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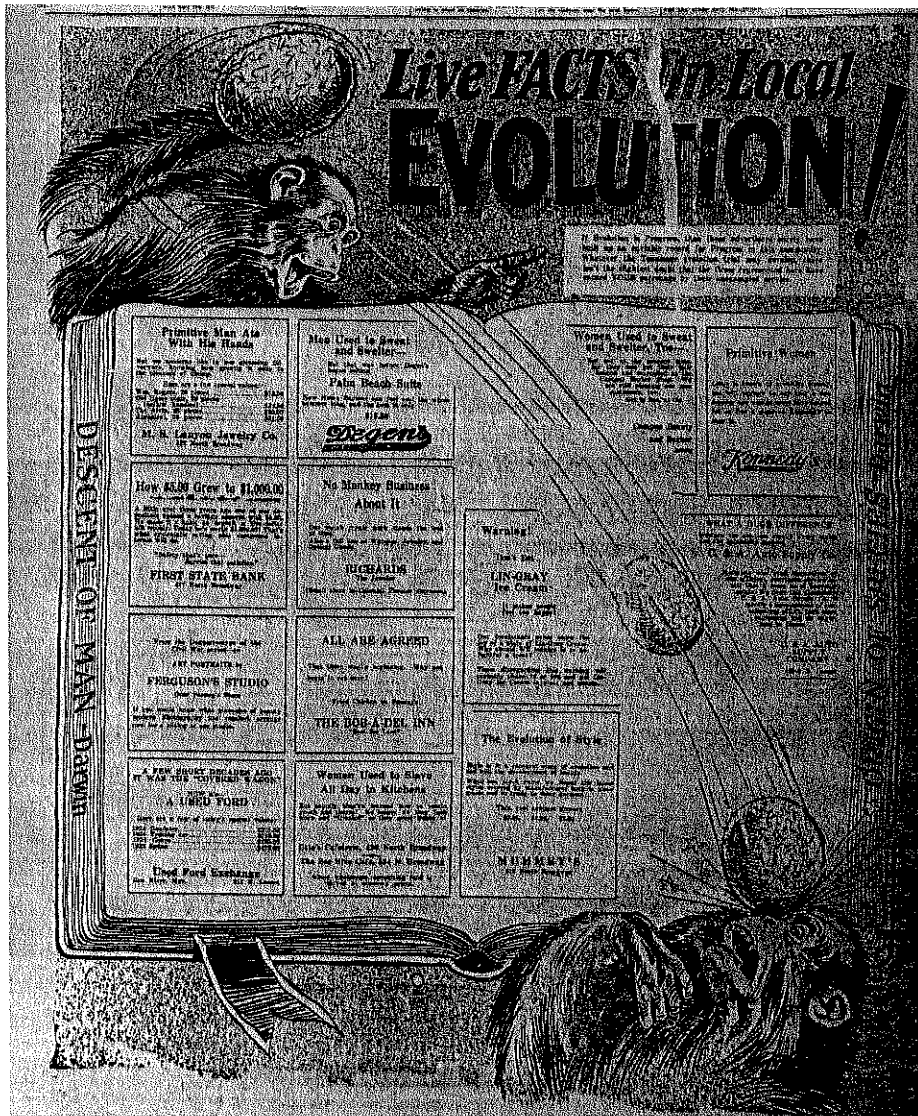


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Advertisement in the *Collegio*, the PSU College Newspaper, July 10, 1925

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Hypatia of Alexandria by Michelle Bakay (2011)

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MONKEY BUSINESS IN SOUTHEAST KANSAS:

THE CASE OF PROFESSOR SCOTT,

THE "SCOPES OF KANSAS"¹

Donald Wayne Viney

Abstract: As the drama of the Scopes trial made headlines in July 1925, a little drama was unfolding in southeast Kansas at the Kansas State Teachers College in Pittsburg. A history professor, John G. Scott, was relieved of his teaching duties after his students made plans to hold a "mock monkey trial" in the courthouse downtown. The trial, much anticipated in the local press, never occurred thanks to the intervention of the school president, W. A. Brandenburg. An ardent Christian and creationist, Brandenburg had earlier invited Harry Rimmer, a popular lecturer and debunker of evolution, to lecture at the KSTC and three times offered him a job at the college. The "mock trial affair" became a bone of contention between newspapers in Kansas City and in Pittsburg. Scott was eventually dismissed but not without taking aim at Brandenburg and the KSTC in a satirical article published in the *Haldeman-Julius Monthly* alongside an article on the Scopes trial by Anna Marcet Haldeman-Julius.

While the confrontation between Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan unfolded in Dayton, Tennessee over the state's anti-evolution law, a less nationally publicized controversy was brewing in southeast Kansas which also concerned evolution, at least in part. John Thomas Scopes was the teacher involved in Dayton's "monkey trial" in July 1925.² That same month John Grafton Scott was the teacher at the center of the evolution controversy at the Kansas State Teachers College in Pittsburg (KSTC, now Pittsburg State University). Scott—named "the Scopes of Kansas" by a Kansas City newspaper—encouraged his students to debate the question of

evolution. There was no law in Kansas prohibiting the teaching of the idea that "man has descended from a lower order of animals," as there was in Tennessee. However, Scott's students made an abortive attempt to hold a public "mock Scopes trial" and there is good reason to believe that this was an important factor leading to his removal as the instructor of record for a class in citizenship; it is less likely that this was the cause of his leaving KSTC.

