editors and journalists had joined the Landon forces. Rolla Clymer, Jack Harris, Fred Brinkerhoff, Bob Laubengayer, Charles Scott, and Senators Arthur Capper and Henry J. Allen, had all contributed time and money to the publicity boom before the convention.² The results of their efforts were seen when Landon became nationally known. The Hearst and other big city newspapers finished the job these men had started. The alumni of the University of Kansas and a number of Kansas oilmen had contributed their time and money, mostly money, to the early campaign. Early in the spring, Hamilton had been sent east to open the New York office and to raise funds from Republican businessmen. Through the efforts of these men Landon had had a successful pre-convention campaign. It was obvious that in many respects Landon was a newspaper-man's candidate.

Publicity for Landon had been easy to secure but the task of nominating Landon was still ahead of the Landon leaders. The question of Landon's possibilities for successful nomination had not been answered, nor would they ever be answered. The Landon strategy for the convention became that of the "blind leading the blind." The Landon organization sought a positive approach to beat the old guard at its own game.

At this early stage of the convention it was evident that the entire atmosphere and complexion of Republican politics was changing. For the first time in better than a quarter of a century the party had some new blood. Just the presence of the midwesterners added greatly to the "new look." Republican

² Topeka Journal, June 12, 1936.

politics had long been dominated by eastern Republicans. The old guard had lost many of its members and it was being gradually replaced by veterans and younger men. White states, "It was the young men's show."³

As the time for the convention drew closer interest and excitement grew in proportion. Not since 1912 had the nation observed so much activity among Republicans. Several weeks prior to the opening of the convention, politicians had streamed into Cleveland. Headquarters for all the would-be-nominees were opened; many of them alongside the Landon headquarters at the Hollenden Hotel. The preliminary, but highly significant, work of the convention had begun. The Landon strategy board hoped to hit upon the means of nominating Landon.

The twenty-first Republican National Convention formally began June 9. Under the leadership of chairman Henry P. Fletcher, the next three days became a hilarious venting of spirit and words. Mass demonstrations and endless cheering gave the convention more of a circus atmosphere rather than that of serious politics.

Three speeches were given during this time; keynoter Senator Fredrick Steiwer of Oregon, followed by Permanent Chairman Bertrand Snell and finally ex-president Herbert Hoover. Of the three speeches probably Hoover's was the most outstanding and impressive. The fact that he was the party's titular leader and that this, they felt, was obviously his farewell address drew a wild enthusiasm from the crowd, but none the less sincere and genuine. Hoover did not endorse any of the hopeful contenders, rather his speech represented his final attack in his campaign against the New Deal.

³ White, What It's All About, p. 21.

By the third day the convention was ready to hear the reading of the platform and to receive nominations. Presentation and acceptance of the platform in no way reflected the many hours of committee work or the problems of adjustment among party factions which it actually represented. It did not suggest the work, months before the convention, which were spent formulating the various planks nor the worry of the Landon group in attempting to appease Borah. Charles P. Taft had been put in charge of drafting Landon's views into a platform prior to the convention. Landon forces were represented on the Resolutions Committee of the convention by William A. White, editor of the Emporia, Kansas Gazette. Within two minutes after the reading of the laboriously formed platform the convention had accepted it. After this rather unimpressive reading of the platform by Herman M. Langworthy, Chairman Snell shouted: "Next in order is the nomination of the candidate for the President of the United States."⁴ The clerk had read the names of but two states when the convention seemed to explode. Alabama passed and Arizona yielded to Kansas. Amid complete confusion Hamilton reached the rostrum and delivered the speech that nominated Alfred M. Landon. With the mention of Landon's name the crowd went wild for the better part of the next hour. The enthusiasm of the convention was unaffected by the Landon telegram which Hamilton had read before the nominating speech. Amending the platform after it has been accepted by the committee and the convention is very unusual, yet for Landon it generated applause. When partial order was regained the role call was resumed. With the passing of Michigan, New Hampshire and New York there was no mistake as to what had happened. Landon was to be nominated on the first

⁴ Time, June 22, 1936.

roll call and with no other candidates even so much as mentioned. While many people sat dazed by what had happened, the seconding speeches were made and the roll call for the first ballot had begun. The Landon landslide was finally underway.

The results of the evening session were anti-climaxed with the unprecedented endorsement of Landon, actually before he had been nominated by Vandenberg, Knox, Taft and Dickenson. Never before had the runners-up for the nomination bowed out so quickly or given their endorsement in quite this fashion. This was highly irregular and completely unpredicted. The old guard had now conceded and joined the excited crowd in full endorsement of Landon. Only Borah and Hoover were conspicuous by their absence. Both had left the convention by this time feeling satisfied that their work was finished. Borah and Hoover had stated earlier that they were interested in the principles of the campaign and the platform and not the candidates. It appears that at least Borah had been more astute than some members of the old guard in detecting the trend of the convention. Hoover, on the other hand, had graciously bowed out of the race for nomination long before his convention speech.

The first forty-five state delegations quickly cast unanimous votes for Landon on the first ballot. The Landon landslide was interrupted only when the West Virginia delegation cast 14 votes for Landon and 1 vote for Borah. The Wisconsin delegation also split its vote by casting 6 votes for Landon and 18 votes for Borah. The results of the first ballot had given Landon a total of 984 votes and Borah 19 votes. The motion of the chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to nominate Landon unanimously on the first ballot, was accepted by the convention.

All that remained for the convention to undertake was the nomination of a candidate for the vice-presidency. For sometime it had been known that the Landon strategy would be to further their appeal to the old guard by nominating Vandenberg as a vice-presidential candidate. Vandenberg, who had been dubious about wanting the presidential nomination, was willing to become Landon's running-mate upon the stipulation that his nomination be by acclamation. This stipulation had been acceptable to Hamilton and the Landon organization; however, the unquestioned success in nominating Landon left the Landon group somewhat overconfident about securing Vandenberg's nomination. This is not to say that the Landon group did not attempt to check on the Vandenberg acclaim. The nomination by acclamation of Colonel W. Franklin Knox as the Vice-Presidential candidate indicated that the Knox group out-worked the Landon organization. At the morning caucus of the Pennsylvania delegation, Knox had won a 74 to 1 vote, making the Vandenberg acclamation impossible. The nomination of Knox by Governor Bridges of New Hampshire was quickly followed by a message of refusal from Vandenberg.⁵ Thus, by the fourth day of the convention the triumph of the newspapermen was completed. Landon, whose nomination had been made possible largely through the work of the press, and Knox, publisher of the Chicago Daily News, were to be the Republican candidates in the 1936 presidential race.

With the Landon victory, John D. Hamilton became the new Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Here too, was witnessed a change in Republican politics. Hamilton's job became that of reconstructing the party machinery. This was accomplished in part by the appointment of younger men, some from the

⁵ Bridges as a possible running-mate for Landon had long before been rejected due to the unfortunate name combination of Landon-Bridges.

Landon group, to replace many of the old guard. New committeemen included Joseph W. Martin, Earl Warren, Robert P. Burroughs, Ezra R. Whitla and Harrison Spangler.⁶ With the work of the convention completed, the committee moved to Topeka where the strategy for the campaign was decided. The full swing of the Landon-for-President movement had begun.

