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NOTES

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHR</td>
<td>American Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP</td>
<td>Joseph L. Bristow Papers, KSHS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGP</td>
<td>Edward W. Hoch Gubernatorial Papers, KSHS</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHQ</td>
<td>Kansas Historical Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSHS</td>
<td>Kansas State Historical Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>Chester I. Long Papers, KSHS</td>
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<tr>
<td>MVHR</td>
<td>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGP</td>
<td>Walter R. Stubbs Gubernatorial Papers, KSHS</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDC</td>
<td>Topeka Daily Capital</td>
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<tr>
<td>TSJ</td>
<td>Topeka State Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAW</td>
<td>William Allen White Manuscripts, Library of Congress</td>
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CHAPTER 1

11. William Agnew Johnston Collec-


17. This was the view made famous by John Hicks in The Populist Revolt (Minneapolis, Minn., 1931).


25. TSJ, 31 January 1905.

CHAPTER 2

1. The best discussions of nineteenth-century factionalism can be derived from the following studies by Malin: The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand in the United States (Lawrence, Kans., 1955), Confounded Rot about Napoleon (Lawrence, Kans., 1961), and A Concern about Humanity. See also Marvin A. Harder, “Some Aspects of Republican and Democratic Party Factionalism in Kansas” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1959). For Bryan’s influence in Kansas and other western states see: Paolo E. Coletta, William Jennings Bryan, 3 vols. (Lincoln, Nebr., 1964–1969), vol. 1, chaps. 11, 12, and 15. For Kansas politics see Clanton, Kansas Populism, chap. 12.


7. LP, W. P. Hackney to Long, 2 December 1907.


sas, 1940), pp. 16–17; BP, J. M. Simpson to Bristow, 17 January 1900, J. R. Harrison to Bristow, 25 February 1900, A. A. Graham to Bristow, 21 October 1912; letter from A. W. Smith to Leland, reprinted in TDC, February 1900, in Republican Party Clippings, vol. 6, pt. 1, KSHS library; Coney MSS., Smith to Coney, 4 December 1899, R. W. Blue to Coney, 26 September 1899 and 8 April 1900, J. Seaton to Coney, 21 April 1900; “Leland Recollections.”

10. Coney MSS., Smith to Coney, 20 September 1899, Smith to V. H. Grinstead, 26 October 1899.

11. Marvin Ewy, Charles Curtis of Kansas: Vice-President of the United States, 1929–1933 (Emporia, Kans., 1961), pp. 21–22; Flory, “Long,” passim. Curtis had the most devoted following in Kansas. Illustrative of his adherents was Thomas J. Faxon, the father of a minor Kansas political leader and journalist, Ralph Faxon. According to the elder Faxon, many had wavered when Curtis failed to answer the charges of Leland concerning the Horton Agreement, but when Curtis repudiated the bargain, he restored the faith of the faithful in him. LP, Faxon Correspondence, T. J. Faxon to R. Faxon, 18 January 1900.


15. TDC, 13 and 16 May 1900.

16. The best source for Boss-Busters affairs is the Coney MSS., especially letters dated September 1899 to May 1900. See also TDC, 13–16 May 1900; TSI, 16 May 1900; Farmers Mail and Breeze (Topeka), 19 May 1900, Republican Party Clippings, vol. 6, pt. 1, KSHS.

17. TSI, 16 May 1900; TDC, 16 and 17 May 1900.

18. Coney MSS., Smith to Coney, 9 June 1900.


20. WAW, T. Roosevelt to White, 6 and 14 November 1901, White to Roosevelt, 18 November 1901, Leland to White, 16 November 1901, White to Leland, 15 and 25 November 1901.


22. WAW, Roosevelt to White, 27 August 1901.

23. LP, Long to White, 26 November 1901.

24. LP, Leland to Long, 6 January 1902, Long to M. Albaugh, 7 February 1902; Coney MSS., L. P. Burwell to Coney, 26 March 1902; TDC, 19 and 20 February, 23 March, and 15 April 1902.

25. C. S. Jobes was a Kansas City, Missouri, banker who was active in Kansas politics. Long, while a member of the House, had succeeded in having Jobes’s bank designated as a depository for Oklahoma’s territorial funds. He had also tried to secure postal deposits for Jobes’s interests. LP, Long to Jobes, 16 December 1901.

26. LP, Long to Jobes, 7 February 1902, Long to Albaugh, 7 February 1902.

27. Alexander G. Cochrane is called “Judge Blub Blub” in White’s autobiography. Of Cochrane’s activities in 1902 White wrote: “I knew Judge Blub Blub. He was a man to whom the Long forces appealed when they took the Union Pacific from Curtis. Judge Blub Blub always came to our state conventions in a private car and participated in Republican and Democratic politics with equal keenness and perspicacity. He was Jay Gould’s political fixer for the upper Mississippi Valley—the very type of man who represented . . . ‘predatory wealth’” (White, Autobiography, pp. 353–54).

28. LP, Jobes to Long, 12 April 1902, Albaugh to Long, 4 April 1902, Long to Simpson, 4 April 1902.

29. LP, Albaugh to Long, 6 February
1902; *TDC*, 8 November 1901 and 3 April 1902.
31. *LP*, Long to Simpson, 4 April 1902, Albauh to Long, 6 February 1902, Jobes to Long, 12 April 1902; *Coney MSS.*, Coney to Curtis, 10 February 1902.
33. *TDC*, 29 May 1902.
34. *TDC*, 29 and 30 May 1902.
38. *LP*, Jobes to Long, 12 and 30 April 1902, Long to Jobes, 16 April 1902, Long to Albaugh, 30 May 1902.
41. Kolko, *Triumph of Conservatism*, pp. 70, 91; John A. Garraty, *Right-hand Man: The Life of George W. Perkins* (New York, 1960), pp. 188, 232. On 27 January, 1903, following his selection by the Kansas legislature, Long wrote Beer the following: "I thank you for the interest that you have taken in my candidacy and for the assistance that you have rendered me. I also want you to inform Mr. Perkins of my appreciation of what he did in this contest." Beer Family Collection, Yale University Library, Long to W. C. Beer, 27 January 1903.
42. Long was probably familiar with Perkins's use of a lobbyist in Topeka in 1897. See Garraty, *Perkins*, p. 181.
43. *LP*, Long to Jobes, 13 June 1902.
44. *LP*, Bristow to Long, 18 December 1902.
45. *LP*, Bristow to Long, undated telegram, ca. 16 September 1902. This telegram included code words that I could not decipher. The main part, however, is quoted above.
46. *LP*, Bristow to Long, 17 September 1902.
47. *LP*, W. S. Pierce to Long, 15 December 1902.
52. *LP*, W. Y. Morgan to Long, 29 November and 1 December 1902, Leland to Long, 3 December 1902; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, 13 January 1903.
53. *LP*, Bristow to Long, 12 January 1903; *TDC*, 22 January 1903; *Wichita Eagle*, 22 January 1903; *Topeka Daily Herald*, 30 January 1903; Harder, "Kansas Factionalism," pp. 60–70. According to Governor Alfred M. Landon, Henry J. Allen was able to buy the *Wichita Beacon* with the spoils he received from the office of state printer. Landon interview, 13 July 1958, as cited in Harder, "Kansas Factionalism," p. 70. In 1914 Allen had the following to say about the bargain: "I am probably somewhat atrophied in my vision on the . . . transaction. I never thought there was any moral wrong involved. It did not make any difference to the state whether the state printing plant was owned by one man or two men. I hated the thing at the time because I thought it was hard on Hoch, but after watching Hoch . . . I even quit being sorry about him." WAW, Allen to White, 5 February 1914.
54. *LP*, Long to Jobes, n.d., ca. Feb-

266 Notes to Pages 23–29
ruary 1902, Long to Jobes, 13 June 1902, Jobes to Long, 20 June 1902, Long to Bristow, 29 August 1902.

55. TDC, 21 and 23 January 1903.


CHAPTER 3

1. TDC, 14 January 1904.

2. LP, Albaugh to Long, 18 January 1904.


4. TDC, 15 March 1903.

5. Ibid.; Kansas City Star, 15 March 1903.

6. LP, Albaugh to Long, 13 March 1903.


8. TDC, 14 July 1903.

9. Ottawa Evening Herald, 28 April 1903; Emporia Gazette, 11 May 1903. On 7 March 1904, White wrote in the Emporia Gazette: “The crusaders in the New Movement in Kansas, will end the same way [as the Populists]. . . . To expect much from the Hoch movement . . . will be to cherish a false hope. To expect a new era, is absurd.”

10. LP, Bailey to Long, 18 January 1904.


12. TJ, 16 and 26 November 1903; LP, Long to J. Pollock, 4 December 1903; “Leland Recollections”; WAW, White to Roosevelt, 31 October 1903.


18. Kansas City Star, 15 March 1903; TJ, 7 March 1903; TDC, 11 March 1903.


20. Historical Collection, Republican Party, KSHS, G. P. Morehouse to G. W. Martin, 5 February 1904. At the 1903 session, in action that was unrelated to the political maneuvering, Morehouse was responsible for having the sunflower adopted as the Kansas state flower.

