SENATOR WILLIAM B. PINE AND HIS TIMES

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PREFACE

This is an examination of the career of William B. Pine, a businessman and politician from Okmulgee, Oklahoma. His business experiences stretched from territorial days to World War II and involved oil, manufacturing, and agriculture. Pine achieved political recognition in the 1924 elections, made distinctive by the involvement of the Ku Klux Klan, when he defeated the Democratic nominee, John C. Walton, for a seat in the United States Senate. Initially aligned with regular Republicans in the Senate, Pine gradually became more critical of the Hoover administration. He sought re-election in 1930 and lost to Thomas P. Gore. A campaign for the Oklahoma governorship ended in defeat in 1934. He was preparing another senatorial bid when he died in 1942.

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CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF A MILLIONAIRE

Oklahoma became a state in 1907, but after two decades of statehood a number of the nation's newspaper editors, citing chaotic social and political conditions, suggested that Oklahoma had been admitted too early.[1] Their unusual comments reflected the turbulent nature of Oklahoma's politics and society. Political competitors, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Socialists, vied with traditional Republican and Democratic philosophies for the sympathy of the electorate, and they often expressed the frustrations of citizens struggling with changing social conditions and economic adversity. Violence, either riotous or contrived, was a frequent form of expression.

Neither of the state's major industries, agriculture and petroleum, enjoyed a stability that would alleviate the problem. After the false prosperity created by the war in Europe, falling prices hampered farm owners and farm tenants. Those who succeeded in the oil industry earned the title "oilman" which conjured visions of wealth and influence, but the boom and bust character of the industry also brought disruption. Villages could become centers of raucous activity within weeks, and markets could become

depressed by overproduction just as rapidly. All citizens, from the rich to the common laborer, were susceptible to the same pitfalls.

Much of the area's lure involved its frontier status. Various lands opened for settlement, beginning in 1889 and continuing until 1907, and attracted an assortment of speculators and solid citizens. The image of opportunity persisted after statehood and frequently outweighed the prospect of failure in a new state. Oklahomans continued to pursue their individual visions of success and thus created an active and complex record. Some contributed little to history. Others, such as William Bliss Pine, contributed much and played a role in both the negative and the positive aspects of Oklahoma's growth.

A majority of Oklahoma's new citizens were migrants, and William B. Pine, born December 30, 1877, was no exception. His career began in Scott County, Illinois. That region's prosperity helped establish his father's farm in the 1870s. William G. Pine, whose parents had come to Illinois from Ohio, was born at Pinville, Illinois, on May 5, 1847. Margaret Green, whose father was a native of the state and whose mother had come from Pennsylvania, was born at Oxville, Illinois, on August 17, 1855. They married, started farming near the Scott County village of Bluffs, and raised five children: Harry G., William B., John M., Roswell D., and Grant S. William G., with the help of a hired hand who for a time was his younger brother James M.

Pine, was a successful farmer, and Margaret, in typical fashion, managed the household and raised her sons with the assistance of a neighbor girl as servant and cook.[2]

The Pine brothers grew up in a conventional, but not isolated agricultural region. Scott County was on the western end of a corn belt that extended across central Illinois. By producing average yields that placed it among the best four counties in the state, its farms contributed to a "Corn is King" philosophy and to the economic life of the two communities near the Pine homestead. Bluffs, located on the high ground overlooking the scenic Illinois River valley, was closest to the farm and grew from a population of 162 in 1880 to 539 in 1900. Naples, approximately four miles west and twice the size of Bluffs, was a quiet town on the east bank of the river. The Illinois River, linked to Lake Michigan by the Illinois and Michigan Canal, flowed southwestward from its origin west of Chicago to the Mississippi River and connected the growing industries of Chicago with the heartland of America. One hundred river miles south, St. Louis was still a gateway to the West. Upriver, Chicago beckoned. The Wabash railroad, reaching Naples in 1849, was a major east-west route across the state. Sixty rail miles east, the state capital at Springfield was a hotbed of politics.[3]

Other forces also worked their influences. In the 1880s and 1890s depressed prices, cheap western lands, depleted soil, and urban attractions induced over one-fourth

of the native born to leave Illinois. The richness of Scott County never gave it immunity to these problems. As its excess people departed, the population remained stable, numbering 10,530 in 1870 and 10,455 in 1900. Other Illinoisans sought relief through farmers' alliances that urged the radical political solutions of inflation and economic regulation. In Scott County the Democrats and Stephen A. Douglas, who had taught at the county seat of Winchester, had carried the elections of 1858 and 1860. The Civil War changed that trend. The Republicans handily won the county for Ulysses S. Grant in 1868. This tendency continued. Those who stayed on the land remained loyal to the political heritage of Abraham Lincoln. William G. and Margaret Pine kept with tradition, named their last son Grant, and lived on their farm until they retired and moved to Bluffs.[4]

The nation changed considerably between the time the elder Pines started farming and the time they retired several years before World War I. Those changes presented their sons with different opportunities and allowed young William, their second eldest, to pursue other goals. After grammar school he first attended high school in Bluffs but transferred to the school in Naples and graduated in 1896. In Naples he worked for a grain dealer and solidified a romance with Laura M. Hamilton. Her parents, James and Mary E. Hamilton, had owned their farm near Naples since 1873. During Pine's boyhood, his brothers had teased him about his

obstinacy. That trait extended to marriage and money. The young couple did not marry until 1912; Laura waited while her future husband sought wealth.

Although Pine's education and energy would have qualified him for a respectable job in Chicago or another Illinois city, he chose to venture west. Pine taught school in Bluffs after graduation and worked for his father in the summer, but he found that selling grain binders in the summer of 1898 paid better than teaching. After teaching one more school term, he started working full time for a harvester manufacturer. The D. M. Osborne Company of Auburn, New York, employed him as a traveling salesman in the Midwest. Doubtful farmers discovered that the young company representative could make the cantankerous machines work, and the company gave him a permanent territory in southwestern Kansas.[5]

Pine's employment took him into Neosho County, Kansas, and one of the largest oil booms in Kansas history. A Standard Oil subsidiary controlled most of the production which developed in eastern Kansas during the 1890s, but that changed in 1900 when large-scale prospecting in Neosho County resulted in the discovery of the Chanute field. Promoters and speculators with varying amounts of money and degrees of honesty descended on the area. Farmers became more concerned with lease fees than farming; derricks and pipelines marked their fields. "In on the ground floor" was the watchword of the times, and the population of Chanute

tripled to more than 12,000. This atmosphere impressed Pine, and he asked a Prairie Oil and Gas Company executive about opportunities in the field. Harry Scott advised him to keep his job.

Pine ignored this advice, left the harvester company, and traveled to Cleveland, Indian Territory, in 1903. Oil had been discovered in the area, and Pine obtained work at a branch store of the National Supply Company of Toledo, Ohio. This firm distributed oil well equipment nationally, and the work provided him with a basic knowledge of the mechanical aspects of the petroleum industry. Creek skimming, a process that collected oil leaking into streams from storage ponds and tanks, augmented Pine's meager wages. The application of geology to the search for petroleum was a new technique. Pine studied geology through a correspondence course and enhanced his growing knowledge of the business.[6]

Pine parlayed the skills he had acquired into a more important position. In 1906 he approached one of the nation's most important oilmen and asked for a job. Theodore Newton Barnsdall, whose father had drilled the second well in the famous Titusville, Pennsylvania, Field in 1859, owned petroleum operations from New York to California and had acquired a large tract of leases within the Osage Nation, Oklahoma Territory. Barnsdall gave Pine work and sent him to scout for new property in the Gotebo Field of Kiowa County, Oklahoma Territory.

The first well in the Gotebo Field had been drilled in 1904 with limited production, and other wells had supplied the village of Gotebo with natural gas for a short time. The area's prospects seemed dim. Pine continued to scout for Barnsdall, but he also turned to other endeavors.

President Theodore Roosevelt's proclamation of September 19, 1906, permitted the sale of reserve wood and pasture lands belonging to the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes. Located in southern Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory, and commonly called the "Big Pasture," the reserve contained 396,139 acres. Pine was one of 7,621 bidders competing for tracts in the opened lands. After compilation of 228,632 bids averaging $10.50 per acre, the Department of the Interior's Land Office awarded the tracts in early 1907, and Pine was a successful bidder on a parcel near Geronimo for $1,045.00. Whether Pine thought that oil was on the property, that it was simply good farm land, or that it could be resold with the help of a friend, Harry Tate, in the farm-loan business, is unknown. Whatever his motivation, Pine never discovered oil but rented the property and moved to another oil-boom town in 1909.[7]

While Pine was learning the oil business, a change in federal policy towards Indian lands and a new national industry helped Oklahoma's petroleum industry achieve national prominence. Operators easily obtained leases in Oklahoma Territory, but they could not make a valid lease in Indian Territory before 1904. Federal regulations

prevented negotiating leases with tribes or tribal members in Indian Territory and hampered growth in this promising area. The negotiation of an agreement between the Department of the Interior and the Creek and Cherokee Nations permitted individual tribal members to make lease agreements, and drilling commenced at a fast pace after 1904. This coincided with the increased use of the internal combustion engine and the demand for petroleum products that it created. For a thirty year period beginning in 1900, the rate of increase in the manufacture of automobiles ranged from 10 to 50 percent over the previous year's production. Americans owned about 8,000 motor vehicles in 1900 and 26,700,000 in 1929. Similar trends in Europe, accelerated by the outbreak of war in 1914, added to the multiplying consumption of oil.[8]

In 1905 the discovery of the highly productive Glenn Pool near Tulsa overshadowed previous finds and ushered in a new phase of Oklahoma history characterized by the rush to fulfill the demand for oil. The excitement created by the Glenn Pool discovery spread to other areas, and operators directed some of this interest to the area around Okmulgee. Thirty-five miles south of Tulsa, Okmulgee was the old capital of the Creek Nation, and the completion of two gas wells in the nearby townsite of Morris provided Okmulgee with its first natural gas in 1906. For a time, drillers moving down from Glenn Pool incorrectly associated Okmulgee's geologic structures with Glenn Pool's formations,

and this heightened expectations. Okmulgee became a lease trading center for some of the shrewdest, fastest-acting traders in Oklahoma.[9] "If you can't trade a lease anywhere else, go to Okmulgee" was a common saying within the oil community.[10]

Like other towns touched by oil madness, Okmulgee was growing. Oil companies recruited local labor, and workers flocked into town looking for jobs. A room to sleep in was a luxury; cots in hallways or chairs in city hall were more typical accommodations. Bank deposits multiplied, and productive oil fields attracted energy-consuming industries. A refinery, a glass factory, a foundry, and two brick plants gave added impetus to growth. A new five-story hotel . . . crowned the booster spirit that gripped community leaders.[11] "All dwellers in barren lands," one writer suggested, "will find in this modern and undeveloped Eden a promising field for endeavor."[12]

Pine arrived in "Eden" early in 1909 and scouted for promising drilling sites with F. M. Robinson, Barnsdall's general manager for the district. They soon accumulated leases on 40,000 acres. Barnsdall tried to sell these to a French syndicate, failed, and decided to relinquish his control. Robinson and Pine, however, had faith in their judgement, persuaded some Okmulgee citizens to invest, and maintained the leases. Robinson went to France and succeeded where Barnsdall had failed. He sold all the leases for $750,000. Pine, who had arrived in Okmulgee with

$1,339.45, received $30,000 as his share of the transaction.

This deal terminated Pine's work for Barnsdall and enabled him to establish a more permanent relationship. Apparently he considered himself wealthy enough to marry, and Laura Hamilton's long wait ended. They were both thirty-four years old when they married in Naples, Illinois, on June 18, 1912, and established a home in Okmulgee.

Profits from the lease sale also enabled Pine to pursue other goals. He plunged into the mercurial world of the "wildcatter." After Pine traded the "Big Pasture" parcel for 155 acres in Rogers County, the first hole completed on the new property became a producer. By 1916 Pine had leased 20,000 acres and had brought in enough wells to produce 500 barrels of crude per day. A number of natural gas wells provided additional income. By 1924 he had approximately 115 wells, most of them located in Rogers, Muskogee, and Okmulgee counties, and production in the first quarter of 1924 amounted to 67,749 barrels. Pine attributed his success to a reliance on geology in choosing drilling sites. This differentiated him from other independents who used intuition, dowsing, and similar imprecise methods before more scientific techniques prevailed.[13]

Although favorable drilling conditions in Oklahoma frequently lowered costs, the search for oil could be difficult, and the use of geology did not immunize Pine against risk. Approximately 70 percent of the holes completed in Okmulgee County produced oil or gas, but the

Pine Pool, located northeast of Okmulgee and named after its discoverer, defied the averages and had numerous dry holes. In Seminole County Pine opened the Seminole City field in 1923 and abandoned a dry hole at 3,685 feet. Three years later in the same area the Indian Territory Illuminating Company drilled a well that came in with 1,100 barrels per day at 3,975 feet and started the development of one of the biggest finds in Oklahoma history.[14]

Although Pine remained an independent oil producer all his life, he developed financial and manufacturing interests that played an important part in Okmulgee's growth. The Central National Bank was the first of these. In 1917 Pine and several Okmulgee bankers formed the new bank under provisions of the National Bank Act. President D. M. Smith had been president of the Citizens National Bank, Vice President T. J. Baker had held the same office at the First National Bank, and Cashier H. E. Kennedy had occupied the same position at the Bank of Commerce. Pine was an inactive vice president and director. They capitalized the institution at $100,000 and increased its capitalization to $250,000 in 1920. Competing against three other banks and a fourth bank later, this rearrangement of the town's financial community succeeded. The bank paid an annual return of 10 percent on its shares until 1930, raised its deposits from $1,056,330 in 1919 to $4,368,440 in 1929, took over the assets of the First National Bank in 1924, and absorbed the American National Bank in 1929.[15]

Pine held a more prominent position in the Okmulgee Building and Loan Association. With Pine as president and Ridgeway Lawrence as secretary, it received a charter in 1918, but it was not an immediate success. After several years its assets were only 10 percent of its authorized capital, and its reserve fund was only .0018 percent of its liabilities. Perhaps Pine believed that the growth of the community would compensate for the financial weakness of the association.[16]

Two of Pine's investments took advantage of the abundant glass sand deposits and natural gas supplies that existed in Oklahoma. Incorporated as a stock company in 1919, the Southwestern Sheet Glass Company had an initial authorization to sell 2,000 shares of stock at a par value of $100. This increased to 3,500 shares at the same value in 1927. These offerings attracted investors from Virginia, Tennessee, New Hampshire, Missouri, Iowa, and Oklahoma. In the early 1920s Pine owned less than 100 shares and controlled the presidency, but he lost the position as other investors increased their holdings. He remained on the board of directors, however, and gained the vice-presidency by increasing his investment to 235 shares in 1927. H. O. Hemmick was president with 333 shares. In the same year Pine started the Pine Glass Corporation--the scramble for offices at Southwestern may have disgruntled him--and manufactured jars. Controlling this company was not a problem. He incorporated it with 3,000 shares at a par

value of $100 each, and his 500 shares made him president. Other members of the Pine family owned most of the remaining shares and served as company officers. For unknown reasons, however, Pine sold the company to the Ball Brothers Corporation in 1929.[17]

Pine owned majority interests in the Creek Hotel Company and the Sun Lumber Company, but these never equaled his involvement in concerns related to the petroleum industry. Approximately forty gasoline plants, making gasoline either from natural gas or by collecting "casinghead gas" from crude oil, operated in Okmulgee County. Pine was president of two of these operations, the Okmulgee Producers and Manufacturers Gas Company and the Producers Gasoline Company.[18]

The Burns Tool Company, another investment, provided equipment for the industry and evolved from a local oilman's invention. Joe Burns had helped establish Okmulgee's oil fields in 1908 by opening the Bald Hill Pool in northeastern Okmulgee County. Through his drilling experience, Burns developed and patented an improved temper screw for cable tool drilling. Many Oklahoma operators preferred cable tool drilling over rotary drilling and clung to the older method after rotary drilling had been perfected. This preference made Burns' patent more valuable.

In cable tool drilling heavy tools were attached to the lower end of a wire or hemp cable. Raising and dropping the

tools pulverized the earth and made the hole. The temper screw was a threaded bar inside a steel frame, and the lower end of the bar was clamped to the cable. The driller regulated the descent of the drilling tools by controlling the rate at which the screw passed through the bottom of the frame. Lowered too quickly, the drilling tools would not drop with full impact and could make a crooked hole. Lowered too slowly, they would not "make hole" rapidly. The Burns tubular temper screw made this operation more precise. A regulating device attached to the frame helped control the rate of descent, and another device prevented flexing of the junction where the bar passed through the bottom of the frame and made it easier to drill straight holes.[19]

Burns filed his patent on January 9, 1919 and received it on October 25, 1921, but Burns, Pine, and several other Okmulgee investors never waited for the patent grant. They incorporated the Burns Tool Company on January 22, 1919, and experienced difficulty in attracting capital. The company sold all but five of an initially authorized 1,000 shares at a par value of $100, but many investors cancelled their stock in 1921. With only 495 shares outstanding, the company tried selling stock to more out-of-state investors and issued another 1,000 shares. The company had only 1,347 shares outstanding by 1924, however, and these increased to just 1,348 in 1930. Burns was general manager and vice-president of the company and maintained a $5,000 investment. H. G. Weaver became a salaried general manager in 1921,

however, and a brother became vice-president in the late 1920s. Pine, as president and principal stockholder, provided much of the needed capital by increasing his initial investment of 100 shares to 605 shares by 1930, and this kept the company viable.

Pine's diverse business interests helped create a millionaire status that hinged on his success in the oil fields. Pine had beaten the odds against finding oil by using geology, and other factors were conducive to maintaining his financial position. Work consumed most of his time, and family relationships aided this preoccupation. He and Laura lived in an unimposing frame house, had his mother stay with them after his father's death in 1919, and attended the Methodist Episcopal Church. William Hamilton Pine, born in 1914, was their only child, and his upbringing was the only deviation from household simplicity. Pine insisted that his son travel and receive an education superior to his own. Laura assumed a traditional role as wife and mother and never made public comments about public affairs. This unglamorous lifestyle matched Pine's read-the-evening-newspaper, to-bed-by-nine-o'clock habits and quiet, "poker faced" personality.[21] Two of Pine's brothers stayed in Illinois, but both invested in his companies. Harry G. Pine farmed near Bluffs, and John M. Pine operated several businesses in Bluffs and Winchester. The two youngest brothers came to Oklahoma. Roswell D. Pine arrived first. Grant S. Pine tried farming near Bluffs

before moving to Okmulgee. Both learned the oil business and assisted in the management of their brother's affairs, but Roswell became Pine's principal manager. In business affairs, Roswell served as Pine's alter ego. Whatever Roswell ordered carried the weight of his brother's authority.[22]

Pine habitually studied a situation carefully before making an investment or policy decision and then stood by his decision. This enabled him to drive hard bargains that he litigated if necessary. Town officers in Beggs, Oklahoma, found this out. The Beggs Gas Company had agreed to purchase natural gas from Pine but negotiated a contract with an additional supplier. When the consumption of Pine's gas dropped, he disconnected his pipeline from the Beggs pipeline. As the winter of 1920-1921 approached and the town needed more gas, Pine demanded an advance deposit of $4,000 before he would reconnect his pipeline. His action forced the town to appeal to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission for a settlement of the dispute. The commission ordered Pine to supply Beggs with gas, but the Beggs Gas Company had to make the deposit.[23] Pine, using litigation to settle disputes and advance his views, appealed lower court and regulatory agency decisions to the Oklahoma Supreme Court nineteen times. Most of these cases involved problems associated with oil production and labor relations.[24]

Pine's treatment of disabled workers revealed his

concept of labor-management relations, and a case involving his brother helped formulate a pattern of ambivalent paternalism. Roswell D. Pine and G. N. Buzzard formed a partnership and drilled an oil well. W. M. Michaels had his foot catch in a caterpillar tractor tread while working for them. The accident crushed Michaels's foot and he lost all use of the foot. Roswell gave Michaels an easy job in Pine's equipment repair shop, but Michaels insisted on collecting compensation for the injury. Roswell fired him. Michaels appealed to the Oklahoma State Industrial Commission, and the commission ordered Roswell, who carried the risk of worker's compensation himself, to pay Michaels's compensation. Roswell asked the Oklahoma Supreme Court to reverse the decision and argued that Michaels's disability did not prevent him from earning a living and that the commission did not have the authority to make the award. Because Roswell and Buzzard had only two employees, the court ruled that the jurisdiction of the commission did not apply to the case.[25]

In a similar case a more complex pattern of responsibility evasion and cost cutting evolved. R. A. Mitchell was a roustabout on a Pine oil rig, and he had a long, six-by-eight inch beam fall on his head. Mitchell never recovered from the accident and suffered from dizziness and loss of coordination. When Mitchell became able to do light work, Roswell, with Pine's knowledge, gave Mitchell a job tending an oil well engine, but Roswell transferred him to

cutting weeds around Pine's buildings in Okmulgee. Tending the engine had been difficult for Mitchell and cutting weeds was impossible. He quit and asked the industrial commission for compensation. At the commission's investigative hearing, Pine's attorney suggested that Mitchell could work and tried to portray Mitchell as a malingerer. The commission disagreed and ordered Pine to pay Mitchell compensation. Pine appealed to the Oklahoma Supreme Court and argued that the commission did not have the authority to make the award and that the claim had not been filed within the required time period. The court disagreed.

