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THE AMERICAN NONCONFORMIST AND KANSAS INDUSTRIAL  
LIBERATOR: A KANSAS UNION LABOR-POPULIST  
NEWSPAPER, 1886-1891

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Science

By  
Charles Richard Denton

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August, 1961



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## ABSTRACT

The impetus for this study grew from another paper completed in April, 1957, entitled, "The Populist Party in Kansas," written for a class in American History. References to a Winfield, Kansas, newspaper, The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator, edited by Henry and Leo Vincent, appeared from time to time during the research. The Republicans in 1888 charged that the newspaper advocated anarchism; in 1890, however, the paper was a leading Populist journal. The charges grew out of a state-wide exposé of a secret organization within the Union Labor party which involved the Nonconformist. The Republicans' assertions gained weight with a mysterious explosion at Coffeyville, Kansas, caused, it was said, by dynamite which the Vincent brothers intended to use to destroy their chief newspaper competitor in Winfield, the Winfield Daily Courier, edited by E. P. Greer. The Courier had been instrumental in the exposé of the Videttes. The Nonconformist, on the other hand, charged the explosion to the Republicans, saying that their agents intended to plant the explosives in the Nonconformist offices, "find" them there, thereby proving the charge of anarchy. Both sides claimed that their opponents' plans went awry when the explosives discharged prematurely. In 1891, an investigation was conducted by the Kansas legislature to discover the truth in this matter.

Other matters of significance developed during the research for this paper: the importance of labor as a political force in Kansas during the last two decades of the nineteenth century; the conflicting views of social change between the Republican and Union Labor parties; and the importance of the Coffeyville explosion in the formation of the Populist party.

The most valuable depository for this paper was the Kansas State Historical Society with its excellent newspaper collection and its superior service. Other valuable depositories were: the library at Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, which generously permitted the writer the use of one of their copies of the Coffeyville dynamite investigation for two semesters; Porter Library, Kansas State College of Pittsburg, with its scattering of Kansas legislative documents; the Cowley County court house, for county election statistics and the Poorman vs. Vincent brothers lawsuit; Coburn Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado, for the Ernest D. Stewart and David C. Mott articles, and Chester McArthur Destler, American Radicalism; and the late Maurice Breidenthal, for the clippings he kindly lent to the writer, as well as his generosity and encouragement.

There is no disloyalty in recognizing that by the very essence of America's greatness there can be no national American history as there is English or French history. What we have is state and county history rich, varied, and of the utmost liveliness and reality; complete with feuds, aristocrats, disasters, and leading roles.

Jacques Barzun

## INTRODUCTION

In 1916, the Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives published a book entitled, History of Kansas Newspapers, A History of the Newspapers and Magazines Published in Kansas from the Organization of Kansas Territory, 1854, to January 1, 1916. This 373-page volume is hardly a "history" as that term is used today; it is a listing, by county, of Kansas newspapers which were received by the Society during the stated period, plus a few facts concerning each county.

Included in the work is a commencement address delivered by Captain Henry King, a former editor of the Topeka Capital and the first editor of The Kansas Magazine. Captain King told the graduating class of 1906 at the University of Kansas that "we happen to be living just now in an era of accusation and exposure. The air is crammed with yellow particulars of commercial and social iniquity." Continuing, he said:

We can not turn in any direction without encountering a prophet of disaster. The pessimists are striving with all their benumbing power to make us despair of the republic, to persuade us that the canker of vice is at the heart of everything, and that nothing can save us but a great national regeneration. It is a good time to read the story of Kansas and get its healthy inspiration.

This suggestion to examine Kansas history is as valid today, fifty-five years later, as it was then. Kansas

history can give us that "healthy inspiration," but Captain King's conception of the kind of lamp to be used in this reading is a bit discouraging when he concluded his address with these words:

Whatever reforms are really needed they will undoubtedly be made; the intrinsic and puissant virtues of organized society will survive and prevail; and it will remain true, as it has ever been that

"God's in his heaven,  
All's right with the world."

This study does not include the Kansas of 1906, but it is certain that, during this period after the turn of the century, the people of the United States, including Kansans, were discovering that God may have been in heaven, but all was not right with the world. The Industrial Workers of the World, founded in 1905, with their program of violence, real and imagined, was a symptom of discontent, to say the least. In the same month that Captain King spoke in Lawrence, the United States Congress passed the Hepburn Act, one of the first national acts of railroad regulation, a reform demanded several decades earlier throughout the country. In 1907, Americans experienced a business recession, exposing once again serious flaws in the national economy.

Kansas itself, however, had manifested discontent sixteen years before Captain King's speech. The hastily formed People's Party, or Alliance, had captured the Kansas House of Representatives in 1890, electing more than enough of their number to send William Alfred Pepper, a Kansas



newspaperman, to the United States Senate in 1891. In that election of 1890 five out of seven United States Congressmen were Populists, all the newcomers replacing Republicans.

Kansas most certainly was not alone in electing Populists that year, but Kansas "Pops" were the most successful. The economic bases of this movement--this "Populist revolt" as termed by John Donald Hicks--have been examined by many authors, and not without some controversy in their explanations. What will be attempted here, on the other hand, is an examination of some of the political factors of the Kansas "revolt" as they were expressed through one of the newspapers promulgating it and some of those attempting to stifle it. This newspaper, The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator, is listed in the History of Kansas Newspapers on page 168 as a "discontinued publication"; it lasted from 7 October 1886 to 3 September 1891. After this date it moved to Indianapolis, Indiana. But while in the Sunflower State, the Nonconformist, as its editors called it, was from start to finish a political newspaper, one which not only witnessed the agrarian uprising but one which actively promoted it.

This will be readily seen as the story unfolds. What can be stated at this point is the writer's opinion that the "Populist revolt" has all too frequently been described and analyzed as an economic phenomenon to the near exclusion of social and political influences which the Populists brought to a head. It is suggested that the economic traits



of the movement, however significant, have been emphasized to the point that the individual Populist is considered to be a bug-eyed, full-whiskered economic man: one-half of him is "fiat money," the other half, an amalgam of policies consisting of government regulation of "big business," lower railroad freight rates for farm goods, and the subtreasury plan. Political changes, such as the direct election of United States Senators and the initiative, referendum, and recall, were also promoted but primarily in order to improve their chances to gain these economic objectives. All of this is true enough; the subsequent legislation in both state and Federal statute books attests to the validity of many of their solutions to these economic problems. But the social and political ideas underlying these enactments have been minimized. When they have been discussed, it has not been in contrast with other, conflicting attitudes. The Nonconformist, as an outspoken and frequently bitter critic of the prevailing notions of the nature of man and of the structure of society, is significant for its leadership in this criticism.

This study is intended to be suggestive; the focus, although narrow, is felt to be sufficient to provoke a re-examination and a reappraisal of this exciting and meaningful period of Kansas history. Should this be the result, then the purpose of this work has been accomplished in providing a "healthy inspiration."

## CHAPTER I

### BACKGROUND

One can almost see Frederick Emory Haynes shake his head and sigh when in 1916 he wrote: "The period from 1880 to 1890 was a complex one." He cites the Democratic party's victory of 1884, the first such success since "1860," and continues with the following:<sup>1</sup>

A more discriminating view will recognize the increasing influence of economic forces upon the course of politics--especially in the West. The independent parties which began to appear in the early seventies had come to be relatively permanent features of American political life though under changing names. Their activity assumed broader aspects, extending from railroads and currency to industry in general.

One of the two parties Professor Haynes selects as "significant instances" is pertinent to this paper: the Union Labor party.<sup>2</sup> In Kansas, this party appeared as a state-wide party only once, in 1888. Prior to this, other labor, or "greenback," parties did, from time to time, bestir themselves to political revolt against both major political organizations.

In W. W. Admire's book, Admire's Political and Legislative Hand-Book for Kansas, published in 1891, we see

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick E. [Emory] Haynes, Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, With Special Reference to Iowa, A Study in Social Politics, 221.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

these small parties emerge and attempt unsuccessfully to win state office. The first such party was the Workingman's party in 1870, followed by the Greenback, Independent Reform, and Greenback-Labor parties. Although they were not strictly "labor" parties, mention is made here of other third-party activity such as the Temperance, the Prohibition, the splits within the Republican ranks, and even the Anti-Secret party which in 1880 mustered twenty-five votes for their presidential candidate.<sup>3</sup>

"Kansas was the State in the West," continues Professor Haynes, "where the farmers won their most startling successes, and it came somehow to be regarded as particularly representative of the Populist movement."<sup>4</sup> As such, the origins of this "movement" in the "Sunflower State" bear close examination for us to understand the political rebelliousness of the "complex" decade starting in 1880.

Most writers explain Populism as a protest against the economic order in the United States. Raymond Curtis Miller, writing in 1925,<sup>5</sup> acknowledged this view. Later, in 1928, Miller proclaimed in his doctoral dissertation<sup>6</sup> the

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<sup>3</sup>W. W. Admire, compiler, Admire's Political and Legislative Hand-Book for Kansas, 1891, With Maps, 215-376; 294. Hereafter cited as Admire's Hand-Book.

<sup>4</sup>Haynes, op. cit., 239.

<sup>5</sup>Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI, (March, 1925), 467.

<sup>6</sup>Raymond Curtis Miller, The Populist Party in Kansas, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928), 120-121.

significance of mortgages to Populist success: the central part of the state, which had the greatest degree of mortgages on land, was also the strongest area of Populism.

William Frank Zornow, writing in 1956, cites Miller's idea.<sup>7</sup>

In the same essay, Zornow presents several "causes of discontent," which included the railroads; credit and money, and tariffs. John Donald Hicks explained "the Populist philosophy" as "two fundamental propositions; one, that the government must restrain the selfish tendencies of those who profited at the expense of the poor and needy; the other that the people, not plutocrats, must control the government." Hicks added that "the control of the government by the people was to the thoughtful Populist merely a means to an end. The next step was to use the power of the government to check the iniquities of the plutocrats."<sup>8</sup> In his criticism of The Populist Revolt, James Claude Malin complained that the work lacked a sufficient explanation of "the international economic situation"; no adequate analysis of the marketing machinery of the time; no "comprehensive survey" of agriculture; and too little utilization of Kansas material.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>William Frank Zornow, "The Basis of Agrarian Unrest, 1870-1890," (in Kansas, The First Century, edited by John D. Bright, four volumes), I, 476.

<sup>8</sup>John D. [onald] Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party, 406, 412.

<sup>9</sup>James C. [laude] Malin, "Notes on the Literature of Populism," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I, (February, 1932), 160-164. In a chance meeting with Dr. Malin, this writer inquired if Dr. Hicks had expressed an opinion on this article to which he replied with a smile, "Johnny didn't like it."

Thus is the reader of some of the scholarly works on Populism led to believe that the "agrarian revolt" is a product of materialism, even by the critics. Miller asserted in 1925 what might be the summation of nearly all historians:<sup>10</sup>

[The Populist] program and its appeal were purely economic, and would come with compelling force only to those men whose economic welfare was endangered, and who would act aggressively. The intellectual heritage of the state [of Kansas] was so strong as to forbid a revolt of this kind except under a pressure such as the threat of the mortgaged home. Where this menace did not face the majority of the people, Populism remained speculative and not compelling, and the Republican domination was unbroken.

That their appeal was economic is not denied here; what is denied is the purity of the appeal. It is contended that beneath the economic theory propagated by Populist leaders was a deeper appeal to the farmer-laborer to improve his social standing by his own volition, an item which is not necessarily measured by a cash register or a set of mortgage statistics. In this paper an "incident," which occurred in October, 1888, prior to the Populist victory of 1890, will serve to illustrate this thesis.

In W. Scott Morgan's History of the Wheel and Alliance, and the Impending Revolution, first published in 1889, the author asserts that the newspaper press of 1888,<sup>11</sup>

this great power, this all-pervading influence has been seized by the corporations and moneyed

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<sup>10</sup>Miller, "Background of Populism in Kansas," M.V.H.R., XI, (March, 1925), 488.

<sup>11</sup>W. Scott Morgan, History of the Wheel and Alliance and the Impending Revolution, 684.



power of the nation, to promulgate the "monstrous falsehoods" that lead to industrial death. It is part of the great conspiracy entered into between the capitalists of Europe and America.

To illustrate the "conspiracy" Morgan gives a lengthy quotation from the St. Louis Republic (undated) which said that the Kansas Union Labor party in 1888 was drawing strength from the Republican party on the tariff issue. These inroads were being made in the "rural districts" across the state. A canvass revealed that the Union Labor party enjoyed a 5,000 majority one month prior to the November election. This optimism was punctured, however, by "a gigantic scheme" whereby it was shown "that this agriculturist party is a colossal [sic.] band of Anarchists and that the entire State is permeated with red-handed dynamiters."<sup>12</sup> In order to prove this the Republican newspapers<sup>13</sup>

published what purported to be an expose [sic.] of the rituals of a secret order, the principals of which are the leaders of the Union Labor party. This all purported to be sent out as a telegram from Winfield [Kansas] the day before, but each paper published a large 'cut' in connection with the alleged exposure, which showed that it was a desperate preconcerted plan in which the lesser lights are all expected to take up the cue and find a desperate gang of dynamiters in every hamlet and rural district throughout the State.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 690-691. It may be true about the strength of the Union Labor party in 1887. Elizabeth N. Barr claims that 40,000 votes were cast for the Union Labor party in 1887, a year for the election of county officers. See, Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," (from A Standard History of Kansas, State and People, edited by William E. Connelley, five volumes), II, 1155.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 691.

After this citation, the author tells of some "dynamite" which was "alleged to have been furnished by some of the Republican managers, and placed in the express office for shipment, where it prematurely exploded, almost killing the wife and daughter of the express agent." Although some Union Labor partizans requested the Kansas Legislature to investigate this explosion, the request was denied. "Thus the press is used," wrote Morgan, "in every conceivable manner to dupe the people."<sup>14</sup>

The casual reader might be confused by this sketchy account. Several questions are posed: what dynamite; what "express office"; who was the express agent, what happened to his injured wife and daughter; and what did this explosion have to do with the "expose"?

Some of these questions were answered in an address delivered in Topeka by W. F. Rightmire on 6 December 1904, before the Kansas State Historical Society. Rightmire, living in Kansas at the time these events occurred, told the Society of the formation of an organization called The National Order of Videttes some time prior to the 1888 national convention of the Union Labor party held in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Videttes were "a secret, oath-bound society. . .with the object of preventing fusion with either the Democratic or Republican parties." In Cincinnati, other Union Labor

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

delegates were initiated into the Order and were instructed to be "organizers" in their own home states.<sup>15</sup> Then in August, 1888, the Kansas Videttes successfully controlled the nomination of Union Labor candidates for state office at the party convention held in Wichita on 28 August. Peter Percival Elder, long-time resident of Kansas and a former Republican, former Greenbacker, then Union Labor man,<sup>16</sup> was nominated for governor, while Rightmire himself was nominated for attorney general.<sup>17</sup> Later, when the Vidette ritual was reprinted on the presses of the Nonconformist in Winfield, a workman there stole a copy and gave it to a Republican leader. The ritual, which was in code, was then translated and published throughout the state by the Republican press "with big headlines branding the order of Videttes as a gang of anarchists." This exposé "changed no vote" in the November, 1888, elections.<sup>18</sup>

Here, then, are two contemporary accounts of the "incident"; both told of an exposé of a secret order in the

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<sup>15</sup>W. F. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas-- Origin of the People's Party," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, IX, 1-2. Rightmire listed himself as an "associate editor of the Nonconformist" on page 3.

<sup>16</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 413-414.

<sup>17</sup>Rightmire, loc. cit., 2. Rightmire modestly says that "these two candidates were the most prominent speakers of the party in the campaign that followed." The actual nominations were made 29 August; see The Wichita Daily Eagle, 30 August 1888, 5.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 3.



Kansas political campaign of 1888. Rightmire omits entirely the story of the explosion told by Morgan. Furthermore, Rightmire told the Society that a printer named C. A. Henrie, who worked for the Nonconformist, purloined the Vidette ritual, an item among others mentioned by Rightmire which will be discussed later.<sup>19</sup>

The next historian was also a contemporary. Wayne Powers Harrington used Rightmire's material relative to this incident, but he discounts the influence of the Videttes in the formation of the Populist party.<sup>20</sup> He did use Rightmire's story of the exposé of the Videttes by the Republican press.<sup>21</sup> Further in his text, Harrington discusses a Kansas legislative investigation in 1891 of an explosion in Coffeyville, Kansas, which occurred during the 1888 campaign. This explosion was blamed on the Union Labor party in that year, and the Populists, who were successful in 1890, wanted to prove the "innocence" of their political ancestors. A committee to conduct this investigation included four Populists, three Republicans, and one Democrat. "As might be expected," wrote Harrington, "the committee divided on party lines and submitted three reports, of which the one by [Democratic] Senator Carroll was probably the most impartial."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>In his thesis, Miller questions Rightmire's memory on another point; see Miller, Populist Party in Kansas, 131.

<sup>20</sup>W. [ayne] P. [owers] Harrington, "The Populist Party in Kansas," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925, XVI, (1925), 407-408.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 405.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 417.

Harrington's source for the investigation is a "Populist Hand Book." The expose' of the Videttes and the "Coffeyville dynamite explosion," however, are not related; the substance of the findings of the investigating committee was not mentioned; and the charges against the Union Labor party with respect to the "Coffeyville dynamite explosion" are ignored.

In 1918, John Rogers Commons's two volume History of Labour in the United States appeared, and included in the second volume was a portion devoted to farm-labor political movements in the 1880's.<sup>23</sup> Using an unpublished manuscript by E. E. Witte as a general source for this otherwise unfootnoted section,<sup>24</sup> author Selig Perlman discusses the "episode" and renders still another version.<sup>25</sup> Perlman wrote that the Union Labor party suffered the stigma of being controlled by the Videttes as this organization was portrayed by "the Kansas press." He ran into an apparent inconsistency when in the same paragraph he cast doubt on the existence of the Videttes, then said that the Vidette ritual "read like that of any other secret fraternal organization." Continuing, he wrote that<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> John R. [ogers] Commons, et. al., History of Labour in the United States, II.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript by the late Dr. Witte could not be located by his wife. Letter from Florence Witte to this writer, 20 January 1961.

<sup>25</sup> Commons, op. cit., II, 469-470.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

about a week after the expose of the ritual a story was circulated that an express package, marked "glass, handle with care," consigned to Winfield, Kansas, exploded while being handled by the agent at Coffeyville [Kansas]. As the state headquarters of the Union Labor party were at Winfield, the claim was made that the Coffeyville express package contained dynamite intended for the Order of Videttes.

Perlman did not include the investigation of this explosion in his account.

In the same year appeared William Elsey Connelly's five volume work, A Standard History of Kansas, State and People. In volume two was Elizabeth N. Barr's lengthy essay, "The Populist Uprising," a sympathetic account of the movement.<sup>27</sup> She tells how the Videttes organized; that they were assailed by the Republican press as being "anarchistic" in nature in a newspaper expose; and that an explosion in Coffeyville was connected with both the Videttes and the Union Labor party. She said that the box which allegedly exploded in Coffeyville was addressed to "one of the reform leaders in Winfield," and that because of a late train, "the expressman took [the box] to his home where it exploded, frightfully wounding his wife and daughter." The explosion was used by the Republicans<sup>28</sup>

to prove that the Winfield reformers were bomb anarchists. The Union Labor press and platform said that the bomb was sent at the instance of the Republican State Central Committee to involve the reformers in some kind of trouble, probably with the idea of arresting the man to whom it was sent as soon as he should innocently take it from the

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<sup>27</sup>Barr, "Populist Uprising," History of Kansas, II, 1115-1195.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 1155-1156.

express office. This is the more probable explanation. Whether it was sent by the Republicans or not, nothing could have served their purpose better. The Union Labor party had practically disbanded in Kansas before the close of the year. . .

Barr's account is generally accurate although the one major error of fact is the person to whom the package was sent as will be discussed later.

Ten years later Raymond Curtis Miller wrote his doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Populist Party in Kansas," in which one paragraph is devoted to this "episode."<sup>29</sup> Using contemporary newspapers<sup>30</sup> Miller says, mistakenly, that the "bomb" was to have been sent to the office of the Nonconformist but "exploded in the hands of the agent in Coffeyville." He is correct when he wrote that the explosion "instantly was associated by the Republicans with the Anarchist implications of the expose [sic.]." The editors of the Nonconformist, he wrote,<sup>31</sup>

presented a more reasonable theory, that a Republican had sent the dynamite, and then intended to secure a search of the office of the Nonconformist, discover the dynamite, and so prove their allegations, but that the premature explosion was not intended.

The "incident" gained significance when the Republican

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<sup>29</sup>Miller, Populist Party in Kansas, 59-61.

<sup>30</sup>In his bibliography, Miller included the articles by Rightmire, Harrington and Barr, as well as Morgan's book. In addition, he lists, "Anon., Coffeyville Dynamite Outrage of 18 October 1888, published by the American Nonconformist, Winfield, 1889"; interviews with ten contemporaries, including Rightmire; and the Nonconformist itself.

<sup>31</sup>Miller, Populist Party in Kansas, 60.

dominated courts refused to draw an indictment on evidence presented by the Nonconformist editors pointing to the person who delivered the package at Coffeyville. In the Populist House of 1891, an investigation was conducted "but all parties used it chiefly to gain votes."<sup>32</sup> One would think that with such an extensive bibliography the conflicting stories of this affair might have aroused more curiosity than that presented in his single paragraph.

John Donald Hicks is the next historian to have mentioned this matter.<sup>33</sup> He cites Miller's dissertation as a work "especially convincing on the economic background that produced Populism,"<sup>34</sup> and his description of the "episode" parallels that of Miller. He adds, moreover, that<sup>35</sup>

in the West, however, the Union Labor label was a misfit, even a liability, for the suggestion was easily conveyed that the new party condoned such acts of violence as were commonly imputed to organized labor during and after the strikes of 1885 and 1886.

To support the foregoing opinion, the "Coffeyville dynamite explosion" and the Vidette expose are cited. This matter will receive closer examination later.

Floyd Benjamin Streeter, in his popular history, The Kaw, The Heart of a Nation,<sup>36</sup> makes brief reference to the

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>33</sup>Hicks, Populist Revolt, 154-155.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 464.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 154-155.

<sup>36</sup>Floyd Benjamin Streeter, The Kaw, the Heart of a Nation, 301-302.



"episode," with the comment that "the debt-ridden farmers. . . went over to the Order of Videttes" but did not stay long as "the order was in disrepute" because of its espousal of "humanity above the cause of country. The opposition pronounced this the creed of a traitor."<sup>37</sup> Although Streeter has no footnotes, he includes the Nonconformist in his bibliography.