21. LP, Albaugh to Long, 8 January and 6 February 1904, Jobes to Long, 5 and 6 February 1904; Burton, My Case, pp. 258–59; Bright, Kansas, 2:23; Brodhead, “Hoch,” pp. 95–97; El Dorado Republican, 28 September 1903; TDC, 6 January 1904.

22. LP, Morgan to Long, 26 January 1904; Biographies Compiled by the Library, KSHS library, s.v. “W. Y. Morgan.”

23. LP, Richards to Long, 26 January
date for the railroad commission, represented a concession to the federation. This was inaccurate, since Morse was an associate of railroad officers and one of their nominees. See LP, Long to Jobes, 13 March 1901, Long to Morse, 13 March 1901, Low to Long, 25 March 1901.

38. TDC, 9 and 10 March 1904.


43. Kansas City Star, 8 March 1905.

44. “Speech by E. W. Hoch, Marion, Kans., Sept. 1, 1904,” Republican Campaign Literature, 1904, KSHS library.


50. HGP, W. T. Higgins to Hoch, 2 February 1905.

51. Ise, Oil Policy, p. 242; Charles S. Gleed Papers, KSHS, Gleed to B. P. Cheney, 29 December 1906, Gleed to H. H. Rogers, 29 December 1906 and 10 February 1907; HGP, C. D. Webster to Hoch, 7 February 1905; Charles M. Harger, “Kansas’ Battle for Its Oil In-


53. TSJ, 7 February and 15 March 1905; Kansas City Star, 2 February 1905.


57. Hidy, Pioneering, pp. 675-718; Nevins, Rockefeller, 2:503; Bureau of Corporations, Transportation, passim.

58. TDC, 21 February 1890, as cited by Karl A. Svenson in "The Effect of Popular Discontent on Political Parties in Kansas" (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1948), pp. 54-55; HGP, Hoch to E. W. Evans, 2 January 1907.


CHAPTER 4


2. Coletta, Bryan, vol. 1, chaps. 11, 12, and 15.

3. Fifty Years of the Star, pamphlet dated 18 September 1930, KSHS library, pp. 4-6.

4. A Kansas Progressive Republican, "How I Was Converted—Politically," Outlook, 17 December 1910, pp. 857-59. The general causes of dissidence given here are the same as those presented by Charles M. Harger in 1911, except that he did not stress railroads sufficiently. Harger, "Lessons in Nation-Building: Kansas Progressive, but Prudent," World To-Day, October 1911, pp. 1208-9. Although some historians have recently questioned the validity of the fight for the Hepburn bill, Kansans in 1905 viewed it as the major issue of the time. The I.C.C. had steadily declined as a regulatory agency during the 1890s, and Kansans wanted to resuscitate it. Theoretically, the act of 1906 allowed the commission to enforce "reasonable rates," but as Robert La Follette expected, railroads began to secure injunctions against I.C.C. rulings, occasioning long, drawn-out litigation. La Follette's experience with rate-making in Wisconsin made him a logical spokesman for the Middle West on this issue. See La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experience (Madison, Wis., 1913), chaps. 7-9.

5. Walter S. Lyerla, "The History and Development of Public Utility Regulation in Kansas" (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1936), pp. 11-12, 18, 33, 40-42; Zornow, Kansas, pp. 143-45.


7. Lyerla, "Public Utility Regulation," pp. 33-39. William Z. Ripley, commenting on the widespread efforts by states to regulate railroads, wrote in 1912: "No less than fifteen new or remodeled commissions were created in the two years..."
1905–1907, bringing the total number to thirty-nine" (Railroads: Rates and Regulations [New York, 1912], p. 603).


9. TSJ, 18 January and 31 August 1906; TDC, 5 January and 29 July 1906; Kansas City Journal, 4 January 1907.

10. TDC, 4–9 January 1907.


13. SCP, J. S. George to Stubbs, 3 January and 25 May 1909; J. S. George, "As a Wholesale Point," in History of the City of Hutchinson and Reno County, Kansas (n.p., ca. 1895), KSHS library.

14. SCP, George to Stubbs, 17 December 1910.


17. LP, E. B. Cowgill to Long, 8 March 1907.

18. SCP, George to Stubbs, 17 November 1910; LP, H. L. Resing to C. E. Potts, 2 January 1903, Davidson to Long, 30 January 1905; BP, Bristow to C. W. Bleue, 16 May 1910; HGP, copy of an article by Hoch appearing in The Railway Age, 27 December 1907; "Gives Both Sides," Railway Clippings 2, KSHS library.

19. LP, Resing to Long, 4 January 1907.

20. SCP, W. S. Cochrane to Stubbs, 18 October 1912.


24. LP, Jobes to A. G. Cochrane, 30 April 1902; Topeka Daily Herald, 31 January 1903; "Leland Recollections."

25. WAW, White to Stubbs, 9 November 1904.

26. Charles N. Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis (Madison, Wis., 1962), p. 216. Glaab notes that by the 1890s "Santa Fe railroad interest bought up the Journal's mortgage and began to dictate its policies." In 1909 Gleed wrote the following to the publisher of the Lyons Republican: "I notice you have adopted the Kansas City Star's favorite lies about the railroad ownership of the Kansas City Journal. Since my connection with it no person, partnership, or corporation has ever had a penny in the Journal except my partner and myself." Gleed Papers, Gleed to C. Conkling, 24 February 1909.

27. Gleed Papers, Gleed to E. Zumwalt, 8, 14, and 26 June 1910, Zumwalt to Gleed, 21 June 1910.

28. BP, Bristow to Capper, 4 January 1910, Capper to Bristow, 7 January 1910.

29. Capper Papers, E. E. Critchfield to Capper, 11 January 1907; Gleed Pa-
pers, Gleed to G. T. N., 3 March 1910, Capper to E. L. Jones, 18 April 1914, [Jones] to Capper, 4 April 1914 and 23 August 1916.

30. Gleed Papers, Ripley to Gleed, 4 December 1912.

31. TDC, 18 January 1907; TDC, 2 May 1906.


33. LP, Faxon to Long, 2 July 1905.


37. Lillard MSS., Blair to Loomis, 13 and 14 March 1913; TDC, 27 January 1913.

CHAPTER 5

1. Kansas reformers lacked the insights into the motivation for railroad reform, which Gabriel Kolko discusses in his provocative Railroads and Regulation, 1877–1916 (Princeton, N.J., 1965), chaps. 6–8. For Kansas opinion on the Hepburn Act see the next chapter of this study.

2. TSJ, 6 January 1906.


4. TDC, 11 January 1906.

5. Ibid.


7. TSJ, 12 January 1906.


9. TSJ, 10 January 1906.

10. LP, Morgan to Long, 4 December 1905 and 24 November 1906.

11. Although this realignment is abundantly clear in the correspondence of Long and other political leaders, the state's leading political analyst, Jay House, discussed it extensively in the Topeka Daily Capital, 2 May 1906.


14. TDC, 24 September 1905 and 12 March 1922.

15. Case MSS., 4:53; WAW, White to Hoch, 6 May 1906; HGP, State Dept. Files, 1905–1908, Governor, Special Investigation of the Treasury.

16. TDC, 1–3 May 1906; TSJ, 28 May 1906. U.S. Marshal J. R. Harrison referred to the allegation years later as if the affair were commonly accepted as true. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 8 March 1913. At the time, Mort Albaugh dismissed it as a “most outrageous trick.” LP, Albaugh to Long, 5 May 1906.

17. WAW, White to Stubbs, 6 January 1914; William Allen White, “Political Signs of Promise,” Outlook, 15 July 1905, pp. 667–70; Emporia Gazette, 7 March, 15 April, 9 November, and 20 December 1904 and 13 January and 11 November 1905; Bright, Kansas, 2:27; Ewy, Curtis, pp. 26–27; LP, T. B. Murdock to Long, 1

18. LP, Bristow to Morgan, 1 February 1906, Morgan to Long, 2 February 1906, Long to Denton, 12 March 1906, Denton to Long, 8 March 1906, Albaugh to Long, 17 March 1906, Long to Mulvane, 23 April 1906, J. Schilling to Long, 29 December 1905. There are also a number of letters in the Long Papers from Bristow to Long, further documenting this view, that were sent either in late 1905 or early 1906, but they are undated.


21. Bristow seemed to be convinced that any hope of working with Long’s faction in the future was futile. He, therefore, supported Stubbs, but later tried to secure Long’s support for his senatorial candidacy. Leland’s reasons for helping Stubbs are unclear. Later he was working with the Albaugh group at the convention.


23. TDC, 3 May and 24 October 1906; Kansas City Journal, 3 May 1906; Zornow, Kansas, p. 212.


26. TSJ, 14, 18, and 19 July 1906.

27. TSJ, 19, 23, and 27 July 1906.

28. TSJ, 19 July 1906.

29. Republican Campaign Literature, 1906, Square Deal Handbook; TSJ, 6, 14, and 19 July 1906; TDC, 24 October 1906.


31. TSJ, 14 July 1906.

32. Kansas City Journal, 5 August 1906; Topeka Daily Herald, 6 August 1906; Wichita Eagle, 16 February 1906; TDC, 10 October 1906.