The Pines handled both incidents the same. They paid for immediate medical expenses, continued to pay wages during a recovery period, and supplied a job afterwards, but refused to pay extended compensation. State law permitted an employer to assume the responsibility of employee compensation insurance and avoid the cost of paying premiums to a regular insurance carrier. The Pines also saved money by discouraging workers from filing claims. When Michaels and Mitchell's intentions to file became known, Roswell harassed them. In addition, both men were not immediately aware that they could collect compensation for disability, and the Pines took advantage of their ignorance.[26] Although wealth and commercial activities had made Pine a public figure, his use of the judicial system and attitudes towards labor did not attract public notice.

As an individual motivated by a strong work ethic and a desire for wealth, Pine possessed many of the characteristics needed to achieve success in a new state. Pine deferred the gratification of a marriage and an average job and pursued a self-imposed apprenticeship in the frontier experience. Pine's move from western Oklahoma to Okmulgee in 1909 had been fortuitous. His arrival coincided with the opening of the oil fields, and profits could be invested in local enterprises that had a potential for growth. The citizens of Okmulgee accepted Pine. They invested in his ventures, helped make these a success, and overlooked his unfavorable attitudes towards labor. The young man from Illinois achieved his goals and became the leading citizen of the town in the process.

Compared to a vast majority of Oklahomans, Pine's success was atypical. Most immigrants--whether native or foreign born, black or white, northerner or southerner--found the land inhospitable and the wages meager. Pine, however, was typical of the business elite that emerged in Oklahoma: midwestern in origin, Republican in politics, mobile in the pursuit of wealth, and main street booster in outlook.[27]

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CHAPTER II

OKLAHOMA POLITICS BEFORE 1924

Pine gained financial prominence in Okmulgee and his path to political popularity began in the same town. Jerry Rand edited the Okmulgee Times and served as secretary of the Republicans' county organization. In mid-1923 Rand began printing editorials that promoted Pine as a candidate for the United States Senate.[1] If Rand's editorials elicited a response from Pine, Pine's thoughts are unknown.

Pine was a private person and entered politics at a pace much slower than that which characterized his plunge into business. His presidency of the Okmulgee Chamber of Commerce was a natural position for the leading citizen of the town, but the concerns of independent oil producers introduced him to state politics. The discovery of the Cushing Field in 1912 and the Healdton Field in 1913 had glutted the Oklahoma oil market. Prices dropped within the state and across the nation as well. Large integrated companies owned wells, pipelines, and refineries and protected their investment by handling their own products first. By offering greatly reduced prices or by refusing to buy oil, the major companies placed oilmen like Pine in a difficult position.

The actions of the major companies and the drop in prices created considerable dissatisfaction among the independents. If they waited for prices to rise, many independents feared the larger companies would pump the oil out from under their leases, and they met this threat by producing as much crude as possible. Without proper storage facilities, they stockpiled this overproduction behind earthen dams placed across gulleys and in basins scooped out of the ground. Seepage, evaporation, and contamination caused much waste. Other independents accused the integrated companies of monopolistic practices and agitated for state-imposed regulation. Pine, as president of the Okmulgee Oil Producers Association, became a member of the advisory board that helped draft corrective legislation. In 1915 the Oklahoma legislature adopted oil and gas regulations that tied production to market demand and discouraged wasteful practices. In addition, the Oklahoma Corporation Commission received greater regulatory powers.[2]

Pine's second foray into politics involved the county commissioners of Okmulgee County. In 1916 the commission called for a referendum on an $800,000 bond issue that would be used to finance construction of hard-surfaced roads. The voters approved the bond issue in the November election, and the commission sold the bonds to the R. J. Edwards Company of Oklahoma City. A citizens' committee had investigated the best type of surfacing and had recommended that the county use either concrete or brick. The commissioners,

however, chose a patented asphaltic mixture and awarded the project to an out-of-state contractor.[3]

The county commission's action generated a great deal of criticism, and Pine joined the critics. He ran for county commissioner in 1918 and won a two-year term. More importantly, Pine financed a law suit that reached the Oklahoma Supreme Court. According to Pine, the commission had specified a particular type of road surface and had prevented other contractors from bidding on the project.[4] In classical economic terms Pine argued: "The officials whose duty it was to make the improvement should not be permitted to adopt plans and specifications which would create an illegal monopoly...."[5] The Oklahoma Supreme Court did not find this argument particularly appealing, but they concluded that questionable contractual arrangements invalidated the project.[6]

These experiences provided Pine with a limited exposure to Oklahoma politics. Pine's experience in business, however, did not prevent him from observing the turbulent political progression from territorial to state government and the forces that affected politics after statehood. All of these events eventually influenced Pine's political career.

In the territorial period the Republican party usually controlled Oklahoma Territory. The President of the United States appointed territorial governors, and all the presidents but one were Republican during this time. In most

years voters selected Republican delegates to the national congress and to both houses of the territorial legislature.[7] Factions within the party frequently bickered, however. Frank Frantz, the last territorial governor, forced a reduction in railroad rates, prevented oil companies from stealing school lands, and incurred the wrath of state party leaders as a consequence. As a portent of things to come, Frantz battled with the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, controlled by Democrats, over prohibition and racial segregation. All of these disputes worked to the advantage of the Democrats and helped defeat Frantz in the contest for the first governorship of Oklahoma.[8]

Statehood united Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory, and the squabbling Republicans could not match the better organized southern Democrats who came out of Indian Territory. The traditional party of the South had followers in other parts of the state and quickly captured most of the statewide offices, the legislature, and the congressional delegation to Washington. In presidential contests the Democrats delivered the state's electoral votes to William Jennings Bryan in 1908 and Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916. A Republican officeholder became a rarity in Oklahoma politics.

In 1920 the Grand Old Party reversed this trend. Oklahomans, like the rest of the nation, chose Warren G. Harding over James M. Cox for the presidency. They sent a Republican, John W. Harreld, to the United States Senate and

selected Republicans in five out of eight contests for the United States House of Representatives. Within the state, the Republicans placed a majority in the lower house of the legislature, won a seat on the corporation commission, and gained several judgeships.

The Democrats' support of the League of Nations, the drop in farm commodity prices after the war, and the popularity of Harding contributed to the victory. The Republicans' campaign organization, however, was instrumental in presenting the issues. Jake Hamon, oilman from Ardmore and GOP national committeeman, was an ally of Harry M. Daugherty, Harding's political crony and Attorney General of the United States after the election. Hamon helped nominate Harding and created an efficient state campaign organization. The Hamon-Daugherty friendship provided an incentive to campaign workers; the promise of patronage loomed in the future. After the election, neither Hamon nor patronage strengthened the party. Hamon's mistress shot and killed him. Fights over patronage created rifts in the party.[9]

The Democrats also had problems. From statehood through World War I, the Socialist party challenged them. Blending Marxist doctrine with fundamentalist Protestantism, Oklahoma Socialists developed a unique socialist gospel that appealed to farm tenants and small farm owners. These groups switched their traditionally Democratic votes to the Socialists and enabled the party to garner 8 percent of the

vote in the 1908 general election, 10 percent in 1910, 16 percent in 1912, 21 percent in 1914, and 15 percent in 1916. Increased demand for agricultural products raised prices during the war and soothed disgruntled farmers. In addition, many Socialists were pacifists, and the war inspired patriots to use a well-organized program of arrests and physical intimidation against the supposed Socialist threat.[10]

After the war, many of the same Oklahomans who had embraced Socialism became affiliated with another party of protest. Poor commodity prices and declining wages gave impetus to a coalition of the State Federation of Labor and the Farmers Union. They formed the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League and adopted a platform that called for public ownership of utilities and commodity warehouse facilities, a state bank, and progressive labor and tax legislation. Instead of forming a third party, the Reconstruction League decided to take over the Democratic party.

In 1922 the Reconstruction League backed John C. Walton for governor. Walton, a former mayor of Oklahoma City, had befriended labor in the past. He quickly gained the confidence of farmers by endorsing the League program and by criticizing the privileged classes. He defeated two traditional Democrats in the August primary and faced John Fields in the general election. Aligned with big business and banking, the Republican candidate tried to portray Walton as a radical communist but failed. The voters gave

Walton an overwhelming victory. After the election, the new governor mollified the fears of traditional Democrats and presented the legislature with a moderate legislative program, but Walton's penchant for rash actions and his struggle with the Ku Klux Klan ended his governorship.[11]

The Ku Klux Klan became an important factor in Oklahoma society after 1920. Revived in Georgia in 1915 as an imitation of the old Ku Klux Klan that flourished in the South during Reconstruction, the new Klan spread through many parts of the nation during the 1920s. Motives for joining this supposedly secret society varied. Some of its members may have viewed it as merely another fraternal organization with patriotic goals, but the Ku Klux Klan's activities appealed to the bigoted minds of nativists and racists. These neurotic sentiments were less important in southwestern states than they were in other areas. In Oklahoma the perception that social change had disrupted traditional values provided the motivation for the Klan to establish and ruthlessly enforce moral standards.[12]

In the first months of Walton's administration he maintained favorable relations with the Reconstruction League and the Ku Klux Klan, but he soon angered both groups. The Governor became a member of the Klan and appointed Klansmen to state offices, but the League complained about not receiving its share of appointments. Walton, trying to satisfy the League, appointed George Wilson as president of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Wilson was

unqualified for the post, and a variety of groups criticized his appointment. Walton, responding to the critics, removed Wilson and alienated the Reconstruction League. The Governor lost his basis of political power, and his incompetency, plus graft and abuses of pardons which were common, made him vulnerable to attacks from an increasingly hostile legislature.[13]

The problems created by the Wilson affair did not compare to the turmoil created by Walton's "war" with the Ku Klux Klan. In 1922 the Klan's membership reached 70,000 in Oklahoma, and a wave of terrorism, probably greater than in any other state, swept across Oklahoma. As the Governor's administration deteriorated, his opposition to the Klan became an issue that he might use to regain popularity,[14] but Walton became paranoid about the Klan's power. Before his "war" ended, the Governer concluded that the President of the United States and the members of the President's cabinet were Klan members.[15]

Walton opened his campaign against the Klan in one of its strongholds, Pine's home county. Deputies from the Okmulgee County sheriff's office had abused their power. One deputy arrested a Methodist minister outside Okmulgee and held him incommunicado. The officer thought the minister was an escaped prisoner from Wyoming and refused to believe that the minister came to Okmulgee to deliver a lecture to a local church. Two other deputies stopped a car with two young, unmarried couples in it. Although the young

people had good reputations, the deputies fired shots at the car and severely beat both of the men. Near the village of Dewar, an officer searching for bootleggers shot and killed a black man who ran when he approached. Sober and unarmed, the victim had not been transporting liquor.[16]

Some of the county's residents feared violence would spread and petitioned Walton for help. J. C. Curry, pastor of the Methodist Church in Okmulgee, James Storment, Chief of Police in Henryetta, and W. L. Sullivan, an automobile dealer in Okmulgee, sent the Governor a statement that claimed: "Serious riots may occur in which the lives of our citizens may be sacrificed. It is our opinion that the sheriff's office has been indifferent to the situation and that no relief can be expected from that source."[17]

The Governor declared martial law over Okmulgee County on June 26, 1923 and stationed Oklahoma National Guard troops in the towns. Walton blustered: "Local officials are too often allied with these secret, lawless mobs and I have gotten no results. I am determined to get results."[18] Under the direction of Adjutant General Baird H. Markham, a military court of inquiry did not find evidence of Klan lawlessness or need for military occupation. Walton withdrew the troops on June 29, but a small contingent stayed in Henryetta until the governor and county officials reached an "understanding" on July 12. The Okmulgee venture drew much criticism from the press.[19]

During the occupation of Okmulgee County, the Klan had

not been mentioned publicly by Walton, but his response to an incident in Tulsa created an open fight with the Klan. On August 9 six unmasked men kidnapped Nathan Hantaman on a Tulsa street, transported him outside town, severely whipped him and crushed his genitals. Hantaman, a Jew, had been questioned by the police about bootlegging and narcotics peddling just before his abduction, and this seemed to suggest collusion between law officers and the Klan. Walton threatened to place Tulsa under martial law if the police did not arrest Hantaman's abductors within three days. The police did not find them, and the Governor declared martial law.

The National Guard moved into Tulsa and established a military court of inquiry. Although the court found three Klansmen guilty of illegal whippings, local authorities and citizens did not cooperate with the military. After another flogging incident, Walton tightened martial law restrictions and suspended habeas corpus in violation of the state constitution.

These excesses compounded the problems created by the Governor's inept handling of state affairs. An Oklahoma City grand jury investigation threatened to expose Walton's administration, and the Governor blocked the inquiry by placing the entire state under military rule and Oklahoma County under complete martial law. Members of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, by now eager to investigate if not impeach Walton, tried to convene a special legislative

session themselves, but the National Guard kept them out of the Capitol. In a special election on October 2, Oklahoma's citizens approved an initiated amendment to the constitution and allowed the legislature to convene without Walton's approval.

Unable to keep the legislature from convening, Walton tried to put the legislators on the defensive and called for a special session to consider anti-Klan legislation. The lawmakers ignored Klan legislation, and the House of Representatives approved twenty-two articles of impeachment against the Governor. The Oklahoma Senate started Walton's trial on November 1, but when he could not turn the proceedings into an investigation of the Klan, he walked out of the senate chambers. With Walton absent, on November 19 the senate voted to convict him on eleven charges ranging from general incompetency to padding payrolls.[20]

Although Walton had been impeached and convicted on charges unrelated to the Klan, he claimed the Oklahoma Senate made a bargain with the Klan before the trial and ignored the 50,000 vote majority that elected him. The Governor had portrayed his fight with the Klan as a crusade, and after his conviction he considered himself a martyr. Walton, who had announced his intention to seek the 1924 United States senatorial nomination before the Tulsa incident, thought the foes of the Klan and the farmers in the southern part of the state would reward their martyr with votes. Walton would make the Klan an issue in the 1924

political campaigns, and neither the Democratic party nor the Republican party could evade the issue.[21]

Unlike the Democrats, Oklahoma's Republicans had not become contaminated by the Ku Klux Klan during Walton's "war." In the spring of 1923 Edwin De Barr, a Democrat and a University of Oklahoma professor, vacated the highest Klan post in Oklahoma, and N. Clay Jewett became Grand Dragon. Jewett, a Republican and an Oklahoma City businessman, had vigorously opposed Walton on a nonpartisan basis. Apparently, Jewett's political affiliation did not cause concern during the period, but he eventually became involved in partisan affairs during 1924.[22]

Unfounded speculation about Republican meddling in the impeachment held a greater potential for connecting the party with the Klan. Democratic leaders claimed that James A. (Big Jim) Harris, who had succeeded Hamon as national committeeman, tried to convince legislators to vote against Walton's impeachment. If this had been true, it would have indicated that Harris and the party did not place the welfare of the state ahead of an opportunity to prolong dissension within the Democratic party. Harris quickly disavowed that any such plotting ever had existed. Another rumor, circulated by a Democrat, insinuated that President Calvin Coolidge had lobbied the Republican state legislators to vote for Walton's impeachment and thereby implicated the president in the Klan's fight against the Governor. C. Bascom Slemp, the President's secretary and chief political manipulator, quashed the rumor with a terse denial.[23]

Veteran political observers believed that factionalism was the greatest barrier the Oklahoma GOP had to overcome, and if party unity could be maintained, Pine's candidacy would benefit the most. According to Pine's boosters, a Democrat could not win the senate race, and they portrayed Pine as a loyal party worker: "He belongs to no faction; having always been known as an Organization Party man."[24] Pine's friends were optimistic about his chances, but Pine, in his usual cautious manner, had to study the situation and determine if it was his public duty to enter the contest.[25] Pine's caution was prudent. Factionalism and the Klan issue convoluted the scene, or as one seasoned politician observed: "There has been so much double-crossing and so much lying about things that it is hard for a man to know where his real friends are."[26]

Much of this factious condition had been caused by Big Jim Harris. Senator Harreld wanted to influence the dispensing of patronage, but Harris, who had senatorial aspirations of his own, feuded with the Senator rather than cooperate with him. In addition, Harris was unpopular with the Coolidge administration. Apparently he had not supported Coolidge's plans to gain the presidential nomination, and the administration chose a different Oklahoman to serve on a national ways and means committee that would develop campaign strategy. Harris's position as national committeeman became an empty title.[27]

As 1923 drew to a close, it became evident that filling

a vacancy in the federal judiciary for the eastern district of Oklahoma would determine the extent of Klan influence and test the power of the party leaders. Harreld wanted the position for John B. Meserve, a Tulsa attorney, but Harris organized a group of prominent Republicans in opposition.[28] Coolidge, who had his own candidate, brought Senator James E. Watson of Indiana into the deliberations. Watson owed a political debt to Bird S. McGuire, a Tulsa lawyer and a former United States Representative; with Watson's aid McGuire convinced Coolidge and Harreld to accept Franklin E. Kennamer as a compromise. Kennamer, a Republican judge on the Oklahoma Supreme Court, also had the support of an anti-Klan Democrat from Alabama, Senator Oscar W. Underwood. Harris could not control the selection and frantically resorted to telegraphing the President's secretary for information about prospective appointees.[29]

Kennamer's appointment preserved party unity, but more importantly, he was not a Klan member. Coolidge's advisers wanted to carry Oklahoma in the 1924 elections, and they intended to keep the Ku Klux Klan from becoming an issue.[30] Although Kennamer's selection did not become official until February of 1924, it signaled the decreasing influence of Harris and the increasing importance of Harreld in party affairs. This was an important development for Pine; it diminished Harris's ability to challenge Pine's candidacy.

While other politicians struggled with the Ku Klux Klan and maneuvered to appoint a federal judge, Pine had been

busy organizing support for his candidacy. Okmulgee County Republicans avidly promoted their favorite son, and Harwood Keaton of Okmulgee served as campaign manager. More importantly, a number of important Republicans indicated a preference for Pine. Ed Arnold of Holdenville and Dave Malarnee of Walters had been associates of Jake Hamon. J. W. Kayser of Chickasha was an enemy of Big Jim Harris, and Irving Page of Watonga had campaigned for state treasurer in 1922.[30] Victor Locke, a major recipient and dispenser of patronage as Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, suggested: "I think Pine is the man for the place. I see a swing in his favor. He has never been mixed up in politics before and that much is certain in favor of him."[31]

Either Pine failed to reveal his motives for seeking the senatorial nomination or his reasons never passed into the existent record. Considering the unsavory tenor of the period, it was unusual for this quiet and reserved man to make such an effort. It was possible, however, that his background and the political circumstances of the times influenced him.

Okmulgee's civic leaders had invited Governor Walton to suppress Ku Klux Klan violence, but the dubious assistance Okmulgee received resulted in notoriety. Walton insulted local officials and contrived to enhance his image. The incident ran contrary to Republican notions of proper government. Coolidge's high-minded affirmation of the primacy of public safety while he suppressed the Boston

police strike in 1919 and Harding's familiar nostrum concerning "normalcy" in government gauged Republican impulses. If the incentives of lofty precepts were inadequate inducement, the squabbling within the Democratic party provided the rare opportunity for a Republican candidate to crack the ranks of the majority party.

Pine's friends in Okmulgee undoubtedly foresaw that a Republican might win, and they flattered their favorite son. It was unlikely, given Pine's independent nature, that such talk was an adequate inducement. His reference to public duty probably indicated the reason for his decision. Pine had exhibited traits--thrift, industry, perseverance, self-denial--consistent with his small-town Illinois education and Protestant religion, and within this context duty motivated the virtuous citizen to participate in American government. Pine also had displayed tendencies as a seeker of the main chance, and any temptation to seize public office matched the favorable circumstances that existed in Oklahoma.

ENDNOTES

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[5]Ibid.

[6]Pine et al. v. Baker et al. 76 Okl 62 (1919).

[7]LeRoy H. Fischer, "Oklahoma Territory, 1890-1907," in Territorial Governors of Oklahoma, ed. LeRoy H. Fischer (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1975), p. 8.

