Kansas Populism

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NOTES

Preface

2. Actually, the first scholarly account of Populism was Frank L. McVey's "The Populist Movement," in Economic Studies (American Economic Association, 1896), I, 133-209, which did not employ the Turner thesis and which viewed the movement as a truly radical departure. Solon J. Buck's The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics (New Haven, 1921) and John D. Hicks' The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Minneapolis, 1931) are two general studies that represented the frontier interpretation most influentially.

Chapter I

1. The Advocate, Topeka, May 14, 1890.
3. Ibid., 3.
5. Thompson, in Quint and others, eds., Main Problems, II, 54.
6. John Tipple, "The Robber Baron in the Gilded Age: Entrepreneur or Iconoclast?" in H. Wayne Morgan, ed., The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal (Syracuse, 1963), 19. Thurman W. Arnold, perhaps better than anyone else, has chopped
through the national mythology to demonstrate how and why American attitudes were affected when the modern corporate structure was grafted onto American society. See *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven, 1937), especially chapter IX on "The Effect of the Antitrust Laws in Encouraging Large Combinations."


21. *ibid.*, 147.

22. *ibid.*, 146 ff.

23. *ibid.*, 145.

24. It may seem a paradox to say that political democracy was expanding since many observers, Henry Adams for instance, felt democracy was weakening, contracting, decaying. This obviously was the case socially and economically, but in form, at least, political democracy was expanding—the addition of new
states, the extension of political rights to Negroes, and the expansion of the franchise to include women on the municipal level and, later in the period, in some states full participation of women, were, however superficial they may have been, examples of expanding political democracy. In addition, the idea of the sovereign people was kept alive in the period to emerge stronger than ever at the close of the century. In a sense, politics of the era reflected well the aspirations of the majority of the populace who were thoroughly permeated with the materialism and rugged individualism of the age.


26. Spencer’s ideas were presented in a number of works. *Social Statics* (New York, 1864); *The Man Versus the State*, ed., Truxton Beale (New York, 1916); *The Principles of Sociology* (3 vols., New York, 1876-97); and *The Study of Sociology* (New York, 1874) are the major works. See also Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, revised edition (Boston, 1964), especially the chapters entitled “The Vogue of Spencer” and “William Graham Sumner: Social Darwinist.” Stow Persons’ *American Minds: A History of Ideas* (New York, 1958), 225-29, and Fine’s *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State*, chapters II-IV, are also useful in assessing the ideas and influence of Spencer.


33. Ibid.


35. See Edward C. Kirkland’s *Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study of New England History 1820-1900* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1948) on the region’s transportation problems and the manner in which they were handled. Lee Benson’s *Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850-1887* (Cambridge, 1955) and John F. Stover’s *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study of Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill, 1955)
both shed light on the special problems arising from railroad transportation. George Rogers Taylor and Irene D. Neu have put together perhaps the most satisfactory account of the physical integration side of the nation's railroads in their *The American Railroad Network, 1861-1890*. Thomas C. Cochran's *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890: The Business Mind in Action* (Cambridge, 1953), which reviews the careers of sixty-one railroad leaders and supplies almost three hundred pages of biographical data and correspondence, provides invaluable insights into the relationship of the railroads and their spokesmen to American society. Paul W. Gates' *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, 1954) is also quite useful in revealing a special phase of the railroad problem in conjunction with land distribution. See especially his discussion of "Railroad Purchase of Indian Reserves." Leslie E. Decker's *Railroads, Lands, and Politics: The Taxation of the Railroad Land Grants, 1864-1897* (Providence, 1964) fulfills a similar need. Two recent studies, Albert Fishlow's *American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-Bellum Economy* (Cambridge, 1965) and Robert Fogel's *Railroads and American Growth: Essays in Econometrics* (Baltimore, 1964), although arriving at somewhat conflicting conclusions, are both useful and stimulating econometric analyses.


42. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 47.


45. Paul W. Gates has written that "few would dispute today that it was 'insatiable land-hunger,' rather than any idealistic notion of making Kansas a free
or a slave state, that drew the bulk of the 100,000 people who rushed across the Missouri line in the period from 1854 to 1860." Fifty Million Acres, 1. See also pages 1-4, and 109, for Gates' comments on the nature of Kansas settlement. Roy Franklin Nichols' The Disruption of American Democracy (New York, 1962), especially the chapter entitled "Territorial Nightmares," is also useful for this period of Kansas settlement.


47. Ibid., 228.


49. The decade of the 1850s saw sixty-one percent of the working-force engaged in farming in some capacity; the 1860s, fifty-nine percent; the 1870s, eighty-one percent; and the 1880s fifty-five percent. U.S. Department of Commerce, Fifteenth Census of the U.S., 1930, Population, Kansas, I, 339.


53. The actual percentages were these: 1864, 78.6; 1868, 68.8; 1872, 66.6; 1876, 63.1; 1880, 60.4; 1884, 58.1; 1888, 55.3. Svend Peterson, A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections (New York, 1963), 40-56.


57. Ibid., 372-74. For a treatment of the fraudulent activities in Barber County see Myron C. Scott's "A Congressman and His Constituents, Jerry Simpson and the Big Seventh," unpublished master's thesis (Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1959), 28-29.

58. Paul Gates, in Fifty Million Acres, has covered the story of the scramble for lands by settlers and railroad officials as well as anyone.


62. Pittsburg Kansan, November 6, 1889. The editor of this paper subsequently became a Populist, and the Kansan became the leading Populist paper in Crawford County.

63. See Henry Nash Smith’s Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge, 1950), especially chapter sixteen, for an excellent treatment of the role played by myths in the settlement of the West.


65. Some important exceptions were these: in 1874 the Republican party demanded in its platform legislation regulating railroad rates within the state (Topeka Commonwealth, August 30, 1874); in 1882 the Democratic party platform led the way in a call for direct election of president and vice-president and U.S. senators; the Democrats of the state also proposed in that year that elections of all federal officers be placed under the control of the national government (Topeka Daily Capital, September 1, 1882).

66. Among these proposals were a call for an income tax, a postal money-deposit system, laws protecting the health and safety of miners and factory workers, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, direct election of United States senators, national laws for the arbitration of labor-management disputes, woman suffrage, and support for greenbacks as full legal tender (State party platforms for the 1872-1888 period may be found in Topeka Commonwealth, June 13, 1872; August 28, 1872; September 6, 1872; September 12, 1872; August 7 and 30, 1874; May 20, 1876; July 30, 1876; August 16, 1876; Topeka Daily Capital, September 24, 1877; July 7, 1878; August 28, 1878; September 6, 1878; July 30, 1880; August 9 and 24, 1882; September 1, 1882; July 18, 1884; June 15, 1886; August 12, 1887; July 7 and 28, 1888; and August 30, 1888).

67. James C. Malin, A Concern About Humanity: Notes on Reform, 1872-1912 at the National and Kansas Levels of Thought (Lawrence, 1964), see especially 19 ff.

68. In 1878 the Republican party denounced “the issue of an irredeemable ‘absolute money,’ legal-tender scrip, as a species of repudiation,” but it endorsed the “withdrawal of the National Bank notes, substituting therefor greenback currency issued directly by the Government, as the sole paper currency of the country.” The 1878 Republican platform endorsed, in addition, “a double-coin standard of values” as “preferable to a single standard . . . .” Neither of these proposals appeared again from 1878 to 1888. The 1882 Republican platform called for laws to “prevent unjust discrimination by railroad companies . . . .” The Republican platform of 1884 demanded that the board of railroad commissioners, established by the 1883 legislature, be given the powers necessary to accomplish its purpose. The 1888 platform denounced “all great trusts as oppressive to the people,” and called for “stringent laws to protect . . . workingmen against contract, pauper or Chinese immigrants . . . .” The Republican platform that year also advocated a reduction in the legal rate of interest on money to six percent and a reduction in the maximum contract rate to ten percent (Topeka Daily Capital, August 28, 1878; August
NOTES TO PAGES 27-31

9, 1882; July 18, 1884; July 28, 1888). Platform statements hardly guarantee the enactment of appropriate legislation even when endorsed by a party as dominant as was the Republican party in Kansas. All the parties contending in the 1878 campaign proclaimed their sympathy for regulation of railroad rates but the issue remained to be debated in the Populist decade. The 1884 call for strengthening the powers of the board of railroad commissioners by the Republican party was likewise not attended to and the issue carried over into the 1890s. The 1889 Republican legislature did make the change in interest rates the party had supported in 1888.

77. The trend of settlement had been largely from northeast to southwest. See James C. Malin, “The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas,” Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV, 339.
79. Raymond Miller concluded that the “Interest rate on this debt, and on chattel mortgages which were even more common, was excessive. The state law set 12% as the maximum interest, and in 1889 reduced it to 10%, but the law was more honored in the breach than in the observance. To the face interest charge must be added agents’ commissions, bonus, costs, and the like, all of which were deducted from the amount received by the debtor” (ibid., 33). Allan Bogue’s Money at Interest traces the activities of two large and reputable loan companies doing business in the area. His study proves that these two companies conducted their business in an ethical manner. At the same time, Bogue points out that actual profits were hard to determine (p. 19), that loan rates were higher in the new counties (pp. 114-24), that “local agents functioned with too little supervision and gouged commissions from the settlers, which they did not report to the companies” (p. 275). Bogue also notes, “Charlatan companies were allowed to survive and by their competition force sounder companies into reckless practices” (p. 276).
81. For a discussion of this question see Leslie E. Decker’s Railroads, Lands, and Politics. Decker’s study illustrates that the railroads had “important advantages” in their struggle with the settlers, but he also points out that this conflict “cannot be correctly counted as a struggle between the forces of private
monopoly, exploitation, and injustice on the one side and the forces of public welfare, conservation, and fair play on the other" (p. 250).

82. Zornow, "The Basis of Agrarian Unrest in Kansas," in Bright, ed., Kansas, I, 458. Sol Miller, a prominent Republican leader throughout the period in question, wrote in 1896: "It was for a long time too plain that Republican Legislatures of Kansas simply obeyed the orders of the railroad companies. The Railroad and other committees were made up largely of railroad attorneys. Nothing could be done without the consent of the railroad companies. The Railroad Commissioner law, that is supposed to be for the purpose of maintaining justice between the people and railroads, was really got up by the attorneys of railroad companies, in order to ward off the enactment of laws regulating freight rates" (From an article entitled "Republican Shortcomings," The Weekly Kansas Chief, Troy, December 31, 1896).


Chapter II

2. W. D. Vincent, Government Loans to the People, no publisher, place, or date given, People's Party Pamphlets (6 vols., Kansas State Historical Society), I. Cited hereafter as K.S.H.S.
5. Article by William D. Vincent, Clay Center Dispatch, August 22, 1901; John Davis Scrapbooks (13 vols., A-M [J missing], K.S.H.S.). The Nebraska State Historical Society contains a portion of John Davis' library. Three boxes of pamphlets, speeches, and miscellaneous items, thirty-one volumes in all, constitute the John Davis collection there. No manuscript material is included, few marginal notes appear, and the K.S.H.S. does have copies of almost all the items that are contained in this collection.
6. Address by John Davis at the Lyon County Fair on September 19, 1873, Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), K, 27, 48, 85.
7. Clay Center Dispatch, August 22, 1901.
8. Kansas Farmer, Topeka, February 16, 1887.
9. Ibid., March 17, 1887.
10. Ibid., April 21, 1887.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
15. Ibid., July 5, 1882.
16. Regarding the anarchist question, in September he wrote that "the people sometimes need to be aroused, but peaceable means must be employed. Anarchists are our enemies, and we must suppress them by legal methods"
NOTES TO PAGES 39-47

261

(ibid., September 22, 1887). In October he stressed that the paper was "not an organ of any party, sect or order" (ibid., October 27, 1887). In November he defended the tariff in several issues against attacks by its opponents. He made it clear, however, that he favored a reduction of the tariff where that reduction would assist the nation's consumers in obtaining the necessities of life at a lower price (ibid., November 3 and 10, 1887). In December he attacked trusts and advocated the issuance of money by the general government and called for a separation of the government from all banking institutions (ibid., December 1, 1887).

17. Ibid., April 30, 1890.
19. Ibid., and Topeka Daily Capital, October 8, 1906.
21. Topeka Commonwealth, April 15, 1885.
24. Ibid., 5.
25. Ibid., 8.
27. Ibid., and Portrait and Biographical Record of Southeastern Kansas, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the Counties, Together with Biographies and Portraits of all the Presidents of the United States and Governors of the State of Kansas (Chicago, 1894), 234-37.
29. Daniels to Ingalls, August 2, 1888, in Percy Daniels, Swollen Fortunes and the Problem of the Unemployed (no publisher, no place, 1908), 36-38, People's Party Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), VI.
30. Ingalls to Daniels, August 7, 1888, ibid.
31. Daniels to Ingalls, August 12, 1888, ibid.
33. Percy Daniels, A Crisis for the Husbandman (Girard, 1889), 4.
34. Portrait and Biographical Record of Southeastern Kansas, 236-37.
35. McLouth Times (Souvenir Edition), November 25, 1898, 63-64.
36. The Advocate, Meriden, November 22, 1889.
37. Biographical Circulars (K.S.H.S.), M-Z, II.
38. The Advocate, Meriden, November 22, 1889.
39. Ibid., February 27, 1890.
41. The Advocate, Topeka, March 20, 1890.
42. In particular see J. B. Welburn's Heaven on Earth; Described and How Secured (Atchison, 1889). Welburn believed that the institution of private
property should and would eventually be abandoned, although he opposed the use of force to accomplish that end (p. 12).

43. *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, June 18, 1890.

44. James D. Holden, *Free Freight and Government Railways; A Proposition to Restore to Society Essential Rights of Which it has been Wrongfully Divested; and to make Men Generally the Beneficiaries of Government, Instead of Its Victims* (no date, no publisher), 2, People's Party Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), I.