33. WAW, White to La Follette, 6 July 1906; Harder, “Factionalism,” p. 80; TSJ, 18 July 1906; TDC, 27 September 1906.


35. WAW, White to W. A. Harris, 22 November 1906; HGP, H. L. Anderson to Hoch, 11 July 1906. Hoch contributed to his poor showing by stating at the 1906 state convention that Kansas “was in more danger . . . from the demagogues than from the railroads” (HGP, Hoch to F. L. Vandegrift, 28 August 1907).

36. Wichita Eagle, 7 and 8 November 1906; TDC, 8 and 9 November 1906; Emporia Gazette, 16 November 1906; Kansas City Journal, 7 and 9 November 1906.

37. TDC, 12 March 1922; LP, Long to Albaugh, 11 June 1906.


40. LP, Albaugh to Long, 13 January 1907; Kansas City Journal, 8 January 1907; TDC, 5, 8, and 11 January 1907; TSJ, 6, 7, and 11 January 1907.

41. TSJ, 11 January 1907; LP, Albaugh to Long, 13 January 1907, F. D. Smith to Long, 13 January 1907.

42. TSJ, 17 January 1903.

43. Read Curtis’ Record in Congress, pamphlet, Kansas Biographical Pamphlets
9, KSHS library; White, Autobiography, p. 366. In 1907 White expressed his attitude toward Curtis as follows: "I have no personal malice against Mr. Curtis. I don't think that he would steal, I don't think he would lie . . . and I don't believe that he would knowingly violate a trust. Yet, I do believe that he is dominated by the wrong influence in public life." WAW, White to Judge Slonecker, n.d., ca. January 1907. Curtis received the type of railroad support that had been given Long in 1903. See Beer Family Collection, Curtis to Beer, 3 September 1906.

44. Gleed Papers, Gleed to H. Blythe, 27 March 1907. According to the Emporia Gazette (16 February 1907), since most senators had not signed the handbook, the Kansas Senate was the stronghold of corporate influence.


47. Case MSS., 4:224.


49. TDC, 2 and 6 March 1907 and 1 January 1908; TSJ, 24 January 1907; Wichita Eagle, 7 March 1907.


55. LP, Albaugh to Long, 18 March 1907; Long to Curtis, 1 April 1907; TSJ, 12 and 24 April 1907; TDC, 24 March and 24 and 25 April 1907.

Chapter 6

1. WAW, White to H. Chase, 7 February 1908.

2. WAW, White to Bristow, 16 April 1907, White to My Dear Henry, 29 April 1907, White to S. Ingalls, 22 May 1907, White to Stubbs, 31 May 1907, White to Long, 3 February 1908; Emporia Gazette, 27 and 29 January 1908.

3. William B. Shaw, "The Direct Pri-
mary on Trial,” *Outlook*, 24 October 1908, p. 384.

4. *LP*, Noftzger to Long, 13 March 1905, Long to Albaugh, 21 April 1906, Long to Morgan, 21 April 1906, Long to Mulvane, 23 April 1906, Albaugh to Long, 5, 6, and 14 March 1907, Morgan to Long, 10 March 1907, Long to Morgan, 14 March 1907. In 1904 a city and county primary could be held if party leaders desired. This primary was not regulated by state law and was relatively insignificant. See: *HGP*, White to Hoch, 19 December 1907.


10. *HGP*, Hoch to White, 20 December 1907; *TSJ*, 18 and 20 October 1907.


15. *BP*, Bristow to Stubbs, 19 January 1908, Bristow to Allen, 11 January 1908; *Emporia Gazette*, 3 and 21 February 1908.


17. *LP*, Long to Albaugh, 10 January 1908.

18. *LP*, Long to Albaugh, 10 January 1908; *TDC*, 31 January and 1 and 4 February 1908; Charles E. Merriam and Louise Overacker, *Primary Elections* (Chicago, 1928), chap. 5.


1905. See also ibid., 4:741–42, Roosevelt to Payne, 27 February 1904, and 4:1301–2, Roosevelt to Hitchcock, 14 August 1905.


30. LP, Roosevelt to Long, 18 May 1905.


32. LP, Hackney to Long, 28 November 1905.

33. LP, Low to Long, 3 November 1905, Loomis to Long, 3 November 1905; TDC, 10 and 19 November 1905.


35. LP, Long to Albaugh, 9 April 1906.

36. LP, Hackney to Long, 14 November 1907, Bone to Long, 15 February 1908, Faxon to Long, 12 May 1908; WAW, Bristow to White, 22 February 1908; White, Autobiography, p. 395.


40. LP, Long to Curtis, 1 April 1907. In 1906 Roosevelt, convinced that he should pick his successor, wrote: “I am sure Kansas will like [Taft] . . . . He would be an ideal President. He is the kind of broad-gauged American that Kansas ought to like. . . . I think he and Kansas speak the same language—the American language—the language which perhaps is spoken best in some districts of the West.” This endorsement assured Taft of Kansas support in 1908. WAW, Roosevelt to White, 11 August 1906.

41. Roosevelt Letters, 5:735–37, Roosevelt to White, 30 July 1907; ibid., 6:936–37, Roosevelt to A. P. Gardner, 10 February 1908; TSJ, 28 December 1907.

42. LP, Bone to Long, 14 November 1907, Bone to Long, 15 February 1908, Faxon to Long, 12 May 1908; WAW, Bristow to White, 22 February 1908; White, Autobiography, p. 395.


44. LP, Crimes to Long, 6 and 13
May 1908, Albaugh to Long, 10 and 13 May 1908, Faxon to Long, 12 May 1908.

45. LP, Morgan to Long, 5 May 1908, Low to Long, 16 May 1908; Gleed Papers, Gleed to Long, 29 April 1908.


47. LP, Faxon to Long, 21 May 1908, Albaugh to Long, 22 May 1908.


49. LP, Long to Albaugh, 23 and 28 May 1908.

50. WAW, White to Long, 19 December 1901 and 14 April 1903.


52. WAW, White to Chase, 7 February 1908; Emporia Gazette, 27 January 1908.


55. WAW, White to Bristow, 9 May 1908, Bristow to White, 10 and 26 May 1908.

56. LP, Long to Axline, 6 October 1910, Long to W. W. Smith, 14 February 1911; Democratic Campaign Literature, 1860–1928, KSHS library, Facsimile Letter, Bristow to Long; TSJ, 3 August 1908.


58. LP, Long to My Dear Friend, 20 April 1908; Republican Campaign Literature, 1908, “Senator Long’s Platform.”

59. LP, Long to Grimes, 14 May 1908.

60. WAW, White to Roosevelt, 5 August 1908; LP, Blair to Long, 9 December 1914, Long to Blair, 21 December 1914; White, Autobiography, p. 397; TSJ, 3 August 1908.


64. WAW, Bristow to White, 10 May 1908, White to Bristow, 4, 9, and 14 May 1908, White to Dolley, 29 May 1908, White to D. A. Valentine, 23 June 1908, White to Allen, 27 June 1908; LP, Albaugh to Long, 13 May 1908; Kansas Collected Speeches, vol. 22, pt. 1, “Speech of J. L. Bristow, Wichita, July 10, 1908.”


67. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 8 August 1908.

68. BP, Bristow to Long, 20 June 1908, Bristow to Dolley, 23 July 1908; WAW, White to Bristow, 14 May and 13 July 1908; TSJ, 3 August 1908; Emporia Gazette, 3 and 4 August 1908.

69. BP, Bristow to P. P. Campbell, 19 August 1908; Kansas Election Returns,
1908, Office of the Secretary of State, Records, microfilm reel no. 11, KSHS.

70. TDC, 23 July 1908.

71. Capper Papers, Stubbs to Capper, 18 May 1908; WAW, White to Leland, ca. August 1908; TSJ, 22 July and 4 August 1908; Kansas Election Returns, microfilm reel no. 11.

72. BP, Bristow to P. H. Cahill, 14 August 1908, Bristow to B. Lindsey, 11 August 1908; TDC, 5 August 1908; Wichita Beacon, 5 August 1908; Emporia Gazette, 5 August 1908; Wichita Eagle, 23 October 1908.

73. LP, Long to Madison, 11 August 1908, Long to Albaugh, 11 August 1908, Long to A. D. Crotts, 12 September 1908.

74. BP, Bristow to R. A. Elward, 27 August 1908.

75. TDC, 25 and 26 August 1908; WAW, White to Bristow, 10 August 1908.

76. BP, Bristow to Jobes, 7 August 1908, Bristow to C. F. Scott, 11 August 1908, Bristow to S. S. Reynolds, 11 August 1908, Bristow to G. W. Marble, 11 August 1908, Bristow to Dolley, 21 and 27 August 1908, Bristow to Edard, 27 August 1908, Bristow to J. G. Cannon, 2 October 1908; WAW, White to Allen, 11 August 1908; LP, Long to Richards, 29 August 1908; TSJ, 22 and 25 August 1908; TDC, 25 and 26 August 1908.


CHAPTER 7

1. WAW, White to Hanna, 18 November 1913.

2. BP, White to Bristow, 23 February 1911.

3. WAW, White to Capper, 25 July 1908; TDC, 9 and 13 January 1909.

4. SGP, Stubbs to T. F. Gregg, 23 June 1909.

5. SGP, Stubbs to E. Akers, 18 September 1909; WAW, Valentine to White, 20 November 1909, E. S. McCormick to White, 25 January 1910; TSJ, 6 October 1909.


