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The reform editors and their press

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THE REFORM EDITORS AND THEIR PRESS

by

Seymour Lutzky

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, in the Department of
History in the Graduate College
of the State University
of Iowa

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Were I to acknowledge my full gratitude to all those who have aided me in the preparation of this dissertation, my thanks would extend for pages. However, I do wish to express my appreciation for the conscientious guidance of Prof. Stow Persons and Prof. George Mowry of the State University of Iowa and for the watchful eye of my wife, Doris.

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Doris.

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INTRODUCTION

The reform editors were a unique group of newspaper writers who had a deep faith in humanity and an overwhelming desire to save society from the pitfalls in the way of progress. Their conception of themselves and their role in history was described by Francis X. Mathews, editor of the American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), in an article entitled "The Reform Editors" published on February 28, 1895.

"The editor of the Non-Conformist has just returned from a meeting of the Reform Press Association at Kansas City. ...This band of Populist editors, representing papers from all parts of the union, was a study for one inclined to look for the causes that produce great effects. These gentlemen and ladies, with their pencils, their quills, or their pens, as the case may be, are largely responsible for the mighty revolution in public sentiment which has taken place in the last three years and which is still in progress with constantly accelerating motion. Other things have been contributory, but these editors and their papers have been the prime factor. At first, they were few and feeble. Only here and there could be found a writer crying out in the wilderness and

a paper preaching the gospel of discontent. In two short years the list had swollen into thousands until today the Populist press is a recognized fact in the land.

No more heroic band of men ever served the cause of truth and justice than these Populist editors. The odds against them were such that might appall the stoutest heart. They were compelled to face such a storm of ridicule and vindictive hatred as seldom falls to the lot of men. They struggled against poverty in its most humiliating form, against ostracism and persecution and all uncharitableness. Few and far between were the patrons of their papers. Kind words of encouragement were scarce, while enemies, powerful, unscrupulous and murderously hostile, were found in abundance on every hand. Through all this obloquy and discouragement, however, these pioneers of a better thought and evangelists of a better day coming fought the good fight with the persistence of heroes and the self-sacrifice of martyrs. They grew. Their numbers multiplied. Their circulation increased. The quality, tone, and contents of their papers steadily improved until today some of the most ably edited journals of the country are found in their ranks.

Remarkable is the work done by this band of brothers through the columns of the Reform Press. It

alone without other considerations would constitute a chapter in the nineteenth century history. It has been a voice crying out from the wilderness. The note it strikes is essentially national. It is the same everywhere. Its appeal is to all people inhabiting the great North American republic, regardless of creed, nationality, location, calling, or previous condition of servitude. ...The hopes of a nation are dependent upon its success. Nor could anyone look into the earnest faces at Kansas City, and hear the ringing tone of the talk and speeches, without going away convinced that whoever else might waver, the Populist editors and the Populist newspapers will do their whole duty in the mighty conflict that lies so near before us."

Chapter I

BACKGROUND

Many historians have examined and interpreted the waves of protest and reform that attempted, during the last thirty years preceding the twentieth century, to batter down the growing structures of economic monopoly and political indifference threatening to destroy the agrarian economy of the west. The causes for the discontent of the farmers and the consequent rise of reform and radical parties have been thoroughly explored from the economic, political and social points of view.

The connections between the various farm organizations and the growing urban labor and radical groups in the cities of the mid-west have been traced by a number of writers.¹ Correlations have been drawn between farm depressions and rainfall, crop shortages, farm mortgages, interest rates, transportation costs, and land fertility.²

¹. Chester M. Destler, American Radicalism, 1865-1901, Connecticut College, New London, 1946; John R. Commons, et. al., History of Labor in the United States, MacMillan, New York, 1918, vol. II; Stuart A. Rice, Farmers and Workers in American Politics, Columbia University Press, New York, 1924.

² Twelfth Census, 1900, Sections on "Land Values, Equipment and Number of Farms, 1859-1900", Washington, 1902, vol. V; Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1905, "Dry Farming", Washington, 1906, pp. 423-7; Reports of the Industrial Commission, Washington, 1900, vols. VII and XIV.

Great stress has been placed upon the political leaders of the Farmer's Alliance and the Populist Party, men who voiced the dissatisfactions of their society during election campaigns and at infrequent mass rallies.³

However, a number of the pertinent characteristics of both the agrarian and the urban communities which were strong influences in the determination of the political and economic atmosphere of the period have not been thoroughly explored. Although the machine was slowly replacing hand labor on the farms, few farmers had enough leisure to travel by buggy to mass rallies or to town meetings. In the cities, long hours and arduous toil left the urban workers little strength or desire to engage in discussion or to attend meetings. There was neither radio nor television to bring new ideas, arguments upon social change or news into the homes of the electorate. Yet the voters were ardently interested, in the main, in politics and the social and economic behaviour of mankind. A comparison of voting

³ For excellent general surveys of the period, see John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1931; Solon J. Buck, The Agrarian Crusade, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1920; Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements since the Civil War, Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1916; C.R. Miller, "Background of Populism in Kansas," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1925; J.M. Thompson, "The Farmer's Alliance in Nebraska," Proceedings of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, 1902.

statistics between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would lead to a fairly valid assumption that the voters considered their ballots a decisive factor upon decisions of national policy in the nineteenth century but not in the present day.⁴

The one regular source of information extant for both farmers and laborers, aside from rumor, and their chief connection with the outside world was the weekly and daily newspaper. The facts and editorial views found in the newspapers of the day were virtually the only contact the agrarian population had with both their neighbors and the rest of the country. Most men turned towards the newspapers for information about candidates, parties and issues before casting their ballots. The prevailing Chicago prices on corn, wheat, hogs and cattle were the determining factors in the economic life of the rural communities and newspapers were eagerly scanned for news of price rises and declines. The newspapers were the basic media of communication in this pre-twentieth century world. And the men who edited the newspapers, who determined the editorial views and the news slants, could in many cases influence

⁴ Murray S. Stedman and Susan W. Stedman, Discontent at the Polls, Columbia University Press, New York, 1950; W. Diamond, "Urban and Rural Voting in 1896," American Historical Review, vol. XLVI, pp. 281-305, January, 1941.

whole communities and whole sectors of the economy.

Although the majority of the weekly papers of the period and virtually all the dailies were advocates of the status quo treating both news and editorials in a conservative manner, there were among the editors men who sought to use this means of influence to change society. Among them were those who sensed that the protest movements required a method of dissemination that would introduce discussion and argument into the homes of the farmers. These included editors who desired to fashion the feelings of discontent into a campaign for their own unique political and economic panaceas. But among them also were men who sought only to educate the farmers and laborers away from war-born political affiliations and to compel their contemporaries to think, to assign reasons for economic poverty and political dissension, and to organize their fellow men into change-seeking groups.

These individuals, these wielders of type and ideas, called themselves "the reform editors." They are the chief subject of this study. For they appear to be a missing historical link between the leaders and the followers in the protest movements. From week to week they bolstered the spirit of the discontented, molded new ammunition in the form of ideals, and spiritedly led local forays often

too minute to attract the attention of national leaders. And when they had completed their little duties, they, like the arab, folded their presses and faded into the night. The lack of appreciation shown them by later historians appears to be a reflection, not upon their historical importance, but rather upon their evanescence, their ideological fragility and their own insignificance as individuals. It is only when examined as a group, as this study proposes to do, that some degree of their significance in the society of the period becomes apparent.