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[14]Alexander, pp. 53-60, 139.

[15]John C. Walton interview, April 10, 1937, cited in Clarence C. Wyatt, "The Impeachment of J. C. 'Jack' Walton" (M.A. thesis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1937), p. 2.

[16]Tulsa Tribune, June 27, 1923, p. 8.

[17]Ibid., p. 1.

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[21]Ibid., p. 177; Wyatt, pp. 5-6; Daily Oklahoman, December 1, 1923, p. 1.

[22]Alexander, p. 134.

[23]Harlow's Weekly, November 3, 1923, p. 4.

[24]Jerry Rand to Franklin E. Kennamer, August 24, 1923, Franklin E. Kennamer Correspondence, Records of the Clerk of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, Oklahoma State Archives.

[25]Rex F. Harlow, "Okmulgee Man Urged to Run for Senate," Harlow's Weekly, August 18, 1923, p. 7.

[26]Bird S. McGuire to Franklin E. Kennamer, February 2, 1924, Franklin E. Kennamer Correspondence.

[27]Harlow's Weekly, November 3, 1923, p. 5.

[28]Ibid., February 2, 1924, p. 11.

[29]C. B. Kennamer to Franklin E. Kennamer, January 21, 1924, James E. Watson to Bird S. McGuire, January 29, 1924, Bird S. McGuire to Franklin E. Kennamer, February 2, 1924, Franklin E. Kennamer Correspondence; James A. Harris to C. Bascom Slemp, January 4, 1924, James A. Harris Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[30]Harry M. Daugherty to James A. Harris, January 9, 1924, James A. Harris Collection.

[31]Harlow's Weekly, December 29, 1923, pp. 10-11.

[32]Ibid., January 19, 1924, p. 6.

CHAPTER III

CAMPAIGN OF 1924

The Skirvin Hotel punctuated the Oklahoma City skyline. Constructed between 1904 and 1911 by William Balser Skirvin, a Texas oilman from the famous Spindletop Field, the hotel was a crossroads of southwestern society. An uncarpeted lobby welcomed an oilman's greasy boots, and travelling businessmen mingled with visiting ranchers. Oklahoma's politicos also used the hotel's facilities, and Skirvin, a Republican, enhanced the smoke-filled-room atmosphere by donating a room to the Republican party for their state offices.[1] When William B. Pine selected a location for his campaign headquarters, he chose the Skirvin Hotel and its traditional association with Oklahoma politics. In mid-March of 1924 Pine opened his offices, situated in a suite on the third floor, and signaled his earnest intentions as the first concrete candidate in the senatorial campaign.[2]

The 1924 campaign season promised to be interesting. President Warren G. Harding had died in August of 1923 and had left behind a legacy of sordid scandals. Calvin Coolidge adroitly severed this inheritance from his administration and made plans to earn the presidency at the ballot box. A general national prosperity aided his quest, and

people tended to become weary with the corruption issue.[3] In Oklahoma the controversy generated by Governor John C. Walton's impeachment and the Ku Klux Klan's involvement in state affairs gave the denigration of government a local flavor. Oklahomans were less prosperous than other Americans, and it was unlikely that aspiring candidates would allow Oklahomans to forget about Walton or the Klan. The Republicans had not retained the gains made in 1920, and it was unknown how the issues of scandal, Walton, and the Klan might effect Republican candidates.

Victor Locke's suggestion that Pine's inexperience in politics gave him an advantage contained a certain amount of wisdom. He regularly had supported the Republican party, but none of the political passions of the times stained him. His profession and wealth matched the general admiration for commerce. Pine tried to use the negative image of politics and the positive assumptions about business for his benefit.[4] In a letter sent to prospective voters, he asserted that government was the greatest business of the nation and its people, and his success in commerce could be applied to government. Implying that business standards surpassed political standards, Pine asked: "Do you want a real business man to represent you and handle your governmental business affairs?"[5]

A week after sending out the campaign letter, Pine elaborated on this theme in an advertisement placed in the March 22 issue of Harlow's Weekly, Oklahoma's leading magazine of political news and gossip. This appeal,

designed to appear as if it were a standard periodical article and entitled "Pine Rapidly Gaining in Senate Race," extolled the virtues of the "poor" farm boy who had become successful and explained: "Mr. Pine is not a politician--he is just a big, successful business man who has been prevailed upon by his many friends and admirers to make the race for the United States senate." The candidate had "sterling qualities," and furthermore: "If ever need for this type of man has existed in the history of our country it exists today, when politics reeks with the instability and inefficiency of so many of our public officials."[6] Pine emphasized integrity, but he did not establish it as an issue for debate by questioning the honesty of other candidates.

The advertisement tried to turn the Okmulgee oilman's weaknesses into assets. Just as inexperience in government could be compensated for by claims of business acumen, the same twist in logic applied to his personality. The campaign pitch noted: "Mr. Pine is not a handshaker, and he doesn't indulge in light pleasantry." Voters would have to realize: "It takes some time for the quiet, unassuming man to impress himself upon large numbers of people." Pine's retiring personality supposedly resulted from his career: "He has worked too hard and has been too much a part of the realities of existence to indulge in pastimes." Despite Pine's inexperience and personality, however, his friends predicted: "He will sweep everything out of his path."[7]

The style of this early campaign rhetoric may have been the work of J. Ed Dyche. Hired by Pine in early March, Dyche replaced Harwood Keaton as campaign manager and brought a wealth of political experience to Pine's organization. Dyche, born in Missouri, had taught school in Kansas before becoming an Oklahoma City insurance salesman. In 1920 he worked for Hamon and managed the Republicans' speakers bureau for Oklahoma. As a reward for his efforts, he obtained, through the influence of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, an appointment as warden of the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. Dyche held the position from July 1, 1921 to October 31, 1923.

Political observers considered Dyche to be the best campaign manager available in Oklahoma. Hiring him benefited Pine. He might attract former Hamon supporters and J. J. McGraw, an influential Tulsa banker and a brother to the president of the powerful Gypsy Oil Company, to Pine's cause.[8] Dyche's ineptness as a prison administrator, however, held the potential to discredit Pine.

Dyche became a minor figure in the senatorial investigations of the Harding administration. A senate committee on public lands and surveys had started probing the Teapot Dome affair in October 1923, and the inquiry soon implicated Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall and Secretary of the Navy Edwin N. Denby in an illegal lease of naval oil reserves to oilmen Edward L. Doheny and Harry F. Sinclair during 1922. Attorney General Daugherty had approved the

leases, and an investigating committee started examining his record in March 1924. Daugherty, after President Calvin Coolidge stopped backing him, resigned on March 28, but the investigation of Daugherty and the Justice Department continued.[9]

The Justice Department managed federal prisons, and the smuggling of narcotics to inmates of the Atlanta prison during Dyche's tenure interested the committee. Summoned to Washington in early April, Dyche testified that he had tried to investigate the drug traffic, but Superintendent of Prisons Heber H. Votaw, his superior and Harding's brother-in-law, had ordered him to stop and transferred him to Kansas City as a probation officer. Dyche alleged that Votaw's action "dumbfounded" him.[10]

Dyche's claims tended to embarrass Daugherty and Votaw, but he did not reveal the true story. The warden frequently disagreed with and ignored his superiors, and a department investigator concluded: "Mr. Dyche is temperamentally unsuited and unequipped by education or experience to handle the kind of problems that the administration of such a large penal institution presents." In addition, he had not kept the prison within its budget, he had $900 missing from his accounts, and he had allowed an inmate to drive a group of people on a pleasure trip into another state. The investigator observed: "For this last he could be indicted."[11] Votaw wrote Daugherty and complained: "The plainest instructions are either ignored or there is an attempt to

shift all blame from himself to someone else." Votaw also warned: "The longer it is allowed to go on, the stronger is the probability that unpleasant publicity is likely to be given."[12]

Dyche threatened to use political influence to keep his job, and after Daugherty agreed to remove him, Votaw cautioned: "He has left the impression that he can control the Oklahoma delegation. You will know what weight to give to these things."[13] Dyche's threats were ineffectual, and fortunately for Pine, his unsatisfactory record as warden did not become public knowledge. The poor control of prisoners had been a major issue in Walton's impeachment, and permitting an inmate to chauffeur a private car could have been an explosive political topic in Oklahoma.

In an election year and particularly in a presidential election year, control of the party's formal organization or at least the establishment of a cordial working relationship with its leaders becomes an important test of a candidate's viability. For Oklahoma's Republicans, a gathering of state committee members in Oklahoma City started this process and officially opened the Republican campaign effort. At a banquet in the Masonic Temple on the evening of February 22, Harris, after reading Coolidge's message of best wishes to the Oklahoma GOP, used this forum to announce his candidacy for the senate nomination. Pine addressed the group, stated that the nominee should be able to win the fall election, and reminded them: "We must command the respect of both

parties."[14] The next day the state committee decided to endorse Coolidge for president and tied the party to the president's fortunes.

The Coolidge endorsement was expected, and on the same day another anticipated announcement gave the Republican campaign kickoff added importance. Since the middle of 1923 Senator Robert L. Owen, a Muskogee Democrat and a senator since 1907, had been indicating that he would not seek re-election in 1924. Owen confirmed his intentions in a letter to Governor Martin E. Trapp and cleared the way for a wide-open race for the vacancy.[15]

The state convention on April 23 was the next major Republican event, and its members would select delegates for the national convention in Cleveland, Ohio, and elect new state officers. Influencing these elections was equally important to Pine, Harris, and Senator John W. Harreld. While Dyche managed campaign details, Pine prepared for the convention by quietly visiting every county in the state and talking to local party leaders--getting acquainted rather than making speeches. Harreld and Harris publicly maneuvered for control of the party. Harris endorsed I. G. Disney of Muskogee for state chairman and William G. Skelly of Tulsa for national committeeman. Skelly was acceptable to Harreld, and he probably was Harreld's first choice, but the Senator wanted A. C. Alexander of Oklahoma City for state chairman. By the eve of the convention, it became apparent that they would not compromise.

The outcome of the Harris-Harreld feud partly depended upon the positions adopted by Pine and Skelly. Skelly's supporters had been busy denying rumors that he had been financing the Harris campaign, but Pine and Hugh Scott, another senate aspirant, were suspicious of the Tulsa oilman's motives. The day before the convention, Skelly announced that he favored Harris for the senate nomination, but after Pine and Scott indicated their dissatisfaction with the endorsement, Skelly abandoned Harris and salvaged his opportunity to become national committeeman.[16]

The usual bombastic keynoter speeches opened the convention on the morning of April 23, and it was evident that Pine's campaign tactics had worked. A majority of the delegates were either pledged to Pine or at least friendly toward him, and many of them wore "Pine for Senator" badges--a distinction no other candidate could claim.[17] In the afternoon session Harris strode to the podium during the reading of the resolutions committee's report and challenged Harreld's power by offering an amendment to the report that read: "No federal office holder shall be eligible to hold any office in the Republican state committee." Acceptance of this seemingly innocent proposal would have been a major victory over Harreld, but the delegates overwhelmingly voted to table the amendment.[18]

Harris, after being defeated by a Harreld-Pine coalition, briefly addressed the assembly and explained: "I chose to oppose J. W. Harreld, therefore the roller did not

hurt me." He also revealed that he had known since November that the Senator wanted to replace him with Skelly, but Harris shocked the audience when he stated: "I am hereby, with the best of feeling to all men and women of the party, withdrawing as a candidate for the office of United States senator and withdrawing from active political effort."[19] After a sidelong glance at Harreld, the major obstacle to Pine's nomination and Harreld's control of the party stalked out of the auditorium.

The remainder of the proceedings were anticlimactic. Without a dissenting vote, the convention approved Harreld's candidates for party offices. Alexander became state chairman and Skelly became national committeeman. As expected, the convention sent a slate of Coolidge delegates to the national convention. Roscoe Dungee, editor of the Oklahoma City Black Dispatch and influential spokesman for Oklahoma's black community, had asked Harreld to send a black to the national convention. When the Senator refused, Pine seized the opportunity to gain Dungee's support and backed M. A. Wade of Okmulgee as an alternate delegate. Wade became the first black delegate to a national Republican convention in state history. By cooperating with Harreld and helping to defeat Harris, Pine emerged from the convention as the strongest Republican candidate for the senatorial nomination.[20]

After the state convention, the Republican primary campaign was a relatively quiet contest dominated by Pine.

John G. Lieber, B. J. Gingham, and C. B. Leedy were minor and largely ignored candidates. Hugh Scott, superintendent of a Muskogee veterans hospital, attracted some interest, but he lacked money for advertising and could not establish a statewide organization.[21] Four disabled World War I veterans, voluntarily touring the state in an old Ford, were Scott's most effective campaigners. They spoke about Scott's interest in common people, and the group's spokesman, referring to Pine, claimed: "The average voter doesn't want a man who is just a millionaire to have a place in the senate."[22]

Eugene Lorton was a more formidable opponent. Before purchasing an interest the the Tulsa Daily World in 1911 and obtaining complete ownership of it in 1917, Lorton had progressed from publishing weekly newspapers in Kansas and Idaho to editing a daily paper in Washington and founding the Walla Walla Daily Bulletin.[23] The World was the third largest newspaper in Oklahoma, and Lorton had used it to oppose the Ku Klux Klan. He also introduced the Klan issue into the Republican primary contest.

With the help of Harris and J. J. McGraw, whom Dyche had not delivered into the Pine camp after all, Lorton mounted an anti-Klan campaign. In an endeavor to attract traditional Republican voters and German ethnic groups in particular, he campaigned in and sent special issues of the World into western and northwestern Oklahoma with the message that Pine and Scott were Klansmen. Lorton also attempted to compensate for not having a statewide campaign

apparatus by emphasizing that he, unlike Pine, would not have a state headquarters or a special manager. Lorton, however, had made too many enemies to win; the Ku Klux Klan and other influential groups opposed him. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, offended by World editorials against prohibition, labeled Lorton as "wet as the Atlantic Ocean." The Federationist, and offical labor union publication, advocated voting for Pine because Lorton had been antagonistic towards labor. More importantly, the Republican establishment in Tulsa County repudiated Lorton.[24]

Pine ignored Lorton's accusations and proceeded with a dull but methodical campaign. Railroad rates were a favorite though uninspiring topic for his speeches. He liked to point out that Texas farmers, who frequently were farther from Gulf ports than Oklahoma farmers, earned more from their crops by paying lower shipping charges and that the same discriminatory rate structure applied to manufactured products. Pine promised to work for a readjustment of railroad rates and thereby improve Oklahoma's agricultural and manufacturing industries. Pine also repeated one phrase enough times for it to become a slogan: "More business in politics and less politics in business." Favoring a continuation of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and a stricter enforcement of the Volstead Act won the hearts of prohibitionists, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union undoubtedly rejoiced when Pine's campaign literature

pledged: "Mr. Pine has never known the taste of liquor." The press favorably compared his reticence with Coolidge's taciturn image, and the comparison complemented Pine's billing as the "Original Coolidge Man."[25]

Two weeks before the election, Dyche confidently predicted victory for Pine. Scott and Lorton's opposition had been modest, and Dyche explained: "Neither has an organization that can compare with ours. We have built up an entirely new organization."[26] Dyche's prognostication held true; 107,847 Republicans went to the polls on August 5, and 60,129(55.75%) of them voted for Pine. Lorton managed to collect only 25,374(22.6%) ballots and Scott received 14,345(13.3%). Leedy with 3,273(3.04%), Bingham with 3,153(2.92%), and Lieber with 2,573(2.39%) maintained their obscure status.[27] The reaction of an old rival registered the impact of Pine's overwhelming success on the Republican party. Big Jim Harris, who had declared that he was through with politics at the state convention but had worked for Lorton in the primary, appeared at the meeting of the state committee and announced with the flair of the consummate politician: "I'm on the trail of the lonesome Pine."[28]

Perhaps Harris's sudden turnabout partly stemmed from the disruption of the Democratic party in Oklahoma and on the national level. Except for a minor skirmish with a progressive faction and some difficulty in selecting a vice-presidential nominee, the Republican national convention in Cleveland had been an efficient, businesslike, June affair

that nominated Coolidge for president and approved his platform. In contrast, the Democrats committed political suicide in New York City's Madison Square Garden.

The first convention broadcast in its entirety over radio opened on June 24 and lasted sixteen historic days. A resolution substituting a platform plank denouncing the Klan for a plank upholding religious liberty started the brawl. Senator Owen spoke against the resolution, and the Oklahoma delegation followed his lead and helped prevent a condemnation of the Klan. Although no fisticuffs erupted during the nomination process as they had during the Klan debate, choosing a presidential nominee was equally factious. Each of the leading contenders represented excesses that a majority of the delegates could not accept. Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York was too wet, too Catholic, and too Tammany. William G. McAdoo of California, Secretary of the Treasury under President Woodrow Wilson, suffered from identification with the drys, the Klan, and the oil scandals. As the seemingly endless balloting continued, Oklahoma's delegation alternately gave its votes to McAdoo and took them away again. Hopelessly deadlocked, the convention chose a compromise nominee, John W. Davis of West Virginia, on the 103rd ballot.[29]

Back home in Oklahoma, the Democrats experienced another divisive contest. As expected, Walton sought the senate nomination on an anti-Klan platform. He plunged into the campaign with the zeal of a martyr seeking vindication,

and if the Invisible Empire wanted to stop him, it would have to back one of his opponents. Neither S. P. Freeling, a state legislator, nor Thomas P. Gore, a former United States Senator defeated in the 1920 primary, met Klan standards. E. B. Howard, a United States Representative from Tulsa and an admitted Klansman, was a logical choice, and Klan leaders approved him while Grand Dragon N. Clay Jewett was out of the state. When Jewett returned, he revoked their endorsement, but several days before the election the Fiery Cross, the official Klan newspaper, urged its readers to vote for Charles J. Wrightsman, a Tulsa oilman and Reconstruction League favorite. On election eve, Jewett sent a telegram to every local Klan and ordered their members to vote for Howard.[30]

These conflicting endorsements crippled the Klan's ability to defeat Walton, and the former governor won the nomination with 91,510(30.7%) votes. The final Klan endorsee, Howard, received 83,922(28.1%), and Gore with 56,249(18.9%) finished ahead of the other Klan candidate, Wrightsman, who obtained 51,291(17.1%). Freeling was last in the balloting with 15,384(5.2%).[31] Jewett received much of the blame for Walton's victory, but the Grand Dragon denied that he had attempted to provide his fellow Republican with an easy opponent by deliberately issuing conflicting endorsements. The accusations against Jewett compounded an increasing tendency towards factionalism within the Klan, but opposition to Walton helped maintain unity within the Invisible Empire.[32]

Unlike the Ku Klux Klan, the Democratic party would have to make a more complex decision. It would have to determine whether it would accept, ignore, or oppose Walton. Four days after the primary the Democratic state central committee met and adopted the party's national platform, but it could not agree on a state platform. The committee rejected an attempt to bring the Klan issue to a decisive vote, but it accepted Walton by, as a reporter noted: "Holding its nose, shutting the eyes and making one big gulp of the bad medicine."[33]

"Bad medicine" was more than many Democratic politicians could accept, and they usually gave only token support to Walton if they gave any support at all. When the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, Charles W. Bryan, visited the state, he did not mention Walton in his speeches, and neither Walton nor his campaign manager, Ben Layfette, toured with Bryan's entourage.[34] Senator Owen went beyond shunning Walton and denounced him. Owen considered his support of Walton in 1922 a mistake, and he announced:

> I should regard his election as an irreparable injury to the Democratic party in Oklahoma and a great stain on the good name of this state. I shall not only strike Walton's name from my ballot but I shall endeavor to make my disapproval of him as effective as possible by voting for his leading opponent in the campaign. Anybody is better than Walton.[35]

In addition, the forming of the Anti-Walton Democratic Club, headquartered in Oklahoma City with thirty-nine chapters

across the state, dealt Walton another setback. The club worked to elect every Democratic candidate except Walton.[36]

Members of the Republican state committee, meeting in Oklahoma City on August 15, did not have any qualms about endorsing the winners of their primary. They dodged the Klan issue, and Senator Harreld urged: "Klanism or any other ism be kept in the background in the republican campaign."[37] During an evening rally at Belle Isle Park, Pine did not mention the Ku Klux Klan and stressed instead that personal qualifications rather than party lines were more important in the campaign, and he hoped Oklahomans would not hold his wealth against him. As an assurance that he would not abandon Republican tenets, he pledged: "I stand square on the Cleveland platform."[38]

Even though Walton's party had abandoned him and Lorton's anti-Klan tactics had not worked in the primary, the combination of Walton's effectiveness as a campaigner and his fanaticism about the Ku Klux Klan made him a greater threat than Lorton. Two days after the primary Pine tried to blunt the charges that Walton surely would make and issued a statement that argued:

> I have been endorsed by the W.C.T.U. organizations and several Lions clubs. I understand certain Klans have advocated my candidacy. Yet I am never referred to as the Lion's candidate. I am no more a Klan candidate than I am a W.C.T.U. candidate.[39]

Pine's statement did not end speculation about his relationship with the Klan, but Roscoe Dungee rushed to Pine's defense. Only "loud mouthed, lavish lung artists"

predicted a victory for Walton, and Dungee editorialized: "Many prominent Catholics in Pine's home city, Okmulgee, were heading his campaign and he had the full and complete endorsement of all the Negroes of the city who ought to have known had such a fraternal relationship existed."[40]

Unfortunately for Pine, Governor Trapp's comments attracted more attention than Dungee's remarks had received. Walton's "war" with the Klan had drawn the attention of the national press, and his senate campaign revived a comparable interest. A correspondent for the New York Times interviewed Trapp, and the Governor asserted that Dyche and Jewett had plotted to secure the nominaton for Walton. According to Trapp, Dyche had believed that Walton would be a weaker opponent for Pine than either Howard or Wrightsman, and the Klan's confusing primary endorsements had been inspired by Dyche. He also complained: "Every Dragon in this part of the country is a Republican, and those Klansmen who profess allegiance to the Democratic Party are receiving orders from these Republicans and obeying them, too."[41] As if to confirm Trapp's conspiracy theory, the New York Times also carried a story from the Fiery Cross that quoted Senator Harreld as saying: "Let's welcome a man into the Republican Party, whether he belongs to the Klan or whether he does not. What do we care about that anyway?"[42]

As Trapp's insinuations gained publicity, the sweltering heat of an Oklahoma August precluded extensive campaigning, and the Republicans spent the time developing

strategy. Pine's uninspiring style worried party leaders, and they believed he should attack Walton's record as mayor and governor and place him on the defensive. The party's politicos also thought that more Oklahomans were neutral on the Ku Klux Klan than a combination of those who favored or fought the Klan; Pine should direct his appeals at the undecided majority.[43]

Pine began the fall campaign with a trek through the western half of Oklahoma, and a speech in Piedmont launched the trip on September 10. Written at a special conference of party leaders, Pine's address nullified Walton's accusations and appealed to neutral sentiments.[44] Pine insisted that he was campaigning for "the honor and good name of Oklahoma" and that the main issue was "morals rather than politics." He characterized Walton as "an impeached and discredited ex-governor at whose door is laid charges of the vilest conduct and grossest corruption in office." After reiterating that he was neither an anti-Klan nor a Klan candidate, Pine promised: "I have made no promises or obligations to any individual or organization, and shall make none...."[45]

The bulk of the speech, however, consisted of an extraordinary attack on the Ku Klux Klan.