Two recent works round off this sequence of published works on this "episode." John D. Bright's four volume work on Kansas history published in 1956 contains two essays on Kansas Populism which might have included this matter, but do not.<sup>38</sup> The next year, however, an author of one of these essays, William Frank Zornow, did cover the "Coffeyville dynamite explosion" in his Kansas, A History of the Jayhawk State.<sup>39</sup>

Violent diatribes, blanket indictments, guilt by association, and merciless ridicule proved to be effective weapons against the [Union] Labor party. . . Considerable suspicion was aroused by a secret organization within the party, the Videttes, which became implicated in a bomb plot in Coffeyville.

With nine authors, each one rendering a different account of this "episode"--some quite different--there are

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> John D. Bright, editor, Kansas, The First Century, I. The chapters are William Frank Zornow, "The Basis of Agrarian Unrest in Kansas, 1870-1890," 455-476, and John D. Bright, "Populism in the Nineties," 477-508.

<sup>39</sup> William Frank Zornow, Kansas, A History of the Jayhawk State, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, 197.

several conclusions which can be drawn:

1. There was an organization called the National Order of Videttes in Kansas which was connected with the Union Labor Party in Kansas from 1887 to 1888;

2. The Videttes were attacked by the Republican press for being "anarchistic" as well as being the controlling faction in the Union Labor party;

3. The Union Labor party suffered defeat in the 1888 election to some degree as a result of these attacks;

4. The Videttes dissolved in 1888 as a result of the newspaper exposure of their organization, followed shortly by the dissolution of the Union Labor party itself.

5. At the time of the newspaper exposure, an explosion occurred in Coffeyville, Kansas, which in some way was linked with the Videttes;

6. The Kansas House of Representatives, controlled by the Populists in 1891, initiated an investigation of this "Coffeyville dynamite explosion" with the intent to absolve the Union Labor party and the Videttes of responsibility for this explosion.

This "episode" is generally not related to the political and social moods of the times. Only one of the nine authors, John D. Hicks, attempted to integrate the explosion and the resulting charges of "anarchy" into the current of Kansas thought. In the next chapter this current will be examined.

## CHAPTER II

### AGRICULTURAL AND LABOR CONDITIONS, 1880's

For the purposes of this study, a summary of agricultural conditions in Kansas during the 1880's is sufficient.<sup>1</sup> With Western expansion occurring on an increased scale after the Civil War, Kansas land values rose, bringing farmer and speculator, railroads and mortgages, cattle and wheat. Favorable weather, which in the state means abundant rainfall, developed during the first half of the 1880's.

The rosy prospects of plenty created a fertility not only for grass and grain, but for the growth of the speculators, both inside and outside the state. In 1885, the boom began to mushroom until the winter of 1887, when it was cut short by sharply decreased rainfall, the collapse of the weak credit structure, and the contraction of artificially high prices for both land and the fruits of the land.<sup>2</sup>

One of the more eloquent explanations of these unsettled times is that of John James Ingalls writing in 1893:<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See the following for more detailed investigations: Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism," M.V.H.R., X (March, 1924), 406-427; Hallie Farmer, "The Railroads and Frontier Populism," M.V.H.R., XIII (December, 1926), 387-397; Raymond C. Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," M.V.H.R., XI (March, 1925), 469-489; John D. Hicks, Populist Revolt, "The Grievances," 54-95.

<sup>2</sup>Miller, "Background of Populism in Kansas," M.V.H.R., XI (March, 1925), 467, 475.

<sup>3</sup>John James Ingalls, "Kansas: 1541-1891," Harper's Magazine, LXXXVI (April, 1893), 712.



The building of superfluous towns, the construction of unnecessary railroads, the organization of counties and the location of county-seats, the entry of public lands for the sole purpose of mortgaging the inchoate title, became established industries. The agents of Eastern companies eagerly competed for the privilege of placing loans upon quarter sections without a fence or furrow, often beyond their market value. Professional 'boomers,' with a retinue of surveyors and cappers and strikers, invaded the State, bought and platted additions, which they sold at exorbitant prices to resident and foreign speculators, victims to the epidemic passion for sudden wealth, whose inexplicable contagion infected the reason of men with its undetected bacteria.

All of this is fairly well-known to students of Kansas history. Not so familiar are the problems confronting labor during the decade. Shortly after the Populist victory in 1890, the Nonconformist conceded that the People's party was "a class movement" which "must be modified or it too will fail."<sup>4</sup> At the election of 1890, the paper reported, only 700 votes were cast for state Populist candidates from the cities of Topeka, Wichita, and Kansas City, Kansas, a number which could have been 5,000 with proper "education" of the labor vote there.

The reason for this unresponsive bloc of workingmen may be in the Republican labor policy of 1885-1887. Speaking in tones almost identical to those of a Populist lecturer, two-term Republican Governor John A. Martin declared in 1887 that:<sup>5</sup>

the great and startling peril of the future, if indeed it is not a danger present and immediate,

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<sup>4</sup>Nonconformist, 4 December 1890, 4.

<sup>5</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Fifth Biennial Session, (1887), 55.

lies in these vast and inexorable accumulations of capital of the railroads which are steadily but surely driving individual effort and industry from all fields of human activity.

Governor Martin's conclusions came from his experiences in dealing with the railroad companies during the strikes of 1885 and 1886.

Shortly after the strike of the Missouri-Pacific workers in 1885, Governor Martin was urged by several municipal officers to use state militia to break it.<sup>6</sup> He hesitated taking this course and decided to investigate the dispute at Atchison. Trouble also had broken out at Parsons and Kansas City, Kansas.<sup>7</sup> In Atchison, he found the strikers to be "orderly and peaceable in their behavior; they had resorted to no acts of violence; they declared that they did not intend to disturb the peace, or violate any law. . ."<sup>8</sup> After some delay, H. M. Hoxie, the third vice-president of the Missouri-Pacific, agreed to meet with Martin and the Kansas Railroad Commission along with Missouri Governor J. S. Marmaduke and other Missouri officials, to work out a settlement; strikes had occurred in Missouri on the same line. This meeting, held in St. Louis on 15 March 1885, resulted in the company's acceptance of everything demanded by the

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<sup>6</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Special Session (1886) 20-22.

<sup>7</sup>Edith Walker, "Labor Problems During the First Year of Governor Martin's Administration," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, V (February, 1936), 36-37.

<sup>8</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Special Session (1886) 21.

strikers. Absent railway workers returned to their jobs the next day, but then only after the Knights of Labor Central Committee had given its approval.<sup>9</sup>

As a result of this strike Governor Martin in 1886 requested "the passage of a law providing regulations to govern the arbitration of disputes between employer and employed."<sup>10</sup> The legislature responded favorably so that Martin, on 19 February 1886, signed House Bill No. 233, which established arbitration boards for the state.<sup>11</sup> Edith Walker, who wrote on this matter in 1936, tells us that this bill passed without a dissenting vote, which is true enough; but she did not explain that in the Kansas Senate twelve of the thirty-eight members were either "absent or not voting,"<sup>12</sup> while in the Kansas House thirty-five of the total membership of one hundred, twenty-seven either abstained or were absent.<sup>13</sup> A casual examination of the adjacent pages of the respective Journals reveals that many of the reluctant legislators were

<sup>9</sup>Walker, loc. cit., 43.

<sup>10</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Special Session (1886), 22.

<sup>11</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Special Session (1886), 969.

<sup>12</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Special Session (1886), 702, 703. Senator Lyman U. Humphrey, Republican from Montgomery County, moved to suspend the rules in order for House Bill No. 233 to be considered out of the regular order of business, a motion which carried.

<sup>13</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Special Session (1886), 602.

simply not voting on this measure as indicated by their votes cast on other issues the same day.<sup>14</sup>

Other gains for labor at this time were limited. Frank H. Betton, the first commissioner of the Kansas Bureau of Labor and a Martin appointee in April, 1885, was endorsed by the Knights of Labor.<sup>15</sup> This office was created by the legislative enactment of Senate Bill No. 54, introduced 19 January, 1885, by State Senator W. J. Buchan of Wyandotte County.<sup>16</sup> On 18 February, 1885, the Senate passed it by a vote of twenty-seven to six with seven abstentions, including the affirmative vote of Senator L. U. Humphrey, governor of Kansas in 1888 and 1890.<sup>17</sup> The bill met some opposition in the Senate,<sup>18</sup> but little in the House,<sup>19</sup> so that on 5 March 1885, Governor Martin reported his approval of it.<sup>20</sup> Senator John N. Ritter, of Cherokee County, introduced Senate Bill

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<sup>14</sup>One of these was Ed P. Greer, the editor of the Winfield Daily Courier, a personality who played a leading role in the expose of the Videttes.

<sup>15</sup>Topeka Capital, 18 April 1885, cited in Walker, loc. cit., 34. Some evidence indicates that Betton's appointment was not approved by all of organized labor. John G. Cougher, who worked in the Labor Bureau and who wanted the position himself, said this in 1891, Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Seventh Biennial Session (1891), 1080.

<sup>16</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Fourth Biennial Session (1885), 181.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 558.

<sup>18</sup>Walker, loc. cit., 33-34.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 34.

<sup>20</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Fourth Biennial Session (1885), 996.

No. 29 on 16 January, 1885, which would compel industrial employers to pay their workers in legal United States money.<sup>21</sup> In the Committee on Mines and Mining another bill, Senate Bill No. 131, was substituted for No. 29, presumably embodying similar provisions.<sup>22</sup> This bill passed the Senate on 12 February 1885, by thirty-four yeas and no nays, with six abstentions.<sup>23</sup> The House, however, amended it so much that the intent of the bill was destroyed.<sup>24</sup> The Senate voted unanimously (twenty-nine voting with eleven abstentions) not to concur with the House. Senator Ritter then moved that a conference committee be appointed to settle the differences, which the President of the Senate said would be appointed "in due time."<sup>25</sup> On 4 March 1885, Senator M. C. Kelley, of Crawford County, moved again for a conference committee which finally resulted in a committee of three men, but nothing was accomplished.<sup>26</sup>

Labor problems once again plagued the state in 1886. Labor Commissioner Betton persuaded workers striking for higher pay at a smelting company at Argentine to go back to

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 164.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 257-258.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 507-508.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 662. See editorial in The Daily Commonwealth, 8 March 1885, as cited in Walker, loc. cit., 36.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 667.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 855. See Walker, loc. cit., 36.



work without changes in their wages.<sup>27</sup> Then in March, workers struck on the Missouri-Pacific line, owned and operated by Jay Gould. Governor Martin and Governor Marmaduke again attempted to mediate between the workers and the company in this famous "Southwestern Strike," but this time they were unsuccessful.<sup>28</sup> Violence, condemned by the Knights of Labor, broke out on 31 March at Atchison.<sup>29</sup> Other property damage at Parsons forced Martin to send militia there on 2 April to break the strike, and by 14 April it was over.<sup>30</sup>

However insipid this record may appear to us today, it was apparently enough for W. S. Anderson, state Grand Master Workman of the Kansas Knights of Labor, to endorse Martin in the campaign for re-election in 1886.<sup>31</sup> In 1884, when Kansans first elected Martin governor, he received 146,777 votes over incumbent Democratic Governor G. W. Glick who gathered 108,284. In 1886, Martin received 149,615 to the 115,697 of his Democratic opponent, Thomas Moonlight.<sup>32</sup> The increased Democratic vote might be due to the absence of a Greenback-

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<sup>27</sup>Dorothy Leibengood, "Labor Problems in the Second Year of Governor Martin's Administration," K.H.Q., V (May, 1936), 191-193.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 195-196.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 197.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 206.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 205.

<sup>32</sup>Fourth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State (1883-84), 80; Fifth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State (1885-86), 98.

Labor ticket which appeared in 1884 but not in 1886,<sup>33</sup> but the presence of a Prohibition party in 1886 which did draw some strength reduces this argument somewhat. A county-by-county comparison shows both Martin and Moonlight losing a few votes in many places. Several new counties in the western half of the state, however, probably account for Martin's increase. This net gain shows that his labor policies, at least, were not significant enough to impair seriously his re-election. In 1887, the legislature passed a mechanics liens law; an act to encourage co-operative stores; a law to prevent garnishment of pension; and finally a law which did force employers to pay salaries in legal money.<sup>34</sup>

Governor Martin's administration, then, was far from hostile to organized labor. On 8 January 1889, just before leaving office, he delivered his final address to the Kansas Legislature in which he proudly said:<sup>35</sup>

The last report of the Labor Commissioner shows that the laws of Kansas now include nearly every enactment recommended by one of the great labor organizations of the country, as well as many others of similar scope and intent not formulated in this enumeration of desired legislation.

In the same speech, Martin urged the new legislature to further this advance "as long as any injustice is complained of or any wrongs exist that law can redress or prevent."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 328, 340.

<sup>34</sup>Leibengood, loc. cit., 201.

<sup>35</sup>Public Documents, Kansas--1887-88, I, 32.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

Republicans in the legislature, although supporting most of Martin's labor program, were hesitant to enact anything approaching the "radical." The delay of the bill to force manufacturers to pay legal currency is indicative of the torpid attitudes of that Republican dominated body. The abstentions on many of the roll calls indicates that the Republicans would not alienate the Governor, but they could not support his program in spite of its mildness. Even the Haymarket Affair, however, did not detour Republican support of the Knights.

On 4 May 1886, in the city of Chicago an unknown person threw a bomb into a line of policemen who were about to dissolve an outdoor labor meeting in Haymarket Square. A thorough study of this incident written in 1936 and revised in 1957 was unable to identify the person who threw the bomb,<sup>37</sup> but the stigma of violent revolution which the explosion there placed on labor and social reform organizations throughout the United States--even the world for that matter--was one not to be easily effaced.<sup>38</sup> The decline of the Knights of Labor, frequently dated from this explosion, is challenged,<sup>39</sup> as are the supposed inimical effects on labor's political activities.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, Terence Vincent Powderly, General

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<sup>37</sup>Henry David, The History of the Haymarket Affair, xvi.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Chapter X, "Repercussions," 206-218.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 536.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 538.



Master Workman of the Knights condemned the anarchists allegedly associated with the bombing as did many labor leaders.<sup>41</sup> A majority of the press throughout the United States attacked anarchy as such without mentioning the Knights being affiliated with the Haymarket bombing.<sup>42</sup>

The Republican press in Kansas paralleled these views. On 6 May 1886, The Topeka Daily Capital, edited by J. K. Hudson, carried an editorial in which the writer said he had spoken to Albert Parsons when the latter was in that city some time in 1885. Parsons, one of the accused in the Haymarket Affair, told a Topeka audience that all property should be held "in common."<sup>43</sup> "It is easy to see," concluded the editor, "how a leader with such ideas at the head of a mob, all of whom believed the same heresies, could become more dangerous than so many mad dogs."<sup>44</sup> As an organization, continued the writer, the Knights of Labor must not be held "responsible for the riotous proceedings in Chicago."<sup>45</sup> A few "dangerous characters" who "preach revolution and practice dynamite and fire" may have infiltrated the Knights, but this would be impossible to prevent. The Knights were a "peaceably disposed organization" which was "not built on the nihilistic

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 211

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 213 ff.

<sup>43</sup>Topeka Capital, 6 May 1886, 2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

idea."<sup>46</sup> Nearly three months later, a few disgruntled railroad workers destroyed some track in Wyandotte County, evoking from the Capital the same opinion of the Knights.<sup>47</sup>

The Coffeyville Journal, another Republican paper edited by D. Stewart Elliot and William A. Pepper, Jr., mirrors the Capital's attitude. By its reprint from a Chicago magazine in May, 1886, the Journal's stand was that the<sup>48</sup>

Knights of Labor have nothing in common with these socialists, nationalists, communists, or anarchists, as they style themselves, and cannot be held responsible, by a thinking community, for the gross acts of wanton lawlessness which have been committed in the very heart of our country.

Social discontent was recognized as a reality which could not be ignored. Under the heading, "What Shall be Done," the Capital outlined the possible solutions.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the workman should be content with his conditions and save as much of his salary as possible for better times, but the Capital writer thought this inadequate. Perhaps better labor organizations, meaning those without radical leaders, could

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 31 July 1886, 2.

<sup>48</sup>Coffeyville Journal, 22 May 1886, 1. See Appendix A for the Journal's poetry on anarchy. These estimates of organized labor in Kansas during the strikes of 1885 and 1886 somewhat contradict the statements of John D. Hicks when he wrote that the Union Labor party suffered in 1888 because that party "condoned such acts of violence as were commonly imputed [my italics] to organized labor" during such strikes. In Kansas, the Knights were not blamed by all conservatives for these outbreaks of violence. Hicks, op. cit., 154.

<sup>49</sup>Topeka Capital, 6 May 1886, 2.

improve the workingman's situation. Legislation ameliorating the workers' plight could be another partial solution. But in the final analysis the "first measure of progress" was a respect for the law along with an "unyielding faith in the common sense of the people guided by an enlightened conscience."<sup>50</sup> Unfortunate though it may be that through this vague process of improvement<sup>51</sup>

some will get burned, doubtless, but the revolution is under way, and the best thing to do is to direct it into the channels of law and keep it there. Little by little will we learn what to do, and as fast as these lessons are learned, the people will be ready to profit by them.

Five months later the Capital carried a poem entitled "Evolution" by Edgar Fawcett which poetically expressed this Social Darwinist idea.<sup>52</sup>

From Governor Martin's speeches and actions, the Legislature's limited enactments on labor "reforms," and the Republican press on the Haymarket Affair, a pattern begins to form concerning the conservative thought during this decade prior to that of Populism. There was cognizance of evils within the structure of labor-management relations, but no profound or startling changes were proposed to remedy them. There was no panacea except that of time; they were certain that "socialism," used by them in a loose way, was

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 6 October 1886, 2. See Appendix B.

not the answer, but whatever was to be done must conform to legal concepts, concepts which approach some sort of mysticism. The "law" would somehow keep society from being devoured in a way that was not clear.

Into this atmosphere of gradual evolution came the Vincent brothers with their American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator to Winfield, Kansas.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE NONCONFORMIST AND THE UNION LABOR PARTY

One writer<sup>1</sup> has drawn an analogy between the nature of William Jennings Bryan's faith in currency reform to that of the Chartists' in suffrage reform in England. Whether this enthusiasm can be so paralleled is not an issue here, but the relationship between the policies of Kansas Populism and English Chartism may be closer than a figure of speech. At least one former Chartist, Thomas Phillips (1833-1916), who came to the United States in 1852, was active in both the Knights of St. Crispin and the Knights of Labor, the latter of which was closely aligned with the Populists in 1889.<sup>2</sup>

This kinship may have been even closer in Kansas. James Vincent, Sr., father of the Vincent brothers who edited the Nonconformist, was a native of Deal, England, born 21 August, 1821.<sup>3</sup> One of the leaders of Chartism was Henry Vincent (1813-1878) born in London, a printer by trade, a firm Christian, an advocate of female suffrage, and a teetotaler.<sup>4</sup> Another Henry Vincent, this one the son of James,

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<sup>1</sup>Victor C. Ferkiss, "Populist Influences on American Fascism," in The American Past, Conflicting Interpretations of the Great Issues, 146.

<sup>2</sup>Commons, op. cit., II, 492 ff. The tie between the Southern Alliance and the Knights of Labor is readily manifest in the "St. Louis Demands, December, 1889," in Hicks, op. cit., 427-428.

<sup>3</sup>Nonconformist, 20 August 1891, 1.

<sup>4</sup>Julius West, A History of the Chartist Movement, 91-92, 157.

with his brother Leo, were editors of the Kansas Nonconformist,<sup>5</sup> who advocated these same things in their paper. A direct blood relationship has yet to be established between these two families; in the accounts of their father's past, nothing is mentioned of a Chartist connection, but this may have been because of the violence associated with the movement, particularly with regard to the riots of 1839 when the English Henry Vincent was imprisoned for a year.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, James Vincent, Sr., was something of a nonconformist himself. His many contributions to the Kansas weekly testify to the respect his two editor sons had for him. He was a Congregational minister who graduated from Oberlin College, married Mary Sheldon, also an Oberlin graduate; together they set out for Kansas in 1855 but the illness of a relative caused them to stop at Tabor, Iowa, and there they settled. James held membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society and served as a lecturer throughout the mid-west before settling in Tabor. But in Iowa, James continued his abolitionist work in the "underground railroad." He also was a writer for Horace Greeley's New York Tribune and William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator. During the Civil War,

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<sup>5</sup>An English Chartist newspaper was the Nonconformist London Weekly Newspaper, West, op. cit., 173.

<sup>6</sup>West, op. cit., 142. The Vincents were not above ignoring things which did not suit their politics, as at the Wichita Union Labor convention of 1888. They did mention Henry Vincent, however, when he defended commune groups such as the Society of Shakers and the Moravians, Nonconformist, 14 October 1886, 2.



he served as a nurse in Washington, D. C. Back in Tabor after the war, he and his family apparently led a rather trying life as the Nonconformist in 1887 states that the good people of this southwestern Iowa community<sup>7</sup>

issued their condemnation on him, tried to starve him out, refused him employment, tried to teach his children to hate him, dogged his boys from the public schools, and for 30 years he has been the target of every anathema that pious jealousy could conceive.

The father's independent spirit came into print on a thirty-five dollar press with the first issue of the Nonconformist in Tabor on 24 July 1879, with James as editor and his two sons, Henry, seventeen, and Leo, fifteen, as writers.<sup>8</sup>

Both Henry and Leo--the H. and L. of the masthead--were born in Tabor, Henry on 1 January 1862, Leo on 21 December 1863.<sup>9</sup> From 1879 until 1886, the little publication had an apparently continuous existence in Tabor since the first Kansas issue is volume VII. Little is known of any political activity of the Vincent brothers in Iowa prior to their arrival in Kansas<sup>10</sup> except that "C. Vincent," probably

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<sup>7</sup>Nonconformist, 28 July 1887, 1. Other biographical data from Nonconformist 17 November 1887, 3, and 20 August 1891, 4. Tabor is located in Fremont County in the southwestern corner of the state. It borders on Missouri and Nebraska.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 20 August 1891, 4. For this first issue see Nonconformist, 25 July 1889, 1.

<sup>9</sup>Biographical Circulars, II, (M-Z), KBB K13, Kansas State Historical Society.

<sup>10</sup>Letter from Samuel P. Hays, assistant professor of history, State University of Iowa, to this writer, 13 May 1958.

Cuthbert Vincent, another son of James,<sup>11</sup> was elected permanent secretary of the Iowa state convention of the Greenback party on 1 July 1886.<sup>12</sup> The reasons for the transfer of the Nonconformist to Kansas were business difficulties in Iowa, a strong Knights of Labor assembly in Winfield, and the town of Winfield itself. Having three major railroads, Winfield seemed to the Vincent brothers an excellent choice for publishing activities which, unlike the neighboring "boom town" of Wichita, was a growing community without the speculative fever of the frontier community.<sup>13</sup> The Topeka Capital greeted the Nonconformist in November by saying that it "has a wide reputation as being one of the ablest advocates of labor reform and free thought."<sup>14</sup>

In its first Kansas issue, a caustic paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer entitled "Gould's Prayer" appeared on page one, a thrust at both Wall Street and Bond Street.<sup>15</sup> Immediately

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<sup>11</sup>Biographical Circulars, Q.V. Another son, Maurice, lived in Lake Charles, Louisiana, in 1888, and may have been involved in politics there, Nonconformist, 20 September 1888, 2.