A study of the reform editors and their press through the last thirty years of the nineteenth century must, of necessity, be a selective analysis. Though there were over 8000 reform newspapers throughout those decades,⁵ their remains today are scattered and hidden, brittle and yellowing in the vaults of historical societies and university libraries. And their editors, the many thousands who set their ideals into type and upon the cheap newsprint of their day, are today rarely remembered and their personal histories almost unobtainable. Yet the reform editors, the

⁵ Files of the National Economist (Washington, D.C.) 1890 et passim. According to the issue of August 6, 1892, there were over 900 newspapers devoted solely to the Alliance movement in that year. See also Populist Handbook for Kansas, Vincent Bros. Publishing Co., Indianapolis, 1891.

journalists who fought to persuade society that change was imperative, were in the words of one of their own number, "a study for one inclined to look for the causes that produce great effects."⁶ These men were a vivid and dramatic expression of the early reform ferment that later, in the twentieth century, permeated America.

The study of the reform press covers every phase of the political, economic and social life of the period in which the newspapers were published. To cover the subject thoroughly and yet keep the study within a reasonable length requires the setting up of a number of limitations.

To accomplish this combined task, the chronological period covered will include the years 1870 through 1900. In geographical area, this investigation will derive its material from newspapers edited in the twelve state group commonly called the mid-west and plains states, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado. Since the various reform movements occurred in the eastern sectors of this area in the 1870's and the 1880's and swept westerly in the nineties, the choice of material

⁶ American Non-Conformist, February 28, 1895, quoted in its entirety in the Introduction of this survey.

also follows this line. In addition, as the states tend towards urbanization, greater use is made of radical and reform newspapers published in the cities of the region. This consideration is often invalid, however, for while it would appear logical and presses and editors would center in cities with cheaper newsprint, better mailing facilities and quarters for trained personnel, it remains a fact that the Appeal to Reason, which had the greatest circulation of all the radical press in the late 1890's, was published in Girard, Kansas, a town of 2000.

A discussion of the reform editors themselves will constitute the first section of this study. Although the names of the editors are easily available from the editorial masts of the reform newspapers, data about their careers is not often obtainable from the columns of their press. While it might have been considered desirable to include such men as George C. Ward, a president of the National Reform Press Association and editor of the Populist boiler plate issues,⁷ and W. S. Morgan, editor of

⁷ "Boiler plate" is a technical newspaper term. Small papers with a scarcity of news or those with a staff unable to set enough type to fill a weekly issue obtained a stiff papier mache plate filled with news, feature articles and advertisements ready for printing from commercial agencies or groups like the Populist Party. These were placed into the press in lieu of hand-set or

the National Reformer (St. Louis) and Morgan's Buzzsaw, no material of a biographical nature was available and these men were reluctantly omitted. However, approximately one hundred Greenback, Anti-Monopoly, Union Labor, Alliance, Populist and other editors affiliated with minor parties were selected and their lives traced through historical collections and state and county histories.

Though descriptions of a number of other editors were available, the men selected were among those most active in the areas of greatest political and economic ferment during the periods of the greatest political and economic outcry.⁸ Bringing them together into an index of biographical lore, several salient characteristics of the group become obvious. These characteristics, to be discussed in the next chapter, were discerned through an evaluation of the background and education, technical

⁸ See material in sections 4 and 5 of Chapter II for a statistical review.

locally machine-set type and composed the inside pages of many smaller country newspapers. The practice is still followed today. Since the material was often of a partisan nature, it frequently completed the propaganda functions of the reform press in departments such as the women's page or the children's page, thus enabling the paper to attract the whole family.

training and gainful occupation (for the role of reform editor was rarely financially profitable), political, economic and social interests; and their position, as individuals, in the various reform movements. In addition, the newspapers as physical units are also briefly and technically described.

Following this evaluation, an attempt will be made to determine the motivations of the editors and their newspapers and to understand the reasons they considered society ripe for change. A third division of this study reviews the pattern of intent of the editors. It examines the types of social change advocated, the reforms desired and the conflict between the reformers which inevitably led to confusion and distrust between them. Finally, an appraisal of the activities of the editors in terms of the positive actions of both themselves and their newspapers concludes this survey.

Chapter II

THE EDITORS

Youth and Vitality

Before the day of the modern big business daily newspaper, a young man with a strong constitution, high ideals and little money could become a force in his community by publishing a newspaper. The cost of setting up a plant was relatively little¹ when compared to the price of a farm or a store in a settled region. And, once established, relatively few subscriptions and weekly advertisements kept the paper above water. Newsprint was cheap² and living expenses even cheaper. One radical

¹ Advertisement in the Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines) August 15, 1894: "A live energetic little paper can be maintained in many villages and even country places where it is thought impossible... By use of a printer's manual, the type can be set - printed without previous experience, employing idle energy pleasantly and profitably.

A neat little newspaper outfit can be bought for \$125, a small part down, then \$5 per month until paid, virtually making the plant pay for itself by littles each month... Mann Press Co., Gladbrook, Iowa, manufacturers..."

² The cost of newsprint fell steadily all through this period enabling the editors to lower subscription costs. Newsprint prices were:: 1877 - 8 cents a pound, 1887 - 4 cents a pound, 1892 - 3 cents a pound, 1897 - 4/5 cents a pound. Harold A. Innis, "The Newspaper in Economic Development", Journal of Economic History, December, 1942 Supplement, p. 11. Comparative costs in 1946 were 3½ cents and 1951 costs are 6¼ cents a pound.

editor, Julius Wayland, wrote, "The Appeal has been and is a financial failure, but it is proving a success as an educator. The whole force take it philosophically, however, and divide up equally every Saturday what money there is, if any, after paying the necessary expenses. This pays from \$3.00 to \$12.00 a week... but I prefer financial failure to deserting the advocacy of the real issue all over the world -- the property question."³

This hardship and high idealism required the fortitude and optimism of the young so it is not surprising that the great majority of the reform editors reached the height of their zealous efforts while in their thirties. Among the editors surveyed here, though a representative sample is believed to have been obtained, only seven men were born before 1830. The largest group were born after 1845, spent their late teens during the excitement of the Civil War and matured into adulthood in a society of agrarian depression and bitter business competition. A comparative analysis shows that over 60 per cent of the editors were born after 1845, while the period of greatest activity in the reform press was in the years 1880 through 1895. Thus it must be stressed that few

³ Appeal to Reason (Kansas City) July 11, 1896.

were over fifty years of age when the dismemberment of the Populists immediately preceding the 1896 election broke the spirit of many of the editors.

In contradiction to this trend, the 10 per cent who were the oldest in the group and had begun their campaigning during the formative days of the Grange and the Greenback Party retained their progressive concepts most of their lives. James Vincent,⁴ father of Henry⁵ and Leopold⁶ Vincent, all of whom were editors of the American Non-Conformist, still wrote reform editorials at the age of seventy. Though he had begun his reform activities fifty years earlier as a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he was still active in the People's Party campaigns of the nineties. But on the whole, the reform editors became conservative as they grew older, often accepting largess from the major party leaders in the form of county printing contracts while ceasing their attacks upon the social structure of their society. Herbert George,⁷ brilliant editor of The Road (Denver) whose

⁴ For further biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

scathing comments upon political despotism in Colorado aided in the election of his friend, Davis H. Waite,⁸ as People's Party governor in 1892, had by 1918 accepted the presidency of the Denver Employers' Association, vowing to break miner's strikes and keep Denver an "open shop town".