John Scott was an Assistant Professor of History at KSTC from 1923 until 1925. He graduated from the University of Missouri in 1920 with a Master's degree. His thesis title was "The Union Movement among Teachers with Especial Reference to the American Federation of Teachers." Before being hired at KSTC, he taught at the grade school and high school levels.³ With the addition of Scott, the number of faculty in the Department of History and Social Sciences increased to six, which included George W. Trout (the Dean and department head), O. F. Grubbs, Oren A. Barr, Herman Greer, and Clinton W. Wright—in 1924, Lulu McPherson was hired, bringing the number of faculty to seven. The department offered courses on a wide array of subjects including: the Bible, Christian apologetics (called "Christian Evidences"), Sociology (including a course on the Social Teaching of Jesus), Criminology, Political Science, Economics, and History.⁴ John Scott, and his wife Edith T. Scott, resided at the South Broadway Apartments in Pittsburg (415 S. Broadway).⁵

By all accounts, Scott was a popular and innovative teacher. A number of articles in the school newspaper, the *Collegio*, detailed his activities during his brief tenure. In his English History class, Scott monitored a debate on whether the battle of Quebec or the battle of Saratoga was more decisive in the history of America. In that same class, students debated whether women are more practical than men. The issue of the relative artistic contributions of men and women also generated interest.⁶ Scott's Civics class engaged in an exercise to form a new Constitutional Convention charged with framing a new Constitution for the country; students represented interests from all parts of the country and all walks of life (e.g. coal and metal miners, manufacturers, farmers, educators, women, and children). In another simulation, Scott arranged the class along the lines of the federal government with executive, legislative, and judicial branches.⁷ In Scott's class on Political Science, students discussed English political parties and they debated the question whether the English or American form of democratic government is better.⁸ The *Collegio* also reported that Scott made a bet with R. E. Williams on the outcome of the Wisconsin senatorial race to replace the deceased Robert M. La Follette. If La Follette's son, Robert Marion La Follette, won the race, then Williams would push Scott around the campus in a wheelbarrow; if La Follette lost, Scott would do the same to Williams. La Follette won. This wager reveals in another way Scott's interest in labor unions, for La Follette was a champion of organized labor.⁹

Scott encouraged his students to supplement their textbooks by reading novels, plays, and poems. Two *Collegio* articles mention Scott's recommendations of the plays of Henrik Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw, the novels of Victor Hugo, and the poems and works of Walt Whitman, Edgar Allen Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Carl Sandburg.¹⁰ The *Collegio* also gave some insight into Scott's thinking; there are reports of two public presentations, one on the causes of war and one on the problems of educating children.¹¹ The report on Scott's talk on war is confusing. On the one hand, he recognized "exaggerated nationalism," economic imbalance, as well as the opening of new markets for goods as contributing causes of war, but apparently he considered psychological forces to have been "in most cases the cause of war." The issue of economic imbalance, however, seems to take precedence as when he is quoted as saying, "When we find a way to distribute the surplus [of goods] evenly, wars will cease."¹² The theme of Scott's talk on educating children was that "subjects are taught instead of children." He characterized modern education where children sit in desks and learn various subjects as "a prison" that "stifles the natural impulses." He also spoke of the system as "child slavery." The article does not elaborate on these metaphors, nor does it give much insight into Scott's proposal for an alternative system. He is quoted as saying, "Education is realizing desire. Life is a becoming process, and, for a child, it is always unfinished."¹³

Even though Scott's views are scattered through the prism of a college newspaper, one can see that his ideas were out of step with the more conservative elements of the country. That they were not in keeping with the leadership of KSTC became clear by the summer of 1925. It could only have aggravated matters that Scott was popular with students. He was one of the faculty sponsors of *The Green Lizard*, a student publication which exhibited "college wit" solicited from students and faculty.¹⁴ Contests were held to pick the best paper on "My most embarrassing experience" and for "the best joke I ever heard."¹⁵ Scott was also named in an issue of the *Collegiar*, a satirical supplement to the *Collegio* that was occasionally published. He is reported as bemoaning the decline of civilization since the time of Adam and Eve as evidenced by the fact that he overheard a student call him "the prof"; in addition, he advocates banning coffee and tea as these are beneficial and the best way to get people to drink them is to prohibit their use.¹⁶ This latter comment is an obvious jab at the eighteenth amendment and prohibition. Scott's popularity among students is indicated by a report of a gift given to him by his advanced class in Civics. The student presenting the gift, Frank Adams, explained that one calls a teacher one likes "Prof." and one addresses a teacher who knows a lot by "Professor." Scott, he said, is called both. Scott's gift was a portrait of himself clad in white and holding a harp with a musical caption, "I'll eat pie in the sky when I die."¹⁷ It is likely that the caption is a reference to the popular satirical song of Joe Hill, "The Preacher and the Slave," composed in 1911,

where the phrase "You'll get pie in the sky when you die" first appears.¹⁸

In July 1925, the Scopes trial in Tennessee was monopolizing the headlines of newspapers world-wide. The ripple effects reached Pittsburg and became the topic of discussion in Scott's class on citizenship. According to reports in three local newspapers—the *Collegio*, the *Pittsburg Sun*, and the *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*—Scott's class planned to convene in the court house for a "mock monkey trial." In keeping with the precedent set in Scott's earlier classes where student play-acting and debate were integral to his pedagogy, Scott's students would take the roles of various characters in the real-life drama of the trial—including donning costumes—and debate the issues. According to the *Headlight*, "The purpose of the mock trial will be to make it both amusing and instructive." The *Headlight* announced the names of the students who would play the roles of Bryan, Darrow, and the judge (John Raulston). A note of humor was added in saying that "Prof. Herman Greer has consented to appear as one of the missing links."¹⁹

