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A HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN KANSAS

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

Thesis Adviser
Chairman of Thesis
Chairman of Graduate

By

George H. Callis

KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Pittsburg, Kansas

June, 1933

PORTER LIBRARY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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In addition to the obligation to instructors and advisers, I have been the recipient of many favors and courtesies from the librarians of many libraries.

I am deeply indebted to the men who were on the political stage during the period under study: Victor Murdock, former congressman and editor of the Wichita Eagle and William Allen White, publisher and editor of the Lawrence Gazette. These two men have done much to fill the gaps in material for my interviews with the author.

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Chairman of Graduate Council O. P. Helbling
.....

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis has been written with the aim of making it a teaching instrument in the social sciences. An attempt has been made to cover the span of American History treating briefly the liberalizing forces. The author has used much of the text of the thesis in his classes in American History, Kansas History, World History, American Problems, Civics, Economics and Sociology. The narrative of the development of the liberal forces in government adds much to the vividness of teaching because of its setting. It is recent enough in point of time to belong to the present era and helps to explain the significance of political life to-day.

The treatment of the material in this treatise has done much to broaden the author's views of state and national politics, big business and government. After all material was collected, the only apparent sources of information in many places were the newspapers and actors who had taken part in the dramas and episodes under consideration. Both of these sources have been used. The Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka has files of all the newspapers of the state, and these were consulted freely. William Allen White and Victor Murdock were the two Kansas actors on the political stage of this era who have aided much in the preparation of this thesis, both by interview and by reading of the manuscript.

~~original~~ The Progressive era did not end when the Progressive Party went down in defeat in the election of 1912 nor with its utter failure to weather the convention strife of 1916. It is true the progressive era did not clear up all the problems facing the state nor did it do so in the national government. In fact, it might sometimes seem that with all the liberalizing changes of the so-called progressive period, only a start was made in making the government progressive.

~~informa~~ Many of our institutions have their origin in liberalizing developments such as the progressive period. Each has its origin in some peculiar economic, social, political, and educational felt need and is couched in the economic fabric of our government. For example, "Big Business" and some businesses not so "Big" driven by their common need of "privilege" has grown accustomed to control the government in order to carry on its business "profitably". The public schools of the nation have grown by leaps and bounds during the same era. Many of the private schools have been wholly or partially supported by "Big Business" donations, or endowments. Especially in Kansas, the educational institutions have grown during the Murdock Rebellion, Boss Buster, Square Dealer, Insurgent, Progressive Republican and Progressive phases of the progressive movement. Many of the administrative and organizational weak points facing the educational administrator today probably

originated during the various phases of this development. This study has been especially interesting due to the light it has thrown upon the present day educational administrative problems.

This study cannot hope to be a final summary of the progressive era, for it was not ended in the period covered. It is hoped that this study may aid in the further research carried on by others and be an addition to the available information at the hand of the layman. Professor Turner in his Frontier in American History, has pictured

"every generation in America since the adoption of the federal constitution as witnessing an advance of democracy. This advance has been the result of radical opinion, radical action and radical leadership. To a large extent this radicalism, from Jefferson to La Follette, has had its impetus on the frontier or in the advancing West."

The Progressive Movement is one of the products of this radicalism.

These liberal movements have been liberal, radical and even reactionary, but always they have been alive, broader than any party,¹ appearing first in one party and then another, often coming out as a third party movement to compel the old parties to adopt their program. These movements are the

1. Fred E. Haynes, Social Politics in the United States, p. 181, gives this as the opinion of William Allen White of Kansas.

2. James Albert Woodburn, "Western Radicalism in American Politics", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIII (Sept., 1926), 145.

3. John E. Hyman, "The Progressive Movement", Forum, LXXIX (April, 1923), 1400-5.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF LIBERAL MOVEMENTS

A history of the Progressive Movement in Kansas demands a short summary of the liberal, democratic, progressive, sometimes radical movements throughout the history of the United States.

The Progressive Movement is "one of the big self-evident things in our national life."¹ Professor Turner in his Frontier in American History, has pictured

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3. John F. Hylan, "The Progressive Movement", Forum, LXIX (April, 1923), 1460-6.

"natural movements that come inevitable when the mass of the people awaken to the fact that repeated and often successful attempts are made to exploit them or usurp their rights".⁴

Many of the major liberal movements in American politics have been agrarian. According to William Allen White "our American Revolution was essentially agrarian. It came from the planters of the South and the New England merchants, backed by the farmers of the North".⁵

This early period under the Articles of Confederation and the establishment of our federal government, saw business grow politically. This movement was partially checked by the Jeffersonian Democracy. Norman Gras characterizes the period 1791-1861 as the time when small debtor class gained in their strength as the tariff did little more than provide revenue.⁶

With but few exceptions the South and the West had been able to keep an economic balance established throughout the period before the Civil War. But gradually the industrial development of the North increased that sectionalism which is shown so clearly in the alignment in the Jeffersonian Democracy, the War of 1812, the South Carolina Exposition and Protest, the Panic of 1837 and the Mexican War. The

4. Hylan, "Progressive Movement", Forum, LXIX(April, 1923) 1460-6.

5. William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 472.

6. Norman Gras, "Rulers of America", Current History, XXXIII (December, 1930) 351-5.

7. Ibid. (December, 1930), 351-5.

South's part in these alignments generally came in the leadership. The West's part had been the products of the American frontier -- "radicalism and democracy."⁸

Another angle of this association between radicalism and democracy has been stressed by William E. Dodd, as a natural alliance, "each war has gradually placed the farmer and laborer under the manufacturer and finally drove the South to fight a war. The South and West then paid the war debt."⁹ The free farm laboring class of the West, in the Civil War, made a temporary gain with the corresponding economic advantages to its section. But in doing so it destroyed the political power of the South and the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War to the eighties can be understood only by a close analysis of this period.

The period 1861-1887 has been characterized as the development, amalgamation and consolidation of "Big Business" in the United States.¹⁰ The Reconstruction policy throttled the political power of the South that industry might have the dominant position. This further crippled the South to such an extent that it could not furnish that leadership so necessary to the cause of the masses against the ruling industrial,

8. Albert Frederick Pollard, Factors in American History, p. 133.

9. William E. Dodd, "The Passing of the Old United States," Century, CXIX (October, 1929), 39.

10. Norman Gras, "The Rulers of America," Current History, XXXIII (December, 1930), 351-5.

commercial and professional politicians. The rise of this new and complicated economic organization of society found the American people unprepared to deal with the problems confronting them.¹¹

The South was removed from the political balance wheel of our national government at a time when its leadership was needed to curb the Frankenstein railroad which controlled many state senators and representatives.¹² The states were even classified by their representative railroad districts as Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and Rock Island in Kansas.¹³ Many of these Northwestern states were "made so to speak by the railroads and were now at the mercy of its creator".¹⁴

Then to further destroy the check on "Big Business"-- the West witnessed the building of state empires almost overnight on borrowed capital. That meant this new civilization must pay those ten and twenty year mortgages. This created a materialistic minded debtor class west of the Mississippi and left the path open for the professional politicians and their machine.

11. Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion, 1829-1909, p. 289.

12. F. J. Heney, "Corruption in High Places", The Arena, XXXIX, (1910) 625.

13. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 185.

14. Ibid.

These elements of the period changed the national and state governments from a

"respectable democracy into a kind of political oligarchy dominated by finance, or commerce, or wealth, or what not of the material power in a community that looked chiefly to the enrichment of the few and the incidental employment of the many.-- The whole thing was a growth. It was the inevitable trend that affairs must take when the heart of an intelligent democracy turns from spiritual to material things. The rich beneficiaries of the change in our form of government were not one whit more to blame than the poor dupes whose civic indolence made the change possible."¹⁵

Following the Civil War, the Republican Party had remained in power until Cleveland's administration in 1885. The Republican Party was made up of many old factions including Whigs, Free Soilers, Know Nothings, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and the War Democrats.¹⁶ These factions had supported the Republican Party for the sake of the Union, but had given "its support only provisionally, with a potential, if not an actual, independence of judgment."¹⁷

The main issues of this period of domination by the Republican Party were land, transportation, taxation, and finance.¹⁸ Political movements featured the rise of the

15. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912) 407.

16. James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States, II, 45-9.

17. Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion, p. 281.

18. James Albert Woodburn, "Western Radicalism in American Politics," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIII (Sept., 1926), 155.

Independent Liberal Republican, Labor Reform, Greenback, Granger, Populist, Labor Union, Socialist, and the Progressive Movements.¹⁹

The first of these independent parties rose in 1867, when father and son began to organize labor parties and farmer parties to fight capital.²⁰ "They began to realize they had common aims and purposes and could accomplish them only by union".²¹ These movements were merely a part of a great world movement in every civilized country, "in the interests of the Producing masses against organized and privileged wealth".²²

Naturally any political party long in power becomes corrupt and the Republican party of this period was no exception.²³ Probably one of the best examples of a state machine developed during the Republican regime was that of the Quay Machine in Pennsylvania.²⁴ This machine was a

19. Kirk H. Porter, National Party Platforms, Political platforms, Passim.

20. William E. Dood, "Passing of the Old United States" Century, CXIX, (October, 1929) 39-41.

21. Earnest D. Stewart, "Populist Party in Indiana", Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, XIV, (Dec. 1918) 336.

22. Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising", in William E. Connelley's, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 1115.

23. B. O. Flower, "The Battle Against Political and Commercial Corruption in the United States", The Arena, XXXV, (1906) 63.

24. Chester Lloyd Jones, Readings in Parties and Elections, P. 193-9.

good example of the machines against which the liberal movements were aimed.

One of the first independent liberal movements after the Civil War, arose within the Republican party.¹ This faction assumed the name of Liberal Republicans in 1872.² The failure of the movement was perhaps due largely to bad management and their choice of standard bearers.³ This impulse for reform did not die but merely submerged, reappearing in the early eighties in the Mugwump movement for Civil Service.⁴ Although some of these early liberal leaders came from the East, the movements centered north of the Ohio, west of the Alleghenies to the Pacific, including California. This part of America, apparently little influenced by partisan habits and traditions,⁵ was freer to decide whether the government was to be administered in the interests of privilege or of the people.⁶

1. Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, 1780-1897, I, 352.

2. Edward C. Carrington, The Americana, LXII, 636.

3. Lincoln Library of Essential Information, p. 386.

4. McLaughlin and Hart, Cyclopedia of American Gov't., III, 74; Charles A. Beard, The American Party System, p. 113.

5. William Allen White, "What the Unsettled Farmers of the West are Shooting At," Colliers, LXII (Aug. 24, 1923), 5.

6. Frederic Austin Ogg, National Progress, 1907-19, p. 157.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

the Republican party was that group of independent third party

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to decide whether the government was to be administered in

the interests of privilege or of the people.⁶ of Kansas, p. 49.

1. Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, 1788-1897, I, 352.

2. Edward C. Carrington, The Americana, XXII, 636.

3. Lincoln Library of Essential Information, p. 386.

4. McLaughlin and Hart, Cyclopedia of American Gov't., III, 74; Charles A. Beard, The American Party Battles, p. 113.

5. William Allen White, "What the Embattled Farmers of the West are Shooting At," Colliers, LXII (Aug. 24, 1923), 5.

6. Frederic Austin Ogg, National Progress, 1907-17, p. 167.

Running parallel to these liberal movements within the Republican party was that group of independent third party movements started by O. H. Kelley in the Granger Society.⁷ The Grangers were fostered politically by the Greenbackers under Cooper, Weaver, and Butler.⁸ In the later eighties came the Farmers Alliance which went into politics as the Populist or People's Party under Weaver, Tillman, Jerry Simpson, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease and William A. Pepper.⁹ It was a crude Populism, striking blindly at the forces of organized plutocracy, demanding government control of industry, popular election of Senators, inflated currency, social reform, primary, initiative, referendum, and recall.¹⁰

The Populists' first aim was to secure "relief for the farming and laboring classes."¹¹ These Populists' reformers

7. James E. Boyle, The Financial History of Kansas, p. 49.

8. James A. Woodburn, "Greenback Party," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 101.

9. Edward Conrad Smith, "Populist Party," A Dictionary of American Politics, p. 327f; W. F. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas," Kansas State Historical Society Collections, IX, (1906), 1-8; Annie L. Diggs, The Story of Jerry Simpson, Passim; Harry Thurston Peck, Twenty Years of the Republic, 1885-1905, Passim.

10. William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 193; W. B. Fleming, "The Republican Platform Unmasked," The Arena, XL (1911), 204-209.

11. Frank L. McVey, "The Populist Movement," Economic Studies, I (August, 1896), 133.

12. William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 325; New International Encyclopedia, XIX, 246; D. C. Barnwell, "Populist Party," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 957f; W. G. Clagston, "Kansas the Essence of Typical America," Current History, XIV (October, 1923) 14-20.

12
 were considered radical especially in states like Kansas--
 13
 one of the first states to react politically to the stimulus
 14
 of the depression. It was this movement according to
 Professor Malin of Kansas, "more than any other one single
 one which marked out the main lines of liberal reform after
 15
 1890".
 16
 The task of collecting the loose ends of this agrarian
 movement was to fall to the leadership of William Jennings
 Bryan. It was for Bryan to succeed where earlier leaders
 had failed. He was to bring this reform, radical organ-
 17
 ization into the political lime light and later join it to
 the Democratic party on the campaigns in the nineties.
 18
 The latter decades of the nineteenth century, saw
 the rise of a liberal movement lying within the Republican
 Party and running parallel with Populism. It was to be

12. Earnest D. Stewart, "The Populist Party in Indiana",
Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, XV (March, 1919) 72.

13. Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising", in W. E.
 Connelley's, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II,
 1115-1195.

14. Raymond C. Miller, "The Background of Populism in
 Kansas", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (March,
 1925) 469-89.

15. Malin, Op. Cit. pp. 122f.

16. Charles Edward Merriam, Four American Party Leaders,
 pp. 63-84; Solon J. Buck, Agrarian Crusade, pp. 199f.

17. John Donald Hicks, The Populist Revolt, p. 461.

18. William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 325; New
 International Encyclopedia, XIX, 246; O. C. Hormell, "Pop-
 ulist Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 757f.
 W. G. Clugston, "Kansas the Essence of Typical America",
Current History, XXV (October, 1926) 14-20.

"confined principally to the small farmers, who waged, in fact, a class war upon capitalists and financiers."¹⁹ The backbone of these earlier manifestations of the liberal progressive movement was found in the economic fabric of the western farmer,²⁰ and gave advance notice that the American frontier was passing.²¹ This liberal progressive movement was essentially one of the middle class or bourgeoisie factions, largely agrarian plus "the discontented town people whose living depended upon the prosperity of environing agriculture."²²

The laborer and tenant farmer held aloof from joining this liberal progressive movement although a fairly consistent bid was made for their support.²³ "In the West, the people have been inclined to follow insurgent or progressive leaders," more or less disregarding the party, they were

19. Charles A. Beard, Contemporary American History, 1877-1913, p. 397.

20. Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (March, 1925), 469-89.

21. John Donald Hicks, The Populist Revolt, p. 464.

22. William Allen White, "What the Embattled Farmers of the Free West are Shooting At," Colliers, LXXII (August 25, 1923), 5; William English Walling, Progressivism-- and After, pp. xxix-xxx of Introduction.

23. Theodore Roosevelt, Autobiography, Preface.

against monopolies, particularly railroads at first, and later the trusts in general or special representatives of them.²⁴ The movement was started in Kansas by Thomas Benton Murdock and Marshall M. Murdock in the "Murdock Rebellion."²⁵ The Murdock Rebellion was part of a general movement as illustrated by the programs of LaFollette in Wisconsin, Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit, Michigan, Samuel M. Jones of Toledo and Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland in Ohio, Albert Baird Cummins and Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver of Iowa, Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, and Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon and many others.²⁶ These leaders used their newspapers, chautauqua lectures and personal political campaigns as their chief methods of spreading their new and radical reform measures.²⁷ This progressive spirit first took concrete form in the energetic protests voiced by the Western Republicans against the tariff legislation enacted by their party in 1890, 1897, and 1909.²⁸

24. Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, The American Party System, pp. 6f.

25. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

26. Fred E. Haynes, Social Politics in the United States, pp. 172f.

27. A. N. Holcombe, in Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 103.

28. Edward C. Carrington, "The Progressive Party", The Americana, XXII, 636-7.

There was not blind adherence to party lines; many prominent members of the Republican party felt that their party in state and national government legislatures was dominated to a dangerous degree by the great corporations.²⁹ These insurgents were optimistic crusaders fighting in protest and correction of the common evils in the House of Representatives against "Cannonism" and his "vested interests."³⁰ These crusaders wanted to grapple with corruption and wrest the legislative power from the henchmen of big business and place it in the hands of the people.³¹

The fight in the House of Representatives was started by Victor Murdock of Kansas,³² who was joined by George W. Norris of Nebraska.³³ This insurgents' insurrection was due largely to the machine rule of the House and it

29. Fred E. Haynes, Social Politics in the United States, pp. 172f.

30. George H. Shibley, "Progressive Movement," Twentieth Century, II (April, 1910), 45.

31. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems, p. 83; P. Orman Ray, An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics, p. 6.

32. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

33. Hastings Macadam, "The Insurgents," Everybody's Magazine, XXVI (June, 1912), 770-781.

34. Herbert Croly, "Democratic Factions and Insurgent Republicans," North American Review, CXCI, 626-635.

succeeded in changing the rules in 1910.³⁵ This insurgency soon spread to the Senate where it found a progressive leader to sponsor its program -- Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin who led the fight against "Aldrichism."³⁶

In 1901, an insurgent leader, by the name of Theodore Roosevelt came to the presidency with a progressive record of legislation in municipal and state governments.³⁷ The remarkable "success of President Roosevelt in the sphere of national politics was due to the preliminary work in the different states beginning about 1890."³⁸ Several movements, so called, "were developing out of the muck-raking or out of the discontent which the muck-raking was feeding with facts."³⁹ Many of these movements were "primarily an attempt to do away with privilege rather than an attempt to make privilege socially useful."⁴⁰ Roosevelt sums up his attempts at

35. Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements, p. 420.

36. Robert M. LaFollette, "Autobiography," American Magazine, LXX (September, 1911), 531; Albert Bushnell Hart, American Yearbook, 1910, 49.

37. Theodore Roosevelt, Autobiography, p. 431.

38. Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements, p. 408.

39. Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, p. 450.

40. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 107.

41. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 11.

legislation as follows:

"here I was opposed both by the foolish radicals who desired to break up all big-business with the impossible ideal of returning to mid-nineteenth century industrial conditions; and also by the government privileged interests themselves, who used these ordinarily-- but sometimes not entirely-- well meaning 'stool pigeon progressives' to further their own course". ⁴¹

Theodore Roosevelt's progressive policies had been acquired from many of the foremost liberals and reformers of the last century. He included in his political wardrobe the agrarianism of Bryan; the socialism of Debs; the Wisconsin program of LaFollette; the insurgency of Murdock and Norris; the humanitarianism of Jane Addams; and the conservation of Pinchot. ⁴² Theodore Roosevelt was peculiarly qualified to bring about the transition. His own early political career had been associated with the movement towards civil service and municipal reform, but he had never been an ordinary Mugwump for he remained flexible and open minded. He was able as no other political leader, to collect under his own leadership, a large portion of the old reformers, and a large measure of the new and more liberal progressive. ⁴³ Roosevelt

41. Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements, p. 408; C. M. Hollingsworth, "The So-Called Progressive Movement", Annals of American Academy, XLIII (September, 1912) 33.

42. William Jennings Bryan, Emporia Weekly Gazette, September 29, 1910; Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914, p. x of Illustrations; Edgar E. Robinson, The Evolution of American Political Parties, p. 297; Hastings Macadam, "The Insurgents", Everybody's Magazine, XXVI (June, 1912) 770-781; New International Encyclopedia, I, 130; James Ford Rhodes, McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909, pp. 354-64.

43. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 11.

in 1904, formally announced that at last the people were going to get the needed reforms advocated since the early seventies of the last century.⁴⁴ At last after some three or four decades a liberal had gotten into the national leadership, although Roosevelt was never able to amalgamate all of the political machinery set up within the progressive states..⁴⁵

44. Ray Stannard Baker, "The Meaning of Insurgency", American Magazine, LXXII (May, 1911) 60.

45. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932. Second attempt to control the "special or vested interests" with head-quarters in New York, such as railroads, breweries, packing plants, and other trusts. The third, was the problem of making equitable laws on taxation, primary, elections, freight and passenger rates, passes, patronage, initiative, referendum, recall and other local necessary laws. These laws must be made and enforced to better the political life of the state.³

Kansas had been built practically overnight on borrowed capital. New Englanders, especially the puritan element had led in the settlement.³ Then came the great influx

1. Carl Palster, "The Progressive Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, September, 1920, 173.

2. Mary Elizabeth Cochran, Joseph W. Folk and Missouri Reform, Term paper -- M. S.

3. A. T. Andreas, History of Kansas, p. 84; Leverett Wilson Spring, Kansas--Prelude to War for Union, pp. 20-5; William Phillips, Conquest of Kansas, p. 274; E. W. Wilder, Kansas of Kansas, 1841-1895, p. 42.

CHAPTER III

THE MURDOCK REBELLION AND THE KANSAS

PROGRESSIVES FIRST VICTORIES

The Progressive movement in Kansas was a part of a great national and world movement of this period.¹ There seemed to be three great aims in the state progressive movements. Probably the first to be manifested was the strife against the political bosses and the political machine to place the government of the state in the hands of the people. Second was the attempt to control the "special or vested interests" with head-quarters in New York, such as railroads, breweries, packing plants, and other trusts. The third, was the problem of making equitable laws on taxation, primary, elections, freight and passenger rates, passes, patronage, initiative, referendum, recall and other local necessary laws. These laws must be made and enforced to better the political life of the state.²

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1. Carl Painter, "The Progressive Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, September, 1920, 173.

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of Civil War veterans with their families.⁴

This great middle western state-- Kansas, was a debtor state with obligations to pay and pay day came at the end of ten and twenty years. This puritan civilization which moved to Kansas in the seventies found mortgages coming due in the eighties and nineties. By 1885 the Kansas farmers were in a serious condition, -"nearly every farm was encumbered.

Chattel mortgages in Kansas were drawing from forty to seventy-five percent annually and farm mortgages nine percent."⁵ During the decade of the eighties, more than one-third of the 440,000 Kansas farm mortgages were either foreclosed or the property was deeded to the mortgagee without foreclosure.

The panic in the east was reflected in conditions throughout the west with hard times, foreclosures, destruction of credit, instability of city, country and state bonds.

Periods like these have brought forth the other great agrarian movements,⁶ when the farmers united to voice the

4. William Allen White, "Free Kansas -- Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 407.

5. Henry J. Allen, "Sectionalism in American Politics," Review of Reviews, LXXVII (June, 1928), 613; Charles Moreau Harger, Outlook, CXXVII (March 30, 1921), 500-1.

6. Kansas City Star, 1888-1892, Scanning through these years; David S. Barry, Forty Years in Washington, p. 225.

Barry, "The Populist Movement," in William E. Connelley's A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 1115-1193; Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (March, 1924), 465-85.

debtor's plea.⁷ Kansas was not lacking in this period of the late 1880's in either leadership or diversity of the methods of solution. The combined efforts of Marshall M. (Marsh) Murdock, editor of the Wichita Eagle and Thomas Benton (Bent) Murdock, editor of the Eldorado Republican against this wholesale foreclosing of farm mortgages, and political manipulation of state, county and city business, brought forth in Kansas the Murdock Rebellion. This Murdock Rebellion struck an optimistic note in this period of economic unrest and aided materially in running parallel with the other great movement of the times which was Populism.⁸ The Populists of Kansas voicing the discontent of the debtors were Jeremiah Simpson, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, Senator William A. Peffer and Preston B. Plumb. The story of this period has been ably presented by Harrington, Barr and Miller.⁹

¹⁰ The Progressive leaders Marsh and Bent Murdock were both pioneers in Kansas. Marsh settled at Wichita and Bent at Eldorado. Each established a newspaper through which he

7. Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, p. 80. advocating

8. Clara H. Hazelrigg, History of Kansas, pp. 244, 275.

9. W. P. Harrington, "The Populist Party," Kansas Historical Collections, XVI, 1923-5, 403-450; Elizabeth H. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," in William E. Connelley's A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 1115-1195; Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (March, 1924), 469-89.

carried on the battle. Bent Murdock in 1890 was described by William Allen White as "the glass of fashion, the mold of form and the clarion voice of the Murdock Rebellion."¹⁰ He was the leader of the forward movement in Kansas Republicanism, who was ever known in the country.¹¹ Its issues

were "expressed as no other man has expressed it, the sentiment of popular protest against the wrongs of government by ring rule. He was the voice of the people clamoring for a larger part in their state government."¹²

Marshall Murdock was an "insurrectionist and was generally in revolt against the local Republican machine,"¹³ and kept the Wichita Eagle one of the leading Republican newspapers of Kansas.¹⁴ He was a true Kansas optimist, and through lean and fat years "trumpeted a prosperous future for Western Kansas."¹⁵

form of this liberal progressive faction of the Republican

Part 10. William Allen White "Talks to His Neighbors," Golden Book Magazine, XI (April, 1930), 95.

11. William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, V, 2449f.

12. Ibid., p. 2450. A History of Kansas, p. 129.

13. Resolutions of Republican Convention 1892 advocating Marshall Murdock for Governor; William Allen White, American Magazine, LXVI (August, 1908), 406.

14. William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, III, 1223.

15. Hastings Macadam, "The Insurgents," Everybody's Magazine, XXVI (June, 1912), 770.

The Kansas liberals started their Murdock Rebellion 1887 to 1889 during the administration of Governor John A. Martin.¹⁶ This movement followed the collapse of the boom days in 1887 and was started during "one of the most severe drouths that was ever known in the country."¹⁷ Its issues were largely those of protest and correction: first, against corrupt local and state political leaders and their machines;¹⁸ second, to take the part of the debtor against the moneyed interests who charged exorbitant rates on farm bonds and mortgages;¹⁹ and third, a fight against "special or privileged interests" in general, especially in Kansas against the railroads, breweries and packing interests.²⁰

Many of these issues might also have been found in the Populist party platform of Kansas as well as in the platform of this liberal progressive faction of the Republican Party.²¹ The Populist Party came out as a third party and

16. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, pp. 215-23.

17. Anna E. Arnold, A History of Kansas, p. 129.

18. Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, 1894-1914, p. 81.

19. Charles A. Beard, Contemporary American History, 1877-1913, p. 397.

20. Edward C. Carrington, Americana, XXII, 636f.

21. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas-- A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 885f.

22. Frank W. Blackmar, op. cit., II, 827-8.

suffered the fate of other third parties in American History.²²

The old Populists or People's Party heritage was taken over by the other political parties.²³ In Kansas the Populist or People's Party was formed at Topeka, June 12, 1890. The Populists were mainly from the Alliance, Patrons of Husbandry, the Industrial Union, the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, the Knights of Labor, and the Single Tax Club. Their platform demanded the

"abolition of National banks; free and unlimited coinage of silver; government ownership of railroads and telegraph; legislation to prevent dealing in options or futures, and the prohibition of alien land ownership".²⁴

The Populist began to gain strength during the two administrations of Governor L. U. Humphrey (1889-1893). By 1890 the Populists had a full ticket with John F. Willitts as their candidate for governor. Governor L. U. Humphrey was re-elected by a small margin over Willitts.²⁵ Jerry Simpson was one of the five Populists elected to the United States Congress from the state of Kansas.²⁶ The Populists

22. Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, p. 80.

23. David S. Barry, Forty Years in Washington, pp. 225-6; Carl Painter, "Progressive Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XVI (September, 1920), 216-7.

24. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedic of State History, I, 885-6.

25. Seventh Biennial Report, Secretary of State of Kansas, 1889-1890.

26. Frank W. Blackmar, op. cit., II, 697-8.

The Populists fared better as their entire state ticket was were in control of the lower house of the legislature and elected in 1892 with Lorenzo B. Leavelle as Governor.³¹ On elected William A. Peffer to the United States Senate as a the national ticket General James B. Weaver of Iowa succeeded Populist.²⁷ The Kansas City Gazette sums up the Kansas political situation in 1890 as follows:

"The just reform asked for by the Farmer's Alliance can never be obtained through a new party nor by the Democratic Party. The strong element of the Progressive reform is found in the Republican party, and the surest way for the farmers to come in control in the legislative body is to add to their forces to the reform forces within the Republican party and thereby control its nominations not only but legislation through it."²⁸

The group of followers who staged the Murdock Hosh Rebellion apparently understood and followed the saying of Henry George, the Single Taxer, when he told his followers:

"to remain in the two old parties and advocate their reform measures. There will always be two great political parties in this country and any third party movement can never hope to be more than an educational force in politics."²⁹

The 1892 election year found the liberal progressive element within the Republican party fighting for the control of the party by putting forward Marshall M. Murdock as their candidate, but they lost the struggle in the state convention.³⁰

31. Noble B. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 240.

27. Prentiss, op. cit., p. 235. of the Presidency, 1788-1897, I, 517.

28. Kansas City Gazette, October 28, 1890.

29. Raymond Curtis Miller, op. cit., pp. 483-489.

29. Wichita Eagle, December 12, 1907.

34. Blackmer, op. cit., pp. 348-359.

30. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

35. Ninth Biennial Report, Secretary of State, 1893-4.

36. T. A. McNeal, When Kansas Was Young, pp. 200-3.

37. Prentiss, op. cit., p. 240.

38. Blackmer, op. cit., II, 131-7.

The Populists fared better as their entire state ticket was elected in 1892 with Lorenzo D. Lewelling as Governor.³¹ On the national ticket General James B. Weaver of Iowa succeeded in carrying 22 electoral votes for President.³² Then came the leadership of Bryan and the compromise with the Democrats. Populism had reached its peak and was on the decline nationally as the hard times were over and the farmers were having good crops and good prices.³³

In the election of 1894 the liberal Republicans tried to gain control of the party again by using Edward W. Hoch as their candidate but lost in the state convention.³⁴ The Populists again nominated Governor Lewelling but the Republicans won with Morrill in the election.³⁵ United States Congressman Jerry Simpson was defeated.³⁶ The election saw the defeat of the woman suffrage amendment.³⁷ In the next election of 1896, the Populists and Democrats fused and Kansas cast her electoral vote for Bryan and Sewell with the Populist candidate John W. Leedy being elected Governor.³⁸

31. Noble L. Prentis, A History of Kansas, p. 240.

32. Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, 1788-1897, I, 517.

33. Raymond Curtis Miller, op. cit., pp. 469-489.

34. Blackmar, op. cit., pp. 848-859.

35. Ninth Biennial Report, Secretary of State, 1893-4.

36. T. A. McNeal, When Kansas Was Young, pp. 200-5.

37. Prentis, op. cit., p. 249.

38. Blackmar, op. cit., II, 131-7.

and Jerry Simpson was elected United States Congressman for the third term.³⁹

The Murdock Rebellion was largely a struggle for the control of the Republican party. For the Progressive leaders realized that "only in extraordinary cases will the rank and file break away from the party with which they have become accustomed to vote."⁴⁰ Although the liberal progressive faction had lost three times in the state nominating convention they still carried on the fight with the same vigor as they had shown in the earlier stages of the Murdock Rebellion. But their old slogan, "to fight for the people against the combinations and encroachments of corporate wealth and power"⁴¹ still remained their war cry, though they felt they had been treated unfairly in each of the state conventions 1892, 1894, and 1896.