Reform therefore, if measured by the editors, was for this generation a young man's game. Those born in the 1840's were most active in the Grange and Greenback movements, those born in the 1850's were interested in the Knights of Labor, the Union Labor and the Labor Reform parties, and those born in the 1860's were extensively active in the Populist party, the Socialist groups and the trade union movement. No general principle can be drawn from this comparison, for interests consistently and invariably over-lapped, and at few times during their editorial careers were these men without some form of reform banner.

Background of the Editors

To delve into a detailed and minutely factual analysis of all the pertinent biographical data concerning

⁸ For further biographical data, see Appendix A.

the reform editors would not only be wordy and uninteresting but might, through over-emphasis of one phase, cast a misleading light upon the material. For while a hundred biographies might tend to give a clue upon which one may base certain assumptions, nonetheless these represent but a fraction of the thousands whose life histories are unavailable. Thus it must be remembered that assumptions made and conclusions drawn in this and succeeding sections are tentative and factually true for the editors examined but only suppositionally true for the thousands they represent. On this basis, there are several interesting facts to be pointed out.

Although the cry of "foreign-born agitators" has often been raised against reformers and radically-inclined individuals, these editors were, by a vast majority, American born. Of the 20 per cent who were foreign born, all but two were from northwestern European stock,⁹ a part of the immigration wave flowing to America following the Civil War. And of the 80 per cent American-born, only one quarter were born and educated in eastern

⁹ Of the group examined, the countries of origin and number from each country were: England, 5; Ireland, 3; Canada 3; Germany, 3; Wales, 1; Switzerland, 1; Austria, 1; Dutch West Indies, 1.

states and moved to the west as adults. The remainder, 60 per cent of the total of all the reform editors examined, were born and educated in the same regional area, the mid-west and plains states, in which they were active editorially as adults.

Among the foreign born editors there were several who achieved a degree of historical significance. Among them were Victor Berger,¹⁰ a Wisconsin Populist and Socialist who later was elected to Congress; Andrew C. Cameron¹¹ and James Hayde,¹² founders of the first American typographical union in Chicago; Annie L. Diggs¹³ and H. L. Loucks,¹⁴ both born in Canada and important figures in the Populist movements of their respective states, Kansas and South Dakota; and Daniel DeLeon,¹⁵ editor of The People (Chicago and New York) and leader of the Socialist Labor party.

¹⁰ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

The majority of the editors born in the east came from the states of New York and Pennsylvania.¹⁶ Significantly, a large proportion came from New York's famed burnt over land where earlier religious revivals had left a heritage of dissent.¹⁷ Among the migrated easterners were such men as the imaginative and belligerent Ignatius Donnelly,¹⁸ of Minnesota; Leman H. Weller,¹⁹ Greenback congressman from Iowa who declared, "Reform is my religion"; Davis H. Waite, Populist governor of Colorado²⁰; and Mark "Brick" Pomeroy, reformer and schemer active in the Greenback and Greenback-Labor parties.²¹

The state of Ohio contributed the greatest number of reform and radical editors, almost 20 per cent of the total number examined. However, very few remained in Ohio during their adult years. Among the other mid-west states, Indiana, Iowa and Illinois were the birthplaces for the

¹⁶ Others were from Connecticut, Vermont and New Jersey.

¹⁷ Six of the eight New York-born editors were from this area.

¹⁸ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

majority of the remainder.²² Among the more important editors born in these states were Lester Hubbard,²³ of the Farmer's Voice (Chicago) and The Vanguard (Chicago); Max Hayes,²⁴ of the Cleveland Citizen; Alcander Longley,²⁵ editor of The Communist (St. Louis) and The Altruist (St. Louis); Julius Wayland²⁶ of The Appeal to Reason (Girard, Kansas); and Frank Q. Stuart²⁷ of the Arbitrator (Denver) and The Des Moines Leader.

The background of these men was somewhat varied but the majority or 60 per cent came from farm homes while the remainder were from urban communities. A surprising 10 per cent were were born in the homes of wealthy parents although at the other end of the economic scale, almost 45 per cent could be considered to have come from poor families. While poverty on a farm doesn't imply starvation,

²² Others were from Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin and Kansas.

²³ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.; an excellent article on Julius Wayland was recently published by Howard H. Quint, "Julius A. Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXV, p. 585, March, 1949.

²⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

the fact of financial impoverishment may well have made a profound impression upon this large segment of editors. Julius Wayland, compelled to go to work as a printer's devil after but one year of schooling, became the most successful socialist propagandist of his day. Yet he never forgot his poverty-stricken youth and when he became wealthy through shrewd real estate speculation, he took great pleasure, as he often wrote, in outwitting the capitalists "at their own game and with their own rules."²⁸

While the majority came from homes where the parents were farmers, a little less than 20 per cent of the editors were raised in an environment in which the parents had some form of professional status, that of doctor, lawyer, minister or superintendent of schools. An equal number, not necessarily correlated with the 20 per cent of professional parents,²⁹ had a male parent with some form of college education. Another 15 per cent were from poor urban families headed by a workingman, miner or clerk. The remainder varied from sailor and watchmaker to Indian interpreter. The father of Jo Labadie,³⁰ the Detroit

²⁸ Leaves of Life, Appeal to Reason Press, Girard, 1912.

²⁹ Most lawyers of the period did not have college educations but rather studied in a law office.

³⁰ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

labor leader and anarchist, was an interpreter for Jesuit priests among the Indians of northern Michigan. Thus Jo Labadie had little opportunity for a formal education, living in the Michigan woods till the age of sixteen when he was apprenticed to a printer. From his poor and itinerant environment and his wanderings as a journeyman printer he evolved a form of gentle anarchism, flecked with religion. Obviously, the political and economic views of Labadie partially reflected his earlier lack of training and his Thoreau-like environment. Finally, though all became editors, only two per cent of these men had a parent in the printing trade. This statistic reveals as no other figures could that the reform editors did not drift into their occupation but entered voluntarily.

Though there can be no doubt that some form of religious training was offered to most of the editors while young, in later years only a minority expressed any religious convictions. Their affiliations were chiefly Methodist, Episcopalian, Catholic and Universalist.³¹ Almost an equal number were violently opposed to all denominations and pursued completely secular courses. One of the editors, E.A. Stevens,³² a Knights of Labor and anarchist editor as

³¹ Only twelve in this group considered themselves members of a specific religious body.

³² For biographical data, see Appendix A.

well as chairman of the national executive board of the Knights of Labor, fought bitterly with Grand Master Workman Terence Powderly over the issue of oath-taking and Catholicism, was defeated and resigned his post. He later organized the American Secular Union, the "free-thinkers," in Chicago and through law proceedings compelled the Catholic church to pay taxes on some of its commercial property. On the other hand, P.P. Ingalls,³³ a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University and a Methodist Episcopal minister at the age of 20, took over the editorship of the Iowa State Tribune (Des Moines) for three years during the Greenback Labor campaigns, salting his suggestions for economic reforms with a flavor of religious aphorisms.