7. WAW, White to Bristow, 18 December 1908, J. M. Nation to White, 2 February 1910.

8. SGP, J. K. Codding to W. L. Dexter, 30 August 1905.

9. A special file on the enforcement of liquor laws in Cherokee and Crawford counties is located in the Stubbs Gubernatorial Papers. For letters illustrative of the above, see Stubbs to G. Steussi, 12 January 1910, Stubbs to E. Merriweather, 7 January 1910, Stubbs to S. H. Smith, 1 February 1910, W. L. Scott to Stubbs, 18 January 1910, Stubbs to S. S. Oylear, 1 March 1910, D. D. Leahy to A. Burt, 3 June 1911, Stubbs to C. S. Huffman, 28 June 1911; WAW, Dolley to White, 7 September 1911; Kansas Prohibition Pamphlets, vol. 3, KSHS library, What Prohibition Has Done for Kansas by J. Dawson; Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Attorney-General of Kansas, 1911–1912 (Topeka, 1912), pp. 4–5. In their elementary-school textbook on Kansas history, two ardent prohibitionists of the 1930s cite several temperance-union tracts that support the above (Bliss Isely and W. M. Richards, Four Centuries in Kansas [Wichita, Kans., 1936], pp. 301–2).


11. SGP, M. Wood-Simons to Stubbs, 3 November 1911, Stubbs to Dawson, 4 November 1911, Dawson to W. P. Montgomery, 6 November 1911, E. Haworth to Stubbs, 29 January and 9 March 1912.


14. TDC, 2, 7, and 24 February 1911;


20. Ibid.; *TDC*, 22 and 23 September 1910; SCP, W. D. Williams to Stubbs, 21 March 1911, Secretary-to-the-Governor to Williams, 13 April 1911.


22. SCP, Ripley to Stubbs, 1 and 25 October and 13 December 1910, Stubbs to Ripley, 10 October and 3 and 20 December 1910.


24. SCP, Stubbs to T. Blodgett, 20 February 1909, Stubbs to W. M. Gray, 23 February 1909, G. W. Kanavel to ——, ca. February 1909; BP, Bristow to Allen, 20 February 1909; *Kansas City Star*, 16 and 17 February 1909; *TSJ*, 16 and 24 February 1909.


29. SCP, J. W. Gleed to Dear Sir, 5 February 1909.

278 Notes to Pages 116–22
31. TSJ, 16, 19, and 24 February and 1 March 1909.
33. TDC, 14 March 1909.
34. Session Laws, State of Kansas, 1909, pp. 96-103.
35. HGP, J. B. Adams to Hoch, 21 December 1906.
36. LP, Berryman to Hoch, 30 December 1907.
38. SGP, Berryman to The Bank Addressed, 5 February 1909; LP, Long to Chandler, 5 September 1909; Long to Taft, 5 September 1908; George W. Hodges MSS., KSHS, C. M. Sawyer to Hodges, 7 February 1909, Hodges to Sawyer, 8 February 1909.
43. SGP, Scoville to The State or Private Bank Addressed, 2 May 1910.
44. TDC, 14 March 1909.
45. LP, Albaugh to Long, 5 March 1909.
46. See above, pp. 180-81.
47. Senate Journal, State of Kansas, 1911, pp. 5-11.
50. TDC, 12 January 1911; BP, Bristow to White, 30 December 1910.
51. BP, Bristow to Stubbs, 2 January 1911.
52. TDC, 12 January 1911; TSJ, 12 January 1911.
53. TSJ, 10 and 12 January 1911; TDC, 10-12 January 1911; WAW, Capper to Corporation Commission, pp. 42-43; TDC, 3, 12, and 15 February and 5, 10, 15,
and 16 March 1911; WAW, White to Nelson, 15 February 1911; SGP, Joseph to Stubbs, 10 March 1911.

62. TDC, 14 March 1909.

64. SGP, Private Secretary to C. Harvey, 4 November 1910, Stubbs to H. Dick, 11 December 1911.

CHAPTER 8

1. TDC, 20 August 1907 and 18, 19, and 24 June 1908; Emporia Gazette, 4 March 1908; Wichita Beacon, 4 March 1908; Wichita Eagle, 19 June 1908.
2. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 4 February 1909.
4. BP, Bristow to Taft, 9 December 1908, Bristow to F. Trigg, 20 March 1909. The term "insurgent" was used by regular Republicans, by the press, and by many to whom it was applied to describe Republicans who opposed party leadership, including President Taft, during 1909 and 1910. A good many "insurgents" were later referred to as "progressive Republicans," and some became members of the Progressive party in 1912.
6. Ibid., 4:221.
10. LP, Cannon to Long, 14 November 1902, Albaugh to Long, 4 and 14 February, 2 March, and 3 June 1903, 28 March 1906, M. M. Murdock to Long, 4 and 14 February 1903, V. Murdock to Long, 8 June 1903, Madison to Long, 29 March 1906.
13. The best discussions of Cannon and his opposition may be found in the biographies by Gwinn and Bolles and in Richard Lowitt, George W. Norris: The Making of a Progressive, 1861–1912 (Syracuse, N.Y., 1963).
16. BP, Bristow to F. B. Bristow, 18 March 1909, Bristow to Chase, 14 March 1909; SGP, Murdock to Stubbs, 22 January 1909.


23. WAW, Scott to White, 21 January 1912.


25. WAW, Murdock to White, 27 December 1909; BP, Bristow to Chase, 14 March 1909, Bristow to Elward, 17 December 1909; Capper Papers, Madison to Capper, 3 July 1911.

26. The Madison quote is from Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:1347.


34. Legislative Documents, file no. 6, KSHS library, “Address of Joseph L. Bristow, before the Joint Session of the Kansas Legislature upon Being Notified of His Election as United States Senator”; WAW, Taft to White, 2 March 1909.

NOTES TO PAGES 141–48
35. BP, Bristow to Chase, 14 and 26 March 1909, Bristow to F. Bristow, 18 March 1909, Bristow to Stubbs, 24 March 1909, Bristow to M. M. Beck, 3 April 1909, Bristow to J. H. Stavelly, 31 May 1909, Bristow to Trigg, 21 June 1909.


38. SGP, Madison to Stubbs, 8 June 1909; Edwards, “Murdock,” p. 57.


40. BP, Bristow to Beck, 23 March and 3 April 1909, Bristow to G. Guernsey, 14 April 1909, Bristow to A. Mitchell, 13 May 1909, Bristow to F. A. Gillespie, 22 May and 3 and 14 June 1909, Bristow to Chase, 23 May 1909, Bristow to A. Miller, 1 June 1909, Bristow to Trigg, 21 June 1909; Mowry, *Era of Roosevelt*, p. 245.


42. Ibid., p. 592. Although Bristow championed moderate revision during the debate on the wool schedule, he tried to explain his general tariff views by saying: “Being a Republican, believing in the principles of protection, and believing that the duty should cover the difference between the cost of production here and abroad, I cannot vote for these amendments.” The amendments would have put woolens on the free list. Ibid., p. 3132.

43. Ibid., p. 404.

44. BP, Bristow to Leland, 7 June 1909, Bristow to White, 9 June 1909; *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 1st sess., 1909, 44:1087.

45. BP, Bristow to Hull, 15 May 1909, Bristow to Chase, 22 May 1909.

46. BP, Bristow to Bryant, 2 July 1909, Bristow to Trigg, 21 June 1909. On the question of submitting the Income Tax Amendment to the states, only Calderhead of the Kansas delegation voted no. *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 1st sess., 1909, 44:4120, 4440.

47. BP, Bristow to Trigg, 2 July 1909, Bristow to Chase, 19 June 1909, Bristow to Allen, 3 July 1909; *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 1st sess., 1909, 44:4066 and app., p. 140.


52. BP, Bristow to Chase, 7 April and 22 May 1909, Bristow to Hull, 22 June 1909, Bristow to F. Lockard, 4 September 1909; Capper Papers, Anthony to Capper, 14 May 1909, Curtis to Capper, 17 May 1909, Capper to Curtis, 13 May 1909; TDC, 11 August, 8 and 31 October 1909; Pringle, “Madison,” p. 75; Morgan R. Ewing, “Charles F. Scott: His Decade in Congress” (Master’s thesis, University of Kansas, 1951), p. 56. In May 1910, from the floor of the House, Reeder said, in response to a widely publicized interview in which Bristow blamed the tariff for high prices, the following: “The junior Senator from Kansas [Bristow], through the press, deplored the high prices of beef and other farm products. Of course he did this to further arouse an adverse sentiment toward Republicanism and did not credit the farmer with having brains enough to detect that this was an attack on the farmers’ market” (*Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:6540).

53. BP, Bristow to A. Cummins, 7 September 1909; Mowry, *Era of Roosevelt*, p. 249.

54. BP, Bristow to Cummins, 20 Sep-


56. WAW, Bristow to White, 24 August 1909; BP, Bristow to M. Clapp, 7 September 1909, Bristow to Cummins, 7 September 1909, Bristow to Jackson, 15 December 1909, Bristow to Lovewell, 20 December 1909, Bristow to White, 24 December 1909.