Many nationally known figures were gathered at Topeka to assist in the Landon campaign. The organization and machinery, headed by Hamilton himself, were set in motion. Charles P. Taft was again called upon to help in the writing of Landon's speeches. Landon's press relations were handled by E. Moss Bartley. Ralph Robey went to Topeka as an economic advisor and Earl H. Taylor became an advisor on farm problems. Charlton MacVeagh became Hamilton's advisor.⁷ "John Hamilton quickly made plain this 'Brain Trust' would have little to do with the campaign."⁸ Time quoted Hamilton as saying, "I am running this show." There was no doubt that Hamilton intended to take full charge of the Landon campaign.

The months following the convention were spent in an intense campaign across the nation by the Landon group. Landon was kept well in the background until about two months prior to the election. He made no important speeches following the convention until his acceptance speech late in July. At no time did Mrs. Landon enter publicly into the campaign. Most of the major campaign visits and speeches were handled personally by Hamilton. Upon finishing the organizational work in Topeka Hamilton conducted an extensive tour of the East. In the early fall Knox completed a nation-wide tour.

⁶ Topeka Capital, June 16, 1936.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Time, June 29, 1936.

In a general sense, the campaign was characterized by the theme, "Life, Liberty and Landon." To Republicans the campaign represented a crusade to save Americanism, the constitution and the American economic system. Speech after speech hammered at three themes. First, the Democratic regime had been hindering recovery, second, that the Democrats had been undermining the American form of government and third, that the chief executive had usurped the new rights which the people had given.

Landon made four major tours of the nation during the campaign. The speeches were characterized by a relatively high degree of poise and gentlemanly conduct which spoke well for Landon. On the other hand, Landon's poor radio voice and stumbling delivery did not impress his audience, frequently little or no applause was received. In many instances this was also due to poorly written speeches. During his campaign of many important industrial cities of the East, Landon had poor luck with the weather. Poorly attended speeches was the result. Regardless of the point in question, Landon could not measure up to Roosevelt as a campaigner. Gone were the friendly greetings and humble appearance of personal contact which had attracted so many people to Landon in earlier campaigns. There is little doubt that Landon could easily have endeared himself to the nation if hand-shaking and personal contact had been possible. In October, Landon was ready for the last big tour of the campaign. At this point a change in the tone of the speeches was noted. The campaign had reached the full bloom of the "mud-slinging stage." A similar change had taken place in the Republican campaign generally. The intensity of the attack on Roosevelt and his administration seemed bent on generating hatred for Roosevelt rather than enthusiasm for Landon. Landon was as guilty on this charge, especially during the last tour, as other Republican

campaigners. Two factors which may explain in part the change in Republican campaigning were problems of finance and some differences in policy caused by personality clashes.

The public interest in opinion polls had continued into this period of the campaign. On October 10, the Literary Digest Poll showed Landon winning with 58 percent of the vote. It was further forecast on October 17, that Landon would receive 1,004,086 votes to a vote of 728,088 for Roosevelt. The public had a great deal of respect for polls at this point and particularly for the Literary Digest Poll because it had correctly predicted the last four presidential elections. The Gallup Poll predicted a Landon defeat on October 19, when a recent poll had shown 48.7 percent for the votes for Landon and 51.3 percent for Roosevelt.

In the final analysis neither poll predicted the election results correctly. Roosevelt swept the nation in a complete Democratic landslide. Roosevelt received 27,478,945 popular votes as in contrast to 16,674,665 votes for Landon: 60 percent of the popular vote had been for Roosevelt and only 36 percent for Landon.

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1936 General Election for the Office of President:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	45,634,297	
Republican:		
Alfred M. Landon	16,674,665	36.5
Democratic:		
Franklin D. Roosevelt	27,478,945	60.2
Other Parties:	1,489,687	3.3

Landon received 8 electoral votes or less than 2 percent of the total of 531 electoral votes.⁹ Only two states had been carried by Landon, namely, Maine and Vermont. Alfred M. Landon had suffered the worst defeat in the history of the presidency.¹⁰

⁹ Edgar S. Robinson, They Voted for Roosevelt (California, 1947), pp. 7-8, 41 and 56.

¹⁰ Although in 1912 Taft had also received but 8 electoral votes, the situation is thought to be somewhat of a different nature since 3 major parties were involved.

CHAPTER III

LONDON AND THE KANSAS DEFEAT

The defeat of Landon in the presidential race becomes highly significant when consideration is given to the fact that he did not carry his home state. This is especially interesting since Kansas had been the birthplace of the Landon-for-President movement. The Kansas vote for Landon in 1936 was 397,727 votes as compared to 464,520 votes for Roosevelt.¹

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1936 General Election for the Office of President:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	865,507	
Republican:		
Landon-Knox	397,727	45.9
Democratic:		
Roosevelt-Garnier	464,520	53.8
Socialist:		
Thomas-Nelson	2,766	0.3
Write-in:		
Lemke-O'Brien	494	

Landon received a total of 45.9 percent of the Kansas vote, while Roosevelt drew 53.8 percent of the vote. Landon lost the state by 66,793 votes or 7.7 percent of the total vote. On the other hand, this shows a favorable increase in Republican strength when compared to the 1932 presidential election. In 1932 Hoover had lost the state by a vote of 74,706 or 9.3 percent. Republicans polled 44.2 percent in 1932 as compared to 45.9 percent in 1936.

¹ All statistics in Chapter III concerning the election results were compiled from the recorded votes in the biennial reports of the Kansas Secretary of State for the years under discussion.

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1932 General Election for the Office of President:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	791,978	
Republican:		
Hoover-Curtis	349,498	44.2
Democratic:		
Roosevelt-Garner	421,204	53.5
Socialist:		
Thomas-Mourer	18,276	2.3

Actually the Republican percentage had increased 13.8 percent as compared to the Democratic increase of 9.5 percent. The popular vote had increased 73,529 votes or 9.3 percent in Kansas between 1932 and 1936. This represents an approximate increase of 10 percent in voters in 1936 throughout the state. It should be further noted that the Socialist vote decreased from 18,276 in 1932 to a vote of 2,766 in 1936. It is evident that the decrease in the Socialist vote during these years points out that the major parties or one of them had taken the place of the Socialist party. In many instances the major parties had adopted or modified parts of the Socialist platform.² The national Socialist vote decreased from 872,840 votes in 1932 to 187,572 votes in

² Federal system of social security, child labor amendment, disarmament, World Court, collective bargaining and other labor legislation were planks advocated by the Socialist party during 1920-1940. These planks may be found in the platform of one or both of the major parties in 1936.

The platform of the Socialist party in 1936 indicated a definite friendliness toward the New Deal. The Socialists demanded an amendment of the Constitution to end the "usurped power of the Supreme Court to declare social legislation unconstitutional", and further advocated continuance of the New Deal WPA. (See Socialist Party Platform for 1936).

Regarding the role of the minor parties in 1936, John D. Hicks (The American Nation, p. 675) wrote, "In general the left-wing forces, including normally Socialist or Communist voters, were solidly united behind Roosevelt."