The Liberal progressive Republican faction had gradually grown in the councils of the party and in the nomination in 1896 of William E. Stanley, they were successful. Besides getting their candidate on the Republican ticket as Governor they named most of the state ticket. This fight for the

39. Blackmar, op. cit., pp. 697-8.

40. Chester Lloyd Jones, Readings on Parties and Elections in the United States, p. 169.

41. Resolutions of Republican County (Sedgewick) Convention 1892.

supremacy in Kansas of Republican party corresponds closely with the fight of the liberal progressive reform party, especially in Wisconsin.⁴²

The Kansas liberal progressive reform wing of the Republican party had at last elected a governor of Kansas and a fair share of the state officers. The railroads had done everything they could to defeat Stanley who was fighting for clean politics in Kansas.⁴³ One might expect to find this new governor to be a radical of the extremes, but such was not the case. Stanley was no Folk or LaFollette, for he was a conservative. He had high ideals and facts seems to prove he was a good governor but he either did not see the existing evils of the political era or else he had no desire to change them.

William Eugene Stanley's administration as Governor of Kansas, 1898-1902, "may be said to mark the beginning of a reaction in both industrial and political affairs"⁴⁴ as the country was just recovering from the effects of the panic of 1893.⁴⁵ Blackmar sums up the paramount qualities of Stanley to the Presidency who had been friendly to the Mugwumps in

42. Walter H. Page, "The Progressive Programme," World's Work, XXIV (September, 1912), 489.

43. Kansas City Star, December 10, 1898; Emporia Weekly Gazette, December 1, 1898.

44. Blackmar, op. cit., II, 740.

45. Ibid., p. 739; William Allen White, "What's the Matter with Kansas?", The Editor and His People, pp. 244-9.

46. W. A. White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 308.

in the words--"true, manly, inbred, irreproachable, good character".⁴⁶

Thus it William Allen White aptly sums up the new type of man coming into American politics about the same time that Stanley entered Kansas politics as follows: "There sprang up out of the grass a group of young liberals," coming particularly into the Republican party, "not for the spoils, not to strengthen the machine, but for the fun of the game and glory of God. They were mostly young men of means and some leisure, young business and professional men".⁴⁷ It was to this group of young Liberals that the leadership of the Progressive movement in Kansas was to fall. It was this group that was going to give to this movement "a certain blind crusaders enthusiasm".⁴⁸ These young Liberals had grown to manhood in the era of the "Murdock Rebellion", the liberal fight to get control of the Republican Party in Kansas and had helped to place their first real liberal in the governorship of Kansas. It marked an era in

The death of President McKinley brought a young man to the Presidency who had been friendly to the Mugwumps in the eighties.⁴⁹ Kansas was ready to send aid to a president

46. Blackmar, op. cit., III, 913. for Social Justice, p. 196.

47. Masks in a Pageant, p. 305-6.

48. W. A. White, "These United States--Kansas--A Puritan Survival", Nation CXIV, (April 19, 1922) 460-2.

49. W. A. White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 306.

such as Roosevelt. Almost all of the middle western and western states were ready to follow this new liberal leader. Thus it was to be a swing of the pendulum toward radicalism⁵⁰ both in the national and state history. Roosevelt gave voice to the unspoken aspirations of the common man with an accuracy achieved by few politicians and William E. Stanley did everything possible in Kansas political circles to accomplish the same ends in state politics.⁵¹

Stanley's administration had the task of formulating the foundational ideals, aspirations and aims of Kansas people in the forward movement to accomplish freedom from their machine rule. In doing this the administration placed the service at the state institutions under the civil service, abolished the old pardon board and instituted the more progressive system of parole, and made appreciable results in penal and charitable institution work.⁵²

This Wichita lawyer was not a man who could be used as a tool by the moneyed interests. It marked an era in rise of the common people to power, although it required a

50. James A. Woodburn, "The Epoch of Roosevelt" in Cyclopedia of American Government, III, 198, McLaughlin & Hart (Eds.).

51. Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, p. 104.

52. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, II, 739-49.

pp. 77-78.

long battle for clean, decent, business-like administration of state affairs.⁵³

During Stanley's second administration, he urged on the legislature the abolition of many useless offices, but no steps were taken by that body along this line,⁵⁴ the need for good roads was agitated and some action taken. In 1901, a Board of Railroad Commissioners was created.⁵⁵

Stanley did not strike directly at the political leaders, who were at the head of a fully developed machine⁵⁶ which was able to over-ride or at least silence objections to a large extent.⁵⁷ "There is a relatively small class of persons engaged in no occupation of wealth sufficient to leave them free for public affairs."⁵⁸ Democracy must have leaders and the "problem is not to abolish bosses and bossism, but to replace them with leaders and leadership."⁵⁹

53. Emporia Weekly Gazette, Nov. 17, 1898; Kansas Progressive Republican, "How I Became Converted Politically"; Outlook, XCVI, (Dec. 17, 1910), 857-9.

54. Wm. E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 847-9.

55. Ibid.

56. Jesse Macy, Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 649.

57. Chester Lloyd Jones, Readings in Parties and Elections in the United States, pp. 175-180.

58. James Bryce, American Commonwealth, II, 56-68.

59. William Bennett Munro, Personality in Politics, pp. 77-78.

The attempt to throw off the "yoke of the party organization began soon after the Civil War....The movement of revolt therefore assumed a double aspect--an economic and a political one."⁶⁰

Professional politicians and hoodlars entered the Kansas politics in 1871 in the United States Senatorial race according to Samuel J. Crawford.⁶¹ Rapid growth accompanied by a somewhat painful re-adjustment was also true of the growth of Kansas political machine politician and his hoodling.⁶² This was emphasized by the unpreparedness of the Kansas people to deal with the situation. Nowhere were conditions so bad as in the state and municipal politics; "here the party machinery was at the beck and call of railroad and corporation interests."⁶³ Stanley was succeeded by Willis Joshua Bailey.⁶⁴ The state capital

60. M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, II, 441.

61. Kansas in the Sixties, pp. 346-9.

62. Solon J. Buck, The Agrarian Crusade, preface.

63. Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, 1894-1914, p. 81.

64. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 280.

65. William E. Connolly, Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, IV, 2191.

66. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopaedia of State History, II, 992-82.

was completed in 1903.⁶⁵ Governor Bailey sponsored the child labor law, state depository and an act to redistrict the state for representatives to congress but each of these lost.⁶⁶

Bailey had done but little in political circles before his election as Governor and retired after one term.⁶⁷

During Bailey's administration Senator George Pierson Morehouse was President of the Kansas Republican League,

"often termed the 'Boss-Busters' a pioneer organization which did so much to reform politics from its 'skull and crossbones' tendency, which started the movement for the election of the United States Senators by popular vote".⁶⁸

This 'Boss-Buster' League did everything possible during Bailey's administration to train the people of Kansas to select delegates to the State Convention so that the 'Boss-Buster' could be in control. The leader of this faction was Walter Roscoe Stubbs, a member of the state House of Representatives during 1902 and a new man in politics.⁶⁹

65. Anna E. Arnold, A History of Kansas, p. 131.

66. Frank W. Blackmar, "Willis J. Bailey", Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 123.

67. William E. Connelley, Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, I, 847.

68. William E. Connelley, Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, IV, 2171.

69. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, II, 772-82.

It was during Bailey's administration that Stubbs got his eyes open to the graft and corruption in state politics.

Stubbs saw that a

"large ignorant vote was often blamed for corruption" and made a resolve to use every means possible to take his issues before the people after being 'jeered at for his bill of inquiry' ".⁷⁰

Walter Roscoe Stubbs was a new type of man in the Kansas politics. He might be compared in many respects to Joseph W. Folk of Missouri and again to Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, and Robert Perkins Boss of New Hampshire.⁷² Stubbs had been a railroad contractor until he had reached the age of 40.⁷³ Being successful, he had become a driver of men and did not have friends, but followers.⁷⁴ A natural born fighter who went directly to the people with his problems in a true Rooseveltian way.⁷⁵ This Quaker statesman was an efficient, progressive, unselfish man who took but

70. Topics of the Time, Century Magazine, XLIV, (July, 1892) 473.

71. Dana Gatlin, "What I am trying to do--W. R. Stubbs", World's Work XXIV, (May 1912) 60.

72. C. McCarthy, The Wisconsin Idea, Chapters on LaFollette as Governor; Isaac F. Marcossou, "Robert Perkins Boss", Munsey Magazine XLIV, (Feb. 1911) 624-31.

73. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, II, 772-782.

74. Dana Gatlin, "What I am Trying to Do--W. R. Stubbs" World's Work XXIV, (May 1912) 59-60.

75. Ibid, p. 59.

little advice and did not have the usual social contacts, thus narrowing his view.⁷⁶

Stubbs and his "Boss-Busters" political machine planned to match "the ramifications of the machine extending throughout the government," at the state convention.⁷⁷ This they did by naming Edward W. Hock as governor and most of the ticket. Stubbs was chosen chairman of the central committee and Speaker of the House. The "Boss-Busters" also succeeded in placing a goodly number of their party in both State Senate and House.⁷⁸ These "Boss-Busters" and similar organizations in other states utilized the propaganda of the "Muck-rakers."⁷⁹

76. Emporia Weekly Gazette, Feb. 27, 1908; Dana Gatlin, "What I am Trying to Do--W. R. Stubbs," World's Work, XXIV, (May 1912), 59-60.

77. George H. Shibley, Twentieth Century Magazine, II, (April, 1910), 45.

78. Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1903-4.

79. Frederic L. Paxson, The New Nation, p. 309; William Allen White, "Political Signs of Promise," The Outlook, LXXX, (July 15, 1905), 667-70.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE KANSAS MACHINE

man, in the
courage,"² editor of a weekly newspaper in a small town
in Kansas who had given Boss-Busters in state houses and

During the closing months, Governor Bailey's administration was marked by a factional fight in the Republican party. The alignment of the contestants was either with the "Boss-Busters" or with the "Machine."¹ Edward W. Hoch was the standard bearer of the "Boss-Busters" and was elected over David M. Dale, who was the Democratic "Machine" candidate.²

The liberal, progressive, reforming crusaders were called "Boss-Busters" by 1904. They were the same group of young liberals who had helped put Stanley into office and now they had put Edward W. Hoch, the editor of the Marion Record into the governorship and named most of the state ticket.³ Walter Roscoe Stubbs was the Speaker of the House with a majority of "Boss-Busters" and this group had a working minority in the Senate.⁴

The "Boss-Busters" had elected a "tall smooth-shaven

1. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 280.

2. Ibid. a summary of Edward Wallace Hoch, "Kansas and the Standard Oil," Independent, LVIII (March 2, 1905), 461.

3. Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of the States, 1903-4. Blackmar, Kansas--A, Encyclopedia of State

4. Ibid.

5. Dana Gatlin, "W. R. Stubbs--What I am Trying to Do," World's Work, LXIV, (Mar 34 1912), 59-67.

6. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, 3 (February 24, 1918), 408.

man, in the fifties, an example of rugged honesty and courage,"⁵ editor of a weekly newspaper in a small town in Kansas who had given good service in state house and been supported by the Murdock liberal Republican group in the 1894 State Convention for the governorship.⁶

Governor Hoch and the "Boss-Busters" were indeed fortunate in having their main spokesman, Walter Roscoe Stubbs, elected Speaker of the House. Stubbs had been in the Legislature since 1902. He had built a political machine called the "Boss-Busters," who were going to clean up the state and succeeded in getting Hoch their candidate elected governor of Kansas.⁷

The Boss-Busters with Governor Hoch and Speaker Stubbs took the fees away from the State Printer and put him upon a salary; they abolished the State Board of Charities and put the State Institutions under the State Board of Control, placing the employees upon a merit system which shielded them from political discharge. These same "Boss-Busters" also reduced the number of Legislative employees by half, and reformed the State Treasurer's office.⁸ Stubbs and his group were demanding a state wide

5. Editor's summary of Edward Wallach Hoch, "Kansas and the Standard Oil," Independent, LVIII, (March 2, 1905), 461.

6. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 848-59.

7. Dana Gatlin, "W. R. Stubbs--What I am Trying to Do," World's Work, XXIV, (May, 1912), 59-67.

8. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 408.

primary law, anti-pass law and that no money be accepted from any corporation.⁹

But Stubbs and Hoch could not force all these measures through a Senate in which his party had but a working minority. Many of Stubbs "Boss-Busters" feared that he would disrupt or discredit the party and they threw their influence to the old "Stand-pat" element of the political machines.¹⁰ This factionalism tended to weaken the last measures of the "Boss-Buster legislature."¹¹

This young group of liberal progressive, crusaders in Kansas politics who were the backbone of the "Boss-Busters" were such men as the following: Victor Murdock, journalist and congressman, who was the pioneer of the progressive movement in Washington, A big, husky 250 pounder, timid and smiling with a large well-shaped head, and unwavering blue eyes,¹² he is a simple

9. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 408.

10. Ray Stannard Baker, "The Meaning of Insurgency," American Magazine, LXXII (May, 1911), 61.

11. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 410.

12. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, II, 333; Emporia Weekly Gazette, September 26, 1912; Murdock, the Red Insurgent, Current Literature, XLVIII (February, 1910), 149; Walt Mason, "Victor Murdock," American Magazine, LXIX (December, 1909), 167.

13. Wichita Eagle, October 4, 1910.

Kansas progressive optimist who had battled for the people's rights without being influenced by the bargainer.¹³ E. H. Madison, congressman from the big seventh district of Kansas, was a real progressive who worked with Murdock in the United States House of Representatives until his early death robbed Kansas of one of her foremost statesmen.¹⁴ William Allen White, has been characterized as a thorough searcher for facts,¹⁵ an optimistic editorial writer of the daily press,¹⁶ editor of the Emporia Gazette, writer of books, and one of the foremost political leaders of Kansas.¹⁷ White is one of the best known men in Kansas and is in demand as a writer, lecturer, political campaigner and strategist.¹⁸ Joseph Little Bristow was an editor and Senator from Kansas who did much for Kansas Progressivism. He was a veritable crusader for righteousness,¹⁹ who took

13. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

14. Blackmar, Op. Cit., II, 330.

15. Gustav Stickley, "People Who Interest Us--W. A. White", The Craftsman, XVIII (September, 1910) 680-1.

16. Perriton Maxwell, "Seven-Super Pens", Everybody's Magazine, XXXIV (March, 1916) 354.

17. William MacDonald, "Kansas in Reaction", Nation, CVIII (March 15, 1919) 383; Fred S. Ferguson, "Can the Reporter Come Back", Colliers, LXVII (Nov. 15, 1921) 13.

18. Albert Shaw, "Sketch of W. A. White", Golden Book Magazine, XI (April, 1930) 94.

19. Wichita Eagle, October 4, 1910.

all questions seriously, especially the rights of the people.²⁰ Arthur Capper was rated as one of the most successful editors and newspapermen of America who gave his time and newspaper,²¹ alike, to straighten out the political situation in Kansas.²² Henry J. Allen of Wichita, was editor, writer, and political leader and campaigner.²³ He is a lecturer with ample wit, humor and a good voice. He is a Kansan who started his political career during the progressive era. Fred S. Jackson, attorney-general of Kansas and United States Representative, aided materially in this progressive period. He had ability, common sense, courage and industry combined with clean honorable manliness.²⁴ George P. Morehouse, Senator and President of the Kansas "Boss-Busters" State Republican League²⁵ lent an air of authority and respectability, and an odor of

20. Walt Mason, "Senator Bristow of Kansas," American Magazine, LXVIII (October, 1909), 556.

21. Emporia Weekly Gazette, June 15, 1911.

22. William E. Connelley, "Arthur Capper," by Cecil Howes, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 865-8.

23. Albert Shaw, Review of Reviews, XLVI (August, 1912), 141.

24. Emporia Weekly Gazette, May 30, 1907.

25. William E. Connelley, "Senator George Pierson Morehouse," A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, IV, 2170-1.

clean politics to the Senate and the "Boss-Buster" movement.²⁶

Governor Hoch's first term witnessed a contest between the State of Kansas and the Standard Oil Company.²⁷ Hoch took a firm stand with the Legislature "for equal rights for all the special privileges to none."²⁸ During this administration the prohibitionary law was enforced with Fred S. Jackson in the Attorney-General's office; and Hoch says the endorsement was a great benefit to the state morally, educationally and financially.²⁹ To prevent a "monopoly of transportation facilities, pipe lines were made common carriers and maximum rates were fixed for the transportation of crude oil by railroads."³⁰ Juvenile courts to provide for care of dependent, neglected and

26. Frank W. Blackmar, "George P. Morehouse," Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, III, 83-5.

27. Edward Wallace Hoch, "Kansas and the Standard Oil," Independent, LVIII (March 2, 1905), 461-3.

28. Noble L. Prentis, A History of Kansas, p. 281.

29. Edward Wallace Hoch, "Success of Prohibition," Annals American Academy, XXXII (November, 1908), 574-5.

30. Noble L. Prentis, A History of Kansas, p. 281.

delinquent children were established and a child labor law was enacted during the first term of Hoch.³¹

These reforms by the "Boss-Busters" show a tendency in Kansas state government to realize the state motto, "Ad Astra Per Aspera," meaning "to the stars through difficulties," and was peculiarly descriptive of the state's history.³²

The better public opinion of the state "became convinced of the existence of flagrant abuses in connection with its political and economic management."³³ The "Muck-Rakers," political reformers and the liberal leaders in Kansas had shown the people how the "vested interests grew accustomed to immunity from governmental interference; more than that it came to expect governmental favors, and easily fell into the habit of using influence to secure these favors."³⁴

These "Boss-Busters" were lending every effort to secure "equal rights for all and special privileges to none" served as an object lesson not only for other states, but

31. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 282.