> No man or set of men may assume to administer punishment, or violate the rights of person or property without legal sanction, and no well ordered government will tolerate the least departure from this principle.

> Our laws and constitution define the status of the individual and his right of citizenship. I hold that as sacred and inviolable, and if elected senator, I shall oppose discrimination against any citizen because of his race, religion or place of birth.
>
> I am opposed to the operation of any secret political society in a free government like this of ours. It has no justification here, and is in my judgement opposed to the spirit and genius of our free institutions. Moreover, it breeds discord and burning hatreds and destroys the peace of communities. An evil association teaching a doctrine of hate, and addressing itself to the talk of generating bigotry and strife, has no place in America and should not be permitted to exist.[46]

Besides Walton, no other Oklahoma politician had criticized the Ku Klux Klan so vigorously.

After the Piedmont speech, Pine continued onward and visited at least fifty towns in western Oklahoma by the end of the month. At Watonga the largest gathering in the recent history of the town listened to him, and at most other places fair-sized crowds greeted him. Pine's voice began to weaken by the middle of the trip, and A. Gray Gilmer, who accompanied Pine as principal orator and haranguer of audiences, lost his voice entirely. Bert M. Parmenter, a Lawton attorney, replaced Gilmer.[47]

Despite the speech against the Klan and the success of the western trip, the Klan issue still haunted Pine. The Walton for Senator Club in Tulsa publicly challenged him to state if he was a Klansman; he denied membership. The Oklahoma branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People presented Pine with questions that tested his sincerity. His answers disavowed past or

present membership in the Ku Klux Klan, favored equality in educational facilities, politics, and housing, and approved of legislation enforcing the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteen amendments to the Constitution. He also supported enactment of the Dyer bill.[48] First introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Representative Leonidas C. Dyer in 1918, the Dyer bill was an anti-lynching measure that would permit the federal government to prosecute lynching cases when local authorities failed to do so. After eventually receiving House approval in 1922, it failed to pass the United States Senate, but its advocates continued to reintroduce it. Support of the bill became the NAACP's method of measuring a politician and a political party, and with an increasing frequency, the Republicans had not been passing the test.[49] Pine's affirmation went against this trend, and it certainly distinguished him from the Ku Klux Klan.

After several weeks of rest, Pine and Parmenter returned to the campaign trial and started to tour through eastern Oklahoma on October 13. As he had done on the western trip, Pine stopped in three, four, the five towns each day and briefly talked about himself, the relationship between agriculture and industry, and the good record of Senator Owen. He avoided national issues and Coolidge. Parmenter gave longer speeches that regaled the crowds with eloquent attacks on Walton's record. Parmenter did not tout Pine's qualifications; he let the audience deduce that the

candidate on the platform was different from Walton. Their strategy seemed to work, and by the end of the month Pine confidently predicted that if 600,000 people went to the polls he would win by 100,000 votes.[50]

Walton toured the state also. Accompanied by a band, Dinty Moore and His Jazzers, but obsessed with one issue, the Klan, Walton entertained the crowds but angered others. He undiplomatically asserted that a majority of the Protestant clergy cooperated with the Invisible Empire and called them derogatory names. When challenged to document his claims, Walton said he had been misquoted and offered a $500 reward to anyone who could prove otherwise. Three Oklahoma City ministers gathered affidavits from witnesses and tried to collect the reward.[51] When a reporter contacted Walton about meeting the ministers and giving them the money, he raged: "I don't care to see any of that low down Ku Klux bunch at any time. I don't give a damn who they are."[52]

Walton's remarks severely damaged his chances of winning, and Harris, who thought Walton had been beating Pine, observed: "Walton lost his head and committed political suicide when he 'skunked the preachers' provided of course and always that the preachers function as effectively as they should and as they will." Harris also predicted: "If Pine is big enough to take on Walton's loss and hold it for a couple of short weeks he may yet scratch in at the election."[53]

Pine did not have to "take on Walton's loss and hold it;" others did it for him. By mid-September, twelve district conferences of the Southern Baptist Church had denounced Walton. The central district, in a typical resolution, termed Walton as "unworthy of the Christian vote."[54] In October the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a resolution that contended: "One of the most desperate political situations in the United States is found today in the state of Oklahoma." The Methodists declared: "We stand for his [Walton's] elimination from our political life...."[55] Holden Vance, whose "sweetheart" had been assaulted and had died while he was serving with the army in France, travelled the state and told how Walton had paroled her killer. Mrs. Frank Pitts, widow of a banker murdered during a robbery and mother of three children, assailed Walton for giving the slayer a leave of absence from prison. Walton continued to attract larger crowds than Pine, but as one detractor remarked: "A lot of people go to a circus."[56]

Antipathy towards Walton and possible erosion of Democratic strength by the Farmer-Labor party induced the Republicans to believe they might repeat 1920's victory and carry a state in the Democrats' "solid south." To proclaim Coolidge's virtues, the national organization sent a slate of prominent Republicans to Oklahoma. Senators Albert Beveridge and James E. Watson of Indiana, ex-Governor Charles S. Deneen of Illinois, Representative Royal S.

Johnson of South Dakota, and vice-presidential nominee Charles G. Dawes made partisan speeches and impolitic comments that created a poor impression. Senator Watson, for example, praised high tariffs, lauded Coolidge, and criticized the Democratic party.[57] After Dawes suggested that there were "dangerous elements among the farmers of the West," his Democratic counterpart, Charles W. Bryan, ridiculed the Republican's difficulty with the Progressive party and taunted: "The brains of the Republican Party have been spilled all over the West."[58]

The acrimonious nature of the senatorial contest overshadowed the presidential race, and as the campaign drew to a close, it became evident that only Pine and not the entire Republican ticket would win the election. On the evening of November 1, the party sponsored a rally on the corner of Main and Broadway in Oklahoma City. Pine made his standard speech more forceful; Tulsa businessman and civic booster Charles Page's attempts to attract industry to Oklahoma had done more for the state than the actions of any governor. Colonel R. A. Sneed's comments were a better clue to the outcome of the election. A former Oklahoma Secretary of State and white-haired and bearded Confederate veteran at the age of eighty, Sneed represented southern Democratic tradition, and he told the crowd: "I am first of all an American and next a democrat and should I live to be 1000 years old, I will never vote for a crook and a scoundrel, just because he is on the democratic ticket."[59]

The November 4 election was anticlimactic. Pine carried seventy of seventy-seven counties and received 339,646 (61.5%) votes. Urban areas, Oklahoma County and Tulsa County, gave him nearly 70 percent of the vote. In most western counties he obtained 65 to 70 percent, and in the northwest quarter he got 55 to 65 percent. The rest of the Republican ticket was not as successful. Republican presidential electors trailed their Democratic counterparts by approximately 30,000 votes, and Davis received Oklahoma's ten electoral votes. In the eight district contests for seats in the House of Representatives, the only Republican winner was Milton C. Garber of Enid in the eighth district. The Republicans also lost state-wide races for corporation commissioner and seven judgeships.[60]

Walton received only 196,417(35.5%) votes. Except for Wagoner County, near Tulsa and Big Jim Harris's home, most of Walton's support came from the southeastern quarter. There he carried Atoka, Hughes, Johnston, Love, Marshall, and Pontotoc counties and lost by a narrow margin in the others, but this did not compensate for heavy losses in the rest of the state.[61]

Although minor candidates had a negligible effect on the outcome of the election, the rivalry between rural radicals and the Klan helped Walton. George Wilson, the Farmer-Labor Union candidate, received 15,025(2.7%) votes, and the four independents acquired 1,533(0.3%) altogether. If Wilson had not been on the ballot, his votes probably would

have gone to Walton, but this would have given Walton only two more counties in the southeast, Coal and Pushmataha.[62] The improvement in prices for farm commodities reduced the attractiveness of agrarian radicalism, but southeastern rural areas, where the Socialists and the FLU had thrived, viewed the Klan's attempts to dictate public morals as another intrusion into country life. FLU candidates defeated Klan candidates in local contests, and distaste for the Klan generated votes for Walton, even though he and the Reconstruction League had parted ways. Town Democrats tended to vote for Pine, but rural folk viewed him as a Klan candidate. Wilson's poor showing and Walton's defeat ended hopes for a revival of the farmer-labor movement.[63]

Local issues had dominated the Pine-Walton contest, but Pine's victory had a larger significance. Because of progressive Republican intransigence, regular Republicans had experienced difficulty in controlling Congress. The election gave the Coolidge administration a workable majority in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate Pine and three other new senators provided the regular Republicans with a slim but reliable plurality. Pine could be counted on to help control progressive insurgents, and he had given his party a net gain over the Democrats by capturing a seat vacated by an influential Democrat. Oklahoma now had two Republican senators for the first time, and this incursion into a Democratic stronghold was of national interest.[64]

In Okmulgee celebration rather than analysis followed the election. A band led a torchlighted parade of automobiles and several hundred marchers around the town in the late night darkness on November 4. The revelers cheered and sang, but at the home of Judge M. M. Alexander, chairman of an anti-Klan organization that aided Walton, they started a particularly noisy serenade.[65] Perhaps the merrymakers considered their jeers simple poetic justice for an Okmulgeean who had opposed their hometown hero, but it also was possible that loyalty to the Invisible Empire inspired their actions. Interpreting this incident demonstrates the contentious aspects of the Klan issue, and it is as debatable today as it was in 1924.

The Ku Klux Klan's role in the political process was a topic of state and national interest. The nation's newspaper of record, the New York Times, chose to attribute Pine's victory to the influence of the Klan and used this to explain the uniqueness of a successful Republican in an otherwise Democratic state. The newspaper conceded that Pine had denied being a member of the Klan, but it gave more coverage to Governor Trapp's conspiracy theory.[66] In contrast, other political observers in Oklahoma noted that Pine had carried counties where the Klan had little support, and the Oklahoma press saw fit to emphasize the serious, hard-working image of the senator-elect--a "Son of the Middle Border."[67]

Placing Walton and Pine on opposite sides of the Klan

debate was a simplistic approach that disregarded other factors in the campaign. The New York Times ignored Pine's Piedmont speech and Walton's poor record as governor. Historians, most notably Charles C. Alexander, Garin Burbank, and George Brown Tindall, either have tended to follow this formula or have failed to examine Pine's position on the Klan.[68]

Trapp's conspiracy theory was the major argument for a collusive arrangement between the Ku Klux Klan and the Republicans, and such a relationship was not outside the realm of possibility. In neighboring Arkansas the Republican national committeeman and the Grand Dragon shared the view that the Klan should work for the Republican party.[69] In Oklahoma Jewett may have wanted the Republican party to succeed, and party leaders may not have discouraged his efforts, but evidence does not exist to support a case comparable to the Arkansas situation. It would be equally logical to theorize that Trapp wanted to lessen the embarrassment Walton had caused the Democratic party and rationalize a political defeat. A personal interest in the image of the Democratic party may have outweighed an alleged concern for the power of the Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan was a powerful organization, and it undoubtedly generated votes for Pine. As one of his supporters in Pauls Valley bragged: "I carried it [Garvin County] for Pine in the primary and I carried it in the election for him, by combining the Republicans, Ku Klux

Democrats together in one strong fight for the Grand Old Party."[70] Pine, however, ran well in nearly all parts of the state and won the election by 143,229 votes, and this margin of victory far exceeded a reasonable estimate of Klan membership at 70,000.[71] The influence of the Invisible Empire helped Pine gain an impressive percentage of the vote, but it was likely that he would have won without the Klan's assistance.

The Klan issue also clouded the accomplishments of Oklahoma's senator-elect. He had helped depose one of Oklahoma's most powerful Republicans, had captured the nomination of his party, and had defeated a Democrat with a national reputation. Progressing from obscurity to one of the highest elective offices in the nation had been accomplished by a political adroitness that belied the role of unaffected simplicity he tried to portray. After the election he told Okmulgee's Rotarians: "I am a novice in old line politics and hope to continue to be one."[72]

Pine's vision of the world had been shaped by the social requirements of his community and by the economic demands of the oil industry and the businesses he owned. His pronouncements during the campaign had reflected these concerns, but Washington, D. C., and the United States Senate were vastly different worlds. Pine did not intend to change, and he assured a reporter: "I don't know a golf club from a canoe paddle. All I've ever done is work and I guess I'll just keep doing what I know how to do best."[73]

Pine had defined work as making money, but he did not have a frame of reference to define the work of a senator. He hoped to learn "the legislative game," but he admitted: "I have no pet theories of government, no bills to introduce and no axes to grind."[74] It was doubtful that Oklahoma's junior senator understood the problems or potentials of his office.

ENDNOTES

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[4]Harlow's Weekly, March 22, 1924, p. 9; Jerry Rand to Franklin E. Kennamer, August 24, 1923, Franklin E. Kennamer Correspondence, Records of the Clerk of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, Oklahoma State Archives and Records Division, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[5]Harlow's Weekly, March 15, 1924, p. 5.

[6]Ibid., March 22, 1924, p. 2.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., March 8, 1924, p. 6; Atlanta Constitution, undated clipping, J. E. Dyche Personnel Folder, National Personnel Records Center, General Services Administration, St. Louis, Missouri.

[9]Donald R. McCoy, Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 204-217; John D. Hicks, Republican Ascendancy: 1921-1933 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 74-77, 83.

[10]Harlow's Weekly, April 12, 1924, p. 7.

[11]Mabel Walker Willebrandt to Harry M. Daugherty, August 2, 1923, J. E. Dyche Personnel Folder.

[12]Heber H. Votaw to Harry M. Daugherty, August 2, 1923, J. E. Dyche Personnel Folder.

[13]Heber H. Votaw to Harry M. Daugherty, August 28, 1923, J. E. Dyche Personnel Folder.

[14]Daily Oklahoman, February 23, 1924, pp. 1-2.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Harlow's Weekly, March 15, 1924, p. 5; Daily Oklahoman, March 3, 1924, p. 1; Ibid., April 22, 1924, p. 1; Ibid. April 23, 1924, p. 1.

[17]Rex F. Harlow, "Republican Convention Boosts Pine Stock," Harlow's Weekly, April 26, 1924, p. 10.

[18]Daily Oklahoman, April 24, 1924, p. 1.

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[30]Charles C. Alexander, The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 200-202.

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[32]Alexander, pp. 202-204.

[33]Tulsa Tribune, August 10, 1924, p. 1.

[34]Daily Oklahoman, October 9, 1924, p. 1.

[35]Ibid., October 10, 1924, p. 1.

[36]Ibid., October 3, 1924, p. 1; Oklahoma City Times, October 16, 1924, p. 10.

[37]Harlow's Weekly, August 23, 1924, p. 11.

[38]Daily Oklahoman, August 16, 1924, p. 1.

[39]Okmulgee Daily Democrat, August 8, 1924, p. 1.

[40]Harlow's Weekly, August 16, 1924, p. 6.

[41]New York Times, August 27, 1924, p. 30.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Daily Oklahoman, August 19, 1924, p. 1; Ibid., September 14, 1924, p. 4-D.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., September 11, 1924, p. 1.

[46]Ibid.

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[67]Harlow's Weekly, November 8, 1924, p. 9; Oklahoma City Times, November 5, 1924, pp. 1-2; Tulsa Tribune, November 9, 1924, p. 10-C.

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[69]H. N. Street to H. L. Remmel, September 5, 1924, H. L. Remmel to H. N. Street, September 8, 1924, Harmon Liveright Remmel Collection, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Library, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

[70]William E. Reed to James A. Harris, November 26, 1925, James A. Harris Collection.

[71]General Election Records: 1924, Oklahoma State Archives; Alexander, p. 53.

[72]Daily Oklahoman, November 7, 1924, p. 1.

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CHAPTER IV

SENATE YEARS

After the general election of 1924, Oklahoma's new senator-elect, William B. Pine, optimistically professed: "The upbuilding of the state of Oklahoma is the aim and desire of my heart today."[1] This loosely defined notion of progress, undoubtedly derived from his exposure to Okmulgee's boosterism and from his financial successes, had served as Pine's basic political philosophy during the campaign.

It remained, however, for Pine to translate the vagueness of "upbuilding" into a useful political program that would make his position as a senator something more than an official title. This would have to be accomplished in Washington, D.C., a city with a social and political climate markedly different from Oklahoma's. By the 1920s Washington had become the nation's center of political authority, attracting foot-weary tourists and seekers of power. More residential than commercial in character, the city was a peculiar sort of national village. Social life and political activity intermingled and revolved around parties in the homes of the fashionable. Wealth, lineage and popularity enabled a resident to "belong" to a society that valued for-

mal attire and social graces over brilliant ideas and ability.[2]

Pine possessed few of the qualities that Washington society desired. His wealth, newly acquired and modest by Washington standards, could not compensate for his common lineage and taciturn manners. Under these handicaps, Pine had four months to prepare before becoming a duly sworn member of the nation's most exclusive legislative body.

Custom and practicality dictated that Pine visit the nation's capital before the next session of Congress convened. In early December he became a tourist and visited the city. Senator John W. Harreld escorted him to the White House. They tried to convince President Calvin Coolidge to make John Fields, the unsuccessful Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1922, the next Secretary of Agriculture but failed. It was likely that Pine made arrangements for lodgings in Washington at this time. He chose the newly built Raleigh Hotel, an unfashionable address by Washington standards, and stayed there for his entire tenure. His wife and child remained in Okmulgee and maintained the family home.[3]

The subject of patronage had been raised in Washington, but it was an equally vital issue in Oklahoma. After returning to the state, Harreld and Pine concluded an agreement governing such appointments. The new senator would control the dispensing of offices in the eastern half of the state, and Harreld would control the western half. Neither senator would appoint someone whom the other might consider

totally unsatisfactory. This arrangement worked well as Pine made some initial appointments to repay campaign debts. He selected Herbert K. Hyde as his secretary. Hyde, a young attorney from Norman, had helped manage the campaign and had been an effective organizer of younger voters. Bert M. Parmenter, who had been an effective campaign orator, became an assistant attorney general.[4]

Pine believed that Oklahoma had not been receiving its fair share of patronage, and the arrangement with Harreld eased his continuing quest for more prestigious positions for Oklahomans. Ezra Brainard of Muskogee received an appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Carl Williams of Oklahoma City went to the Railway Mediation Board and later to the National Farm Board; Nelson T. Johnson of Newkirk became an Assistant Secretary of State and later Minister to China. Judge John H. Cotteral of Oklahoma City filled a vacancy on the Circuit Court of Appeals; Patrick J. Hurley of Tulsa became an Assistant Secretary of War and later Secretary of War. Eventually, Pine considered these appointments as a rectification of the disproportionate distribution of patronage among eastern states and as one of his major achievements.[5]

It was probable that Oklahoma's Republicans appreciated Pine and Harreld's orderly approach to patronage and the eventual successes that Pine claimed as his own. He tried to garner additional recognition by criticizing the civil service system. Shortly after taking office he addressed a

Republican banquet at the Skirvin Hotel in Oklahoma City and asserted:

> There are a great many down there who are still working for Woodrow Wilson. The elected party should have charge of every department of the government and then be responsible for it.[6]

His audience relished these remarks, but he never succeeded in expanding the scope of political plunder by reducing the status of the civil service system.