<sup>12</sup>David C. Mott, "Iowa Political Conventions and Platforms," The Annals of Iowa, A Historical Quarterly, XIV (October, 1923), 116. Presumably it was Cuthbert who ran for a county office in Iowa sometime before 1886, Nonconformist, 28 October 1886, 2.

<sup>13</sup>Nonconformist, 28 October 1886, 2; 17 February 1887, 2.

<sup>14</sup>Topeka Capital, 2 November 1886, 2. On the same page, an editorial urged workers to vote Republican because "all the progress already made in the workingman's condition" was the result of Republican policies. Excerpts from other papers relative the Nonconformist move are found in the first issue of the Nonconformist.

<sup>15</sup>See Appendix C.

beneath the "prayer" is an "Answer to Gould's Prayer" which eulogizes Terence V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor, condemns the Republicans, Democrats, and, strangely enough, the Greenbackers, since all three parties, it was alleged, are controlled by capitalistic interests.<sup>16</sup> Editorially, in this issue, the Vincents supported the Greenback party but without much fervor; it was "advancing" but they "are enthusiastic for any new party which takes steps in advance."<sup>17</sup> In the next month, the editors described the Nonconformist as "an Independent Anti-Monopoly journal" which "strikes at wrong where-ever [sic.] found with an absolutely fearless hand. . ."<sup>18</sup>

In nearly every issue either the brothers or James, Sr., struck at the "wrong" in the trial of the Chicago "anarchists." In the first issue the Associated Press came under special attack for what was claimed to be distortions of reporting. The Vincents held anarchy to be wrong, but the men imprisoned for the Haymarket Affair could not be held responsible for that unfortunate event merely because they expressed unpopular ideas.<sup>19</sup>

Things were rapidly coming to a head in reform politics. The Greenback party had well-nigh disappeared at the end of

<sup>16</sup>Nonconformist, 7 October 1886, 1.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 25 November 1886, 2.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., October 1886, 2.

1886, but the causes of discontent had not subsided. From Silver City, Iowa,<sup>20</sup> Cuthbert Vincent wrote of the coming meeting in Cincinnati which would include representatives of the Grange, Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, the Alliances, and Agricultural Wheels, which would be held "to attempt the task of organizing all these elements into a party for united political action." Vincent appealed to all to abandon outmoded party loyalty: "We are not married to 'party'," he wrote, "but to 'principle'."<sup>21</sup> Earlier in the year, at a July meeting of the Iowa Greenback party in Des Moines, a partial fusion with the state's Democratic party had been achieved. This was the same meeting at which Vincent had been chosen permanent secretary.<sup>22</sup> From the Cincinnati meeting, which started 22 February 1887, the Union Labor party emerged. On 3 March the Nonconformist carried a preliminary report of the convention and later a quite detailed description of the events there, probably reported by Leopold Vincent.<sup>23</sup> The platform contained much of what earlier third parties had advocated including provisions for taxes on unimproved land,<sup>24</sup> opening Oklahoma for settlement,

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<sup>20</sup>Silver City is located in Mills County, Iowa, just north of Fremont County.

<sup>21</sup>Nonconformist, 9 December 1886, 2.

<sup>22</sup>Mott, loc. cit., 116.

<sup>23</sup>Nonconformist, 3 March 1887, 1; 10 March 1887, 1.

<sup>24</sup>Henry George was there and addressed the convention.

public control of irrigation "where necessary," public ownership or control of transportation and communication, free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, direct election of United States Senators, Chinese exclusion, and woman suffrage.<sup>25</sup> The labor provisions, including laws for arbitration, an anti-convict labor clause, and a denunciation of the use of detectives in labor disputes, are almost identical to those proposals of the Knights of Labor as found in an earlier issue of the newspaper.<sup>26</sup> The Vincents were quite pleased with the new party and devoted nearly all of page one of the 10 March 1887 issue to the convention, including the welcoming address of a Reverend Mr. Lockwood, of Cincinnati, who denounced in no uncertain terms the "monied classes" and monopoly in general.

Organization of Kansas for the Union Labor party proceeded slowly in the spring and early summer of 1887. Activities such as the collection of names of Union Labor sympathizers by John W. Breidenthal<sup>27</sup> and the organization of county committees like that of Sumner in May.<sup>28</sup> All the while, the Nonconformist carried the Cincinnati platform as a regular feature. The old Greenback arguments were also continued and were phrased to appeal to the Kansas debtor.

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<sup>25</sup>Nonconformist, 3 March 1887, 1.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 25 November 1886, 2.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 12 May 1887, 1.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 26 May 1887, 3.



In a June issue the editors noted the gradual decrease of currency in circulation which had continued under both Republican and Democratic administrations.<sup>29</sup> To this the Nonconformist cried:<sup>30</sup>

Good heavens! where is the improvement of the Democratic over the Republican administration? The whole Republican and Democratic party leaders aren't worth drowning for they would poison the very stream that shut off their wind, but the people who want a better state of things than that they are complaining of now, should and must shut down on both parties and try again, and keep trying, until step by step corruption in parties is headed off, and people are educated up to the point, where they will find out that government can be best conducted without any party at all.

Not only is this a sample of their wit, but it also indicates that the Vincents were not to be tied to party labels. In this same issue on page one a correspondent, whose letter was printed, criticized the editors for an article complimentary to a Democrat, to which they replied that the Nonconformist must allow for differences of opinion regardless of party affiliation.

By the end of June, a Cowley County Union Labor committee was organized<sup>31</sup> while in the middle of July nearly every ward and township had a committeeman.<sup>32</sup> Breidenthal, acting as chairman of the state committee, issued a call on 14 July for a state meeting of Union Laborites in Topeka on 9 August to

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<sup>29</sup>This was not just propaganda. See Hicks, op. cit., 87-88.

<sup>30</sup>Nonconformist, 2 June 1887, 1.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 23 June 1887, 2.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 14 July 1887, 2.



organize the state.<sup>33</sup> Although no Vincent was elected to represent Cowley County,<sup>34</sup> Leo attended and served on the resolutions committee.<sup>35</sup> Breidenthal was elected chairman of the state central committee as well as chairman for the third Congressional district.

John W. Breidenthal played a leading role not only in Union Labor politics but in the later Populist party. He was born 27 June 1857, at Le Sueur, Minnesota, but was reared at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>36</sup> During his youth in Terre Haute, Breidenthal heard Democratic Senator Daniel Woolsey Voorhees debate Colonel Richard W. Thompson on the Western Finance Bill. Impressed by the logic and arguments of Voorhees, he became a Greenbacker.<sup>37</sup> Young Breidenthal came west in 1887, settled in Chetopa, Kansas, to work in a real estate office, established his own eventually, and by 1884 had branched into the loan business.<sup>38</sup> But, in spite of this "capitalistic" enterprise, Breidenthal became popular with the

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 11 August 1887, 2. A. J. Miller was the delegate.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>36</sup>Topeka Capital, 16 January 1910. Clipping furnished by his son, the late Maurice Breidenthal.

<sup>37</sup>Chetopa, Kansas, Advance, 21 January 1910. Clipping furnished by Maurice Breidenthal. Another source points to a parental Greenback influence. In an obituary of John's mother, his father was said to have been an early Greenbacker, Nonconformist, 15 August 1889, 5.

<sup>38</sup>Topeka Capital, 16 January 1910. Clipping furnished by Maurice Breidenthal.

political rebels in the state. In 1884, he ran unsuccessfully on the Greenback-Labor ticket for Lieutenant-governor of the state and received more votes than did that party's gubernatorial candidate although six other Greenback-Labor candidates for state office ran ahead of him.<sup>39</sup>

The August, 1887, meeting in Topeka accomplished two major things: the endorsement of the national Union Labor platform and the organization of the state for the fall county elections.<sup>40</sup> County conventions to nominate candidates for these offices were held after this meeting. The Cowley convention was held 9 September 1887, with Henry Vincent as permanent secretary, and they drew up a full slate with one exception.<sup>41</sup> The Cowley County Union Labor Central Committee later selected Henry to be one of its two corresponding secretaries.<sup>42</sup> The Nonconformist carried reports of other county conventions.<sup>43</sup>

All this activity bore fruit in November. "GOOD ENOUGH!" is the headline the Nonconformist carried over the results.

<sup>39</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 328-336. This evidence, verified by the Fourth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1883-4, contradicts a statement made by Barr which had Breidenthal leading the Greenback-Labor ticket, Barr, op. cit., 1153.

<sup>40</sup>Nonconformist, 11 August 1887, 3.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 15 September 1887, 2.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 29 September 1887, 3.

<sup>43</sup>A published account of one of these conventions is found in James C. Malin, "The Kinsley Boom in the Late Eighties," K.H.Q., IV (May, 1935), 173.

James N. Connor, the Union Labor candidate for Cowley County sheriff, was the only labor candidate to win there, while in Linn County another Union Labor candidate for sheriff won.<sup>44</sup> The most outstanding victory was in Breidenthal's Labette County where the entire Union Labor slate was elected.<sup>45</sup> The Topeka Capital's story reported that there was little available data "relative to the gains and losses to the respective parties having tickets in the field."<sup>46</sup> The absence of editorial comment in this Republican paper might indicate that the Grand Old Party of Kansas was none too pleased with the drift. Ed Greer, editor of the Winfield Daily Courier, another Republican daily, called the Nonconformist "anarchistic" in an article which the Vincent boys gleefully reprinted even before the election.<sup>47</sup> Later, Greer said that he ". . .noticed a decided tendency toward socialism" in the Nonconformist. His opinion, he said, was confirmed by the Vincent brothers' denunciations of the trial of the Haymarket anarchists. Those who defended the Chicago anarchists were "more dangerous" than the anarchists themselves. "Therefore," reasoned Greer, "I denounced the Vincents as

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<sup>44</sup>Nonconformist, 17 November 1887, 1. Unfortunately the Cowley County returns for this 1887 election are not available, Letter from Wallace R. Stovall, Cowley County clerk, to this writer, 26 January 1961. The Nonconformist of the above date, however, has a ward-township breakdown of the vote.

<sup>45</sup>Topeka Capital, 10 November 1887, 1.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Nonconformist, 27 October 1887, 2.

anarchists, and from that time I believed in my heart that they were dangerous to the peace and welfare of our community."<sup>48</sup> Greer made these statements in 1891; in that year he added that the three Vincents ". . .are gentlemen of excellent character. . ." but ". . .their excellency of personal character make them that much more dangerous in teaching the doctrines which they seem to hold."<sup>49</sup>

The opinions of the Vincents anent the Haymarket Affair were a shade clearer than the foregoing opinion of the Vincents. In their reprint of an undated editorial from the Lewiston, Maine, Advocate, the reform editors clearly expressed their dislike of any bomb-throwing to achieve their goals. In spite of the fact that anarchists "are among our worst enemies" they had a right to proclaim their ideas. In addition,<sup>50</sup> "they are human beings whom we believe have been unjustly convicted of a crime they never committed, and while believing so, we demand that justice be done them." Then in November, 1887, with much spleen the Vincents declared:<sup>51</sup>

Last Friday, the 11th, four of the Chicago anarchists were choked to death with all the coolness of a packinghouse sticker. . .The monopolists mean to hush every breath that speaks out for effectual reform. A demand was made for blood,

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<sup>48</sup>Proceedings of the Joint Committee. . .to Investigate the Explosion which Occurred at Coffeyville, Kansas, October 18, 1888, 431. Hereafter cited as Investigation.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 581-582.

<sup>50</sup>Nonconformist, 6 October 1887, 3.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 17 November 1887, 1.

and like the savage attacking, the courts connive to hang the first person they could lay their hands upon, as the Indian after losing a brother at the hands of a drunken white, scalps the first unfortunate that comes within his reach. . . .

In this same editorial the Vincents did not overlook Ed Greer. They did "not expect to be understood by the 'great big leading dailies' of the west such, for instance, as the Winfield Courier. Its next issue will doubtless demand in thunder tones for an overhauling of this office; that 'public safety' requires it and a lots more such statesmanship."<sup>52</sup> It was shown later that these two editorials, and other of similar alkalinity, caused Greer to consider the Vincent brothers anarchists.<sup>53</sup>

Starting from the limited successes of 1887, the Union Labor party looked forward to the excitement of a presidential election year. T. M. Gruelle, national chairman of the party issued, on 12 March 1888, a call for the national convention to be held 15 May, again at Cincinnati.<sup>54</sup> With active organizations in only eight states, and those centered in the midwest,<sup>55</sup> there was little possibility for national success. On the local level, however, the party might achieve some

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Investigation, 595-596. These editorials were read into the record at this point.

<sup>54</sup>Nonconformist, 19 April 1888, 4.

<sup>55</sup>Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Texas, Arkansas, and Nebraska, Hicks, op. cit., 154, 156.



gains as did the Grangers in the 1870's, only this time as a distinctive political organization outside the old parties.

John W. Breidenthal, chairman of the Kansas Union Labor party, was quite optimistic for the party's chances in 1888. Claiming 50,000 votes in the county elections of 1887,<sup>56</sup> Breidenthal predicted in March that, with a firm organization, the party could capture both the legislature and the governor's chair in November.<sup>57</sup> In order to lubricate the party's propaganda machine Breidenthal, the Vincents and other Union Labor editors formed the Independent Newspaper Union with Breidenthal as president, Henry and Leo Vincent as business managers, and Watson Heston as cartoonist. The Union was to act as a press service with the function to supply copy to members.<sup>58</sup> Over thirty Union Labor newspapers belonged and copy was probably sent to out-of-state papers as well.<sup>59</sup>

Breidenthal, acting as chairman of the Third Congressional District, issued a call for a meeting at Independence to select delegates to the Cincinnati convention,<sup>60</sup> at which E. R. Ridgely, of Crawford County, and Leo Vincent were elected.<sup>61</sup> The report of the Cincinnati convention, apparently

<sup>56</sup>The state of Kansas does not publish these figures.

<sup>57</sup>Nonconformist, 22 March 1888, 3.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 5 April 1888, 3. Cuthbert and Leo were on the board of directors.

<sup>59</sup>A list of the Kansas papers is found in Ibid., 19 April 1888, 4.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 26 April 1888, 4.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 3 May 1888, 3.



written by Leo, was too much for one issue.<sup>62</sup> The most interesting thing about the Cincinnati convention, however, was the failure of the attempted merger of the Union Labor and United Labor parties. The latter advanced the single-tax doctrine of Henry George as opposed to the mild socialism in the 1887 platform. Each party held a separate convention simultaneously in Cincinnati with the hope that some kind of agreement might be reached. Dr. Edward McGlynn, a leader of the United Labor forces, attempted to work out an agreement with the Union Labor men but without success.<sup>63</sup> McGlynn was a Catholic priest who was excommunicated in 1887 for his single-tax ideas but he was eventually forgiven and he returned to the church in 1892.<sup>64</sup>

The single-tax idea had little appeal for the Winfield reform editors. Back in June, 1887, the Vincents accused Henry George of compromising principle with "his party intrigues in the interest of capital."<sup>65</sup> The next month James Vincent, Sr., wrote a violent anti-George article declaring that his program was ill-suited for the western farmer.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 17 May 1888, 2-3; 24 May 1888, 1.

<sup>63</sup>Nathan Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 51.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 52. His excommunication was effective 4 July 1887 and he was reinstated in December, 1892, Dictionary of American Biography. XII, 53-54.

<sup>65</sup>Nonconformist, 9 June 1887, 3.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 14 July 1887, 3. Henry George was repudiated by the United Labor party in 1888, Nonconformist, 17 May 1888, 3.

After the Cincinnati convention, Kansas Union Laborites settled down to running a political party. The Nonconformist ran the 1888 platform in nearly every issue during the campaign.<sup>67</sup> Numerous rallies, speaking engagements for "Prof." Cuthbert Vincent and others, and conventions, both district and county, kept interest high. On 6 June, the Third District met to nominate its candidate for Congress. Both Henry and Cuthbert were delegates to this convention, where W. H. Utley, resident of Parsons and a former Congregational minister, was nominated.<sup>68</sup>

Allison Jennes Streeter, the Union Labor candidate for President of the United States, spoke in Winfield on 27 July. "Prof." Vincent introduced Adoniram J. Miller, an Arkansas City Union Labor leader, who in turn introduced Streeter to a "monster crowd." Needless to say, all this was published in the Nonconformist. Streeter was a "War Democrat" during the Civil War who in 1872 was elected to the Illinois legislature and who worked closely with the Grangers. The next year he assisted in the formation of an Illinois labor party. In 1878, he was a candidate for the United States Congress as a Greenbacker.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>See Nonconformist, 17 May 1888, 3, for the first printing.

<sup>68</sup>Nonconformist, 14 June 1888, 1, 4. Cuthbert was one of the featured speakers at a rally one evening.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 24 May 1888, 1; 2 August 1888, 1.

Breidenthal called for a state convention on 10 July to be held in Wichita on 28 August.<sup>70</sup> The convention actually began on the night of 27 August when Breidenthal, John Davis of Junction City, C. J. Lamb of Kirwin, and others, arrived early.<sup>71</sup> According to the Republican Wichita Eagle, some 150 delegates caucused that evening but nothing was apparently discovered about the nature of this secret meeting.<sup>72</sup> Breidenthal was quoted as having polled eighty-seven counties and expected the Union Labor party to receive 80,000 votes in the fall elections. It appears that Breidenthal had the power to name himself for governor, "and if he don't [sic.] want to run the bluff he will suggest the name of the fellow for the place."<sup>73</sup>

Breidenthal called the convention to order the next day at Garfield Hall with about 280 delegates from seventy-two counties in attendance.<sup>74</sup> The credentials and resolutions committees were elected, followed by a few opening remarks by Reverend Gilbert De La Matyr, the main speaker for the evening.<sup>75</sup> De La Matyr was a Civil War Methodist chaplain with the 18th New York Artillery. After the war he settled

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 19 July 1888, 2.

<sup>71</sup>Wichita Eagle, 28 August 1888, 5.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.; Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 1-2.

<sup>75</sup>Wichita Eagle, 29 August 1888, 5. Jerry Simpson represented the Seventh District on the credentials committee.

in Indianapolis, Indiana, and entered Democratic politics, winning election to the United States House of Representatives in 1879, serving only one term. In 1881, he moved to Denver, Colorado, and served in a church until he was called to Akron, Ohio, in 1889, where he served until his death in 1892.<sup>76</sup>

In the afternoon session the delegates were treated with the rhetoric and sarcasm of Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease. She declared that monopoly was on the side of the devil while the people were on the side of God. On woman's rights Mrs. Lease showed her campaign talents were polished long before the Populist campaign of 1890:<sup>77</sup>

I thank God I have lived to see this day when the people are beginning to think for themselves and the union labor [sic.] party is formed. For years they would not have us on the church board nor school board and now I see by the congressional record [sic.] [which] shows Mr. Harrison in favor of taking the washboard from the women.

The delegates uttered "wild cheers" for this kind of oratory.<sup>78</sup> Next to speak was a Negro delegate from Pratt County, a man named Tabbell:<sup>79</sup>

I feel today that the Union Labor party is one of the best parties inaugurated. . . Now I have

<sup>76</sup>Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1072. De La Matyr was the Union Labor candidate for governor of Colorado in 1888, Nonconformist, 11 October 1888, 1.

<sup>77</sup>Wichita Eagle, 29 August 1888, 5.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid. The Vincents spelled his name Cabell, Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 1.

been promised recognition [sic.] in the publican [sic.] party but never got it. All de fruit I have got from dem is bitter and sour. Day fought rebbls [sic.] for money and not for us.

The afternoon closed with W. H. Utley who blasted the telegraph companies for prejudice against the Union Labor press. Breidenthal then announced that \$1,050 had been pledged for the campaign fund although only \$170 had been collected. The afternoon ended with the selection of presidential electors. That evening the Reverend De La Matyr spoke to the convention, an address which "was in accord with the principles of the party."<sup>80</sup>

The two major issues were nearly the same as at Cincinnati. The resolutions committee held a five-hour session and agreed on a single-tax plank, according to the Eagle, but when they learned that on the floor it "would be knocked higher than the famous kite," the committee reconvened and apparently removed it.<sup>81</sup> Fusion was the other sensitive topic. C. S. Eby, a Sedgwick County Democrat and candidate for Congress in the Seventh District, attended the convention, probably with fusion in mind.<sup>82</sup> The Nonconformist had taken a stand on this issue in no uncertain terms as early as June, 1887, with an editorial entitled, "WHO ARE THE

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. For the platform, see Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 1.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

FUSIONISTS? HANG!"<sup>83</sup> Then, as in April, 1888,<sup>84</sup> fusion with any other party was denounced as a surrender of principle to political parties which had demonstrated their faithlessness to the will of the people. The resolutions committee, at any rate, did not render a solution one way or the other. Fusion was left to each county to decide.<sup>85</sup> Cowley County, and probably most county organizations, maintained a separate ticket.

The convention picked Peter Percival Elder for its gubernatorial candidate. Sixty-four years old, Elder was a New Englander who came to Kansas in 1857 and settled in Franklin County. For twenty years he had been a Republican and served in the Territorial legislature when John J. Ingalls was secretary of that body. He had been elected to the state Senate in 1860 and 1867, lieutenant governor in 1870, to the state House of Representatives in 1875, 1876 and 1877; he acted as speaker in the latter year. By 1883, however, Elder became a Greenbacker and was returned to the Kansas House as such in that year.<sup>86</sup> Elder, then, personifies that statement of the Eagle which described the Union Labor

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<sup>83</sup>Nonconformist, 2 June 1887, 3.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 12 April 1888, 3.

<sup>85</sup>In the 1888 campaign, some Democratic and Union Labor state Senate candidates were "fusion" candidates while others were not. See Admire's Hand-Book, 397, 398, for examples of separate tickets, and 399, 406, for "fusion" examples.

<sup>86</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 413-414.



party as "the old Greenback party."<sup>87</sup> The Eagle sneered at the poverty of the party when it said that Elder was nominated because he "is credited with being one of the wealthiest men in the state. The fact that the Republicans made him lieutenant governor some years ago didn't satisfy his longings for office nor constrain him in his moral obligation."<sup>88</sup> Just what the "moral obligation" Elder should have towards the Republican party was not explained.

The Nonconformist, naturally enough, gave the convention much space. Among the resolutions were demands that Oklahoma be opened for settlement, that public school texts be supplied by the state "at cost," sympathy for the Irish leader Parnell, and a denunciation of United States Senator John J. Ingalls as a "traitor unfit to represent the state of Kansas."<sup>89</sup> Among the notes of the convention proceedings, the Vincents remarked on the number of clergymen at the meeting.<sup>90</sup> The party expressed its satisfaction with press coverage by the Wichita newspapers,<sup>91</sup> but the convention had ended when the Eagle unloaded on "THAT NEGRO'S SPEECH" on 31 August. This paroxysmal tirade was "About a Crowd of Recreant Venals and Old Played-Out Hacks" who "for the most

<sup>87</sup>Wichita Eagle, 31 August 1888, 4.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 30 August 1888, 4.