1936. By 1944, the Socialist vote had dropped to 78,229 votes.³ The percentage increases in the Democratic and Republican vote in 1936 can therefore be attributed to an increase in the number of active voters and to the decrease of the Socialist vote. It is reasonable to assume that of the 73,529 new votes cast in 1936, the majority were cast for the Republican party; insofar as it follows that the Democratic increase resulted in part from a tendency of the Socialists to favor the Democratic party rather than turn to the Republican party.⁴ The Democratic increase from 1932 was 40,316 votes as compared to the Republican increase of 48,229 votes. Republican strength in Kansas had been growing in the presidential campaigns since 1920. In fact, the 1928 Republican vote was greater than it had been in either 1920 or 1924. The Democratic vote had taken a setback in 1924 as compared to 1920, but had exceeded the 1920 total in 1928. Between 1928 and 1932, the Democrats made the tremendous gain of more than 200,000 votes. The Republican increase continued to grow after 1936 in the next four presidential elections, defeating the Democratic candidates in each case.

At the state level, the 1936 election returns indicated a Democratic victory although less severe than in the presidential race. Will G. West, Republican candidate for governor, received 411,446 votes in comparison to the vote for the Democratic candidate, Walter A. Huxman, of 433,319.

A study of Landon's strength in Kansas from 1932 through 1936 is revealed by the maps of Plates I and II. In the 1932 gubernatorial race Landon had

³ Robinson, They Voted For Roosevelt, p. 28.

⁴ Although this analysis is mathematically correct, it does not take into account the factor of cross-party voting. The author feels confident that at least as many Republicans would desert to the Democratic ticket as there would be Democratic voters switching to the Republican ticket.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

Map showing Landon's success in the 1932 Gubernatorial election in comparison with two opponents.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II

Fig. 1. Map showing the percentage of the votes won by Landon in the 1934 Gubernatorial election.

Fig. 2. Map showing the percentage of the votes won by Landon in the 1936 Presidential election.

PLATE II

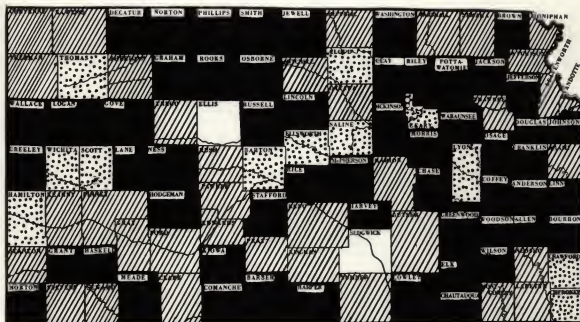


Fig. 1

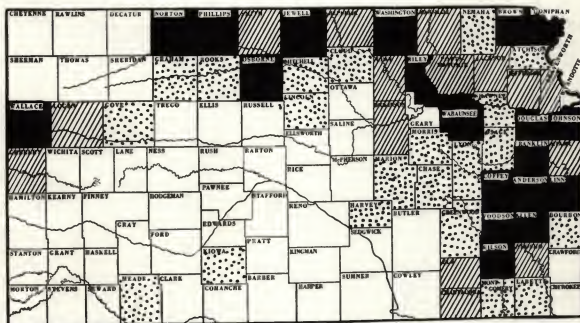


Fig. 2

■ 55 Percent or more

▨ 45 - 49 Percent

▤ 50 - 54 Percent

□ 44 Percent or less

been able to obtain a plurality of the votes in the three-way race by placing first in 34 of the 105 counties, second in 46 counties and third in 25 counties. Landon's strength was well scattered throughout the state with the only notable weakness showing in the northwestern and central counties. By 1934, Landon's strength had increased in percentage to 50-54 in these same areas. It can be generally noted that Landon had gained strength in all counties except Ellis and Sedgwick counties by 1934, and that the 1934 increase came generally from the counties in which he had placed third in the 1932 contest. Landon carried all but fourteen of the 105 counties in 1934 by an actual majority of the vote.

The 1936 map, Plate II, indicates that the Landon weakness returned in the western and central counties. In comparison to the 1932 race, Landon retained nearly the same counties by obtaining a clear majority of the vote. Northcentral counties and the eastern counties, excepting Crawford and Cherokee counties, gave Landon continued support in the three elections.

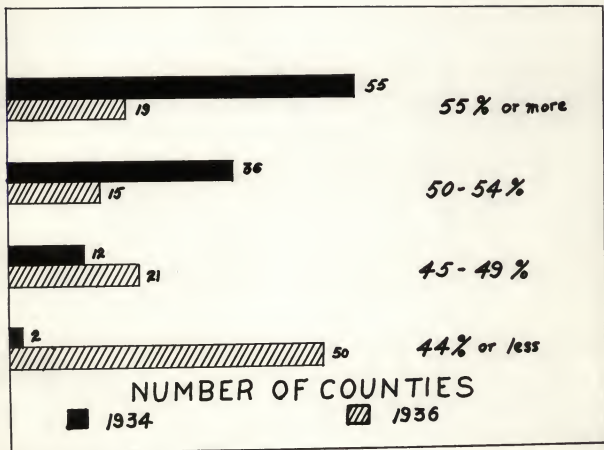
Plate III clearly shows that the number of counties carried by Landon in 1934 when compared to the number carried in 1936, that the vote was almost reversed in Landon's attempt for presidential election. It should also be noted that the Landon vote decreased considerably from 1932 to 1936 in Montgomery county, his home county, and in Shawnee county, the site of the Kansas capitol and the Landon campaign headquarters. Under ordinary circumstances it would seem that these types of counties would be carried by a governor running for re-election and also in a presidential contest.

The primary elections of these years had not clearly indicated a tendency toward increased Democratic strength. The 1936 primary was particularly impressive in that of the total 386,220 votes cast, the Republican vote had been

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III

A comparison of the percentage vote by counties for
Landon in 1934 and 1936.

PLATE III



232,516 votes or 78,812 votes more than polled by the Democratic candidates. It must not be assumed that this primary broke the ground for the development of a Democratic party in Kansas which could promise to compete on equal terms with the Republicans.

In 1936 Landon carried a total of 34 counties with a 50 percent or more majority. Seven of these counties actually polled more votes for Landon in 1936 than in 1934. Landon lost 21 counties in 1936 by 4 percent or less of the vote.

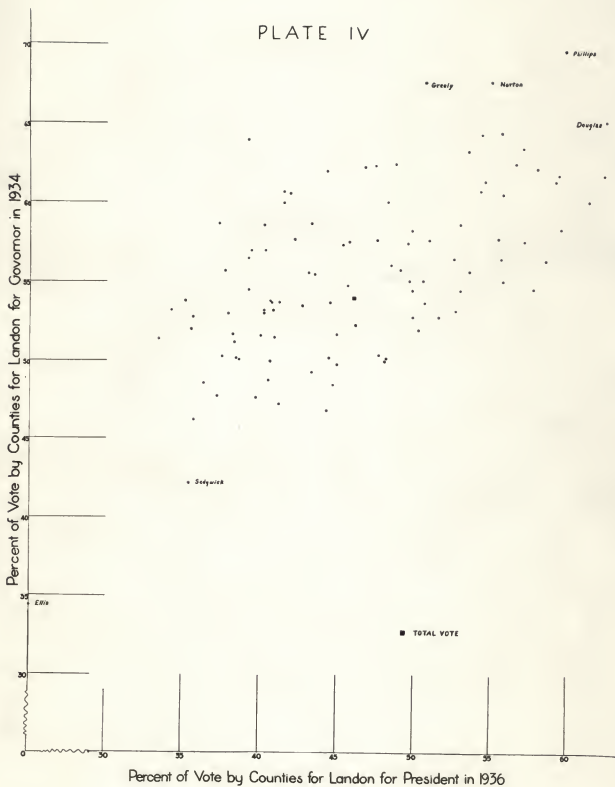
Plate IV shows the total distribution of Kansas counties in the 1934-1936 elections. Certain counties became outstanding by showing a decided divergence from the general trend of counties. County newspapers revealed little information which could be definitely correlated to explain the divergence of the counties. General knowledge regarding these counties seems to offer more substantial evidence for the peculiar behavior of the counties in question.