Education and Training

The educational background of the editors varied very widely. Almost half of the men examined for this survey had barely an elementary school education. Many had but one or two years of primary schooling, learning to read and write while setting type in the press rooms of country newspapers. John McBride,³⁴ editor of the Miner's

³³ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

³⁴ Ibid.

Independent (Massillon, Ohio), and only man to defeat Samuel Gompers for one term as head of the A. F. of L., went to work as a miner at the age of nine. Albert Parsons,³⁵ editor of the Chicago anarchist newspaper, The Alarm, had but six months formal education. Yet the majority of the editors without education wrote fluently and expressed their radical thoughts lucidly.³⁶

On the other hand, during the years when a college education was considered both a luxury and a rarity, almost 25 per cent of the editors had some form of college or university training. Perry Engle,³⁷ editor of the Newton Herald (Iowa), for twenty-five years, had medical degrees from the University of Michigan and Long Island University in New York, while William H. Robb of the Independent American (Creston, Iowa)³⁸ had been a college law professor for five years before turning newspaperman. Thus, as in most aspects of their individual backgrounds, there were startling differences in the educational training of the editors.

³⁵ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

³⁶ Specifically, 42 per cent had an elementary schooling or less; 25 per cent had some form of academy or high school education; 25 per cent had a year or more of college.

³⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

³⁸ Ibid.

Despite these differences, a comparative study of the editorial capacity of the various individual editors reveals no relation between education and either the writing ability or the techniques for imposing their opinions upon the mind of society. Since the main objective of the newspapers was to educate the voters and convince the people of their district that reform measures were both valid and necessary, simplified language and uncomplicated arguments were of greater value than intricate dialectics. Thus even the professionally-trained men wrote simply if they expected their papers to be read and to survive.

Among the editors there were many whose chief occupations had not been in the printing business prior to the establishment of their newspapers. In the hundred examined, twenty-two had passed bar examinations and were practicing lawyers, three were licensed physicians and two were ministers. Though the reading public for the reform press was primarily agrarian, only ten editors had been or were professional farmers. Among the men were also eight teachers, seven small business owners, seven who could only be designated as professional reformers and four union officials. Still others had been telegraphers, miners, coopers, cigar makers and even land speculators. Though they had attempted to influence both the farmers and the workers in

the cities, few had experience in either occupation. Their attitudes were often similar to the policy of Lester C.

Hubbard whose first issue of The Farmer's Voice announced:

Our weekly will aim to create a new department in the newspapers of the day. Its mission is to look out for the interests of all producers, more specifically those of the farmers. Yet we will have little to say concerning practical agriculture, anyone wanting to know the latest kinks on Mangel wurzel or Hungarian oats, must apply to our contemporaries who are learned in that line....

Hence, we have concluded not to squander agricultural lore on you, but will mainly confine our columns to such information as will help the farmers as a class to secure that power in the nation to which they are correctly entitled by reason of numbers and productive importance.³⁹

But farmers did want news about "practical agriculture and this lack of concentration upon "homey" details and the primary interests of the farmers and laborers, understandable from the editors' lack of knowledge of the subjects, was an influential factor leading to the consistent failure of many reform newspapers. Since most of the papers began publication as the result of an economic or political crisis that pertained to the farmers, many subscriptions would be received while interest was still warm. The optimistic and often inexperienced editors, as a result,

³⁹ The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), December 31, 1887. Hubbard was an exception to the rule. His paper was very successful.

would believe themselves financially secure and would continue in pursuit of other deals when the particular crisis which gave birth to the paper had subsided. However, as the crisis faded and farmers no longer found themselves intrigued by political sentiments that had no pertinence to their particular situations, they turned again to local and general weeklies. The reform paper, deserted by its fickle readers, soon failed from lack of support. Hubbard's The Farmers' Voice overcame this difficulty by obtaining a twelve to sixteen page advertisement each week from Montgomery, Ward and Company.⁴⁰ However, as his comments upon society became more vitriolic and radical, company officials who had apparently taken over business control of the paper, forced him to resign.⁴¹ Thus, even this paper

⁴⁰ "It was a very pleasant surprise to the proprietors of the Farmers' Voice when Montgomery, Ward and Co., with businesslike abruptness, made a proposition to take twelve or thirteen pages of advertising space in the Voice and print therein their weekly price - (current) of groceries. There is not an agricultural journal published in Chicago that would not have welcomed this offer most hilariously. We feel complimented that this great house saw in the plan and principles of the Voice a paper predestined to find favor among the farmers." November 10, 1888.

⁴¹ Despite the advertising income received from Montgomery, Ward, in rapid succession Hubbard attacked the beef trust and Armour, February 16, 1889; Standard Oil and the sugar trust, March 9, 1889; and the twine trust, March 30, 1889.

addressed to farmers yet containing little in the form of agricultural news, left the reform ranks. It should be noted that 60 per cent of the editors never had worked in any other position on a newspaper other than that of editor. Their inexperience in the practical angles of circulation and publication appears obvious. Just 25 per cent of the group were experienced enough to become members of a local of the Typographical Union. In this light it can be assumed that at least a quarter of the reform editors were professional compositors and printers but the remainder were men who felt that their ideas could best be expressed on a newspaper page. However they had an inadequate conception of the difficulty attached to the publication of a newspaper. The high rate of failures can, in a sense, be attributed to an ignorance or lack of commercial acumen, an over-enthusiastic idealism, and insufficient subscribers to the papers.⁴²

⁴² The National Watchman (Washington, D.C.) recognized the trend of failures in a number of articles in the 1890's. One comment in late 1895 reflected, "The Advanced Thought, M.M. Pomeroy's paper, has suspended for want of support. It seems from the statements of many reform papers that the Populists are not subscribing as freely as usual. This is a bad sign, since the press is the bulwark of the reform movement. There have been quite a number of similar suspensions and others are threatened." In a sense, a statement from from the Watchman of this nature is unusual since it was one of the few Populist papers controlled by the office-seekers who differed radically with the editors. The conflict is mentioned in a later chapter.

The Correlation between Protest Movements and Migration

Several historians of the agrarian protest movements appearing in the last three decades of the nineteenth century⁴³ have described the western movement of the protest vote, the correlation between the growth westward of farm communities and the expression of their discontent at the polls.⁴⁴ Although no direct comparison can be drawn between the depreciation of farm prices and the rise of the minor party vote, many similarities do appear. These similarities are apparent if a parallel is developed using the voting records of the mid-western and plains states reform parties on one hand and the increasing burdens laid upon the farmers by the deflationary trend of the period on the other hand. The voting for the reform parties reflected a variety of grievances, many of them associated with the development of a new society along the lines previously considered frontier territory. As would be expected, the grievances moved as the line of settlement moved, to the

⁴³ John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1931; also Solon J. Buck, The Agrarian Crusade, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1920.

⁴⁴ Murray S. Stedman and Susan W. Stedman, Discontent at the Polls; A study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827-1948, Columbia University Press, New York, 1950; also Benton H. Wilcox, "An Historical Definition of North Western Radicalism," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXVI December, 1939.

west.⁴⁵

Since the farmers and small urban communities dependent upon the farm population for their existence had economic and social difficulties, many sought methods of redress. The attempts to solve economic and political problems were made by joining minor parties and voting for radical candidates at the polls, by joining farmer groups such as the Alliance and the Grange, and by the publication of reform newspapers backing the farm groups. Expressions of discontent increased enormously during the years 1870 to 1896 along these channels. The Grange, as the first of the movements, had several hundreds of thousands of members.⁴⁶ The National Alliance, combining the strength of both the Northern and Southern Alliances in 1889, also became a very effective weapon of protest.⁴⁷ And as the voices of these rising agrarian parties and social reformers, the reform editors moved westward and engaged in publishing enterprises in previously virgin frontier country.