Chapter III

1. Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic, and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880* (Cambridge, 1913) and *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1920) provide the most thorough account of this phase of agrarian activities.


4. See *ibid.*, 97-98, and 104-13, for a discussion of the origins of the Northern and Southern Alliances.

5. Exception was made for country ministers, country teachers, and the editors of farm journals (*ibid.*, 112).


10. See W. F. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas—Origin of the People's Party," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906*, IX, 1-8. Rightmire stated that this State Reform Association was formed in Wichita on December 19-20, 1888, to replace the Union Labor party state committee and the National Order of Videttes, the latter of which was a secret organization of third-party men about which there is little real information and much speculation. See James C. Malin's *A Concern About Humanity: Notes on Reform, 1872-1912 at the National and Kansas Levels of Thought* (Lawrence, 1964), 159-65, for a discussion of the National Order of Videttes.


26. Dr. McLallin had played an active part in the August 14, 1889, Newton meeting, and was appointed by that convention as the Alliance’s press representative. See the *Kansas Commoner*, Newton, August 16, 1889.
27. *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, February 26, 1890.
30. See Dr. McLallin’s discussion of the origins of the Kansas People’s party in an editorial contained in *The Advocate*, Topeka, August 22, 1894.
31. Only five of the sixty-eight subsequently emerged as significant Populist leaders. See *Ibid.*, April 2, 1890.
38. *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, April 30, 1890.
41. Biographical Record: This Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of Leading Citizens of Cowley County, Kansas (Chicago, 1901), 309-11.
43. Unfortunately, either a detailed description of this first convention does not exist or it eluded my search.
47. *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 14, 1890; *The Advocate*, Topeka, August 27, 1890.
NOTES TO PAGES 61-68

49. The Advocate, Topeka, January 9, 1890.

Chapter IV

1. Paul W. Glad's McKinley, Bryan, and the People (Philadelphia, 1964), 13-31, contains a useful discussion of these two patterns of thought. Richard Hofstadter's Age of Reform, however, more than any other work, has utilized the agrarian myth in interpreting the Populist movement. Assuming that the Populists were dominated by the agrarian mystique, Hofstadter contended that "In Populist thought the farmer is not a speculating businessman, victimized by the risk economy of which he is a part, but rather a wounded yeoman, preyed upon by those who are alien to the life of folkish virtue" (p. 73). This appraisal does not hold true as applied to the leadership of the Populist party in Kansas; it was the opponents of the Populists who employed the agrarian myth, not the Populists. Paul Glad has noted this, and makes a valid point when he writes, "The true realists of 1896 were those who sought to rid themselves of preconceptions, who tried to examine the realities themselves, and who formulated programs without resort to traditional images" (McKinley, Bryan, and the People, 50).

2. See Appendix I for a listing of the various source materials that were consulted in preparing this analysis. See also Appendix II for a composite comparison of the major Kansas Populist leadership for the years 1890 and 1896.

3. The Harvard, Stanford, and Oxford alumni were, respectively, John Grant Otis, W. P. Harrington, and Carl Vrooman.

4. Oskaloosa Times, July 9, 1891.

5. Kansas Commoner, Wichita, April 28, 1892. Mrs. Lease at one point made the following statement about religion: "I do not belong to any church. I cut loose and left the church behind me long ago. I was reared a Catholic, but I do not think I could be called orthodox, even in my youth. I account to myself for my conduct, and to God" (Kansas City Star, April 1, 1891).

6. Voice of True Reform (Topeka, 1891), 42.

7. J. M. Dunsmore, "Epistle to be Read at His Funeral as His Last Message of Love," special collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.


9. For Jerry Botkin's statement see the Topeka Daily Capital, September 2, 1894. For an especially good insight into Mrs. Diggs' views, see her penciled note to G. C. Clemens on the inside cover of a social gospel treatise written by George D. Herron entitled The New Redemption (New York, 1893), which is contained in the K.S.H.S.

10. The Advocate, Topeka, December 30, 1891. For an especially precise statement in opposition to social Darwinism see Governor L. D. Lewelling's "Speech at Huron Place," July 26, 1894, typed manuscript, K.S.H.S. Archives.


Numerous references could be made to statements by Populist leaders on paternalism. Some especially good examples are those of William Alfred Peffer, *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, January 1, 1890, and “The Mission of the Populist Party,” *The North American Review*, CLVII (December, 1893), 666; Frank Doster, “What is Government For?” *The Agora*, II (October, 1892), 120-26; and R. A. Sanky in the *Kansas Commoner*, Wichita, March 1, 1894.


17. From an address before the Shawnee County Farmers’ Institute delivered in Topeka in February, 1890. *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, March 5, 1890.


Chapter V


2. Mrs. Lease apparently signed herself Mary E. Lease. This led her Republican opponents to supply the name Ellen, since it rhymed with “Yellin.” Mary Ellen stuck so well that some historians yet today mistakenly use it. One prominent example is Eric F. Goldman in his *Rendezvous with Destiny*.


4. William Allen White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1946), 218-19. One’s impression of Mrs. Lease was decidedly affected by political persuasion; White’s account was no exception. Compare it with the following: “Mrs. Lease is a tall woman—fully five feet ten inches, and rather slender. Her face is strong, good, not pretty, and very feminine. There is no mark of masculinity about her. She is woman all over. Her hair is a dark brown and evenly parted in the center and smoothed down at the sides with neat care. Her nose, chin and cheek bones announce themselves strongly. However, they give no sense of harshness to her face.” *Kansas City Star*, April 1, 1891.

5. *Kansas City Star*, April 1, 1891.


8. Kansas City Star, April 1, 1891. Apparently Mrs. Lease had made the above remarks about Senator John J. Ingalls several weeks earlier in a speech she delivered in Albaugh's opera house in Washington, D.C. Senator Ingalls had of course already been defeated at that point. It was this situation that created a rather humorous incident: Mrs. Lease and a woman friend, while visiting on capitol hill, encountered the lame-duck senator on his way to a committee meeting. Mrs. Lease's friend spotted him first and hurried on ahead to ask if he would like to meet one of his constituents—Mrs. Mary E. Lease. On hearing that name, Senator Ingalls replied quite definitely: "I do not care to meet that woman; only Indians and women will scalp a man after he is dead." See a letter by Charlotte Smith, The Advocate, Topeka, April 15, 1891.

9. Mrs. Lease later denied having originated the statement, but she said she let it stand because she thought "it was a right good bit of advice." See Topeka State Journal, May 25, 1896; Kansas City Star, October 26, 1914.


11. Kansas City Star, August 5, 1900; Topeka Daily Capital, September 17, 1908. Mrs. Diggs was apparently influenced by Mrs. Helen E. Sterritt, owner of the music store and also an energetic and strong-minded individual, who subsequently went to Chicago herself to participate actively in journalism. See Topeka Daily Capital, September 17, 1908.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Her speech at Osborne on October 25, 1890, was representative: she began by repeating the words "Financial conspiracies," "Great revolutions." She then paused for a moment to assess the effect of her pronouncement. She then explained: the Topeka Capital labeled her an "Anarchist" and she had quoted those "dangerous words to see if the people were afraid of her." The words were not her own, she said; they belonged to Senator Plumb (Kansas' junior Republican senator), who had said on the floor of congress, "'Financial conspiracies breed great revolutions.'" "We have had our financial conspiracies for many years," she said, "and today we see an example of the revolution." Following an interruption of great applause and cheers, she proceeded with her account of what ailed society, using Senator Plumb as an authority. She then turned her attention to the labor problem, asking "Why there are so many poor men out of employment, even in the sound of the factory whistle; why women and children are forced into the workshop to earn their daily bread, so that even Sitting Bull says he 'Don't see how white men can treat their squaws so.'" She then drew a vivid picture of luxury and squalor, progress and poverty in Washington, D.C., as she had witnessed it only a few blocks from the White House. She quoted Senator Ingalls as having said, in 1878, "The poor are growing poorer and the rich richer, and by the end of this century the middle class will have entirely disappeared." She then spent some time on the question: "Why has he done nothing to prevent this?" See County News, Osborne, October 30, 1890.

19. *Kansas People*, Osage City, November 5, 1890.
28. While a member of congress, Simpson and five others introduced George's book into the *Congressional Record* so they could make copies of it available to constituents throughout the country. There was also a report that Henry George himself was willing to campaign for Simpson in 1894. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, June 13, 1894.
30. See the Wichita *Weekly Eagle*, October 17, 1890, for an especially bitter attack against Simpson on religious grounds.
32. It has been stated that Jerry Simpson dubbed Hallowell "Prince Hal" (for example, John Hicks' *The Populist Revolt*). Actually, Republicans had developed the "illusion" of Hallowell's royalty at least as early as 1888. See *Wichita Eagle*, October 14, 1888, and September 23, 1890.
34. Grant Wood Harrington, "As Jerry Told It," typed manuscript dated June 30, 1938, K.S.H.S. Archives. G. W. Harrington was one of the leaders of Kansas Populism, serving as party chairman in 1901-02. This story he relates was reportedly told to him some ten years after the event.
35. Jerry Simpson credited Victor Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle* with having "hung the name onto" him (G. W. Harrington, "As Jerry Told It"). Actually, there is some doubt as to who originally applied the label. It was either Murdock of the *Eagle* or Ralph Easley of the Hutchinson *News*. M. C. Scott has researched this matter thoroughly in his master's thesis on Simpson, and concludes that the *News* rather than Murdock was responsible. Both Easley and Murdock claimed the honor. For their respective claims see the Hutchinson *News*, July 25, 1891, and the *Wichita Eagle*, July 24, 1891.
In a speech delivered in New Hampshire in April, 1891, the then Congressman Simpson made the following remark: "A red-headed editor out in Kansas [Murdock] told his readers that I went sockless. That's a lie, but there are lots of farmers in Kansas to-day who are stockingless and almost clothingless, they and their wives and children. They don't go that way because they want to, I assure you. They would be pleased to wear white shirts and silk socks and broadcloth, and if they ever get one-half of the privileges from this government that the capitalists have got they will be able to. . . . Those men are going to be heard in the next few years and don't you forget it." See the clipping from the Mirror and Farmer, Manchester, April 2, 1891, People's Party Clippings (K.S.H.S.), I, 30-34.

36. The editor was O. E. Learnard of the Lawrence Journal, quoted in the Topeka Advocate, November 19, 1890.

37. See the issues of the Topeka Daily Capital for September to November, especially October 1, 3, 10, and 18, 1890.

38. Ibid., October 11, 1890.

39. One Populist noted, "In the south, people are told that this movement is of northern origin, a Republican device to disrupt the Democratic party of the south, strike down white rule, and establish black supremacy instead, while in the north, politicians tell us the movement is a southern institution, devised by southern Democrats . . . and designed to destroy the Republican party of the north . . . and thereby abrogate all the results of the war." Letter to editor, The Advocate, Topeka, February 25, 1891.

40. Topeka Daily Capital, November 6, 1890.

41. Governor Humphrey polled 39.0 percent of the votes and his margin of victory was 6,845 votes. Willits polled 36.8 percent of the vote, while ex-Governor Charles Robinson, the Democratic nominee, polled 24.2 percent. Robinson's candidacy definitely hurt Willits' chances. Robinson, in addition to having been Kansas' first governor as a Republican, had run as the Greenback-Labor candidate for governor in 1882. For the voting statistics see Clarence J. Hein and Charles A. Sullivant, Kansas Votes: Gubernatorial Elections, 1859-1956 (Lawrence, 1958), 26-27.

42. The Advocate, Topeka, September 29, 1897.

43. Topeka Daily Capital, November 11, 1890.

44. Forty-six was the median age. The oldest Populist was seventy-two and the youngest thirty-two; thirty-seven (including delegates) were fifty or more, fifty-five were forty-nine or less. Actually, eighty-four of eighty-eight (96.5 percent), for whom information was available, were associated with farming in some capacity, although 26.1 percent of those engaged in farming had been connected with some other occupation or profession before they became farmers. Sixty-six of ninety-five (69.5 percent) were born in Ohio, Indiana, New York, Illinois, Virginia, or Kentucky. The breakdown on the foreign born was as follows: Ireland, four; England, three; Wales, two; Switzerland, one; and Canada, one. Forty-one of eighty-seven (47.1 percent) had affiliated with the Republican party until 1890; seventeen of eighty-seven had affiliated with the Democratic party until 1890. Actually, twenty-nine of eighty-seven (33.4 percent) had been active in third-party politics, and the most common political route traveled had carried them from the Republican
party to the Greenback party and then to the Union-Labor party. Educational background material was available for fifty-eight; of these, thirteen (22.4 percent) had graduated from college; another eight (13.7 percent) had attended college; sixteen (27.5 percent) had an academy education, and twenty-one (36.2 percent) had only a common-school education. Compiled from W. W. Admire, *Legislative Handbook* (Topeka, 1891).

45. Again, forty-five was the median age for thirty-two Republican representatives (includes delegates); the oldest was sixty-six and the youngest twenty-nine. Twelve were fifty or older and twenty were forty-nine or younger. Actually, twenty-three of thirty-four (67.6 percent) were born in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, or New York. Occupational information was available on nineteen house Republicans, and twelve of these (63.1 percent) could be classified as business or professional men; seven (36.8 percent) were farmers or stock raisers. Also five of the twenty-one for whom information was available had graduated from college; another had attended college; nine (42.2 percent) had an academy education, and six (28.5 percent) had only a common-school education.

46. Forty-five was the median age of thirty-six Republican senators; ten were fifty or older. Occupational information was available for thirty-five, and thirty-one (88.5 percent) were business or professional men (seventeen lawyers, seven business proprietors, and five bankers). While only six of these men had served in the previous senate, seventeen of thirty-eight (48.5 percent) had previous legislative experience.

47. A. J. R. Smith in the *Populist*, Topeka, December 3, 1892.

48. Smith stated, "It was agreed unanimously that our proper course, under the circumstances, was to stand by Peffer until he proved himself false to the principles of the party, a consummation we then expected." See the *Populist*, Topeka, December 3, 1892. The Topeka *Advocate* (February 12 and 18, 1891) was also quite unenthusiastic about the selection of Peffer.