Sedgwick county is essentially a non-agricultural area. Labor elements of Wichita may have directly effected the entire county. Ellis county represents a strong rural Catholic population which consists of people with diverse foreign backgrounds. There has been a tendency for both of these areas to be pro-Democratic. Traditionally in these counties, it has been difficult to secure a Republican majority. It can be noted from Plates I and II that Douglas, Phillips, Greeley and Norton counties seem to have been Landon strongholds in all three elections. In each election these counties polled a majority of their vote for Landon. Excepting Greeley county in 1936, these counties contributed more than 55 percent of their votes to Landon in 1934-1936. The scatter-pattern further indicates that no county,

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV

Scatter-pattern showing the distribution of the votes cast
in Kansas counties in the 1934 Gubernatorial election and the 1936
Presidential election.

PLATE IV



except Ellis, polled less than 33 percent or more than 68 percent of its votes for Landon in either election.

The upper left quarter of the scatter-pattern shows the number of counties carried by Landon in 1934 but which reversed in 1936; while the upper right quarter shows the number of counties which were consistent in their support of Landon in both elections. The lower left quarter reveals the number of counties never carried by Landon. It may be seen by referring to the lower right quarter that all counties lost by Landon in 1934 were also lost in 1936.

The years between 1930 and 1936 were by no means normal or typical years. In all aspects, political, social and economic, the general atmosphere of depression clouded the Kansas scene. Bankruptcy, crop failures and mortgage foreclosures became the normal trend of Kansas life.

Kansas was a predominately agricultural area, especially large-scale wheat farming in the southwestern and western parts of the state. The majority of Kansas people were involved in or affected by agriculture. The economic stability of Kansas was determined to a large degree by the wheat industry. With the exception of oil production little other large-scale industry was present in Kansas during the early thirties. Life, in the main, was rural rather than urban. Kansas could boast few large cities and little of the cosmopolitan atmosphere was present throughout Kansas.

During the early thirties, Kansas was not only plagued by the regular depression problems prevalent across the nation, but in addition, drought, dust storms and grasshoppers had contributed to the distress of her citizens. The year 1936 was one of the worst years on record in the state for

grasshoppers.⁵ Crop failures caused an even greater unemployment problem in Kansas. By this time many people had turned to farming and many others had returned to the farms in hopes of making a better living.

Beginning in 1932 the New Deal attempted legislation and relief measures which were largely designed to help farmers, and, to a lesser degree, labor and city dwellers. It was a widely accepted fact that agriculture and Kansas had been traditionally Republican, and more emphatically--anti-Democratic. Further noting that Kansas voted Democratic in only two Presidential elections in the last thirty-two years, it can be concluded that in the early years of the New Deal its program appealed to Kansans but more specifically to the large-scale farmers. The price of wheat had increased from thirty cents a bushel to a dollar a bushel under the New Deal. "Farm policies, soil conservation programs, AAA and its successor have poured millions of dollars into the farm pocket."⁶ The turn to the Democratic party further points out the economic factors which played such an important role in the 1936 election. Kansas politics seemed to have been guided more by the economic demands of the voters rather than by tradition and a willingness to support a Kansas candidate. David Lawrence of the Kansas City Star staff wrote:

For while Landon has made an excellent record as governor, the inroads made by Roosevelt on national issues, particularly in wheat areas of the state affected by drought, are such that Landon's estimated majority is about 35,000 to 40,000 in the first, second, third, and fourth districts, with Roosevelt likely to win a majority of 7,500 to 10,000 in the three wheat districts.

⁵ Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science, Vol. 57, No. 4, December 1954.

⁶ Hays Daily News, October 30, 1936.

Governor Landon is popular even among his political opponents but the size of his majority will not show in this year because he has an opponent who is popular, too, having set in motion a flow of checks and subsidies that are bound to weigh more heavily with some of the voters than intangibles, such as state pride in a favorite son's ascendancy to the nomination by a major party for President of the United States.⁷

It is not difficult to conceive that Kansas tested the New Deal for the eight years between 1932 and 1940, and then returned to Republicanism. Historically, Kansas had tested some of the minor parties, such as the Populist and the Progressive parties, but never for any great length of time or in exceedingly large numbers. Nevertheless this element of experimentalism is seen in Kansas Republicanism. It can be concluded that in the periods referred to, Kansas was of a less conservative nature than that of the highly industrial East, supporting to some extent, the idea that Kansas was for a time influenced by the New Deal in large enough proportions to swing the state.

Regarding the election in general, it seems evident that the Landon organization had made a number of costly mistakes. The intensity of the Landon publicity appeared to decrease after the convention. Many important Republican leaders were seemingly ignored.⁸ Hamilton was of the opinion that the organization's sole job was to convince the voter of Landon's merit and the rest of the victory would take care of itself. During his tours, Landon too avoided the important Republican leaders, especially in the East. Landon became acquainted with very few of these leaders.⁹ What contact work was

⁷ Kansas City Star, September 29, 1936.

⁸ Time, June 29, 1936.

⁹ Henry O. Evjen, The Republican Strategy in the Presidential Campaigns of 1936-1940, p. 210. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Western Reserve, 1951.

done, was handled by Hamilton, who was a poor substitute for the friendly Landon. It appears that after the convention, the national spotlight was thrown on Hamilton rather than Landon. The nation became better informed about Hamilton than about Landon. By no means did this help Landon's vote winning ability. Hamilton represented many aspects of personality which were in direct contrast to Landon. Furthermore, Hamilton's domination raised the question in the minds of many voters, whether this same type of influence would run the White House if Landon were elected. There is little question in regard to Landon's character and personal record, or in regard to his many admirable personal traits. Nevertheless, the nation saw Hamilton and its mental picture of Landon was a mere reflection of Hamilton. Landon's record as a vote getter in 1932 and 1934 was tested little in 1936.

Another handicap, although no fault of the Republican strategy, was the fact that the little known Landon was pitched against one of the most dynamic politicians and campaigners in American history--Franklin D. Roosevelt. The tremendous contrast of physical qualities, personality, appearance, and voice; political philosophy and ambition were unmistakably identifiable without close study. Landon was diametrically opposite to Roosevelt in nearly all respects. Accompanying this contrast was also the fact that Roosevelt had by this time attracted a considerable following and undeniably the New Deal has made many inroads in the depression disaster. "The Democratic leaders acknowledge that the rural vote in both New York and New Jersey will remain Republican, as in the past years, inasmuch as the farm communities in these states have not shared under the New Deal's farm program to the extent of farmers in the South and West."¹⁰ The economic factor again becomes prominent, for it would

¹⁰ Days Daily News, October 26, 1936.

seem that the people were willing to continue with the New Deal rather than change to the promise of "constitutionally sound" legislation, a balanced budget or a novice in the White House. The voters of the early thirties were just not interested in sound business techniques in government or a crusade to save the Constitution. The more apparent problem became that of saving themselves from greater economic disaster.