<sup>89</sup>Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 1-2.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>91</sup>Wichita Eagle, 30 August 1888, 4.

part. . .constitutes the rottenest lot of hypocritical political demagogues that ever tried to blight the prospects or cloud the faith of the fairest state of the new world's hope and glory." Along with the accusation that the party attempted to nominate a "Topeka anarchist"<sup>92</sup> for associate justice of the state Supreme Court, the Eagle struck out against Tabbell, the Negro orator, and the men who praised his speech:

Ninety men in that convention, who claimed that they were ex-Union soldiers, applauded to the echo a big mouthed, brainless yawping negro [sic.] who declared that the war what [sic.] gave him his liberty--but which has notably failed to make a man of him--was fought to a successful conclusion solely for what money there was in sight for the white soldier. Such a man, such a black beast, ought not to be permitted to breathe the pure atmosphere of America. He ought to be the slave of a Mexican greaser. . . .Away with such so-called men, they desecrate the very name of an American, and in the damnable filthy dust of that which Judas demanded for the Life of Humanity's Christ, they trail not only their own honor but the innocent souls of their unfortunate offspring. . . .

The editorial ended by saying that it was "a great pity" that these men who approved the speech were not killed in the war since their words and actions raised the "cries. . . from the sanguinary fields of the Potomac and of the Mississippi against the unholy cheer set up over the debasing sentiments of that nigger's brutal speech." Understandably enough, the Nonconformist reported this address as "a spirited and excellent speech" which "aroused enthusiasm."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Probably they meant C. G. Clemens, Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 2.

<sup>93</sup>Nonconformist, 6 September 1888, 1.

There were too many old soldiers who might feel the same way as did the Eagle.

The Topeka Capital was much less apoplectic about the convention than was its sister in Wichita. A brief announcement of the convention was carried on page one of the 29 August issue, while on the following day, also on page one, the list of nominees and a summary of the resolutions was reported. This same issue carried an editorial entitled, "The Labor Party Movement," which said that "the workingmen are justified in taking care of their own interests. . . . Workingmen have real grievances, and they have just grounds of complaint against existing social and political conditions." At the beginning of the next month the Capital editorially urged labor to stay with the G. O. P. The Capital reprinted from Ed Greer's Courier the sentiment that "the true union labor [sic.] party, in this contest, is the republican [sic.] party. . . . By its platform, by the declaration of its leaders, by the action of its representatives in congress [sic!], by every inspiration of its members, and by every pledge a great party can give, the republican [sic.] party is committed to the cause of American workingmen."<sup>94</sup>

Between 1886 and 1888, a significant labor party rose from the ashes of the Greenbackers and other dissatisfied elements. Led by newspapers such as the Nonconformist, this Union Labor party acquired a set of principles which advocated

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<sup>94</sup>Topeka Capital, 6 September 1888, 2.

reform by way of and through the existing political structure, but they were unwilling to wait for these changes. Agrarian though this was in many respects--witness the disavowal of the single-tax doctrine and the plea for opening the Oklahoma lands--its nonagricultural elements were strong, centered chiefly around the Knights of Labor which even in 1889 had considerable Western strength.<sup>95</sup> The Union Labor and the Republican parties were waging a tug-of-war over labor; Governor Martin's successful tactics of 1885 and 1886 were losing their effectiveness as indicated by the county elections in 1887. Now, in 1888, the Union Laborites, though short of funds, maintained an active and vocal newspaper chain and a reasonable amount of cohesiveness. The Republican problem was how to cope with this threat. But before entering this phase, it is well to consider the prophetic remarks of the Capital when in 1886 it referred to some Massachusetts labor organizations which had decided to support the existing political organizations in the elections of that year:<sup>96</sup>

Had a new party been set up and the membership pledged to nominate candidates for every office be filled, the whole movement would have failed. . . . The more one sees of this new party business, the more apparent is the fact that nothing short of a great uprising of the people against some existing laws or customs can be relied upon to build up a new party on the ruins of the old ones. . . .

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<sup>95</sup>Fine, op. cit., 125.

<sup>96</sup>Topeka Capital, 2 October 1886, 2.

Two years after this type was put to bed, that party appeared not in Massachusetts but in Kansas. The Capital, however, was not content to allow nature, expressed through a political organization such as the Union Labor party, to consummate its protest against the laws and the customs. The Capital and other Republican newspapers must have felt compelled to play the role of the "enlightened conscience" of which it had spoken in May, 1886,<sup>97</sup> and enter the arena of practical affairs of men and influence them into "the channels of law" to which all conservatives, and even the "radicals" for that matter, paid such glowing tribute. The degree of acceleration toward the goals of social and individual well-being were the issues of the day. The conservatives were about to take a direct hand in political affairs in order to accomplish what they thought were means to that end, the effects of which were to have a direct bearing on the emergence of Populism.

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 6 May 1886, 2.



## CHAPTER IV

### "THE COFFEYVILLE DYNAMITE OUTRAGE"

The Kansas Attorney General, Republican S. B. Bradford, toured the Third Congressional District and reported that Republican Congressman B. W. Perkins, candidate for re-election to his House seat, had little to fear in the 1888 election. "He will carry every county in the district, for the republicans [sic.] are determined to win."<sup>1</sup> Ed Greer, on a visit to Topeka in October, also told the Capital readers that the G. O. P. would win in the Third District.<sup>2</sup> On the Union Labor side, John W. Breidenthal, as early as May at the 1888 Cincinnati Union Labor convention, stated, "We shall certainly carry the Third. . ."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that the party in 1887 gathered 50,000 votes which he hoped to double in November. "We expect to get a clear majority of the State Legislature," he predicted, "and to elect a United States Senator. . . .I tell you we are whooping them up, and you may expect to hear something drop in Kansas next November."<sup>4</sup> It did, too.

Several things dropped in 1888 that effected the campaign. One was a form of type dropped by George W. Poorman,

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<sup>1</sup>Topeka Capital, 4 September 1888, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 13 October 1888, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Nonconformist, 24 May 1888, 2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



a printer working for the Nonconformist. Leo Vincent and Poorman were somewhat antagonistic toward each other, according to Poorman, although the printer was on good terms with Henry and Cuthbert.<sup>5</sup> One day, apparently in August, 1888, Poorman ruined some type which had been set as a result, according to Poorman, of Leo's interference.<sup>6</sup> The printer quit work that very day, but not before he offered to settle the dispute "out on the pavement, so that I could give him a sound thrashing, or he could give me one and settle it. . . ."<sup>7</sup> Poorman claimed that the Vincents owed him back wages to the amount of \$87.59 and initiated a suit before Justice of the Peace G. H. Buckman on 11 August 1888.<sup>8</sup> According to Poorman,<sup>9</sup> and verified by the record,<sup>10</sup> Justice Buckman ruled in Poorman's favor only for the Vincents to appeal to the District Court on 14 September. Seven months passed before the suit was dismissed on the motion of the defense on the grounds that Poorman was not present to pursue the case.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Investigation, 335.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 338-339.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 344.

<sup>8</sup>George Poorman vs. H. Vincent and L. Vincent, No. 3593, District Court, Cowley County Kansas, 11 August 1888. Hereafter cited as Poorman vs. Vincent Brothers.

<sup>9</sup>Investigation, 334.

<sup>10</sup>Poorman vs. Vincent Brothers.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. The suit was dismissed 24 April 1889 "for want of prosecution at Plff's cost."

Poorman, through his connection with the Nonconformist, had learned of a secret organization within the Union Labor party called the National Order of Videttes. The Vincents had printed the Order's ritual, but both Henry and Cuthbert, and probably Leo, belonged to it.<sup>12</sup> The primary purpose of the Videttes was to maintain the independence of the Union Labor party; that is, to prevent fusion with either the Republicans or the Democrats.<sup>13</sup> According to Mrs. Mary E. Lease at a later date, not only was she a member<sup>14</sup> but she claimed that Republicans in Sedgwick County, including the county chairman, were members.<sup>15</sup> From another source there is the statement that the Vidette membership consisted largely of those who were also Knights of Labor.<sup>16</sup> Several instances of fusion, mentioned previously, make it clear that the labor vote in Kansas was something both Democrats and Republicans were wooing, and had courted for some time. Breidenthal related in May instances of Democratic-Republican fusion against some of the local Union Labor candidates.<sup>17</sup> Such a secret organization as the Videttes would be a natural thing for those who felt that an independent course of

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<sup>12</sup>Investigation, 266, 277.

<sup>13</sup>Rightmire, loc. cit., 2.

<sup>14</sup>Investigation, 260.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 261.

<sup>16</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Seventh Biennail Session, (1891), 1083.

<sup>17</sup>Nonconformist, 24 May 1888, 2.

political action must be maintained for the sake of principle. At a Cowley County Union Labor convention on 8 September 1888, at which county candidates were nominated, a strong anti-fusion resolution was passed along with one which said that any nominee must publicly state his support of the 1888 Cincinnati platform.<sup>18</sup> By such stringent terms, and by the use of the Videttes, it was apparently hoped that the party would be clear of either Republicans or Democrats.

As for the other aspects of the Videttes, it used the usual esoteric folderol of secret orders: secret hand grips and signs, a written, secret code, and a lengthy ritual. The oath to which members swore drew from the Declaration of Independence, the slogan of the French Revolution ("Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity"), and what appears to be remnants of several very old Fourth of July orations. The constitution excoriated capitalism, praised the working classes, and admitted to membership whites only. "We have powerful and bitter enemies to encounter," read the ritual, "that will fight us to the death."<sup>19</sup>

Poorman thought the Videttes treasonable, or so he said at any rate.<sup>20</sup> Sometime in September he approached Benjamin S. Henderson, a Winfield Republican, who was to debate

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 13 September 1888, 3.

<sup>19</sup>Investigation, 79. The ritual and other material on the Videttes was introduced as Exhibits Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 337.

Cuthbert Vincent on 6 and 8 October, a program arranged by the two political clubs,<sup>21</sup> and told Henderson about the organization. Poorman said he could secure a copy of the ritual from Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Nutt at South Haven. Henderson and Poorman went to James Cooper, chairman of the Cowley County Republican central committee, who agreed to pay Poorman \$5.00 for his "expenses" in securing the ritual.<sup>22</sup> Poorman went to South Haven with a concocted story about buying a newspaper there to be operated for the Union Labor cause. With this story, he wedged his way into the confidence of Mr. and Mrs. Nutt. He was initiated into the Order at his request by Sam Nutt who gave Poorman a copy of the ritual because he wanted "to keep well posted in regard to the workings of the order. . . ."<sup>23</sup> He returned to Winfield and showed it to R. R. Frey, treasurer of the county Republican committee, Cooper, Henderson, and others.<sup>24</sup> Frey paid Poorman the promised expense money,<sup>25</sup> but somehow Ed Greer came into possession of the ritual in order to publish it, but without the permission of the local Republican leaders, according to Frey.<sup>26</sup> Frey said Greer might have taken it

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 291, 329; Nonconformist, 20 September 1888, 3.

<sup>22</sup>Investigation, 329.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 330.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 229.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 235.

from a safe where Cooper had placed it for use in the campaign at another time.<sup>27</sup> Greer's story is that Poorman, after quitting the Nonconformist, worked from him for a few days<sup>28</sup> and had urged Greer to print the ritual of the "anarchistic" Videttes. After securing it from the Nutt family, Poorman gave Greer the ritual in return for \$2.50; Cooper, Poorman told the Courier editor, would give him another \$2.50 for his expenses.<sup>29</sup> However Greer may have obtained the material, on 4 October 1888 he published it in his newspaper, accusing the Vincents of being members of an anarchistic organization.<sup>30</sup>

The Vincents were undaunted at this. On the same day, they ran not only a portion of the Courier's exposure, which charged all three brothers with membership in the Videttes, but excerpts from the Winfield Telegram, a Democratic paper, in which Henry denied membership for both himself and brother Leo. Their comment on the matter was entitled, "'ANARCHISM'--Bow Wow!!" In this they conceded that some two years before they did print the ritual, believing that the Videttes were "an offshoot or advance guard of the G. A. R...." Some of this printing had been done by the Telegram as the Telegram excerpts also stated. In fact, the Vincents referred to a

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 97.

<sup>30</sup>Winfield Courier, 4 October 1888, 1.



two-year business relationship with the Courier, concluding:<sup>31</sup>

They are tortured with our prosperity; the Courier buys a few bundles of paper, while we buy by the half-car; the Union Labor meetings are crowded and enthusiastic, the contrast exasperates, hence, "Arnica" is the only sequel.

At the same time, the Vincents reminded their readers that immediately prior to the 1887 county election Greer accused them of being "anarchists" while they were in Iowa ministering to their dying mother.<sup>32</sup>

During the Henderson-Vincent debate, Henderson accused Cuthbert of being an anarchist on the basis of the ritual which he had in his possession, but the Vincents were satisfied to reprint the stories of the debate from both the Telegram and the Winfield Visitor, an "independent" paper, both of which scoffed at the idea as well as quoting from unnamed Republican sources that the charges were a "mistake."<sup>33</sup> This was not the first time in the campaign that the Nonconformist was accused of being "anarchistic," for in July the Erie Republican-Record said that Watson Heston's cartoons promoted anarchy, a charge the Nonconformist editors were unafraid to reprint.<sup>34</sup>

If the Vincents were unperturbed at least they had the dubious satisfaction of seeing George Poorman fear for his

<sup>31</sup>Nonconformist, 4 October 1888, 2, 3.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Investigation, 292; Nonconformist, 11 October 1888, 2.

<sup>34</sup>Nonconformist, 12 July 1888, 2.



life. By the time of the first expose, they knew Poorman had something to do with Greer's possession of the ritual. The writer of an editorial on 4 October did not deny that he had threatened Poorman.<sup>35</sup> Poorman told Greer on either 3 or 4 October,<sup>36</sup> that Sam Nutt was looking for him. "I must get away," he said, "if I stay here I know I will get into trouble."<sup>37</sup> Greer gave him an additional \$5.00, possibly more, and told him to go to Topeka where Henry Booth, chairman of the Republican state central committee, would assist him in leaving the state. Poorman wanted to return to Bellaire, Ohio, his home.<sup>38</sup> He arrived in Topeka on 5 October<sup>39</sup> and was "to some extent" under the influence of intoxicating liquor, said Bion S. Hutchins, secretary of the Republican state central committee.<sup>40</sup> The next day Poorman left the state, not to return until 1891.<sup>41</sup> With \$10.00 from Booth, plus \$15.00 he received at the Winfield depot,<sup>42</sup> Poorman had enough money to leave. He was in no mood to return to Kansas

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<sup>35</sup>Nonconformist, 4 October 1888, 2. Either Henry or Cuthbert probably made the threat as Leo seriously injured his hand less than a month before, Nonconformist, 13 September 1888, 2.

<sup>36</sup>Investigation, 329.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 97.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 474, 539.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 539.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 330.

to press for a settlement of his suit against the Vincents because, as he said later, "I was afraid of the mob that was lying around there doing nothing, advocating their doctrines."<sup>43</sup> He said in 1891 that someone told him before leaving Winfield that one of the Vincents "would break my head" if he did not keep still about the Vincents being "anarchists."<sup>44</sup> Poorman wrote Greer on 22 October from Bellaire that he had further incriminating evidence on the Videttes which he would send providing Greer paid him the amount of the judgment secured against the Vincents.<sup>45</sup> In 1891, when pressed for this evidence, Poorman said he "must have had it" at the time, but somehow it did not materialize.<sup>46</sup> With the multiple motives of hate, a pecuniary patriotism, and a fear for his life, one is tempted to judge Poorman a weakling. Out of work, with a wife and child,<sup>47</sup> and the subject of attacks because of the near deaths of two women, Poorman was unable to withstand the temptations of combining a loose patriotism with personal gain.

Greer, meanwhile, had written Henry Booth, state Republican chairman, about the Videttes in a letter carried to him by Poorman.<sup>48</sup> Booth turned the matter over to Bion S. Hutchins,

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 344.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 340.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 122-123.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 342.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 344.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 474.

secretary of the state committee, who, along with Charles A. Henrie, began to prepare another exposé, this time to be state-wide in scope.<sup>49</sup>

C. A. Henrie was a one-time printer on the Topeka Commonwealth but quit during a strike there. Starting in March, 1887, he bought and edited the Labor Chieftain in Topeka which had been named the Post, but he went bankrupt in August, 1888. The Labor Chieftain was a United Labor newspaper under Henrie's editorship although he did once support a local Union Labor party.<sup>50</sup> After his bankruptcy, he said he worked for the Capital, "setting type."<sup>51</sup> Henrie was a member of the Knights of Labor; interestingly enough, he was mentioned in the first issue of the Nonconformist as a member of two state committees of the Knights.<sup>52</sup> In 1887, Henrie was compiling a list of Knights for John W. Breidenthal for the campaign that year, indicating that he cooperated at one time with the Union Labor people.<sup>53</sup> His politics, however, centered around the United Labor party and the single-tax doctrine. During the 1888 Cincinnati United Labor convention, held, it will be remembered, at the same time as the Union

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 521.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 160.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 160-161.

<sup>52</sup>Nonconformist, 7 October 1886, 3.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 30 June 1887, 2.

Labor convention, Henrie was on the platform committee.<sup>54</sup> At the Kansas Union Labor convention of the same year he attempted to have a single-tax plank inserted in the platform. Henrie claimed that the Videttes, to which he belonged, controlled the Kansas convention which, as has been shown, turned down such a plank.<sup>55</sup> On 5 October 1888, Henrie, who was the national committeeman of the United Labor party for Kansas, and W. H. T. Wakefield, the party's vice-presidential candidate in 1888, hosted Dr. McGlynn when the excommunicated priest spoke in Topeka; that evening Henrie presided at the meeting at which McGlynn spoke.<sup>56</sup>

Henrie's connection with the Kansas Republican party began in July, 1888, when Henry Booth first met him.<sup>57</sup> About the middle of August, according to Bion Hutchins, Henrie asked Hutchins if the Republicans would settle some of his debts in return for the Labor Chieftain's support in the 1888 campaign, but Hutchins, unfortunately, did not "recollect any money being paid" in this matter.<sup>58</sup> Henrie was employed by the state committee, however, with recommendations from P. I. Bonebrake, former Republican state chairman; Governor John A.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 17 May 1888, 3.

<sup>55</sup>Investigation, 177, 165. Another single-taxer, W. H. T. Wakefield, was a Vidette, Investigation, 206.

<sup>56</sup>Topeka Capital, 6 October 1888, 5. This article, by the way, was not unfavorably written.

<sup>57</sup>Investigation, 470.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 534.

Martin; J. K. Hudson, editor of the Topeka Capital; D. C. Metsker, mayor of Topeka, "and," said Hutchins, "I think others."<sup>59</sup> His work for the committee, said Hutchins, was to help swing the labor vote to the Republicans since they knew him to be opposed to the Union Labor party. Henrie also made a rather interesting trip to New York in September, Hutchins said, "which we regarded as of some importance to the Republican cause of the country."<sup>60</sup> Henrie attended a national committee meeting of the United Labor party at which it was hoped that Wakefield might be persuaded to stay on the ticket. The vice-presidential candidate, it appears, was under some pressure by eastern Union Labor people, who were working with the Democrats in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, to resign in order to better their chances in those states. Henrie hoped to keep Wakefield on the ticket which would divide the labor vote in those states and thereby aid the Republicans. Hutchins did "not know that a dollar" was given to Henrie for this trip.<sup>61</sup> although for other "services" he received, in his own words, "the regular scale, \$2.50 per day."<sup>62</sup> It was said that Henrie received \$150.00 extra for this New York mission.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 520.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 535.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 173.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 492.

Henrie, like the Vincents, denounced the trial of the Haymarket anarchists through the editorial columns of his paper, the Labor Chieftain.<sup>64</sup> Before this time, moreover, Henrie had presided at a meeting in Topeka on 9 July 1885 at which Albert Parsons spoke.<sup>65</sup> After this meeting, Parsons may have discussed with Henrie the manufacture of dynamite, but Henrie's memory was none too clear.<sup>66</sup> Two other men, testifying in 1891, said that Henrie probably did hear Parson's discourse on explosives; they also said that Henrie belonged either to the International Workingmen's Association (the "Red International") or the International Working People's Association (the "Black International").<sup>67</sup> The latter group is the one in which Parsons was active at this time.<sup>68</sup> Henrie's known, and public, association with Parsons did not prevent the Kansas Republicans from hiring him; it may have been one of the desired qualifications.

One or two days after the McGlynn speech, Henrie, who had never met Greer, went to Winfield to see how effective the Courier's 4 October exposé had been on public opinion. His excuse for being in Winfield was to see the Vincent brothers about the possibility of two Union Labor presidential

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<sup>64</sup>Labor Chieftain, 11 November 1887, reprinted in Investigation, 183-189.

<sup>65</sup>Investigation, 166.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 174-175.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 179, 191, 193. Henrie said he belonged to the I. W. A., Ibid., 166.

<sup>68</sup>Chester McArthur Destler, American Radicalism 1865-1901, 82.



electors being on the United Labor slate, although Henry Vincent said that Henrie, when in Winfield spoke to them about "tracking up Poorman so that there should not be any further depelopments [sic.] in the Vidette business." The Vincents further asked Henrie to see Greer and attempt to learn about any other exposés, as though they expected one.<sup>69</sup> Greer spoke with Henrie for about ten minutes, not knowing that he was on a mission from Booth and Hutchins, so he told Henrie very little except there was a possibility of another expose.<sup>70</sup>

Henrie's report to Booth and Hutchins was apparently favorable, for on the day he returned to Topeka he began preparation for a more extensive exposure.<sup>71</sup> Having been a Vidette,<sup>72</sup> Henrie must have found it rather easy to secure additional information on the Order.<sup>73</sup> Chairman Booth knew prior to the 4 October exposé that Greer possessed a Vidette ritual, but he was too late to delay this first publication.<sup>74</sup> In a way, this was fortunate for the Republicans for they had a chance to measure public reaction. It must have been advantageous for Booth to have the Courier editor help Henrie as he telegraphed Greer on 11 October, "Come to Topeka on first

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<sup>69</sup>Investigation, 162-169, 268.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 70, 169.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 165.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 76.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 95.

train."<sup>75</sup> In Topeka, Hutchins, Greer, and Henrie prepared the second exposé, Henrie doing most of the work.<sup>76</sup> The second publication was to appear in Greer's Courier on 18 October, and in other Republican papers on 19 October.<sup>77</sup> On the morning of 18 October, Greer told Cuthbert that the Courier that evening would have "some interesting reading" for the Vincent brothers.<sup>78</sup>

This second publication differed from the first in four respects:

The first change has been mentioned. Many Kansas newspapers carried blazing headlines and story, informing the entire state of the Videttes.