Chapter VI

3. The 1890 Republican platform is contained in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Republican State Convention of Kansas*, 49-59.
4. *Senate Journal*, 1891, 806. See also *The Advocate*, Topeka, March 25, 1891, for a discussion of this railroad bill. Populist spokesmen maintained that this measure was "an adaptation of the Iowa schedule of freights and fares which exceeded the rates of Iowa by nearly twenty per cent but even then still provided a thirteen per cent reduction in Kansas rates."
6. See the statement by the committee chairman on page 531, *Senate Journal*, 1891.
8. Women already had the right to vote in local elections.
NOTES TO PAGES 93-97

12. February 18, 1891.
13. Elder had written in 1867, at the time woman suffrage was being debated along with Negro suffrage in Kansas, that his "whole impressions and opinions are most emphatically against it on grounds of propriety." He added, "nearly every voter in Franklin County [was] for Negro suffrage had not the Legislature so unwisely and foolishly submitted Female Suffrage with it." See letter from Elder to Sam Wood, dated April 27, 1867, Woman Suffrage Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.
17. The house vote was as follows: sixty-six Populists for, sixteen against, and seventeen abstaining; three Republicans for, thirteen against, and eight abstaining; three Democrats voted against the bill, and two abstained. See *House Journal*, 1891, 527.
20. The Kansas Populist state central committee made an official statement indorsing a national political organization on December 17, 1890, which was published in the Topeka *Advocate* on that date.
25. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas," *T.K.S.H.S.*, IX, 1-8, and Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 208-09. Rightmire stated that the "Kansas delegates, to preserve harmony in the Alliance, suppressed and withdrew the call, and as a reward were given two of the national offices." Except for his choice of words to say "suppressed and withdrew" instead of postponed, Rightmire's account rings true, although as indicated above corroborating evidence was not uncovered.
26. About 250 "self-appointed delegates" were said to have been present for the meeting, which ran from January 13 to January 17. Among those in attendance were Ben Clover, Mary E. Lease, General John H. Rice (temporary chairman), John Willits, Sam N. Wood, Annie L. Diggs, Carl Vrooman, Wesley Bennington, Mrs. M. H. McLallin, D. C. Zercher, Van B. Prather, James Lathrop, W. F. Rightmire, T. W. Gilruth, S. H. Snider (Union-Labor candidate for congress in the seventh district in 1888), W. N. Allen, and Noah Allen. See the *Declaration of Principles, Platform, Constitution and By-Laws*.
of the National Citizens' Industrial Alliance and Proceedings of the National Assembly (Topeka, 1891), and Rightmire, “The Farmers Alliance in Kansas,” T.K.S.H.S., IX, 1-8. It is interesting to note that Ben Clover and John Willits were active in this organization; since Clover was no longer president of the state Alliance, and both Clover and Willits had moved on up to national Alliance activities, it may be an indication that the state Alliance had practically outlived its usefulness in Kansas. It would also lend support to the belief that state Alliance leaders had earlier worked closely with the Reform Association. Frank McGrath of Beloit had been elected president of the Alliance in October, 1890, and McGrath did not indorse the call for the Cincinnati conference at Ocala. See The Advocate, Topeka, December 24, 1890.

27. Thomas W. Gilruth was elected president; Noah Allen (Wichita), vice-president; W. N. Allen, treasurer; and S. H. Snider, national lecturer.


30. Rightmire was unquestionably intimately involved in the activities that culminated in the Cincinnati conference. He stated that he secured “by correspondence the call issued at Ocala, Fla., in the previous December, with all the signatures attached . . . .” After “securing the signatures of the officers and many of the members of the Kansas house of representatives to this call, . . . [I] attached thereto the signatures that had been attached to the Ocala . . . call, and gave it to the . . . press . . . .” As far as can be ascertained, Rightmire also arranged to change the time of the meeting until May because the original date conflicted with the Kansas legislative session. See The Advocate, Topeka, May 6, 1891, for confirmation on the role of Rightmire.

31. Without undertaking a systematic search of local newspapers throughout the state it would be impossible to say with certainty exactly how the Cincinnati delegations were determined, but a number of the Kansas participants were duly elected delegates from their particular orders.


34. Rightmire stated that, if it looked as though those who opposed the formation of a third party were going to have the upper hand, third-party advocates were prepared to gain control of the platform committee and “delay the report until the delegates had returned home in disgust; then to recommend that all action be postponed until the . . . meeting at St. Louis on February 22, 1892.” See Rightmire, “The Alliance Movement in Kansas,” T.K.S.H.S., IX, 1-8.

35. Ibid.

36. The Union-Labor party's candidate for vice-president in 1888, an old Greenbacker by the name of Cunningham, served as temporary chairman. See The Advocate, May 27, 1891.

37. On this matter, Rightmire stated: “Upon the temporary organization of the conference, the members of this caucus were given control of the committee on platform. A committee on permanent organization was appointed, every

38. Donnelly had attempted, unsuccessfully, to get the convention to commit itself to third-party action during this afternoon session; his effort created quite a furor, highlighted by an animated and stinging protest from General James B. Weaver. See Hicks, The Populist Revolt, 213.


40. The conference selected H. E. Taubeneck of Illinois for its national chairman. Kansas' representatives on the committee were P. P. Elder, Levi Dumbauld (State Chairman), and R. S. Osborn. See The Advocate, Topeka, May 27, 1891.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., September 16, 1891. Platform contained in Hicks' The Populist Revolt, 433-35.

43. There was a note of ambiguity in the action of the convention, however, which enabled both its radical and cautious participants to go away pleased. Those who had counseled delay could point to the language of the platform which had declared merely that “we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of the country and the formation of what should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.” The radicals could point to the obvious fact that a National People's party executive committee already existed. Certainly, Kansas leaders regarded this Cincinnati conference as having established a national party. See for example the discussion of Annie Diggs in The Advocate, Topeka, June 10, 1891. See also ibid., September 16, 1891.

44. According to St. John, “the only thing that distinguished it from the old party conventions was its visionary Sub-treasury scheme, which has no foundation either in justice or common sense . . . . The idea of making the government a public pawnbroker is idiocy.” See the Wichita Weekly Beacon, May 29, 1891.

45. The Advocate, Topeka, June 10, 1891.

46. Thomas E. Watson, “The Negro Question in the South,” The Arena, VI (October, 1892), 541-42.

47. Senn was a fifty-year-old native of Switzerland who came to Kansas in 1858 by way of Wisconsin. He had fought in the Civil War for the North and had voted Republican until the early eighties. In 1887, he had been a delegate to the national Union-Labor convention in Cincinnati. See Admire's Political and Legislative Handbook for Kansas in 1891.

48. The Advocate, Topeka, December 10, 1890.

49. This is true only as a generality; there was a tendency in certain areas for those Alliance members who opposed third-party action to disassociate themselves from the Alliance, leaving the order even more in the hands of the opposite persuasion.

50. The Advocate, Topeka, December 24, 1890.

51. Ibid., February 18, 1891.

52. Ibid., April 22, 1891.
53. Dumbauld, a state representative from Lyon County, replaced S. W. Chase as chairman early in February, 1891. See *ibid.*, February 18, 1891.

54. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1891. See also *ibid.*, June 24, 1891, on the McGrath controversy.

55. At the meeting there was no clash between McGrath and anti-McGrath forces. W. H. Biddle of Butler County, who was active in the leadership of the Citizens' Alliance also, was elected president. McGrath did not drop out of the Alliance entirely; in December he was appointed by the executive committee of the state Alliance as a delegate to the St. Louis conference. Six months after the St. Louis conference he returned to the Republican party. See *ibid.*, October 28 and December 16, 1891, and August 10, 1892.


57. *The Advocate*, Topeka, January 30, 1890; *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, September 10 and October 22, 1890.

58. See especially the issues of April 9, 1890, and June 15, 1892.


63. Article by John Grant Otis, *The People's Herald*, Lyndon (Osage County), June 25, 1891.

64. Quoted in *The Advocate*, Topeka, April 15, 1891.

65. Two examples are those of *The People's Herald*, Lyndon, April 23, 1891, and *The Advocate*, Topeka, April 15, 1891.


67. The four writers mentioned by Doster were William Graham Sumner, Edward Atkinson, David A. Wells, and Francis A. Walker.

68. *Central Advocate*, Marion, May 29, 1891. See also James C. Malin's discussion of Doster and this speech in *A Concern About Humanity*, 132-52.


70. See the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 1, 1891, for John J. Ingalls' stand and a compilation of Republican press reaction. See the Wichita *Weekly Eagle*, January 23, 1891, also, and the letter of Ingalls presented at a meeting of Republican editors of the seventh congressional district published in the *Topeka Advocate*, June 3, 1891.

71. *The Weekly Troy Chief*, February 26, 1891. Sol Miller edited this paper which
was recognized as the mouthpiece of Cy Leland, the leading Republican "boss" in Kansas.

72. Quoted in The Advocate, Topeka, June 3, 1891.
73. Ibid.
74. Quoted in S. S. King, Bondholders and Bread Winners (n.p., 1892), People's Party Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), IV.
75. In Kansas, throughout the 1890s, and before, there was an election each and every year; in the odd years a portion of the local offices were contested.
76. S. M. Scott, assistant state lecturer of the Alliance, was given the special task of promoting the subtreasury plan (Kansas City Star, July 22, 1891). See Scott's work entitled The Sub-Treasury Plan and the Land and Loan System (Topeka, 1891). A number of other Populist leaders joined Scott in promoting the plan. It should be noted, however, that there was opposition, even within the Alliance, to pushing the subtreasury plan to the front. William A. Harris, who subsequently was elected to congress and later still to the U.S. senate, opposed the plan in 1891 on the grounds that it violated the Populist principle of "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none" (Kansas Farmer, Topeka, August 5, 1891). A. C. Shinn, Populist nominee for lieutenant governor in 1890, joined Harris in speaking out against it and wrote a letter to the Topeka Advocate, August 19, 1891, entitled: "Protest against Giving the Sub-Treasury Scheme the Right of Way." Another Populist leader, H. F. True, delivered a speech at Valley Falls, Kansas, toward the end of August, 1891, opposing the plan on the ground that it would cost the party the support of labor (Topeka Advocate, September 9, 1891).

77. According to the Topeka Advocate, November 18, 1891, Democrats and Republicans worked together in some manner in thirty-eight counties. See also Ibid., December 2, 1891, on this subject.
78. Ibid., December 9, 1891.
79. Ibid., December 2, 1891. As James C. Malin has noted, "A part of the success of the Republican party in the off-year elections ... [1891] is to be explained by the return of Farmers' Alliance men to the old party rather than submitting to be led into the People's party." See A Concern About Humanity, 194.

Chapter VII

2. Quoted in Ibid., 228.
3. Ibid., 225-29.
4. The Advocate, Topeka, February 17, 1892.
5. Letter to editor dated March 17, 1892, Ibid., March 23, 1892.
6. Ibid., July 15, 1891.
7. Letter to editor, Ibid., April 20, 1892.
8. No corroborating evidence was found to support the Overmeyer disclosure; however, the story was not denied, which is one indication of its validity. See Overmeyer's open letter dated July 16, 1892, Kansas Democrat, Topeka, July 18, 1892.
9. Otis had been elected in 1890 without Democratic opposition. He therefore owed something to the party indirectly, but Otis was not the kind of man to
compromise his principles—defeat rather than victory by fraternizing with Democrats was always the better choice for him.

10. Harris was a fifty-year-old native of Virginia. He was a graduate of Columbian College, Washington, D.C., in 1859 and of the Virginia Military Institute in 1861. He was trained as a civil engineer, and after serving in the Confederate Army in a staff position, he removed to Kansas to assist in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. He had also served as agent in the distribution of the Delaware Indian Reservation. After 1876 he had devoted his time to stock raising on his farm in Linwood. Once the Alliance was organized he became active in it and served as chairman of the delegation from the state Alliance to the St. Louis conference of February, 1892. See Wilson, *Eminent Men of Kansas*, 287-89, and *The Advocate*, Topeka, December 16, 1891.

11. Fred Close was a forty-three-year-old native of Pennsylvania who had resided in Kansas since 1866. He had lost one arm in the Civil War and had worked in Kansas as a druggist and farmer. He was a Republican until the mid-eighties, and had held the position of clerk of the district court from 1878 to 1884. He had left the Republican party to work for the Greenback-Labor and Union-Labor parties before joining the Populists in 1890. Following his defeat in 1892, he became Governor Lewelling’s private secretary. See *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 30, 1892, and *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), I, 481.

12. King was the author of a popular pamphlet entitled *Bondholders and Bread Winners*, published early in 1892.

13. Clover became involved with a woman in Washington, and his wife charged that she was the kind who “would wear red slippers”; the “red slippers” charge, plus his slovenly performance in congress (he slept through sessions or appeared infrequently), was the undoing of the Cowley County farmer. McLallin wrote, on learning that Clover’s wife was seeking a divorce on the grounds of extreme cruelty, that “there may be something in it, but the idea of Benjamin being extremely cruel or extremely anything, except sleepy, is preposterous.” Not long after this debacle Clover returned to the Republican party, and in 1899 he committed suicide. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, December 7, 1892, and *Biographical Record of Cowley County*, 309-11.

14. A native of Indiana, Hudson was forty-eight years old and a graduate of Wabash College. He had been elected three times as mayor of Fredonia, Kansas, once to the state legislature, and was twice a delegate to the Democratic national convention (1884 and 1888) before joining the Populists in 1890. See Herringshaw’s *American Statesmen* (Chicago, 1906), 278.