There may have been some community support for the project. Thirteen local establishments ran a nearly full-page humorous advertisement in the *Collegio* with the heading, "Live Facts on Local Evolution!" (see back cover of this journal). The advertisement shows two chimpanzees, one lobbing a coconut at the other. The pages of an open book detail the merits of various local businesses, playing on the connotation that "evolution" involves "progress." On the edges of the pages of

the book are written "Descent of Man—Darwin" and "Origin of Species—Darwin."²⁰ Nowhere does the advertisement mention the mock trial of Scott's class, so the timing and the nature of the ad may only be fortuitous since the Scopes trial was on everyone's mind and was scheduled to open the following day, on July 10th. However, the fact that the advertisement was placed in the college newspaper shortly after the "mock trial" had been announced suggests that the community was prepared to contribute to the carnival. In this respect, Pittsburg was like Dayton where local businesses capitalized in often humorous ways on the notoriety of the Scopes trial.²¹

No sooner did the mock trial come to the attention of the administration at KSTC than it was halted. An article in the *Pittsburg Sun* reads in part:

"There'll be no monkey business" at the state teachers college here, according to present indications. Last week elaborate preparations were under way for the members of Prof. John Scott's civics [i.e. civilization] class to hold a "mock" trial in the courtroom here. . . . The hearing is said to have been suggested by Professor Scott, and the boys of his class became enthusiastic. But [President] Dr. W. A. Brandenburg and Dean Trout were not so enthusiastic.

The article continues:

Believing the students should not participate in any proceedings that might in any way endanger their future scholastic activities, Doctor Brandenburg reasoned with a

number of them, and the students, on their own volition, called off the proposed "mock" trial.²²

Three days later, the *Collégio* announced the change of plans. Students were told by Brandenburg and Trout that "their stand on the question might impair their futures as teachers." One may guess that "the question" referred to is the truth of Darwinian evolution. Interestingly, the article includes the statement that, "Professor Scott agreed with the officials."²³ As we will see, further developments cast doubt on this report of Scott's views.

Brandenburg's claim that the acceptance of evolution could impair a student's future might have been legitimate, for as the Scopes trial demonstrated, anti-evolutionist thinking was strong enough to result in state laws against its being taught in public schools. What the news reports of the "mock trial" fail to mention, however, is that Brandenburg courted one of the most well-known anti-evolutionists of the day, the Presbyterian minister, Harry Rimmer (1890-1952). Although he had no earned degrees, "Dr. Rimmer," as he was often called by the newspapers, traveled across the country challenging scientists at colleges and universities to debate the truth of evolution. Rimmer did not publish in scientific journals and his field work amounted to little more than an amateur collecting skulls and rocks, but this was enough to give him a reputation among fundamentalists as an active scientific researcher.²⁴ In his younger days he had been an expert pugilist. He brought the same pugnacity to forums of debate as he had to the boxing ring. He was clever and informed enough about science to put on a

good show.²⁵ His wife's renditions of these encounters would lead one to believe that he never lost a debate. He styled himself the David matched against the Goliaths of evolutionary science; his wife likened him to Daniel amidst the lions.²⁶ On the other hand, his son remarked that his father never won the argument, but he always won the audience.²⁷

For several years, Rimmer was closely associated with the KSTC. During the first week of July 1924, Brandenburg heard Rimmer lecture at John Brown's Bible conference in Sulphur Springs, Arkansas. According to the *Pittsburg Sun*, "President W. A. Brandenburg was among the Pittsburgers who heard Doctor Rimmer and he gave him high recommendations."²⁸ The president arranged for Rimmer to visit Pittsburg and he invited him to be a permanent faculty member at the KSTC. Rimmer turned down this invitation citing his "self-taught" and "sketchy formal education"; he also declined Brandenburg's offer to give him an honorary degree from the College.²⁹ Brandenburg would twice more offer Rimmer a faculty position, but never with success.³⁰ Because Brandenburg could not convince Rimmer to join the faculty at KSTC, he settled for Rimmer founding and contributing to an archeological museum that was located on the third floor of the newly built library, Porter Hall.³¹ Mignon Rimmer makes several references to her husband sending fossils and bones to the museum.³² Rimmer visited Pittsburg several times—his longest visit coming in June 1927 when Porter Hall first opened its doors and the archaeological museum was established.

One year before the Scopes trial, Rimmer made his first visit to Pittsburg where he stayed in the Stilwell Hotel.³³ On July 16, 1924, he gave a morning and an evening lecture at Carney Hall, which housed Home Economics, Chemical and Physical Sciences, Biology, and Agriculture.³⁴ It is a near certainty that Scott attended at least one of these lectures. Rimmer wrote to his wife that "six hundred teachers from the Kansas State Normal" would come for the day. He added: "This is a typical college town of 20,000 and has been bulldozed for a long time by a few evolutionists, and I am being hailed as a scientific Moses or Lincoln!"³⁵ Rimmer's morning talk was titled "Modern Science and Research" and the presentation in the evening was titled "The Antiquity of Man." If the *Collegio's* reports are accurate, Rimmer's grasp of evolutionary principles was tenuous at best. In the morning "Dr. Rimmer" is said to have "offered as the greatest argument against evolution the fact that acquired characteristics are not inherited."³⁶ As illustration, he observed that foot binding practiced for centuries in China did not lead to deformed feet in Chinese children. Of course, Darwin argued for natural selection, *not* the inheritance of acquired characteristics, as the driving force of evolution. In the evening, Rimmer complained of mistakes in textbooks that present evolution and argued that gorilla skeletons are more similar to those of horses than to those of human beings.³⁷ The report of the evening lecture includes the following:

Mr. Rimmer pointed out almost innumerable inconsistencies of the scientists and it was with a sigh of

relief that his happy audience poured out of the great auditorium at the close of his lecture, each individual feeling relieved of the odious [sic] burden that science has been endeavoring to impose upon man by connecting him some way or other with the horrid creatures of the animal kingdom.³⁸

If one did not know better, one would guess that the writer was being ironic and thereby suggesting either the shallowness of Rimmer's ideas or the gullibility of those taken in by the argument.