Pine's official tenure of office began on March 4, 1925. This coincided with the first session of the Sixty-Ninth Congress as it convened for two weeks to reorganize, swear in new members, and attend to the ceremonies associated with the presidential inauguration. Pine received the oath of office from Vice-President Charles G. Dawes, and the senate leaders gave him routine committee assignments: Civil Service, Claims, Interoceanic Canals, Indian Affairs, Interstate Commerce, and Military Affairs. In later years he would lose his position on Claims, serve briefly on Banking and Currency, and receive an assignment to Appropriations in 1929. Congress recessed on March 18 and would not resume the session until December 7, 1925.[7]

Instead of returning to Oklahoma immediately, Senator Pine initiated the first of a series of gestures whereby he used his personal fortune and prestige to try to advance the "upbuilding" of Oklahoma. He travelled through New England and contacted cotton mill owners about building mills in Oklahoma similar to those they had established in North Carolina. He suggested that the owners would benefit by

avoiding the cost of shipping raw cotton to the East and the finished goods back to the Southwest. Oklahomans would obtain needed jobs and cheaper cotton products. This attempt at being a one-person industrial development delegation did not produce tangible results.

Pursuing a similar course, Pine hired a New York City engineering firm to study the industrial opportunities in Oklahoma. Lockwood, Greene and Company released their findings early in 1928. In addition to the usual statistical compilations on population, raw materials, transportation, and the like, the report listed opportunities that industry might exploit. Among these were: "a surplus of unskilled native white labor," a fifty-four hour work week for women, open shop practices and compliant unions, no minimum wage laws, and low tax rates.[9]

About a year later, Pine made another magnanimous gesture and hired John J. Esch of Wisconsin to appear before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Esch, a former commission chairman and co-author of the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act, was to assist state officials with a case requesting lower railroad rates for Oklahoma coal.[10] This case apparently became lost in the morass of conflicting and tangled cases filed with the commission, and like the Senator's other efforts at "upbuilding" it resulted in little or no positive result.

These private endeavors at the "upbuilding" of Oklahoma may have been an attempt to compensate for a rather

undistinguished performance as a new member of the Senate. Congress came back into session on December 7, 1925, and Pine settled into the routine and unobtrusive role of supporting the Republican administration. The first bill he introduced called for the construction of a new federal building in Okmulgee, and it was sent to the Committee on Buildings and Grounds. The committee ignored it.[11]

Participation in debate on the floor of the Senate also posed problems for the freshman legislator. Instead of carefully choosing an uncontroversial subject and unemotional proceeding for his first speech, he joined in the heated debate over the administration's tax package. Senator James Couzens of Michigan, using information from executive and legislative reports, stated that before 1921 petroleum producers could claim an oil depletion allowance of 100 percent and carry any excess depletion into the next taxable year.

Couzens yielded the floor and Pine objected: "I deny that it was done."

"I think the Senator is entirely out of order." Couzens retorted and challenged: "He submits no proof and practically states that this report is . . . telling an untruth."

Pine, defending his statement, responded: "I have been in the oil business all of this time . . . ."

Couzens cut Pine off and questioned his veracity: "I do not think I ought to yield to a man who impugns the

reputation or the character of a committee that has made a thorough investigation, and who is so ignorant that he has never ever been through the bureau to know anything about it." Before the sharp-tongued Couzens inflicted further damage, Senator Harreld intervened, guided the debate in another direction, and saved the victim.[12]

Congress eventually raised the oil depletion allowance from 25 to 30 percent, and in Oklahoma this seemed to be a vindication of the Senator.[13] The exchange had more than a temporary effect, however. Except for the routine introduction of committee reports and motions for insertions in the record, Pine did not speak in the Senate again for four years and confirmed his campaign characterization as having a reserved personality.

Pine had also been portrayed as a framer of independent opinions, and he soon displayed this trait. The major issue of this session was the proposal that the United States should participate in the World Court. The Coolidge administration favored the court, and the Senate, after amending the resolution with so many restrictions that it nullified American involvement, gave its consent by a vote of seventy-five to seventeen. Pine broke with the administration, voted no, and sided with a small group of errant Democrats, maverick Republicans, and Progressives.[14] This break was so unexpected that Pine took an equally unusual action and explained his vote: "My state is against the world court and my party is against the League of Nations. I believe

that if America enters the court, she also enters the League of Nations."[15] This reasoning was similar to that of the isolationists who opposed the court.

Despite his errant vote on the World Court, Senator Pine remained in the good graces of the administration, and the complexities of foreign affairs were not a pressing issue in Oklahoma. This session of Congress ended in the middle of 1926, and Pine had not made any serious blunders or new enemies that might damage him politically. He hoped to keep it that way and adopted a neutral position in the election battles underway in Oklahoma. Neither Harreld, who was up for re-election, nor Omar K. Benedict, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, could expect his endorsement: "I am a Republican who pulled a large number, a very large number of Democratic votes. I can't strike out in this campaign without injuring a friend."[16] Being an elected official in Oklahoma was not a safe and secure position, and as much as he might have hoped to avoid it, Pine was slowly drawn into some of the major controversies of the times.

During the 1920s government policy towards and administration of Indian affairs increasingly came under the scrutiny of investigative journalists and reformers. The exposés and ideas of these groups frequently conflicted with the practices and attitudes of federal administrators and lawmakers. In Oklahoma the concerns of land and mineral speculators added another layer of opposition to reform. Because of his position on the Committee on Indian Affairs,

Senator Pine became involved in the conflicting issues brought before the committee.

A major portion of Oklahoma had been the old Indian Territory; a nineteenth-century dumping ground for Indians displaced from other states. The various tribes, their lands, and their people still existed, connected to the federal government by treaty. In theory, the Department of the Interior and its Bureau of Indian Affairs justly administered these treaties and other congressional actions. In the 1920s the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 and the Burke Act of 1906 served as the principal directives for the administration of Indian affairs. By these measures Congress had instituted the policy of treating Indians as individuals and the concomitant allotment system that regulated the distribution of the Indians' major source of wealth, land. Tribal members received an allotment of land to which they held legal title. Except for minor children or those judged incompetent and in need of guardianship, they could do as they pleased with their allotments. After these distributions, surplus land was sold and opened for settlement. Indian land holdings diminished rapidly as a consequence.

Because of the large quantity of Indian lands in Oklahoma and their frequent richness for mineral or agricultural purposes, the administration of the allotment system was a choice patronage position. Plain greed induced an extensive manipulation of the system. Politicians, businessmen, judges, lawyers, and civic leaders constructed a matrix of

corruption. Being the guardian of a child with an oil lease brought rich fees for little services rendered, and it was not too difficult to persuade a county or district judge to declare an adult Indian incompetent either.[17]

Pine's first experience with this system occurred when coal mine operators working on land leased from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations requested an extension of their lease to 1932. This required passage of a bill, and a company attorney, E. F. Maley of Okmulgee, asked Pine for help. Pine hedged; Maley found Representative Wilburn Cartwright of McAlester, Oklahoma, more cooperative, but Cartwright hinted that a gift for another representative would be welcome.[18] About eighty leases covered 72,269 acres. Maley did not mention that many operators were delinquent in their payments by $620,747.68 and that tribal leaders opposed the extension. Department officials worked out a compromise that made the operators' payment schedule more restrictive and the collection of delinquent payments more aggressive.[19] Congress adopted this compromise, and Pine sponsored it in the Senate. He considered it advantageous for the tribes and operators alike.[20]

Pine also approved of and Congress passed a bill that extended for twenty-five years restrictions on the sale or lease of lands allotted to members of the Five Civilized Tribes incapable of handling their business affairs. Over 9,000 of these individuals existed, and they were easy marks for speculators without some sort of governmental oversight,

as lax as it may be.[21] Oklahoma's farm land investors hungered for this plunder, and one Ardmore businessman complained: "Senator Pine is associated with the poers that be. Usually what the Department wants he will agree to, we think."[22]

By the mid-1920s it generally became known that corruption occurred in the handling of Indian affairs and that most Indians existed under horrible living conditions. These facts had been exposed and publicized by muckrakers, most of whom were associated with the Indian Rights Association and John Collier's American Indian Defense Association. These exposés led to some reform, but it soon became apparent to Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work that the situation required a major and comprehensive investigation. He commissioned the Institute for Government Research to inquire into economic and social conditions and an engineer from the Bureau of Reclamation to study irrigation practices. The resultant reports appeared in 1928, criticizing current practices and proposing numerous reforms.

Several barriers blocked any notions that Secretary Work may have had about reform. Change had little appeal for much of the bureaucracy within the bureau, and the bureau's leader, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke, adamantly opposed reform and regarded reformers with contempt. A former representative from South Dakota and an appointee of President Harding in 1921, Burke possessed a frontier mentality and plenty of influence in Washington. He

believed that Indians should be treated as individuals and that their lands should be allotted as rapidly as possible. The tight budget practices of the Republican administration exacerbated these obstacles. Chronic underfunding of the bureau made a bad situation worse.[23]

The work of John Collier and other reformers had attracted the interest of members of Congress, progressive Republicans and like-minded voices of opposition to the Republican administration. Senator William King of Utah, encouraged by Representative James A. Frear of Wisconsin and Collier, introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the Committee on Indian Affairs. The Senate agreed, and a special subcommittee began the inquiry in 1928, with Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota as chairman, Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, and William B. Pine. This placed Collier and Senator Pine on a collision course with Commissioner Burke.[24]

The Senate committee began its work in 1928 and started investigating the case of Jackson Barnett, an illiterate Creek fullblood without any known relatives. In 1912 an oil company had leased his allottment near Cushing. Another company wanted the lease, had Barnett declared incompetent by an Okmulgee County Court, and had a guardian, Carl J. O'Hornett, appointed for him. They secured a lease from O'Hornett, but the bureau had the incompetency ruling set aside and arranged a compromise over the lease fight.

O'Hornett remained as guardian, however. The wells drilled on Barnett's land proved to be some of the most productive in the rich Cushing Field. Newspapers soon labeled Barnett as "The World's Richest Indian."

Barnett ignored his wealth and lived a simple life in a shack near Henryetta, but this began to change in 1919. He donated $25,000 for the construction of a Baptist church in Henryetta; the bureau, the court, and O'Harnett approved the gift. Other Baptists smelled money and asked the bureau for contributions from Barnett's estate. Bureau officials quickly developed a scheme to distribute $1,500,000 for charitable purposes.

Anna Laura Lowe upset these plans. With intimations of prostitution and extortion littering her past in Kansas City, Missouri, Lowe arrived outside Barnett's shack in the woods, gained his confidence and favor, and rescued him from the simple life. After several thwarted attempts at marriage in Oklahoma, Lowe spirited Barnett away to Coffeyville, Kansas, in February of 1920. With the help of a local attorney, Harold McGugin, she managed to become Mrs. Barnett, but she had a second nuptial ceremony performed in Missouri for insurance. Anna quickly demanded that the bureau and O'Hornett increase her husband's allowance. She obtained it and eventually a new home in Muskogee and a large house in Los Angeles, California. Anna did not treat Jackson badly; he seemed to like his new life.

Commissioner Burke was not as satisfied with the old

Indian's marriage. Oklahoma law entitled Anna to half the estate, and the Baptists still clamored for spoils. In an attempt to satisfy the Baptists and to protect the estate from the corrupt guardian system and the potential claims of Anna, Burke arranged a settlement. Anna received $350,000 in cash, with $137,500 going to McGugin for his services, and a trust worth $200,000 with a yearly distribution of $7,500 to Jackson. The Baptists obtained a $550,000 trust for the benefit of Bacone College in Muskogee with an annual income of $20,000 going to Jackson. O'Hornett, who had been replaced as guardian, Elmer Bailey of Henryetta, the new guardian, and the United States Department of Justice filed a number of law suits to revoke these trusts and recover the cash.[25]

When the Senate investigation opened in January of 1928, Collier and Pine wanted to exploit the Barnett case, but each had different motives. Collier, working closely with Senator Frazier, hoped to expose the corruption in Oklahoma's guardianship and probate system. Pine, mindful that the affair had originated in his home county, wanted to shift the blame onto the bureau and protect the reputation of the courts. Pine abandoned his reticence and tried to coax responses from witnesses demonstrating that the bureau had circumvented Oklahoma's courts and left Barnett unprotected. Burke evaded the trap and even defended Anna Barnett: "No one has questioned her conduct, . . ., they are living contentedly and happily together, and he is enjoying the benefits of his wealth."[26] The Senator tried

another tactic.

He suggested: "But Jackson Barnett is incompetent, is he not?"

Burke calmly replied: "No more so Senator, than all the other Indians of his classification are incompetent."

Pine was incredulous: "Why, he is an imbecile, Jackson Barnett is."[27]

The presidential election of 1928 interrupted the investigation, but it resumed afterwards. By January of 1929 the committee was hearing some unusual and damaging evidence against Burke. Charles B. Selby, a special assistant to the Attorney General and a native of Oklahoma City, had investigated the Barnett case in 1925. He had thought that Anna Barnett, McGugin, and two bureau officials had conspired to arrange the trusts distributing Barnett's estate and that Burke and the Secretary of the Interior had knowledge of the conspiracy and condoned it. Selby believed this was worthy of a grand jury investigation, but the Attorney General had ruled against it.[28]

Selby's testimony infuriated Burke. On January 8 he appeared before the subcommittee and read a prepared statement:

> I . . . charge a conspiracy on the part of Senator W. B. Pine, of Oklahoma, to destroy me because James Hepburn, a certain Oklahoma politician, was not appointed superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes. Senator Pine is using his political appointees now in the Department of Justice, namely Selby and Parmenter, to aid him in carrying out this dastardly conspiracy; and Senator Pine is cooperating with John Collier, a notorious Indian agitator, who is actively engaged in a campaign trying to destroy me and the Indian Service.[29]

The subcommittee told Burke to subpoena witnesses and prove his case. Pine denied the allegations and challenged him to "prove his charges or withdraw them." The Senator also suggested: "Mr. Burke should no longer be Commissioner of Indian Affairs."[30]

Burke appeared before the subcommittee again to explain the reasons for his statement, but no witnesses accompanied him. Selby and Parmenter owed their allegiance to Pine; Pine had tried to make Hepburn governor of Oklahoma; Harwood Keaton of Okmulgee allegedly had said that if Hepburn was not made superintendent Pine would ruin Burke. Senator Wheeler became the sharp-tongued inquisitor, wanted direct evidence, and forced Burke to admit this was only his opinion.[31] In the next two months a second Attorney General's investigation cleared Burke, and he retracted his opinions about Pine. The new Republican administration accepted his resignation and gave him an obscure post in Paris, France.[32]

After disposing of Burke, the senators turned their attention to the original object of the controversy. If he had been white, Jackson Barnett would not have created a ripple of interest in American society. By 1929, however, more than twenty legal proceedings of various types and in various levels of courts from New York to California had been instituted for or against him.[33] The old Creek came before the committee for another examination in February; this was Pine's chance to prove him incompetent and vindicate Oklahoma's court and guardianship system. Pine questioned Barnett at length; he gave short, stoic answers.

He was happy in Los Angeles, liked his marriage, and did not want to return to Oklahoma. He was unable to spell his name but knew the value of different denominations of paper money. Displaying a roll of bills as proof amused him and exasperated Pine. Barnett noticed Pine's irritation, reversed the roles, and became the inquisitor.

"What is the matter with your forehead?" Barnett asked and explained: "You have got sweat on your forehead."

Surprised, Pine demanded: "What."

The old Creek pointed to the throbbing arteries in Pine's temples and reiterated: "You have got sweat on your forehead and all like that."

The Senator feigned ignorance: "I do not understand you."

Barnett pressed: "You have sweat on your forehead and all blood; it is swelled up as big as my finger."

Pine yielded: "A little swelled, is it."

"Yes." Barnett was positive.

Pine conceded: "All right Jackson." After failing to outwit a supposedly incompetent Indian, Pine dismissed Barnett.[34]

The Collier-Pine-Burke feud and Barnett's sanity were only a part of the evidence and testimony presented to the subcommittee. The hearings had started in Yakima, Washington, and eventually, through successive congresses, they proceeded to nearly every part of the West. Evidence of mismanagement, ineptitude, and malfeasance by bureau employees surfaced everywhere. Child abuse and malnutrition

blighted Indian schools; starvation and public health disasters plagued reservations.[35]

Pine made trips through the West to attend these hearings, and he formed an opinion about the bureau: "inefficient, bureaucratic, and susceptible to improper influences if not actually corrupt."[36] He even helped publicize articles written by muckrakers. Oklahoma's other senator, Elmer Thomas, was a committee member, but Thomas and his fellow Democrats in Oklahoma tended to be critical of the inquiry. Democrats now controlled most state executive and legislative offices in Oklahoma and dominated the federal congressional positions as well. They knew the value of patronage and the value of favoring the bureau. Pine still persisted with the investigation, and he, along with Senator Frazier, expressed dismay when the bureau demoted, transferred, or dismissed employees who gave testimony to the committee. Congressional action frequently takes time, and long after Pine had left office Congress finally enacted comprehensive reform legislation by passing the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934.[37]

About the time the Barnett affair attracted national attention, Senator Pine became involved in another controversial investigation. It drew less notice, but it involved equally sensational conditions in the coal mining industry. Labor unions had been losing the gains they had won during the war, and John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers were in particularly desperate straits by 1927. A declining

demand for coal and the cheaper production of coal from non-union mines in Southern Appalachia allowed the operators to pressure the union to accept lower wages. Lewis refused to accept the operators' demands, and they set about to destroy the union. Management, controlled by some of the most powerful families and individuals in the nation--Mellon, Rockefeller, Schwab, Insull--waged a campaign of violence and intimidation against union miners in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Lewis turned to the government for relief.[38] Under the authorization of a Senate resolution introduced by Senator Hiram Johnson of California, the Interstate Commerce Committee began an investigation in February of 1928.

Senator James E. Watson of Indiana was chairman of the committee. As a regular Republican and administration favorite, Watson knew which side to favor and appointed a subcommittee supposedly sympathetic to the operators. Frank R. Gooding, an Idaho sheepman, Jesse H. Metcalf, a New Jersey textile manufacturer, and Pine, an Oklahoma oilman, would ask questions and vote as millionaire Republicans should. Robert F. Wagner, a New York Democrat, favored the wishes of Tammany Hall. Senator Wheeler, a pro-labor Democrat, was a concession to the union side. Nothing worked as Watson planned.[39]

Some of the worst violence occurred in Pennsylvania, and the senators made a trip to Pittsburgh to see the conditions in the area. The Pittsburgh Coal Company, a Mellon

concern and a leader in breaking the union, was of particular interest. Union officials and Lowell Limpus, a reporter from the New York Daily News, had prepared Wheeler for what to expect. The carnage of a one-sided labor war shocked the others. Gooding became outraged. Strikers lived in squalor, suffered physical attacks, and endured sexual assaults upon their wives and children. "Scabs" worked under a system of violence-enforced involuntary servitude. These conditions prompted the senators to give the press a joint statement condemning these injustices.[40]

After returning to Washington, the subcommittee quickly issued a report that dashed Watson's hopes for a whitewash. Pine and the others found the violence abhorrent and noted: "Everywhere your committee visited they found victims of the coal and iron police who had been beaten up and were still carrying scars on their faces and heads from the rough treatment they had received." They unabashedly agreed: "Your commitee was impressed with the courage and determination of the miners to stand up for what they believed was their due--an American wage making possible an American standard of living."[41] The Committee's report merely embarrassed the operators; the union waited until the 1930s for corrective legislation.