32. Anna E. Arnold, A History of Kansas, p. 116.

33. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 5.

34. Frederic Austin Ogg, National Progress, 1907-1917, Preface. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Here the People Rule the People," Outlook, 9 (February 24, 1912), 410.

35. Ibid., pp. 410f.

also for the nation."³⁵ This phraseology gave Stubbs something to take before the people in the election of 1906. Stubbs called the work of these "Boss-Busters" the attempt of a Kansas faction to give to the people a "Square-Deal."³⁶ Upon this platform Governor Hoch was re-elected and Stubbs returned as Speaker of the House.³⁷

Square Dealers

W. R. Stubbs, the state central committee chairman for the election of 1906, had formulated his demands into five platform principles:³⁸ (1) A direct state-wide primary for making all party nominations; (2) An anti-pass law; (3) A two-cent fare law; (4) A maximum freight law; (5) A state tax commission law. The chairman and his five principles received little consideration at the Republican state convention in 1906, where they could not even muster a respectable minority.³⁹ Stubbs, thoroughly beaten by the old Stand-Pat machine element, went to the people with his

35. Noble L. Prentis, A History of Kansas, p. 281.

36. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

37. Secretary of State, Biennial (15) Report, 1905-6.

38. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 410.

39. Ibid., pp. 410f.

44. Emporia Weekly Gazette, July 9, 1908.

popular revolt for his five principles.⁴⁰ In this revolt he brought forth the phrase "Square-Dealers" from his phraseology used in regard to the Standard Oil case in Kansas in 1906. The "Square-Dealers" Society was formed

"on July 18, 1906. In the midst of the political campaign, a number of republicans met at Topeka, adopted a declaration of principles, effected a permanent organization, and raised a fund to circulate a petition to the legislature praying for the enactment of law fixing the passenger rate on railroads at two-cents a mile; prohibiting the issuance of free passes by railroad companies; compelling the political parties to nominate candidates by a primary election instead of a convention; and providing for the assessment of railroad property on the same basis as other property."⁴¹

The "Square-Dealers" organized the state of Kansas into a voters league.⁴² The movement spread to all parts of the state and thousands signed the petition--these signers were called "Square-Deal Republicans."⁴³ The league soon had a membership of over 20,000. This organization sought to publish the facts about the state government and keep the people informed on points of general interest.⁴⁴ With the Square-Deal organization as a basis to work with, Stubbs took his issues to the people at chataquas, state, county and

40. Emporia Weekly Gazette, July 9, 1908.

41. Frank W. Blackmar, "Square Dealers," Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 857-8.

42. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 410.

43. Frank W. Blackmar, op. cit., I, 857-8.

44. Emporia Weekly Gazette, July 9, 1908.

local fairs, meetings of all kinds. In true Stubbs fashion, he took off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and gave the people the facts.⁴⁵ When the Square-Deal legislature met all of Stubbs points were passed except the primary law.⁴⁶

Stubbs and his Square-Dealers again went before the people after the legislative term was over. Sentiment began to run so high for the primary law that Governor Hoch issued the proclamation January 7, 1908, calling the legislature in special session on the sixteenth,⁴⁷ to enact a primary election law.⁴⁸ At the special session of the legislature a direct primary law was enacted which provided for the nomination of all local, county, state and national officers by a direct primary election of the people except the United States Senators upon whom an advisory vote should be registered.⁴⁹ The direct primary was another victory for the people against the machine rule.⁵⁰ The Square Dealers faction of the Republican Party had the people behind it

45. These facts were gleaned in personal interviews with Kansans.

46. Frank W. Blackmar, "Square-Dealers," Kansas--A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 857, 8.

47. Ibid.

48. Wichita Eagle, Jan. 17, 1908.

49. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 286.

50. Jesse Macy, "Political Machine," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 384.

and control of the party was the result.⁵¹ This control of the Republican party helped to destroy some of the remnants of the political machine vestments in Kansas.⁵² The professional politician and his machine had "no passes, and no patronage and no slush funds--except what special privilege seeking corporations contributed."⁵³ On December 29, 1907, the Republican State Central Committee met in a stormy session in which the Stubbs "Square-Dealers" were routed by the machine.⁵⁴ This meeting was held a few weeks before the Kansas Legislature passed the primary law which tended to further weaken the machine. The result was that W. R. Stubbs, the Square-Deal Republican, won over J. D. Botkin, the Democratic machine candidate.⁵⁵ The state legislature had a majority of Square-Deal Republican members and succeeded in placing J. L. Bristow in the United States Senate.⁵⁶ The placing Bristow in the United States Senate meant that the Kansas

51. Jesse Macy, Political Parties in the United States, pp. 37-9.

52. Dana Gatlin, "W. R. Stubbs--What I am Trying to Do," World's Work, XXIV (May, 1912) 59-67.

53. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 411.

54. Associated Press News Item, "Square-Dealers routed by the Machine," Wichita Eagle, December 29, 1907.

56. Noble L. Prentiss, A History of Kansas, p. 286.

people had sent another staunch champion of the people's rights to aid Murdock, Madison, and Jackson in the work.⁵⁷

An editorial in the Nation stated

"how successfully the party which commonly is regarded as friendly to the hunted corporations has itself turned hunter, remains to be seen--the Kansas City Star declares that it will suit the Republican machine crowd in Kansas a mighty lot better to see the Democrats capture the State with Harris than it would suit them to see Stubbs succeed with his movement to protect the government of Kansas against the special interests that have laid out their plans to capture the next administration at Topeka, with Hoch as its figure-head."⁵⁸

This editorial throws an interesting light upon the two administrations of Edward Wallace Hoch as Governor of Kansas. Evidently, Hoch proved he was not such an easy cat's paw as the machine faction of the Republican party believed before the election; or else he had his eyes opened to the inner working of the Republican machine element and responded to a better self as his administration might show. Noble L. Prentis and W. A. White stress the way Governor Hoch "lent every aid of the state to rigorous law enforcement" under the adept leadership of the Attorney-General Fred S. Jackson.⁵⁹

57. Albert Bushnell Hart, "United States in 1910," American Yearbook, 1910, p. 49.

58. Editorial, "Republican Danger Signal," Nation, LXXXII (May 10, 1906), 338.

59. William Allen White, "Free Kansas--Where the People Rule the People," Outlook, C (February 24, 1912), 411; Noble L. Prentis, A History of Kansas, p. 286.

61. Editorial, "Republican Danger Signal," Nation, LXXXII (May 10, 1906), 378.

Governor Hoch also surprised the machine element when he called a special session to enact a primary law. Blackmar suggests that the public opinion rapidly crystallizing for the law and the petitions of the Square Deal Voters Leagues may have prompted Hoch's action.⁶⁰ Another interpretation might be that Stubbs' declaration of a purpose to rescue the state from the grip of the railroads, but also to reach out and grapple with the steel trust, influenced Hoch.⁶¹

The two legislatures during Hoch's administration had driven out to some extent the political errand-boys on the State's payroll. First by the regulation of the state printer and treasurer which took a big slush fund out of politics, the State Board of Control robbed them partially of their patronage. The tax commission broke the bridge between railway and the professional politician. The two-cent fare and anti-pass law again partially robbed them of privileges and graft. The people of the state of Kansas began to see that the battle led by Stubbs was against the professional politicians to secure an equal chance for all the people to participate in the state politics.

This movement soon took on the same "insurgency" as introduced into the state by Murdock, White and Madison in

60. Frank W. Blackmar, "Square-Dealers," Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, I, 857-8.

61. Editorial, "Republican Danger Signal," Nation, LXXXIII (May 10, 1906), 378.

harmony with other state and national movements. By 1910 the Republican party of Kansas had been saturated by the great wave of insurgency.⁶² J. N. Dolley was chairman of the Kansas central committee and the party councilmen were: Victor Murdock, chairman; Robert Stone, C. O. Ballinger, G. H. Buckman, F. S. Jackson, F. H. Quincy, Frank A. M'Ivor, R. J. Hopkins, and C. A. Masterson.⁶³ The Republican State Platform of 1910 was dictated by Stubbs and the National Platform by Bristow, White and Murdock.⁶⁴ The Kansas Republicans in council assembly mentioned the name of Taft in their resolutions only in the statement,

"We endorse such efforts as President Taft has made to fulfill the promises of the Republican national platform and pledge him our support for all efforts for the enactment of progressive laws."⁶⁵

The Republican Convention opened with a parliamentary squabble between Victor Murdock and Charles Curtis.⁶⁶ Stubbs was elected chairman.⁶⁷ The platform was chuck full of progressive insurgency. Every paragraph fairly bristled with Square Deal sentiment. The clauses dealing with

62. Topeka Journal, August 12, 1911.

63. Topeka Daily Capital, July 31, 1910.

64. Topeka Journal, August 31, 1910.

65. Ibid.

66. Tom Morgan, "Splendid Tribute to Murdock," Ottawa Daily Republican, April 22, 1908.

67. Kansas City Journal, August 31, 1910.

Theodore Roosevelt and Walter R. Stubb's administrations drew the convention to their feet. Walter Roscoe Stubbs had "pressing business" in the form of legislative duties to perform and Joseph L. Bristow took his place as chairman.⁶⁸ Stubbs was chosen to carry on his work as standard bearer for the Progressive Republicans.⁶⁹ J. N. Dolley, Chairman of the State Central Committee, predicted a 15,000 majority over Wagstaff.⁷⁰

The significance of the overwhelming insurgent victory in Kansas was two-fold:

"(1) It is a complete repudiation of both Cannon and the system by which he robbed the people of free government in the House; (2) The Kansas insurgent victory is an attempt by the Republicans of Kansas. .to drive special interests out of control in American politics."⁷¹

In electing W. R. Stubbs as governor of Kansas in 1908 the people brought their champion to the highest office of the state. Stubbs said,

"the corporations would be absolutely helpless in Kansas politics and the political machine could not exist without the support of the great vested interests of the country with their perfectly organized machine in every state in the Union and headquarters in New York, is maintained for the mutual-benefit and protection of the practical politicians, and the seventeen railroads and corporations."⁷²

68. Morison, S. E., The Oxford History of the United States, pp. 68, 69.

69. Idem.

70. Topeka Daily Capital, July 31, 1910.

71. Victor Murdock speaks to Associated Press, Emporia Weekly Gazette, August 4, 1910.

72. W. R. Stubbs, "Progressive Movement in Kansas," Wichita Eagle, January 4, 1908.

The machine politics of Kansas is characterized by an editorial in the Wichita Eagle saying, "Long's machine runs like an automobile, the Square Dealers kick up a little dust."⁷³ An editorial which is characteristic of those found in the Kansas papers appeared in the Emporia Weekly Gazette, "will the politicians clean up the party or will the people clean out the politicians?"⁷⁴

The campaign of the Square Dealers had stirred Kansas to the very depths and the state was reacting as it had in the Boss-Buster Movements. Stubbs, the man who had set out to liberalize the political and industrial situation, was elected governor. Joseph L. Bristow had succeeded in crowding the machine candidate Charles Long out of the United States Senate position. Victor Murdock the leader of the Kansas insurgency in the House of Representatives was again at the helm.⁷⁵

Stubbs had much the same crusader's idealism as Murdock, Bristow, LaFollete, Folk, Norris and the other insurgents. Stubbs was Rooseveltian in that he took his ideas and aims to the people in speech, action and press.

Outlook, 5 (March 30, 1910), 736-7.

73. Wichita Eagle, March 5, 1908. Long, Senator from Kansas, controlled the Stand-Patter's Machine.

74. Emporia Weekly Gazette, January 2, 1908.

75. Washington Journalist, "Men We are Watching-- Victor Murdock," Independent, LXVIII (March 3, 1910), 474-5; "Persons in the Foreground," "The Serious-minded Senator Bristow," Current Literature, LI (August, 1911), 150-3.

He has probably done more than any other one governor in Kansas history towards restoring the government of the state to the people.⁷⁶ A "Kansas Democrat" says the battle was not between Stubbs a Republican and Hodges a Democrat but

"It was a fight between right and wrong. It is a fight to beat Governor Stubbs because he has been right, and because as a national figure in the movement for the people his defeat would be a crushing blow to the progressive idea."⁷⁷

Stubbs won out and most of his principles were successful including the primary for the direct nomination of candidates.⁷⁸

Kansas was fast gaining recognition for its work in law enforcement. Governor Hoch lent every aid in his power to further effective law enforcement with Fred S. Jackson as Attorney-General. Walter Roscoe Stubbs found Jackson efficient and retained him.⁷⁹ In 1883 a railroad Commission Law provided for three commissioners to adjust difficulties for the railroads. In 1911 the Railroad Commission became the Public Utilities Commission, which had control of all

76. Oscar King Davis, "Senator Bristow's Views," Outlook, C (March 30, 1910), 735-9.

77. Kansas Democrat, Kansas City Star, September 20, 1910.

78. Judson C. Welliver, "The Direct Primary," Munsey Magazine, XLI (May, 1909), 171-6.

79. Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, II, 772-782.

corporations in the state that rendered public service.⁸⁰ The Public Utilities Commission was another step in the Control of the four railroad lines of Kansas,--Union Pacific, Santa Fe, Missouri Pacific, and the Rock Island.⁸¹ Intensive work was put on the main roads of the state and farm to market roads were advocated.⁸² Senator J. N. Dolley's Blue Sky Law provided for the inspection by the state of all stocks to be sold in the State of Kansas.⁸³ This did much to safeguard the money of the Kansas investor.⁸⁴

80. Anna E. Arnold, A History of Kansas, pp. 180-1.

81. Ibid, pp. 174-180.

82. William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 857.

83. Ibid, p. 858.

84. Isaac F. Marcossou, "Barring Out the Stock Thieves", Munsey Magazine, XLVI (February, 1912) 674-681.

1. F. Urban Day, An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics, p. 5; Jesse Macy, "Independent Movements in Politics," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 166-7.

2. A. S. Holcomb, "Insurgents in Congress," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 193.

3. Ray Stannard Baker, "The Meaning of Insurgency," American Magazine, LXIII (May, 1911), 59.

4. George H. Shiley, "Progressive Movement," Twentieth Century, II, (April, 1910), 45.

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION OF A THIRD PARTY

Insurgency

Insurgency started out as a revolt within the Republican Party seeking to overthrow "certain of the old party leaders who are regarded as ultra-conservative or reactionary."¹ The term "Insurgents" first appeared in American political vernacular during the Sixtieth Congress (1907-9) to designate a minority of Republican members who "refused to support the official policy of the party as regularly defined by the party caucuses."² These insurgents were mostly western men who had a clear definite platform of principles,³ one of "which is the revision of the procedure of the House, to the end that the representative body and not the Speaker shall rule."⁴ This was the battle

1. P. Orman Ray, An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics, p. 6; Jesse Macy, "Independent Movements in Politics," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 156-7.