In his evening talk Rimmer stated that "man is the most recent of God's creations and that as a creation he stands separate and alone from all other forms of life." He believed that a fair accounting of the evidence would demonstrate that evolution is false and a more or less literal reading of Genesis is true. He schooled himself on Christianity with the Scofield Bible and used it as an infallible guide on whatever subject he considered it to speak. He did not always understand what he read in the Bible, but his method was to assume that patient and humble research would untangle any problems one finds there.

But when I do find something bothers me, I begin by conceding that I am not infallible, while the Bible is.

Therefore, there must be some error in my thinking, or I have not yet gained sufficient wisdom to deal with the problem involved.³⁹

In 1923, Rimmer had taken a correspondence course in geology at the University of Colorado, but he was never convinced of the

geological evidence of the antiquity of the earth.⁴⁰ He had friendly debates with Dr. William Bell Riley over the "days" of Genesis—Rimmer held that they are solar days and Riley maintained that they are "geologic ages." Rimmer's own study of the Bible convinced him that God created Adam around 5862 BC.⁴¹ The organization that Rimmer founded to support his lecture tours and his research—the Research Science Bureau—had as its explicit purpose "to demonstrate the Scriptures by means of science."⁴² He said that he spent half of each year as an evangelist and half doing scientific research. This apparent combination of scientific credentials and Christian evangelism proved irresistible to many fundamentalists, including Brandenburg.

Brandenburg had arranged for students to hear the case *against* evolution from someone he considered an expert and one who promoted Christianity. He was not, however, eager to have students debate the issue in a mock monkey trial. Nor did he approve of Scott's handling of his civilization class. A week after the announcement of the mock trial's cancelation, articles appeared in both Pittsburg and Kansas City newspapers that reported that Scott had been relieved of his civilization class—though he still had charge of a less advanced class in civics—and that he would no longer be teaching at KSTC when the semester ended. According to the *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*, Brandenburg announced that Dean Trout had taken over Scott's class and Trout's instruction was "being received with profit." Brandenburg explained that Scott's removal from the class had

nothing to do with "the mock trial affair" but arose because reports had reached him from class members that "the class was not receiving that particular content in citizenship which would be expected of them as teachers in our state." Echoing views that he shared with Rimmer, he explained, "It is our policy to have all subjects, as well as science, taught in such a way as to strengthen faith and belief in Christian civilization." Scott's quoted comment is: "It is educational prophylaxis. The students were exposed to ideas and are being given treatment to counteract this."⁴³

The Kansas City newspapers gave a decidedly different account of the affair, adding interesting details. Cedric Worth, writing for the *Kansas City Post*, claimed that Scott was "dismissed by heads of the Kansas State Teachers College because they believed he taught evolution and championed free love." Worth says that students reported that Trout openly accused Scott of advocating promiscuity in his championing of free love." Worth speaks of the "bitter argument" between Trout and Scott's students, and how they "hotly defended" Scott's teaching. The students circulated a petition in defense of Scott, but they feared "the effect on their grades and receiving of their diplomas if the protesting petition" were turned into Brandenburg. Scott himself was quoted as saying that Brandenburg held this threat over the students should they continue to "monkey with the monkey business." Scott denied proselytizing and said that his students were grown men and women who could decide for themselves what to believe. Scott's

students presented their notebooks as evidence that he frankly discussed as his personal opinion, "that the common conception of marriage simply was an economic institution and held that marriage and attempts of the church to hold dominion over the intellectual development of its members were two of civilization's greatest mistakes."⁴⁴

The following day, the *Kansas City Journal* printed an unsigned editorial titled "Free Love and Marriage" that criticized Scott for having "little sense of the fitness of things." The writer argued that the traditional institution of marriage, despite its frequent failures, was vastly preferable to free love and is "as near the ideal as any such institution could be." A couple may treat marriage as a mere economic arrangement, but "the thousands of pure and wholehearted marriages, from Maine to California, are the best refutation of Professor's Scott's idea as to which is the better custom when one goes to rock bottom of his thought." The editorial concedes that free love might be discussed in a class but that Scott went much too far in telling his students that he believed in it. The writer also disagreed with the proposal to hold "a burlesque of the Scopes trial in his class room." The mock trial would not have been understood by many parents and they would have learned nothing from it.⁴⁵ In one respect, the editorial is mistaken. As we have already documented, the announcements of the mock trial indicated that the event was planned for the courtroom downtown and not in Scott's class room.

On the same day as the *Journal's* editorial, the *Pittsburg Sun* ran a front-page story by Alfred C. Runyan that attempted to set the record straight about Scott's dismissal and that defended Brandenburg. Runyan says that it is "bunk" that students were in "open revolt" against Brandenburg for the dismissal of the evolutionist Scott. According to Runyan, this is yet another in a series of sensationalist headlines from "a Kansas City newspaper," the *Journal-Post*, misrepresenting Pittsburg and KSTC.⁴⁶ Runyan does not deny that Scott was relieved of the citizenship class, but he clarifies that Scott was "let out" in the early spring long before the evolution trial in Tennessee was headline news. He accuses Scott of applying "the evolution angle to his own misfortune and is succeeding beautifully in keeping his name in the public print." According to Runyan, business men in the community know that the "open revolt" story is not factual. Even student leaders, Runyan says, admit as much. Runyan praises Brandenburg for his twelve years of leadership of KSTC, for combining the perspective of youth with the wisdom of years, and for overseeing an academy where the search for truth is encouraged and freedom of speech is respected. Brandenburg's administration strengthens three things: the institution, faith in God, and belief in Christian civilization. Friends of the college can be certain that Brandenburg would never dismiss a faculty member without cause. The "cause," Runyan avers in the final sentence, is that the Scott's teachings were "found to be out of line with common

sense."⁴⁷ Interestingly, Runyan makes no mention of Scott's views on marriage.