A related issue surfaced in 1930 after President Herbert Hoover nominated John J. Parker to fill a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court. Parker's nomination angered the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People and the American Federation of Labor. During the race for the governorship of North Carolina in 1920, Parker had made racial slurs, and when presiding over a Federal court, he had issued an infamous injunction against the United Mine Workers in 1927. As part of the coal operator's campaign against the United Mine Workers, they had tried to keep the union from organizing miners and breaking existent yellow-dog contracts. Parker's injunction, applicable to a part of West Virginia with some 40,000 miners, prevented the union from entering company property and even from trying to persuade a miner to break a yellow-dog contract. Debate over Parker's confirmation raged through the Senate, but heavy lobbying by the American Federation of Labor tilted the Senate against confirmation. The vote on May 7, thirty-nine for to forty-one against, marked the first time a Supreme Court nominee had been rejected in thirty-six years. Pine voted against Parker, but he never gave an explanation.[42]

During the 1920s most Americans participated in a general economic prosperity that seemed synonymous with Republicanism. Pine, although he had witnessed the problems in the coal fields and on the reservations, remained optimistic about the nation's fortunes and supported the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for president in 1928. The Democratic candidate, Alfred Smith, was too Catholic and too wet for most Oklahomans. Prosperity was not an issue. As one Oklahoma Democrat observed: ". . . one had as well try to make a pig eat with a fork as to try to get the majority

of these people to vote for Smith."[42] Even Mrs. Pine became involved and formed an anti-Smith Bone Dry Club in Okmulgee County. Hoover carried Oklahoma and the nation by a wide margin in the November election.[43] Prosperity became an issue in Oklahoma after the 1928 elections, and even Pine began questioning the wisdom of the Republicans' economic policies.

The first group to criticize and challenge the Republican administrations of the 1920s had been midwestern farmers. Increased demands for food products during the war had inflated farm incomes to new heights, but commodity prices plummeted in 1920 and never recovered fully. A gradual increase in the price of manufactured goods made the farmers' plight worse. The Republicans responded by passing legislation that attempted to strengthen cooperatives, improve the credit supply, and promote competitive bidding by food processors. Unsatisfied farmers wanted greater government intervention. McNary-Haugenisn, a label derived from its chief legislative supporters--Senator Charles McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert N. Haugen of Iowa--became a panacea that proposed to improve farm income by dumping excess supplies abroad. Congress passed the measure twice; the President vetoed it twice. Dissatisfaction spread into the South and Southwest.[44]

During the 1920s the condition of agriculture in Oklahoma was just as dismal as in other states, but McNary-Haugenism had not been a part of Oklahoma's political dia-

logue. Senator Pine had not made campaign addresses about agriculture, but he had sponsored legislation related to the scientific aspect of agriculture. He and Representative Milton Garber of Enid, Oklahoma, managed to guide a bill through Congress in 1928 establishing experiment station funding for the investigation of new and different varieties of crops adaptable to the arid southern plains.[45] By 1929, however, Pine had become very concerned about agriculture and the condition of the nation's economy as well.

The 1928 Republican platform had promised relief for farmers, and Hoover fulfilled the pledge by calling Congress into special session in April 1929. Before returning to Washington, Senator Pine gave a speech before the Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce and presented his views on the farm problem. All experts agreed that surplus production was the problem, but no one had accurately discovered the cause or proposed a solution. Pine claimed the problem was the Federal Reserve Board's, not the farmers'. The farmer produced more because the Federal Reserve had reduced "the value of his property and his products." They accomplished this by restricting the supply of credit in agricultural areas. The Federal Reserve forced "rural bankers to withdraw the credit from local farmers and merchants" and to invest their funds in commercial paper or bonds. Accordingly, "it is making possible new industries or new buildings in some large city, or it is contributing to the inflation of the credit supply in New York City, which is causing the activity in stock and

causing the advance in stock prices."[46]

Instead of twelve regional reserve banks, the Federal Reserve had become one central bank that discriminated against rural areas. Pine's solution: "We do not need a farm board nor a coal board, but we do need an equitable administration of the laws by the Federal Reserve Board. The weak (farmers) must be protected; the strong (international bankers) are able to take care of themselves."[47]

The speech in Oklahoma City was a rehearsal for the new session of Congress. Pine returned to Washington and ended four years of silence in the Senate. He vigorously reiterated his theory about the Federal Reserve system and expanded it to suggest that international bankers manipulated the Federal Reserve. The internationalists would deny the farmer an "American standard of living and make of him a peasant." He challenged: "The farmers of this Nation have endured oppression for nine long years and it is now up to us to give them justice or get out."[48] The President and Congress merely needed to oversee the proper operation of the Federal Reserve system.

Hoover's solution was a massive federal effort to coordinate markets and stabilize prices. A farm board would administer loans to cooperatives and create corporations that would buy and store commodities in an attempt to level the impact of surpluses and to stabilize prices. Hoover asserted that this "giant instrumentality" would move agriculture "from the field of politics into the realm of economics."[49]

The McNary-Haugenites termed Hoover's plan inadequate and proposed an export debenture scheme subsidizing the export of surplus crops. Pine criticized the complexity of the farm board and considered it unnecessary. He asserted: "A prudent man who means business does not select a complicated machine when he has a snake-killing job."[50] In the Senate a coalition of Democrats and Republican defectors forced the debenture plan into the Senate version of the bill. Pine was a defector. The House version dropped export debentures, and the final bill conformed to the administration's wishes. Pine was one of eight senators to vote against it.[51] The Senator's criticism of the Federal Reserve Board and its distribution of credit differentiated him from the adherents to McNary-Haugenism, but he had much in common with them. Both believed the industrialized East discriminated against the rural South and West, and neither adequately explained how their proposal would solve the problem of surplus commodities.[52]

Pine viewed the farm problem as a symptom of what he considered to be flaws in the nation's economic system. Small banks and businessmen suffered along with the farmer. It was likely that the Senator derived his views from a study of banking practices he had completed by early 1928.

He had compiled statistics on bank failures since 1776 and compared their incidence to failures during the 1920s. He also had plotted recent failures on a large map hanging on the wall of his Washington office. The high incidence of

failures in the 1920s and their geographic distribution in the West and South seemed to support his theory about the Federal Reserve system. As a remedy, the Senator had introduced a bill that called for increasing the membership of the Federal Reserve Board, insuring their selection by regions, and operating the system on a regional basis. The bill received a prompt burial by the Senate's leaders.[53]

The senate bill generated no publicity, and the farm relief debate marked the first time Pine made his views public. He continued to make attacks on the Federal Reserve, international bankers, and the banking system in general, and this became one of the more enduring features of his senatorial career. The events of 1929 gave his criticisms added authority. In June the price of stock faltered after what had seemed to be a period of never ending rise. In late October and early November the price of stock plummeted. An era of wild speculation in the stock market and ostensibly limitless prosperity ended; a long period of economic depression began.

The effects of the stock market panic on Oklahoma were not as immediate as they were on Wall Street, but considerable concern existed for the state's two major industries. Agriculture and oil already suffered from reduced domestic and foreign consumption. Hoover, in his message to Congress on farm relief, had indicated a willingness to accept limited revisions of the tariff structure. Congress began debating the issue in March, and as conditions became worse, the

clamor for protectionism became irresistible. Congressmen entered into a vicious competition to place their favorite commodity or industry under the protection of higher tariffs.[54] Senator Pine used his influence to help oil.

President Hoover leaned away from higher tariffs, and the battle embarrassed the administration. Democrats and insurgent Republicans, under the leadership of Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, formed a by-now-familiar coalition and opposed old guard Republicans and a few high tariff Democrats. Their opposition earned them the now historic epithet, "Sons of the Wild Jackass." At first Senator Pine followed Nye, but he abandoned the coalition, weakened it, and avoided the label his interest in oil was too great.[55]

Both of Oklahoma's senators led the first attempt to place oil on the duties list in March of 1929. The Independent Petroleum Association and its president, Wirt Franklin, lobbied intensively and incurred the enmity of Senator John J. Blaine of Wisconsin. He labeled them "damnable and nefarious lobbyists."[56] The amendment failed to pass, but Pine did not give up. He cashed in one of his few political credits and obtained a favorable letter from John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. Lewis argued that even though domestic oil had been in competition with coal the importation of oil hurt the coal industry even more.[57] The opposition remained unconvinced, and Franklin and Pine continued their work.

By early 1930 time was running out for the oil lobby. The opposition feared a tariff would increase the cost of gasoline for the consumer and strengthen the monopolistic tendencies of the large oil companies. Pine was the main defender of the oil tariff on the Senate floor, and in late February he gave an impressive speech on its merits adroitly answering the opposition's questions. Franklin and Stanley Draper, another Oklahoma oil lobbyist, dined and played golf with every willing Senator. Their efforts and Pine's eloquence were not enough. Using a series of parliamentary maneuvers, Pine forced several votes on the question; they all failed by narrow margins.[58]

The Senate finally passed a complete tariff bill on March 24, and Pine voted for it. Industrial interests prevailed, and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930 became notorious for excessive protectionism. Over a thousand members of the American Economic Association warned Hoover not to sign the bill. He did, stock prices dropped, and an already stagnant international trade became worse.[59]

1930 was an election year, and this may have induced some of the heated rhetoric during the tariff debate. Congress adjourned on July 3, but consideration of an international treaty kept the senators in Washington for two more weeks. The Senate convened a special session and approved a treaty reducing naval armaments among Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This type of treaty was popular during the 1920s, but Pine and eight other senators

voted against it.[60] He never explained his vote or used the occasion to garner attention. Strong opposition to Pine's re-election was emerging; he could have used the publicity.

Pine had changed considerably since entering the Senate, but he still displayed many of the same characteristics. During the tariff debate he adroitly defended the oil industry; he was unable to do this in 1925. He could still be uncommunicative, as he was on his naval treaty vote. He had not damaged his reputation or image during the last five years, but he had not enhanced it either. His independence, siding with the "Sons of the Wild Jackass" from time to time, raised no outcry in Oklahoma or admonishment from the administration. It was as if the unknown Republican from Okmulgee had merely become a slightly more recognizable Republican from Okmulgee. The coming campaign and election determined whether he had changed enough to satisfy his constituents.

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CHAPTER V

CAMPAIGN OF 1930

In 1924 politicians could indulge in the politics of prosperity. The status quo was adequate, the potential of the future seemed unlimited, and it was possible to indulge in the emotionalism of bigotry. The situation in Oklahoma was different by early 1930. For the first time in years the price of wheat had dipped below a dollar a bushel. Drought was beginning to make rural life uncomfortable. Petroleum prices had declined steadily, and there was a glut of oil on the market. Oklahoma Citians saw bread lines for the jobless.[1] No one forecast that these were omens of things to come, but many politicians recognized that the basic assumptions of public life might no longer apply to the 1930 campaign.

The condition of both political parties in Oklahoma was questionable. After John W. Harreld lost the senate race in 1926, only William B. Pine and two representatives carried the Republican label to Washington. Party affiliation had lost some of its value. Pine avoided endorsing party candidates, and his brother, Harry G. Pine, openly endorsed the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in 1926. A continuing devotion to anti-Klan platforms made the party unappealing.

When a prominent Republican judge, Franklin E. Kennamer, issued an injunction against Okfuskee County that enabled blacks to register for the vote, his ruling adversely affected Republicanism. The elections in 1926 and 1928 entrenched the Democrats in the state capitol, but their party incurred horrendous publicity during the impeachment of Governor Henry S. Johnston in 1929 and seemed divided. The Democrats learned, however, to wink at Klanism and to endorse prohibition.[2]

Nationally, Republicanism had prevailed in the 1928 presidential race. Oklahoma followed this trend and rejected Alfred E. Smith and his Catholicism; an exceptionally virulent strain of bigotry marred the contest. By 1930, however, President Herbert Hoover's popularity seemed to be diminishing across the nation and in Oklahoma. This was due to the effects of the stock market crash of October 1929, and Democrats at all levels used these circumstances to blame Hoover for all misfortunes. Drought in the lower Mississippi Valley, which included Oklahoma, added to Hoover's problems. These factors and the usual prejudice against the incumbent party made Democrats in Oklahoma optimistic in 1930.

Hoover's reaction to the onset of the depression hewed true to his Republican instincts; it also conformed to the popular theory that which was a temporary economic slump. A tax cut, a restriction on credit for stock speculation, an appeal to industry to retain workers, an accelerated

spending of appropriated government funds to stimulate employment, and a reliance on voluntary charity for the destitute characterized the Hoover program. For drought stricken farmers the Department of Agriculture made loans for seed purchases, and the Red Cross administered a relief fund. For agriculture in general Hoover thought his Farm Board would stabilize prices.[3]

As the year progressed the absence of prosperity served as the major complaint against Republicanism. Oklahoma had its share of bank closings, business failures and unemployment, but the depression seemed to affect rural areas the most. Hoover's Farm Board, a program doomed from the start, stopped making commodity purchases in April and returned to the markets late in the fall, but its weak influences failed to raise fallen prices. Oklahoma farmers received only sixty-five to seventy cents per bushel for their wheat in September. They also found that bankers gave credit stingily, that Red Cross relief failed to reach everyone, and that turnips might be the main diet during the winter. Dry weather exacerbated these conditions.[4] A Latimer County farmer reported: "Everything burned up. Pasture dried up. Stock not doing well. We can't make any feed crop unless it rains soon." Across the state in Comanche County another farmer complained: "Pastures burned, no grass, feed stuff has no chance to mature. Cotton suffering badly."[5]

Faced with these conditions, Senator Pine had to persuade his party and the general electorate that his

record and potential matched the changed times. Pine made the economy an issue but emphasized the causes rather than the effects of the depression. He eventually became a critic of Hoover's policies, but this was not the case shortly after the stock market crash.

In late 1929 Tulsa Republicans expressed some displeasure over Pine's affiliation with the insurgent Republicans on the tariff issue. Convinced that their senator was ignoring their interests and embarrassing the President, they made plans to run J. C. Denton, a lawyer for the Mid-Continent Petroleum Corporation, against Pine in the primary. Pine explained that Hoover had not asked for excessive industrial tariffs and defended his deviant stand: "I believe that President Hoover stands with the 14 insurgents and not with the representatives of special interests." He also vowed: "I shall do everything in my power to make his administration a success."[6] Republican opposition to Pine's candidacy faded. His abandonment of the insurgents and leadership on the oil tariff probably nullified the hostility in Tulsa.

Without serious opposition in the primary, Pine devoted his time to mending fences, improving his image and developing issues for the campaign. An unusual tactic marked his first endeavor. He had the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, George Washington's Farewell Address, and Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address printed and bound into a very attractive volume. In an introductory letter he wrote the familiar refrain that "equality of opportunity"

was "the problem of the hour." In addition: "Some dominated by selfishness and greed, forget their God, their country and their obligations to their fellow men." By distributing these documents he hoped to prevent a "drifting from the high standards of citizenship set by our Fathers."[7]

Pine may have had any number of motives for producing this volume. He was preparing for a campaign, however, and he had refined and expanded his critique of the Federal Reserve into a larger economic analysis of the nation's problems. As he publicized these theories, his identification of equality as the "problem of the hour," prefaced to a collection of revered documents, was an excellent way to make his argument more legitimate.

The Senator used modern mass communication techniques extensively during the campaign. His first test of these methods and the appeal of his economic thesis was an address over the radio in May, 1930. It clarified his approach to reform, and he reasoned:

> Economic equality is the one great pressing governmental need of the hour. The farm problem, the coal problem, the unemployment problem, and the depression in general, have all been produced by economic inequality. This inequality is due principally to the failure of the Government to function properly, to function as contemplated by the Constitution. This Government was ordained and is maintained to restrain the strong and to protect the weak; yet, in 1930, those who are strong financially are building $3,000,000,000 banks and the weak are walking the streets seeking jobs.[8]

The causes of the nation's ills were "manipulation" and "under consumption." The largest banks in New York City had become credit factories. They controlled the money supply and circumvented the legitimate powers of government. An "excessive concentration of wealth" had destroyed prosperity. "Economic equality" would solve the problem of overproduction. If people like the coal miners he had seen in Pennsylvania could afford to buy food this would solve the farm problem. Industry had adopted the policy of less production and higher prices. Industry should have produced more goods for less money. "A free people" could not tolerate this.[9]

Congress was still in session, and Pine endeavored to transfer his criticisms into action. He introduced a joint resolution in the Senate that proposed creating a commission to investigate the monetary system of the United States. Senate leaders promptly buried the resolution, and it never received any notice. Pine gave the resolution equal treatment. He never publicized his call for an investigation or used this to enhance his campaign.[10]

In July he continued to publicize his views. At a meeting in Oklahoma City, members of the United States Good Roads Association learned: "I believe in the theory that the people will consume, if given the opportunity, all the goods that the people will produce."[11] At a rally in Okmulgee, an estimated 5,000 or more gathered at a downtown street corner and heard their hometown hero expound on the

virtues of decentralization. The success of the Pine Glass Company proved his argument. Pine warned: "Chain stores, chain banks, chain farms, tenantry, nonresident ownership, and nonresident control will reduce Oklahoma to a state of vassalage."[12]

Oklahoma's Republicans liked what they heard and affirmed Pine's senatorial nomination. They gave him 54,915 votes in the July primary. Two obscure candidates, Charles J. Benson and J. J. Bebout, received 10,922 and 4,395 votes. Either the weak opposition generated little interest, or the membership of the party declined; 37,615 fewer Republicans cast ballots in this contest than they had in 1924.[13]

Pine tried to maintain the momentum of his candidacy through the heat and drought of August. He received the approval of the powerful and prestigious Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and stepped before its members to give his critique of the banking system. He revealed that he had discussed the numerous bank failures in Oklahoma with the Comptroller of the Currency, an assistant secretary of the treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President. They told him there were too many banks and too many small banks in particular. They were bound to fail. Unconcerned national leaders were an old problem. Pine suggested to Calvin Coolidge that he had been hearing there were too many farmers, railway workers, coal miners, druggists, doctors, and lawyers. He asked: "As President

of the United States what do you propose to do -- have the people jump in the river?"[14]

It was evident that the once reticent senator had found a topic he could be loquacious about. His enthusiasm led him to more radical views. James W. Gerard, a former United States ambassador to Germany, made a speech in New York City and charged that only fifty-nine men, Mellon, Rockefeller, Morgan, and the like, ruled the United States.[15] Pine seized on Gerard's allegations as evidence supporting his theory, but he claimed these men were "responsible for the present business depression."[16]

The emergence of a strong Democratic candidate gave Pine something else to concentrate upon and made a very lively campaign. A large field of hopefuls competed in the Democratic primary. Henry S. Johnston sought vindication for his ouster from the governorship. Lee Cruce, another former governor, was a bone-dry candidate, and still another ex-governor, J. B. A. Robertson, sought to repeal prohibition. C. J. Wrightsman was a millionaire and perennial political gadfly. The most promising entrant was Thomas P. Gore.

Gore, born in Mississippi in 1870, had come to Oklahoma by way of Texas in 1901. Although blind since childhood, he became very active in politics: territorial legislator, national convention delegate United States Senator from 1907 to 1921. During World War I he had cosponsored the unsuccessful Gore-McLemore resolutions that sought to keep

American citizens off British ships and thereby avoid a confrontation with Germany. He opposed the United States entering the war, the enactment of selective service, and the drafting of conscientious objectors. After the war he opposed ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and participation in the League of Nations. Gore's critics portrayed him as unpatriotic and disloyal to President Woodrow Wilson in the 1920 Democratic primary. Representative Scott Ferris defeated Gore in the primary, but Ferris lost the general election to Republican John W. Harreld.