16. *The Advocate*, Topeka, June 22, 1892, and Ottawa *Journal*, March 22, 1894. It has been often emphasized that Lewelling was a nonentity before this speech; it is true only in a strictly relative sense. He was not much known beyond the boundaries of Wichita (except for his home state of Iowa where he was well known) and Sedgwick County, true, but he was well known within his own domain and had appeared on the rostrum on numerous occasions with the big names of Kansas Populism. See for example the Wichita *Daily Beacon*, October 24, 1890; Wichita *Weekly Beacon*, October 31, 1890; Wichita *Kansas Commoner*, October 30, 1890, and February 18, 1892.

18. *The Advocate*, Topeka, June 8, 1892.


21. *Ibid.*; see also August 24 and October 26, 1892; and *Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, June 16, 17, 22, and 30, 1892. Overmeyer stated that he was to have the nomination for congressman at large. "Yet upon the eve of their convention," he wrote, "they [Populist leaders] insisted that I should change my politics and they utterly ignored the Midland Hotel agreement. I in turn declared myself a democrat, and declared that I would not be a candidate except upon condition of such recognition of the democratic party as was contemplated by the Midland agreement. I thereupon declined to allow my name to go before the convention." See *Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, July 18, 1892.

22. Little was elected on the Greenback ticket as prosecuting attorney of Johnson County in 1882 and 1884. He replaced John Ives, the only successful man on the ticket in 1890; Ives, as attorney general, had been a member of the board of railroad assessors that had reduced the railroad assessment and therefore had lost the support of his party.

23. Biographical Circulars (K.S.H.S.), M-Z, II; William Ansel Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas: A History* (La Cygne, 1928), 186-87; *Atchison Globe*, October 30, 1893; *History of Wyandotte County* (Chicago, 1911), 519-21; *The Advocate*, Topeka, September 13, 1890. It is interesting to note that eight out of fifteen of the Populist nominees in 1892 (including congressional candidates) were mentioned in the Topeka *Advocate* for the place they eventually received on the ticket.

24. Harris was in England at the time of his nomination. He had quite a reputation as a cattle breeder in Kansas, and had gone abroad, apparently, for the purpose of obtaining special breeding stock. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, July 20, 1892.


27. It was said that the Topolobampo lands comprised "millions of acres of the richest agricultural, timber and mineral lands in Mexico, but it was far removed from lines of communication and difficult of access." See Wilson, *Eminent Men of Kansas*, 625-27.


29. In 1896 Smith wrote that he would have won in 1892 had it not been for the fact that Cy Leland "sulked." See *Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, October 22, 1896, and Malin, *A Concern About Humanity*, 38-39.

30. For the Republican platform see the Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 3, 1892.

31. *Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, July 7 and August 6, 1892. See also *The Advocate*, Topeka, February 1, 1893.

32. Davis and Baker had stalwart Democratic opponents who accounted for 1.4 percent and 3.3 percent of the vote in their districts. See Cabe and Sullivant, *Kansas Votes: National Elections*. 
33. *The Advocate*, Topeka, August 24, 1892.
34. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1892. Carroll's name stayed on the ballot, but the effectiveness of his withdrawal was shown by the fact that he polled only 161 votes in a district where the Democratic nominee in 1890 polled 13,250 votes. Close had refused to step down even though Populists of the Brown-Doniphan district nominated him for the state senate in hopes of encouraging his withdrawal. This unsystematic process of fusion resulted in poor strategy: in 1890 the Populists had run a poor third to the Democrats of the first district; the Democrats of the second district had run a poor third to the Populists. By running a Populist in the first and a Democrat in the second their ticket was weakened. See Cabe and Sullivant, *Kansas Votes: National Elections*, 122 and 124.
35. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 231-33; platform contained in *ibid.*, 439-44.
36. Among other offices, Gresham had served as postmaster general (1883-84) and as secretary of the treasury (1884) under President Arthur. In 1892 he was serving as federal circuit judge with court in Chicago. He subsequently served as President Cleveland's secretary of state (1893).
37. *The Advocate*, Topeka, July 8, 1892.
39. *Ibid.*, 234-37. The Kansas delegation named W. D. Vincent, S. H. Snyder, and J. W. Laybourn as its representatives on the national committee; all three were well-known and long-time third-party men. See the Topeka Advocate, July 8, 1892.
41. Letter to editor from Lindsborg, Kansas, dated August 2, 1892, *ibid.*, August 17, 1892.
42. Letter to editor, dated August 6, 1892, *Kansas Democrat*, August 6, 1892.
43. The Lawrence *Daily Journal* and the Topeka *Daily Capital* were two of the leading Republican newspapers and two prime examples of Republican strategy in the campaign.
44. See the issues of the *Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, from July to November, especially that of September 22, 1892. Miller was still referring to the governor as "Lorraine" in November, 1894. See *ibid.*, November 8, 1894.
45. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 9, 1892. See also the issues of October 28, 30, and November 8, 1892. Hudson's attack was not just the argument of the old guard. See the speech of E. W. Hoch in his campaign for a seat in the house, reported in *The Advocate*, Topeka, September 21, 1892. Hoch was one of the "young crowd," and he took the position that the People's party was "a socialistic party" and "a professional calamity party."
48. Breidenthal demanded an immediate trial and was acquitted. Populists got their revenge a few months later when Governor Lewelling made Breidenthal state bank commissioner. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, October 12, 1892.
49. The Lawrence *Daily Journal*, October 20, 1892, quoted Simpson but gave no source.
50. Editor Hudson maintained a constant personal campaign against Simpson. Apparently, in Hudson's mind Simpson was Populism personified. Incidentally,
the *Capital* used the term "Sockless Socrates" in its issue of June 21, 1891. There has been some debate as to who was to have the honor of originating that variation on the sockless theme. W. A. White has been awarded the credit but did not personally claim the honor. J. K. Hudson's claim is hereby registered.

Simpson was almost invariably caricatured as a sockless tramp. Apparently this had an effect upon his manner of dress, which was, of course, originally not out of the ordinary; so much so that in his effort to compensate he opened himself up to attack as a "dude." The Topeka *Daily Capital's* Washington correspondent published this report on May 15, 1892: "Jerry Simpson's new spring outfit makes the Washington dudes green with envy. He came out last Sunday with kid gloves, a dazzling necktie, striped trousers and a very pretty walking stick. Jerry is known in Washington as one of the neatest and best dressers in Congress."

52. *Topeka Advocate*, November 9, 1892.

Chapter VIII

1. Lewelling was born into a Quaker family. His father, a noted antislavery lecturer, died when Lorenzo was two, and his mother was killed in a fire when he was nine, leaving the boy in the care of an older sister. After serving briefly with an Iowa regiment in the Civil War (his family had demanded and obtained his release since he was under age), Lewelling had been a bridge-construction worker in Tennessee, a teacher in a Negro school in Missouri in the employ of the Freedman's Aid Society, a student and graduate of Eastman's Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York, a towpath boy on the Erie Canal, a carpenter in Toledo, a railroad section hand, a student-instructor and graduate of Whittier College in his home town, all before he was twenty-three years old. From 1868 to 1880, with the exception of two years (1870-72) when he managed a farm and edited a small weekly paper in Salem, Lewelling had worked in Iowa's reformatory system, serving as superintendent of Iowa Women's Reform School most of that time. From 1880 to 1882, he had edited the Des Moines *Capital*, an "antiring" Republican paper founded by himself; and, at the time he came to Kansas, he was serving as president of the board of directors of the State Normal School. See Wilson, *Eminent Men of Kansas*, 37-41; Dawn Daniels, "Lorenzo D. Lewelling—A Leader of the Kansas Populists," unpublished master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1931; William M. Bliss, "Kansas—The Sunflower State," *Carter's Monthly*, XII (November, 1897), 565-98; *The Advocate*, Topeka, August 10, 1892.

2. *Kansas State Governor Messages* (K.S.H.S.), II. The address is quoted by Barr, in *Kansas and Kansans*, II, 1168-69, and then by Hicks in *The Populist Revolt*, 275, in a loosely edited form.
3. See the issues of January 10 and March 14, 1893.
5. See Governor Lewelling’s statement in the Topeka Advocate, January 25, 1893.
6. A. W. Stubbs, a Republican from Haskell County, was awarded the certificate from district 121 as a result of a transposition of votes. The state board of canvassers was aware of this but refused to correct the county clerk’s error. Republicans organized without Stubbs and awarded the seat to the actual winner, Democrat Joseph Rosenthal, on the opening day. Rosenthal joined the Republican house on January 11, as did the other two Democrats. See House Journal, 1893, 7.
7. A tie vote was certified between O. M. Rice (Populist) and T. C. Ballinger (Republican) in Coffey County. According to law it then became the duty of the Republican-dominated state board of canvassers, upon notice to the candidates, to cast lots to determine who would be awarded the certificate. Populists maintained that “without notice to Mr. Rice, or any one representing him the state board of canvassers went into secret session and came out in a few minutes, claiming to have performed their duty, and claiming that Mr. Ballinger . . . had drawn the lucky number.” On further investigation of the Coffey County election results, Populists claimed to have proved “that there was no tie, as the Populist had a majority of the votes, and the officer made a fraudulent return.”

Altogether, Populists challenged ten Republican-held seats—that of Ballinger, plus several on the ground that illegal votes, miscount of ballots, and bribery had contributed to their certification; in one case it was claimed that the Republican representative was a resident of Oklahoma, and in one or two other cases it was maintained that the certified Republican representatives had been postmasters at the time of their election. Populists, of course, were not successful in unseating a single one of these men. Republicans, on the other hand, eventually unseated four Populists—two in a recount; two more who were declared ineligible because they allegedly held the office of postmaster at the time they claimed their certificates of election. See The Advocate, Topeka, January 18, 1893; House Journal, 1893, 69, 82, 125, 127, and 175.
8. See the statement by George Douglass and E. W. Hoch in the House Journal, 1893 (Republican), 60-63, for a concise and convincing statement of the Republican position.
12. The Advocate, Topeka, January 12 and 25, February 1, 7, and 15, 1893; Topeka State Journal, January 10, 11, 20, 26, and 27; Topeka Daily Capital, January 11, 12, 18, 27, 31; Kansas Democrat, Topeka, January 26 and 31.
13. On the first vote in the senate there was no majority for Martin, and seven Populists in the house refused to vote for the Democrat. Actually Populists had enough votes to elect a Populist. There were fifty-seven duly elected Populist representatives present and twenty-four Populist senators. These eighty-one votes would have been a majority of the 160 members present at the joint
session. Populists were unable to agree on one man, however, and there was the added possibility that a Democratic majority in the U.S. senate would refuse a seat to a Populist about whose election there was the slightest doubt. See The Advocate, Topeka, February 1, 1893; House Journal, 1893 (Republican), 112-16.


15. See the letters of John Dunsmore and George Douglass addressed to each other on January 30 and 31, in ibid., 132-35.

16. Ibid., 213-33.

17. Ibid., 224-30.

18. Ibid., 232-41; The Advocate, Topeka, January 15 and 22, 1893; Topeka Daily Capital, February 15, 16, and 17, 1893.

19. House Journal, 1893 (Republican), 241-51; Topeka Daily Capital, February 16, 1893. It is quite possible that Governor Lewelling had no intention of using the militia to clear the hall, and that he gave the colonel the order because the latter had rather foolishly publicized his intentions.

20. Kansas City Mail, February 16, 1893; Wichita Daily Eagle, February 16, 1893; Marion Times, February 16, 1893; and Kansas City Gazette, February 16, 1893.

21. Apparently George R. Peck, attorney for the Santa Fe Railroad and a prominent Republican leader, acted as the go-between. The Kansas State Historical Society Archives has both copies of the original agreement. The copy retained by George Douglass appears to be the first copy. It is said that Douglass' copy is in the handwriting of Peck, but it appears to be the handwriting of Governor Lewelling. Lewelling's copy is quite probably the handwriting of Peck. Perhaps this is why Lewelling did not release it until May, 1900. See House Journal, 1893 (Republican), 248-50, for Lewelling's proposition to the Douglass house, and for the Republican proposal it prompted.

22. The complete record of the decision (Gunn Habeas Corpus case), including testimony, argument, the majority opinion of Chief Justice Horton, and the dissenting opinion of Populist Justice Allen, is contained in ibid., 764-914.

23. In addition to the Australian ballot law, the senate sponsored a law providing a one-year time period for the redemption of real estate, and another requiring the "weekly payment of wages in lawful money of the United States." The act against corrupt practices in elections was the pet reform of Speaker George Douglass. This measure had been defeated by the Republican senate in 1891, and Douglass had publicly criticized senate Republicans for defeating a bill that had received every vote but one in the house. Another house measure provided for the regulation of "the weighing of coal at the mine." See The Advocate, Topeka, April 8, 1891, quoting the Wichita Daily Eagle on the Douglass election measure. See also House Journal, 1893, 762; Senate Journal, 1893, 853.


25. Apparently because of the legislative war no biographical record was compiled on the 1893 legislature. The senate, which served from 1893 to 1897, was included in the sketches of the 1895 legislature, but the house of 1893 was missed. Information on sixty-eight of 125 of the house members is available since this number served in an earlier or later legislature, and by individual
reference biographical material was obtained on twenty-four of the remaining fifty-seven members. See Appendix III for a listing of the sources consulted in that endeavor.

26. Forty-four was a median age based on thirty-three of fifty-eight determinations. Actually, eighteen of thirty-five were natives of the states named above, and five of thirty-five (14.2 percent) were born on foreign soil. Twenty-four of thirty-five (68.8 percent) were farmers or stock raisers; only five of thirty-five were strictly business or professional men.

27. Eight lawyers, six merchants, five bankers, three physicians, two real estate men, one manufacturer, one surveyor, and one editor-publisher (twenty-eight of forty-six or 60 percent) made up the group of business or professional men. Fourteen farmers or stock raisers (fourteen of forty-six or 30.4 percent) were included in the Republican ranks. Thirty of forty-seven (63.8 percent) were natives of the states named, and four of forty-seven were foreign born.