⁴⁵ Buck, Agrarian Crusade, p. 105, points out that while in 1888 the farmers could pay eight per cent interest on a \$2000 loan by selling 174 bushels of wheat, in 1894 the same interest payments demanded the sale of 320 bushels of wheat.

⁴⁶ See Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, for an excellent history of the Granger activities.

⁴⁷ Hicks, Populist Revolt, is the best Alliance study.

Exploiting the economic and political difficulties, the farm groups, reform parties and the editors became potent factors explaining the increase in the farmer-labor vote. Statistically, in 1872, the seven states of Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan accounted for 52 per cent of the votes given the Labor Reform candidates.⁴⁸ At this time, it should be noted, only two states west of the Mississippi, Iowa and Missouri, engaged to any extent in the movement. Four years later, 64 per cent of the Greenback party vote came from the states of Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa and Kansas. While Ohio and Kentucky no longer were as concerned with reform measures, Kansas had joined the ranks of the dissatisfied. Michigan, though to the east geographically, nonetheless had a northern frontier population as well as growing urban groups who considered themselves economically under-nourished. Thus a slow movement of the protest vote followed the establishment of homesteads and the development of farm areas on the plains. This trend continued through 1888 when the Union Labor party received 58 per cent of its vote from the three states of Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and again in 1892 when over one third of the more than a million

⁴⁸ Stedman and Stedman, Discontent at the Polls, p. 51. These figures are estimated.

Populist votes came from Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado.⁴⁹ All of these states are west of the Mississippi and the majority are in the plains area.

It would therefore appear natural for the reform editors to move with this tide. An analysis of their migration from the states where they were born and educated indicates that the editors moved into the protest areas in larger and larger numbers as the eastern tier of states ceased their political ferment. No more striking example can be found than in Ohio, where, though 20 per cent of the editors were born in the state, all but two left for more radical pastures. Indiana lost all but three of the native born editors discussed in this study.

In round figures, less than 20 per cent of the editors who were born in a particular state in the middle west remained in that state during their adult life. Two-thirds of those educated in the mid-west moved across the Mississippi, a large majority going to Kansas and Iowa. During the Labor Reform and Greenback movements, many had

⁴⁹ An indication of both the movement of the vote and its increased concentration in areas in the west is shown by representation of parties in Congress. Combining Senate and House seats, the figures are: 1880, 4 from Missouri; 1882, one from Indiana; 1884, one from Iowa; 1886, one from Wisconsin; 1890, Kansas, 6, Minnesota, 1, Nebraska, 1; 1892, Kansas, 6, Nebraska, 3, Minnesota, 1.

not as yet left their home states, but by the late 1880's with the Union Labor and People's Party campaigns, a huge proportion travelled to Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado.⁵⁰ During the peak of the Populist wave in Kansas, the more than 400 reform newspapers⁵¹ were largely edited by men who had migrated from the east, the mid-west and from over-seas. Of the sixteen Kansas editors examined for this paper, only one, Anna Lindsay,⁵² Populist editor of the Alliance Herald (Stafford, Kansas), was born in the state of Kansas.

Several reasons can be advanced to explain the migration of editors. Paralleling the path of the majority of land-seekers, they came to the frontier to make their fortunes homesteading. However, most of the editors

⁵⁰ Of the editors under discussion, 64 edited newspapers during the major part of their newspaper careers in states west of the Mississippi. Only seven editors of the 64 were born in a state west of the Mississippi, and of these, six were raised in Iowa and Missouri, states that are actually not in the plains area.

⁵¹ This figure is based on an intensive survey of all the newspapers listed in the History of Kansas Newspapers, a History of the Newspapers and Magazines Published in Kansas from the Organization of Kansas Territory, 1854, to January 1, 1916, Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, Topeka, 1916. This compilation can be considered the only major effort made by any state to collect and classify all the newspapers published within its boundaries.

⁵² For biographical data, see Appendix A.

arrived after the land had been settled and the farmers had found themselves in economic difficulties. Another explanation for the movement of the editors can be found in the emotional friendships, the long brotherly letters and the newspaper exchanges which knit the "comrades" of the reform press. Though the National Reform Press Association was not organized until December, 1890, at the Ocala, Florida, meeting of the National Alliance,⁵³ there had always been strong bonds between the various reform and radical editors. Many sought to persuade their journalistic brothers to "pull up stakes" and join in a combined reform effort in the same region. Since presses were small and investments in office equipment usually very little, these movements were fairly easily expedited. If editorial material and news was not available in the new location, the reform editors would copy articles from their exchanges⁵⁴

⁵³ See Hicks, Populist Revolt, p. 131; Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library; Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1919, p. 255. Meetings of the Association were usually held in conjunction with party conventions and caucuses.

⁵⁴ "Exchanges" is a technical journalistic term. Newspapers, usually with the same editorial bias, exchange copies of their issues with each other. If material from one paper is reprinted in another, the exchange paper is credited for the original article.

a perfectly ethical tradition, until such time as they could gather their own news. This reprinting was considered educationally advantageous, since combined editorial efforts usually yielded greater propaganda dividends. Lester Hubbard, editor of the Farmers' Voice (Chicago), wrote Henry Demarest Lloyd requesting a Populist fable, explaining that he could "transmit it with explanatory matter to the Non-Conformist of Indianapolis - our foremost reform paper. It will be copied into a thousand of our papers and will do great good."⁵⁵

The greatest incentive, however, for the migration of the reform editors was the opportunity given them in dissatisfied areas to expound their economic, social and political beliefs. For these editors were primarily concerned with education of the voters and not particularly with either pecuniary gain or political office. One of their number commented, as late as July, 1896, when political control of Congress seemed imminent to optimistic Populists, "Education is needed more than the offices just now. When education has done its necessary work, the offices will follow to enforce the wishes of the

⁵⁵ Letter dated February 5, 1892, in the Henry Demarest Lloyd collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Wisconsin.

people. Offices without education will do more harm than good."⁵⁶ Thus the editors concentrated in regions where education upon economic and political issues was desired by the populace. The one restriction upon free movement came when the newspaper increased its circulation to a point at which movement became too expensive. However, this restriction did not prevent the American Non-Conformist from moving to Indianapolis from Winfield, Kansas, in 1891 although it had a circulation of 20,000 a week at the time.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Appeal to Reason (Kansas City) July 18, 1896.

⁵⁷ This move to the east which ran against the trend was explained by the Vincents in a series of editorials. The issue dated September 3, 1891, explained, "As a national organization, the Non-Conformist can serve the masses of Kansas far better than from its present location. Our facilities for greatly improving every department will be so much better that we have no fears about not holding our lists.

Could the circulation of the reform press be doubled in a week, in just that ratio would the enemy be overcome at the next election."