The *Collegio's* report on the matter quoted a press release from the college that carried an interview with Brandenburg. It is clear that Runyan had read this official statement for he follows it in almost lockstep fashion, embellishing here and there. According to the press release, Brandenburg maintained that Scott was told in the early spring that he would not be rehired, that Scott's views on evolution had nothing to do with it, and that there was never any interference with academic freedom or freedom of speech. Brandenburg says that he spoke with students about the mock trial and advised them against it on the grounds that it would lead to misunderstandings on the part of the public. After that, says Brandenburg, the students themselves abandoned the project. Once again, he expressed the philosophy of education that he shared with Rimmer:

I have laid down only one general principal in regard to the work of the classroom, and that is that no subject should or need be taught, so as to weaken a student's belief in God, or his love of and loyalty to our institutions of Christian civilization; that all religious faith should be respected, regardless of creed.

The press release ends with a humorous image:

While a newspaper was informing the country that a "row" over evolution was "rocking" the College, instructors and students were calmly pursuing their daily tasks, laughing

and wondering about the dense journalistic smoke arising from a very tiny flame.⁴⁸

Again, as with Runyan's article, there is no mention of Scott's views on marriage.

The smoke from the tiny flame of Scott's dismissal and the mock trial affair might have vanished from history were it not for Emanuel and Anna Marcet Haldeman-Julius. The couple lived in Girard, Kansas, about twenty miles northeast of KSTC and Pittsburg; there they ran a socialist-leaning and free thought press that published the widely read "blue books," advertised as a "university in print" that included inexpensive editions of works of literature, politics, philosophy, economics, science, sexuality, self-help, and fine arts.⁴⁹ A little before the Scott affair, the couple had begun to publish the *Haldeman-Julius Monthly* which was in its second number in 1925. Thanks to this publication, Scott had his own platform for an extended statement on the controversy.⁵⁰ Scott's preferred style of response was not journalistic but satirical. His chosen theme was Brandenburg's efforts at KSTC as a model for how to refashion a college along fundamentalist lines and thereby achieve the aim of "*the protection of students from ideas*" (p. 378). Scott retaliated against Brandenburg with a satiric expression of relief that since the President had received an honorary doctorate from a Christian college it was no longer improper to refer to him as Dr. Brandenburg, "even at the expense of high sounding degrees which mean nothing to God" (p. 379).

Scott's ironic recommendations include peopling administrative and faculty positions with graduates of church schools and seminaries. He notes that many Protestant ministers teach at KSTC who would otherwise preach to empty pews. While no particular denomination is favored, Scott notes that Brandenburg encouraged all faculty members to be affiliated with some church. Since "we are building for a future Ku Klux Kulture," Baptist and Methodist churches are to be preferred since, according to Scott, it is from their ranks that the Klan is largely supported.

Scott's lampoon includes the suggestion that specially endowed chairs be created for combating ideas like evolution and democracy. Until this could be accomplished, colleges could follow KSTC's example and sponsor guest speakers, like Dr. Harry Rimmer, who can show that scientists are wrong in accepting evolution, "that the Bible is the sole source of the knowledge of man's beginning and ending, that God in his divine providence has so fixed up everything that no one needs to think" (p. 380). Scott remarks that the local Klan members supplemented Rimmer's work by distributing pamphlets denouncing evolution.⁵¹

In addition to screening administrative positions and hiring only like-minded fundamentalists, Scott wryly notes that the faculty "must be closely watched," for "unfortunately some teachers must be employed who come from godless universities" (pp. 380-381). He then recounts the case of a "young man" who came to Pittsburg "two years ago from a godless university,"

who was popular with students and who openly attacked the "Knoble Klan" and taught evolution. The man was called on the carpet by his department head who said that he would not be hired for the coming year. Though there had been no complaints about his teaching, the President was unhappy with his "general attitude." The man then spoke with the President who insisted that the department head desired his dismissal and that "he always followed the wishes of the heads." The trouble, the President said, was a "lack of cooperation." When the man again saw the department head he repeated the President's words, but "there was no balm in Gilead for him" (p. 381).

Of course, Scott is retelling his own story. He is the young man from the "godless university" (University of Missouri) who had arrived two years before (1923). The department head is Dean Trout and the President is Brandenburg. What is interesting about Scott's account is that it seems to confirm Brandenburg's press release that Scott had been told prior to the mock trial affair that his time at KSTC would end in July 1925. If this is correct, then Scott may have been slightly less cautious—even if this was not a conscious attitude—about stoking the flames of controversy in the ensuing months. He already knew his days were numbered.

Scott ends his article with other anecdotes about shenanigans that went on at KSTC, most having to do with Brandenburg. According to Scott, the Ku Klux Klan censored "the Green Lizard," a student publication devoted to humor, and saw to it that "the picture of a tiny nude statue in a larger picture

of a drawing room was erased" (p. 382). Scott also relates how Brandenburg attempted to make the faculty wear caps and gowns at commencement. At first the faculty voted in the President's presence for donning the regalia; as Scott says, "our teachers always vote right under proper conditions" (p. 382). When an outsider protested, Brandenburg agreed to a secret ballot; as a result, the faculty voted against the measure by an overwhelming majority. Scott also claims that Brandenburg squelched a movement among KSTC's faculty to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers and discharged the leader of the movement. He also compelled all male teachers to pay money to join the local Chamber of Commerce. Finally, there is the story of the mock Scopes trial. According to Scott, students initiated "a mock Scopes trial to be held off the campus, downtown in the court room." Scott says that Brandenburg called the students into his office one at a time "and showed them the danger to themselves and to the school if they carried on this mock trial" (p. 383).