28. Seven of the fifteen Republican senators were lawyers, one was in the electric railway and light business, one was a mill-owner, one was a physician, two were editor-publishers, and three were farmers and/or stock raisers. Only one Populist senator out of fifteen for whom the information was available was a college graduate, whereas four Republicans were college graduates. Five of twenty-four Populists and seven of fifteen Republicans had had previous legislative experience. Former party affiliations among Populist senators were approximately the same as among the Populists of the 1893 house. Compiled mainly from *Hand Book of the Kansas Legislature of 1895* (Topeka, 1895).

29. *The Modern Light* (Columbus) was the major Populist paper in Cherokee County, and it was a good example of the turmoil in Populist ranks caused by the Artz controversy. The paper published the charges on January 26, 1893, quoting the Leavenworth *Times* which, in turn, had quoted the Colorado Springs *Telegraph*. The Populist paper called for an investigation, and stated that "the People's party cannot afford to start out with this kind of reform." Apparently the charges were true (perhaps with mitigating circumstances) or the Lewelling administration would have denied them in vigorous fashion.

30. Formally Artz had resigned, but at the request of the governor. See the Topeka *Advocate*, February 28, 1894.

31. Letter from Legate to the editor of the *Capital*, dated March 4, 1893, and published in the Topeka *Advocate*, March 15, 1893. James F. Legate was widely known in Kansas politics long before the Populist era as "Slippery Jim," the man who "arranged the deals and handled the money" in the Republican party (Topeka *Daily Capital*, August 3, 1902). Legate said he used the money attempting to get a number of Republican and Democratic representatives to go into the Dunmore house, and according to his account he failed in this because the railroad companies had their own fund to see that these men stayed "fixed." See *The Advocate*, March 29, 1893.


33. Corning's paper was first called *The People*, and he moved it from Paola, Kansas, to Topeka and began publication on March 25, 1893. It became the *New Era* when he consolidated it with the paper of that name published by
two sons formerly in Council Grove. First issue as the New Era was on June 10, 1893. The paper continued until shortly after the Populist administration was defeated in 1894. A. J. R. Smith's The Populist began publication earlier, first edition May 7, 1892, and terminated at about the same time as the New Era.

34. Kansas Commoner, Wichita, September 28, 1893.
35. New Era, Topeka, March 25, and April 8, 1893. E. Z. Ernst, the originator of the Labor Exchange, quickly denied any connection with Corning.
36. Ibid., April 8, 1893.
37. Ibid., May 20, 1893.
38. Ibid., October 21, 1893.
39. The Populist, Topeka, April 22, 29, and May 19, 1893.
41. The Advocate, Topeka, April 4, 1894; see also May 23, 1894.
42. Topeka Daily Capital, November 11, 1893. Much of the above material relating to Mrs. Lease was previously published in an article entitled "Intolerant Populist? The Disaffection of Mary Elizabeth Lease," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (Summer, 1968), 189-200.
43. Wichita Beacon, November 14, 1893.
44. See letters of April 15, May 25, and December 28, 1893, from Governor Lewelling to M. E. Lease, Governor Lewelling's Letters (K.S.H.S.). Apparently fellow board member M. A. Householder (state senator from Columbus) had more influence in determining appointments. See a letter from Lewelling to Dr. J. D. Van Nuyis, April 22, 1893, ibid.
45. The Advocate, Topeka, July 27, 1892. The editor published a statement by Mrs. Lease and a letter from the New York adjutant general's office, dated July 21, 1892, that confirmed the death of her father as she claimed.
46. Ibid. In 1904 Mrs. Lease remarked: "My father and brothers died on the field of battle defending the flag and the Union that the Democratic party, represented by [William Jennings] Bryan and [Adlai E.] Stevenson, sought to destroy." Newspaper clipping dated September 27, 1904, in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), L, I, 130-31. See also the Leavenworth Times, September 22, 1900.
47. Kansas City Star, January 2, 1894.
48. The Herald, Pleasanton, January 12, 26, 1894; The Advocate, Topeka, January 3, and March 14, 1894; New Era, Topeka, January 6, 1894.
49. The Herald, Pleasanton, January 26, 1894.
51. The Advocate, Topeka, January 31, 1894.
52. Manuscript Biography of M. E. Lease by James Arnold, K.S.H.S. Archives. In the appended note Mrs. Lease asked Mr. McCray to send her "Herald or tell me when to get it." This would seem to indicate she desired a copy of The Herald which contained her letter attacking the administration. Since it was published in Pleasanton on January 26, 1894, this would indicate that this sketch was written immediately before or after that date. Mrs. Lease was clearly James Arnold; internal evidence demonstrates this convincingly. In addition, the signature of Mrs. Lease from a letter to Judge H. Kelley contained
in the Historical Society and the handwriting on the manuscript biography are the same.


55. Manuscript Biography of M. E. Lease, K.S.H.S.

56. Mary E. Lease v. J. W. Freeborn, *The Advocate*, Topeka, February 14, 1894. Governor Lewelling was aware that he could not remove Governor Humphrey's holdovers on the board of charities without cause (see Lewelling to A. P. Elder, April 11, 1893, Letters, K.S.H.S.), but he believed he could remove his own appointees at will; a Republican court did not agree.

57. A strong commitment to woman suffrage and prohibition, two causes she felt were threatened by fusion with Democrats, could explain Mrs. Lease's action in the controversy were it not for the fact that she abandoned the cause of equal suffrage during the summer of 1894, and by 1896 she renounced prohibition (Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 15, 1894; Topeka *State Journal*, May 25, 1896). Her actions were unbelievably erratic. Early in the campaign of 1894 she even attempted to win back the good graces of the Populist organization; in doing so she put herself in a hopelessly contradictory position. She announced that she was going to enter the campaign to defend Governor Lewelling. She said that "the governor is innocent of every charge brought against him by the character assassins who are hounding him. I cannot stand silently by and see this campaign of slander proceed against one whom I know to be innocent" (Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 14, 1894). For a discussion of Mrs. Lease's political thought see Malin, *A Concern About Humanity*, 84-87.

58. See especially Edward Wallis Hoch's article in *The Agora* (April, 1893), 280-83, and *The Last War* (Topeka, 1893); C. S. Gleed, *The Agora* (April, 1893), 292; J. G. Water's speech in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 5, 1893. In his *Agora* article E. W. Hoch wrote: "If the Governor had an adviser who believes either in God or in our form of government, his name should be given to an anxious public. I do not know him. All, so far as I know, were either Socialists or anarchists, with the possible exception of Judge Webb . . . ."

59. See especially the Topeka *Advocate*, April 19, November 22, 1893; *The Kansan*, Pittsburg, March 30, November 9, 30, 1893. The editor of the Pittsburg *Kansan* recommended Lawrence Groulund's *The Co-operative Commonwealth* in his effort to promote a better understanding of socialism. G. C. Clemens and a number of other Populist leaders were in touch with Groulund (see a letter from Groulund to Clemens dated November 13, 1893, K.S.H.S. Archives), and the noted socialist leader was in Topeka for several weeks in December, 1893, to establish a "headquarters" there and to lecture on socialism. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, December 20, 1893.

60. *The Advocate*, Topeka, November 22, 1893.


63. Troutman was one of the leading conservative members of the Douglass house.

64. Speech entitled "The First (And Last) People's Party Government on Earth,"
delivered on January 29, 1894, as part of The Kansas Day Club Addresses (Hutchinson, 1901).


66. For a compilation of Kansas and national press reaction to the Lewelling circular, see the Topeka Daily Capital, December 10, 13, 1893.

67. For a special insight into the conduct of Governor Lewelling see his official correspondence during the miners’ strike in southeast Kansas, especially his letter to Percy Daniels (in Girard), July 17; to a Captain O. S. Casad (in Pittsburg), July 18; to Sheriff Arnold (in Weir City), July 24; to L. Walters (in Weir City), July 24; and to Frank P. McLennan, July 26, 1893. In the last letter, Lewelling stated: “I admit, without equivocation, that the sympathy of the present administration is with the striking miners. I believe they are being wronged by the mine owners in the present controversy . . . but while this is true the interests of the state, of this very administration and the interests of all workingmen in general require that the strikers shall remain within the requirements of the law.” See also Lieutenant Governor Daniels’ report on the strike in A. G. Lucas’ manuscript “Biography of Maj. Gen. Percy Daniels” (K.S.H.S. Archives), 36.

68. Governor Lewelling answered an appeal for aid to the western counties by writing: “I . . . agree with you that ‘Sympathy with suffering humanity is the fundamental principle with all genuine Populists.’ After all we are compelled to be practical and adopt methods which are business like, which is another name for heartlessness, in dealing with each other.” See Lewelling to G. G. Allen (Meade, Kansas), July 15, 1890, Letters, K.S.H.S. Archives.

Chapter IX

1. From a speech by Charles E. Harbaugh delivered on January 29, 1894, as part of The Kansas Day Club Addresses, 123.

2. Leland, like many a political boss of his time, was a shadowy figure, about whom there is much speculation but little documentation. He was, however, a native of Wisconsin, where he was born in 1841. After moving out to Troy, Kansas, in 1858, he had been quite successful in the mercantile business. The November 23, 1893, Weekly Troy Chief noted that Leland was rather affluent. It reported: “He has two general stores, deals in grain, lumber and coal, runs an elevator, operates a pork packing establishment, carries on a meat market, and keeps an eye on the operation of a number of farms. Besides the farms under cultivation, he has two or three stock farms, where besides feeding cattle and raising mules, he breeds first-class horses . . . .” The only elective office that Leland had ever held was that of county commissioner; his talents were applied through the mechanism of the local, state, and national Republican organizations. For an interesting but slightly exaggerated account of Cy Leland’s role in the 1894 campaign, see Walter T. K. Nugent’s “How the Populists Lost in 1894,” Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXXI (Autumn, 1965), 245-55.


7. Ottawa *Journal and Triumph*, June 21, 1894. F. G. Adams of the State Historical Society was convinced that this prayer was of some historic consequence, for he requested a copy from the minister who was identified only as Reverend Goodner. The minister reconstructed the prayer from memory and sent a copy to Adams in a letter dated June 22, 1894. The segment that brought the response from the convention, as he reconstructed it, reads like this: "The morals of our people waning, the pulpit and the press prostituted to the base ends of plutocratic greed; free speech and free assembly denied, a slavery coming upon us, unsurpassed by America's former chattel system, and all this sought to be made perpetual!! In view of this, we, in unspeakable grief, lift our hearts to Thee O God of Ages!! With a deep sense of the grievous wrongs done us, by him, we, nevertheless, ask thine infinite mercy upon the chief executive of this nation—when he shall repent of his sins, and turn away from his monstrous evils. May he, his cabinet, and a bumbling congress, be led by such means as Thou, the Infinite alone canst ordain, to fear further encroachment upon the rights of an outraged people!!" The remainder of the prayer called for support of woman suffrage and the victory of the party at the polls. Reverend Goodner to F. G. Adams, June 22, 1894, special collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.


9. Breidenthal and Lewelling were severely handicapped in any effort to pack the committee, since there was a desire to call the convention under the "Omaha Ordinance for the Purification of Politics," according to which all officeholders were forbidden to participate in any convention of the party. See the manifesto of the Shawnee County People's party committee to that effect, published in *The Advocate*, Topeka, March 28, 1894. Also, since extreme antifusionists had charged that Lewelling and Breidenthal were preparing "to surrender the principles of the reform cause in this state to the British financial Hessians, the Democrats of Kansas," it was necessary for the Populist organization to avoid all appearances of a desire to influence the convention's decisions. See the "secret circular" issued by Noah Allen and W. F. Rightmire in behalf of the National Citizen's Alliance, in the *Kansas Commoner*, Wichita, June 7, 1894.

10. Ottawa *Journal and Triumph*, June 21, 1894. The reporter representing this paper compiled a record of the convention which was complete enough to have been an official record. Except where otherwise indicated, the author has relied upon this report for material concerning convention happenings.


12. Lest there be any misunderstanding, it must be noted that this element of nativism was restricted almost without exception to this extreme antifusion group. It would be wholly erroneous to assume that Populism was generally nativistic. As a party, the nativism within Populism was negligible compared to that in the Republican party. Walter Nugent noted in his study of Kansas Populism that "the Republican party was the home of immigration restriction on racist grounds . . ., whether in the East or in Kansas." See *The Tolerant*
NOTES TO PAGES 163-167

Populists: Kansas, Populism and Nativism (Chicago, 1963), 101. Numerous references to Republican nativism could be cited to document this statement; indeed, just a casual examination of the Topeka Daily Capital throughout the 1890s will demonstrate it without question. See also The Kansas Day Club Addresses for a compilation of Republican leadership statements, a number of which are replete with nativism. It is perhaps significant that those few Populists who did have a nativistic strain were generally anti-Democratic; most of them, as a matter of fact, came to the Populist party from the Republican party. It should also be noted that the convention adopted a resolution denouncing the anti-Catholic and nativistic American Protective Association.


16. Typed manuscript, “Speech at Huron Place,” K.S.H.S. Archives; Topeka Daily Capital, July 27, 1894. This speech in manuscript form is thirty-one typed pages in length, and is obviously a very rough draft.

17. The Advocate, Topeka, September 19, 1894; see also an article by G. C. Clemens entitled “The Philosophy of the Omaha Platform: Not Paternalism but Fraternalism,” ibid., September 5, 1894.

18. Topeka Daily Capital, August 3, 1894; The Advocate, Topeka, August 8, 1894. Clover’s reward, according to the Topeka Advocate (May 22, 1895), was that of farmer for the boy’s reform school in Topeka at $29.75 a week.


20. Ibid., August 21, 1894. Republican gubernatorial candidate Morrill employed essentially the same argument in his campaign; see his speech at Fredonia, reported in the Topeka Daily Capital, September 6, 1894.


22. See especially ibid., July 21, 1894.

23. The Advocate, Topeka, August 29, 1894.

24. Kansas Commoner, Wichita, October 25, 1894; The Advocate, Topeka, October 24, 1894; The Weekly World, Girard, October 25, 1894. Other than Corning, Wesley Henry Bennington, named for associate justice of the supreme court, was the only one on the ticket whose name was known to Populist politics either before or after the election. Bennington was then president of the Commonweal Army of Kansas. See Topeka New Era, July 21, 1894.