57. BP, Bristow to Allen, 16 December 1909, Bristow to E. Munday, 8 February 1910, Bristow to F. W. Clark, 14 February 1910, Bristow to H. J. Hoover, 7 March 1910, Bristow to Jackson, 12 March 1910, Bristow to White, 22 June 1910; Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:2780, 7670, 7768, 8741.

58. Numerous letters concerning parcels post are in Bristow's correspondence for the period 1909-1912. The following are representative: BP, Bristow to C. E. Rummel, 18 December 1909, Bristow to R. J. Morrison, 2 March 1909, Bristow to J. B. Pitts, 17 January 1912; Congressional Record, 62d Cong., 2d sess., 1912, 48:4678, 11677, 11761, 11819.


60. BP, Bristow to Allen, 23 February 1911, Allen to Bristow, 26 February 1911, Bristow to Capper, 13 February 1911 and 26 March 1912, Bristow to My dear Mr. Graham, 16 February 1911; Taft Papers, Taft to W. M. Crane, 3 August 1912; Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:2355.

61. BP, Bristow to Jackson, 12 March 1910.

62. WAW, Bristow to White, 5 January 1910, Bristow to Trigg, 5 January 1910.

63. BP, Bristow to Chase, 12 February 1910.

64. Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:4507-8, 4659, 5567, 6213, 6342, 6346, 6462, 6914-15, 6920-21, 6923, 6972, 6975, 7135, 7196, 7199, 7203, 7218, 7257-58, 7264, 7266, 7271, 7341, 7347, 7351, 7355, 7365, 7369.

65. BP, Bristow to Allen, 25 June 1910.


67. Taft Papers, Taft to H. Taft, 5 March 1910; BP, Bristow to F. Quincy, 27 May 1910.

68. Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, vol. 45, app., p. 124; BP, Bristow to Allen, 16 December 1909, Bristow to Chase, 11 April 1910, Bristow to George, 1 April 1910, Bristow to Hoover, 7 March 1910; Hechler, Insurgency, pp. 163-66.

69. SGP, Murdock to Stubbs, 22 January 1909; BP, Bristow to F. Bristow, 18 March 1909, Bristow to W. L. Huggins, 26 July 1909, Bristow to Leland, 30 October 1909, Bristow to Allen, 16 and 30 December 1909, Bristow to White, 16 December 1909, Bristow to Burnette, 30 December 1909; Capper Papers, Bristow to Capper, 28 and 31 December 1909; WAW, Bristow to White, 30 December 1909. Bristow had trouble in August 1909 over the appointment of census supervisors. He did not understand that these were strictly presidential patronage. Moreover, he probably did not appreciate reports that Taft was using them against insurgents. Taft Papers, Taft to Bristow, 18 and 23 August 1909, Taft to Curtis, 23 and 30 August 1909, BP, Bristow to Taft, 23 August 1909; Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:1395.
70. BP, Bristow to Allen, 15 January 1910, Bristow to Burnette, 7 January 1910, Bristow to W. P. Dillingham, 21 May 1910; WAW, Bristow to White, 29 January 1910, J. C. Laughlin to White, 24 January 1910; Taft Papers, Taft to Stubbs, 17 February 1910; LP, Curtis to Long, 8 January 1912; TDC, 1 September 1910.

71. BP, Bristow to White, 22 December 1910, Bristow to Harrison, 4 January and 24 July 1911; WAW, Allen to White, 9 December 1910; Taft Papers, Taft to Bristow, 2 January 1911; Gleed Papers, Gleed to C. S. Page, 26 July 1911.

72. BP, Bristow to Hull, 27 June 1910, Bristow to E. C. Manning, 3 December 1910; WAW, White to Nelson, 29 June 1910. As Sageser points out in his interesting biography of Bristow, Taft did not succeed. A Bristow politician was finally appointed. Sageser, Bristow, p. 108.

CHAPTER 9

1. BP, Bristow to Leland, 14 April 1910; Mowry, Era of Roosevelt, pp. 266-67; Gwinn, Cannon, pp. 192, 195-98; Pringle, “Madison,” p. 33.

2. WAW, White to Taft, 3 February 1910.


5. WAW, White to Stubbs, 4 February 1908, Allen to White, 27 July 1908 and 16 February 1911; BP, Bristow to Allen, 4 and 20 February and 12 March 1909, Allen to Bristow, 16 March 1909; SGP, Allen to Dear John, 18 January 1909; TSJ, 9 February 1905; Political Pamphlets, portfolio size, KSHS library, To The Republicans of the Second Congressional District; Biographies Compiled by the Library, s.v. “Henry Justin Allen”; Charles B. Driscoll, “Kansas in Labor,” American Mercury, March 1929, p. 345.

6. WAW, Murdock to White, 13 December 1909, Bristow to White, 13 June 1910; BP, Bristow to Trigg, 13 June 1910, Trigg to Bristow, 17 June 1910, Bristow to White, 23 June 1910; Tuttle, “Murdock,” p. 32.

7. WAW, T. A. McNeal to White, 13 November 1909 and 6 April 1910, Madison to Capper, 18 July 1910; BP, Bristow to Edward, 17 December 1909.


9. WAW, W. W. Payne to Stubbs, 30 December 1909; TSJ, 27 and 29 September and 5 and 12 October 1909; TDC, 19 and 23 August, 8, 13, 21 and 30 September, 4 and 8 October 1909; Wichita Eagle, 29 September 1909.

10. WAW, Stubbs to White, 5 October 1909; SGP, “Counting the Cost,” article, taxation file, 1909-1912; TSJ, 8 November 1909.

11. BP, Bristow to Jackson, 3 February 1910, Bristow to Allen, 7 February 1910; WAW, Bristow to White, 3 February 1910, Allen to White, 14 February 1910; Capper Papers, Bristow to Capper, 2 February 1910; Taft Papers, Taft to Long, 15 and 26 February 1910; Kansas Day Club Clippings, KSHS library, pp. 178-288.


13. TSJ, 5, 6, and 10 May 1910; TDC, 10-12 May 1910.


15. TDC, 19 May 1910.


17. Ibid., pamphlets, A Brilliant Record—Tom Waggstaff’s, The Governorship by W. P. Hackney, Senator Curtis Answers Governor Stubbs; WAW, Bristow to White, 10 June 1910; Kansas City Journal, 10 and 17 May 1910; Kansas City Star, 9 July 1910; TDC, 29 May 1910.

18. SGP, “The Governor on State Tax-


21. Charles Curtis Collection, KSHS, Curtis to G. Huron, 21 May 1909; SCP, Stubbs to R. Stone, 28 April 1909, Stubbs to Taft, 14 May 1909; WAW, McNeal to White, 26 and 28 October 1909.

22. Capper Papers, Anthony to Capper, 30 August and 4 September 1909, Capper to Anthony, 1 September 1909; TDC, 21 May 1909.


25. C. F. Scott Correspondence, KSHS, O. Zoppone to Scott, 5 August 1910, J. Wilson to Scott, 14 February 1911; WAW, White to Scott, 9 January 1912, Marble to White, 30 September 1909; Connelley, Kansas, 3:1360; Proceedings of the Bar Association of Kansas, 1912 (Topeka, 1912), unnumbered page, s.v. "Alexander C. Mitchell."


27. TDC, 9 July 1910.

28. TDC, 21 May 1910; TSJ, 23 April 1910.


30. WAW, White to Taft, ca. December 1908, McNeal to White, 28 October 1909, Dawson to White, 6 and 9 December 1909, White to Madison, 18 April 1911.


32. BP, Bristow to J. A. Kimball, 3 June 1910, Bristow to White, 28 June 1910, Bristow to Beveridge, 20 July 1910; TDC, 16 and 17 July 1910; Kansas City Journal, 28 July 1910; Case MSS., 4:215–18.


35. BP, Bristow to Beveridge, 5 August 1910; Congressional Record, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, 45:6543.


40. WA


41. TDC, 31 August and 1 September 1910.


44. Hodges MSS., Letter to the Editor of the Kansas City Star from a Member of Franklin Post No. 68, G.A.R., and Late Sergeant, F Company, 7th Indiana Cavalry, ca. October 1910.

45. LP, Long to Albaugh, 31 October 1910.


48. WAW, White to Taft, 22 November 1910; BP, Bristow to J. Myers, 9 November 1910, Bristow to Clapp, 10 November 1910, Bristow to Bass, 10 November 1910, Bristow to Jackson, 10 November 1910, Bristow to Davis, 11 November 1910.

49. LP, Albaugh to Long, 9 November 1910.

50. Voting returns are taken from the appropriate reports of the secretaries of state. For 1910 see Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, pp. 125-26, 140-42, 146-49.