Political and Economic Interests

Although succeeding chapters in this appraisal of the reform editors will evaluate their political and economic thought and writings, a factual survey of their political party associations indicates that these connections were extremely varied and variable. It has been noted that the reform editors migrated westward from their home states as the protest movements sprang up first in the Old Northwest, then across the Mississippi, and finally into the plains states. With their movement, their party allegiances changed. Though generalizations of this nature always lend themselves to a re-interpretation by the citation of individual and differing examples, the definite conclusion can be drawn from the biographical data of the reform editors that they, as individuals, moved from group to group and from party to party, as the organizations grew and waned in strength. L. H. Weller's slogan, "Reform is my religion", could well be the slogan for a majority of these men. Weller himself, elected to Congress on the Greenback Labor ticket in Iowa, had previously been a straight Greenbacker, an Anti-Monopolist and a member of the Grange. After his return to Iowa from Washington, he

edited the Farmers' National Advocate (Independence, Iowa) and ardently stressed the virtues of the Union Labor party, the Knights of Labor, the People's Party and the National Alliance. When the Populists endorsed Bryan in 1896, he remained among the die-hards, the so-called "Middle of the Road Populists", who refused a coalition with the Democrats.

While the assumption should not be drawn that all the editors shifted from their places of publication when their allegiance turned to another growing reform group, it can be stated with some degree of accuracy that the geographical center of the reform movement and of the reform editors as well moved westward as new political parties formed in the protest areas. And, as the personnel and the geographical areas of the protest parties changed, so did the personnel of the editors. Thus in the first reform surge of the 1870's when, as discussed previously, the chief areas of discontent were east of the Mississippi and were manifested through the growth of the Labor Reform and Greenback parties, just 23 per cent of the editors discussed in this survey published newspapers backing the two parties. Of course a large percentage of the remainder were not of age or had no financial support, but many of the editors didn't respond

to these first protest movements. In the interim of the 1880's, the percentage of reform editors actively interested in the Anti-Monopoly or the Labor Reform parties dropped to 14 per cent of the total. Again the limitations of age, financial support and newspaper experience circumscribed the number of editors desiring to campaign actively. But many who had been advocates of the minor parties during the 1870's dropped from the battle. Finally, in the highest surge of the reform spirit in the three decades, when all the editors still alive had an opportunity to back the Populist movement, only a little more than 25 per cent of the total surveyed did so. These included many of the older Greenback editors as well as younger men never before engaged in reform journalism. The remainder of the reform editors, while rarely opposing the predominant minor party campaigns, limited their attentions to a specific economic, social or political group often too minute for mention in the national balloting. These included the Grange, the Knights of Labor, the Alliances, the anarchist groups, the Socialist Labor party, the Single Tax party, and the growing trade union movement. Many of the reform editors backed all of these

groups.⁵⁸ A few exempted anarchism from the classification of a reform movement.

We have small sympathy to waste on anarchy or anarchists. We believe in order which is said to be God's first law and anarchy is the very reverse of this.

The anarchist sees nothing to hope for in the future and he is the raven of humanity.

The Farmers' Voice will ever be found on the side of right and justice.⁵⁹

On the other hand, the Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas) commented upon the Haymarket anarchist trial, "The whole business was a plot to prevent the success of the eight hour movement..."⁶⁰ and maintained later after the anarchists were convicted, "...their names will be placed on the long list of those who died for humanity."⁶¹ Despite their differences about the economic and political extremists, the great majority of the editors favored almost all the reform parties and agrarian-labor combinations,

⁵⁸ A breakdown of the percentage of editors actively writing for small groups shows these statistics: anarchist, 3 per cent; Alliance, 7 per cent; Grange, 5 per cent; Knights of Labor, 7 per cent; Single Tax, 3 per cent; Socialist Labor and Socialist, 5 per cent; trade union labor, 5 per cent; miscellaneous, 3 per cent. It must be stressed that many of these groups also actively supported larger minor parties even though they maintained doctrinal differences between themselves.

⁵⁹ Farmers' Voice (Chicago), January 2, 1891.

⁶⁰ September 15, 1886.

⁶¹ October 13, 1886.

usually, however, suggesting changes in policy and in the platform planks.

Although often violently urging voters to take part in the democratic processes of elections, the reform editors usually refrained from actual participation as candidates. However, a number of the editors were nominated and ran for public office. A larger number of this group were elected on the Greenback ticket than on later minor party slates. Of the editors examined, twelve were elected by Greenback votes, five by Union Labor votes, three by the Populists and one by the Socialists. Most of the offices won were county and state positions though two were elected Congressional representatives, and one, William A. Peffer,⁶² editor of the Kansas Farmer (Topeka) for fifteen years, was chosen as U. S. Senator for his state in 1890.

Since those reformers who were elected to public office received more attention in the columns of the contemporary press as well as in county and state histories, data was more easily available concerning their activities than material upon those who had never been active campaigners. The correspondingly greater amount

⁶² For biographical data, see Appendix A.

of data would tend to overbalance the statistics compiled for this study and therefore make them less valid. However, recognizing this inconsistency, an examination of the total attempts for public office showed that the editors, though often the same individuals at different periods, were nominated forty times and were successful in twenty-five races. The majority of the editors were placed on the Greenback and Union Labor tickets, although three had been nominated previously on Labor Reform and Anti-Monopoly platforms.

As the protest movement of these thirty years reached its high point in the Populist crusade, fewer and fewer editors desired positions in the government. Only eight nominations were sought and obtained on the various state Populist tickets despite the increase in the number of editors. Apparently election to office was not desired because they realized long before it was brought to the attention of the Populist voters that a basic split existed between most of the editors and the professional reformer-politicians who controlled the machinery of the People's Party. One Kansas newspaper stated, following the Populist victories in 1890, "What do we want? Nothing. The Non-Con speaks for itself. This paper is not a pap-sucker or spoils hunter. It has been in the fight too

long to engage in seeking for soft snaps and sinecures the minute victory perches on its party's banner."⁶³

The split concerned itself with the basic problem of the party -- how to achieve reform. The political leaders such as James B. Weaver⁶⁴ and H.E. Taubeneck, permanent chairman of the national committee of the People's Party, demanded that the Populists obtain public office in any manner short of revolution and enact reforms as officials of the government. They were willing to sacrifice all the planks of the Omaha platform,⁶⁵ a platform that contained most of the reform concepts desired by the editors, in favor of a one plank "free silver" platform. The editors, however, sought through education of the electorate and constant reiteration of the value of reform to obtain their objectives. As Thomas F. Byron,⁶⁶ editor of the Farmers'

⁶³ American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas), November 13, 1890.

⁶⁴ Though Weaver was an editor for over five years, he was a perennial banner-bearer for the various minor parties and sided with the office-seekers. For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁶⁵ The Omaha platform of the Populist party in 1892 contained the following planks, among others: Government ownership of the railroads, telephones and telegraph; graduated income tax; increase in civil service; the Alliance sub-treasury plan; an increase in the amount of currency in circulation; free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16:1; postal savings banks; limitations on land ownership.

⁶⁶ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

Tribune (Des Moines), wrote, "On then with the work of education! The future is surely ours, if we will but act promptly and assiduously in taking advantage of the splendid opportunity which the present situation (which could not be better if we ourselves had devised it) affords for the education of the voters."⁶⁷

The dispute concerning the value of offices as against the value of education came to the point of an almost complete break in February, 1895, when H.E. Taubeneck attempted to remove George C. Ward and William S. Morgan, the editors heading the Populist publicity and boiler-plate distribution throughout the country, because their press releases and papier mache plates praised all the planks in the Omaha platform rather than concentrating upon "free silver." The Reform Press Association met in special session February 22 and 23, 1895, finally passing a resolution "mildly censuring" Taubeneck for suggesting that all issues be dropped "but the money question." The group then endorsed Ward and Morgan as "Populists in good standing."⁶⁸ A further and more thorough examination of this issue will be made in a later chapter.