26. Ben Henderson argued the cause of the Corning ticket, which raises the question of whether both Henderson and Corning were Cy Leland’s agents. Walter Nugent believes that to be the case but, as he has written, “No one will ever know to what extent the destruction of fusion by means of those useful tools—Cy Corning, Ben Henderson, and the woman’s suffrage issue—was a matter of conscious planning by Leland. It is entirely possible that the whole plan was laid before the Republican convention which met in early June, before the Populist convention, many months before the election.” The course pursued by Corning’s New Era, in itself, is practically enough evidence to prove his
implication, but until more conclusive evidence is uncovered indicating that Henderson made his fight for woman suffrage at the instigation of Leland (which appears unlikely), this writer must see Henderson as an unstable, anti-Democrat prohibitionist who played into Cy Leland's hand. See Nugent, "How the Populists Lost in 1894," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (Autumn, 1965), 255.

27. Perhaps the most exploited charge was the Republican story that fiendish Populist doctors had performed brutal and mutilating operations on the patients of the institution for the feebleminded.

28. In the third congressional district the incumbent Populist, T. J. Hudson, decided not to run again because of personal financial difficulties, and J. D. Botkin was a late replacement. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, September 19, 1894.

29. The woman-suffrage vote as reported in *ibid.*, December 19, 1894.


31. Woman suffrage was probably more effective in driving Democratic votes away from the Populist ticket than was the breakdown of fusion itself. The Democratic candidate, Overmeyer, received only 26,709 votes. Compare this with the 71,357 votes for the Democratic candidate in 1890 and 107,528 in 1888. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, December 19, 1894; Hein and Sullivant, *Kansas Votes*, 25, 27.


34. The Kansas State Historical Society has a copy of the formal program Republicans printed for the affair.

**Chapter X**

1. Kansas State Governor Messages (K.S.H.S.), II.

2. Full text of the message is contained in *The Advocate*, Topeka, January 16, 1895.

3. For an excellent example see the speech of Charles A. Sheldon (secretary of the Republican League and a banker from Burlingame), January 29, 1895, contained in *The Kansas Day Club Addresses*.


5. Twenty-five of eighty-seven (28.7 percent) were identified as farmers or stock raisers; nine more (16.3 percent) were engaged in farming in association with banking, real estate, merchandizing, engineering, and surveying. Actually, fifty-three out of eighty-nine (58.2 percent) were born in the states named. Two were natives of Kansas; eleven (12 percent) were born on foreign soil. Information compiled from George W. Crane's *Advance Sheets of the Hand Book of the Kansas Legislature* (Topeka, 1895).

6. Based on twenty-eight cases where age information was provided, seven (24.1 percent) Populist representatives were fifty or older. The youngest was thirty-one and the oldest sixty-two. Twenty-five of thirty-one (80.6 percent) Populist representatives were born in the states indicated above. None were native Kansans; three (9.6 percent) were born on foreign soil. Five of thirty-two
NOTES TO PAGES 173-174

288

Populists were Union veterans. Religious affiliations were available for Populists and Republicans but were so mixed as to seem irrelevant. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that sixty-three of eighty-nine (70.7 percent) Republicans expressed their church affiliation, while only thirteen of thirty-two Populists (40.6 percent) so committed themselves.

7. Among the Republicans of the house there were twenty-eight lawyers (three of whom were also engaged as a banker, loan agent, and a railroad advertising agent), thirteen merchants, two bankers, one merchant-banker, one realtor-banker-farmer, three realtor-farmers, one real estate broker, one manufacturer, one “railroad builder” and mine owner, one merchant-farmer, one mill owner, one contractor, two physicians, three editor-publishers, two farmer-ministers, one clerical worker, one surveyor, one surveyor-farmer, one farmer who was also a civil engineer, one carpenter, and one blacksmith. Their number was completed by twenty-five farmers and/or stock raisers. Among the Populists were nineteen farmers and/or stock raisers, two teacher-farmers, one lawyer-farmer, one banker-farmer, one physician, and one miner.

8. See the analysis of the senate on page 137.

9. Two measures passed by the legislature authorized Arlington and Sylvia townships in Reno County to issue bonds for the construction of flour mills; both were vetoed by Governor Morrill. In his veto of one of these the governor stated: “It seems to be the intention of the bill to enable a municipal township to go into the milling business. Counties, townships and other political subdivisions of the state were not organized, nor was it ever intended they should be organized for such purposes. I regard such legislation as vicious and a step in the wrong direction. If a township or city is to go into the milling business, I see no reason why municipal organizations cannot engage in divergent kinds of enterprises coming into direct competition with individual enterprises and all tending in the direction of the state owning and controlling all manner of private business. It is contrary to the very spirit of our constitutions and a direct step toward paternalism and against good government.” The governor’s veto message prompted The Advocate (March 13, 1895) to state, “Had the citizens of these townships asked the privilege to issue their bonds to be presented as a bonus to some milling corporation as an inducement to erect a flouring mill to be operated for the private gain of said corporation, it is not likely their bill would have been vetoed. That would not be paternalism in the eyes of Governor Morrill; but when they ask the privilege of issuing their own bonds for their own benefit and to relieve themselves from the extortions of an arbitrary and avaricious milling trust, such paternalism . . . is not to be thought of.” This issue does indeed point up a valid and basic difference between many Populists and Republicans—and Democrats too, for that matter. An obvious contradiction, which Governor Morrill did not attempt to reconcile, was the continuing sanction of the legislature and the executive for the purchase of gas, water, and electric plants by municipalities from private companies.


13. Ibid. See house bills 335, 541, 768, and 862 on pages 1609, 1628, 1649, and 1659. The platforms of both parties had indorsed the irrigation measure. See Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 15, 1894, and Populist Party Clippings (K.S.H.S.), I, 84-86.
15. Speech in the house delivered August 18, 1893, Kansas Collected Speeches, IX (K.S.H.S.). Senator Peifer and Congressman Thomas J. Hudson also went on record with similar efforts.
17. November 22, 1893.
18. In a recent article, Robert F. Durden has written that “to most Populists of the period socialism was the real, late-coming ‘cow-bird’ that tried to capture the nest.” Interpreting Henry D. Lloyd to have meant that free silver was not an initial part of the Populist program, Durden then proceeds to his satisfaction to demonstrate that free silver was not the “cow-bird” of the reform movement. Leaving aside the fact that the article was made possible by a clever interpretation of Lloyd’s famous statement, Mr. Durden’s article fails to deal adequately with the Populist position on the money question. As late as 1896, Senator Peifer defined that position adequately when he declared: “the money that the People’s party demand is gold, silver, and paper. Populists believe in the unlimited and free coinage of both the metals, and if there is not enough of coin money in the country, supplement it with paper money. The difference between the Populists and the Democrats and the Republicans is this: That we do not believe in private notes of any kind to circulate as money; we do not believe in the Government of the United States or the Congress . . . delegating its authority ‘to coin money and to regulate the value thereof’ to any class of people under heaven. We believe it is a function of government, and a sovereign function, to prepare and to issue its own money—its own gold money, its own silver money, its own paper money . . . .” (*Congressional Record*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., p. 2479). Mr. Durden’s article, “The ‘Cow-bird’ Grounded: The Populist Nomination of Bryan and Tom Watson in 1896,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review: A Journal of American History*, L (December, 1963), 397-423, may have some general validity as applied to southern Populism, from which his material is largely drawn, but it must be seriously qualified when applied to Kansas Populism.
20. The Populist platform of 1894 is contained in Populist Party Clippings (K.S.H.S.), I, 84-86.
22. Taubeneck’s proposals were noted in *The Advocate*, Topeka, December 12, 1894.
23. Letter to editor, *ibid*.
24. *ibid*.
25. *ibid*., February 6, March 6, and March 27, 1895.
26. One significant Kansas publication was that of J. M. Waterman entitled *Silver*
Threads Among the Gold: A Plea for the Free Coinage of Silver (Delphos, 1895), People Party Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), II.

27. June 18, 1895.
28. July 9, 1895.
29. J. F. Willits was president of the state Alliance again in 1895, J. B. French was secretary, and John Otis was lecturer. See The Advocate, Topeka, February 6, 1895.

30. Ibid., October 2, 1895.
31. Ibid., October 9, 1895, and February 5, 1896.
32. Ibid., December 18, 1895, and January 1, 1896.
34. Ibid., April 29, 1896.

35. Before undertaking this state study the writer researched and studied the Populist movement in Osage County. This county was selected because it was strongly Populist and Progressive, and, because of its coal-mining industry, the existence of a significant labor element afforded an opportunity to arrive at some conclusions regarding the cooperation between the farmer and the laborer. Most of the material for the study was drawn from The Peoples Herald (a Populist weekly published in Lyndon) and the Kansas People (a Republican weekly published in Osage City).

36. For material concerning the background of the leadership of the party in Osage County and their approach to reform, see The Peoples Herald, Lyndon, especially the issues of September 12, October 31, 1890; December 15, 1892; and October 10, 31, 1895; Kansas People, Osage City, November 5, 1890.

37. Norman Pollack has stated that labor was the conservative, "retarding influence" of the farmer-labor coalition. The voting patterns of Osage County, at least, would support that contention. See Pollack, Populist Response to Industrial America, 61.

38. Utilizing the census of 1895 the writer discovered that there were around 824 of 1180 heads of families residing in the city who were classified as laborers (mostly miners), 50 as farmers, and 306 as business or professional. The occupational breakdown for the city's four wards was: first ward, 273 laborers, 206 business and professional, and 25 farmers; second ward, 341 laborers, 94 business and professional, and 18 farmers; third ward, 98 laborers, 3 business or professional, and 3 farmers; fourth ward, 112 laborers, 3 business or professional, and 4 farmers. See Kansas State Census, 1895, Osage Co., CCLXXII (K.S.H.S.).

The votes for governor in the city by ward for the elections of 1890, 1892, 1894, and 1896 were as follows (The Peoples Herald, Lyndon, November 12, 1890; November 17, 1892; November 15, 1894; November 13, 1896):

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The analysis of Osage City voting is complicated by several factors: the city contained a significant foreign-born element (510 heads of families out of 1180) and 91 Negro families resided in the city. It is likely that a number of the former had no vote (an average for the number of votes cast at any one election would be about 650), and that most of the latter remained with the Republican party.

The writer also applied a similar treatment to the town of Burlingame which supported the Republican ticket in every election throughout the decade. Burlingame was second in size but first in affluence. The census revealed that there were 208 heads of families who were classified as business or professional by occupation, 48 as farmers, and 164 as laborers. The Republican margin of victory in the elections roughly approximated the ratio of three to two. Since the town cast its vote as a unit, the writer has no way of determining how these groups voted, but based on the findings in Osage City, it seems likely that the Republican ticket was supported by a substantial percentage of the labor vote.

40. Ibid., March 21, 1895.
41. Ibid., March 28, 1895.
42. Ibid., April 25 and May 30, 1895.
43. Ibid., May 30, 1895.
44. Ibid., August 29, 1895.
45. Ibid., October 24, 1895.
46. See ibid. for September 12 and October 31, 1890, for the presentation of the party’s candidates to the voters in that first campaign.
47. For the record, this trend continued in Osage County. While the party’s leaders kept the emphasis on the “solid-citizen” types, pushed fusion, and increasingly focused the party’s efforts on the towns rather than the countryside, the Farmers’ Alliance, which remained in the hands of an element of the original leadership, attacked the party’s new spokesmen for having sold out party principles and leading the party to defeat behind William J. Bryan.

48. The Peoples Herald, Lyndon, November 7, 1895.
49. The Advocate, Topeka, April 29, 1896.
50. The Peoples Herald, Lyndon, July 2, 1896. Norman Pollack has concluded that “Populism was not deceived on silver; it remained radical to the end.” As applied to the leadership of the Kansas Populists this conclusion has general validity, although there was a minority segment which looked to silver as a panacea. The issue appears to have had a more deceptive appeal for the rank-and-file Populist. See Pollack, The Populist Response to Industrial America, 143.

Chapter XI

1. John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt, 349-67. The literature of the 1896 campaign is extensive; among the works that aid considerably in understanding that crucial election are: Paul Glad, McKinley, Bryan and the People, and The Trumpet Soundeth, William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912 (Lincoln, 1960); H. Wayne Morgan, William McKinley and His America
NOTES TO PAGES 186-192


3. The Advocate, Topeka, July 22, 1896, compiled a list of newspapers supporting Bryan's endorsement. For The Advocate's reaction to the Bryan nomination see the July 15, 1896, edition.
5. Quoted in Hicks, The Populist Revolt, 365.
6. Ibid., 357-67.
8. The central committee statement was dated October 31, 1896, and published in ibid., October 28, 1896.
9. W. J. Costigan led an unsuccessful fight within the convention to prevent Breidenthal's reelection as state chairman. It was charged that among other things Breidenthal had "spent money amounting to thousands of dollars...to defeat the nomination of ex-Governor Lewelling at the Abilene convention..." The charge was denied. Lewelling later stated that Breidenthal had also done "his best to defeat" his "renomination" in 1894. See ibid., August 12, 26, and September 9, 1896; Kansas Scrapbook Biography (K.S.H.S.), B, III, 308.
10. The Advocate, Topeka, August 12, 1896.
11. The biographical record of John W. Leedy is quite incomplete. See George W. Crane's Advance Sheets of Hand Book of the Kansas Legislature, 1895, and Wilson's Eminent Men, 45-47. Later, while visiting Kansas in April, 1897, Mary Elizabeth Lease maintained that she, "with a few trusty friends, was instrumental in breaking the Topeka slate [''Harris for Governor and Breidenthal for the Senate'] that had been fixed for the Abilene convention..." She maintained that "by bringing up Lewelling as a candidate for Governor, which I did at every point in the state, I divided the forces and they were compelled to drop Harris and compromise on Leedy." No corroborating evidence was found to support this claim. See the Topeka Daily Capital, April 27, 1897.
12. The Kansas Blue Book (Topeka, 1897).
15. Ibid.
17. Ibid., August 6, 1896.
18. Ibid., August 13, 1896.
19. Ibid., October 29, 1896.
20. The "What's the Matter with Kansas" editorial appeared in the weekly on October 1, 1896. Too often, this article had been dealt with as an aberration
of sorts; as if White wrote the article in a moment of anger resulting from his having been "ganged" by Populist partisans. This no doubt happened, as White noted in his *Autobiography*, but the philosophy and argument of the article was not as much out of the ordinary as the progressive William Allen White of later years wanted his posterity to believe.