2. A. N. Holcombe, "Insurgents in Congress," Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 193.

3. Ray Stannard Baker, "The Meaning of Insurgency," American Magazine, LXXII (May, 1911), 59.

4. George H. Shibley, "Progressive Movement," Twentieth Century, II, (April, 1910), 45.

against Cannonism started in 1907 by Victor Murdock, Congressman from Kansas, and was joined by George W. Norris of Nebraska and about twenty others.⁵

The Insurgency started February 20, 1907, over the railway mail rate bill, when the House's machine steam-rolled Murdock by eliminating his reform bill on a point of order. Murdock "appealed from the decision of the chair! The decision of the chair was sustained--ayes 72, naes 14."⁶ This bill by the Insurgents would save the Federal Government five million dollars annually and was put into effect by President Roosevelt after Congress adjourned.⁷ The Insurgents in the House of Representatives were Murdock and Madison of Kansas; Norris of Nebraska; Cooper and Lenroot of Wisconsin; Hayes of California; Poindexter of Washington and Fowler of New Jersey. On test votes throughout the 1909-10 session in the House the insurgents polled 40 votes "which was enough in co-operation with the Democrats to make a small majority there."⁸ On March 17, 1910, a combination of insurgents Republicans and Democrats made a concerted attack upon the

5. Deacon House, Atchison Globe, July 16, 1912.

6. Hastings Macadam, "The Insurgents," Everybody's Magazine, XXVI (June, 1912), 773-4.

7. "The Case of Murdock," Emporia Weekly Gazette, May 7, 1908.

8. Albert Bushnell Hart, "Leaders of Insurgency," American Yearbook, 1910, p. 49.

Speaker and ousted him from his membership on the rules committee⁹ and increased the rules committee to ten members to be elected by the House itself.¹⁰

The Insurgency soon spread to the Senate where LaFollette was the leader of a liberal group composed of Cummins and Dolliver of Iowa, Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, Clapp of Minnesota, Bourne of Oregon, and Dixon of Montana.¹¹ This Senate Insurgency was a battle against privilege, standing for the people's interests against "Aldrichism".¹²

Mark Hanna, in his Akron, Ohio speech, September 27, 1902, coined the word "Stand-pat" upon the tariff plank which had served the party so well.¹³ The followers of Hanna were soon called "Stand-Patters" as their "traditional political system appeared to be unassailable in the fortified strength of its position. It had every advantage of custom, prestige, resource, training, experience, competence and success".¹⁴

9. Oscar W. Underwood, Drifting Sands of Party Politics, p. 165.

10. Ibid.

11. Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements, p. 390.

12. George H. Shibley, "Progressive Movements", Twentieth Century, II, (April, 1910) 45.

13. Herbert Croly, Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Work and Life, p. 417.

14. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 3.

The liberals who later formed the Insurgents soon listed Cannon and his conservative rule of the United States House of Representatives¹⁵ as a "Stand-Patter," due to the fact that he used the rules largely established by Reed in 1890, which was a perverted legislative system allowing but little chance for the opposition forces.¹⁶ Victor Murdock and his colleague, Ed Madison, carried their fight to the state government of Kansas.¹⁷ In the election, 1908, they were joined by a fellow Kansan, Joseph Little Bristow,¹⁸ who was to be a United States Senator.¹⁹ According to Frank Doster, an old Populist, the insurgents were advocating the same principles that had been advocated for over twenty years.²⁰ The Republican party at its inception was prophetic of progressivism. It undertook to introduce positive economic and social functions

15. Victor Murdock, "After Cannonism--What?" *Independent*, LXIX (September 22, 1910), 622-5.

16. Victor Murdock, "The Insurgent Movement in Congress," *North American Review*, CXCI (April, 1910), 510-11.

17. Thomas Drier, *Heroes of Insurgency*, pp. 123-38.

18. *Salina Evening Journal*, March 23, 1908.

19. Frank W. Blackmar, "Joseph Little Bristow," *Kansas: A Cyclopedic of State History*, I, 234; Frank C. Lockwood, "Senator Bristow of Kansas," *Outlook*, XC (August 27, 1910), 617-20.

20. *Kansas City Journal*, Judge Frank Doster, September 10, 1910.

into the American Government.²¹

The Kansas Insurgent leaders had taken only a limited part in the affairs of the state government until they were solicited by Walter Roscoe Stubbs to institute a system of Insurgency in Kansas founded on Conservation and the Square-Deal.²² This Kansas Insurgency was one of protest and correction largely free from personal ambition.²³ This was a new line of thinking, not Republican. This Insurgent movement was formative, stirring the people to the place where they would follow this new talent who were crusaders putting the power of government control back in the hands of the People.²⁴ The leaders of this crusade found resources at their disposal to carry on their work in both state and national government.²⁵

Victor Murdock advocated a new curb upon the Speaker

21. Herbert Croly, Progressive Democracy, p. 123; William Allen White, The Old Order Changeth, pp. 230-253; William Starr Myers, The Republican Party, Preface and Insurgents.

22. Gustav Stickley, "A New Political Party", The Craftsman, XVIII (August, 1910) 273.

23. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932; William Allen White, "Insurgency of Insurgency", American Magazine, LXXI (December, 1910) 170-4.

24. William Allen White, "The End of an Epoch", Scribners Magazine, LXXIX (June, 1926) 561-570.

25. Dana Gatlin, "What I am Trying to do--Stubbs", World's Work, XXIV (May, 1912) 59-67.

of the House of Representatives.²⁶ During the legislative session of 1910-1911, "Taft fell out with the Insurgents over Patronage."²⁷ This followed the downfall of Cannon and the revising of the House Rules and the tariff legislation of 1909.²⁸ This created a wider division between the Stand-Patters and Insurgents who liked to be called Progressive Republicans.²⁹

The Liberal Progressive movement which may now be called the Progressive Republican movement, can be traced through every phase of the Kansas farm situation;³⁰ religious history;³¹ fight for prohibition against the liquor forces;³² population and political characteristics;³³

26. Victor Murdock, "New Curb on Speaker," Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1910.

27. Topeka Journal, January 19, 1911.

28. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems, p. 83.

29. Ibid.

30. William A. White, "The Farmer and His Plight," The Survey, LXII, (June 1, 1929), 281-3.

31. Charles B. Driscoll, "Major Prophets of Holy Kansas," American Mercury, VII (May, 1926), 16-26.

32. Charles B. Driscoll, "Kansas in Labor," American Mercury, XVI (March, 1929), 339-346.

33. Frederick M. Davenport, "Slowing Up and Slowing Down of Nebraska and Kansas," Outlook, CX (May 12, 1915), 94-99.

34. Theodore Roosevelt, "Progressives, Past and Present," Outlook, XXVI (September 8, 1910) 19-30.

and even the every day life of the Kansans has been described as conducive to progressive principles.³⁴ William Allen White has called this movement a "middle class revolution to equalize the opportunity of the common man".³⁵ These earlier movements have had their manifestations in Kansas and now our narrative starts at the mid-point in the Stubbs Administrations.

During Stubbs last administration a Progressive Republican movement was organized which later became the Progressive Party.³⁶ The movement has been explained as the amalgamation of many of the state movements into a national movement.³⁷ Theodore Roosevelt said that John Brown was a great progressive³⁸ and in his Ossawatomie, Kansas speech, August 31, 1910 at a celebration nominally in honor of John Brown, Roosevelt "laid down what he called the

34. Clyde L. Davis, "Kansas at Large", Atlantic Monthly CXXIV (Oct. 1919) 465-71, and (Nov. 1919) 641-48.

35. "Blood of Conquerors", Colliers, LXXI, (March 10, 1923) 5-6, 30, and (March 17, 1923) 11-12, 27; "Government of the people, By the People, and for the People", Independent, LXXXV (February 7, 1916) 187-190.

36. Jonathan W. Dollivar, "The Forward Movement in the Republican Party", The Outlook, XCVI (Sept. 24, 1910) 161-172; Edward McChesney Sait, American Parties and Elections, (Progressive Republicans).

37. Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Presidential nominations and Elections (Roosevelt and 1912); Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, 1897-1916, (1912).

38. Theo. Roosevelt, "Progressives, Past and Present", Outlook, XCVI (September 3, 1910) 19-30.

platform of "New Nationalism" in seventeen planks. Seven of these related to trusts and corporations which he thought necessary, but he insisted that their transactions must be public, and that they must be supervised by a Federal agency, especially where they control the necessities of life. Three planks relate to finance, including a tariff commission and graduated income tax. One plank proposed the army and navy, two others for conservation, and another for legislation favorable to labor, another against mob violence, another for such use of national power that "there must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers"; and finally he came out for the direct primary, together with a corrupt-practices act, and the right to recall elective officers.³⁹ The "New Nationalism" of Roosevelt with its seventeen planks corresponded with many of the demands of the Insurgent Progressive Republicans led by LaFollette.⁴⁰

A group of progressive Republicans met in Washington D. C. on January 21, 1911 to form the National Progressive Republican League;

"believing they had come to the parting of the ways... they adopted a declaration of principles, which lamented that popular government in America had been

39. Albert Bushnell Hart, "New Nationalism", American Yearbook, 1910, p. 52.

40. William Allen White, "Progressive Hen and the Insurgent Ducklings", American Magazine, LXXI (January, 1911) 394-9.

E. B. Robinson, Evolution of American Political...

William Starr Myers, The Republican Party, pp.

thwarted and progressive legislation strangled by the special interests, which control caucuses, delegates, conventions, party organization and through this control of machinery of government dictate nominations and platforms."⁴¹

As the Taft administration drew stormily to a close,⁴² open opposition to the renomination of President Taft developed with "its directing and energizing force coming from the Middle Western and Pacific Coast States."⁴³ These Insurgents first rallied around LaFollette as a logical champion of the people's cause.⁴⁴ The struggle of a decade in the states and in the initial conflict in Congress had convinced these men of the hopelessness of making the Republican Party responsible to the will of the people without changes in the machinery of the party.⁴⁵ In explanation of LaFollette's poor showing as standard bearer William Starr Myers states that

"at a business men's banquet in Philadelphia, on February 2, 1912, Mr. LaFollette delivered a long rambling, in part [sic] incoherent speech, which proved to be the beginning of a nervous breakdown. This ruined his chance for the nomination."⁴⁶

41. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, A History of the American People, p. 435.

42. E. H. Abbott, "Mr. Roosevelt in the West," Outlook, XCVI (September 3, 1910), 19-30, 64-7.

43. Harold R. Bruce, American Parties and Politics, pp. 105-22.

44. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems, p. 83.

45. Edgar E. Robinson, Evolution of American Political Parties, p. 314.

46. William Starr Myers, The Republican Party, pp. 399-400.

William Kittle says LaFollette was a statesman after the order of Lincoln and would naturally make a poor showing in many of the Progressive states.⁴⁷ At the outset of this Progressive Republican Movement, Roosevelt was on his hunting trip.⁴⁸ When he returned he declined to join the new movement but in speeches, and editorials, he gradually aligned himself with its policies.⁴⁹

A letter from Gilson Gardner, Washington Correspondant, to William Hard, editor of the Nation helps explain the transition from Insurgency to Progressivism.⁵⁰

"Dear Hard:

Before this subject of what is Progressivism, fades into the limbo of forgetfulness, why not glance at the histrionic origin of the term?

When the noble T. R. was felling wild animals in Africa the noble and red-headed Vic Murdock of Kansas was waging a bitter fight against Cannonism and the rules of the House of Representatives. It was a struggle to get a little more freedom--and the struggle was in the interests of the people--.

The red-headed Murdock, however, won and the rules were slightly bent. The crowd at Victor's back were known as "Insurgents." They had insurged against House discipline. They were rebels.

Then returned the noble T. R. from his African hunt and to a couple of his newspaper friends conveyed this message, "Tell Victor to drop that word 'Insurgents'

47. William Kittle, "Robert M. LaFollette," The Arena, XXXV (1906), 571-6.

48. Emporia Weekly Gazette, May 16, 1912.

49. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Nation, CXVIII (March 26, 1924), 342.

and to use the term 'Progressives'. That term expresses itself. It is what the group really stands for. It is a general and continuing word. Insurgency is simply a passing phase. Remember to call them 'Progressives'".

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On February 19, 1912, the Republican Governors of seven states⁵¹ signed a letter to Roosevelt,

"Urging him to announce his candidacy. A few days later President Taft publicly denounced persons who supported the 'New Nationalism' as destructive radicals, 'political emotionalists', and 'neurotics'. These words touched Roosevelt on the raw since a rumor that he was losing his reason was being circulated. They were exactly the sort of challenge to dissolve his lingering doubts, and arouse a violent spirit of combat. 'My hat is in the ring', he announced on twenty-first of February".⁵²

Joseph Bucklin Bishop, a biographer of Roosevelt's in referring to the letter sent by the seven Governors:

"This letter was ingeniously framed to exert a powerful influence over Roosevelt. Its authors declared their belief that a majority of the voters (Republican) favored his nomination and a large percentage of the voters favored his election; that he represented as no other man did, the principles and policies which must appeal to the American people and which were necessary to the happiness and prosperity of the country; that in making the request and authors of the letter were not considering his personal interests but the interests of the people as a whole, and that

51. Governors were Bass of N. H., Glasscock of W. Va., Hadley of Mo., Osborn of Mich., Stubbs of Kans., Aldrich of Nebr., and Carey of Wyoming.

52. S. E. Morison, "Progressive Era", The Oxford History of the United States, II, 456-7.

if he were to decline he would show himself unresponsive to a plain public duty".⁵³

Harold U. Faulkner states that the people scented victory in the air and stampeded to their old idol, Roosevelt.⁵⁴ Though Roosevelt had asserted he would not run again, he yielded to the importunities of his friends and the promptings of his own ardent nature, and on February 12, 1912, announced that he would accept the nomination if the nomination was offered to him by the Republican National Convention. With the casting of Roosevelt's hat into the ring, there were two contrasting figures seeking the nomination of the Republican Party, "the conservative and vacillation of President Taft in comparison with the energy, assertiveness, and personal popularity of Roosevelt".⁵⁵ In his many sided qualities Roosevelt had an immeasurable advantage over other men.⁵⁶ He was well suited to carry the banner of the Bull Moosers as he was a great "political evangelist though seldom a constructive policy formulator".⁵⁷

53. Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, II, 316-7.

54. The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914, pp. 106-7.

55. William MacDonald, "Democratic Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, I, 575.

56. Frank A. Munsey, Munsey Magazine, XLVIII (October, 1912) 76.

57. C. E. Merriam, Four American Party Leaders, pp. 22-23.

The fight between Roosevelt and Taft broke out for the control of the Republican National Convention to meet in June, 1912 at Chicago. The Taft men

"by the exercise of administrative influence such as had often been employed in the past, the campaign managers of the latter [Taft] were able to capture most of the delegates from the Southern States where the Republican vote was negligible. On the other hand Roosevelt developed astounding strength in the states which had established the direct primary system and in which the Republican vote was large. Also his supporters started contests wherever possible".⁵⁸

Kansas was a good example of a state in which the Progressive element was in full control of the Republican Party and its machine under W. R. Stubbs.⁵⁹ In order to keep their convention delegates and presidential electors within the Republican fold, a curious situation had developed and the contesting delegations both went to the Republican National Convention at Chicago.⁶⁰ There were, when the Republicans met in 1912, "as there had been for several years past two warring elements in the party, one conservative and the other radical".⁶¹ Roosevelt

58. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems, pp. 83f.