Secondly, the new material told of Vidette domination of the Union Labor party, particularly in that party's convention at Wichita.<sup>79</sup>

Thirdly, there was more editorial comment. Prominent anarchists were associated with the Videttes, like Burnette G. Haskell, a one-time editor of the Denver Enquirer and leader of anarchism on the West Coast; Albert Parsons, who

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 94.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 521.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 544. The other papers were: Wichita Eagle, Hutchinson News, Fort Scott Monitor, Topeka Capital, Topeka Commonwealth, Atchison Champion, Emporia Republican, Kansas City, (Mo.) Journal, Leavenworth Times and the St. Joseph (Mo.) Herald, according to Hutchins. The Coffeyville Journal carried it on 25 October and the Greenwood County Republican on 26 October.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 73.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 105-106.

was hanged in Chicago; and Johann Most, "a blatant New York agitator."<sup>80</sup> Anarchy was described as an Eastern phenomenon in these words:<sup>81</sup>

. . . Political parties, no matter how visionary their plans may be, are accorded a hearing in America, and especially is this true in Kansas; but anarchy is boldly and promptly relegated to oblivion. Thus it was that this growth of moral fungi, grown and reared in the hotbeds of crime in our large eastern cities, was transplanted to the birthplace of freedom--Kansas.

The last difference was more explosive, literally. At the same hour Booth telegraphed Greer to start the second expose' on 18 October, a stranger walked into the Coffeyville, Kansas, Pacific Express Company office where Henry M. Upham, the agent, was working. The stranger wished to send a wooden box to Winfield. The box was addressed to one J. Loudon-- the stranger gave his name as P. Jason. The stranger urged Upham to handle the box with extreme caution. Then he left, never to be seen again.<sup>82</sup>

That afternoon, Upham closed for the day. Packages that were to be shipped early the next morning, as was this one, or packages that were of value, Upham habitually took home. Since his home was between the railroad depot and the express office, and the wooden box was to be shipped early the next morning, it was expected that Upham would bring the box to

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 99.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 106.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 23-24.

his home. There he placed the box in his recently built darkroom for Upham was an amateur photographer. Shortly after four o'clock that afternoon, Upham invited his wife and their young adopted daughter, Mabel, into the darkroom to watch a plate being developed. After they were in the darkroom, Upham told them he needed more water for developing. He left the darkroom for the cistern outside. He had just reached the cistern when from the darkroom came a sharp explosion, demolishing it. With the help of two other men, Upham cleared away the rubble and took Mrs. Upham and little Mabel into the house. Both were nearly killed, suffering severe fractures and extensive flesh wounds, but they ultimately recovered. Presumably the stranger's wooden box caused the explosion.<sup>83</sup> The story of a stranger bringing the wooden box to the express office is that of Upham only.

Shortly thereafter, Upham travelled several times between Coffeyville and Lewiston, Maine, until he finally settled once again in Coffeyville. Voluntarily, he left his job and worked in Lewiston for the New England Despatch Company as the express agent there. Then in September, 1889, Upham and his family returned to Coffeyville, once again working for the Pacific Express Company.<sup>84</sup> G. W. Moore, assistant superintendent of Pacific Express, wrote Upham on 2 April 1891, a letter subsequently used in the investigation of the

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 24-26.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 31-35.

explosion, stating that the company had paid Upham \$750.00 for his expenses resulting from the explosion.<sup>85</sup> The Nonconformist charged that Upham had been hustled out of Kansas with the assistance of James G. Blaine, the "Plumed Knight," and Joseph H. Manley, the chairman of the Republican state committee in Maine and owner of the International Express Company.<sup>86</sup> Upham stuck to his story during the investigation that he and his family voluntarily left Kansas, that his family wanted to go East as soon as they were able to travel. He returned to Kansas, he said, because he wanted to bring his family south, because his home was in Coffeyville, and he could live more cheaply in Kansas.<sup>87</sup> The evidence he produced to support these reasons during the investigation satisfied the Vincents.<sup>88</sup>

Greer and the Republicans had struck hard, and they had struck where it hurt the most. The Vincents' criticism of the trial of the Haymarket anarchists, the so-called treasonable nature of the Videttes, the connection of the Vincents with the Videttes, and the Coffeyville explosion; all fit into a neat pattern. The box was addressed to J. Loudon, and the Vincents had a relative living in Winfield named Bowden. Knowing all this, Greer reprinted what the Coffeyville

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 598.

<sup>86</sup>Nonconformist, 6 June 1889, 4.

<sup>87</sup>Investigation, 35, 43.

<sup>88</sup>Nonconformist, 9 April 1891, 1.



Journal said concerning the explosion:<sup>89</sup> "It is not believed that any one here had anything to do with the matter, although it is gravely hinted that the Videtts [sic.] has [sic.] some few members in this town." The next day Greer editorially blasted away:<sup>90</sup>

The history of these Vincents present [s] a strange phase of humanity. They are restless 'reformers' by hereditary taint. Every socialistic doctrine has found them among its most rabid champions. Their reforms cover even the Christian religion and their denunciations of Christianity have found them both intemperate and blasphemous. Anarchy found them violent in its championship.

Other Kansas Republican papers continued the hue and cry in a similar vein. The Coffeyville Journal, founded by William A. Pepper, the later Populist United States Senator, but at the time edited by D. Stewart Elliott and W. A. Pepper, Jr., on 20 October published an "EXTRA" in which Elliott, as an eyewitness, described the aftermath of the explosion. Upham, Elliott said, was "held in the highest esteem by everybody. They are old settlers, wealthy, and have no enemies who would seek to injure by such nefarious means."<sup>91</sup> Five days later the Journal said, "The Winfield Courier is waging a gallant fight for right. Go in Greer; the God of Justice and a reliable citizenship are with you."

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<sup>89</sup>Winfield Courier, 22 October 1888, 4.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 23 October 1888, 2.

<sup>91</sup>Coffeyville Journal, 20 October 1888, "EXTRA."



You will win."<sup>92</sup> "That the Videtts [sic.] control the U. L. organization is self-evident," the Journal said. "What honest farmer wants to remain in a political body that is manipulated by such fellows?"<sup>93</sup> In the issue carrying the exposé, Marshall Murdock's Wichita Eagle editorially said that<sup>94</sup>

a majority of those who have gone off after the Union Labor will-o'-the-wisp in this campaign have done so under a misapprehension of the manipulators of that ism, and we believe that with a clear understanding of the matter they will abandon the fraud at once and for all time. The expose [sic.] we publish this morning is conclusive evidence.

In Eureka, the Greenwood County Republican, edited by W. E. Doud, which carried the exposé on 26 October, had its own whipping-boy in the person of T. O. Shinn, who had also denounced the trial of the Haymarket anarchists publicly in 1887. In one issue the Republican published a supplement filled with affidavits and letters of local citizens denouncing Mr. Shinn for his heresy.<sup>95</sup> Three of Greer's editorials castigating the Vincents were also carried just before the election, all in one issue.<sup>96</sup> The Kansas Farmer, edited by

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 25 October 1888, 2.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 1 November 1888, 2.

<sup>94</sup>Wichita Eagle, 19 October 1888, 4.

<sup>95</sup>Greenwood County Republican, 30 October 1888, "SUPPLEMENT." The Reverend C. H. Rogers, Universalist minister in Hutchinson, brought a \$20,000 libel suit against R. M. Easley, editor of the Hutchinson News, apparently because of Rogers being mentioned in the "anarchistic expose" in the News, Kansas City Journal, 20 October 1888, 1.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 2 November 1888, 1, 3.

W. A. Pepper, Sr., a weekly normally devoted to agricultural matters and Pepper's anti-tariff editorials, but all the same Republican, carried a letter from Wilson Keys, of Sterling, Kansas, who said the 18 October exposé was "too absurd for a man with even a thimbleful of brains to believe." The Republicans, Keys charged, were responsible for the Coffeyville explosion, the whole thing being "one of the most damnable political plots ever concocted by the leaders of any party in any State or country in the civilized world." The editor replied that Keys and his friends must prove their charges, "or the charge amounts to nothing. . . Let the light in if there is any light, no matter who suffers. Whoever knows and does not give information, is a common enemy."<sup>97</sup> Hutchins asked Governor Martin to offer a reward to anyone who could give such information, which the Governor did.<sup>98</sup>

The Nonconformist was unable to recover in time. Being a weekly, while the Courier and many of the Republican papers were dailies, had distinct political disadvantages, especially in a presidential election year. On 6 November 1888, the nation marched to the polls; later, the electoral college met and elected Benjamin Harrison over Grover Cleveland. In Kansas, the Republican party secured a majority of 80,000 votes for its standard bearer. With only two issues published

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<sup>97</sup>Kansas Farmer, 1 November 1888, 6.

<sup>98</sup>Investigation, 530.

between the expose' of 18 October and 6 November, the Vincent brothers could not effectively refute the thrusts of the Courier. The Nonconformist of 8 November, when contrasted with earlier issues, accurately mirrors the gloom of the Union Labor party. Overwhelming Republican success is noted by a few reports from across the state.<sup>99</sup>

On election day the Republicans recaptured every state office and nearly every seat in the legislature: thirty-nine of forty in the Senate and one hundred twenty-one of one hundred twenty-five in the House.<sup>100</sup> W. W. Rightmire asserts that the Vidette expose' altered not a vote,<sup>101</sup> while Elizabeth N. Barr says "the Union Labor party had practically disbanded . . . before the close of the year. . ."<sup>102</sup> The Vincents, writing in 1891, admitted that the Republicans, "in conjunction with the Coffeyville episode, drove half the forces back to their old tickets. . ." For a time, the circulation figures did not appear in the usual spot on the masthead.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup>Nonconformist, 8 November 1888, 3.

<sup>100</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 357-366; Sixth Biennial Report of the Secretary of the State, 1886-8, contains the political allegiance of the members of the legislature on 120-122.

<sup>101</sup>Rightmire, loc. cit., 3.

<sup>102</sup>Barr, "Populist Uprising," History of Kansas, II, 1137.

<sup>103</sup>Nonconformist, 3 September 1891, 4.

<sup>104</sup>On 8 November, 15,000 was shown while on 15 November the figure did not appear.

## CHAPTER V

### FROM UNION LABOR TO POPULIST

Stunned, but undaunted, the Nonconformist plunged ahead. The Vincents did not temper their charges that the Republican party was responsible for the Coffeyville explosion. In June they made this bold assertion:<sup>1</sup>

We hope that E. P. Greer, C. A. Henrie, Governor Humphrey, Bion S. Hutchins, and Henry Booth will understand that the people believe that they were the direct agents of the Coffeyville explosion, and are knowing to it in every particular, and that the Non-Con. knows that they are accessories to the damnable plot.

Even vitriolic Ed Greer shifted from his earlier stand. In a letter to Henry Upham dated 22 July 1889, Greer declared that "the most reasonable theory" was that "allies" of the Vincents brought the dynamite to the Coffeyville express office to be sent to Winfield, to be discovered there, then taken to the city limits to be exploded as "a counter-irritant" to the Vidette exposé.<sup>2</sup>

The swirling controversy of the "outrage" did not prevent the Vincents from further political activity. There is some disagreement as to the time of the introduction of the Southern Farmers' Alliance to Kansas. Rightmire asserts that Cuthbert Vincent; John R. Rogers, editor of the Newton, Kansas, Kansas Commoner; and himself, an associate editor of

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<sup>1</sup>Nonconformist, 20 June 1889, 4.

<sup>2</sup>Investigation, 601.

the Nonconformist, went to Texas and were initiated into the Order, bringing it back to Kansas, Cowley County in particular, in 1888.<sup>3</sup> There, a Northern Alliance at Cloverdale was converted into the secret Southern Alliance. The President of the sub-alliance was Ben Clover, who later became President of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance as well as vice-president of the National Farmers' Alliance.<sup>4</sup> Raymond C. Miller believes that the Southern Alliance entered the state earlier, that possibly Rightmire's memory is not too accurate.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the case, two new ideas were brought into the state with the Southern Farmers' Alliance: the subtreasury plan and the concept of government loans to farmers. Along with their denunciations of Greer and company, the Nonconformist supported the Alliance, but because of the Alliance's non-partisan policy, the Union Labor party was still the political vehicle for the newspaper.<sup>6</sup>

The Union Labor party in 1889 had disintegrated as a state organization, but in some local elections it still had life. Arkansas City elected a Union Labor mayor, justice of the peace and a constable<sup>7</sup> while in the same month John W.

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<sup>3</sup>Rightmire, loc. cit., 3-4. See his footnotes 10 and 11 on 4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Miller, Populist Party in Kansas, 94.

<sup>6</sup>Harrington, loc. cit., 406.

<sup>7</sup>Nonconformist, 4 April 1889, 4.



Breidenthal was defeated in the race for mayor of Chetopa.<sup>8</sup> This defeat was attributed to a defection of the Negro vote there,<sup>9</sup> a situation which probably stemmed from the dissemination of the white clause in the Vidette ritual.<sup>10</sup> The Cowley County organization continued until 31 August 1889.<sup>11</sup>

In April, the month of showers, a veritable torrent began to fall about the head of Charles A. Henrie. The Vincents started it by calling Henrie, who was by now a clerk in the Kansas Labor Bureau appointed by Governor Humphrey, "an alleged single tax man, member of the National Committee of the United Labor Party, the bosom friend and constant companion of Poorman, the Coffeyville dynamiter, and who knows more of that damnable outrage than any other man living. . . ."<sup>12</sup> These words, however, were not written by the Vincents but were reprinted from the Kansas Workman; the quotation represents the typical attack on Henrie. Henrie was a member of the Knights of Labor, but on 6 August 1889, the Kansas Knights, meeting in Leavenworth, expelled him from the order.<sup>13</sup> Ed Greer, like Henrie, received a

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 11 April 1889, 4.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 18 July 1889, 5.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 5 September 1889, 5.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 25 April 1889, 4.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 15 August 1889, 3. This resolution is included in Investigation, 588.



patronage plum. He was appointed the Winfield postmaster on 31 July 1889, and the Vincents, in announcing this honor, said:<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Greer is to be congratulated.

Common murderers are hanged or otherwise punished; but political murderers are appointed to office in the state house and various post-offices at the hand of the high lord executioner.

These two appointments were probably the most strategic maneuvers the Republicans performed--for the Vincents. The brothers' acrid comments, like the one above, were now commonplace throughout the following issues. Their thrusts at privilege did not rest with the local Republicans but were directed with equal bile at United States Senator Ingalls:<sup>15</sup>

For several years Senator Ingalls has represented that class of codfish statesmanship that grows all over Kansas, dating back to some act of blackguardism or sharp knavery, wherein some one else has been beaten or swindled,--and call it "statesmanship". . . .To speak of Ingalls as a statesman is a caricature [sic.] of the strongest type.

A split within the Cowley County Republican convention in 1889 was all that was needed to turn these words into action. On 17 August 1889, the County Republican convention was dominated by William P. Hackney, a close associate of Greer. M. H. Markham, a leader of the farmers there, walked out in disgust. Two days later, the Evening Dispatch, an Arkansas City newspaper, carried an article by editor George Wagner critical of the capture of the convention by Hackney's

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 4 August 1889, 4.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 15 August 1889, 4.

forces and called for the farmers to "organize an independent movement." Another Arkansas City paper, the Fair Play, which had been Union Labor in 1888, and the Nonconformist agreed to the suggestion. A meeting of Union Labor and Democratic representatives was held shortly thereafter. The promise was made that the Republican farmers would support the ticket which resulted from this coalition.<sup>16</sup> This union of forces will be detailed shortly.

The blows at Greer, however, were an integral part of the 1889 campaign. In "AN OPEN LETTER" to Greer, signed by Henry Vincent, the Nonconformist editor tauntingly requested Greer's plates of the 18 October expose in order to run them for the benefit of his readers. Henry flatly called Greer a liar when the Courier had accused Breidenthal, Elder, Utley and others of being anarchists. Vincent even touched on Greer's personal life in his attack:<sup>17</sup>

. . . The fact that your private and public life is not such that commands the confidence of honest, thinking people is your misfortune, and not for us to explain away or stand and take your venomous sic. rantings each successive canvass without retort. . . .

The Vincents carried their own side of the Coffeyville explosion to the public with their book, The Plot Unfolding,

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 30 July 1891, 5.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 12 September 1889, 4.

which sold for \$.25.<sup>18</sup> The book was also serialized in the paper from 16 May to 11 July 1889.<sup>19</sup>

The charges of Republican conspiracy in the Coffeyville explosion, the two appointments of men involved in these charges, and the town-country feud in the Cowley G. O. P. convention provided the reform people with an ideal opportunity. The county Union Labor convention resolved on 31 August not to nominate a county slate that year, but would instead "heartily act individually with the people in making a county ticket outside of party lines." Ed F. Green, Ben Clover and George Gardenshire, a Democrat, formed a committee to organize "a people's convention."<sup>20</sup> The Democrats had previously agreed on 31 July not to name a county ticket, possibly a factor in the Union Labor decision.<sup>21</sup> A "PEOPLES CONVENTION" was to be held 21 September in Winfield with delegates to be chosen in townships and wards on 14 September.<sup>22</sup> The mood was expressed in the Nonconformist, using a reprint from the Telegram:<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 15 August 1889, 4.

<sup>19</sup>At the same time Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward 2000-1887 was sold for \$.50, and with a year's subscription to the Nonconformist, Looking Backward came free, Nonconformist, 27 June 1889, 4.

<sup>20</sup>Nonconformist, 5 September 1889, 5.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 12 September 1889, 5.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

Never before in the history of Cowley County has so general dissatisfaction [sic.] with the ring been expressed, nor so great a cause presented, and with feeling among the disfranchised Republicans that the old ring be rebuked and made to loosen its tenacles from the sole management of county affairs.

At the 21 September convention some 270 delegates and alternates assembled, including Henry and Leo among the First Ward delegates from Winfield. The platform adopted is one of the finest examples of a statement of principles which could mean all things to all men, except, of course, to "the Winfield office trust," opposition to which was the only real thing uniting these diverse factions. They were against all trusts, but were for "legislation in favor of the producing classes," the reduction of salaries for county officers, the Farmers' Alliance, and the "efforts" of Postmaster-General Wannamaker to reduce telegraph rates.<sup>24</sup> Hardly socialistic, the platform reflected the delicacy of the coalition. The fact that such a convention was held testifies to the expediency the Vincents and their Union Labor colleagues were forced to utilize.

The election, held on 5 November and though only a county election, was important to the growth of Populism as stated by Barr:<sup>25</sup>

As quick as the results in Cowley County were known, inquiries came from all over the state to learn about the People's Party. "The way they

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 26 September 1889, "SUPPLEMENT."

<sup>25</sup>Barr, "Populist Uprising," History of Kansas, II, 1143.

did it in Cowley County," was on the lips of every reformer.

The Nonconformist was in a rejoicing mood:<sup>26</sup>

Cowley County is redeemed! The grandest people's movement ever inaugurated on Kansas soil, scored its first victory last Tuesday. The grandest ever on Kansas soil, because in its work it contemplated no blood, no conflict of armed forces; no clang of musketry; no fields strewn with wounded and dying, butchered by their fellowmen.

In this same front page article, the editors continued their bludgeoning of Greer on the Coffeyville issue, and praised the work of the Alliance.

The county offices in this election--treasurer, sheriff, register of deeds, county clerk, coroner, and surveyor--all went to the "People's Party," and the farmers, true to their word, elected them. The Nonconformist carried the election statistics by city and township demonstrating the agrarian strength of the party.<sup>27</sup> Other counties had similar parties in the field, as well as the old Union Labor party, but Cowley was the first to be completely swept by the new party. The most prominent issue across the state was the question of resubmission to the voters the prohibition of liquor. In 1880, prohibition passed by nearly 8,000 votes out of a total of over 176,600 votes cast.<sup>28</sup> In its brief report of the election in which this issue was mentioned, the Wichita

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<sup>26</sup>Nonconformist, 7 November 1889, 1.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 14 November 1889, 5. See Appendix F.

<sup>28</sup>Admire's Hand-Book, 306.



Eagle did take notice that Cowley Republicans were either staying at home or were bolting.<sup>29</sup>

Before the year was over, the Vincents were urging Union Laborites to join the People's party. Some Union Labor men had told the editors that they were apprehensive about the future of their principles in such a party. "It is a good omen [✓] however, that so little of this spirit gets to the surface of late," they wrote. "The indications are pointing to a broader, deeper and every way more thorough growth of the true purpose of reform."<sup>30</sup> The Union Labor party had lost its organization and its most widely-read newspaper, but its ideas were now to be carried under a new name.

Articles by and pictures of Ben Clover, "Kansas Ben," began to appear frequently. Benjamin H. Clover was one of the Union Labor delegates to the 1888 Wichita convention. In the same year he was the party's candidate for the 61st District seat in the Kansas legislature.<sup>31</sup> Clover was said to have been responsible for converting a Northern Alliance group to a Southern Alliance affiliation. Clover, as President of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, on 6 March 1890, issued a call for a meeting of the presidents of the sub-alliances to be held in Topeka on 25 March 1890. "The meeting," Clover wrote, "is for the purpose of consulting about matters of

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<sup>29</sup>Wichita Eagle, 6 November 1889, 1.

<sup>30</sup>Nonconformist, 5 December 1889, 4.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 23 August 1888, 3; 6 September 1888, 3.



vital importance to our order and farmers and laborers in general."<sup>32</sup> The campaign of 1890 had begun.

The assembled presidents passed a resolution at this meeting castigating Senator Ingalls for doing nothing in Congress for either the farmers or the workingmen. Ingalls, one of the most ardent wavers of the "bloody shirt," was quoted as saying that "the purification of politics is an iridescent dream." This statement, coupled with his hesitance in answering certain questions regarding his opinion of the Alliance platform, sealed his doom politically.<sup>33</sup>

Ingalls was quoted correctly. The statement appeared in an interview of Ingalls by a New York World reporter. Ingalls told the reporter that he doubted that there had ever been "an absolutely fair, free and impartial expression of the deliberate will of the people in any Presidential election since the foundation of the government. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

"Is it to be ever thus, Senator?"

"The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success."

Other statements from this interview were linked with the Coffeyville "outrage" and were spread on the pages of the

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 6 March 1890, 4.

<sup>33</sup>Harrington, loc. cit., 410; Rightmire, loc. cit., 4, 5.

<sup>34</sup>New York World, 13 April 1890, "SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT."

Nonconformist with the skillful pen of the Vincents and the equally skillful brush of Watson Heston.<sup>35</sup>

Representatives of the Alliance, the Grange, Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and the Single-Tax Clubs met in Topeka on 12 June 1890, and agreed to form a political party. On 13 August this People's Party, or Alliance, nominated a state ticket.<sup>36</sup> The "Pops" elected their candidate for attorney general, John N. Ives, but lost the other state offices at the election on 4 November. But in the United States Congressional races and in the legislative contests the story was radically different. The Populists elected five out of seven men for the United States House of Representatives, one of whom was Ben Clover in the Third District, who had been endorsed by the Democrats.<sup>37</sup> Although the Kansas Senate remained practically unchanged because only one election occurred there,<sup>38</sup> the Kansas House became a Populist House. Ninety-two Populists were elected, nine more than were needed for them to select a new United States Senator. Ingalls was defeated on a joint ballot with all the Populists plus one Republican, Senator Louis P. King of Cowley County, later a Populist, voting for William Alfred

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<sup>35</sup>The Heston cartoon appeared in the Nonconformist twice; 9 October 1890, 1; 16 October 1890, 3.