51. TSJ, 12 November 1910; Kansas City Journal, 30 December 1910.


53. In voting on the "Farmers' Free List," which would have allowed agricultural implements, leather goods, fence wire, lumber, and other items to enter duty free, Anthony, Jackson, Madison, Murdock, and Bristow favored it, while Campbell, Rees, Young, and Curtis opposed. On the House's effort to override Taft's veto, Jackson, Madison, and Murdock voted "yea," Anthony, Campbell, Rees, and Young, "noe." On Canadian Reciprocity the vote was mixed between regulars and progressives as follows: For—Anthony, Madison, Mitchell, and Murdock; against—Campbell, Jackson, Rees, Young, Bristow, and Curtis. Congressional Record, 62d Cong., 1st sess., 1911, 47:11, 559-60, 3175, 3435, 4061, 4083-84, 4174.
54. WAW, White to La Follette, 3 January 1911, Bristow to White, 16 January 1911; BP, Bristow to Chase, 30 January and 20 February 1911, Bristow to Trigg, 26 June 1911, Bristow to Allen, 8 July 1911, Bristow to White, 30 September 1911; Capper Papers, White to Capper, 14 July 1911, Madison to Capper, 3 July 1911; TDC, 26–28 September 1911; Mowry, *Era of Roosevelt*, p. 291; Bright, *Kansas*, 2:39–42; Tuttle, “Murdock,” p. 53.

55. WAW, White to La Follette, 3 January 1911, White to Roosevelt, 18 October 1911, W. L. Houser to White, 9 and 16 January 1912; Capper Papers, Madison to Capper, 3 July 1911; White, *Autobiography*, p. 448.

56. BP, Bristow to Allen, 8 June, 8 July, and 29 December 1911, Bristow to Harrison, 19 June 1911, Bristow to Chase, 9 August 1911, Bristow to F. K. Beam, 9 February 1912; *Salina Journal*, 5 February 1912; “The Presidential Campaign: Mr. La Follette’s Withdrawal,” *Outlook*, 17 February 1912, p. 337.


58. BP, Bristow to White, 12 November 1911; LP, Morgan to Long, 12 January 1912, F. L. Martin to Long, 13 January 1912; *Emporia Gazette*, 10 January 1912; *Kansas City Star*, 10 January 1912; Kansas Election Returns, Special Elections, 1911, 1912, Office of the Secretary of State, Records, microfilm reels nos. 11a and 12, KSHS.

59. BP, Allen to Bristow, 26 December 1911, White to Bristow, 28 December 1911, Bristow to White, 31 December 1911 and 11 January 1912; WAW, White to Bristow, 8 January 1912.


61. BP, Chase to Bristow, 6 August 1911, Leland to Bristow, 25 December 1911, Capper to Bristow, 23 December 1911; WAW, White to Roosevelt, 17 January and 18 October 1911; *Emporia Gazette*, 7 and 15 January 1912.

**Chapter 10**


2. WAW, Rees to White, 16 May 1912; BP, Bristow to W. A. Smith, 30 March 1912, Bristow to Borah, 8 June 1912; *Emporia Gazette*, 16 May and 6 June 1912.


5. LP, Scott to Long, 21 June 1912; *Kansas City Star*, 10 June 1912.


7. BP, Bristow to G. Hull, 22 June 1912; TDC, 25 June 1912.

8. *Emporia Gazette*, 22 June 1912; TDC, 8 July 1912.


13. WAW, J. E. Ingham to White, 25 June 1912, White to Roosevelt, 8 July 1912, White to B. F. Blaker, 13 July 1912, White to W. L. Cunningham, 23 July 1912; BP, Bristow to E. M. Adams, 1 July 1912, Bristow to Harrison, 6 July 1912; TDC, 1, 4, 5, 11, and 12 July 1912.

14. TDC, 18 and 20 July 1912.


18. WA W, Capper to White, 18 April 1912, M. Applegate to White, 18 July 1912; George A. Huron MSS., KSHS, W. I. Stuart to Huron, 2 March 1912; Gleed Papers, Anthony to Gleed, 22 August 1911; TSJ, 3 July and 3 August 1912; Socolofsky, Capper, p. 77.

19. LP, Curtis to Long, 8 July 1912; WAW, Applegate to White, 18 July 1912; Gleed Papers, Gleed to Page, 15 July 1911; Hodges Papers, “Some Plain Facts by Dickinson County Taxpayers Union”; Emporia Gazette, 11 July 1912; TSJ, 13 July 1912.

20. WA W, Blomberg to Stubbs, 22 July 1912, Miscellaneous Campaign Literature, Stubbs Senate Contest, 1912, box 292; Republican Campaign Literature, portfolio size, “W. R. Stubbs to the Voters of Kansas, 1912.”


22. WA W, White to Murdock, 29 April 1912, Harris to White, 18 May 1912, Akers to White, 24 May 1912, A. M. Strong to Allen, 8 July 1912, White to Roosevelt, 24 July 1912, Akers to E. J. Guilbert, 31 July 1912; BP, Bristow to White, 20 March 1912, Bristow to Allen, 13 April and 8 and 13 May 1912; Kansas City Star, 15 March 1912.


24. WAW, F. B. Stanley to E. S. Rule, 8 July 1912, Blaker to Dunkelberger, 29 July 1912, J. R. Wilkie to White, 2 September 1912; “Following the Campaign,” Outlook, 27 July 1912, p. 665; TDC, 2 and 7 July and 11 and 13 August 1912.


26. BP, Bristow to Cummins, 2 September 1912; WAW, White to Roosevelt, 24 and 27 July 1912, White to R. S. Baer, 24 September 1912; Roosevelt Letters, 7: 599–600, Roosevelt to P. B. Stewart, 15 August 1912; TDC, 28 August 1912.

27. WAW, Albaugh to White, 5 September 1912, White to Albaugh, 7 September 1912, White to the Old Electors, 18 and 25 September 1912, White to C. Brandt, 17 October 1912; Taft Papers, Taft to Anthony, 26 August 1912; Long Papers, Long to Marshall, 7 October 1912; Roosevelt Letters, 7: 582 n2; TDC, 14 and 18 September 1912.

28. WAW, White to C. C. Isley, 8 July 1912, J. A. Darnall to White, 15 July 1912, White to Murdock, 8 October 1912; BP, Harrison to Bristow, 24 July 1912, Bristow to White, 25 July 1912, Bristow to Harrison, 29 July 1912; TDC, 6 July and 21 and 22 September 1912.

29. WAW, White to Roosevelt, 24 October 1912.

30. WAW, D. Hinshaw to White, 17 August 1912, Hinshaw to Editor, Washburn Review, 19 September 1912, Hinshaw to S. Ingalls, 20 September 1912, Hinshaw to G. W. Ellis, 26 and 30 September 1912, White to G. P. Butt, 5 October 1912, White to Western Newspaper Union, 17 October 1912, White to Roosevelt, 24 October 1912, C. S. Roseberry to White, 7 November 1912, Perkins to White, 13 November 1912. These are only a few of thousands of letters in the White MSS. that are germane to the generalities expressed above.

31. WAW, Hinshaw to G. Adams, 30
September 1912, A. Howard to White, 16 August 1912, White to H. Parker, 1 October 1912, White to Murdock, 8 October 1912, Hinshaw to J. A. Burge, 9 October 1912, White to Perkins, 6 November 1912, Progressive National Committee to White, 28 October 1912.

32. WAW, F. D. Smith to White, 26 October 1912.

33. WAW, D. Freemeyer to White, 3 August 1912, and “The Political Boss Revived in Kansas by J. H. Crider, 1912”; Gleed Papers, Gleed to J. H. Fletcher, 15 October 1912.

34. WAW, W. F. Sapp to White, 26 July 1912; Gleed Papers, Gleed to Fletcher, 15 October 1912; Johnson, White, p. 207.


36. WAW, Sapp to White, 26 July 1912; Emporia Gazette, 3 July 1912; TDC, 3 and 6 July 1912.

37. Emporia Gazette, 28 August and 8 October 1912; Salina Journal, 21 and 22 September and 7 and 8 October 1912; TDC, 5, 7, 15, and 23 October and 4 November 1912; Topeka Daily Herald, 7–9 October 1912; Johnson, White, pp. 206–7.


39. Socolofsky, Capper, pp. 78–79; TSJ, 19 and 28 August, 4 September, and 26 October 1912; Atchison Globe, 21 August 1912; TDC, 28 August 1912; Kansas City Journal, 22 and 24 September 1912.

40. WAW, C. A. Bender to White, 21 September 1912, W. B. Parker to White, 23 September 1912, White to O. K. Miller, 27 September 1912, S. D. Frazier to White, 26 October 1912; SGP, Marble to Leahy, 16 October 1912, Leahy to Marble, 17 October 1912; Hodges MSS., “Some Plain Facts by Dickinson County Taxpayers Union”; Taft Papers, Hilles to Taft, 15 August 1912; Republican Campaign Literature, portfolio size, “Senator Curtis Replies to Mr. Dolley” and “Fourteen to Remember”; Kansas City Journal, 17 October 1912.

41. Republican Campaign Literature, 1912, “W. R. Stubbs to the Voters of Kansas”; WAW, Leahy to White, 12 September 1912, White to Sheldon, 18 September 1912, Miscellaneous Campaign Literature, Stubbs Senate Contest, 1912, box 292; TDC, 14 September, 15 and 23 October, 1, 2, and 5 November 1912.

42. Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, pp. 74–75.