Gore remained in Washington during the 1920s and worked as a lobbyist and corporation lawyer, but he remained an Oklahoma political fixture. He lost the senatorial nomination to John C. Walton in 1924, flirted with running for the House of Representatives in 1926, served on the Oklahoma delegation to the Democratic national convention in 1928, and campaigned extensively for Alfred E. Smith in 1928. His prolonged residency in Washington did not seem to bother Democratic politicos.[17]

Gore determined that the dire economic conditions of 1930 presented an opportunity to regain a seat in the Senate. He established headquarters at the Huckins Hotel in Oklahoma City, plunged into the primary campaign, and concentrated upon garnering votes from rural areas. Portraying himself as a populist friend of the farmer and opponent of large financial interests, Gore emerged from the July primary with a slim 161 vote lead over Wrightsman. Gore expanded his

populist stance during the run-off contest, pictured himself as impoverished in contrast to Wrightsman's wealth, and formed an alliance with William H. Murray. Murray, the bizarre but extremely popular candidate for governor, had tremendous appeal among rural folk. Gore's strategy worked; he gained the senatorial nomination with a 50,793 vote margin over Wrightsman.[18]

Murray's resurgent popularity surprised many politicians. During much of the 1920s he had been in Bolivia leading an ill-fated colonizing venture. His popularity, however, stemmed from the territorial and early statehood years when he helped write the state's constitution and served in the state and national legislature. An agrarian who believed in the unquestioned efficacy of the Jeffersonian yeoman farmer and the Democratic party, Murray gave voice to the fears and passions of rural Oklahoma and did so with a flair that matched the unusual name of his birthplace, Toadsuck, Texas. In 1929 Murray returned from Bolivia impoverished, but he was confident that he could win the governorship. In January 1930 he announced his candidacy and noted: "The country folk is aroused." His campaign frequently overshadowed the senatorial contest and added another obstacle for the Republicans to overcome.[19]

After the primary elections, leaders of the Republican party congregated at their favorite site, the Skirvin Hotel in Oklahoma City, and concocted a campaign strategy. Pine, national committeeman William G. Skelly, and gubernatorial

hopeful Ira P. Hill agreed that Tulsa attorney George Schwabe would be the campaign manager for the entire ticket. They selected a building in downtown Oklahoma City as headquarters and arranged to operate it twenty-four hours a day. Pine explained to the state executive committee that he intended to run on his record rather than that of the Hoover administration. Since he had always tried to vote according to the needs of Oklahoma, he hoped that individual rather than party issues would secure his election. They all agreed that protecting the interests of independent oil producers would be a universal Republican doctrine.[20]

In addition to his complaints about the nation's monetary system, Pine quickly raised other campaign issues. Standard Oil, a company with a poor public image, had opposed the oil tariff. Pine charged that the Democrats and Gore fought the tariff because they sympathized with Standard's monopolistic tendencies. Gore tended to confirm the charge when he blundered into the proration controversy. Proration was a regulatory scheme that tried to match production with consumption, and the independents thought it favored the major companies.[21] Gore claimed that Pine ignored proration rules and charged: "If I were an oil producer I would play the game according to the rules. I would not be either a pirate or a parasite."[22] This angered most of the industry in Oklahoma.

Pine also courted the drys and the veterans. He had little success convincing the churches that Gore favored the

repeal of prohibition. Veterans readily listened to claims that Gore was disloyal during the war. The Ex-Serviceman's League cooperated and circulated a pamphlet detailing Gore's war record. They admonished: "As a demagog he seeks again to be elected to the high seat he so shamefully disgraced."[23]

The Republican leadership approved of the attacks on Gore, but Pine also criticized the Hoover administration more as the campaign progressed. He familiarized cotton and wheat farmers with his analysis of the economy, the faults of the Federal Reserve System, and the inadequacies of the Farm Board program. Murray castigated Hoover thoroughly, and the Senator tried to portray himself as a Murray sympathizer. Party leaders thought Pine had abandoned Hoover and Hill. When Patrick Hurley campaigned in the state for the Republican ticket, he ignored Pine as a gesture of official displeasure. Pine made a large contribution to the party; it did not modify their anger.[24]

Finances never created problems for Pine. Voters received several campaign newspapers and a pamphlet explaining his platform. The postage was expensive. Using the senate chambers at the state capitol as a set, he filmed a fifteen minute "talking picture" speech. A fleet of trucks equipped with projection and sound equipment carried the free show around the state. All theaters that had sound equipment received a five minute version of the speech. Pine made few personal appearances; the voters heard his speeches on the radio. This was a modern campaign.[25]

Thomas P. Gore waged a more traditional campaign. He gave few speeches over radio and used his exceptional oratorical ability to cajole the voters in person. Holding a Pine Glass Company fruit jar aloft and telling the assembled that it was made for bootleggers was a favorite technique. Hoover's policies and Pine's millionaire status incurred equal invectives.[26] Gore claimed that Pine had only paid taxes in only three of the last eight years, had voted to "remit the taxes of the rich," and had voted to raise the tariff on the school child's chalk and the washerwoman's clothes pins. Gore asked: "Are you pleased with the Hoover-Pine prosperity?"[27]

By criticizing administration policies, Pine blunted Gore's attempt to link him with Hoover, but the Senator was unable to diminish his opponent's sarcastic comments about his wealth. Gore labeled Pine and Lew Wentz, wealthy Ponca City oilman and Republican party boss, the "Gold Dust Twins" and played to the prejudices of class distinction. The election was a referendum that pitched the evils of wealth against the virtues of poverty. His political literature proclaimed: "God vs Gold, Man vs Mammon, Gore vs Pine."

Gore was following the pattern established by Murray. Beginning with the announcement of his candidacy, this gangly, mustached figure in an ill-fitting suit emphasized his diminished finances. A diet of cheese and crackers on the campaign trail became a gimmick that underscored his condition. Proposals concerning free textbooks, governmental

economy, and tax reform, coupled with numerous jibes at the privileged, attracted increasingly larger crowds to hear Murray speak. Gore, with his blindness and assertions about a modest income, became a junior partner in this crusade. Orange and black bumper stickers, "Murray-Gore," reminded everyone of the partnership.[28]

The candidates made their last appeal to the electorate on the evening of November 3. Broadcasting from the studios of station KFJF in Oklahoma City and over a statewide network, Pine told his listeners that record and seniority superseded party considerations. He had tried to give Oklahoma a voice in national affairs and to represent the interests of the West. Gore represented the East and opposed the oil tariff. Gore was a good "story teller," but: "The problems of this state are economic problems, and a story teller cannot solve them."[29] Gore spoke from the same studio and followed Pine. He recounted his now familiar litany against Pine and urged: "A tree, even a pine, should be judged by its fruit. If you prefer bars to fruit, vote for senator Pine."[30]

Oklahomans voted on November 4, and prognosticators predicted that Murray's popularity would pull Gore into office. It did. Murray swamped Hill and won by a wider margin than Gore. Pine carried only twenty-six counties and received 232,589(47.6%) votes. Pine did well in the wheat producing areas of the west, the central counties, the northeast quarter, Oklahoma City and Tulsa. Murray's

popularity reduced ballot splitting in these areas, and Pine's margin over Gore was not as great as it had been over John C. Walton in 1924. Gore swept the remaining fifty-one counties and received 255,838(52.3%) votes. The Murray vote enhanced Gore's margin over Pine in the southern and southeastern counties. In many of these the vote for Gore exceeded 70 percent.[31]

The election had been a disaster for the Oklahoma Republican party. Only one representative to Washington and a few state legislators remained in office. Pine's defeat removed the party's most popular figure from public view. Private citizens, such as William Skelly, or administration officials, such as Patrick Hurley, replaced Pine as party figureheads, but their positions failed to match the prestige and deference accorded a United States Senator. The leadership of the party, however, perversely indicated they considered Pine's passing beneficial. Hoover's success in the 1932 presidential election greatly concerned them. They feared Pine might continue to fault Hoover, seize control of the party structure, and send an anti-Hoover delegation to the national convention. They resolved to require that future Republican candidates support the administration.[32]

Pine used the image of a solitary pine tree as his campaign symbol.[33] It fit him and the campaign perfectly. Being the "Lonesome Pine" may have contributed to his defeat. A certain amount of sniping at the administration fell within the bounds of a difficult re-election bid. He

exceeded the limits of Republican tolerance, however, and lost the political nurturing that a party provides: workers, patronage, the interest of the courthouse crowd, more patronage.

The presentation of certain issues diminished the chances of attracting more voters. Pine developed an economic policy that could have gained the attention of a broad spectrum of voters, but he packaged and sold it to small town bankers and other chamber-of-commerce types. He publicized the oil tariff issue, but he ignored the fact that consumers outnumbered producers. Only 23,249 votes separated Pine from Gore; correction of these flaws might have narrowed the difference.

If Pine had any thoughts about the election or the Republican Party, he kept them to himself. He shunned publicity. The Senator returned to Washington for the third session of Congress that began on December 1, 1930. He attended to the handling of routine committee reports on the Senate Floor, but he never participated in the debates. He exercised his prerogative to insert material into the Congressional Record and insured that his views would pass into history. A campaign speech, "The Rules of the Game," revealed his thoughts on banking, and a speech by Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas mirrored his position on the oil tariff.[34] He never used the last four months in office to harangue Hoover, criticize Gore, or regain his political prestige. He was a "lame-duck" senator in the fullest sense.

ENDNOTES

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[14]W. B. Pine, "Rules of the Game," printed pamphlet, p. 6, William B. Pine Collection.

[15]New York Times, August 1, 1930, p. 1.

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[17]Gaston Litton, History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1957),1:573-574; U.S., Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Congressional Directory, December 1931 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931),p.90; an extensive review of Gore's career may be found in Monroe Lee Billington's Thomas P. Gore: The Blind Senator From Oklahoma (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1967).

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[19]A complete account of Murray's life may be found in Keith L. Bryant's Alfalfa Bill Murray (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

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[21]Ibid., August 23, 1930, p. 9; Myron W. Watkins, Oil: Stabilization or Conservation (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937) pp. 44-48.

[22]Harlow's Weekly, October 18, 1930, p. 4.

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[24]New York Times, October 26, 1930, p.2N; Daily Oklahoman, October 27, 1930, p. 1,13.

[25]Ibid.; Oklahoma City Times, August 27, 1930, p.1.

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[27]"God vs Gold, Man vs Mammon, Gore vs Pine," printed pamphlet, Thomas P. Gore Collection.

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[29]Daily Oklahoman, November 4, 1930, p. 4.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Harlow's Weekly, November 8, 1930, pp. 12-15; Oklahoma State Election Board, Directory:1931, p. 1; Oklahoma, State Election Board, General Election Returns, November 4, 1930, pp. 2-4, Oklahoma State Archives, State Archives and Records Division, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[32]Harlow's Weekly, November 8, 1930, p. 15.

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CHAPTER VI

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CITIZEN

The Seventy-First Congress ended on March 4, 1931, and Senator William B. Pine became a private citizen again. He had retained most of his original business and oil interests and added some new ones while in Congress. He now faced the challenge of keeping them from becoming victims of the Great Depression. His wealth and business acumen, combined with the energetic assistance of his brother, Roswell D. Pine, provided the resources needed in hard times.

In addition to Roswell, other members of the family played a role in Pine's commercial realm. By mixing business and family interests, they became an enclave in the community and an extended family headed by the Senator. The 1930s also tested the fortunes of the family.

While the Senator worked in Washington and travelled about on business, Laura M. Pine remained in Okmulgee and cared for their son, William H. Pine. She was an active participant in the work of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and several local social clubs, and this may have compensated somewhat for her husband's absences. She also presided over one of the more prestigious homes in Okmulgee. After their

marriage they had lived at 106 North Seminole Street, an unfashionable half-block from the main business thoroughfare. Around 1920 they moved to a modest two story frame house at 606 North Seminole and lived there until the start of the senate years. Their final residence, at 420 North Seminole, was about three times larger and constructed of a dark brown brick. Large multipaned windows lighted its spacious rooms, and a red tile roof gave the two story house an imposing appearance.

None of the Senator's brothers equalled his wealth or prominence. Harry G. Pine and his wife, Edna, resided in an apartment in Okmulgee for a period during the 1920s. He managed the Creek Motor Company, an automobile dealership in which the Senator was an investor, and served as vice-president of the Pine Glass Corporation. In the 1930s they returned to farming near Bluffs, Illinois. John M. Pine never succumbed to Oklahoma's lure and became a successful small businessman and farmer near Winchester, Illinois. Grant S. Pine remained in Oklahoma and pursued the oil business, but the Pine knack for success seemed to elude him. In the 1930s he and his wife, Catherine, lived in the house at 606 North Seminole, but they were considered a part of the Senator's household.

Roswell D. Pine seemed more like the Senator and was his life-long business and political confidant. Roswell and his wife, Louise, lived in Okmulgee, eventually settled into a comfortable house at 1231 East 10th Street, and

raised a family of two boys and one girl. Roswell had oil ventures of his own, but he continued to serve as manager of the Pine business interests and invested his money in some of them. In the late 1930s the Senator's son began assuming some of these duties.[1]

As Senator Pine's public commitments drew to a close, he initiated steps to expand his glass manufacturing and refining interests and to establish a new endeavor. While he was in Washington, the Senator had visited Smithfield, Virginia. He saw the large operation that produced the famed Smithfield ham and decided to create such an operation in Oklahoma. Pine and Roswell began acquiring land along the Deep Fork River near Okmulgee in the late 1920s. By 1937 they had purchased 20,000 acres, and with the guidance of C. P. "Doc" Thompson of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in Stillwater, they turned it into a model agricultural industry. A variety of grasses and clovers covered the previously worthless uplands. Fields of standard crops complemented more exotic plantings: pumpkin, artichoke, citron, whippoorwill peas, and kudzu. A massive hog operation on 5,000 hog-tight acres produced butcher and breeding stock. From a herd of over 8,000 Hampshires, the farm shipped carload lots to Kansas City and St. Louis packers and marketed registered stock by auction. A newspaper reporter labeled the farm an "agricultural institution." Pine's vision of an integrated raising, packing, and retailing business never evolved, and he discontinued the operation in

1940. It was likely that the economics of the depression years made the farm unprofitable.[2]

Pine also hoped to resurrect the declining glass industry in Okmulgee. Of the five plants operating in the 1920s, only the Southwestern Sheet Glass Company remained in operation. Pine was its vice-president, but he was more interested in manufacturing bottles and jars. In mid-1931 the Senator and Roswell purchased the inactive Interstate Glass plant and announced they planned to reopen it.

They believed several factors favored their action. The Ball Brothers had suspended production at the plant obtained from the Pines in 1929 and no longer competed in the region's markets. Competition could be enhanced by using trucks to distribute the product and avoid unfair railroad rates. They and Dr. Robert M. Isham, a noted industrial chemist from Okmulgee, had purchased an option on a magnesium rich dolomite deposit, needed in glass production, in the Arbuckle Mountains near Bromide, Oklahoma. J. B. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, local glass makers, had developed new mechanical and processing techniques for manufacturing glass. Pine had financed their work and owned 60 percent of the patents. All of this failed to open the Interstate plant. The Ball Brothers plant reopened again, and Pine may not have wanted to compete.[3]

The talents of Dr. Robert M. Isham played an important role in the changes Pine envisaged for refining. Isham had worked for the Empire Refining Company and achieved fame by

discovering the process for extracting alcohol from petroleum. He left the company and established a consulting business in Okmulgee. Using funds supplied by the Senator and Roswell, Isham built a small refinery outside Okmulgee and attempted to produce gasoline with high anti-knock properties. Four patents resulted from these experiments, 75 percent owned by the Pines, but the process failed to produce the desired effect.[4]

The Senator's grandiose scheme to rejuvenate Okmulgee failed, but in reality he had risked little. The hog farm required land and labor, but both commodities were cheap. Dollar an acre land and dollar a day labor were common. He risked about $30,000 on the glass plant but acquired electrical generating equipment applicable to another business. In addition, his action may have forced Ball Brothers to reopen their plant and create jobs. The venture with Isham was a gamble, but its size required little capital.[5]

Most of Pine's other major business investments survived the depression years. The staid banking business did not prosper, but it did not fail. Deposits at the Central National Bank of Okmulgee, of which Pine became president in 1930, dropped from $4,368,440 in 1929 to $2,388,000 in 1934 and remained in that range for the rest of the decade. The bank paid no dividends on its shares from 1930 to 1935. When it resumed dividends in 1935, the rates were half of the pre-1930 rate of 10 percent. By the early 1940s the bank was in sound condition, and the appraised value of

investors' shares exceeded their $100.00 face value by 50 percent. Pine's other venture into finance, the Okmulgee Building and Loan Association, remained open, but it was a minor investment.[6]

The Senator confined his commercial investments to local businesses and a few small oil companies that operated primarily in Oklahoma. The Creek Hotel, the Creek Motor Company, and the Algyre-Gilmore Company never survived the depression, and neither did most of the oil companies. His holdings earned him the presidency of the Burns Tool Company and the Okmulgee Producers and Manufacturers Gasoline Company, and the vice-presidency of the Sun Lumber Company. These stayed open but they did not prosper.[7]

These investments were small in comparison to Pine's oil and gas operations. Although the oil and gas industry was not extremely prosperous during the 1930s, the Pine Oil Company continued to show good returns. By the end of the decade, total oil production exceeded 350,000 barrels per year on an investment of 6.5 million dollars. Most of his leases were concentrated in the oil fields around Shawnee and Seminole, Oklahoma.[8]

Despite the complexity of the Senator's business affairs, he maintained an active interest in all of them, and Roswell used telegrams to keep him informed when he was out of town. This 1932 telegram is revealing:

> HAVE THREE HUNDRED SEVENTY PIGS GOOD CONDITION . . . HARVESTING PEANUTS FINE CROPS . . . SEVERAL ACRES SEED BED PREPARED AWAITING YOUR ORDERS . . . ABOUT

FORTY ACRES HILL AND HILLSIDE CLEARED . . .
HASKELL WELLS SHUT DOWN TILL YOU RETURN . . .
FENCE POST SET TO THE SPRING . . . REFINERY
WAITING FOR THERMOCOUPLE . . . PAINT MOVING NICELY[9]

The pressures of business did not prevent Pine from considering another public office. Politics still appealed to him, and without fanfare he filed for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1934. He shunned campaigning and relied on the recognition of his name to capture the nomination. The tactic worked against obscure rivals. He received 60,347 votes, Ray Farrell obtained 4,424, and Rexford B. Gragg garnered 4,299. The vicious onslaught of the depression had discredited Republicanism, and the convolutions of Oklahoma politics had created different conditions than those existing in 1924 or 1930. Pine, however, seriously believed he could become governor[10] on his platform: "honest, intelligent, aggressive, economical government."[11]

By 1934 the influences of drought and economic calamity upon Oklahoma had wreaked havoc with the land and the people. After some rainfall in 1931 the ensuing years were a decade of drought. In 1934 some areas produced no crops. Farmers fortunate enough to raise wheat or cotton sold them on a market so depressed that it nearly made drying out preferable. The discovery of new and prolific oil fields in Texas and Oklahoma resulted in more product than the economy could absorb in the early 1930s. Per capita income dropped from two-thirds of the national average in 1929 to $216.00 or about half the national average in 1933. In 1934 the

federal government authorized the state to hire 102,000 men for relief work, but hard times still prevailed.[12]

Such massive federal relief was one indicator of how the role of the national government had changed since President Herbert Hoover faced the onset of depression. Franklin D. Roosevelt had defeated Hoover in the 1932 elections and carried a like-minded Congress into office with him. After his inaugural in 1933 Roosevelt and Congress churned out a blizzard of new laws and their consequent agencies. Providing the distressed with relief, rescuing flawed economic institutions by reform, and creating policies leading industry to recovery constituted Roosevelt's New Deal and changed forever the character of American government. Politicians on the left and the right of the political spectrum criticized Roosevelt, and the President and his advisers viewed the coming elections, whether state or federal, as a test of his popularity and the efficacy of the New Deal. In Oklahoma Roosevelt and the New Deal became issues of the campaign.[13]

Governor William H. Murray also influenced this election. A number of measures improving state government marked his governorship, but his administration had also been a series of uproarious and controversial incidents. Critics pointed to more than incidental corruption. The huge influx of federal relief funds set Murray, no admirer of Roosevelt or the New Deal, at odds with the administration over the control of relief funds and the

potent patronage this entailed. The government, encouraged by the Oklahoma congressional delegation, removed the administration of relief from Murray's jurisdiction just before the primary elections.[14]

The Governor still retained considerable popularity among rural voters, and he tried to perpetuate his influence by entering a slate of candidates in the Democratic primary. Murray endorsed Tom Anglin for governor, and Anglin, the Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, became his apologist. Anglin's chief rival, Ernest W. Marland, campaigned on the slogan: "Bring the New Deal to Oklahoma." More Democrats preferred the New Deal to Murray, and Marland led the primary balloting. Anglin withdrew from the run-off primary, and Marland became the nominee. A disgruntled Murray began considering the merits of the Republican candidate.[15]

Marland, born in 1874, came to Oklahoma in 1908 from Pennsylvania, quickly succeeded as a wildcatter, and eventually became something of a living legend. Operating out of Ponca City, he created the Marland Oil Company and an integrated empire of production, pipelines, refining, and marketing. He earned a reputation for fairness and generosity by paying his employees well and by funding a variety of civic projects. An unwise business arrangement with the Morgan Bank of New York City and poor oil prices in the late 1920s crumbled the empire. Although financially ruined and forced out of his company, he retained the public's

admiration. He earned a seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1932 and became a fervent admirer of President Roosevelt. In late 1933 Marland rose on the House floor and announced he was running for governor. After his primary victory, this goal seemed certain.[16]

Pine and the leaders of the Republican party seriously underestimated Marland's popularity and thought the issue of good government would attract voters. They realized, however, that Oklahomans heartily approved of Roosevelt, and at the Republican convention in August they attacked neither the President nor his programs. They developed a platform assailing waste and fraud in the administration of relief, and Pine told the convention that "good Democrats and Republicans" must join forces and remove "racketeers" from state government. Concerning Roosevelt, Pine pledged: "If I am elected Governor of the State, I shall cooperate fully with the President of the United States; aggressively when I think he is right and silently when in doubt and at all times I will vote and work and pray for a successful national administration."[17]

Pine tried to diminish his Republican label by portraying himself as being sympathetic to the New Deal. He also rewrote history and made his earlier criticism of the banking system into a prediction of the depression. His investigation of the coal strike became a liberal crusade. He pledged to support Roosevelt, but being mindful of the cotton farmers' anger over controls on production, he

criticized the Bankhead Cotton Control Act and its enforcement by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.[18]

Pine tried to impress the voters with promises that emphasized good government. He would not "usurp the functions of the Legislature or the Supreme Court." He would "observe the laws strictly . . . and require others to do the same." He claimed: "I will reduce expenses, increase efficiency, eliminate graft, prevent the appointment of relatives and political henchmen, and drive the racketeers from the Capitol."[19] Without mentioning his name, Pine was running against Murray.