The following editorial comments are a sample of the opinions expressed by various Kansas editors following Landon's defeat. The editor of the Topeka Journal wrote that:

No one could have made a better race on the Republican ticket for President than did Alfred M. Landon. He fit exactly into the picture of what the nation desired in the way of a substitute for the New Deal. The frailty of his election was not in him, it was in the fact that the time had apparently not arrived when people could be convinced of the need for a change. In the judgment of a majority of them, the New Deal had not completed its mission.¹¹

William Allen White who took an active part in the campaign declared that:

It was not a Roosevelt victory. It was not a Landon defeat. It was a revelation of a changing attitude toward government by a vast majority of the American people. Probably the change has been brewing for 40 years firm desire on part of American people to use government as an agency for human welfare.¹²

Landon's feelings toward the defeat were expressed by the statement that:

The net gain is all to the good. I did not go into it (campaign) unwillingly. I knew the desperateness of the situation.¹³

The editor of the Hays Daily News expressed the economic factor by writing "as the American pocket-book goes, so goes the vote", and two days later

¹¹ Topeka Journal, November 6, 1936.

¹² Ellis Review, November 12, 1936.

¹³ Kansas City Times, November 13, 1936.

wrote:

No Republican candidate would have stood any chance of being elected. A stronger G. O. P. candidate conceivably could have made a somewhat better showing it is true, but the outcome would have been the same a Democratic landslide.¹⁴

¹⁴ Hays Daily News, November 2, 1936 and November 4, 1936.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I. Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1934 Primary Election for the Office of Governor

APPENDIX II. Distribution of the Votes Cast in the 1936 Primary Election for the Office of Governor

Distribution of the Votes Cast in the 1936 General Election for the Office of Governor

APPENDIX III. Distribution of Votes Cast in Kansas in the General Elections for the Office of President, 1920-1952

APPENDIX IV. Votes Cast in Kansas by Counties in the 1932 General Election for the Office of Governor

APPENDIX V. Votes Cast in Kansas by Counties in the 1934 and 1936 General Elections

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Votes Cast in the 1934 Primary Election for the
Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Republican	292,939	
Alfred M. Landon	233,956	79.8
John R. Brinkley	58,983	20.2
Democratic	155,355	
Walter Eggers	3,710	2.0
Thurman Hill	40,237	26.0
Omar B. Ketchum	54,325	35.0
Charles F. Miller	31,303	20.3
Kirk Prather	16,996	11.0
George E. Rogers	8,704	5.7
Socialist		
George M. Whiteside	305	

APPENDIX II

Distribution of the Votes Cast in the 1936 Primary Election for the Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Republican		
Will G. West	232,516	
Democratic	153,704	
Walter A. Huxman	91,108	59.2
Jonathan M. Davies	62,595	40.8
Socialist		
George M. Whiteside	174	

Distribution of the Votes Cast in the 1936 General Election for the Office of Governor:

	<u>votes</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total Votes Cast	848,083	
Republican		
Will G. West	411,446	48.5
Democratic		
Walter A. Huxman	433,319	51.1
Socialist		
George M. Whiteside	3,318	0.4

APPENDIX III

Distribution of Votes Cast in Kansas in the General Elections for the Office of President, 1920-1952:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Republican Candidates</u>	<u>Democratic Candidates</u>
1920	Harding and Coolidge 369,268	Cox and F. D. Roosevelt 185,464
1924	Coolidge and Dawes 407,671	Davis and Bryan 156,319
1928	Hoover and Curtis 513,672	Smith and Robinson 193,003
1932	Hoover and Curtis 349,498	Roosevelt and Garner 424,204
1936	Landon and Knox 397,727	Roosevelt and Garner 464,520
1940	Willkie and McNary 489,169	Roosevelt and Wallace 364,725
1944	Dewey and Bricker 442,096	Roosevelt and Truman 287,458
1948	Dewey and Warren 423,039	Truman and Barkley 351,902
1952	Eisenhower and Nixon 616,302	Stevenson and Sparkman 273,296

APPENDIX IV

Votes Cast in Kansas by Counties in the 1932 General Election for the Office of Governor

<u>County</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Votes</u>			
Allen			Brown		
	Landon, Rep.	(1)* 3638		(1)	4301
	Woodring, Dem.	(2) 2686		(2)	2930
	Brinkley, Ind.	(3) 2621		(3)	1387
	Total Vote	8945			8618
Anderson			Butler		
		(2) 2121		(2)	4934
		(1) 2356		(3)	3903
		(3) 1634		(1)	5364
		6111			14201
Atchison			Chase		
		(1) 3874		(1)	1214
		(2) 3851		(2)	1073
		(3) 2560		(3)	967
		10285			3254
Barber			Chautauqua		
		(2) 1349		(1)	1703
		(3) 1009		(2)	1391
		(1) 1882		(3)	1357
		4240			4451
Barton			Cherokee		
		(3) 2579		(3)	3233
		(2) 2820		(1)	4630
		(1) 2905		(2)	3746
		8304			11609
Bourbon			Cheyenne		
		(1) 3600		(3)	681
		(3) 2958		(2)	949
		(2) 3451		(1)	1181
		10009			2811

* The number in parenthesis indicates first, second or third place.

Clark

(1) 844
 (2) 752
 (3) 527
2123

Clay

(2) 2284
 (3) 1970
 (1) 2474
6728

Cloud

(3) 2462
 (1) 2847
 (2) 2465
7774

Coffey

(2) 2272
 (1) 2554
 (3) 1558
6384

Comanche

(1) 902
 (3) 525
 (2) 777
2204

Cowley

(1) 7288
 (3) 4323
 (2) 5594
17205

Crawford

(2) 6040
 (3) 5609
 (1) 6724
18373

Decatur

(3) 1028
 (1) 1608
 (2) 1290
3926

Dickinson

(2) 3629
 (3) 3480
 (1) 3844
10953

Doniphan

(1) 2054
 (2) 1922
 (3) 1275
5251

Douglas

(1) 5880
 (2) 4298
 (3) 2105
12283

Edwards

(1) 1152
 (2) 1029
 (3) 1012
3193

Elk

(1) 1626
 (2) 1347
 (3) 1243
4216

Ellis

(2) 1523
 (1) 3378
 (3) 1071
5972

Ellsworth

(3) 1255
 (2) 1669
 (1) 1718
4642

Finney

(1) 1697
 (3) 1383
 (2) 1119
4499

Ford	(3) 2564	Greenwood	(1) 2906
	(1) 2712		(3) 2358
	(2) 2659		(2) 2629
	<u>7935</u>		<u>7893</u>
Franklin	(1) 4059	Hamilton	(2) 576
	(2) 3296		(3) 481
	(3) <u>2421</u>		(1) 729
	<u>9776</u>		<u>1786</u>
Geary	(2) 1173	Harper	(1) 2189
	(3) 1092		(3) 1000
	(1) 2586		(2) <u>2064</u>
	<u>4851</u>		<u>5253</u>
Gove	(2) 731	Harvey	(2) 3001
	(1) 930		(1) 3193
	(3) <u>674</u>		(3) <u>2293</u>
	<u>2335</u>		<u>4487</u>
Graham	(3) 992	Haskell	(2) 386
	(2) 1161		(3) 303
	(1) <u>1394</u>		(1) 468
	<u>3547</u>		<u>1157</u>
Grant	(2) 367	Hodgeman	(2) 610
	(3) 289		(1) 707
	(1) 518		(3) <u>571</u>
	<u>1174</u>		<u>1888</u>
Gray	(3) 707	Jackson	(1) 2708
	(2) 746		(2) 2457
	(1) 886		(3) <u>1625</u>
	<u>2339</u>		<u>6790</u>
Greeley	(1) 364	Jefferson	(1) 2389
	(3) 128		(2) 2268
	(2) <u>251</u>		(3) <u>1670</u>
	<u>843</u>		<u>6327</u>