Scott combines sarcasm with satire in his report of how Brandenburg arranged for a letter of protest to be sent to the governing board of Columbia University in New York City.⁵² The President of Columbia, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, visited Kansas City and argued that prohibition against the production and consumption of alcohol, as outlined in the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act, could not be enforced. Brandenburg formed a committee to write a letter. Scott comments that the letter was not sent to Butler himself since everyone knew that he

would simply dispose of it in the waste basket. Scott resorted to burlesque in relating what "we have all read in the press of America about what happened in New York when our protest arrived": Butler was discharged, Columbia University was reorganized along fundamentalist lines, and Bible readings preceded every lecture and scientific experiment.

Moreover, the very foundations of that wicked city of New York were shaken when the teachers of the great moral state of Kansas were heard from. The Woolworth tower oscillated like a pendulum, Broadway buckled in seventeen places and its light (sic) went out, a great tidal wave swept the city clean while the Statue of Liberty shrieked, "Kansas has saved the world again!" (p. 382).

In point of fact, Butler retired as President of Columbia University in 1945 after a record forty-three years in the post.

Scott gives an unflattering portrait of Brandenburg and the KSTC administration. The close ties between Brandenburg, the Protestant churches and seminaries, and the Klan which Scott portrays bespeak an environment hostile to the free exchange of ideas. Of course, the article is colored by the fact that Scott wrote it under the cloud of controversy as he left Pittsburg. Nevertheless, the *Post*'s article corroborates Scott's account of the charged atmosphere at KSTC. Moreover, Brandenburg's remarks in the *Headlight* smack of doubletalk and his comments about student attitudes directly contradict what the students told the *Post*.

Much has changed in the years since Scott was relieved of his class for teaching students about evolution and free love. In 1977 KSTC was renamed Pittsburg State University and the faculty and administration now work under a contract negotiated by elected faculty representatives of the Kansas National Teachers Association (KNEA) and the Kansas Board of Regents. The unionization of the faculty would have pleased Scott. Academic freedom is such today that not only can a course be offered on Creation and Evolution, but a student journal on the topic was published without fear of censorship.⁵³ It is going too far to suggest that, in John Scott, Southeast Kansas had its John Thomas Scopes, for there was no legal battle between titanic rivals in Kansas as in Dayton. Moreover, Scott was not, like Scopes, a volunteer. He was more a sacrificial victim of an ideological struggle. On the other hand, the underlying issues of intellectual freedom were the same. As Clark Kerr, the former President of the University of California said, "The aim of the university is not to make ideas safe for students but to make students safe for ideas."

¹ My sincere thanks to the late Gene DeGruson, formerly Curator of Special Collections and University Archivist at Pittsburg State University, for first bringing my attention to the Scott case and for his generous help in finding most of the relevant sources. I am also indebted to Gene's successor, Randy E. Roberts, Dean of Library Services at Pittsburg State University and to Janette Mauk, Senior Administrative Specialist Library Services, for helping me to track down various references.

² For original material, including excerpted transcripts from the trial, see Sheldon Norman Grebstein, ed., *Monkey Trial: The State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960). See also the prize winning book by Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).

³ *The Kansas State Teachers College of Pittsburg, Pittsburg, Kansas, Annual Catalogue: 1924-1925* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1925), p. 16.

⁴ *K.S.T.C. Annual Catalogue: 1923-1924* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1924), pp. 74-75..

⁵ *C. B. Page Directory Co.'s Pittsburg, Kansas, City Directory: 1925* (Springfield and Lebanon, Missouri: C. B. Page Directory Company, 1925), pp. 197 and 209.

⁶ "Historians Wax Eloquent. Rowe and Hodges Leave Students of History in Doubt," *Collegio* (Nov. 16, 1923), p. 5, col. 3-4; "Astounds Class by New Theory. The Question That Woman is More Practical Than Man Results in Debate for Monday," *Collegio* (Dec. 21, 1923), p. 5, col. 3; "Which Sex Most Artistic? Scott's History Class Still in Doubt Despite Debate," *Collegio* (Jan. 18, 1924), p. 2, col. 2. There is also a story about guest speakers in the class who spoke of their experiences serving in the Navy and as an artillery sergeant during the Great War, "Ex-Service Men Tell War Tales. Adams, Ross and Wilson Add Touch of Realism to Scott's English History Class," *Collegio* (Jan. 18, 1924), p. 1, col. 4.

⁷ "Helps Hasten the Millenium. Civic Class Proposes to Draft a World Constitution That Is to Satisfy All Groups," *Collegio* (Feb. 14, 1924), p. 4, col. 1 (The title of the article refers to a "World Constitution," but the article itself only mentions a new Constitution for the country); "Civics Class is Well Organized. Prof. Scott's Class Functions like the United States—President Selects Cabinet," *Collegio* (Mar. 13, 1924), p. 1, col. 5.

⁸ "Pep Debates in Political Sciences," *Collegio* (Mar. 13, 1924), p. 2, col. 1.

⁹ "Irish Chariot' Will Be Professor's Coach," *Collegio* (Oct. 24, 1924), p. 4, col. 2. See also a follow-up story in the *Pittsburg Sun* (Nov. 7, 1924) in the KSTC news column. The *Sun* reported that Williams had lost the bet but that a time had not been set for when he would wheel Scott about the campus.

¹⁰ *Collegio* (February 6, 1925), p. 1, col. 5 and *Collegio* (February 27, 1925), p. 2, col. 1.