<sup>36</sup>Rightmire, loc. cit., 5.

<sup>37</sup>Nonconformist, 2 October 1890, 1.

<sup>38</sup>S. C. Wheeler, Populist, was elected to the Senate in a special election. See Admire's Hand-Book, 411.

The cartoon was copied by Sherman J. Deonier, art student at Kansas State College of Pittsburg, and was photographed by Robert Atkins, history student at Kansas State College of Pittsburg. The cartoon, carried in the Nonconformist on 9 October and 16 October 1890, was captioned on the latter date, "A vote for any Republican Candidate for the Legislature is a vote for Ingalls!" Mr. Deonier discovered his own error on the spelling of "Coffeyville" and corrected it, although the spelling of "politician" on the right-hand side was not discovered until the photograph was made. "Deceive" was misspelled by Heston.

The **PURIFICATION** of **POLITICS**  
GOVERNMENT IS **FORCE** xxx

is an

**IRIDESCENT DREAM !!!**

"The possession of an  
**ACTIVE CONSCIENCE** or of  
**A SENSITIVE MORAL NATURE**  
IS A **FORMIDABLE** if not an  
**INSUPERABLE OBSTACLE**  
To **SUCCESS.**"

= Jno. J. INGALLS =

"We have got to aim at  
**A SOLID NORTH** as  
the democrats are sure  
of **A SOLID SOUTH.**

The '**TARIFF**' is only  
xx **FEINT,**  
**A FALSE PRETENSE,** xxx  
**JUGGLERY** and  
**TOMFOOLERY.!**"

= J. J. INGALLS. =

"**NO LAW**  
**COULD BE**  
**PASSED TO LOAN**  
**MONEY ON REAL**  
**ESTATE SECURITY** from  
**THE TREASURY** that  
would be constitutional.  
The enactment of  
such a law  
would destroy the  
**VALUE OF MONEY!**"

= Jno. J. INGALLS. =

"The **DECALOGUE** and the  
**GOLDEN RULE** have  
**NO PLACE IN A**  
**POLITICAL CAMPAIGN** xx"

= J. J. INGALLS. =

"**MONEY DOES NOT STINK**  
**NO MATTER HOW ACQUIRED.**

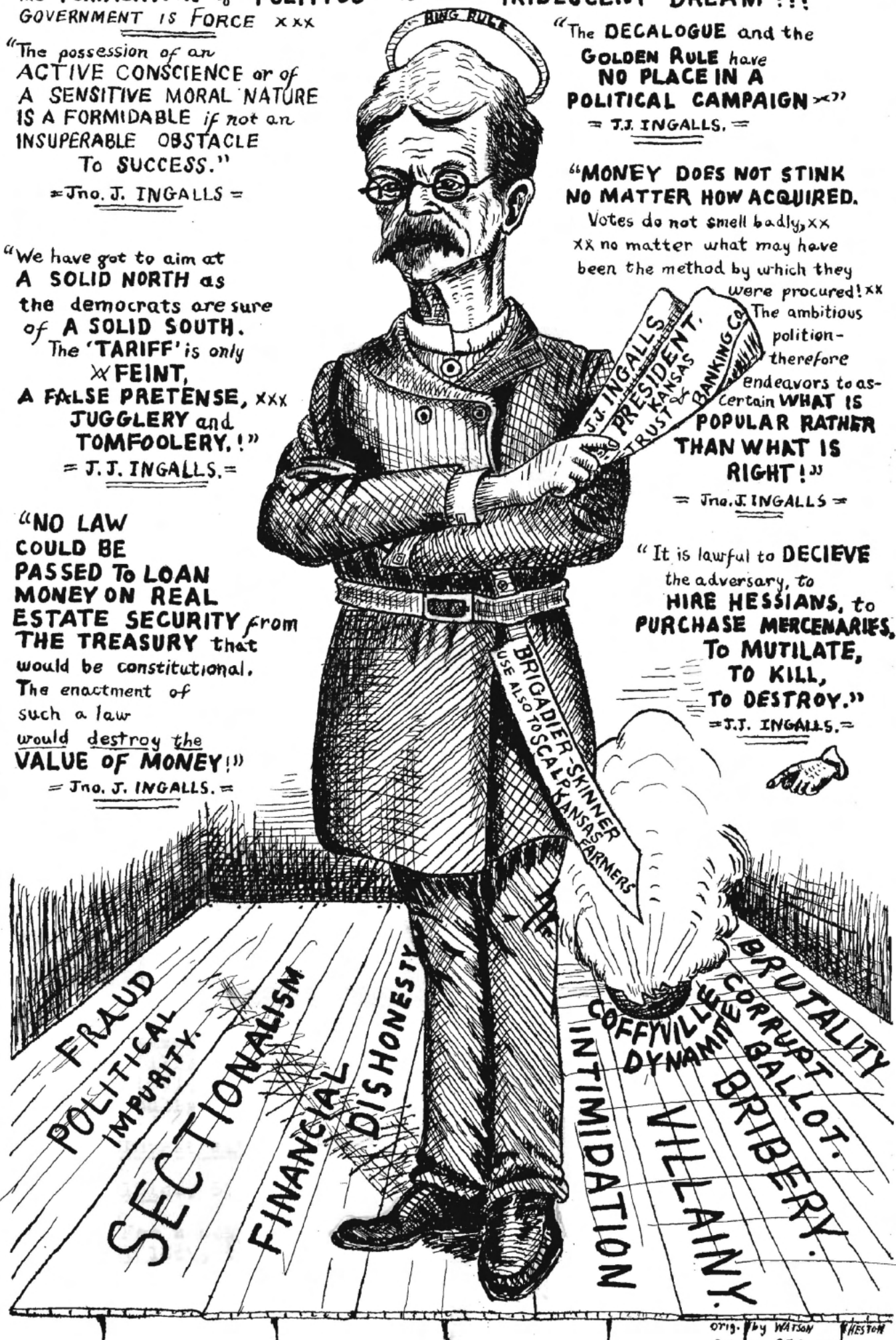
Votes do not smell badly, xx  
xx no matter what may have  
been the method by which they  
were procured! xx

The ambitious  
politician-  
therefore  
endeavors to as-  
certain **WHAT IS**  
**POPULAR RATHER**  
**THAN WHAT IS**  
**RIGHT!**"

= Jno. J. INGALLS =

"It is lawful to **DECIEVE**  
the adversary, to  
**HIRE HESSIANS,** to  
**PURCHASE MERCENARIES,**  
**TO MUTILATE,**  
**TO KILL,**  
**TO DESTROY."**

= J. J. INGALLS. =



Peffer. There was apprehension about the loyalty of some of the Populist legislators before the balloting, but on 27 January all of them held in line.<sup>39</sup>

With a Populist House, the former Union Labor people could now have the legislative investigation of the Coffeyville explosion denied them in 1889. The Vincents had hired I. D. Highleyman, of Chetopa, to investigate the matter. Highleyman attempted to work with the Montgomery County attorney, O. P. Ergenbright, but without success. Highleyman was easily discouraged and did not seem to be too enthusiastic about this assignment. After more delays, the Vincents decided to rely on their newspaper to present their case from the circumstantial evidence which they and Highleyman had procured.<sup>40</sup> Ergenbright, a Republican who was elected to office in 1888, was later charged with prejudice in the matter. In his campaign for office, he had accused the Vincents of causing the explosion. Ergenbright did not deny later that he had made such charges.<sup>41</sup>

With the courts apparently closed against them, the Vincents and their allies petitioned the Kansas legislature for an investigation.<sup>42</sup> A petition was presented to State

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<sup>39</sup>Kansas Legislature, Senate Journal, Seventh Biennial Session, 172; Admire's Hand-Book, 382-384; Nonconformist, 22 January 1891, 1; 29 January 1891, 1, 4. See Appendices D and E for Populist poetry celebrating this victory.

<sup>40</sup>Investigation, 266-267.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>42</sup>For a copy of this petition, see Nonconformist, 21 February 1889, 5.



Senator Francis M. Lockhard, Republican from Norton, Kansas, who responded with an acid refusal. His letter, plus the Vincents' equally acid comments, were spread on the front page of the Nonconformist.<sup>43</sup> The demand for a legislative investigation continued throughout 1889 in local Union Labor meetings.<sup>44</sup>

The legislative action began on 4 February 1891, when J. L. Andrews, Populist Representative from Arkansas City, introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 23, "relating to dynamite explosions at Coffeyville, October 18, 1888, which was read, and laid over."<sup>45</sup> The resolution easily passed the House, but the Senate fussed and fumed with it, amended it by toning down the partisan language, but they passed it nonetheless. With good reason they passed it. Republicans, including those involved and others were calling for it. The Greenwood County Republican printed in February, 1891, correspondence in 1889 between editor W. E. Doud, O. P. Ergenbright, and Governor Humphrey. Doud asked some specific questions about what the Republicans were doing about the charges made against the Republicans by the Vincents. "The democratic [sic.] press of the state," he wrote Humphrey,

<sup>43</sup>28 February 1889, 1.

<sup>44</sup>Both the Montgomery and Smith County Union Labor conventions, the former where the incident occurred and the latter a part of Lockhard's district, appear in Nonconformist, 19 September 1889, 1.

<sup>45</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Seventh Biennial Session (1891), 275.



"and in fact out of the state, is copying this damnable stuff from this paper, week after week, and no effort on the part of the republican [sic.] press is being made to refute or deny these awful charges." The answers to Doud's letters were "evasive" and he felt an investigation should be conducted. The Nonconformist reprinted both Doud's letters and his editorial.<sup>46</sup>

All the Populists on the Committee came from the House: J. L. Andrews, of Cowley County was chairman; Ezra C. Carey of Nemaha County; O M. Rice of Coffey County; and C. C. Vandeventer, of Jewell County. On 23 February Andrews resigned because of ill health<sup>47</sup> and was replaced by M. Senn, of Dickinson County. Carey, however, was elected chairman after Andrews left. Vandeventer resigned 25 February and was replaced by George W. Crumby of Elk County; Rice resigned on 2 March, replaced by T. M. Templeton of Geary County. The Republican members were C. N. Bishoff, of Douglas County, from the House, and from the Senate C. H. Kimball of Labette County and J. G. Mohler of Saline County. The Senate appointed its only Democrat, Ed Carroll, of Leavenworth County.<sup>48</sup>

The procedures of this committee are worthy of note. The two interested parties--the Vincents, called the "prosecution,"

<sup>46</sup>Greenwood County Republican, 18 February 1891, 1; Nonconformist, 5 February 1891, 1; 26 February 1891, 1.

<sup>47</sup>Andrews died five days later, Topeka Capital, 28 February 1891, 4.

<sup>48</sup>Investigation, 608.

and Greer, Hutchins, and Booth, called the "defense"--were allowed to have attorneys represent them at state expense.<sup>49</sup> These attorneys would be allowed to cross-examine witnesses as would any member of the committee. The committee, in addition to the subpoena power, secured legislation from the legislature to grant immunity to any witness, that is, no witness could be prosecuted for anything he said. The hearings began on 24 February, the day after this legislation was approved.<sup>50</sup>

Ben S. Henderson, the Republican who debated with Cuthbert in October, 1888, and H. G. Webb, of Parsons, represented the Vincents. F. B. Dawes, of Clay Center; J. K. Coddington, of Westmoreland; and Charles Curtis, of Topeka, represented the defense. Curtis, probably the same Charles Curtis who became Vice-president of the United States,<sup>51</sup> assumed the burden of the defense since both Coddington and Dawes were away much of the time.<sup>52</sup>

Lasting nearly seven weeks, with over eighty witnesses, some of whom testified more than once, the committee's report

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 609.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 4-5, 608.

<sup>51</sup>Curtis ran for Congress, successfully, in 1892, but an examination, at the Kansas State Historical Society, of the newsclippings covering his campaign did not reveal any reference to the Investigation. It is assumed that this Curtis was the later Republican leader.

<sup>52</sup>Topeka Capital, 26 February 1891, 5.

was 639 pages long.<sup>53</sup> Many of the witnesses came from Kansas, although a few came from Colorado, Michigan, and Ohio; there was no difficulty in securing any subpoenaed witness, even those "beyond the reach of the compulsory process."<sup>54</sup>

Here, then, was the chance for the Vincents to formalize their charges into what might lead to an indictment. Their evidence, however, consisted of hearsay, circumstantial evidence, and frequently, innuendo. They attempted to prove that Henrie was in Coffeyville at the time of the explosion; i.e., that he was the mysterious "P. Jason," but a reading of the testimony fails to show a clear-cut case. Senator Carroll, the Democratic member, acknowledged in his separate report that Henrie was a disreputable person. "It would seem," reported Carroll, "that he was generally engaged in the business of betraying his associates for hire, whenever he had an opportunity."<sup>55</sup> The Republicans, in their report, weakly defended Henrie's appointment to the Labor Bureau. Their explanation of the explosion was that Upham tried to kill his wife.<sup>56</sup> The Populist report concluded that Upham did not

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<sup>53</sup>Three thousand copies of the report were printed at a total cost of \$3,966.09, or about \$1.32 per copy. The printing bill for the Legislature that session was \$44,519.32, showing that the report was nearly one-eleventh the legislative printing bill, Eighth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State 1891-92, 23.

<sup>54</sup>Investigation, 609.

<sup>55</sup>Investigation, 637.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 630-631.

attempt the murder of his family, but said that Henrie did have "some connection" with the Coffeyville explosion.<sup>57</sup> The real culprit, like the real Haymarket bomb-thrower, remained, and still remains, a mystery. The strongest evidence of Republican conspiracy was the testimony of Leland J. Webb, a Republican close to Governor Humphrey, who said that in a conversation with Humphrey the Governor told him that he had to appoint Henrie.<sup>58</sup> Senator Carroll stated in his report that there were "circumstances" which might undermine the reliability of Webb's testimony, but he was not specific.<sup>59</sup> The Populist House conducted its own investigation of Henrie in 1891. Packed with six Populists and one Republican, it brought in a highly partisan report of Henrie's appointment.<sup>60</sup>

The striking aspect of the investigation is the fact that the Videttes were cleared of any responsibility of the Coffeyville explosion. It would be expected that the Populists would do so. Carroll said that the worst thing about the Order was the secrecy by which it operated.<sup>61</sup> The Republican shift from and the Nonconformist acceptance of Upham's story lends support to Vidette innocence.

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 636.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 288.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 638.

<sup>60</sup>Kansas Legislature, House Journal, Seventh Biennial Session (1891), 1076-1092. Includes both report and testimony.

<sup>61</sup>Investigation, 638.

A long, drawn-out investigation like this did have its lighter moments. W. P. Hackney, the so-called ruler of the Winfield "ring," was called to testify. When asked if he had read the lengthy 18 October exposé, Hackney replied, "I read a part of it; I do not think I read it clear through; life is too short."<sup>62</sup> Mrs. Mary E. Lease, also called to testify on 20 February, told the committee that "her engagements. . . would interfere with her attendance. . . until the 26th or 27th inst." She was excused, continues the record, "there being no objection. . . ."<sup>63</sup> A newspaper source tells a different tale. After Mrs. Lease asked for the delay, Senator Mohler made some comment in objection to which the Irishwoman jumped up and began a harange "about an attempt to hedge by the republican [sic.] members and the republican [sic.] press." Senator Mohler then peered over his glasses, saying, "Mr. Chairman, I think in a case of this kind we can excuse Mrs. Lease for a few days."<sup>64</sup> The few days stretched into two weeks, for the lady did not testify until 6 March. During the course of her testimony she was asked if she became excited during a particular conversation. "I cannot say I did," she replied, "I scarcely ever do; I got a little intense, perhaps."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 328.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>64</sup>Topeka Capital, 21 February 1891, 5.

<sup>65</sup>Investigation, 262.

If he were not so serious, some of Ed Greer's testimony would be humorous. When asked what he saw in the Vidette ritual that was treasonable, Greer replied that, among other things, the fact that the Videttes quoted the Declaration of Independence, "which I consider," he added, "to be one of the most revolutionary documents ever issued or ever formulated by any people in the history of the world. . . ." <sup>66</sup> Greer held that men could be "of excellent character," as he described the Vincents, <sup>67</sup> but also capable "of mean or bad actions." <sup>68</sup> When asked to name some examples, he cited some of the Cowley County Union Labor men who became Populists. <sup>69</sup> During the testimony of R. R. Frey, the Cowley County Republican treasurer, it was suggested that Greer received \$800.00 for publishing the two exposures of the Videttes, <sup>70</sup> a charge Greer flatly denied. <sup>71</sup> The fact that Frey was a Republican and a member of the Cowley County Republican central committee, leaves little doubt that Greer did receive some "token" of appreciation. Greer's position as postmaster might not have been enough.

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 446.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 582.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 583.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 230.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 431.



## CONCLUSIONS

The issue of 3 September 1891 was the last for the Nonconformist in Kansas. At a state Populist convention in Indianapolis, Indiana, on 30 July 1891, it was arranged for the paper to move to that city on condition that 5,000 paid subscribers were guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> The editors verified in August, 1891, the rumors of this move,<sup>2</sup> so the subscriptions were apparently secured. Thus ended a career of fierce partisan publishing, nearly six years of agitation through both printed and spoken word.

The Nonconformist attempted to unite the "labor vote" with the "farmer vote"; this was partially accomplished as it is noted that many of the Populists elected in 1890 were members of the Knights of Labor.<sup>3</sup> John Davis, Jerry Simpson, Ben Clover, Mary Lease, John Breidenthal: all were prominent Populists and all had their political baptism in Union Labor politics. The 1888 campaign was repeated in 1890 with one important difference: in 1890 it worked. Why not in 1888? There were some differences in the platform and leadership of the two parties, although these differences could not be called significant. Senator Carroll, the Democratic member of the investigating committee, referred to the Union Labor

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest D. Stewart, "The Populist Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XIV (December, 1918), 353.

<sup>2</sup>Nonconformist, 13 August 1891, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties, 125.

party as being "transformed into the Alliance party."<sup>4</sup> The Republican report has a statement significant in this respect:<sup>5</sup>

The Union Labor party, since merged into the Alliance or People's party, was an especially important factor in the [1888] fight, and it was believed that the local ticket supported by that party would be successful in many parts of the State; and members of that party were not wanting who professed to believe that their ticket would carry the state.

The Populist report, which concluded that it was unlikely that the Republicans intended to hurt anyone with the explosives which were prematurely detonated at Coffeyville, referred to the Union Labor party in 1888 as one made up of farmers.<sup>6</sup>

If the Populists and the Union Laborites were so similar, why were the Union Labor candidates unsuccessful in 1888, why the delay until 1889 and 1890? Undoubtedly certain economic forces were yet to take full effect: the mortgage foreclosures, the bonded indebtedness, the climatic effects, the world wheat prices. It appears, however, that a fear of a radical ideology--anarchism--and of a repetition of the Haymarket violence was equally important, if not the most important cause of this delay. The elaborate planning and expenditures by the Republican state central committee which also worked closely with the Republican press signifies the

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<sup>4</sup>Investigation, 637.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 613.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 632.

strength of the Union Labor party. Further evidence is found in the Republican press of 1891. "During the campaign of 1890," said the Coffeyville Journal,<sup>7</sup>

the People's Party orators warned their audiences to beware of another Coffeyville scheme. Mrs. Lease made the explosion the subject of some of her choice harangues. It was confidently expected by them that something of the kind would happen, and consequently nothing the opposition newspapers said had any influence with them.

The Greenwood County Republican described Mrs. Lease as a "blatant old hypocrite, who traveled from one end of this state to the other, under the direction of the Vincents, charging this crime [at Coffeyville] to the Republican party. . . During the campaign [of 1890] she had the ear and confidence of thousands of honest people of Kansas. . . ." <sup>8</sup>

During the debate in the Kansas House on the resolution to investigate the explosion, P. P. Elder, the Populist speaker and gubernatorial candidate on the Union Labor ticket in 1888, left the chair to debate, stating that he believed the exposés coupled with the explosion defeated both him and his party.<sup>9</sup>

The Republicans attempted to retain the loyalty of the "labor vote," which may have been more farmer than labor, as well as their strength in the agricultural regions. In 1887, the county elections manifested that the loyalty of both

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<sup>7</sup>13 February 1891, 6.

<sup>8</sup>11 March 1891, 2.

<sup>9</sup>Coffeyville Journal, 13 February 1891, 6.

groups towards the Grand Old Party was weakening. The enthusiasm demonstrated in numerous Union Labor meetings and conventions, plus the vigor and energy of Union Labor speakers and newspapers, were danger signals for the Republicans by 1888. That theory of progress by slow evolution was being discarded by the electorate to one of rapid political change. The theories of Henry George and Edward Bellamy, particularly the latter, had the effect of showing people that a better life could be had today. Senator Ingalls, interviewed by a New York Tribune reporter after the 1890 election but before his defeat in the Kansas legislature, mentioned Looking Backward with relation to the Alliance party. "That book has been widely read out here," he said, "we find it in many Kansas homes."<sup>10</sup> The Nonconformist, as noted earlier, was instrumental in popularizing Bellamy's work.

The young editors, whose consciences were burned at the injustice exhibited in Chicago in 1887, continued throughout their stay in Kansas a stout defense of the right of free speech. It is possible that their opinions with respect to this liberty as well as to the injustice done the Haymarket anarchists, justified by history, may have swayed many readers to their view; they certainly convinced many of the injustice of the Coffeyville episode. Bitterly critical of opponents, they were genuinely upright individuals as Ed Greer himself

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<sup>10</sup>Kansas City Star, 11 December 1890, in Ingalls Clippings, volume 3, 1889-1900.

admitted, personal characteristics which enhanced the effectiveness of their political agitation. Kansas politics was more lively because of them; Kansans have a right to be proud of them. In an age when newspapers have been syndicated to a monotonous conformity of news and opinion, the Vincents stand out in relief as individualists in the finest tradition of journalism. They, too, were human and would report items which favored their cause and ignore others which might injure it. They were working against great odds, however, with limited funds and support. To have accomplished what they did with what they had is testimony to energy not often seen in today's journalism.