Jewell

(2) 2636
 (1) 3248
 (3) 1111
 6995

Johnson

(2) 5021
 (1) 5991
 (3) 1806
 12818

Kearny

(2) 462
 (3) 282
 (1) 685
 1429

Kingman

(3) 1612
 (2) 1699
 (1) 1913
 5224

Kiowa

(1) 1171
 (3) 690
 (2) 699
 2560

Labette

(2) 4274
 (1) 5350
 (3) 4115
 13739

Lane

(2) 577
 (3) 462
 (1) 589
 1628

Leavenworth

(2) 5511
 (1) 7235
 (3) 3213
 15959

Lincoln

(3) 1203
 (2) 1349
 (1) 1565
 4117

Linn

(2) 2244
 (1) 2261
 (3) 1431
 5936

Logan

(2) 688
 (3) 538
 (1) 763
 1989

Lyon

(2) 4302
 (1) 5102
 (3) 3355
 12759

Marion

(3) 2375
 (1) 2932
 (2) 2479
 7786

Marshall

(2) 3635
 (1) 4917
 (3) 1976
 10528

McPherson

(2) 3155
 (1) 3564
 (3) 2683
 9402

Meade

(1) 1078
 (3) 686
 (2) 787
 2551

Miami	(2) 2739	Norton	(1) 1752
	(1) 3704		(3) 1695
	(3) 1875		(2) 1741
	<u>8048</u>		<u>5188</u>
Mitchell	(1) 2340	Osage	(2) 2857
	(2) 2217		(3) 2483
	(3) 1393		(1) 2895
	<u>5950</u>		<u>8225</u>
Montgomery	(1) 7783	Osborne	(1) 2005
	(2) 6503		(3) 1445
	(3) 6258		(2) 1559
	<u>20544</u>		<u>5009</u>
Morris	(1) 1994	Ottawa	(3) 1348
	(3) 1574		(1) 1737
	(2) 1641		(2) 1561
	<u>5209</u>		<u>4646</u>
Morton	(2) 592	Pawnee	(3) 1454
	(3) 486		(2) 1498
	(1) 727		(1) 1595
	<u>1805</u>		<u>4547</u>
Nemaha	(2) 2481	Phillips	(2) 1895
	(1) 4070		(3) 1227
	(3) 1264		(1) 2264
	<u>7815</u>		<u>5386</u>
Neosho	(1) 3348	Pottawatomie	(2) 2557
	(3) 3265		(1) 2862
	(2) 3345		(3) 2017
	<u>9958</u>		<u>7436</u>
Ness	(3) 1024	Pratt	(2) 1731
	(2) 1160		(3) 1653
	(1) 1169		(1) 2115
	<u>3353</u>		<u>5499</u>

Rawlins

(3) 837
 (2) 1246
 (1) 1280
3363

Reno

(2) 7163
 (3) 5019
 (1) 7264
19046

Republic

(2) 1049
 (1) 3369
 (3) 1621
6839

Rice

(1) 2582
 (3) 1563
 (2) 2254
6399

Riley

(1) 4149
 (3) 2634
 (2) 2941
9724

Rooks

(1) 1593
 (2) 1472
 (3) 1251
4316

Rush

(3) 1131
 (1) 1419
 (2) 1262
3812

Russell

(3) 1292
 (2) 1359
 (1) 2093
4704

Saline

(3) 3453
 (1) 4850
 (2) 4549
12852

Scott

(3) 458
 (2) 535
 (1) 775
1768

Sedgwick

(2) 17491
 (3) 16498
 (1) 18921
52910

Seward

(2) 1037
 (3) 757
 (1) 1202
3046

Shawnee

(1) 13856
 (3) 9555
 (2) 13420
36831

Sheridan

(3) 628
 (1) 1186
 (2) 915
2729

Sherman

(3) 767
 (2) 1314
 (1) 1354
3435

Smith

(2) 2187
 (3) 1825
 (1) 2265
6277

Stafford

(2) 1613
 (1) 1648
 (3) 1543
 4804

Stanton

(2) 325
 (3) 221
 (1) 494
 1040

Stevens

(2) 537
 (3) 487
 (1) 888
 1912

Sumner

(2) 4083
 (3) 3230
 (1) 4413
 11726

Thomas

(3) 864
 (2) 1119
 (1) 1453
 3436

Trego

(3) 780
 (2) 871
 (1) 1135
 2786

Wabaunsee

(2) 1660
 (3) 1245
 (1) 2003
 4908

Wallace

(2) 459
 (1) 481
 (3) 434
 1374

Washington

(2) 2504
 (1) 3625
 (3) 1566
 7695

Wichita

(1) 483
 (3) 225
 (2) 455
 1163

Wilson

(3) 2486
 (2) 2537
 (1) 2810
 7833

Woodson

(1) 1484
 (2) 1478
 (3) 1182
 4144

Wyandotte

(2) 20827
 (1) 24122
 (3) 12311
 57260

Absent Vote

(1) 1174
 (2) 668
 (3) 282
 2124

Total Vote

(1) 278,581
 (2) 272,944
 (3) 244,607
 796,132

APPENDIX V

Votes Cast in Kansas by Counties in the 1934 and 1936 General Elections

County		<u>1934</u>	<u>% for Landon</u>		<u>1936</u>	<u>% for Landon</u>
Allen	Rep.	5219	60.1	Rep.	6035	61.4
	Dem.	<u>3411</u>		Dem.	<u>3849</u>	
	Total	<u>8630</u>		Total	<u>9884</u>	
Anderson		3625	57.8		3403	55.5
		<u>2652</u>			<u>2740</u>	
		<u>6277</u>			<u>6143</u>	
Atchison		5414	50.4		5286	47.7
		<u>5323</u>			<u>5795</u>	
		<u>10737</u>			<u>11081</u>	
Barber		2355	57.0		1800	39.4
		<u>1766</u>			<u>2767</u>	
		<u>4121</u>			<u>4567</u>	
Barton		4051	47.6		3518	37.2
		<u>4469</u>			<u>5953</u>	
		<u>8520</u>			<u>9471</u>	
Bourbon		5035	60.1		5347	48.3
		<u>3875</u>			<u>5679</u>	
		<u>8910</u>			<u>11026</u>	
Brown		5102	61.8		5761	62.4
		<u>3356</u>			<u>3469</u>	
		<u>8458</u>			<u>9230</u>	
Butler		7046	51.6		6178	40.0
		<u>6498</u>			<u>9262</u>	
		<u>13544</u>			<u>15440</u>	
Chase		1779	56.1		1596	48.5
		<u>1391</u>			<u>1696</u>	
		<u>3170</u>			<u>3292</u>	
Chautauque		2657	64.5		2488	54.4
		<u>1464</u>			<u>2074</u>	
		<u>4121</u>			<u>4562</u>	
Cherokee		5820	49.9		5413	40.6
		<u>5833</u>			<u>7863</u>	
		<u>11653</u>			<u>13276</u>	