⁶⁷ November 14, 1894.

⁶⁸ Farmers' Tribune (Des Moines), February 27, 1895.

Those editors who entered politics and were elected to office did, in most cases, attempt to enact the reforms they had advocated in print. Dr. Perry Engle,⁶⁹ editor of the Newton Herald (Iowa), when elected to the Iowa legislature as a state senator on the Union Labor ticket in 1889 introduced many progressive measures. He was successful in his attempt to compel the use of the Australian secret ballot in Iowa and also fathered the Iowa Industrial School for the Blind. Despite the Republican complexion of his district, Engle was re-elected to the state Senate in 1891 and insistently urged measures from the Populist program of reform.⁷⁰

Judson Grenell,⁷¹ editor of The Socialist (Detroit) and the Advance and Labor Leaf (Detroit), elected to the Michigan legislature by the Union Labor party, pressed into law an Australian ballot bill as well as many other bills aiding labor. Frank Q. Stuart,⁷² elected a member of the Colorado legislature in 1885 and editor of The Arbitrator

⁶⁹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁷⁰ No other party had ever succeeded in wresting an office from Republican control of the district since the Civil War before Engle's two successful campaigns.

⁷¹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁷² Ibid.

(Denver), helped enact prohibitions against the contracting of convict labor and made illegal in Colorado the use of the blacklist of employees by employer groups.

William A. Peffer, editor of the Kansas Farmer (Topeka) and elected U.S. Senator from Kansas in 1891, was a soft-spoken thorn in the side of many Republican senators when he advocated government control of transportation and communication, a lower tariff and free coinage of silver during his stay in Congress. Leman H. Weller, editor of the Farmers' National Advocate (Independence, Iowa) and a Greenback-Labor congressman from Iowa in 1883, was an ardent proponent of many reform measures and as a freshman congressman was able to pass pure food legislation concerning oleomargarine. His activities in Congress earned him the nickname of "Calamity" Weller.

The most striking and spectacular of the reform editors during his term of office was Davis H. "Bloody Bridles" Waite,⁷³ editor of the Union Era (Aspen, Colorado) for more than ten years. Waite was elected governor of Colorado when the People's Party swept the state in 1892. As governor, he tried to carry out many of the principles he had proposed while editor of the Union Era. In his paper he had attacked the private ownership and monopoly

⁷³ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

control of land, maintaining that "Private ownership in land is legalized robbery, the earth belongs to all the people in usufruct."⁷⁴ He was strongly pro-labor as well as bitterly against all organized religion. As governor, he prepared many radical reforms for the state, but other state officials refused to carry out his orders. To enforce his dicta, Waite called out the state militia and compelled state agencies to accept the reforms. His action, challenged in the courts, was later upheld by the Colorado Supreme Court. On an occasion when Colorado coal miners had struck for higher wages, Waite called out the militia to protect the miners from strike breakers imported by the coal mine owners. He stated at the time that his militia would wade in blood as high as their horses' bridles if the strike-breakers attempted violence. However, one of Waite's reforms led to his defeat in 1894. Although he had authorized women's suffrage for the state, it has been stated that the vote of the women at their first election was the

⁷⁴ Union Era, January 7, 1892. An adequate examination of Waite's editorial writings prior to his election as governor can be found in Leon W. Fuller, "A Populist Newspaper of the Nineties," The Colorado Magazine, vol. IX, no. 3, May, 1932. Fuller points out that Waite opposed the silver forces in Colorado, which was tantamount to political suicide, and favored the entire Omaha platform. He attacked both major parties saying that they "are kept alive only by funds contributed by the money power." Union Era, August 13, 1891.

contributing factor in the defeat of the People's Party which returned Waite to his editor's desk.

Tentative Conclusions

The reform editors were essentially a self-effacing group whose ideas are more easily obtainable than are the biographical details of their lives. A review of their ideas however leads to the strong assumption that their values and their attitude towards society were similar in many ways.

The majority of the reform editors were young men during the periods of their greatest activity, growing more conservative as they aged. However, a large fraction continued in the progressive tradition all their lives. Most of the editors were American-born and over 60 per cent were born in the areas in which the protest movements were most active. The majority of them sprang from an environment of farm homes and poor families though there were unusual variations from the norm. A large proportion were very poorly educated. To offset this, there was also a strong group of professionally-trained individuals.

The editors were closely aligned to the economic and political life of their society, following the reform trends westward into the plains states when the regions

east of the Mississippi River no longer waged political warfare with the railroads, grain elevator operators, speculators, corporations and other "vested interests." The basic desire in this migration was to educate the voters into an understanding group of people who would then aid in the reconstruction of society into the editors' concept of the good life. Therefore, since most of these journalists were attempting to educate rather than obtain public office for themselves, relatively few sought nomination or were elected to office. Those that did, on the whole, worked to obtain the reforms they had previously advocated in print.

One can not say that on the basis of the material presented in this chapter a pattern has been developed that will hold true for the thousands of editors who were not examined for this study. But certain assumptions can be drawn and justified successfully on the basis of the brief survey. Since only two per cent of the editors came from homes with a printer's background, it is obvious the editors made an independent choice of their careers in the newspaper field. Although most came from homes without any significant predilection for reform activity, all the editors entered newspaper work as ardent reformers. While their training, education and environments were often quite dissimilar, the

independently-developed patterns of thought were frequently similar in content. These points lead to the assumption that as individuals the editors were strongly independent thinkers and yet as a group they reached parallel conclusions. These conclusions left them free to accept new ideas and changes in the social structure yet also bound them to their original belief in the ability of the people to govern themselves. Recognizing the need for social change and yet desiring to keep the change within democratic boundaries, the editors used the newspapers to educate the people into a recognition of the need for change. The common spirit shared by the editors was completely humanitarian and Jacksonian in origin but was shaped by the individual ideas and conceptions of each editor. As independent thinkers, as seekers of new values and social reform, each of them was motivated by different reasons towards a common goal. The causative factors behind their actions are the subject of succeeding chapters.

Chapter III
THE NEWSPAPERS

The Format of the Papers

Since the primary mission of the reform editors was to educate and influence rather than distribute news, the physical aspects of their newspapers often differed in format from the average paper of the period. Many of these reform newspapers ventured into unusual techniques of presentation using huge boldface headlines, slogans and phrases emblazoned across the heads of the front pages, line cartoons, different type faces on the same page and even colored paper on occasion. The majority retained the usual characteristics of the farm weeklies, not necessarily through a desire for imitation, but rather since unusual type displays were expensive and beyond the scope of their limited budgets. However only the most prosaic of the reform press used typographical standards that remained unvaried through the years.

The sizes of the newspaper pages were also unusual and changeable.¹ Page sizes ranged from tabloids to giant

¹ Since the papers were often run on the proverbial shoe string, the editors, to save costs, would purchase off-size stocks of paper at a discount. Since these stocks came in different quantities, the dimensions of the newspaper page frequently varied by the month.

ten column widths. The Representative (St. Paul), which was edited by Ignatius Donnelly, can be cited as a typical reform paper, typographically. It was an eight page, six column publication with a heavily-leaded Biblical phrase, changed each week, placed above the name plate. On June 7, 1893, the slogan read, "Speak to the Children of Israel that they go forward." Another eight page paper, the Western Rural (Chicago) had only five columns to the page. This awkward width was replaced by a tabloid edition of twenty-four page length and four column width in 1893.