Pine tried to connect Marland with the corruption issue and inflicted the most damage on Marland by releasing the "Dear Grover" letter. Marland had written Grover Blackard, manager of the Marland Estate, Inc., a letter detailing how a relief housing project could be approved and built with federal funds. The project would be built on Marland's land and appeared to be for his profit. Pine tried to make this the central issue of the campaign but failed.[20]

Marland effectively countered his opponent's tactics. His campaign literature reminded Oklahomans of his "great oil company," of his "humanitarian" work, and of his revised slogan: "Bring the New Deal to Oklahoma and make it click."[21] Marland vowed: "It is my plan to establish an economic and governmental program in Oklahoma that will mean a home and job for the head of every family in the state."[22] His campaign organization suggested that Pine paid his

employees low wages, that his farm workers lived in horrible shacks, and that he evaded taxes. The biggest boost to Marland's campaign came from Roosevelt. James Farley, the President's chief dispenser of patronage, sent a letter of support for Marland to party officials on the county level.[23]

Pine received help from two unexpected sources. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, endorsed him and repaid a debt dating from the senate years when Pine voted against Judge John J. Parker's confirmation. Governor Murray, as dissatisfied with Marland as he was with Roosevelt, allowed his organization's newspaper, the Blue Valley Farmer, to print articles praising Pine and attacking Marland.[24] Unimpressed by Murray's actions, Marland bragged: "I am very fortunate in having the opportunity to kill the political future of these two birds with one stone."[25]

At the close of the campaign Pine addressed a rally in the Tulsa Coliseum and predicted a victory. An audience of 5,000 heard him claim: "I have 100,000 Democratic friends who vote for me. They did it in 1924 for the United States senate and I have yet to find one who said he regretted it."[26] Pine deluded himself. Marland was not Walton; the times had changed. The November 6 election was a Marland landslide, 365,992 to 243,841. Marland's 58.2 percent of the vote nearly equalled Pine's 61.5 percent showing in 1924.[27]

After the election a discouraged Pine admitted he had misjudged his following, but voting irregularities made the margin larger. The Republicans did not have enough poll watchers, and this resulted in polling places without booths, secret balloting, or properly stamped and verified ballots. The Democrats supposedly obtained an extra 25,000 votes through these methods and "bought others with relief grocery orders."[28]

Shortly after the election, the Senator suffered another loss, but this was private. Laura, his wife, entered a Tulsa hospital for treatment of cancer. She never recovered and died in the hospital on July 5, 1935, at the age of fifty-seven. After funeral services at the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Okmulgee, she was buried in the family plot at the Okmulgee Cemetery on July 7.[29]

The depression still plagued the nation after 1934, and Pine continued his usual business routine. He had to contend with another problem, however, that had not been as prevelant in the nation before the New Deal. On July 5, 1935, Roosevelt signed into law the National Labor Relations Act. Written by Pine's former colleague in the coal strike investigation, Senator Robert Wagner of New York, and commonly called the Wagner Act, it allowed unions to organize workers and to bargin collectively. It also established the National Labor Relations Board as judicator of these rights. Organized labor derived immediate benefits from the act and other New Deal legislation. Union memebership

increased from about 2.8 million in 1932 to 8.4 million in 1941. Similar rates of progression marked the incidence of strikes and other job actions.[30]

In the Oklahoma oil fields, the International Oil Field Workers Union started intensive organizing activities in the late 1930s. Labor and management frequently clashed. In the fall of 1937 several strikes broke out in the fields. Near Ardmore a dispute over recognition of the union and reinstatement of discharged workers required Governor Marland to use the Oklahoma National Guard to patrol sixty wells operated by the Jones Company. Until a settlement could be reached, the guard prevented violence and kept management and labor off the leases.[31]

Near Seminole Pine pushed his employees into a strike. On August 21, 1937, twenty-six of thirty-three workers chose union representation. They sought recognition from Pine; he refused to see them. He also avoided talking to a representative of the National Labor Relations Board. On October 13 two roustabouts declined to do a fishing job because they were not paid for that type of work. Pine fired them, and the union closed down his fifteen leases in the Seminole Field. Jack Livingston and Maurice Ballard, union leaders, indicated the strike would end when Pine recognized the union, bargained with it, and reinstated the two men. Pickets blocked access to the leases and indicated a willingness to do battle if necessary.[32]

Pine claimed the union represented only a minority of

the workers. The two fired men just did not want to work. Roswell, who had a minor altercation with the pickets, was more conciliatory; he explained: "We are just going to have to rock along until the thing is worked out. All of our efforts will be in an orderly and legal direction."[33]

The union appealed to the National Labor Relations Board for assistance. Pine tried to stall the NLRB investigation, but he eventually agreed to collective bargaining and signed a contract in February, 1938. The contract featured a forty hour work-week, wages of three dollars per hour, arbitration and grievance procedures, and a seniority formula. Pine claimed he signed the contract because he feared violence from the union.[34]

Pine's experiences with the union may have been one of the reasons he sought elective office in 1942. The President and the New Deal were less popular and Roosevelt's election to a third term of office in 1940 had galled conservatives. The world was at war and this overshadowed politics, but there was grumbling about bungling the war effort. Pine entered the Republican primary for the United States senatorial nomination and again had two obscure opponents. Without campaigning Pine received 27,819 votes; his rivals divided 8,239 ballots between them.[35]

In the Democratic primary the incumbent, Senator Joshua Bryan Lee, emerged as the victor. A former speech professor at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Lee had won a seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1934 and a

place in the United States Senate in 1936. Although not very popular and short on personality, Lee elected to stay in Washington during the summer rather than campaign in Oklahoma. He was leading a futile and ridiculous attempt to ban alcohol from military posts and reservations.[36]

Pine planned to run an anti-New Deal campaign and hoped for bipartisan support. He asked Thomas P. Gore for an endorsement. His old nemesis sympathized but declined. Pine had a special issue to use against Lee. A secretary who worked for Lee during the primary came to Pine and reported serious legal and ethical violations by Lee. Kickbacks from war contractors, use of federal employees and equipment in the primary, and demands for $10,000 and $8,000 payments from cities that had military bases nearby highlighted a list of charges he could use against Lee.[37]

Pine intended to open his campaign at the end of August. On the afternoon of August 25 he was working in his office on a campaign slogan for a match-book cover, "This time vote for America as you understand it," when he collapsed and died of a coronary occlusion at the age of sixty-four.[38]

Three days later Senator Pine's funeral was held at the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Okmulgee. His son, William H., came home from service in the United States Army at Sheppard Field, Texas. Brothers Harry and John arrived from Illinois; Roswell and Grant lived in Okmulgee. These relatives received messages of condolence from across the

nation, and the numerous honorary pallbearers were a pantheon of Oklahoma oilmen and politicians. After services conducted by Dr. I. W. Armstrong, assisted by Dr. E. A. Bleck of the First Presbyterian Church and Dr. E. L. Watson of the First Baptist Church, Pine was buried in a prestigious section of the Okmulgee Cemetery alongside his wife.[39]

One of the men bearing the Senator's solid copper coffin that day was Edward Hall Moore. One week later, September 4, the Republican's central committee announced Moore's selection as Pine's replacement in the Senate race. Oklahoma's election laws allowed the Republicans to appoint anyone they wanted, and rumors suggested a variety of candidates were in line for the post, ranging from the Senator's son to Lew Wentz. Party leaders favored Moore from the beginning, however. He was willing to run, able to finance his campaign, and against the New Deal. His connection with Pine, Okmulgee, and ensuing political events marked one of the more unusual aspects of Oklahoma history.[40]

Moore, born in Missouri on November 19, 1871, came to Okmulgee shortly after 1901 and practiced law until 1919. He entered the oil business and organized the Independent Oil and Gas Company with properties in Kansas and Oklahoma. He sold the company to the famed Waite Phillips and established a large ranch northeast of Okmulgee. Unable to resist the lure of oil, he entered the business again and opened the prolific Fitts Pool near Ada, Oklahoma, in 1933.

A resident of Tulsa and a well known conservative

Democrat in 1942, Moore switched his party registration before his official certification as the Republican senatorial candidate on September 11. Political observers seemed to think that a popular draft induced the Republicans to choose him. In tantalizing retrospect, it could be postulated that the politicos attending Pine's funeral hatched Moore's candidacy.

Moore turned his former political status into an asset. He emphasized his Democratic heritage and labeled himself as a coalition candidate. While Lee debated prohibition in Washington, Moore vigorously waged an anti-New Deal campaign featuring sharp attacks on labor policy that encouraged "irresponsible" and "treasonable" unions. Lee never returned to Oklahoma until late October, and he never overcame Moore's lead. The elderly, millionaire oilman won by 37,510 votes. Pine seemed to have been planning a similar type of campaign; it might be posited that he would have enjoyed a similar victory.[41]

The Republican party easily filled the void created by Pine's death, but some Okmulgeeans were unsure about the future of their town. A local newspaper editor noted that Pine had mitigated the impact of the depression on Okmulgee. He freely gave good financial counsel to some businessmen, and only his closest friends knew that he made loans to others and kept their businesses open. Political opponents criticized the low wages he paid, but few realized: "Those who benefited know that he did not compel anybody to work

for $1 a day, that he employed anybody and everybody who wanted to work, and that the work they did was not urgent or even essential to W. B. Pine." The editor warned: "The shock of his sudden death has not yet worn off nor has Okmulgee yet come to full realization of its loss in the passing."[42]

Pine died intestate, and a protracted settlement of his estate followed. The court appointed his only progeny, William H. Pine, as executor, and three local businessmen, with a sympathetic eye towards the demands of the tax collector, appraised the estate at $1,225,611.65. After disposing of numerous legal matters and payment of $388,643.49 in federal and state inheritance taxes, the court transferred the Senator's financial legacy to his son on January 2, 1948.[43]

A considerable discrepency existed between the appraised value of Pine's estate and the 6.5 million dollars he reported as an investment in oil several years earlier. A different type of accounting procedure, a drop in oil production, and an undervalued appraisal might have accounted for some of the difference, but the lower figure was an indicator that he had not prospered during the depression or possessed any superior faculty for making money.

Unlike other Oklahomans, Pine was not reduced to desperate financial straits, and as a private citizen, he tried to help others by keeping his businesses open, by

providing jobs, and by investing in local concerns. A comparable civic mindedness seems to have motivated the Senator to seek the governorship. Murray's administration had created havoc in the state; Pine's business acumen could restore efficiency and order. Blending the roles of private and public citizen, however, did not appeal to the electorate. Whether they would have made the same judgement in 1942 may only be surmised.

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[34]Edwin A. Elliott to W. B. Pine, September 2, 1937; W. B. Pine to Maurice Daly and attached agreement, February 4, 1929; House Committee Questionnaire from Special Committee to Investigate the National Labor Relations Board, September 16, 1939, William B. Pine Collection.

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[42]Okmulgee newspaper clipping, August 28, 1942, William B. Pine Collection.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In viewing the life of William B. Pine some observations made by Wilhelm Dilthey, a late nineteenth century philosopher of history in Germany, seem appropriate. Dilthey considered biography a valuable historical tool; an "individual life" was the most "individual context" that penetrated the "historical world". He theorized that historicity prevailed in biography: "All the outer events of a life, right up to the time of death, can become the subject matter of understanding; the only limit is the amount of material preserved."[1]

The Senator's career has passed into history within these contexts. Sufficient information from the "outer events" permitted the reconstruction of his life, and this construction provided an "individual context" illuminating his times. Unlike many politicians Pine was reticent about broadcasting his thoughts. The absence of a voluminous written record limited exploring the inner motivations and processes of the man. Some logical conclusions and reasonable speculations may be developed about him, however.

Historians, emphasizing the more popular and volatile politicians and political developments, have tended to

overlook the less glamorous figures and issues existing in Oklahoma after statehood. This oversight applied to William B. Pine, and his more obscure status might be attributed to the dominating publicity accorded John C. Walton and William H. Murray at the beginning and end of his senatorial term. In retrospect, however, the various facets of his career interwined with noteworthy local and national developments.

As a politician able to garner votes, the Senator established a mixed record. He won four Republican primaries but lost two of three general elections. Of these campaigns, the one in 1924 was the most significant. The obituary that the New York Times published emphasized Pine's victory over Walton. The newspaper noted that some considered it a Ku Klux Klan victory, but others attributed it to disgruntled Democrats splitting ballots.[2] This question has been debated ever since 1924. That campaign and election became Pine's most enduring legacy. It was colorful, dramatic, and national in importance. The Senator's other electoral accomplishments paled in comparison. He lost to Thomas P. Gore in 1930 by a slim margin, and this reflected the indecision of the voters about the candidates and the course to choose in those unusual times. The popularity of the President, the New Deal, and Ernest W. Marland made the 1934 contest a mere exercise in citizenship for Pine. His plans for the 1942 contest demonstrated that the New Deal could be criticized.

In the United States Senate Pine seemed to be motivated

by parochial rather than national interests. Protectionism for Oklahoma's petroleum industry took precedence over the negative aspects of increased tariffs. A defense of the local probate system became an important part of an investigation into the operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The examinations of banking, agricultural commodity prices, and the Federal Reserve system were parts of an exploration of the greater economic issues of the times.

A reticent personality hampered Pine's effectiveness as a senator and contributed to his continually diminishing political fortunes. He did not inspire loyalty or action, and his naivete blunted his political effectiveness. He seemed to assume that merely exposing corruption or injustice would provide a remedy and capture votes. A freshman senator in the 1920s had few opportunities to exercise power in the Senate, but he missed many chances to build his image. He passed over opportunities to become the forceful inquisitor in committee hearings, and other senators, such as Burton K. Wheeler, grabbed the headlines. He also failed to obtain maximum public exposure from the bills he introduced and the debates in which he participated. His resolution calling for an investigation into the nation's economic system, for example, was never exploited as a device to obtain votes in 1930.

Concerning his political philosophy, the Senator was an elusive figure. In 1924 most observers considered Pine an unknown entity; he seemed to confirm the observation.

Professing to be a "regular Republican" and a "Coolidge man" contrasted with assertions that no particular theory guided him. In the Senate Pine sided with insurgent Republicans and others of progressive sympathies but not frequently enough to be branded as one of the "Sons of the Wild Jackass." Gore in 1930 and Marland in 1934 tried to picture him as a wealthy malefactor. In 1942 his successor, Edward H. Moore, asserted: "Pine was not really a Republican. He was a liberal."[3] Seven years later a historian suggested the Senator might have been a progressive.[4]

Of the various political trends in the nation, the Senator seemed to be comfortable with many progressive positions. During the first two decades of the century a complex variety of responses to the impact of industrialization created a political and social movement that cut across party lines and influenced presidential and local politics. Adherents to this progressive impulse--usually white, middle class professionals and small businessmen--believed in using government as the instrument of a moral society to intervene in societal problems. Correcting social injustices, applying technology to social problems, and defending the individual against monopolistic practices were general goals. In the 1920s conflict and intellectual stagnation within the movement, defections to other groups, and the attraction of "regular" Republicanism weakened progressivism, but it still influenced politicians.[5]

Pine fit the progressive mold in terms of social class,

belief in modernization, acceptance of prohibition, and distaste for large economic concentrations, but he shied away from extending the power of government. He voted against the Farm Board because it was a "giant instrumentality," and he wanted decentralization of the Federal Reserve. The Senator wanted equity between the East and the West, and this was similar to the Midwestern progressives' view that "Wall Street" exploited their region like a colony.[6] He did not share, however, their radical passions for governmental reform. Collective action was an enduring feature of the movement;[7] the Senator pursued an opposite course. His campaign symbol of a single pine tree made that clear.

The Senator's deviations from Republican regularity might be explained best by a social theory and his religion. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a period matching Pine's formative years, Andrew Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth became one of the more popular social and economic theories. It held that a proper man of wealth lived a moderate life and used his wealth and knowledge for the benefit of society. This notion of trusteeship became popular amongst cultural moderators. Protestant ministers preached it from their pulpits, and children read about it in their schoolbooks. The Gospel of Wealth complemented Methodist ideas about stewardship, and the various divisions of the denomination accepted it.[8]

The Senator's private and public behavior matched the dictums of the Gospel of Wealth and the theory of

stewardship. He and his wife lived a moderate life and attended the Methodist Episcopal Church in Okmulgee. Reading passages from the Bible every morning was a habit when he stayed in Washington.[9] Pine tried to use his wealth and influence to improve Okmulgee and the entire state. In his opinion large financial institutions used their wealth and power unwisely and abused their position. In the Senate Pine's Gospel of Wealth and stewardship impulses often carried him into the progressive column, but it was doubtful that he thought of himself as a progressive.

These motivations explained Pine's contradictory attitudes towards organized labor; he supported labor by favoring them in the coal strike investigation but opposed labor in private. The casualties of the coal strike were victims of monopolistic abuses and deserved help. If his employees exercised their legal rights to collect disability compensation, to form a union, or to strike, they violated the code of individualism inherent in his religion and the Gospel of Wealth. They were not victims of his wealth and supposedly had the ability to improve themselves in other ways.

An incident involving the foreman of Pine's hog farm illustrated his concept of the proper relationship with labor. In 1930 Thomas J. Stout began working for Pine and remained a regular employee. In 1936 Stout developed a cancer on his face and could not work, but the Senator paid his expenses until he died in October.[10] Stout's affliction and financial condition were beyond his control; he deserved help and received it.

Another facet of the Senator's character may be judged by an encounter with Waite Phillips. Some Tulsa oilmen held bonds issued by the Italian government, and there seemed to be the possibility that the United States would approve of and participate in their cancellation. Phillips, who had bought some of the bonds, went to Washington to discuss the subject with Pine. The Senator knew why Phillips was there, feared the discussion might compromise his integrity, and rebuffed Phillips. Phillips returned to Oklahoma, reminded Roswell D. Pine of the campaign contributions he had extracted from Tulsa oilmen and suggested that he deserved better treatment. Roswell reported to his brother: "He, of course, talked with me for the purpose of getting the information to you that he was not entirely satisfied...."[11].

Phillips and Pine remained friends, but the Senator had more trouble with the Oklahoma Republican leadership during the 1930 elections. They resented his criticism of Hoover; Pine and the party parted ways. It was doubtful whether Pine and the leaders of the Republican party realized how their fortunes intertwined during the 1920s. They never found a common ground that united them or that attracted votes. The party looked to Washington for power and legitimacy and failed to create a stable base of local office-holders. Pine looked only to himself and helped no one.

William G. Skelly and Lew Wentz became party bosses and dictated its stance well into the 1940s, but the party did not prosper.[12] The quality of Pine's primary opposition

gauged the Republicans' poor health. A vigorous primary campaign produced a viable candidate in 1924. No decent opposition surfaced in 1930, 1934 or 1942; the party was moribund. Moore's selection was another example of party weakness and the influence of brokers. Pine's wealth was one reason Republican politicos welcomed his attempts to gain public office; he could finance his campaigns. This factor was a problem for them when he died and influenced the selection of Moore.[13]

Oklahoma's newspaper editors noticed other contributions that Pine made, and in the final analysis their reaction was probably representative of current opinion. The Tulsa Tribune observed: "It will be difficult to replace him on the ticket--on any party's ticket--or in the business and civic life of the state." This editor also reasoned: "After he acquired money in oil he spread his investments and his labor over four fields nearly uniformly--oil, farming, commercial banking and industry. Of course that killed him, carrying the load for years that three or four should have carried."[14] The Daily Oklahoman offered the platitude: "He was honest and diligent and sober. And he was faithful to his trust." Its editor, however, had the last word: "There is much in this man's story that may be pondered with profit by the people of Oklahoma."[15]

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