Cheyenne	<u>1428</u> <u>1238</u> 2666	53.5	<u>1231</u> <u>1663</u> 2894	42.7
Clark	<u>1167</u> <u>1042</u> 2209	53.0	<u>893</u> <u>1453</u> 2346	37.9
Clay	<u>3750</u> <u>3065</u> 6815	55.1	<u>3501</u> <u>3432</u> 6933	50.6
Cloud	<u>4203</u> <u>4244</u> 8447	49.9	<u>4174</u> <u>4520</u> 8694	48.1
Coffey	<u>3688</u> <u>2279</u> 5967	61.8	<u>3858</u> <u>2639</u> 6497	59.4
Comanche	<u>1303</u> <u>1003</u> 2306	56.5	<u>919</u> <u>1420</u> 2339	39.2
Cowley	<u>8860</u> <u>7049</u> 15909	55.5	<u>8331</u> <u>10774</u> 19105	43.5
Crawford	<u>9197</u> <u>10110</u> 19307	47.6	<u>8481</u> <u>12896</u> 21377	39.7
Decatur	<u>2325</u> <u>1709</u> 4034	57.7	<u>1700</u> <u>2338</u> 4038	42.2
Dickinson	<u>6194</u> <u>4775</u> 10969	56.5	<u>5881</u> <u>5294</u> 11175	52.6
Doniphan	<u>3100</u> <u>2589</u> 5689	54.6	<u>3762</u> <u>2738</u> 6500	57.8
Douglas	<u>7471</u> <u>3259</u> 11430	65.2	<u>8216</u> <u>4915</u> 13131	62.5

Edwards	1717 <u>1487</u> 3204	53.7	1379 <u>1974</u> 3353	41.2
Elk	2535 <u>1468</u> 4003	63.3	2350 <u>2049</u> 4399	53.5
Ellis	2054 <u>3907</u> 5961	34.4	1604 <u>4830</u> 6434	25.0
Ellsworth	2268 <u>2292</u> 4560	48.7	2038 <u>2976</u> 5014	40.5
Finney	2465 <u>2130</u> 4595	53.7	1823 <u>2657</u> 4480	40.7
Ford	4024 <u>3997</u> 8021	50.2	3314 <u>5298</u> 8612	38.4
Franklin	6248 <u>3597</u> 9845	63.5	5951 <u>4475</u> 10426	57.1
Geary	2142 <u>2444</u> 4586	46.8	2356 <u>2966</u> 5322	44.3
Gove	1384 <u>1031</u> 2415	57.5	1069 <u>1082</u> 2151	49.6
Graham	2011 <u>1470</u> 3481	57.6	1443 <u>1714</u> 3157	45.8
Grant	707 <u>501</u> 1208	58.5	475 <u>613</u> 1088	43.7
Gray	1189 <u>1047</u> 2236	53.2	757 <u>1451</u> 2208	34.2

Greeley	<u>573</u> <u>273</u> 846	67.7	<u>395</u> <u>384</u> 779	50.7
Greenwood	<u>4414</u> <u>3598</u> 8012	55.1	<u>4110</u> <u>4164</u> 8274	49.7
Hamilton	<u>856</u> <u>913</u> 1769	48.4	<u>695</u> <u>870</u> 1565	44.7
Harper	<u>3316</u> <u>2144</u> 5460	60.6	<u>2426</u> <u>3376</u> 5802	41.9
Harvey	<u>4946</u> <u>3664</u> 8610	57.4	<u>4410</u> <u>5303</u> 9713	45.4
Haskell	<u>672</u> <u>432</u> 1104	60.7	<u>438</u> <u>619</u> 1057	41.5
Hodgeman	<u>1165</u> <u>723</u> 1958	59.6	<u>778</u> <u>1155</u> 1933	40.2
Jackson	<u>4081</u> <u>2876</u> 6957	58.7	<u>3648</u> <u>3251</u> 6899	53.0
Jefferson	<u>3976</u> <u>2560</u> 6536	60.8	<u>3674</u> <u>3088</u> 6762	54.3
Jewell	<u>4485</u> <u>2735</u> 7220	62.2	<u>3801</u> <u>2766</u> 6567	58.0
Johnson	<u>7185</u> <u>5387</u> 12572	57.2	<u>8318</u> <u>6083</u> 14401	57.6
Kearny	<u>804</u> <u>665</u> 1469	54.7	<u>574</u> <u>714</u> 1288	44.5

Kingman	2848 <u>2456</u> 5304	53.8	1999 <u>3692</u> 5691	35.1
Kiowa	1592 <u>960</u> 2552	62.4	1275 <u>1406</u> 2681	47.5
Labette	6662 <u>6234</u> 12896	51.7	6565 <u>7974</u> 14539	45.0
Lane	1015 <u>624</u> 1639	62.0	678 <u>850</u> 1528	44.3
Leavenworth	8271 <u>7398</u> 15669	52.8	8465 <u>7942</u> 16407	51.6
Lincoln	2458 <u>1797</u> 4255	57.7	1999 <u>2205</u> 4204	47.6
Linn	3790 <u>2304</u> 6174	61.4	3834 <u>2649</u> 6483	59.2
Logan	1179 <u>866</u> 2045	57.7	945 <u>905</u> 1850	51.0
Lyon	6212 <u>6288</u> 12500	49.7	5959 <u>7288</u> 13247	45.0
Marion	4407 <u>3683</u> 8090	54.5	4155 <u>4189</u> 8344	49.9
Marshall	5532 <u>4617</u> 10149	54.5	5852 <u>5194</u> 11046	53.0
McPherson	5377 <u>4290</u> 9667	55.6	4710 <u>6241</u> 10951	43.1

Meade	1650 <u>1000</u> 2650	62.3	1212 <u>1306</u> 2598	46.0
Miami	4478 <u>4134</u> 8612	52.0	4632 <u>4578</u> 9210	50.3
Mitchell	3226 <u>2673</u> 5899	54.8	2750 <u>3275</u> 6025	45.7
Montgomery	10460 <u>9356</u> 19816	52.8	11486 <u>11493</u> 22979	49.9
Morris	3004 <u>2393</u> 5397	55.8	2717 <u>2788</u> 5505	49.1
Morton	1031 <u>689</u> 1720	60.0	609 <u>855</u> 1464	41.5
Nemaha	3929 <u>3905</u> 7834	50.2	3868 <u>4257</u> 8025	48.2
Neosho	5270 <u>4544</u> 9814	53.7	5732 <u>5574</u> 11306	50.7
Ness	2055 <u>1150</u> 3205	64.0	1282 <u>1993</u> 3275	39.2
Norton	3530 <u>1704</u> 5234	67.5	2800 <u>2290</u> 5090	55.0
Osage	4859 <u>3486</u> 8345	58.3	4198 <u>4203</u> 8401	49.9
Osborne	3435 <u>1879</u> 5314	64.5	2741 <u>2188</u> 4929	55.7