59. Albert Shaw, "Shall Kansas be Disfranchised", Review of Reviews, XLVI (September, 1912) 277f.

60. James Albert Woodburn, "Electoral Disputes in Kansas", American Yearbook of 1912, pp. 26f.

61. Edward McChesney Sait, American Parties and Elections, p. 608.

undoubtedly won "The rank and file of the Republican voters, but in the nominating convention he was flattened by the same 'steam-roller' which but four years before had so efficiently cleared the way for Taft".⁶² Roosevelt was supported by many of the former progressives and by a complete or partial delegation from the Republican States such as Pennsylvania and Illinois, mostly gained by the primaries.⁶³ When their candidate lost the Republican nomination, as his supporters believed of unfair tactics, they "bolted" after the contested delegates were decided in favor of Taft, whose friends were in control of the machinery.⁶⁴ The "bolting address" or the Progressive Protest was delivered Saturday, June 22, by Henry J Allen of Kansas.⁶⁵ The Progressives withdrew with their leader Theodore Roosevelt to Orchestra Hall⁶⁶ where "Roosevelt was informally nominated as the candidate of a new political organization".⁶⁷

62. Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, p. 197.

63. Albert Bushnell Hart, "Progressive Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 74.

64. Robert C. Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems, pp. 83f.

65. Henry J. Allen, "Progressive's Protest", Outlook, (June 29, 1912) 478.

66. Henry J. Allen, "Campaign At Chicago", Colliers, LVII (June 3, 1916) 8-9, 28, 32.

67. Albert Bushnell Hart, "Progressive Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, II, 74.

CHAPTER VI

PROGRESSIVE PARTY--NATIONAL AND STATE

The New Party in the Nation

Roosevelt in his acceptance speech of June 22,¹ led many of the Progressives or Bull Moosers of 1912, and doubtless many of those who took part in that episode, to believe that they were sharing in the birth of a new and permanent party.² The speed with which the organization of this new party progressed was something that surprised even the old Stand-Pat Republicans.³ The political views of some of the leaders may give some light as to the type of men that were coming to the Progressive Party.

Senator Bristow of Kansas said, "The control of politics by the financial interests for selfishness and for gain must be broken. What we need is a Progressive Congress, a Progressive executive administration, and a Progressive

1. Theodore Roosevelt, "Address Accepting the Nomination of the New Party," The Outlook, CI (June 29, 1912), 479-80.

2. John W. Davis, Party Government in the United States, p. 17.

3. Earnest Hamlin Abbott, "The Chicago Convention and the Birth of a New Party," The Outlook, CI (June 29, 1912), 470-78.

Court".⁴ Albert Jeremiah Beveridge of Indiana in accepting the nomination for governor, designated the effort as "a crusade for a cause and that cause the cause of the people."⁵ Victor Murdock of Kansas says the

"Progressive Party was new, with good leaders and it stirred up the atoms. It was a new line of thinking. If the Progressives had ever come into possession of the government, they would have given a new type of administration by putting the government back into the hands of the people."⁶

Many other eminent leaders and authors who have painted a similar picture of these men who were to make up the warp and the woof of the Progressive Party were Roosevelt, Welliver, White, Richberg, Munsey, Croly, Baker, Merz, Edgerton, and Howland.⁷ The rank and file of these

4. Oscar King Davis, "Senator Bristow's Views", Outlook C (March 30, 1912), 725-729.

5. Indianapolis News, August 1, 1912, Nomination for governor of Indiana.

6. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

7. Theodore Roosevelt, "How I Became a Progressive", Outlook, CII (Oct. 12, 1912) 294-296; Judson C. Welliver, "The New Era and the New Ideas", Munsey Magazine XLV (Oct. 1912), 13-20; William Allen White, "Why I am a Progressive", Saturday Evening Post, CXCI (April 23, 1921), 3-4, 52, 54; Donald Richberg, "New Captains and old Dreams", Survey, LXIII (Oct. 1, 1929) 32-35; Frank A. Munsey, "Roosevelt, the Fighting Leader of the New Progressive Party", Munsey Magazine, XLVII (Aug. 1912) 659-74; Herbert Croly, The Promise of American Life, Entire work; Ray Stannard Baker, "On the Political Firing Line", American Magazine, LXXI (Nov. 1910) 3-16; Charles Merz, "Progressivism, Old and New", Atlantic Monthly, CXXII (July 1923) 102-109; James A. Edgerton, "Will there be a new Party", Review of Reviews, XLIII (March, 1911) 337-340; Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and his Times, Progressives."

Progressives were Middle-western leaders with a reputation for getting things accomplished.⁸ The insurgent progressive movement had passed from a "temporary protest within the Republican Party to the formation of a party nation-wide, into which, as Roosevelt expressed it, both ex-Republicans and ex-Democrats are invited",⁹ The factions attracted by the Progressive Party were: first, those Republicans who revolted at what they believed to be unfair acts of the Chicago Convention; second, those who had worked in their respective states as Progressive Republicans and who rebelled at what they considered the domination of the party by the reactionary element in it; third, there were a considerable number of social reformers, attracted by the proposed platform; fourth, there were the personal admirers of Mr. Roosevelt.¹⁰

The Progressive Party made an appeal to the farmers, the laborer, business men, the political reformer,

8. Edgar E. Robinson, The Evolution of American Political Parties, p. 301.

9. George P. Morehouse, Topeka Capital, August 4, 1912.

10. "Origin of the Progressive Party", Independent, LXXX (November 16, 1914), 222.

11. Albert Bushnell Hart, "Progressive Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, III, 24.

12. Zarnes: Hamilton Abbott, "Progressive Convention", Gullick, GI (August 17, 1912), 859-870.

humanitarian, conservation faction,¹¹ and finally to all who want the people to rule instead of the vested interests of the Republican and Democratic Parties.¹² The delegates of the Roosevelt Progressive Party met in Chicago, August 6, 1912. Richberg says the movement was religious, "a revolt of youth against age, of idealism against materialism".¹³ The Progressive Convention had delegates from 40 states.¹⁴ The name officially adopted by the Progressive Convention, August 7, 1912, was the "Progressive Party".¹⁵ Theodore Roosevelt was chosen as their nominee for President and Hiram W. Johnson for Vice-President.¹⁶

11. Solon J. Buck, The Agrarian Crusade, Preface; William E. Walling, American Labor and American Democracy, p. 28; Judson C. Welliver, "The Progressive Party's Appeal to the Business Vote", Munsey Magazine, XLVIII (November, 1912) 270-4; "A Vitally Illuminating Article on a Naturally Criminally Corrupt Republican Party", Munsey Magazine, XLVI (February, 1912) 619-628; Frank A. Munsey, "The New Progressive Party--What is it and why it is", Munsey Magazine, XLVII (August, 1912) 675-680; Walter H. Page, "The Progressive Programme", World's Work, XXIV (September, 1912) 489-491.

12. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932; Edward McChesney Sait, American Parties and Elections, p. 194.

13. Donald Richberg, "We Thought It was Armageddon", Survey, LXI (March 1, 1929) 723-5, 758-9, 762-3.

14. Harold R. Bruce, American Parties and Politics, p. 116.

15. Albert Bushnell Hart, "Progressive Party", Cyclopedia of American Government, III, 74.

16. Earnest Hamlin Abbott, "Progressive Convention", Outlook, CI (August 17, 1912) 857-870.

The platform of the Progressive Party was called a "covenant with the people", embodying a large number of popular reforms, including nominations for all offices by primary elections, the popular election of senators, the appointment of officers in the diplomatic and consular services on the basis of fitness, the initiative, referendum, and recall in the state governments, a reform in the method of making amendments to the Federal Constitution, equal suffrage to men and women, the publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures, the recall of judicial decisions, the abolition of the injunction in labor disputes, the strengthening of the Inter-state Commerce Commission and of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the establishment of a scientific tariff commission, the levying of inheritance and income taxes, the conservation of natural resources, the limitation of armaments, the use of business methods in the federal departments, and the enactment of laws prohibiting child labor, establishing the eight-hour day, the minimum wage and workmen's compensation and promoting the safety and health of workmen.¹⁷

The Progressive convention resembled an old time religious revival in its fervor, optimism and youthful adoration. Roosevelt in concluding his speech stated that

17. Edward Conrad Smith, "Progressive Platform", Dictionary of American Politics, p. 336.

"We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord".¹⁸

Albert J. Beveridge delivered the keynote address of the convention and had hardly completed when George W. Perkins "cut out of the platform its most vital plank--that on trusts".¹⁹ It was a

"gallant revolt against the established order in the Republican Party, the passionate adoration of the Bull Moosers for their leader, and the calm calculation with which Theodore Roosevelt ultimately betrayed them and scuttled the most promising effort towards political independence that the nation has ever known".²⁰

Joseph M. Dixon, United States Senator from Montana was Chairman of the Progressive Campaign Committee; Oscar King Davis was Secretary; and William Allen White was the Director of Publicity. George W. Perkins was Chairman of the National Committee with Ben Lindsey, Jane Addams, George Priestly, Chauncey Dewey, James R. Garfield, William Flinn, Julian Harris, and Elon H. Hooker as Committeemen.²¹ Although the Progressive Party was organized less than a month before election; it "started its existence with a nation-wide organization.....but with a firm purpose to

18. Harold U. Faulkner, The Quest of Social Justice, 1898-1914, p. 107.

19. Willis J. Abbott, "Review of Bower's Beveridge and the Progressive Era", Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 23, 1932.

20. Ibid.

21. William S. Brigman, "General Staff of Reorganized political Armies", Munsey Magazine, XLVIII (October, 1912) 3-12.

make our politics purer and our government better".²² Many of the leaders of the National Progressive Party were the foremost liberal thinkers and politicians of America.²³

The national campaign became a three cornered fight between Taft, Roosevelt and Wilson. The election placed Woodrow Wilson in the Presidency with an electoral count of 435 and a popular vote of 6,293,454. Theodore Roosevelt had an electoral vote of 88 and a popular vote of 4,119,538. William Howard Taft had an electoral count of 8 and a popular vote of 3,484,980; Eugene V. Debs had a popular vote of 900,672. Roosevelt carried Washington, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Michigan, and 11 out of 13 in California; Taft carried Utah and Maine; Wilson the rest.²⁴

The defeat which had been foreseen "had hardly passed into history when Roosevelt, Perkins, and Munsey began overtures for a surrender to the Republicans".²⁵ Victor Murdock in an interview with Theodore Roosevelt the morning after the election asked Roosevelt what was the future of the Progressive Party. Roosevelt said when he

22. Nelson Case, "Progressive Party Organization", Oswego Independent, September 12, 1912.

23. William S. Brigman, "Some leaders in the National Movement", Munsey Magazine, XLVIII, (Sept., 1912) 843-59.

24. "Popular Vote of 1912", World's Almanac for 1913, p. 716.

25. Willia J. Abbott, Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 23, 1932.

noticed that "the Progressive Party had not elected a single county clerk he knew the party's life was short. A political party to be lasting must come from the grass roots."²⁶

The Progressive Party committeemen met in Chicago, December 10, 1912, to get the party in shape to carry on its work. Colonel Roosevelt addressed the delegates of the conference. Victor Murdock was selected as National Chairman and Joseph M. Dixon as head of the membership committee.²⁷ Jane Addams' plan for the financing of the campaign by subscriptions was adopted. The selection of New York as the headquarters of the party was "received as a victory for George W. Perkins and his friends against whom some opposition had been developed in the conference."²⁸ The Nation printed a very interesting article:

"It is plain to see now that there were two elements in the Progressive Party which never had fused, and which were certain to lead to the explosion that occurred on Saturday. There were the Progressives of fanatical strain, the earnest, genuine men and women who believed that Roosevelt would lead them to a new heaven and a new earth. But in addition to them there were ex-bosses and scheming politicians and the disgruntled capitalists who helped to utilize the name Progressive

26. Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

27. Ibid.

28. Associated Press, Wichita Daily Eagle, December 12, 1912.

for their own purposes. William Allen White wrote to the New York World, 'Mr. Perkins had paid his good money for the Progressive Party, and in him rested the title of the party. It was natural that Colonel Roosevelt should recognize that title. Be very sure it was--the eminently practical Colonel.'²⁹

Another article from the Nation is also rather enlightening:

"that the announcement of the plans of the New York Progressives would be 'highly important,' the public was notified in advance. How could it be otherwise than important, coming as it did after the Colonel had met with the Executive Committee and adjured them not to abate a jot of the immortal principles of 1912, while, 'on the other hand,' selling out to the Republicans on the best terms obtainable? The official statement embodies this heroic determination never to submit or yield--unless it proves convenient to do so--and the explanation furnished by Mr. George Perkins put the thing beyond doubt."

Then to further the work Mr. Perkins innocently outlined the bargaining process in contemplation.³⁰

George L. Record declares that the scheduling of the Progressive Party Convention in 1916 at Chicago at the same time as that of the Republican was for the "obnoxious purpose of enabling Perkins, the meal ticket and practically sole remnant of the party, to traffic with the Republican

29. Editorial, Nation, CII (June 15, 1916), 636.

30. Editorial, Nation, CII (May 18, 1916), 531.

Old Guards for jobs."³¹ The two national conventions met at Chicago in June, 1916. The Progressives elected Raymond Robins, as chairman of the convention.³² The Western or so-called fanatical Roosevelt element of the convention wanted to name Roosevelt President and adjourn forthwith, leaving the selection of a Vice-President to be filled by the national committee, which meant that they were for fusion with the Republican Party, by letting the Republicans nominate the Vice-Presidential candidate who would run with Roosevelt on the Republican fusion ticket. This faction of the Progressives was under the leadership of Victor Murdock, James R. Garfield, Hiram W. Johnson, and that group of young insurgents.³³ The second faction was the Eastern crowd led by Perkins and his New York following in general. This faction wished to sell out to the Republicans at the best obtainable terms.³⁴

31. George L. Record, Nation, CII (January 27, 1916), 90.

32. Julian Street, "The Convention and the Colonel," Colliers, LVII (July 1, 1916), 5-7, 26, 37, 38.

33. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932; Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

34. Ibid.

One interesting and dramatic incident occurred in the Progressive Convention when James M. Parker of Louisiana was about to be recognized by Chairman Robins, with the purpose of nominating Roosevelt for Presidency but George W. Perkins pulled him down into his seat. Perhaps as many other great moments have created great events which were decided in the snap of a finger; so the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt by the western faction of the Bull Moosers in 1916 was delayed until too late and if theirs was a possible chance of uniting with the Republicans it was lost in the pull of a coat tail.³⁵

Colonel Roosevelt at the "eleventh hour suggested Senator Lodge as compromise candidate,³⁶ but by Saturday morning with the 'favorite sons' releasing delegation after delegation; the drift to Hughes became unmistakable. In hot haste the Progressives determined to have their ticket, nominated Colonel Roosevelt with John M. Parker for Vice-president, beating the Republican decision for Mr. Hughes by some two minutes. Colonel Roosevelt's reply to the news of his nomination was a 'conditional refusal' which was to be placed in the hands of the Progressive National Committee³⁷ pending a declaration of principles by the Republican candidate".

Roosevelt's answer was a refusal to the Progressive National Committee. The Progressives then gave the

35. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932; Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

36. "Progressive Convention, 1916", Nation CII (June 15, 1916) 631.