## POSTSCRIPT

The conclusion to the story of the Vincent brothers is yet to be written; from a few sources one discovers that they did not immediately abandon reform nor did they entirely escape criticism. In January, 1893, Mrs. Lease accused the men of being "swindlers as well as boodlers and traitors." Supposedly the "Pythonesse of the Plains" had been attacked herself by the men apparently from Indianapolis. Furthermore, she said they owed her \$250.00 for her work acquiring subscriptions for the newspaper in 1888.<sup>1</sup>

But Mrs. Lease's accusations did not prevent the Indiana Nonconformist from becoming, in Ernest D. Stewart's words, "the most important Populist organ of the state."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it became "the national organ of the [Populist] party"<sup>3</sup> although at some time Henry left the paper since Stewart fails to mention him.<sup>4</sup> The editorship changed hands, passing from Leo, to L. S. Stockwell, to Claude X. Matthews who was relieved in 1896,<sup>5</sup> but it appears that Leo returned to the editorship some time after this and supported a policy

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<sup>1</sup>Topeka Capital, 10 January 1893, 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest D. Stewart, "The Populist Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XIV (December, 1918), 353.

<sup>3</sup>Ernest D. Stewart, "The Populist Party in Indiana" (concluded), Indiana Magazine of History, XV (March, 1919), 54.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Neither article by Stewart mentions either Henry or Cuthbert.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. No exact dates are given for these changes.



of fusion with Indiana's Democratic party in 1898.<sup>6</sup>

More information, sketchy though it is, is available on Henry. In 1894, he was editor of the Chicago Searchlight, a Populist organ instrumental in the coalition of Populist and labor elements in Illinois.<sup>7</sup> He was, in this connection, a firm supporter of the Henry Demarest Lloyd-Edward Bellamy wing of the Populists,<sup>8</sup> a stand consistent with his views in Kansas. Later in the same year, he felt that Lloyd's policies were too "communistic" for the expedient reason that people would accept only so much socialism--government ownership or control of railroads and communications, for instance--at any one time. The Searchlight then turned to a free silver program.<sup>9</sup> Henry wrote The Story of the Commonweal, the "official" history of Jacob Coxey's Army of 1894.<sup>10</sup>

Cuthbert, the "Prof." also continued writing, or at least it is supposed that a "C. Vincent" writing from Indianapolis in 1893 was one of this literary trio. His article, appearing in the July, 1893, issue of Arena, attempted to answer an article in an earlier issue of the same magazine

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 67.

<sup>7</sup>Chester McArthur Destler, "Consumation of a Labor-Populist Alliance in Illinois in 1894," M.V.H.R., XXVII (March, 1941), 601.

<sup>8</sup>Chester McArthur Destler, American Radicalism 1865-1901, 236-238.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Henry Vincent, The Story of the Commonweal, (Chicago, 1894).

which urged a bimetallic currency standard. The "Prof." assailed this view with statistics and characteristic sarcasm.<sup>11</sup>

Mention must be made, too, of Watson Heston, the Non-conformist cartoonist, who apparently went to Chicago with Henry. Chester M. Destler in his book includes a Heston cartoon which carries the inscription, "Designed and drawn for the 'SEARCHLIGHT'."<sup>12</sup>

Otherwise, the Vincents disappear from known, available material. As in the physical sciences, a new piece of evidence concerning these reform publicists produces ten more mysteries. Their later activities and ideas would provide a fascinating and significant episode in the transition of America from an industrial adolescent of the last half of the nineteenth century to the Goliath of the twentieth.

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<sup>11</sup>C. Vincent, "Bimetallic Parity Under a Gold Standard," The Arena, XLIII (July, 1893), 151-160.

<sup>12</sup>Destler, op. cit., 163.

APPENDIX A

"STRIKE HER DOWN"

"Beware of her, she's false and foul,  
She greets with smiles the villian's howl,  
Ann Archy!

She'll prate about the rights of man  
And steal from you whate'er she can,  
Ann Archy!

She's dyed in vice from crown to sole,  
Her hand's hold Murder's reeking bowl,  
Ann Archy!

She comes to kill the pleasant home,  
To send men forth like beasts to roam,  
Ann Archy!

All social ties she would dissolve  
And in red riot men involve,  
Ann Archy!

Strike down the hag ere 'tis too late,  
And send her back to Satan's gate,  
Ann Archy!

Boston Budget.

Quoted in the Coffeyville Journal (weekly), 6 November  
1886, 1, col. 7.

## APPENDIX A

## APPENDIX B

### "EVOLUTION"

Two flying forms, in pathless deeps of night  
    Watched the great spheres about them wheel and flame.  
And many a planet, where it swept with might  
    Round many a central sun, they named by name.

They spoke of races whom the gradual spell  
    Of wisdom won had raised from crime and vice---  
How hate and sin had made this world a hell,  
    And love had made that world a paradise!

And while they singled, either near or far,  
    Bright orb from orb in heaven's untold abyss,  
At last one pointed to a certain star,  
    And said, with dubious gesture, "What of this?"

"Earth it is called," his musing mate replied,  
    "By those dim swarms it continents beget.  
'Tis a young star, and they that there abide  
    Shall not wear wings, like us, for centuries yet!"

Edgar Fawcett in Lippincott's.  
Quoted in the Topeka Capital, 6 October 1886, 5, col. 4.

## APPENDIX B



## APPENDIX C

### "GOULD'S PRAYER"

Our father who art in England, Rothschild be thy name, thy financial kingdom come to America, thy will be done in the United States as it is in England. Give us this day our bonds in gold, but not in silver; give us plenty of laboring men's votes to keep monopoly in power and its friends in office. We know, our father we have done many things that were wrong; we have robbed the honest poor, and brought distress to many a door; we know it was wrong to refund the bonds and make them payable in coin; we know it was wrong to demonetize silver; we know it was wrong to water all our railroad stocks; but thou knowest we made money by that. Now, our father, thou knowest we are above politics. It is the same to us whether the Democrats or Republicans rule, for thou knowest we are able to sway all political jobs in our favor. Lead us not into the way of the striker, but deliver us from the hands of the insane Knights of Labor. Thus shall we have the kingdom of bonds, interests, powers and gold till the Republic shall end. Amen.

Nonconformist, 7 October 1886, 1.

## APPENDIX C

APPENDIX D

"HURRAH FOR KANSAS!"

Hurrah for bounteous Kansas!  
Her people rouse at last  
To Listen to the oncome  
Of freedom's rushing blast;  
It's sweeping o'er her prairies,  
O'er her valleys and her hills.  
And the dawning rays of liberty blaze  
Till all the land it fills.

And the north winds, and the south winds  
Bear it o'er the waiting land,  
That Kansas now, as in the past  
Repels the slavers hand.  
Her soil baptized with freeman's blood  
A freeman's soil shall be  
Here shall her sons and daughters dwell  
In plenty, peace and liberty.

The spirits of a nation's dead  
Bend over Kansas' soil  
To urge that he who fills the land  
Should own the fruits of toil.  
Oh! by our brave and martyred sires,  
We'll ring the bell of usury's knell,  
And Kansas shall be free.

The marshalling hosts of freedom  
United swift and strong  
"The home against the mortgage"  
Was the burden of their song.  
The plowman left his furrow,  
The farmer his ripened grain  
To join the hosts of freedom  
Singing liberty's wild refrain.

Hurrah for sun-kissed Kansas!  
Hurrah for the Alliance band!  
That drove from our fertile prairies  
Monopoly's greed hand.  
We thank Thee Oh! God of battles,  
For this peaceful victory won.  
Oh! Liberty bell, ring slavery's knell  
Greedy Shylock's race is run.

## APPENDIX D

APPENDIX E

"HAYSEED IS RISIN'"

We kin all of us remember how along about September,  
The papers used to to [sic] tell about the caucus or  
the fair,  
And them fellers from the city used ter get almighty  
witty  
On the feller with the duster what had hayseed in his  
hair.

They had fun in legislators with the man what raises  
taters,  
If by any hook or crook or chance elected and sent there:  
And the reportorial friskers used ter comment on the  
whiskers,  
And the carpet sack of Bilson, what had hayseed in his  
hair.

Yes, b'gosh, he rid his pass out, and he used ter blow  
his gas out,  
And he used to drink hard cider when he went out on a tear:  
And he used to pinch a dollar till the buzzard used ter  
hollar,  
And the man cut up re-e-diklus what had hayseed in his hair.

But, by gum, if you've been readin' you observe a strange  
proceedin'--  
It's the fellow with chin whiskers that is slowly  
gettin' there,  
And it won't be too surprisin' if by slowly organizin',  
Old parties may wake up to find the hayseed's in their  
hair.

When the fashions change you fellers will all carry  
green umbrellers,  
And trousers wide across the seat to make the dudelets  
stare;  
In them times if you pass muster you must wear a linen  
duster,  
And if you want to throw on style put hayseed in your  
hair.

By a Kansas Man, Nonconformist, 19 February 1891, 1.

## APPENDIX E



## APPENDIX F

## COWLEY COUNTY ELECTION STATISTICS, 1888-1892

	Congressman, District 3				Governor		
	Bishop W. Perkins	John A. Eaton	W. H. Utley	C. W. Harvey	Lymon U. Humphrey	P. P. Elder	John Martin
1888	R	D	UL	Pro	R	UL	D
Beaver	96	47	34	4	95	32	50
Bolton, East	89	56	49	1	84	47	57
Bolton, West	90	33	59	3	91	58	33
Cedar, East	45	31	2	0	45	2	31
Cedar, West	15	7	20	0	16	20	4
Creswell, East	86	37	74	1	85	71	39
Creswell, West	45	22	39	0	46	38	22
Dexter	206	87	54	0	207	49	92
Fairview	90	47	27	1	89	24	53
Grant	37	19	55	1	38	53	21
Harvey	70	47	42	0	69	37	57
Liberty	62	31	69	0	63	68	32
Maple	84	17	51	1	82	43	25
Ninnescah	124	55	57	0	121	13	102
Omnia	82	25	22	0	83	14	32
Otter, North	32	11	7	0	32	7	11
Otter, South	56	6	9	0	57	8	6
Pleasant Valley	91	50	84	3	89	79	55
Richland, North	77	36	8	7	77	5	38
Richland, South	121	40	46	5	122	42	42
Rock Creek	106	50	25	1	105	24	53
Sheridan	74	30	61	0	76	53	36
Silver Creek	169	84	52	4	170	27	105
Silverdale	101	55	70	2	102	70	53
Spring Creek	75	35	12	3	73	12	35
Tisdale	58	34	48	2	58	44	38
Vernon	98	51	84	2	100	74	50
Walnut	135	50	57	4	135	56	61
Windsor, East	20	4	12	0	20	12	4
Windsor, West	125	20	89	0	127	45	62

## APPENDIX F

1888 cont.

	Congressman, District 3				Governor		
	Bishop W. Perkins R	John A. Eaton D	W. H. Uttey UL	C. W. Harvey Pro	Lyman U. Humphrey R	P. P. Elder UL	John Martin D
Arkansas City							
First Ward	133	86	61	9	131	61	89
Second Ward	184	92	26	8	181	24	95
Third Ward	170	112	64	6	169	64	115
Fourth Ward	249	134	40	19	247	39	135
Total	736	424	191	42	728	188	434
Winfield							
First Ward	212	109	44	2	216	37	116
Second Ward	205	62	24	10	214	22	58
Third Ward	155	74	23	4	158	22	73
Fourth Ward	85	50	14	1	87	14	49
Fifth Ward	101	52	37	3	102	35	53
Total	758	347	142	20	777	130	349
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	4053	1888	1651	107	4062	1145	2081

	State Senator District 27				Clerk of the District Court			
	J. D. Bodkin	L. F. King	Ed F. Green	A. H. Albright	Ed Pate	H. L. Wilson	John Hite	Thomas Cuppage
	Pro	R	UL	D	R	UL	D	Pro
1888 cont.								
Beaver	4	113	34	30	98	32	47	4
Bolton, East	1	84	49	54	85	47	53	1
Bolton, West	3	92	58	33	92	57	33	3
Cedar, East	0	45	2	31	44	0	31	0
Cedar, West	0	16	20	4	16	20	4	0
Creswell, East	1	80	83	31	85	71	39	1
Creswell, West	0	47	41	18	46	38	21	0
Dexter	0	206	55	86	202	57	89	0
Fairview	1	90	24	52	89	24	52	1
Grant	1	38	54	20	37	54	19	1
Harvey	0	68	37	54	72	38	52	0
Liberty	0	65	66	32	62	69	32	0
Maple	2	83	48	19	81	48	19	1
Ninnescah	0	124	36	76	123	36	76	0
Omnia	0	83	20	25	84	20	25	0
Otter, North	0	32	7	11	32	7	11	0
Otter, South	0	56	9	6	56	9	7	0
Pleasant Valley	5	88	87	51	92	80	51	4
Richland, North	7	79	7	36	75	7	36	6
Richland, South	6	121	44	43	124	41	40	6
Rock Creek	1	102	25	53	105	23	52	1
Sheridan	0	77	54	33	58	90	11	0
Silver Creek	4	169	49	83	172	44	80	4
Silverdale	2	104	70	52	103	70	52	2
Spring Creek	3	77	12	34	72	14	34	4
Tisdale	2	58	45	37	59	45	36	2
Vernon	2	97	78	56	100	77	58	1
Walnut	5	137	54	51	136	53	50	7
Windsor, East	0	20	12	4	20	12	4	0
Windsor, West	0	125	86	25	129	85	23	0

1888 cont.

	State Senator District 27				Clerk of the District Court			
	J. D. Bodkin Pro	L. P. King R	Ed F. Green UL	A. H. Albright D	Ed Pate R	H. L. Wilson UL	John Hite D	Thomas Cuppage Pro
Arkansas City								
First Ward	9	131	70	82	137	61	80	10
Second Ward	8	180	26	97	186	25	93	8
Third Ward	6	166	72	110	173	66	106	7
Fourth Ward	20	253	52	126	251	39	129	18
Total	43	730	220	415	747	191	408	43
Winfield								
First Ward	3	201	42	124	222	41	102	5
Second Ward	10	208	24	58	217	24	45	15
Third Ward	4	154	22	79	158	24	60	9
Fourth Ward	1	82	15	53	94	13	38	2
Fifth Ward	3	102	38	51	103	40	48	4
Total	21	747	141	365	794	142	293	35
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	114	4053	1627	1920	4090	1601	1838	127

1888 cont.

	County Attorney			Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 2		
	C. L. Swarts	H. D. Smith	H. D. Cummings	Julia L. Caton	Ella S. Kelley	J. D. Guthrie	H. S. Libbey	Arthur Smith
	R	UL	D	R	UL Endorsed	R	D	UL
Beaver	99	31	49	91	84	93	50	34
Bolton, East	85	50	52	59	118	95	50	41
Bolton, West	91	61	33	82	99	132	16	35
Cedar, East	44	2	31	37	36	12	3	22
Cedar, West	16	20	4	18	21	37	26	0
Creswell, East	85	71	38	73	110	86	37	71
Creswell, West	44	38	24	50	51	49	21	36
Dexter	204	55	86	197	144			
Fairview	89	24	52	90	71			
Grant	37	53	21	37	69	30	29	52
Harvey	68	39	56	50	111			
Liberty	63	67	33	66	96	61	32	70
Maple	81	48	19	81	68			
Ninnescah	123	37	75	106	115			
Omnia	84	20	25	76	53			
Otter, North	32	7	11	23	26			
Otter, South	56	9	6	56	12			
Pleasant Valley	91	82	54	83	139	91	51	81
Richland, North	80	6	38	73	47			
Richland, South	122	43	40	121	78			
Rock Creek	96	23	60	87	82			
Sheridan	76	53	35	73	78			
Silver Creek	166	47	87	137	158			
Silverdale	100	74	52	112	96	102	52	69
Spring Creek	75	13	35	71	43	72	41	10
Tisdale	61	45	36	65	75			
Vernon	101	77	58	103	121			
Walnut	138	52	50	129	111			
Windsor, East	20	12	4	16	17			
Windsor, West	127	87	23	108	118			



1888 cont.

	County Attorney			Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 2		
	C. L. Swarts	H. D. Smith	H. D. Cummings	Julia L. Caton	Ella S. Kelley	J. D. Guthrie	H. S. Libbey	Arthur Smith
	R	UL	D	R	UL Endorsed	R	UL	D
Arkansas City								
First Ward	125	69	90	129	147	156	71	32
Second Ward	145	28	126	175	128	202	81	23
Third Ward	148	71	124	166	171	190	96	64
Fourth Ward	234	69	127	248	177	281	112	36
Total	652	237	467	718	623	829	360	155
Winfield								
First Ward	214	41	112	180	179			
Second Ward	218	25	55	188	108			
Third Ward	159	24	65	148	94			
Fourth Ward	89	14	45	79	62			
Fifth Ward	102	40	48	81	100			
Total	782	144	325	676	543			
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3988	1627	1979	3764	3613	1689	768	676

	Representative District 59			Representative District 60		
	A. H. Limerick	W. E. Werden	Samuel Sheets	J. O. Campbell	M. H. Snyder	A. W. Ramage
1888 cont.	R	UL	D	R	D	UL
Beaver				102	47	32
Bolton, East				83	53	50
Bolton, West				93	34	57
Cedar, East				43	27	2
Cedar, West				16	3	20
Creswell, East				84	34	75
Creswell, West				45	15	45
Dexter						
Fairview	88	24	52			
Grant				37	20	54
Harvey						
Liberty				64	32	67
Maple	80	49	18			
Ninnescah	125	70	38			
Omnia						
Otter, North						
Otter, South						
Pleasant Valley				88	53	84
Richland, North						
Richland, South						
Rock Creek	97	26	56			
Sheridan						
Silver Creek						
Silverdale				107	52	67
Spring Creek				77	35	12
Tisdale						
Vernon	85	125	19			
Walnut	136	61	46			
Windsor, East						
Windsor, West						

1888 cont.

	Representative District 59			Representative District 60		
	A. H. Limerick R	W. E. Werden UL	Samuel Sheets D	J. O. Campbell R	M. H. Snyder D	A. W. Ramage UL
Arkansas City						
First Ward				133	95	59
Second Ward				77	104	23
Third Ward				166	123	62
Fourth Ward				252	140	45
Total				628	462	189
Winfield						
First Ward	213	70	86			
Second Ward	214	28	51			
Third Ward	158	49	49			
Fourth Ward	88	19	43			
Fifth Ward	102	43	43			
Total	775	209	272			
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	1386	564	501	1467	867	754

	Representative District 61			Probate Judge			
	J. M. Fall R	B. H. Clover UL	D. E. Standiford D	W. E. Tausey R	John A. Cochran UL	Amos Walton D	John J. Broadbent Pro
1888 cont.							
Beaver				101	27	45	6
Bolton, East				67	21	80	20
Bolton, West				81	47	37	20
Cedar, East				43	2	31	0
Cedar, West				15	19	5	0
Creswell, East				83	70	39	3
Creswell, West				46	37	19	4
Dexter	198	62	88	202	58	83	0
Fairview				87	25	52	1
Grant				37	49	19	6
Harvey	69	64	30	69	38	54	0
Liberty				65	68	29	0
Maple				84	45	24	2
Ninnescah				122	36	77	0
Omnia	80	24	25	78	20	29	0
Otter, North	32	8	9	32	7	11	0
Otter, South	56	9	6	54	9	6	0
Pleasant Valley				87	76	57	4
Richland, North	79	13	31	70	8	36	7
Richland, South	121	43	39	123	39	39	9
Rock Creek				98	24	54	1
Sheridan	74	61	29	71	52	39	0
Silver Creek	165	64	76	159	45	95	4
Silverdale				101	68	56	2
Spring Creek				64	12	37	11
Tisdale	57	43	40	57	39	46	2
Vernon				108	68	54	4
Walnut				128	52	56	5
Windsor, East	23	7	4	19	12	4	0
Windsor, West	117	110	8	125	88	21	0

	Representative District 61			Probate Judge			
	J. M. Fall R	B. H. Clover UL	D. E. Standiford D	W. E. Tausey R	John A. Cochran UL	Amos Walton D	John J. Broadbent Pro
1888 cont.							
Arkansas City							
First Ward				128	53	87	20
Second Ward				154	24	109	17
Third Ward				156	64	112	14
Fourth Ward				236	44	133	26
Total				674	185	441	77
Winfield							
First Ward				216	47	103	3
Second Ward				202	23	63	11
Third Ward				154	41	61	11
Fourth Ward				86	13	47	1
Fifth Ward				96	38	52	4
Total				754	162	326	30
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	1071	508	385	3904	1508	2001	218

	Commissioner District 3		County Treasurer		Sheriff		Register of Deeds	
	W. F. Hardwicke	A. F. Smith	W. H. Grow	John S. Wilkins	O. S. Gibson	H. H. Silverd	A. A. Jackson	H. R. Brannon
	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop		Pop	R
1889								
Beaver			89	59	96	50	102	49
Bolton, East			82	39	84	37	87	34
Bolton, West			94	29	89	33	91	31
Cedar, East			16	25	16	25	16	25
Cedar, West			15	10	15	10	15	10
Creswell, East			39	40	44	35	38	42
Creswell, West			48	37	46	38	47	38
Dexter	145	102	139	111	136	107	113	118
Fairview			82	49	71	53	73	56
Grant			47	52	52	48	60	39
Harvey	86	36	95	26	93	28	93	28
Liberty			117	44	120	36	119	43
Maple			59	58	61	50	56	57
Ninnescah			88	89	90	84	92	83
Omnia	62	41	62	41	59	43	63	38
Otter, North	28	6	23	11	23	10	23	11
Otter, South	23	19	10	33	9	33	10	32
Pleasant Valley			136	42	132	44	136	43
Richland, North	45	51	49	46	47	48	44	52
Richland, South	110	73	111	71	106	65	114	69
Rock Creek			117	45	105	49	114	50
Sheridan	83	46	86	43	79	50	80	49
Silver Creek	99	162	98	160	95	165	106	145
Silverdale			88	83	94	73	95	73
Spring Creek			42	75	47	69	50	68
Tisdale	117	28	119	25	110	35	119	26
Vernon			135	65	136	62	139	61
Walnut			115	100	112	96	111	103
Windsor, East	10	19	11	18	11	18	10	19
Windsor, West	114	69	116	67	115	66	110	74



1889 cont.	Commissioner District 3		County Treasurer		Sheriff		Register of Deeds	
	W. F. Hardwicke	A. F. Smith	W. H. Grow	John S. Wilkins	O. S. Gibson	H. H. Siverd	A. A. Jackson	H. R. Brannon
	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop	R
Arkansas City								
First Ward			125	103	154	71	144	86
Second Ward			129	149	183	97	183	98
Third Ward			145	119	181	79	190	76
Fourth Ward			148	185	187	143	187	154
Total			547	556	705	390	704	414
Winfield								
First Ward			96	195	104	183	110	180
Second Ward			64	191	67	188	81	175
Third Ward			85	126	78	130	89	121
Fourth Ward			43	74	42	76	53	63
Fifth Ward			69	82	71	78	71	80
Total			357	668	362	655	404	619
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	922	652	3232	2817	3360	2605	3433	2620

	County Clerk		Coroner		Surveyor	
	Salem Fouts Pop	L. E. Woodfin, Jr. R	D. Cunningham Pop	C. M. Holcomb R	Alexander Cairns Pop	J. M. Bradley R
1889 cont.						
Beaver	87	64	86	65	88	63
Bolton, East	82	38	84	37	84	37
Bolton, West	93	30	93	30	93	31
Cedar, East	16	25	16	25	16	25
Cedar, West	16	9	15	10	15	10
Creswell, East	40	40	38	42	37	43
Creswell, West	48	37	48	37	48	34
Dexter	136	114	133	115	133	121
Fairview	68	63	67	64	64	67
Grant	54	44	53	46	50	48
Harvey	93	28	93	27	92	28
Liberty	119	42	119	41	119	41
Maple	58	58	58	59	58	59
Ninnescah	84	93	84	93	83	92
Omnia	60	43	61	40	61	43
Otter, North	23	11	23	11	5	29
Otter, South	10	32	10	32	10	32
Pleasant Valley	132	46	129	50	130	49
Richland, North	43	53	44	51	45	51
Richland, South	110	73	106	76	110	73
Rock Creek	111	54	112	54	111	55
Sheridan	84	45	82	47	82	47
Silver Creek	103	157	100	159	101	159
Silverdale	93	78	91	80	91	79
Spring Creek	51	68	51	69	51	69
Tisdale	117	28	117	28	115	30
Vernon	138	63	137	64	137	64
Walnut	110	102	111	105	115	102
Windsor, East	11	18	11	18	11	18
Windsor, West	113	71	113	71	113	71

1889 cont.