22. Clemens went before the board of certification arguing the case of the Populists against certification of the middle-of-the-road ticket for a place on the ballot. See the statement by Clemens on this matter in *The Advocate*, Topeka, October 28, 1896.

23. It was of course a Republican board of certification that approved the middle-of-the-road electoral ticket. The mid-road faction was represented in argument before that board and later before the state supreme court by Republican counsel—before the state supreme court it was former Chief Justice Horton, a Republican, who argued their case. See *ibid*.

24. "Final Address to Populists," Populist State Central Committee (Anti-Fusion), People's Party Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), VII.

25. Abe Steinberger was the leader of the mid-roaders. He was president of the Kansas Reform Press Association at the time. This organization met in October, however, and adopted a resolution censoring Steinberger's actions. In the election, the mid-road ticket polled only a fraction of the votes. In Girard, Steinberger's home town, only five votes were cast for the mid-road ticket; only seventy votes were cast in all of Crawford County, in which Girard is located. See *The Advocate*, Topeka, October 28, 1896; Girard *World* (Daily), November 12, 1896.


29. G. C. Clemens challenged Willits and Steinberger to deny that in preparation for this tour, "the Republican Mayor of Topeka and another Republican hired the opera house for his first speech." He asked if they would deny in his "presence that they were not to pay a dollar for that special train in which Watson was to have toured Kansas? That no Populist on earth was to pay a dollar? That it was 'tendered' to them by the obliging railroad company which has not been so kind to the wicked 'fusionists' of Abilene?" See *The Advocate*, Topeka, October 28, 1896.


32. January 12, 1897.

33. The explanation for Governor Leedy's vapid oratory may well be explained by the following commentary that appeared in the Topeka *Daily Capital*: "John W. Leedy made a reputation as a stump speaker while a member of the State Senate. He had a gift of gab . . . . He had a style of his own, which was entertaining, and the galleries always were crowded when it became known that he would have something to say. His quick wit offset his rough manners, and the vigor of his attack . . . made his butchery of the English language
less apparent." It was felt that he had been advised to be careful in his use of English, and consequently had developed a fear of criticism on this account. In the Capital's estimation, the last time Leedy had delivered a speech "with fire in it" was at the Abilene convention; since then, throughout the campaign of 1896 and later, his speeches had been edited by Ed Little, who became Governor Leedy's private secretary. See the issue of February 20, 1898.

34. Ibid., January 12, 1897.

35. Statistics compiled largely from The Kansas Blue Book. The previous party affiliations of Populists in the senate had not altered significantly. Former Republicans, Democrats, and third-party men were represented by the ratio of five, two, and three respectively.

36. Among the eight Popocrats were two physicians, and one each of the following: banker, merchant, farmer, lawyer, livestock dealer, and real estate and lumber dealer. There were no former third-party men among the Popocrats; all were Democrats, although four had only joined that party in 1890, after leaving the Republican party. As far as could be determined, former Republicans, Democrats, and third-party men were represented among the house Populists by the ratio of five, three, and two respectively. Altogether, there were ninety-six inexperienced legislators in the house. Only thirteen Populists and twelve Republicans had served in a previous legislature. Taking all factions together, there were twenty-nine experienced legislators; only twenty-five of these had served in the preceding house. This ranked the house of 1897 as the least experienced house since that of 1891.

37. The Advocate, Topeka, August 5, 1896.

38. Ibid., December 2, 1896.

39. Ibid., and December 9, 1896.

40. Wilson, Eminent Men, 203-05.

41. Topeka Daily Capital, January 21, 1897. Peffer's services were not entirely unappreciated; as a matter of fact praise was forthcoming from some unexpected sources: the Capital (February 12, 1897) quoted an article from the Philadelphia Press which said that Senator Peffer had won "the respect of all the members of the Senate." The Press noted that he had come "to Washington six years ago, in company with Jerry Simpson, the 'sockless statesman of Medicine Lodge,' and of the two he was considered the greater freak. Six years in the Senate has, however, changed the common opinion with regard to him. Instead of being a blatant demagogue and Populist fire-eater, he has turned out to be a very mild-mannered gentleman indeed, who has, of course, the crazy notions of the Populists, but whose presentation of these notions has been made in the prosiest, least sensational manner imaginable."

42. Coincidentally, the last edition of The Advocate published before Peffer assumed editorship (March 10, 1897) announced the death of Dr. Stephen McLallin. McLallin died on March 4. The Advocate spoke highly of his work, and well it might, for McLallin and his paper had been for five years the conscience and inspiration of Kansas Populism.

43. House Journal, 1897, 1262, 1302; Senate Journal, 1897, 1091, 1203.

44. Populist-Democrat-Silver Republican senators opposing the bill were: John Armstrong, engineer-farmer, Great Bend; W. B. Crossan, lawyer and Silver Republican nominated by the Populists, from Paola; Hugh Farrelly, a Demo-
cratic lawyer from Chanute; Frank Field, cattle and grain shipper from Pretty Prairie; George Hanna, Clay Center creamery merchant; W. A. Harris, engineer-surveyor-farmer from Linwood; W. H. Ryan, merchant and cattle and grain shipper from Brazilton; E. T. Shaffer, farmer and stock raiser from Fulton; and Henry Zimmer, from Kansas City, whose occupation was market gardening. See *The Kansas Blue Book, 1897*, and the *Topeka Advocate*, March 31, 1897.

47. March 3, 1897.
49. *Ibid.*, 908, 911; *Senate Journal*, 1897, 680; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 24, 1897. Grant Wood Harrington, who had been Harris' private secretary for a time, stated in an editorial, "The Harris bill did not contain a maximum rate, but it gave the commissioners full authority to fix rates and then power to enforce them." Harrington contended that this bill "was shot to pieces in the Senate committee on railroads...." See Harrington's editorial, first published in the Hiawatha *Democrat*, in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 3, 1897.

55. See John Dunsmore's letter to W. H. Sears, July 28, 1898, Sears Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.
56. Virginia Noah Gibson, "The Effect of the Populist Movement on Kansas State Agricultural College," unpublished master's thesis, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1932, *passim*. See also the lengthy letter by George T. Fairchild giving a full and objective account of what had transpired at the college, which is contained in *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 10, 1897.

57. In defense of its actions the board made the following statement regarding academic freedom: "We hold the principle of freedom of science equal in rank and importance with the principles of freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, and of the ballot. We note with deep concern the menace to this and other forms of true freedom through the steady aggrandizement of power in the hands of organized wealth. We find alleged economists in cases prostituting their science to the service of their masters, while men of unquestioned attainments, who refuse to distort and conceal important truth, and to sell their manhood for bread, are tried for economic heresy, or dismissed on spurious pretexts, and practically blacklisted; a subservient press concealing, condoning, or applauding the act." *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, Kansas State Agricultural College, Vol. B, 160-63, as quoted in the appendix of *ibid.* 93-102.

58. April 12, 1897.
59. April 13, 1897.
60. Gibson, "The Effect of the Populist Movement on Kansas State Agricultural College," 83-85.
Chapter XII

1. Letter from W. H. Bennington to J. S. Ensminger, Topeka Daily Capital, February 9, 1897. See also J. S. Ensminger's letter to Governor John Leedy, ibid., February 7, 1897.

2. Anticipating an endless barrage of attacks on the governor, the Topeka Capital began numbering its disclosures. On February 14, 1897, that paper ran an article entitled "Second Shot at Governor Leedy," in which Populist Railroad Commissioner Joseph G. Lowe took the governor to task for his selection of William Rogers for appointment to the board of regents of the state agricultural college. On February 16 the same paper published a protest from Washington County Populists which accused Rogers of being "loudmouthed, indecent, and vulgar," "obscene in his remarks," "wholly unfit," "addicted to the use of liquors," a "blasphemer and an infidel," and an "outcast socially." The appointment of Rogers was confirmed despite the attack.


4. Simpson and McKay both held shares in the Barber County Index. Soon after the campaign of 1896, the rivalry between the two culminated in a struggle, initiated by Simpson, to gain control of the paper. The McKay faction won the fight and the war was on in earnest. Ibid.; see also Medicine Lodge Cresset, March 19, 1897; Barber County Index, March 17, 1897.

5. Topeka Daily Capital, January 26, 1897.

6. Ibid., April 10, 1897. While visiting Kansas in April and July, 1897, Mary Elizabeth Lease stated on both occasions that she believed the former governor was "the victim of a Breidenthal conspiracy" aimed at destroying "Lewelling's political future." See ibid., April 27, 1897, and July 15, 1897.

7. Ibid., April 11, 1897.

8. Ibid., April 6, 1897.

9. Medicine Lodge Cresset, July 30, 1897; Barber County Index, May 19, 1897. Despite an intensive search, no material was found to support the accusation that Jerry Simpson engaged in such extensive lobbying activities. Although it is of course possible that Simpson was guilty as charged, it seems more likely that he used his influence to obtain passage of the senate railroad bill in the house, fearing its defeat would mean no railroad legislation. Simply to advise for or against a particular matter would be interpreted as lobbying. On the other hand, the record does reveal that in one appearance before the legislature Simpson advised the legislators to maintain "a place in the skirmish line of all reforms," as well as to "see that the eternal agitation is kept up . . . ." See the Topeka Daily Capital, January 30, 1897.

10. The investigating committee's proceedings are reported in the April-May-June 1897 issues of ibid.

11. Senator Householder later remarked in a speech delivered in Baxter Springs (quoted in ibid., October 12, 1897), "Thirteen Populist Senators besides Harris voted for the Harris freight rate bill. The others could not be bought." Several Populist senators, L. D. Lewelling, Frank Fields, and George Hanna for example, were subsequently called before their county committees to explain their votes. As a matter of fact, the Populist central committee of Dickinson County called upon Senator George Hanna to submit his resignation. See The
Advocate, Topeka, June 9, 1897; Topeka Daily Capital, April 7, 1897, and May 16, 1897.
12. Topeka Daily Capital, April 21, 1897.
13. Ibid., April 11, 1897.
14. The Advocate, Topeka, April 7, November 24, and December 15, 1897.
15. Topeka Daily Capital, February 3, 1898.
17. The Advocate and News, Topeka, February 9, 1898.
18. Governor Leedy came in for a good deal of criticism from temperance elements after he delivered a noncommittal address before the State Temperance Union which met in Topeka on May 18, 1897. See the Topeka Daily Capital, May 19, 1897.
19. Taylor Riddle was Frank Doster's brother-in-law. Breidenthal, who was then rather quietly exerting his efforts in opposition to Governor Leedy's renomination, resigned and the central committee selected Riddle. Taylor Riddle was elected to the position in June, 1898. Breidenthal's actions at this point are not clear as revealed in accessible documents. The Leedy administration, however, had sponsored and obtained salary cuts almost across the board. Breidenthal's salary as bank commissioner was dropped from $2500 to $2000; this may have been at the root of the matter. Breidenthal's only comment at the time was: "This knocks me out." G. C. Clemens protested the cut rather vigorously, and apparently a number of the individuals affected felt that favoritism had been shown in the matter. See the Topeka Daily Capital, February 19, 21, 23, 1897.
20. Ibid., January 1, 1898.
21. The official correspondence of the Leedy administration is quite skimpy and badly kept; after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, matters relating to the mobilization, in some fashion or another, practically pushed everything else aside.
22. Newspaper clipping dated February 18, 1898, which is contained in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, II, 20.
23. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 3. Richard Hofstadter has written that Populists "distinguished between wars for humanity and wars of conquest. The first of these they considered legitimate, but naturally they had difficulty in discriminating between the two . . ." Hofstadter has also written that the Populists were "profoundly nationalistic and bellicose," and that the jingoism of the 1890s was nowhere "stronger than among the Populists." The literature of Kansas Populism does demonstrate that many Populists did indeed distinguish between "wars for humanity and wars of conquest"; however, the record also demonstrates that most of them had very little difficulty in "discriminating between the two." They recognized imperialism and militarism when they saw it. There were leaders among the Kansas Populists whose attitudes concerning the actions of
Spain in Cuba verged on the jingoistic, but to say that this sentiment was stronger among the Populists than among other elements, Republicans for example, would be an overbold estimate of the situation if not a complete distortion of the facts. See Hofstadter, *Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), 85-88.


28. Apparently Ed Little, Leedy's secretary and a recent recruit from Republican ranks, urged the appointment of Funston. William H. Sears, Senator W. A. Harris' secretary, was slated for the appointment until a "false" newspaper story from Washington, D.C., under the name of Senator W. A. Harris, was published criticizing Governor Leedy's handling of the mobilization. Frederick Funston went on of course to compile an outstanding military record. On this matter see, in particular, a letter by W. A. Sears to Richard J. Oulahan, February 27, 1917, Sears Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.


30. *Ibid.*, issues of May 1897; in particular that of May 15, 1897.

31. Wright to W. H. Sears, August 11, 1898, Sears Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives. For the record, Isom Wright was a college graduate and former-teacher-turned-farmer from Great Bend.