¹¹ Scott also spoke to the Parent-Teachers Association at Eugene Field School, but there is only a sentence summarizing the talk. "His subject was 'The Kingdom of Heaven.' This, he assumes, is within one and the purpose of education is to develop it." "Scott Speaks at Eugene Field School," *Collegio* (Nov. 7, 1924), p. 1, col. 5. Another speech was announced, on "Race Conflicts in America—the Jew, the Oriental, and the Negro," to be given to the Y.M.C.A. (Young Men's Christian Association) and the Y.W.C.A. (Young Women's Christian Association). "Analyze, Immigration Acts. Student Speakers Both Condemn and Approve Present Law," *Collegio* (Jan. 30, 1925), p. 4, col. 5.

¹² "Causes of War Mental. Professor Scott Says Psychological Forces Often Produce It," *Collegio* (Nov. 7, 1924), p. 6, col. 1.

¹³ "Education Out of Date"—Scott. Professor Believes Modern System is Punishment for Small Children," *Collegio* (Dec. 12, 1924), p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁴ *The Green Lizard* was of the same genre as the humorous *The Sour Owl* published at the University of Kansas. See *Pittsburg Sun* (Oct. 24, 1924). The first number of *The Green Lizard* appeared in December 1923. This is the only number currently held at the archives at Pittsburg State University.

¹⁵ "Lizards Elected 3 Sponsors. Professors McCray, Scott and Coffelt Selected to Guide Writers," *Collegio* (Nov. 21, 1924), p. 1, col. 3; "Green Lizard Published. Student Magazine Appears for First Time This Year," *Collegio* (Dec. 19, 1924), p. 2, cols. 5-6. A later article indicates that one-thousand copies were printed. "New Lizard Festival Week. College Humorous

Magazine to Be Larger and Better," *Collegio* (Feb. 20, 1925), p. 3, col. 7-8. Scott contributed something to the *The Green Lizard* that was published in May 1925, but I have been unable to locate a copy of this number. Dean Trout also contributed something. See, "Another Green Lizard Out. Latest Issue Is Spicy and Clever—Some Faculty Contributors," *Collegio* (May 8, 1925), p. 3, col. 7.

¹⁶ "Predicts End of World. Prof. Scott Says Mankind Is More Sinful Than Ever Before," *Collegio* (Apr. [i.e. April] 23, 1925), p. 4, col. 2.

¹⁷ "Civics Student Defines 'Professor' and 'Prof.'," *Collegio* (May 29, 1925), p. 2, col. 3.

¹⁸ For the lyrics of Hill's song see: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Preacher_and_the_Slave. I thank Professor Jonathan Dressner for this reference and the suggestion that Scott's students were referring to this song.

¹⁹ "Hold a Scopes Trial Here. Prof. Scott's College Class Will Have Mock Session," *Pittsburg Daily Headlight* (July 9, 1925), p. 10, col. 4. See also, "Will Conduct Mock Trial. Citizenship Class Will Debate the Tennessee Evolution Case," *Collegio* (July 3, 1925), p. 1, col. 3; "Students Plan 'Monkey' Trial. May Hold 'Mock' Affair in District Court Room Next Week," *Pittsburg Sun* (July 9, 1925), p. 10, col. 3.

²⁰ *Collegio* (July 10, 1925), p. 4.

²¹ For an entertaining account of the atmosphere in Dayton at the time of the trial see L. Sprague de Camp, *The Great Monkey Trial* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), pp. 161-164.

²² "'No Monkey Business' at Teachers College," *Pittsburg Sun* (July 14, 1925), p. 1, cols. 4-5.

²³ "Class Calls off Debate. Decides That Country Shall Listen to But One Evolution Trial," *Collegio* (July 17, 1925), p. 1, col. 7.

²⁴ Roger Daniel Schultz, *All Things Made New: The Evolving Fundamentalism of Harry Rimmer, 1890-1952*, dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1989, pp. 121-126. Available at: http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1067&context=fac_dis. The Harry Rimmer that emerges from Schultz's nuanced and largely sympathetic account is a man of great energy and conviction, who was resourceful, intelligent, compassionate, and fearless.

²⁵ He was also prolific. Schultz's bibliography of Rimmer's works includes 95 items, a somewhat misleading figure since Rimmer's pamphlets often later appeared as chapters of his books, but it remains a considerable achievement. Rimmer makes his most complete apologetic case for Christianity in the six volume series of the John Laurence Frost Memorial Library, published by Eerdmans of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The volumes in the series are, in order, *The Harmony of Science and Scriptures* (1936), *Modern Science and the Genesis Record* (1937), *Internal Evidence of Inspiration* (1938), *Dead Men Tell Tales* (1939), *Crying Stones* (1941), and *The Magnificence of Jesus* (1943). The series was underwritten by the parents of Laurence Frost who died of polio in 1935. Rimmer's lectures on science and Scripture had buttressed Laurence's faith, and the parents saw a series of books by Rimmer as a fitting memorial. For all of his antipathy towards evolution, it is surprising that he so rarely mentions Darwin or the arguments of the *Origin*. See, for example, his book, *The Theory of Evolution and the Facts of Science* (Research Science Bureau, 1935).

²⁶ Mignon Brandon Rimmer, *Fire Inside: The Harry Rimmer Story* (Berne, Indiana: Publishers Printing House, 1968). For the David and Goliath image see pages 90 and 92; for the Daniel image see p. 108. Mignon Rimmer's biography of her husband includes copious quotations from the nearly ten thousand letters that he sent to her on his many trips across the

country. In later years, Rimmer cut the stamps from some of the envelopes for a friend. Mignon notes that, with the stamps went the postmarks, making it more difficult for her to reconstruct the chronology for the biography. Indeed, the chronology of her narrative is difficult to follow, as she often gives a month and day without a year. For the purposes of this paper, I've been aided by the many news reports on Rimmer's travels to give more precise dates for the episodes mentioned in the biography.