37. Ibid.

nomination to James M. Parker of Louisiana. This gesture practically closed the Progressive movement which had started out so strong in 1912. The very success of the Progressive Party had in it the seeds of an early death.³⁸ The movement at its inception was a one-man movement, built around Roosevelt, a great national figure. Roosevelt was too practical for the movement. It needed a John Brown who was willing to live, fight and if need be even die; a martyr. Roosevelt was all too willing to compromise with the Republican Party.³⁹

There were plenty of young virile leaders in the Progressive Party who might have added some degree of permanency to the Progressive Party movement.⁴⁰ With LaFollette or some younger man at the helm, the Progressives would have had a full ticket in the elections. They would have gone down in defeat and would have been a party in 1920.⁴¹ Naturally the party would have been forced to submerge during the World War, but even with this denial of freedom and the changing of issues the party might not have died as 1916 was not Armageddon. The failure was somewhat due to the World War, but largely due to the

38. Editorial, The Nation, CII (June 15, 1916), 636.

39. William Allen White, Personal Interview, Aug., 1932.

40. Editorial, "Progressive Movement," Review of Reviews, XLVI, 267-274.

41. William Allen White, Personal Interview, Aug., 1932.

presence of Perkins among the leaders. Perkins was probably in the Progressive Party because he was the only member of the J. P. Morgan firm who was a Progressive. But Perkins was a banker before he was a Progressive. Morgan being a banker, wanted interest, capital and profit before martyrdom.⁴² The failure was due to the leadership of Roosevelt. Every great American political party has to have soil upon which to grow, and must be watered by the martyr's blood. Roosevelt had tasted too much of the spoils to be a martyr and he was too popular to submerge during the World War. He was probably not enough of a crusader like LaFollette, Murdock, and others who were in the movement not for what they could get out of it but for the joy of getting the government into the hands of the people.⁴³ Then in the leadership of the Progressive Party besides Perkins and Roosevelt were those old political manipulators like William Flinn of Pittsburgh,⁴⁴ Frank A. Munsey,⁴⁵ John C. Shaffer,⁴⁶ and Oscar Straus and others.⁴⁷ This

42. William Allen White, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

43. Ibid.

44. William Bennet Munro, Personality in Politics, p. 61.

45. Willis J. Abbott, Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 23, 1932.

46. Ibid.

47. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, "The Progressives at Chicago", Outlook, CXIII (June 21, 1916) 423-7.

group of leaders were able to keep the western element from accomplishing what they had set out to do in the work of reforming America.⁴⁸

Although the Progressive political party was short-lived it forced the Democratic Party temporarily to take on at least some assumed semblances of Progressivism.⁴⁹ Croly says that since 1896 at least one party or candidate has advanced a valid claim for the support of the progressive element in America and that since 1904 the progressive vote has determined the election.⁵⁰

Progressive Party in Kansas

The campaign was carried on with all the vigor possible. (1) The new Progressive Party ran a full ticket in Kansas in 1912. (2) Kansas was putting some of her best statesmen into the fray for the Progressive Party. (3) Walter Roscoe Stubbs ran for the Senate, Arthur Capper for Governor, Sheffield Ingalls for Lieutenant-Governor, Victor Murdock and Fred S. Jackson for Congress. (4) The Progressives ran a good race considering the rupture of the

48. W. A. White, and Victor Murdock, Personal Interview, August, 1932.

49. P. Orman Ray, Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics, p. 32.

50. Herbert Croly, "The Eclipse of Progressivism," New Republic, XXIV (October 27, 1920), 210-216.

Republican Party and the fact that the Democratic national ticket won by a sizable lead. Stubbs lost the race to William H. Thompson, Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. Arthur Capper lost by a few hundred votes in his race for Governor to George H. Hodges, Democrat. Sheffield Ingalls won a brilliant race against Frank L. Britton, the Democratic Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Victor Murdock carried his congressional district, but Fred S. Jackson lost his race for re-election. There were a few more scattered victories in the state of Kansas for the Progressives but only two major ones.

Victor Murdock says the Progressive Party never did have the steam of the Insurgent movement. Prosperity always followed the Insurgency in all its undertakings while that could not be said of the Progressive Party. The Progressives met and U. S. Sartin was elected President of the Kansas Progressive Party organization and expected to organize every county in Kansas by February 12, 1913.⁵¹ Plans were formed to contest every position. On December 11, 1912, William Allen White gave a call for the Progressives of Kansas to an open conference at Topeka.⁵² The 1914 election year came with many of the Kansas Progressives again putting on strong campaigns. Victor Murdock ran for

51. Kansas City Star, November 15, 1912.

52. Topeka Capital, December 11, 1912.

the United States Senate but was outdistanced by both the Republican and Democratic entries. Arthur Capper had returned to the Republican Party and was defeated. Henry J. Allen was the Progressive candidate. These two were the two outstanding entries of the Progressives who lost all contests in the state of Kansas in 1914. ✓

This meant that Kansas had again returned to the Republican fold and in the election many of the Progressives had followed Capper and others back into the Republican Party. With the passing of Victor Murdock from the House of Representatives, Insurgency soon died out as George W. Norris was in the Senate and most of the others had failed in election or had withdrawn to the Republican Party ranks. Insurgency was still led by LaFollette in the Senate although it had lost much of its former vigor, prosperity and efficiency.

The work of the progressive era may well be summed up in Dana Gatlin's summary of Stubb's political work of ten years as follows: (1) State institutions under boards, out of politics; (2) All banks, state and national, operating under a guarantee to pay the depositors; (3) A statute regulating and requiring licenses from sellers and promoters of stocks; (4) A state treasury which pays interest to the people; (5) Sound control of all public utilities--railroads, telephones, express companies, telephone and telegraph lines, gas and electric companies and street cars; (6) A just inheritance tax law; (7) A workman's compensation law; (8) A judicial ouster established against recalcitrant

officials; (9) A compulsory referendum for all franchises granted in Kansas cities; (10) Two-cent passenger fares; (11) A maximum freight law; (12) A direct advisory vote on United States Senators; (13) Commission form of government for cities.⁵³ Many of these reforms were reforms from other state statutes, some were even advocated and largely forced through by other leaders than those of the Stubb's machine.

William E. Connelley in explaining the Kansas situation states that

"Populism played a short return engagement under a different name in 1912. The Progressive Party, with its platform not unlike that of the People's Party, divided the Republican forces and swept the state and nation that year, with the result that a Democratic administration was elected. Kansas got over it in two years so far as the Democrats were concerned, and elected a Republican Governor who was a Progressive. In 1916, the state voted for the Democratic national administration, and retained the Republican Progressive administration."⁵⁴

In 1916, the Bull Moosers quit business in Kansas and returned to the Republican Party--except Victor Murdock.⁵⁵ This marked the exit of the Progressive Party as such; the third party movement had suffered the same end as many of its predecessors. The fusion ticket of returned Republicans and

53. Dana Gatlin, "W. R. Stubbs--What I Am Trying to Do," World's Work, XXIV (May, 1912), 59-67.

54. William E. Connelley, "Progressives," A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, II, 1193.

55. Topeka Journal, June 20, 1916.

Progressives was called Progressive Republicans in 1914 who by 1916 had become regular Republicans.

Kansas, it seems, has chosen a fairly able group of men for governor since the Stubb's administrations. Many of them are of the old progressive strain like Arthur Capper who served 1914-1918; and Henry J. Allen, who served 1918-1922; both of whom had run on the old Progressive ticket. The legislation passed during the other administrations speak well of their stand on progressive principles.

by the great changes of the last thirty years in our industrial and political life. Both party organizations were supported by privilege and the one played off against the other in sham battles to fool the people. The Democratic machine, Bourbon, Aristocratic and reactionary in the South, in the North was dominated by "bosses" who used the people's government to favor the grafting rings of gamblers, contractors, and public service corporations. The Republican machine in the South, a mere 19th-century brigade, in the North was the willing servant of Big Business in its plans for excessive tariffs, credit and industrial exploitation of the people. There had been many ineffective protests against this bi-partisan betrayal of the public welfare, but these protests had failed either because their leaders had tried to pour the new progressive wine into the old party bottles, or had used the progressive sentiment of

CHAPTER VII

SIGNIFICANCE AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PROGRESSIVES

The Progressive Party was born in answer to the supreme need of our present national life. For some years the two old parties had been moribund, living upon futile differences and fighting for the spoils of office over dead issues. They had no adequate economic or social programme, and both were controlled by men who neither understood nor cared for the consequences and needs brought by the great changes of the last thirty years in our industrial and political life. Both party organizations were supported by privilege and the one played off against the other in sham battles to fool the people. The Democratic machine, bourgeois, aristocratic and reactionary in the South, in the North was dominated by "bosses" who used the people's government to favor the grafting rings of gamblers, contractors, and public service corporations. The Republican machine in the South, a mere job-holders brigade, in the North was the willing servant of Big Business in its plans for excessive tariff, credit and industrial exploitation of the people. There had been many ineffective protests against this bi-partisan betrayal of the public welfare, but these protests had failed either because their leaders had tried to pour the new progressive wine into the old party bottles, or had used the progressive sentiment of

the people for personal gain.

It has been said that every great movement in human affairs incarnates itself in a personality. Certain it is that this crisis in American life has brought forth a leader and interpreter of more experience and gifts than any previous crisis in our history--Theodore Roosevelt. In the following pages are set for the principles and methods by which the progressive social and economic development in America can find legal expression in our political and industrial order while increasing general prosperity, preserving freedom under the law.

The campaign of 1912 marks the end of the old order of bi-partisan privilege control over social life of this country. The next three years failed to mark the crystallization of the Progressive movement into an intelligent militant force competent to win and administer the National Government.

The Progressive policy centered about three great demands. First, an effective control by the people both before and after election over the machinery and officials of the government. Second, the effective social control for the public welfare over the processes of industry, dealing justly with labor, capital and consuming public. Third, broadening the base and power of our social control and responsibility by the enfranchisement of women!¹

1. The Progressive National Service. Circular.

The Progressive movement to many means the attempt of one man, disappointed in his efforts to control his political party, to found another and return himself to power. To others, it represents the efforts of a small body of self-seeking politicians to gain position and influence by making capital of a movement that was temporarily popular. To others, the movement expressed the effort of a few sincere but misguided enthusiasts to carry out an impossible and chimerical program of social reform through government and legislation.²

Carl Schurz said, "the doctrines of the Republican party at its inception invited the unqualified approval of young liberal minded reformers."³ In the Republican party at its inception, there were at least two groups. There were the liberal minded reformers and the professional politicians, the latter probably best illustrated by Nelson W. Aldrich, the master-mind that practically controlled the United States. Aldrich was working toward a definite end--

"to merge business and politics in the interests of business; to seize, through politics, the instrumentalities of government and use them

2. Benjamin Parke Dewitt, Progressive Movement, p. 3.

3. Charles Lindsay, the Political Antecedents of the Progressive Movement, p. 2 from Carl Schurz's Reminiscences, (New York), (1907), II, 67-69.

for the profit of a favored few."⁴

Lincoln Steffens gives another enlightening statement when he said,

"the responsible attorney for a railroad and conscientious railroad men have told me and convinced me, too--that you cannot run a railroad without corrupting and controlling government. All discussion of public ownership is foolish; either the state will own and operate the railroads and public utilities or these public corporations will 'own' and govern the state."⁵

The liberal progressive movement came in contact with "Big Business" which has been called the cause of all evil, political and economic. The different political reformers found that they

"could not abolish business. . . . Cannot regulate big business. . . . cannot limit the bigness of business, which must grow. . . . the big businesses which were active in political corruption were the railroads, public service corporations, banks, etc., which are 'big,' but also saloons, gambling and lawdy houses, which are small. . . . that what these big and little businesses all had in common was not size but the need of privileges: franchises and special legislation, which required legislative corruption; protective tariffs, interpretations of laws in their special interests or leniency of 'protection' in the

4. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, p. 316. Quoted from N. W. Stephenson, Nelson W. Aldrich (New York), (1930), p. 61.

5. Lincoln Steffens, Autobiography, p. 565.

6. Ibid., p. 622.

enforcement of laws, calling for 'pulls' with judges, prosecutors, and the police."⁶

The fight against privilege brought forward many of the earlier manifestations of the liberal progressives such as the "Murdock Rebellion." With the starting of the investigations by Murdock, Folk, LaFollette and other reformers of that period came a group of so-called "Muck-Rakers" who took it upon themselves to investigate and publish the sordid truth. These "Muck-Rakers" were Lincoln Steffens, Ida May Tarbell and many others who published these findings in the form of books, magazines and newspapers. The progressive movement had already become a movement and the "Muck-Rakers" were expressing it and making votes for the candidates and the future.⁷

These "Muck-Rakers" were showing the people that privilege created a sort of pressure, and that wherever the pressure is brought to bear, society and government cave in. The problem, then, is one of dealing with the cause or the sources of the pressure to buy and corrupt.⁸

6. Steffens, Autobiography, p. 492.

7. Ibid., p. 508.

8. Ibid., p. 622.

9. Steffens, Autobiography, p. 622.

10. Ibid., p. 422.

The people put their trust in the leaders they elect to run their government. So that the business men who wanted to get from the people part of their common wealth had to deal with the people's leaders, and the people's leaders sold out the people, betrayed the pitiful faith of the masses in their weakness, and--hence our American government is no longer a democracy, but a plutocracy.⁹

To have a class war as we say the progressive movement was, is unscientific:

"To put in prison a man who bought a street railway franchise was wrong; we should put the franchise where the man can't get it. To shift our votes from one to another of two political parties, both of which are organized to serve the privileged or the privilege-seekers, was folly."¹⁰

In the wide spread and rather disturbing "Muck-Raking" of agitators for political reform which at first sight seems rather incoherent and chaotic, there may be distinguished upon examination and analysis three tendencies. The first of these tendencies is found in the insistence by the best of men in all political parties that special, minority, and corrupt influence in government--national, state, and city--be removed; the second tendency is found in the demand that the structure or machinery of government, which has hitherto been admirably adapted to control by

9. Steffens, Autobiography, p. 622.

10. Ibid., p. 492.

the few, be so changed and modified that it will be more difficult for the few, and easier for the many to control; and finally, the third tendency is found in the rapidly growing conviction that the functions of government at present are too restricted and that they must be increased and extended to relieve social and economic distress.¹¹

Often there comes the question of whether the three tendencies can ever be hoped for in accomplishment when an author like Lincoln Steffens has the following to say on 'Big Business' and its effects upon a nation:

"That if the process of corruption was so universal, was not it natural, inevitable, and in the scientific historic evolutionary sense, right? Was not political corruption of the very essence of the life of a state, the necessary accompaniment of its development? Industry with its machinery, coming into an agricultural social organization, finds the Constitution, laws, customs, and the culture of a community of farmers a hindrance to the new breath of life; so it must make changes in the old order to admit the new.....the new railroads have to tunnel the old state as they do the mountains in their way. Captains of industry have to lick the southern planters, 'get' the government, 'give' to the schools, colleges, and churches, and buy the newspapers, and they do, and that makes the changes historians describe later as progress. The new power does not want to sit on the throne--too busy; they let old kings, politicians--anybody, keep or take the crown, so long as they can do what they like in business. In England the rulers let the gentlemen of the ruling class govern; in the United States the professional politicians govern, but the liberal opposition, with their old democratic principles, are really working all the time to substitute good or better men for the old-type politicians. And that is happening. My prophecy,

11. Benjamin Parke Dewitt, Progressive Movement, p. 4-5.

from the British peak of Europe, is that we also shall have a government of the people by gentlemen for the business men."¹²

The "Muck-Rakers" probably started during the eighties and were in full blast when Bob LaFollette was restoring representative government in Wisconsin.¹³ The implacable dervish of reform, by his fierce dictatorship, was doing for the people of Wisconsin what Hoch, Stubbs, Murdock and the other Kansas Liberals were doing for Kansas. Next LaFollette turned to the national government where he would have made the government govern as he had had the state govern Wisconsin. Roosevelt sensed this dangerous fact that LaFollette would have governed the nation only by the consent of the people, the politicians misgoverned, while Roosevelt governed by the consent of the politician governors.¹⁴

Roosevelt did not seek to unite and lead the reform movements, as LaFollette did, but was willing to be followed by the state and local leaders and probably would have welcomed LaFollette had he come with any hint of lieutenantancy.¹⁵ Roosevelt worked with the politicians, he told them he would, and he helped them build their political machines and made it

12. Steffens, Autobiography, p. 706.

13. Ibid., p. 462.

14. Ibid., p. 516.

15. Ibid., p.

partly his for

"T. R. was a politician much more than he was a reformer; in the phraseology of the radicals, he was a careerist, an opportunist with no deep insight into issues, but he was interesting, picturesque."¹⁶

During Roosevelt's first term as president, Lincoln Steffens accused Roosevelt of being good so he would be available for a second term by standing on McKinley's policies and said,

"All you stand for is the square deal. 'That's it,' he [Roosevelt] shouted, and rising to his feet, he banged the desk with his hands. 'That's my slogan; the square deal. I'll throw that out in my next statement. The Square Deal.' And he did."¹⁷

This is the story as told of the history of one of Roosevelt's greatest policies. This square deal soon led to the slogan of the insurgency within the Republican party with its political and economic objectives which has been said to aim at the overthrow of the "Boss System." The two terms of Roosevelt saw a wide range of names used for the so-called liberal progressive movements throughout the states. Among these might be found the following: reformer, radical, boss-buster, square-dealers, insurgents, filibusters, muck-rakers, and many other names thrown out by Roosevelt

16. Steffens, Autobiography, pp. 505-506.

17. Ibid., pp. 506-509.

or some of the other colorful leaders.¹⁸

When Taft was chosen as the President to follow Roosevelt, the liberal faction expected Taft to follow in the foot-steps of his former boss. Such was not to be the case; Archie Butt in his Letters tells of the widening schism which was becoming a struggle to death and even the destruction of the party between Taft and the Insurgency by the end of the 1910 session.¹⁹ These insurgents were casting around for a leader to contest with Taft for the leadership of the Republican Party. In the Senatorial chamber was LaFollette who had a long list of reputable accomplishments to his credit in both state and national affairs and was the main spokesman of the new liberal cause, Claude G. Bowers says;

"Long before Roosevelt determined to contest with Taft for the nomination, Senator LaFollette, not without definite encouragement from the former President, had entered the race. Almost from the beginning his candidacy had been sapped and mined by supporters seeking to persuade the Rough Rider to mount again."²⁰

With the support accorded him, LaFollette was not successful in his attempts at campaigning. Roosevelt's disappointment at Taft's failure to follow out the policies of

18. William Allen White, "The Insurgency of Insurgency," American Magazine, LXXI (December, 1910), p. 171.

19. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, p. 383, from Archie Butt's Letters, I, 413-14.