32. Ex-Senator William Peffer was a prominent example. See Peffer's *Americanism and the Philippines* (Topeka, 1900). Peffer had actually left the Populist party by the summer of 1898 when he became the Prohibition party candidate for governor. E. R. Ridgely was perhaps the outstanding "big policy" advocate among the party's leaders in 1898-1900. See especially his speech in the house on June 15, 1898, Kansas Collected Speeches and Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), XV, 13; Ridgely to W. H. Sears, October 20, 1899, Sears Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.

33. Kansas Collected Speeches and Pamphlets (K.S.H.S.), XV, 11, and 16. See also the newspaper clipping dated February 3, 1899, by John Davis, in his Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), K, 54-55, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 21, 1899, for Senator Harris' position on the Philippines; also a letter from W. A. Harris to Annie Diggs in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 2, 1898. See the anti-imperialistic poem by Mrs. Diggs entitled "Little Brown Brothers," which a newspaper of September 9, 1898, said had created "much comment, favorable and unfavorable," in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, III, 14. See also the Leavenworth *Standard*, August 1, 1900, Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), H, II, 102-03, for the views of Senator W. A. Harris. For substantial evidence demonstrating Republican support for an imperialistic and militaristic foreign policy see the speeches of Scott Hopkins, E. W. Hoch, and John Dawson in *The Kansas Day Club Addresses* for January 29, 1900. Dawson's, entitled "The White Man's Burden" (pp. 448-53), is especially revealing.

34. *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 17, 1898.


38. A comparison of this 1899 house revealed nothing especially different from
that of 1897. Forty-four was the median age for the Republicans; forty-three for the Populists. Thirty-six of eighty-nine (40.4 percent) Republicans were fifty or more years old; only six of twenty-two (22.2 percent) Populists were fifty or older. The oldest Republican in the house was seventy-three and the youngest twenty-one; the oldest Populist was sixty-five and the youngest thirty-two. Populists and Republicans, in greater numbers, claimed states like Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and New York as their place of birth, although the Populists included more natives from Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa. The median year of entry of the Republicans into the state was 1877; for the Populists it was 1878-79. Most of the Republicans were business or professional men (65 percent), while only twenty-three of eighty-nine were engaged strictly in farming and/or stock raising. The typical Populist was a farmer and/or stock raiser (fourteen of twenty-three), although one out of three was a business or professional man. Four out of every ten Republicans were college graduates; whereas three of every ten Populists were college graduates. There were fewer former third-party men among the Populists of this house: only one of twelve was listed as such; while eight of twelve had been Republicans until 1890 and three of twelve had been Democrats.

Compiled primarily from The Kansas Blue Book (Topeka, 1899). For a composite comparison of the legislatures of 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, and 1899, in chart form, see Appendix IV.


40. House Journal, 1898-99 (Special Session), 45, and 175; Senate Journal, 1898-99 (Special Session), 125.


42. See The Advocate, Topeka, August 25, 1897, for the text of Peffer's speech. See also his article entitled "The Passing of the People's Party," The North American Review, CLXVI (January, 1898), 12-23, for additional proof that Peffer was expounding undiluted Populist doctrine.

43. Letter dated September 6, 1897, The Advocate, Topeka, September 15, 1897.

44. Letter dated September 22, 1897, ibid., September 29, 1897.

45. For material relative to Annie Diggs' position see the Topeka Advocate, October 6, 1897, and the Topeka State Journal, January 6, 1898. Two years later Mrs. Diggs was asked by a reporter if she thought the Democrats were "sincere in their advocacy of so many of the principles originally enunciated by the Populists?" She replied: "Oh, my! no, I don't think a great majority of them are. But the spirit is spreading and they may come around to it after awhile." See the Kansas City Journal, August 1, 1900.

46. Malin, A Concern About Humanity, 44; The Advocate and News, Topeka, January 12, 1898; Clemens' Notebooks, K.S.H.S. Archives. These notebooks were undated and uncatalogued and, apparently, undiscovered before the writer came upon them. One of these contains this remark: "So numerous and so urgent have become the requests from Populist comrades that I shall take the initiative in organizing a socialist party with which true Populists may unite and once more find a congenial political home that I can no longer resist. I must forsake the fusionists or the Socialists—it is no longer possible for them to remain together."
47. Clemens’ Notebooks, K.S.H.S. Archives.
51. Eugene V. Debs spoke in Topeka on February 4, 1898, to a crowd estimated to be 2,000. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1898.
52. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1898; “The Passing of the People’s Party,” *North American Review*, CLXVI (January, 1898). Peffer’s antipathy toward the Democratic party had its roots deep in the sectional conflict, roots that were nurtured by strong prohibitionist feeling and, later, by opposition to the Democratic party’s stand on imperialism. He maintained, however, that it was based primarily upon the allegation that the party was a state’s rights party and foe of centralized power which was antithetic to the aims of the reform movement.
56. Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 8, 1898.
57. Newspaper clipping dated November 11, 1898, Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), B, II, 305-06. Breidenthal had contributed as much as anyone to the eclipse of the very principle he was now lamenting. Professor James C. Malin has written that Breidenthal “might be characterized as a contradictory multiple personality—a curious blend of idealism and the crude realism of the 1890’s.” See *A Concern About Humanity*, 212. Certainly his actions are difficult to comprehend. A contemporary opponent of Breidenthal noted what he called the “curious contradiction of the man’s nature” in the following commentary: “Believing in the most extreme forms of socialism, Breidenthal has in his official relations stood steadfastly for the property rights and privileges of the individual. He has made a bank commissioner acceptable to the state banks which come under his supervision . . . . The truth is that Mr. Breidenthal has enforced the state supervision of banks, very closely following the rigid regulations of the government. He has made the state banks as nearly like the national banks as the state laws would warrant. And yet in theory he believes the national banks are all wrong, and if he had his way he would wipe them out.” The explanation for Breidenthal’s actions, according to this observer, was that he was “most radical in his socialistic beliefs and most conservative in his application of them.” See the Topeka *Mail and Breeze*, February 10, 1899.
58. Topeka *Mail and Breeze*, May 5, 1899.
59. Topeka *State Journal*, November 15, 1899.
60. See Ross E. Paulson’s forthcoming study entitled *Radicalism and Reform: The Vrooman Family and American Social Thought, 1837-1937* (Lexington, 1968?).
64. Breidenthal to J. C. Rupenthal, February 9, 1900, Rupenthal Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.
65. Lewelling to W. H. Sears, March 27, 1900, Sears Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives. The stationery upon which this letter was written identified Lewelling as manager of the Hurd Land Company in Wichita, which was serving as “immigration agents” for the railroad named above. Sears had written Lewelling seeking support for his bid for the nomination as lieutenant governor. Lewelling declined the support by stating: “I am taking very little interest in politics this year, as I am too much occupied with business.” See also a newspaper clipping contained in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), L, III, 308.


67. Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), L, II, 50. Actually Lewelling’s turn toward socialism was no sudden departure. As early as October, 1897, the former governor readily admitted that he was a socialist. He had said then, however, that he doubted “the advisability of going as fast as the extreme socialists want to go.” “The people are not yet ready to accept socialism. They must be educated. I know that socialism will triumph some time in this country, but it must come by degrees.” See the Topeka Daily Capital, October 20, 1897.

68. Topeka Daily Capital, March 18, April 1, 9, 27, July 15, 1897.


70. Clemens’ Notebooks, K.S.H.S. Archives.

71. Breidenthal to J. C. Rupenthal, January 3, 1901, Rupenthal Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.


73. Topeka Daily Capital, September 24, 1900.

74. Newspaper clipping in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, II, 26-29. See also the editorials of the Farmers Advocate, Topeka, which was edited by Annie Diggs from September 13, 1901, to about February 21, 1902.

75. Breidenthal’s vote was 164,793; Republican W. E. Stanley’s vote was 181,897 (51.9 percent). Hein and Sullivant, Kansas Votes: Gubernatorial Elections; Cabe and Sullivant, Kansas Votes: National Elections.

76. Breidenthal to J. C. Rupenthal, January 3, 1901, Rupenthal Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives. Regarding Breidenthal’s remark that the Socialists wanted to accomplish “everything at once,” the following commentary by G. C. Clemens is most revealing: “While socialism is the end they keep always in view, Socialists recognize that until that end be attained they must live in the world as it is, changed by such means as they can use to make it more bearable in the meantime. A good Christmas dinner is a delicious thing to look forward to, but the breakfast of this morning must be such as we can get. I shall not refuse to eat ham and eggs to-day to have turkey with dressing sometime next year.” Clemens’ Notebooks, K.S.H.S. Archives.

77. The Rupenthal Collection in the K.S.H.S. Archives contains a number of letters relative to Breidenthal’s business venture.

78. See, for example, the correspondence and material of the party’s Legislative Bureau relative to the 1902 campaign, which is contained in the K.S.H.S. Archives.

79. Ottawa Journal and Triumph, July 19, 1894. W. P. Harrington’s thesis was
NOTES TO PAGES 229-235

302

published in the Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, XVI, 403-50, as "The Populist Party in Kansas."

80. W. P. Harrington to Grant Wood Harrington, September 24, 1902, Correspondence of the Democratic and People's Party Legislative Bureau, K.S.H.S. Archives.

Chapter XIII

1. Jerry Simpson, "The Plain People," The Illustrated American (September 11, 1897), 332.

2. The Advocate, Topeka, February 16, 1895.

3. Kansas City Star, June 2, 1901. See also the Farmers Advocate, Topeka, December 20, 1901.

4. Topeka Daily Capital, May 3, 1907. See also Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, V, 141. Mrs. Diggs warmed very slowly to President Roosevelt; she seriously questioned his basic instincts. In 1902, she made this revealing appraisal of the president: "More and more as the days go by I am impressed by an apparent hardness of character in Mr. Roosevelt; a lack of fine sensibility, an absence of warm, human sympathy, without which even the sturdiest, bravest man falls short of greatness." See the Farmers Advocate, Topeka, January 10, 1902.

5. Topeka Daily Capital, January ? , 1906 [1908?], Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, V, 138. Mrs. Diggs edited the Farmers Advocate from 1901 to 1902; from 1902 to 1904 she toured Europe. In 1912 she published a work entitled Bedrock: Education and Employment, the Foundation of the Republic (Detroit, 1912) in which her main concern was the creation of a bureau of employment. A typical passage reads: "The republic is not safe with an ignorant citizenship. Likewise, the republic is not safe with an unemployed citizenship. It will not do to leave education to the uncertainties or the fluctuations of private enterprise. . . . Likewise, an employed citizenship is so vital to national health and national progress that there should speedily be set in motion the machinery of organization to rescue industrialism from the disastrous fluctuations and dehumanizing uncertainty of our private, personal and unscientific regime." See also Topeka Daily Capital, April 13, 1904; ibid., clipping in Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), D, V, 138.

6. Myron C. Scott, "A Congressman and His Constituents," 176-78. In a recent article, actually published after this work was on its way to the editor, Karel Denis Bicha ("Jerry Simpson: Populist Without Principle," The Journal of American History, LIV [September, 1967], 291-306) presents a most unfavorable portrait of this Populist congressman. Even though the interpretation were one he had heard on numerous occasions from 1886 to 1900, it seems certain that Jerry Simpson would have been most exasperated to learn that he "became a Populist without principle"; or, better yet, that "he rarely possessed the courage of his convictions." Simpson most likely would not even be willing to grant the interpretation of himself as a pragmatic political type—as this critic of Bicha's interpretation would see his actions—but to say that he was or "became a Populist without principle" who "rarely possessed the courage of his convictions" is saying something quite different, even if we ignore
the apparent contradiction (italics added). It is an interpretation that the historical record will not support. If Professor Bicha were to remove Simpson’s activities from the historical vacuum within which they are considered in this article, his alleged deviation from alleged or assumed Populist dogma or doctrine would fade away. In the final analysis, the Populist leadership and movement was notable for a great variety of thought and personality, and the personality of Jerry Simpson probably revealed this Populist trait more clearly than any other. By all means, Jerry Simpson should not be taken to task for his alleged betrayal of something that never existed—a fixed Populist ideology.

7. Interview in Chanute, Kansas, Kansas City Star, May 9, 1905.
11. The numerous volumes of the Kansas Biographical Scrapbook contained in the K.S.H.S. Library served as the chief source for this information.
22. In a 1905 article she was quoted as saying that she no longer was interested in woman suffrage. She said, “You know I never went in much for that sort of thing. Women have enough to be thankful for that they are Americans.” See the newspaper clipping dated September 6, 1905, Kansas Biographical Scrapbook (K.S.H.S.), L, VI, 197. In 1915 Mrs. Lease stated: “Only a few people in each state have risen to normal civilization. The many are endowed with citizenship which they are not capable of, or which they do not use intelligently.” See a letter to editor, August 31, 1915; Topeka Daily Capital, September 5, 1915.
24. See especially her claim relative to the naming of the People’s party, Kansas City Star, October 25, 1914. Perhaps she was not too far off in her analysis of the quality of Kansas Populist leaders: she rated Frank Doster as the most outstanding of them all. “He was head and shoulders above the rest of us,” she said. “Unfortunately we did not understand him or appreciate him at his full value then.” Jerry Simpson “was overrated. There was not a great deal of depth to him. He possessed a combination of Canadian and Irish humor...
and it was with this that he moved his audiences, and he understood the tricks of politics and was quick enough to make the most of his opportunities.” William A. Peffer “was a good man and an honest man, but utterly lacking in brilliancy and without the first suggestion of magnetism.” She had rather special praise for John W. Leedy. His name, recalled, brought forth this response: “Ah, there was a sterling honest man. He was not with us at the start, but . . . he made good. John Leedy was a man who could not be tempted by money or office. He was tried and stood the test.” See *ibid*.

27. Doster retained his interest in politics throughout. In 1914 he made an unsuccessful bid to obtain the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator. Still later he served as legal advisor to Democratic Governor Jonathan Davis. See *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 26, 1933; Michael Brodhead, “Judge Frank Doster,” unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Minnesota, 1967).
28. Doster to H. S. Martin (chairman of the Democratic state committee), September 21, 1908, Special Collection, K.S.H.S. Archives.