Ottawa	<u>2468</u> <u>2454</u> 4922	50.2	<u>2218</u> <u>2775</u> 4993	44.4
Pawnee	<u>2284</u> <u>2187</u> 4471	51.2	<u>1735</u> <u>2793</u> 4528	38.3
Phillips	<u>3812</u> <u>1648</u> 5460	69.7	<u>3150</u> <u>2131</u> 5281	59.8
Pottawatomie	<u>4461</u> <u>2816</u> 7277	61.4	<u>3947</u> <u>3281</u> 7228	54.6
Pratt	<u>2867</u> <u>2718</u> 5585	51.4	<u>1930</u> <u>3849</u> 5779	33.4
Rawlins	<u>1763</u> <u>1562</u> 3325	53.0	<u>1348</u> <u>2004</u> 3352	40.2
Reno	<u>9803</u> <u>9678</u> 19481	50.3	<u>8539</u> <u>14157</u> 22696	37.5
Republic	<u>3726</u> <u>3292</u> 7018	53.2	<u>3793</u> <u>3410</u> 7203	52.7
Rice	<u>3639</u> <u>2742</u> 6381	57.0	<u>3288</u> <u>4889</u> 8177	40.3
Riley	<u>5352</u> <u>3841</u> 9193	58.4	<u>5985</u> <u>4059</u> 10045	59.6
Rooks	<u>2751</u> <u>1649</u> 4400	62.5	<u>2131</u> <u>2230</u> 4361	48.8
Rush	<u>2045</u> <u>1938</u> 3983	51.5	<u>1707</u> <u>2461</u> 4168	40.9

Russell	<u>2810</u> <u>1979</u> 4789	58.7	<u>2213</u> <u>3721</u> 5934	37.3
Saline	<u>6124</u> <u>6302</u> 12426	49.2	<u>5995</u> <u>7826</u> 13821	43.3
Scott	<u>844</u> <u>895</u> 1739	48.5	<u>620</u> <u>1089</u> 1709	36.3
Sedgwick	<u>20412</u> <u>28069</u> 48481	42.2	<u>21486</u> <u>39341</u> 60827	35.4
Seward	<u>1582</u> <u>1461</u> 3043	52.0	<u>1089</u> <u>1984</u> 3073	35.5
Shawnee	<u>19384</u> <u>17748</u> 37132	52.3	<u>19546</u> <u>22828</u> 42374	46.2
Sheridan	<u>1418</u> <u>1287</u> 2605	54.5	<u>987</u> <u>1424</u> 2511	39.2
Sherman	<u>1577</u> <u>1575</u> 3152	50.1	<u>1131</u> <u>1796</u> 2927	38.6
Smith	<u>3511</u> <u>2800</u> 6311	55.7	<u>3254</u> <u>2814</u> 6068	53.6
Stafford	<u>2547</u> <u>2028</u> 4575	55.7	<u>1930</u> <u>3178</u> 5108	37.7
Stanton	<u>538</u> <u>472</u> 1010	53.2	<u>306</u> <u>455</u> 761	40.2
Stevens	<u>1012</u> <u>871</u> 1883	53.8	<u>690</u> <u>1014</u> 1704	40.6

Sumner	<u>5714</u> <u>5365</u> 11079	51.7	<u>4904</u> <u>7916</u> 12820	38.2
Thomas	<u>1608</u> <u>1878</u> 3486	46.2	<u>1181</u> <u>2132</u> 3313	35.7
Trego	<u>1514</u> <u>1366</u> 2880	52.6	<u>985</u> <u>1768</u> 2753	35.3
Wabaunsee	<u>2739</u> <u>1788</u> 4527	60.5	<u>2785</u> <u>2216</u> 5001	55.8
Wallace	<u>851</u> <u>508</u> 1359	62.5	<u>633</u> <u>486</u> 1119	56.6
Washington	<u>4511</u> <u>3476</u> 7987	56.4	<u>4747</u> <u>3329</u> 8076	58.6
Wichita	<u>564</u> <u>631</u> 1195	47.2	<u>445</u> <u>633</u> 1078	41.2
Wilson	<u>4499</u> <u>3655</u> 8154	55.1	<u>4786</u> <u>3787</u> 8573	55.8
Woodson	<u>2388</u> <u>1845</u> 4233	56.5	<u>2358</u> <u>1873</u> 4231	55.7
Wyandotte	<u>26880</u> <u>23808</u> 50688	53.2	<u>26148</u> <u>38016</u> 64164	40.8
Absent Vote	<u>656</u> <u>427</u> 1083		<u>3676</u> <u>2453</u> 6129	
Total Vote	<u>422030</u> <u>359877</u> 781907	54.0	<u>397727</u> <u>464520</u> 862247	46.1

KANSAS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1936

by

BEVERLY ANN OVIST

B. S., Kansas State College
of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1952

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of History, Government, and Philosophy

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1955

In attempting to analyse the 1936 Presidential election as related to Kansas, it became evident that the work necessarily divided itself into three parts. First, information regarding Landon the man, and then as a public personality as the governor of Kansas and a possible presidential nominee. A successful nomination necessitated consideration of Landon as a potential presidential candidate, the Republican platform formation and the full swing of the Landon-for-President campaign. Finally, a study was made of the results of the election in terms of Kansas by means of a county-by-county evaluation.

Alfred M. Landon began his political career as precinct committeeman in Independence, Kansas. This job was followed by a gradual rise through the political ranks of the Kansas Republican party to the office of governor in 1932. Landon was re-elected governor in 1934--an overwhelming Democratic year across the nation. His record of budget balancing, sound legislation and the use of the business approach in government were widely acclaimed after his surprising re-election. By this time the nation, as well as Kansas, was proclaiming Landon's record and the first suggestion of Landon as the Republican candidate in the 1936 presidential election appeared.

After Kansas Day, January 29, 1936, Landon had obviously become a contender for the Republican nomination. During the months which followed the Landon publicity boom was apparent throughout the nation. As convention time drew near, Landon's possibilities for a successful nomination were predicted by the array of public opinion polls which had flourished. The nation fully anticipated Landon's nomination.

At the twenty-first National Republican Convention, held in Cleveland, Alfred M. Landon and W. Frank Knox were nominated the Republican standard-bearers. Landon was nominated unanimously on the first ballot and Knox was nominated by acclamation. The old guard of the Republican party had offered serious opposition to the Landon organization, however the general appearance of the Republican party had been changing and Landon's nomination was its surprising result. The convention had been run by much younger men than in previous years and the work of the many Kansas newspapermen was fulfilled when Landon was given the full support of the convention. Landon was truly a newspaperman's candidate.

The convention was followed by the full swing of the Landon-for-President campaign. Problems of money, personality differences and the opposition of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate running for re-election, were all more than the Landon organization could successfully fight. The election returns resulted in the worst defeat in the history of presidential elections, for Landon. Landon carried only two states—Maine and Vermont.

Although Landon failed to carry Kansas, the defeat was softened somewhat by the fact that the Republican party percentage had increased over that of the 1932 presidential election. In the main, Landon failed to carry the southwestern and western counties of the state, those counties involved in wheat farming. The election in Kansas seems to have been one based more on economic factors than on a crusade of "Life, Liberty and Landon."