20. Ibid., p. 416.

a liberal nature started during Roosevelt's term tended to bring Roosevelt into the ring.²¹

Some authors say that the letters written to Roosevelt by the seven governors to get him to run for the presidential nomination were so worded that they had a tremendous effect upon him. Benjamin Parke Dewitt says, "It is only partly true that the governors wrote to Roosevelt asking him to run because they had been invited to do so."²² Other authors stress the effect of Taft's statement that the followers of Roosevelt were "emotionalists" and "neurotics." Then at this same time came the rumors that Roosevelt was losing his mind. These all seemed only to add to the fierceness with which the former Rough Rider President now went into the fight to get the nomination of the Republican Party Convention at Chicago. It has been said that some leaders would have had Roosevelt run on an independent ticket from the start. But Roosevelt realized that the power to elect lay in the political party organization.

The energetic campaign by Roosevelt and his followers had established beyond all doubt the overwhelming popular demand for Roosevelt's nomination, but the reactionary element, bent on rule or ruin, had no thought

21. Lincoln Steffens, Autobiography, p. 502.

22. Progressive Movement, p. 79.

of permitting it. . . . But the reactionaries held their lines and grimly set about their task of seating the Taft contestants; and in the chair, Elihu Root ruled with a hand of iron.²³ Roosevelt was so wrought up over the convention that he was there in person leading his followers. When Roosevelt saw that his chances of controlling the convention had passed, he gave the call for the progressive Republicans to leave and Henry J. Allen delivered this call.

Immediately after the delivering of the "Bolting" address, the followers of Roosevelt went into conference. Many of Roosevelt's followers withdrew to Roosevelt's room. Roosevelt was tired and flung himself on the bed,

"in the north-east corner. Perkins and Munsey stood apart, talking in whispers; and the others in the room--were merely spectators. Somehow they knew that great events hung on the whispered conference, and all eyes were turned on the two. Suddenly the whispering ceased when he made a decisive gesture. The two men straightened up, and moved together towards Roosevelt, meeting him in the middle of the room. Each placed a hand on one of Roosevelt's shoulders, and one said, 'Colonel, we will see you through.' That in later years, was to impress Amos Pinchot, one of the spectators, as marking the birth of the Progressive party!"²⁴

The next day came the forming of the Progressive Party with Munsey, Perkins, Henry L. Stoddard and

23. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, p. 418.

24. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, pp. 418-20. Pinchot's "Progressive Party," M. S.

Roosevelt as the leaders.²⁵ This group who had to a large extent the title of the Progressive Party, was composed of New Yorkers. The leader, Perkins, was a Morgan man who was in the new party largely because he was the only progressive in the firm of bankers. Being a banker and Morgan man before he was a progressive, he would want capital plus interest. Some of the members of the new party knew where the title of the party lay and came into the party largely for the profits of the enterprise. This group was made up to large extent of the Eastern men from New York and Pennsylvania. Another faction that came into the party were those attracted by the reform movements advocated by the platform. Many of the other progressives were followers of Roosevelt.

The Progressive Party held their conventions in August and many have compared the young fervor of the convention to a religious meeting. The party made a good opening, ran a good second in the national elections of 1912, and seemed to have a bright future. Yet the sound of the election had hardly died away before the Progressive Party leaders were bidding with the Republican Party for the control of an amalgamation party.

The Western element of the Party were not satisfied with the leadership and dictatorship of Perkins, Medill

25. Ibid., p. 420.

McCormick, Amos Pinchot, William Allen White, Hiram Johnson, Raymond Robins, and Joseph M. Dixon led the fight against him.²⁶ Victor Murdock was the Chairman of the Progressive Party and worked hard to get the party ready for the elections of 1914. The election was to mark the last stand for the Progressive Party as such. In several of the states some of the national leaders were candidates: in Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot was making a brilliant fight for the Senate against Penrose; in Illinois, Raymond Robins was in the field; in Ohio, James R. Garfield; in California, Hiram Johnson, in Kansas, Victor Murdock and Henry J. Allen; in Indiana, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge.²⁷

In midsummer, Roosevelt, evidently in pursuance of the amalgamation plan, "proposed that the Republicans and Progressive's unite in the gubernatorial nomination of Hinman, a Republican in New York."²⁸ This 'Hinman Deal' then was to be the bridge over which Roosevelt was to return to the Republican Party and leave his followers stranded. Had Roosevelt then helped to form this new party simply to accomplish the downfall of Taft, as many people really believed? Was he now ready to help Perkins

26. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, pp. 438-41.

27. Ibid., p. 448.

28. Ibid., p. 450.

and Munsey to sell out the Progressive Party?

Beveridge sums up the situation in a letter to John C. Shaffer discussing the Progressive Party;

"The movement was not a genuine one to the great end of founding a new party, as Lincoln, Jefferson, and Jackson had founded new parties, but a mere political maneuver. . . . Since it is now plain that the Progressive movement was never intended to be a sincere effort to found a great new liberal party."²⁹

Beveridge also

"ascribed the wrecking to treachery and stupidity, tracing the beginning back to the 'Hinman Incident.' 'I think,' he wrote Lorimer, 'that history has not one single example of a party or a movement which was so cold-bloodedly wrecked and so cynically and selfishly as the Progressive Party has been used and wrecked.'" ³⁰

This "filtering of the old populists into the ranks of the liberal section of the Republican party made it possible for the liberals to win with William E. Stanley as head of their state ticket. Stanley was a conservative in many respects but he was an upright man and made Kansas a good Governor. The liberals made little headway except to keep their ranks lined up and work on the young generation.

Hard times were over and a new virile, radical, and probably sensational type of leadership was forging to the head to carry on the liberal fight in Kansas. This young group naturally took some of the slogans thrown out by

²⁹. Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, pp. 487-8.

³⁰. Ibid., p. 490.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

A cross-section of the national progressive era gives a view of what was being enacted in Kansas, where the Murdock Rebellion was the fighting of a liberal faction within the Republican Party for the supremacy of that party. The Murdock faction at first sponsored the debtor's plea in an optimistic trumpeting for the future of Kansas. At first this faction probably ran parallel with another group, the Populists, who were also voicing the debtor's plea. The merger between the old Populists and the Democrats brought forth many diverging groups, some of whom joined the new Kansas liberals. This filtering of the old populists into the ranks of the liberal faction of the Republican party made it possible for the liberals to win with William E. Stanley as head of their state ticket. Stanley was a conservative in many respects but he was an upright man and made Kansas a good Governor. The liberals made little headway except to keep their ranks lined up and work on the young generation.

Hard times were over and a new virile, radical, and probably fanatical type of leadership was forging to the head to carry on the liberal fight in Kansas. This young group naturally took some of the slogans thrown out by the more colorful leaders of the period such as "Boss-Busters," "Square-Dealers," "Insurgents," "Progressive

Republican," and later the "Progressive Party." These men were probably led largely by three rather colorful and forceful men; Walter Roscoe Stubbs, Victor Murdock and William Allen White. At least, these seem to stand out in the foreground during the decade and a half of the active progressive period.

Among these three liberal progressives was an old type machine of politician, William Roscoe Stubbs. Stubbs had money, training in the ways of the old guard, and an apparent desire to become a prominent Kansas statesman. He saw in this new movement a possibility to do for Kansas what other colorful leaders like Folk, LaFollette, Johnson and Bourne, and their followers were doing for their respective states. Also he must have seen this movement as a momentous one in which a rapid rise might be effected, and jumped into the band wagon. It is true that many of the new principles of this new faction were those of Stubbs. He was drafted as the one to carry the brunt of the state ticket. He was allied with other young men: Murdock, White, Allen, Bristow, Morehouse, Hoch, Jackson, and Madison. Stubbs was a member of the lower house of the state government and was elevated to the position of Speaker of the House. He has been charged with boodling and boodlers' spoils. Stubbs played the game as an uncompromising steam roller type of politician when possible but often when he could not get all he fought for he took the best he could get.

Stubbs did not stop with his fight in the legislative chambers but carried it to the people in newspapers, pamphlets, chautauquas, lectures at fairs and other public meetings. Thus Stubbs did build up a political machine and beat the old guard at their job. Some have said he did it much as Theodore Roosevelt would have done; play the game with the interests with the aim of gaining control. Stubbs was also aided by the primary in his fight for the control of the Republican party. His machine was strong enough to carry him to the governorship for two terms but failed him in his race for the United States Senate in 1912. Whatever may be thought of Stubbs, he was a politician who did do much to aid the people in getting control of their state government. He did place his name high in the annals of state history as an executive who sponsored progressive measures. It is possible that Stubbs at times seemed to play the hand of a boodler but he did much to place Kansas on a par with Wisconsin as a progressive state and probably the defeat of Stubbs in his race for the United States Senate was a serious blow for the Progressive cause.

At the time Stubbs was entering Kansas politics in 1902, Victor Murdock was entering the national arena as a Representative of the House. Murdock soon made a place for himself in the House and became known as thorough investigator and parliamentarian who was not controlled by interests of "Big Business." The Mail Rate Bill soon

brought Murdock to the front and then came the work on the House Rules and the break with Cannon and the "Stand-Patters." Murdock has been heralded by Deacon House as the instigator of "Insurgency." Murdock did much to make Insurgency a new and real movement within the Republican Party. He helped to carry the movement to the state which was in turn to become the Progressive Republican Movement. Murdock was elevated to the chairmanship of the Progressive Party and did much to keep alive the party. He was also to play a part as candidate in the Progressives' last stand in 1914 when he made a good race for the United States Senate but was defeated. Again in 1916 at the Progressive Convention he tried to get the Western faction of the party to stand alone and not line up with the Republicans. Murdock did not go over to the Republican Party but continued to be the same optimistic exponent of the peoples' rights as he took over his responsibilities with the Wichita Eagle. Murdock still pictures the dream of a new order that might have been under the Progressive rule--it failed--and must be revived to cure the faults of the old order of a better plan developed--he says he has every faith in the American people--that they will get out of their predicament but they postponed that day when they dropped it at the polls in 1912.

Another Kansan that was well known in both state and national politics besides Murdock and Stubbs was William Allen White. The editor of the Emporia Gazette was not

known for his long tenure in public office as was Stubbs and Murdock. He ran for office only once, the governorship against the Ku Klux Klan, when no other opponent appeared. White was probably best known as the master penman and speech maker who displayed his genius in newspaper, magazine, book, lecture and political strategy. He was an American who knew and understood the men in public affairs as but few men of his era. And knowing these men as he did, he was a valuable strategist in every campaign. Much of the liberal progressive movement in Kansas was due to the leadership of this master politician. He was also high in the councils of the national progressive movement from its entrance to the fall of the Progressive Party in 1916 being campaign publicity manager for Roosevelt in 1912.

Arthur Capper and Henry J. Allen, of the other liberal progressive leaders survive as active representatives in the national area. Capper is a Senator from Kansas and Allen is a National Republican Committeeman. The other leaders have failed to come back to the Republican Party or have not chosen to take public office or have failed to secure a place upon the party ticket.

This Kansas progressive movement has had its start in the days of the late eighties and early nineties of the nineteenth century, drawing its following from all parties but mainly from within the Republican Party. This movement has had a great influence upon the educational and social established order of "Big Business" with its vested rights and need of privilege.

life of America.

The progressive movement sprang partly from the populist theories of the late nineties and therefore had a broad base of economic unrest. It resulted in a greater tendency on the part of the layman to scrutinize men and measures more closely. At times a watchfulness was apparent which is the hope of effective functioning of democracy. The progressive movement was a trend toward democracy. The politicians had been schooling the people to the place where they would sometimes study current problems, covering the social, economic, moral and political phases of life and sometimes they demanded that their candidates and platforms should meet a higher standard of political morality.

1308-5 The progressive movement was in many ways above party lines as it drew personalities from all parties. It took political policies and party platforms from many of the former statesmen and many of the present actors. Its cause was not a new one in American history, probably no newer than the Declaration of Independence. Possibly only the method of attack in solving the problems was new. It might be said to have the same economic, social, and political bearing as the American Revolution. That was said to be against the established order of the mother country, Great Britain. The Civil War was against the established order of the aristocratic Southern planters. The Progressive Revolt was against the established order of "Big Business" with its vested rights and need of privilege.

APPENDIX

1803-5	William	LIST OF GOVERNORS OF KANSAS	Wichita, Liberal Prog.
1803-5	James W. Cook	Republican, Marion, Post-Order	
1861-3	Charles Robinson	Lawrence	Marion, Post-Order
1863-5	Thomas Carney	Leavenworth	Lawrence, Progressive
1865-7	Samuel J. Crawford	Garnett	" " " "
1867-9	Nehemiah Greeh	Manhattan	" " " "
1869-71	James M. Harvey	Fort Riley	" " " "
1871-3	"	"	" " " "
1873-5	Thomas A. Osborn	Leavenworth	" " " "
1875-7	"	"	" " " "
1877-9	George T. Anthony	Leavenworth	" " " "
1879-81	John P. St. John	Olathe	" " " "
1881-3	"	"	" " " "
1883-5	George W. Glick	Atchison	" " " "
1885-7	John A. Martin	Atchison	" " " "
1887-9	"	"	" " " "
1889-91	L. U. Humphrey	Independence	" " " "
1891-3	"	"	" " " "
1893-5	Lorenzo D. Lewelling	Populist, Wichita	" " " "
1895-7	Edward N. Morrill	Republican, Hiawatha	" " " "
1897-9	John W. Leady	Populist, Le Roy	" " " "
1899-01	William E. Stanley	Republican, Wichita, Liberal Prog.	" " " "
1901-3	"	"	" " " "

- 1903-5 Willis J. Bailey, Republican, Baileyville, Liberal Prog.
- 1905-7 Edward W. Hoch, Republican, Marion, Boss-Buster.
- 1907-9 Edward W. Hoch, Republican, Marion, Square Dealer
- 1909-11 Walter R. Stubbs, Republican, Lawrence, Progressive
- 1911-3 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- 1913-5 George H. Hodges, Democrat
- 1915-7 Arthur Capper, Republican
- 1917-9 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- 1912-21 Henry J. Allen, Republican
- 1921-3 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- 1923-5 Jonathon M. Davis, Democrat
- 1925-7 Ben. S. Paulen, Republican
- 1927-9 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- 1929-31 Clyde M. Reed, Republican
- 1931-3 Harry H. Woodring, Democrat
- 1933- Alfred M. Landon, Republican

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