²⁷ Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists: The Evolution of Scientific Creationism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p. 66.

²⁸ "Dr. Harry Rimmer to Lecture Here. Los Angeles Educator, Noted Platform Artist, Will Make Several Addresses This Week," *Pittsburg Sun* (July 15, 1924), p. 2, col. 2.

²⁹ Mignon Rimmer, *Fire Inside*, p. 69.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 109-110. See also, Numbers, *The Creationists*, pp. 70-71.

³¹ "Archeologist Visits Here, Dr. Rimmer Plans Large Collection [sic] for Projected College Museum," *Collegio* (June 18, 1926), p. 1, col. 1 and "Dr. Rimmer Here to Open Museum," *Collegio* (June 10, 1927). Gene DeGruson saw the museum in Porter Hall in the 1950s while he was a student. He described it to Schultz as being "professional" and "monumental." Roger Daniel Schultz, *All Things Made New*, p. 125.

³² Mignon Rimmer, *Fire Inside*, pp. 74, 86, 108, 110.

³³ Ibid., p. 68.

³⁴ Randy Roberts and Shannon Phillips, *Pittsburg State University: A Photographic History of the First 100 Years* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), p. 31 and p. 139. Carney Hall was built in 1919 and razed in 1980; the Heckert-Wells building took its place in 1984.

³⁵ Mignon Rimmer, *Fire Inside*, p. 68-69. The six hundred teachers that Rimmer mentions were primarily the students at KSTC.

³⁶ "Evolution is Abused Term, Dr. Rimmer in Speech Yesterday Hits Darwin's Theory Some Hard Blows," *Collegio* (July 17, 1924), p. 1, col. 2.

³⁷ Rimmer later published a forty-eight page illustrated booklet in which he detailed his arguments concerning the dissimilarities of human and gorilla skulls and anatomy. See *Monkeyshines: Fakes, Fables, Facts, Concerning Evolution* (Los Angeles: Research Science Bureau, Inc., 1926).

³⁸ "Monkey and Man No Kin, In Lecture on 'Antiquity of Man' Dr. Rimmer Denies Any Relation to Lower Animals," *Collegio* (July 17, 1924), p. 1, col. 5. Three other lectures were announced for later in the week that were to be held at the First Presbyterian Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Christian Church. The article mentions one other speech title, "Is Evolution Scientifically Tenable?"

³⁹ Mignon Rimmer, *Fire Inside*, pp 1-2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 132.

⁴² "Dr. Rimmer Here to Open Museum," *Collegio* (June 10, 1927), p. 1, col. 7.

⁴³ "Denies Evolution Dispute. Brandenburg Explains Prof. J. G. Scott's Removal from Class," *Pittsburg Daily Headlight* (July 24, 1925), p. 5, col. 5-6.

⁴⁴ Cedric Worth, "Students Rally for Evolution. Pittsburg Class Defends Teaching of Dismissed Instructor," *Kansas City Post* (July 24, 1925), p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁵ "Free Love and Marriage," *Kansas City Journal* (July 25, 1925), p. 4, col. 1.

⁴⁶ Runyan mentions a story the previous fall that Pittsburg was on the verge of becoming a second "Bloody Herrin" [a reference to the Herrin, Illinois massacre of 1922] because of frequent liquor raids. In the winter, the paper ran a story that a diphtheria epidemic was raging at the College. See "Quarantine on Dorm Lifted," *Collegio* (Feb. 20, 1925), p. 1, col. 3 and "Epidemic Ended Declares Doctor," *Collegio* (Feb. 27, 1925), p. 1, col. 1 and p. 4, col. 1.

⁴⁷ Alfred C. Runyan, "Another Black Eye, Once again Pittsburg is given a black eye," *Pittsburg Sun* (July 25, 1925), p. 1, col. 4-5.

⁴⁸ "No 'row' about Evolution Here. President Makes Statement Concerning Recent Sensational Newspaper Reports," *Collegio* (July 31, 1925), p. 1, col. 5.

⁴⁹ <http://www.haldeman-julius.org/>. See also, <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/marcel-and-emanuel-haldeman-julius/12077>

⁵⁰ John G. Scott, "Fundamentalism in the Kansas State Teachers College," *Haldeman-Julius Monthly*, 2/4 (Sept. 1925), pp. 378-383. Numbers in parenthesis refer to page numbers of this article. This number of the magazine also includes Anna Marcet Haldeman-Julius' remembrances of her and her husband's attendance at the Scopes trial, "Impressions of the Scopes Trial," pp. 323-347. Haldeman-Julius was Clarence Darrow's publisher. For more on the relation between Darrow and Haldeman-Julius see Curtis M. Penland, "the Lawyer Becomes a Writer: Clarence Darrow in Southeast Kansas," *The Little Balkans Review* 3/4 (Summer 1983), pp. 68-79.

⁵¹ Rimmer's relationship with the Klan was checkered but he eventually distanced himself from the organization and its policies. For three years in the early 1920s he was a member and he accepted invitations to evangelize at Klan meetings. However, he rejected the Klan's anti-minority policies, dropped his membership, and publically condemned its increasingly violent tendencies. See Roger Daniel Schultz, *All Things Made New*, op. cit., pp. 84-85, 94, and 99.

⁵² An article in the school newspaper confirms Scott's story (*Collegio*, May 22, 1924, p. 1, col. 2.)

⁵³ *Logos-Sophia: The Journal of the PSU Philosophical Society*, special issue on Creation and Evolution, n. 5 (Spring 1993).