	County Clerk		Coroner		Surveyor	
	Salem Fouts	L. E. Woodfin, Jr.	D. Cunningham	C. M. Holcomb	Alexander Cairns	J. M. Bradley
	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop	R
Arkansas City						
First Ward	139	90	134	93	136	93
Second Ward	158	124	161	119	162	117
Third Ward	171	95	169	94	168	96
Fourth Ward	176	159	170	165	169	166
Total	644	468	634	471	635	472
Winfield						
First Ward	104	187	97	193	105	186
Second Ward	66	188	63	192	69	183
Third Ward	82	126	78	131	85	124
Fourth Ward	40	76	43	74	44	73
Fifth Ward	70	80	67	84	67	84
Total	362	657	348	674	370	650
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3308	2753	3267	2791	3273	2791

	Congressman District 3			Governor		
	A. M. Richardson Pro	Bishop W. Perkins R	Benjamin Clover Pop	Lymon U. Humphrey R	J. F. Willits Pop	Charles Robinson D
1890						
Beaver	0	72	109	57	103	22
Bolton, East	0	96	101	86	84	27
Bolton, West	1	77	77	67	70	16
Cedar, East	0	33	31	31	27	4
Cedar, West	0	8	32	8	27	5
Creswell, East	0	58	72	54	51	26
Creswell, West	9	39	50	37	41	11
Dexter	1	153	139	140	112	45
Fairview	0	78	71	76	52	23
Grant	0	31	72	26	48	29
Harvey	0	40	99	35	98	6
Liberty	0	70	102	61	75	37
Maple	1	70	84	66	79	79
Ninnescah	1	102	122	86	105	33
Omnia	0	50	59	49	55	5
Otter, North	0	25	22	23	21	3
Otter, South	0	30	27	29	25	2
Pleasant Valley	0	70	150	64	143	13
Richland, North	0	58	71	57	70	2
Richland, South	0	101	110	92	97	25
Rock Creek	0	71	98	70	93	6
Sheridan	0	71	79	59	67	28
Silver Creek	0	163	94	155	77	30
Silverdale	0	75	93	73	76	22
Spring Creek	0	68	63	67	59	5
Tisdale	0	40	102	39	99	7
Vernon	0	82	160	78	145	20
Walnut	4	114	115	105	114	16
Windsor, East	0	23	17	22	15	4
Windsor, West	1	95	129	93	124	8

	Congressman District 3			Governor		
	A. M. Richardson	Bishop W. Perkins	Benjamin Clover	Lymon U. Humphrey	J. F. Willits	Charles Robinson
	Pro	R	Pop	R	Pop	D
1890 cont.						
Arkansas City						
First Ward	4	155	131	102	52	127
Second Ward	0	233	94	123	27	177
Third Ward	0	212	120	117	43	145
Fourth Ward	2	252	135	189	35	168
Total	6	852	480	531	157	617
Winfield						
First Ward	0	152	107	127	54	82
Second Ward	0	178	68	155	35	55
Third Ward	0	130	71	117	36	55
Fourth Ward	0	77	42	59	23	29
Fifth Ward	1	77	82	70	54	34
Total	1	614	370	528	202	255
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	16	3529	3400	2974	2612	1381

	Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 1		Representative District 59	
	Julia Caton	Lida Brady	D. W. Pierce	J. W. Cottingham	A. W. Jennings	Jacob Nixon
	R	Pop	R	Pop	Pop	R
Beaver	69	111				
Bolton, East	91	104				
Bolton, West	71	81				
Cedar, East	29	31				
Cedar, West	9	31				
Creswell, East	58	71				
Creswell, West	40	48				
Dexter	139	153				
Fairview	83	69	75	74	76	70
Grant	34	68				
Harvey	40	96				
Liberty	69	101				
Maple	75	82	69	86	70	85
Ninnescah	104	120	109	112	101	120
Omnia	49	58				
Otter, North	26	21				
Otter, South	23	32				
Pleasant Valley	73	146				
Richland, North	61	67				
Richland, South	93	115				
Rock Creek	76	92	69	100	73	97
Sheridan	70	81				
Silver Creek	156	104				
Silverdale	77	93				
Spring Creek	67	64				
Tisdale	46	99				
Vernon	86	155	79	164	82	160
Walnut	116	122	103	132	112	122
Windsor, East	23	16				
Windsor, West	96	126				

1890



	Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 1		Representative District 59	
	Julia Caton	Lida Brady	D. W. Pierce	J. W. Cottingham	A. W. Jennings	Jacob Nixon
1890 cont.	R	Pop	R	Pop	Pop	R
Arkansas City						
First Ward	134	148				
Second Ward	212	98				
Third Ward	190	142				
Fourth Ward	231	155				
Total	767	543				
Winfield						
First Ward	146	110	148	109	156	100
Second Ward	172	72	165	78	172	43
Third Ward	128	75	127	79	136	70
Fourth Ward	76	44	73	34	83	37
Fifth Ward	76	80	72	84	74	82
Total	598	381	585	384	622	332
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3414	3481	1089	1052	1136	1016

1891	Commissioner District 2			County Treasurer			Sheriff		
	J. D. Guthrie	Amos Walton	J. W. Oldham	J. S. Wilkin	W. C. Hawkins	J. Scott Baker	J. B. Whipp	Jasper Cochran	S. G. Gary
	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D
Beaver	70	92	7	68	92	7	73	92	4
Bolton, East	80	67	2	79	68	4	78	67	6
Bolton, West	76	68	5	75	70	3	72	71	3
Cedar, East	23	28	5	23	28	0	23	28	0
Cedar, West	6	18	2	12	12	2	10	14	2
Creswell, East	45	31	7	44	29	9	44	30	8
Creswell, West	25	48	5	35	49	4	25	49	4
Dexter				148	129	13	140	134	15
Fairview				71	45	17	65	54	10
Grant	13	73	5	52	45	1	32	53	14
Harvey				42	81	5	41	81	4
Liberty	64	74	3	65	74	9	66	72	10
Maple				60	67	6	59	70	4
Ninnescah				99	102	16	111	95	14
Omnia				44	61	3	45	61	2
Otter, North				28	18	0	28	18	1
Otter, South				27	17	0	27	16	1
Pleasant Valley	82	125	8	81	128	13	89	125	7
Richland, North				80	112	5	78	114	5
Richland, South				47	64	0	39	71	1
Rock Creek				58	94	1	52	99	1
Sheridan				65	50	14	66	52	12
Silver Creek				148	96	18	139	106	14
Silverdale	67	90	9	73	80	15	69	86	13
Spring Creek	74	66	7	91	51	4	64	71	8
Tisdale				41	94	8	40	96	7
Vernon				85	122	21	89	129	10
Walnut				113	100	13	108	110	9
Windsor, East				18	12	1	18	12	1
Windsor, West				78	85	15	78	85	17

1891 cont.

	Commissioner District 2			County Treasurer			Sheriff		
	J. D. Guthrie	Amos Walton	J. W. Oldham	J. S. Wilkin	W. C. Hawkins	J. Scott Baker	J. B. Wipp	Jasper Cochran	S. G. Gary
	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D
Arkansas City									
First Ward	131	60	28	135	60	29	137	60	27
Second Ward	237	41	26	257	32	15	239	39	23
Third Ward	175	56	35	191	48	27	188	51	25
Fourth Ward	262	66	51	269	64	47	269	69	42
Total	805	223	140	852	204	118	833	219	117
Winfield									
First Ward				194	52	27	188	67	23
Second Ward				182	71	9	174	71	9
Third Ward				167	31	14	163	36	12
Fourth Ward				83	20	6	83	24	3
Fifth Ward				93	53	11	97	52	7
Total				719	227	67	705	250	54
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	1430	1003	200	3511	2494	417	3406	2630	378

1891 cont.

	Register of Deeds			County Clerk		
	R. S. Strother	J. D. Salmon	F. P. Hutchinson	J. B. Fishback	Salem Fouts	John W. Hanlan
	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D
Beaver	70	92	7	71	91	7
Bolton, East	71	70	10	83	61	6
Bolton, West	67	66	15	73	72	4
Cedar, East	23	28	0	23	28	0
Cedar, West	8	16	2	8	16	2
Creswell, East	44	31	8	43	29	9
Creswell, West	26	48	4	24	48	5
Dexter	138	145	5	143	131	15
Fairview	71	44	17	68	43	22
Grant	33	61	5	37	55	7
Harvey	46	78	4	43	80	6
Liberty	63	78	6	62	77	9
Maple	60	68	5	60	68	5
Ninnescah	99	101	16	102	102	15
Omnia	56	51	1	44	62	0
Otter, North	28	18	0	28	18	0
Otter, South	25	18	1	27	16	1
Pleasant Valley	82	129	12	85	126	12
Richland, North	84	108	4	83	110	5
Richland, South	46	63	0	46	66	0
Rock Creek	56	95	1	57	93	3
Sheridan	65	56	9	66	51	13
Silver Creek	143	103	14	154	100	12
Silverdale	66	87	14	77	76	14
Spring Creek	70	65	12	72	71	4
Tisdale	40	93	8	41	94	8
Vernon	85	131	9	87	131	9
Walnut	114	100	11	113	102	11
Windsor, East	18	12	1	18	12	1
Windsor, West	82	86	14	85	82	15

1891 cont.

	Register of Deeds			County Clerk		
	R. S. Strother R	J. D. Salmon Pop	F. P. Hutchinson D	J. B. Fishback R	Salem Fouts Pop	John W. Hanlan D
Arkansas City						
First Ward	119	70	35	142	64	18
Second Ward	214	56	36	237	52	15
Third Ward	155	57	54	193	58	14
Fourth Ward	250	66	61	285	62	34
Total	738	249	186	857	236	81
Winfield						
First Ward	181	61	35	173	72	30
Second Ward	183	53	17	172	68	12
Third Ward	164	33	15	152	46	13
Fourth Ward	80	20	8	73	31	6
Fifth Ward	92	51	13	91	51	14
Total	700	218	88	661	268	75
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3318	2608	489	3441	2615	376

	Coroner			Surveyor		
	S. S. McDowell	D. Cunningham	C. E. Pugh	J. M. Merry	Alex Cairns	W. L. Marcy
	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D
1891 cont.						
Beaver	71	89	10	71	92	7
Bolton, East	78	68	5	75	72	4
Bolton, West	73	71	4	73	71	4
Cedar, East	23	28	0	23	28	0
Cedar, West	8	16	2	8	16	2
Creswell, East	44	30	9	44	30	9
Creswell, West	25	49	4	25	49	4
Dexter	143	129	18	153	123	13
Fairview	72	44	17	72	44	17
Grant	37	54	7	37	54	7
Harvey	42	82	5	43	81	5
Liberty	68	76	9	63	76	9
Maple	60	68	5	60	68	5
Ninnescah	101	102	16	101	102	16
Omnia	43	64	1	45	61	2
Otter, North	28	18	0	28	18	0
Otter, South	27	17	0	27	17	0
Pleasant Valley	81	125	17	85	129	12
Richland, North	85	108	5	83	110	5
Richland, South	48	63	0	46	66	0
Rock Creek	56	96	1	55	96	1
Sheridan	66	51	13	79	48	3
Silver Creek	154	95	16	155	98	13
Silverdale	71	82	14	71	82	15
Spring Creek	73	66	7	73	66	7
Tisdale	39	94	10	40	96	7
Vernon	83	128	17	86	131	9
Walnut	115	97	15	114	100	13
Windsor, East	18	12	1	18	12	1
Windsor, West	83	84	15	83	84	14



1891 cont.

	Coroner			Surveyor		
	S. S. McDowell	D. Cunningham	C. E. Pugh	J. M. Merry	Alex Cairns	W. L. Marcy
	R	Pop	D	R	Pop	D
Arkansas City						
First Ward	136	55	35	126	60	39
Second Ward	242	34	28	225	36	44
Third Ward	177	51	35	167	50	49
Fourth Ward	262	61	57	251	64	64
Total	769	210	196	817	201	155
Winfield						
First Ward	175	48	54	178	64	35
Second Ward	170	53	30	179	59	16
Third Ward	158	32	20	159	33	20
Fourth Ward	75	20	14	80	20	10
Fifth Ward	93	49	15	94	48	14
Total	671	202	133	690	224	95
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3403	2509	531	3392	2554	496

	Congressman District 3			Governor		
	Lyman U. Humphrey R	F. J. Hudson Pop	M. V. B. Bennett Pro	Abraham W. Smith R	C. D. Levelling Pop	I. O. Pickering Pro
Beaver	81	113	3	82	112	3
Bolton, East	103	119	0	102	119	0
Bolton, West	82	111	5	82	111	5
Cedar, East	32	27	0	33	27	0
Cedar, West	9	27	0	9	27	0
Creswell, East	55	68	3	55	68	3
Creswell, West	47	64	0	47	66	0
Dexter	144	143	1	146	140	2
Fairview	89	63	0	89	63	0
Grant	50	74	0	52	73	0
Harvey	40	100	0	42	96	0
Liberty	83	82	2	83	81	3
Maple	78	73	0	77	74	1
Ninnescah	121	135	1	123	134	1
Omnia	50	68	0	51	67	0
Otter, North	30	27	0	31	26	0
Otter, South	36	22	0	36	22	0
Pleasant Valley	70	185	5	74	181	7
Richland, North	51	61	0	51	61	0
Richland, South	96	126	0	97	125	4
Rock Creek	63	100	0	64	98	1
Sheridan	74	71	3	75	69	3
Silver Creek	164	124	6	161	123	6
Silverdale	77	133	0	78	132	0
Spring Creek	75	72	0	75	72	0
Tisdale	49	96	0	51	93	1
Vernon	84	156	0	85	155	0
Walnut	112	107	7	115	106	6
Windsor, East	28	13	0	28	13	0
Windsor, West	96	114	0	97	113	0

1892

	Congressman District 3			Governor		
	Lymon U. Humphrey	F. J. Hudson	M. V. B. Bennet	Abraham W. Smith	C. D. Levelling	I. O. Pickering
	R	Pop	Pro	R	Pop	Pro
1892 cont.						
Arkansas City						
First Ward	141	192	6	144	190	6
Second Ward	288	182	8	279	189	8
Third Ward	247	202	5	247	202	6
Fourth Ward	293	213	15	295	213	15
Total	969	789	34	965	794	35
Winfield						
First Ward	188	135	5	199	123	5
Second Ward	194	99	12	205	90	10
Third Ward	158	86	3	160	86	2
Fourth Ward	72	56	1	71	57	1
Fifth Ward	107	89	19	109	82	21
Total	719	465	40	744	438	39
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3857	3929	113	3900	3877	120

	Congressman at Large			State Senator District 27		Clerk of the District Court	
	George Anthony	W. A. Harris	J. M. Monroe	S. M. Fall	L. P. King	J. M. Henderson	O. P. Fuller
1892 cont.	R	Pop	Pro	R	Pop	R	Pop
Beaver	81	113	3	75	121	80	117
Bolton, East	104	119	0	102	120	103	119
Bolton, West	82	111	4	82	114	80	117
Cedar, East	33	27	0	33	27	33	27
Cedar, West	9	27	0	9	27	9	27
Creswell, East	56	68	30	57	67	52	72
Creswell, West	47	64	0	47	63	44	67
Dexter	146	140	2	144	142	147	141
Fairview	88	63	0	88	64	86	66
Grant	51	73	0	54	70	52	73
Harvey	43	97	0	43	97	40	95
Liberty	83	80	3	82	83	78	88
Maple	78	73	1	78	73	78	73
Ninnescah	123	134	1	123	134	124	133
Omnia	51	67	0	48	70	50	67
Otter, North	31	26	0	31	26	30	26
Otter, South	36	22	0	36	22	36	22
Pleasant Valley	75	180	7	73	188	72	190
Richland, North	50	61	0	51	61	50	60
Richland, South	96	126	5	97	128	96	128
Rock Creek	64	97	1	63	100	64	99
Sheridan	76	70	3	73	69	76	68
Silver Creek	164	121	6	164	122	142	139
Silverdale	77	132	0	78	132	75	133
Spring Creek	75	72	0	75	72	75	72
Tisdale	50	95	0	50	95	51	94
Vernon	84	156	0	85	155	82	158
Walnut	109	107	7	116	109	112	113
Windsor, East	28	13	0	28	13	28	13
Windsor, West	97	114	0	100	106	91	119

1892 cont.

	Congressman at Large			State Senator District 27		Clerk of the District Court	
	George Anthony	W. A. Harris	J. M. Monroe	S. M. Fall	L. P. King	J. M. Henderson	O. P. Fuller
	R	Pop	Pro	R	Pop	R	Pop
Arkansas City							
First Ward	141	192	6	149	191	139	201
Second Ward	267	202	9	281	188	267	213
Third Ward	244	205	6	249	201	234	221
Fourth Ward	297	211	18	303	211	270	250
Total	949	810	39	982	791	910	885
Winfield							
First Ward	198	124	6	199	128	175	152
Second Ward	200	92	13	201	96	181	120
Third Ward	160	86	2	158	88	149	98
Fourth Ward	71	57	1	74	54	70	58
Fifth Ward	111	83	21	108	102	105	106
Total	740	442	43	740	468	680	534
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3876	3900	127	3907	3928	3726	4135

1892 cont.

	County Attorney		Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 3	
	D. L. Weir	George Scott	Eva Kirkpatrick	Lyda Brady	C. A. Peabody	John Leech
	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop
Beaver	83	112	82	114		
Bolton, East	104	117	103	119		
Bolton, West	79	114	81	116		
Cedar, East	33	26	30	28		
Cedar, West	9	27	9	25		
Creswell, East	50	69	62	58		
Creswell, West	45	65	46	64		
Dexter	144	145	143	143	170	112
Fairview	88	63	88	63		
Grant	48	77	54	71		
Harvey	42	98	43	97	43	97
Liberty	81	85	79	85		
Maple	78	73	78	71		
Ninnescah	122	134	122	132		
Omnia	51	67	51	67	51	66
Otter, North	31	26	32	24	31	26
Otter, South	36	22	33	24	25	23
Pleasant Valley	81	180	82	180		
Richland, North	50	61	51	60	51	61
Richland, South	97	128	96	128	97	125
Rock Creek	64	99	62	94		
Sheridan	76	71	76	70	75	68
Silver Creek	161	126	161	128	152	128
Silverdale	76	133	81	127		
Spring Creek	75	72	75	72		
Tisdale	51	91	52	92	51	93
Vernon	84	156	85	155		
Walnut	115	108	116	110		
Windsor, East	28	13	27	14	28	13
Windsor, West	97	113	98	112	94	116



1892 cont.

	County Attorney		Super'dt. of Public Instruction		Commissioner District 3	
	D. L. Weir	George Scott	Eva Kirkpatrick	Lyda Brady	C. A. Peabody	John Leech
	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop
Arkansas City						
First Ward	141	196	149	187		
Second Ward	239	230	284	188		
Third Ward	220	230	250	206		
Fourth Ward	302	211	214	204		
Total	902	867	897	785		
Winfield						
First Ward	195	130	207	115		
Second Ward	199	97	224	76		
Third Ward	156	87	165	81		
Fourth Ward	71	54	77	51		
Fifth Ward	110	95	123	88		
Total	731	463	796	411		
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	3812	3999	3991	3844	878	928

	Representative District 52		Representative District 53		Judge District 13		Probate Judge	
	J. H. Gilliland	Ed F. Green	F. G. Powers	J. C. Bradshaw	George Buckman	A. M. Jackson	H. F. Alberts	R. C. Maurer
1892 cont.	R	Pro	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop
Beaver	81	115			83	113	84	112
Bolton, East	102	120			103	119	102	120
Bolton, West	82	114			82	114	84	111
Cedar, East	33	9			33	27	33	27
Cedar, West	9	27			9	26	9	27
Creswell, East	53	71			57	68	57	67
Creswell, West	45	66			46	65	48	63
Dexter	144	143			151	137	137	150
Fairview			88	64	91	61	89	62
Grant	53	72			53	72	51	74
Harvey			42	98	42	96	49	90
Liberty	82	83			83	83	82	84
Maple			78	73	78	73	78	73
Ninnescah			123	134	122	134	126	131
Omnia			48	70	53	65	53	65
Otter, North			31	26	31	26	31	26
Otter, South			35	23	25	23	26	22
Pleasant Valley	69	190			81	181	80	181
Richland, North			49	60	54	58	51	61
Richland, South			98	126	97	126	100	126
Rock Creek			64	99	64	98	66	97
Sheridan			76	70	78	68	74	72
Silver Creek			163	124	150	140	156	133
Silverdale	74	135			77	133	78	132
Spring Creek	81	66			82	65	75	71
Tisdale			50	94	51	95	52	93
Vernon			83	156	86	154	88	152
Walnut			116	110	117	106	121	107
Windsor, East			28	13	28	13	28	13
Windsor, West			97	112	97	113	99	111

	Representative District 52		Representative District 53		Judge District 13		Probate Judge	
	J. H. Gilliland	Ed F. Green	F. G. Powers	J. C. Bradshaw	George Buckman	A. M. Jackson	H. F. Alberts	R. C. Mauer
1892 cont.	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop	R	Pop
Arkansas City								
First Ward	145	191			133	205	146	191
Second Ward	274	199			258	218	268	202
Third Ward	247	208			234	223	249	208
Fourth Ward	298	218			307	216	208	210
Total	964	816			932	862	871	811
Winfield								
First Ward			199	127	208	120	211	117
Second Ward			201	96	221	82	215	85
Third Ward			159	87	170	77	164	83
Fourth Ward			72	56	79	49	78	52
Fifth Ward			109	99	131	84	117	91
Total			736	495	809	412	785	428
<u>TOTAL VOTES</u>	1872	2043	2010	1916	3955	3926	3974	3893

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