46. Capper Papers, “Hodges Member of the Lumber Trust,” ca. October 1912; Hodges MSS., Hodges to Trigg, 29 June 1911, “Clipping, Labor Herald, Pittsburg, Kans., 4 October 1912,” and Hodges to Dear Sir, 25 October 1912; BP, a number of undated postcards and form letters from Hodges mailed in October and November 1912; TDC, 1–5 November 1912; Socolofsky, Capper, pp. 78–79.

47. Eighteenth Biennial Report of the
Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, p. 31.

48. Ibid., pp. 78–79.

CHAPTER 11

1. WAW, Ingham to White, 25 June 1912, Isley to White, 5 July 1912, Cunningham to White, 20 July 1912, Baer to White, 21 September 1912, White to Roosevelt, 6 July 1912, White to Isley, 8 July 1912, White to Cunningham, 23 July 1912, White to Perkins, 6 and 8 November 1912.
2. WAW, White to B. Bristow, 7 November 1912, White to Roosevelt, 14 November 1912.
6. WAW, W. D. Ross to White, 22 January 1914.
8. BP, Capper to Bristow, 5 December 1912; Capper Papers, E. C. Pulliam to Capper, 9 January 1913.
10. BP, Bristow to B. Bristow, 7 November 1912, Bristow to F. Bristow, 29 November 1912, Bristow to White, 2 December 1912, Bristow to H. I. Maxwell, 13 December 1912, Bristow to Harrison, 21 December 1912, Bristow to C. C. Handy, 27 December 1912, Bristow to Dolley, 31 December 1912.
11. BP, Bristow to J. S. West, 5 December 1912; Capper Papers, Bristow to Capper, 7 December 1912.
13. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 21, 28, and 30 January 1913; TDC, 30 January 1913; TSJ, 29 and 30 January 1913.
15. BP, Bristow to U. S. Sartin, 7 February 1913.
16. BP, Leahy to Bristow, 16 February 1913, Harrison to Bristow, 17 February 1913; TDC, 13 February 1913; Kansas City Star, 13 February 1913; Emporia Gazette, 13 and 14 February 1913.
17. BP, Sartin to Bristow, 3 April 1913.
18. BP, Sartin to Bristow, 3 April 1913, Harrison to Bristow, 9 April 1913, Bristow to Capper, 5 April 1913; WAW, Allen to White, 9 June 1913; Kansas City Journal, 30 March 1913.
19. BP, Bristow to Sartin, 10 April 1913, Bristow to F. Bristow, 5 April 1913, Bristow to J. Madden, 7 April 1913.
20. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 8 March 1913; LP, Troutman to ———, 6 March 1913, Troutman to Long, 23 May 1913; Capper Papers, “Article by A. L. Shultz,
TSJ, 29 November 1956”; TSJ, 12 and 24 May 1913.

21. BP, Bristow to Troutman, 10 April 1913; interview, Robert La Forte with Homer Socolofsky, 5 November 1963.

22. LP, Troutman to Long, 23 May 1913; TDC, 3 June 1913.

23. *Emporia Gazette*, 13 May 1913; WAW, Roosevelt to White, Stubbs, and Dolley, 1 July 1913.

24. WAW, O. W. Dawson to White, 18 October 1913. This letter is typical of many in White’s correspondence which question Roosevelt’s intentions in 1916.


26. BP, Bristow to J. Dixon, 25 August 1913, Capper to Bristow, 30 September 1913.

27. BP, Bristow to Beveridge, 21 December 1912, Harrison to Bristow, 31 December 1912.

28. *Roosevelt Letters*, 7:685-86, Roosevelt to Bristow, 31 December 1912, and 7:717, Roosevelt to Perkins, 1 April 1913, p. 715 n2; BP, Bristow to Roosevelt, 7 April 1913, Bristow to R. E. Stout, 22 April 1913, Bristow to White, 22 May 1913, Bristow to Allen, 12 June 1913, Bristow to Capper, 13 November 1913; WAW, White to Roosevelt, 9 June 1913, Murdock to White, 16 December 1913; Mitchell, “Bristow,” pp. 154, 199-205; Boswell, “Murdock,” pp. 14-16, 47-48 52-54; Sageser, *Bristow*, pp. 127-41, has an excellent discussion of Bristow’s relations with the Wilson administration.

29. BP, Bristow to Troutman, 28 July 1913, Bristow to Allen, 5 September 1913.

30. LP, Scott to Long, 15 September 1913; TDC, 12, 23, and 30 August 1913.

31. WAW, E. M. Murphy to White, 13 November 1913.

32. WAW, White to Roosevelt, 24 September 1913.

33. WAW, White to Harrison, 28 October 1913; TDC, 1 and 2 September 1913.

34. *Emporia Gazette*, 22 September 1913.

35. WAW, White to Bristow, 29 October 1913, Bristow to White, 12 November 1913, White to Harrison, 28 October 1913.

36. BP, Bristow to Elward, 20 June 1912, Bristow to Dolley, 31 December 1912, Bristow to Capper, 7 December 1912.

37. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 1 February 1913, Sartin to Bristow, 3 April 1913, Bristow to Capper, 5 April 1913.

38. BP, Bristow to White, 19 June 1913; WAW, Allen to White, 9 June 1913.

39. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 28 January 1913.

40. BP, Bristow to Hinshaw, 30 September and 15 October 1913; WAW, White to Bristow, 29 October and 1 November 1913, White to Harrison, 28 October 1913, Hinshaw to White, 4 November 1913.

41. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 2, 18, and 22 November 1913, Bristow to Harrison, 19 September 1913, Bristow to Capper, 6 October 1913.

42. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 18 and 22 November 1913, Bristow to Harrison, 19 September 1913, Capper to Bristow, 11 November 1913, Allen to Bristow, 19 November 1913.

43. BP, Bristow to Dixon, 29 November 1913.

44. BP, Troutman to Bristow, 17 December 1913.

45. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 19 September 1913, Bristow to Capper, 6 October 1913; WAW, White to Capper, 30 September 1913, Ingalls to White, 7 October 1913.

46. WAW, Capper to White, 11 October 1913.

47. Capper Papers, “Speech at Eureka, Kans., April 24, 1914.”

48. WAW, Sartin to Dear Sir, 18 November 1913, Sartin to White, 24 November 1913.

49. WAW, Leahy to White, 9 November 1913, Scott to White, 16 November...
ber 1913, Trigg to Bristow, 27 November 1913, White to Murdock, 4 December 1913; BP, Harrison to Bristow, 18 and 22 November 1913, Allen to Bristow, 2 December 1913, Isley to Bristow, 31 December 1913; Emporia Gazette, 13 October and 31 December 1913; TDC, 21 November 1913.

50. WAW, Bristow to White, 25 October 1913, Hinshaw to White, 4 November 1913, White to Leland, 10 December 1913, White to Bristow, 12 December 1913; BP, Bristow to Dixon, 29 November 1913, Allen to Bristow, 2, 24, and 30 December 1913, White to Bristow, 1 November 1913.

51. BP, Allen to Bristow, 24 and 30 December 1913.

52. BP, White to Bristow, 26 December 1913.

53. Gleed Papers, Scott to Gleed, 2 February 1914; Kansas City Journal, 4 and 5 January 1914; Kansas City Star, 4 January 1914; TSJ, 5 January 1914; Emporia Gazette, 5 January 1914; TDC, 5, 17, and 19 January and 12 and 26 February 1914.

54. Kansas City Star, 18 January 1914; WAW, Allen to White, 6 January 1914, H. L. Anderson to White, 19 January 1914.

55. BP, Bristow to O. W. Dawson, 5 January 1914, Bristow to Marble, 5 January 1914.

56. BP, Bristow to C. F. Lebow, 9 January 1914; WAW, Allen to White, 6 January 1914; LP, Scott to Long, 14 January 1914.

Chapter 12

1. WAW, Murdock to White, 16 December 1913; BP, Jackson to Bristow, 12 January 1914; TSJ, 4 and 5 January 1914.

2. WAW, White to Stubbs, 6 January 1914.

3. WAW, M. McCormick to White, 23 February 1914, McCormick to Stubbs, 23 February 1914.

4. WAW, Allen to White, 6, 9, and 13 January and 5 February 1914, Allen to Sartin, 9 January 1914, Allen to Stubbs, 13 January 1914.

5. TSJ, 19 January and 13 February 1914; Aitchison Globe, 20 February 1914.


7. TSJ, 13 February 1914.


10. WAW, Pinchot to White, 15 April 1914, White to Pinchot, 20 April 1914, Beveridge to White, 22 June 1914, White to Beveridge, 31 June 1914.


12. BP, Burnette to Bristow, 12 April 1914, Bristow to Harrison, 4 April and 12 August 1914, Morgan to Bristow, 15 June 1914, Bristow to J. S. Simmons, 18 June 1914, W. N. Breen to Bristow, 13 July 1914, Bristow to Breen, 13 July 1914, Bristow to Chandler, 18 August 1914; Sageser, Bristow, p. 150.

13. BP, Harrison to Bristow, 1 April 1914; LP, Curtis to Long, 30 January 1914; TDC, 1 February 1914.

14. BP, Bristow to J. T. Moore, 7 February 1914; Republican Campaign Literature, 1914, “Senator Bristow’s Work in the Senate”; Sageser, Bristow, p. 150. Ironically, John Harrison, Bristow’s main political contact in Kansas at the time, attributed the senator’s defeat in 1914 to too much idealism, “more than the present condition of public opinion in Kansas warranted.” BP, Harrison to Bristow, 9 August 1914.

15. BP, Bristow to Morgan, 21 Feb-
ruary 1914, Burnette to Bristow, 12 April 1914, Bristow to Valentine, 19 June 1914; WAW, White to Burnette, 7 March 1914; Mitchell, "Bristow," p. 228. For a view of White's actions that is contrary to this presentation see Sageser, Bristow, p. 149.

16. LP, Scott to Long, 14 January 1914; Gleed Papers, Scott to Gleed, 2 February 1914; *Iola Register*, 3 August 1914.

17. BP, Capper to Bristow, 10 June and 3 and 13 July 1914, Bristow to Burnette, 3 July 1914, Bristow to C. E. Friend, 3 July 1914, Bristow to Harrison, 9 July 1914.

18. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 1 August 1914, Bristow to J. H. Stewart, 3 August 1914, Bristow to C. E. Ingalls, 11 August 1914.


21. BP, Bailey to Bristow, 9 August 1914, Harrison to Bristow, 9 August 1914, Bristow to C. E. Hathaway, 10 August 1914, Bristow to Harrison, 12 August 1914, Burnette to Bristow, 12 August 1914; WAW, Burnette to White, 29 August 1914.

22. BP, Bristow to Capper, 6 August 1914, Bristow to Harrison, 12 August 1914, Bristow to Simmons, 14 August 1914, Bristow to L. W. Bloom, 14 August 1914, Bristow to Burnette, 19 August 1914.


24. WAW, O. P. Shelley to White, 7 August 1914; *Emporia Gazette*, 9 May, 18 June, and 5–7 August 1914; *Wichita Eagle*, 5 August 1914; *TDC*, 5 August 1914; *TSJ*, 5 August 1914; *Iola Register*, 12 August 1914.

25. LP, Albaugh to Long, 18 August 1914.

26. WAW, Capper to W. H. Buckingham, 18 March 1914; *Wichita Eagle*, 26 February 1914; Socolofsky, *Capper*, p. 84.

27. *Emporia Gazette*, 17, 19, and 26 August 1914; *TDC*, 26 August 1914.


29. WAW, White to Murdock, 8 March 1914, Allen to White, 16 June 1914, White to C. D. Lamme, 24 July 1914, Stubbs to White, 28 July 1914, Sartin to White, 28 July 1914; *Emporia Gazette*, 18 June and 17 August 1914.


33. WAW, Sartin to White, 30 August 1914, White to Sartin, 2 September 1914, White to Burnette, 7 March 1914, Allen to White, 31 August 1914, Murdock to White, 29 August 1914; LP, Long to C. G. Marshall, 18 September 1914; *TDC*, 26 August and 1 November 1914; *Kansas City Journal*, 3 November 1914.

34. *TSJ*, 18 and 19 September 1914; *Emporia Gazette*, 20 September and 26 and 27 October 1914; Socolofsky, *Capper*, pp. 82, 84–85.

35. WAW, M. Morrow to White, 29 October 1914.

36. WAW, Sartin to White, 5 March 1914, White to Burnette, 7 March 1914;
LP, Long to Marshall, 18 September 1914; TDC, 1–3 November 1914; Kansas City Journal, 2 and 3 November 1914.

37. WAW, Bramlette to White, 23 December 1913, White to Allen, 11 January 1914, Allen to White, 14 April 1914, F. W. Ives to Allen, 26 October 1914, Secretary-to-Allen to Ives, 27 October 1914; Kansas City Star, 19 August 1914.

38. WAW, Leahy to White, ca. October 1914, Why We Are for Vic, pamphlet, Why I Am a Candidate, pamphlet, 1914.


41. This assumes that the first vote cast was in the Senate race, the office listed first on the ballot.


43. WAW, White to Murdock, 5 November 1914, White to Capper, 6 November 1914, Sartin to White, 6 November 1914, O. W. Dawson to White, 7 November 1914, Davidson to White, 10 November 1914, E. M. Murphy to White, 24 November 1914.

44. WAW, White to Beveridge, 11 and 18 November 1914, Allen to C. P. Dodge, 25 November 1914, Allen to White, 19 November 1914.

45. LP, Cannon to Long, 9 November 1914; BP, Harrison to Trigg, 6 November 1914, Bristow to Harrison, 7 November 1914; WAW, Bailey to White, 26 November 1914; Garraty, Perkins, pp. 317–18; Dictionary of American Biography, 3d suppl., s.v. “Victor Murdock.”

Chapter 13

1. For example, see LP, Long to J. H. Weeks, 13 October 1915, Long to Waggener, 23 October 1915.

2. TDC, 11–14 January 1915.

3. WAW, Haskell to White, 24 November 1914.

4. WAW, Hinshaw to White, 7 November 1914, Roosevelt to White, 7 November 1914.


6. BP, Bristow to Harrison, 7 November 1914, Bristow to Weeks, 10 November 1914, Bristow to Allen, 23 December 1914, Bristow to White, 27 May 1918, Harrison to Bristow, 6 November 1914.

7. Socolofsky, Capper, pp. 89–90; Gleed Papers, Capper to Gleed, 11 February 1916.


13. WAW, J. Mickey to White, 8 November 1914, Bailey to White, 26 November 1914.

p. 12; Emporia Gazette, 12 January 1916; TSJ, 29 January 1916; Garraty, Perkins, p. 331.


17. LP, Long to Albaugh, 13 April 1916.

18. WAW, Roosevelt to M. Lissner, 11 December 1914, Perkins to White, 8 February 1915, Murdock to White, 31 March 1916.


22. TSJ, 20 June 1916.

23. WAW, Elward to White, 4 October 1916, A. M. Breese to White, 20 October 1916.

24. WAW, White to N. Hapgood, 10 October 1916.


26. June G. Cabe and Charles A. Sullivan, Kansas Votes: National Elections, 1859–1956 (Lawrence, Kans., 1957), pp. 30–33. Because women voted for the first time in a presidential election in Kansas in 1916, 263,905 more ballots were cast than in 1912, when the total presidential vote was 365,908. No one could seriously argue that voter interest was greater in 1916 than in 1912. The increased returns, however, make a numerical comparison of Wilson’s additional strength in the thirty Roosevelt counties less meaningful, since in sheer numbers Hughes polled more votes in 1916 than Roosevelt had in these same counties. Percentages thus seem a better indicator. In estimating how many Progressives voted for Wilson in 1916, the fact that Roosevelt had carried the two most populous counties in 1912, Wyandotte and Sedgwick, is worth noting. As indicated, Wilson carried them in 1916.


29. WAW, White to Morgan, 2 February 1922, White to Allen, 3 February 1922, Harrison to White, 16 February 1922, White to Harrison, 17 February 1922.

30. WAW, White to Capper, 6 November 1916, Scott to White, 24 Novem-
ber 1916, Bristow to White, 16 January 1917 and 27 May 1918, White to Harri-

31. LP, Hackney to Long, 29 June 1915, Albaugh to Long, ca. December 1916; Gleed Papers, Scott to Taft, 29 September 1917, Scott to Gleed, 10 No-
vember 1917; WAW, F. D. Smith to White, 11 November 1916, Roosevelt to White, 18 December 1916 and 1 January 1917, Bristow to White, 27 May 1918.

32. In early 1917 White told Bristow that in future political battles he would help those twelve to twenty Kansas polit-
ticians who had “stuck” to the Progressive party in 1914. WAW, White to Bristow, 20 January 1917.

33. WAW, White to Allen, 10 May 1917, Albaugh to White, 2 February 1918; Jay House, “On Politicians,” Sat-

day Evening Post, 30 January 1926, p. 121; Wichita Beacon, 13 January 1916; Harder, “Factionalism,” p. 103.

34. WAW, Brewster to White, 23 January 1918, Berryman to White, 28 January 1918, Albaugh to White, 2 Feb-

duary 1918, J. E. Brooks to White, 2 and 14 February 1918, White to Stanley, 14


35. WAW, White to Stanley, 14 Feb-

duary 1918, Albaugh to White, 2 Febru-
ary 1918; William G. Clugston, Rascals

in Democracy (New York, 1940), p. 124; TDC, 29 and 30 January 1918.

36. Domenico Gagliardo, The Kansas

Industrial Court (Lawrence, Kans., 1941), pp. 28–33. Most of the general information regarding the political activ-

ities of Allen and other Kansas political leaders who had been Progressives or progressive Republicans comes from

Donald R. McCoy, Landon of Kansas (Lincoln, Nebr., 1966).

37. WAW, White to Curtis, 27 De-

cember 1916, 2 January 1917, and 24

May 1918, Curtis to White, 30 December 1916, 5 June 1918, and 17 August 1918.

38. William MacDonald, “The United

States: Kansas in Reaction,” Nation, 15


39. WAW, White to Harrison, 17 June

1915, White to R. M. McClintock, 23

February 1918, Chase to White, 7 August

1918; White, “Government of the Peo-

ple,” pp. 188–89.