Smaller newspapers with a circulation of only five or six hundred weekly subscribers tried through the use of boiler plate to pad their pages and thus add a degree of prestige to an otherwise thin paper. The People's Rights (Nashua, Iowa) proclaimed in its masthead "Independent in all things, neutral in nothing"² yet nonetheless it used six pages of ready print³ to fill an eight page issue. On the whole, however, the reform newspapers had staff printers who set up their own type and printed solely on their own presses. An extremist editor, Alexander Longley,⁴

² July 4, 1878.

³ Boiler plate and ready print are similar terms meaning articles and news on papier mache plates.

⁴ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

published the St. Louis Communist and later, The Altruist, for over forty years, setting up the type for his three column, four page paper by hand each week.

Henry Vincent, one of the earlier and more successful reform editors, described the typographical birth and growth of his American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas) in 1888.

With this issue the Non-Conformist begins its ninth volume. On July 24, 1879, the Non-Conformist was first issued in Tabor, Iowa, on a little press that cost \$35 new. It was a little leaflet of four pages, two columns to the page. In January, 1881, it had grown to five columns folio; in July, 1883, it had outgrown its old Washington press and enlarged to six columns printed on power press; in 1886, it enlarged again to seven columns, its present size.⁵

⁵ June 14, 1888. As a typical example of the persistence and hardiness of the reform press, the circulation figures of the Non-Conformist are shown. Taken from the issue of August 20, 1891, the figures also indicate the press used.

July 24, 1879- began on a Model hand job press.
 July, 1880 - 325 copies weekly.
 July, 1881 - 780 " "
 Changed to a Washington hand press.
 July, 1882 - 960 copies weekly.
 July, 1883 - 1200 " "
 Changed to a Prouty power press.
 July, 1884 - 1480 copies weekly.
 July, 1885 - 1570 " "
 July, 1886 - 1675 " "
 July, 1887 - 1800 " "
 July, 1888 - 2190 " "
 Changed to a Cottrell power press.
 July, 1889 - 3556 Copies weekly.
 July, 1890 - 9500 " "
 Began using a Dexter folder with power press.
 January, 1891 - 18,000 copies weekly.

The size of the page, the kind of type and the number of pages per issue depended greatly on the circulation of the paper. As circulation increased, the newspapers usually were enlarged and often became experimentalist, seeking advice from readers upon the desirability of further change.

The Treatment of News

A perusal of the news stories in the usual reform press publications indicates quite plainly that a delineation between news and editorial views were rarely made. Since most of the newspapers were of an agrarian nature, this composite of news and opinions was in the tradition of rural press ethical standards. Thomas D. Clark points out in his analysis of southern country papers that,

Daily papers have adhered to some degree of editorial and news formality. Often personal opinion has been glossed over with the trappings of synthetic objectivity. This has not been true of the weeklies. A vast majority of their readers have known the editors and generally have regarded them as stable and well-informed. Country people have trusted their judgement and accepted their editorial slanting of news stories as a matter of course. The basic influences which the country papers have exerted on public opinion have been one part formal editorializing and two parts personal. Because editors were close to their readers, another fact is significant. The editors have shared the people's prejudices and shared their mores.⁶

⁶ Thomas D. Clark, "The Country Newspaper: A factor in Southern Opinion, 1865-1930," The Journal of Southern History, vol. XIV, pp. 3-33, February, 1948.

Despite this interchangeability of comment and news, the stories were not consistently biased to favor the editors' views. For example, the Non-Conformist, one of the most bitterly pro-Union Labor papers in Kansas respected the mores concerning Civil War veterans by headlining a story concerning a Republican political speech, "A Grand Speech and an Immense Audience." The story indicated that "Col. Moonlight, the opposition candidate for governor of Kansas, ...is a man of commanding appearance, of Scotch descent, tall and well-built. He is a most interesting speaker and held the vast audience in wrapt attention for full two hours...."⁷

The editors took great pride in the maintenance of a consistent series of interesting headlines each week. Even when news was scarce, headlines drew the attention of the readers to humorous stories. The Star and Kansan (Independence, Kansas) cast ridicule upon a neighboring town in 1896 with a head reading,

Filled a Room With Gas
And Then Touched It Off. They Do Bright
Things Like This in Coffeyville.⁸

Usually, however, headlines were used for dramatic purposes,

⁷ Winfield, Kansas, October 28, 1886.

⁸ January 17, 1896.

either to draw attention garishly to monopoly and railroad abuses or to celebrate a reform victory. When the Populists were successful in Kansas in the early 1890's, headlines exulting over the defeat of Republican candidates were common. A typical head, displayed after the 1892 elections, shouted,

Calamity
Overtakes the Apostles of Plutocracy
The Golden God Lies Beneath an Avalanche of Votes
The Cyclone Swept from Shore to Shore, Then Benny's Party
Was No More
'Tis Out of Sight, O, Sad to Tell; It Disappeared in Spite
of--- Well,
Lift Up Your Heads, You Kansas Men,
For Kansas is Herself Again.'
No Bloody Shirt, No Crimson Glory,
The Ballot Tells a Different Story.⁹

The use of huge headlines to attract attention was introduced quite early in the reform press campaigns. Jo Labadie, editor of the Detroit Unionist, pushed the technique to an extreme in 1883 by writing a full column story in headline type. The vertical column, surrounded by heavy black rules and surmounted by a skull and cross bones, began,

Our Honorable
Senators
Who
Represent the Districts
Composing Detroit, will please
Take notice that the organized workmen

⁹ The Advocate and Topeka Tribune, Nov. 9, 1892. The Advocate was the official paper of the People's Party in Kansas.

Of this city will
 Slaughter
 Them at the Polls
 If they neglect to vote for or vote
 Against the bill establishing a
 Bureau of Labor Statistics...¹⁰

Once the headlines and other journalistic devices drew the attention of the reader, the editors attempted to educate through a deliberate choice of news stories interspersed with editorial comments. Stories were designed to lend emphasis to the newspaper's political and economic contentions and to aid the growth of the particular group or party favored by the editor. The selection of items for the paper each week usually had some relevance to current news, but the greater amount of the material was considered on the basis of its specific connotations towards the endorsed values of the editor. The January 3, 1896, issue of The Star and Kansan (Independence, Kansas) can be cited as an example of this trend. Below the title of the paper ran its political slogans, "Direct Taxation; Direct Legislation; All Monopolies Controlled and All Money issued by the Government; No More Bonds Forever." The entire first page consisted of selected items pertaining to the Populist party or yielding to an economic interpretation of propagandistic value to the

¹⁰ May 13, 1883.

party. Among the smaller news stories could be found material relating to mortgages, free silver, the advantages of the country over the city, trusts, and the unreliability of the "associated plutocratic press". A larger article, reprinted from the University of Chicago's American Journal of Sociology, was introduced by a statement from the editor, "The following extracts from an article entitled 'Private Business is a Public Trust' are very good in themselves and they possess an added interest from the fact that its author is a professor in Standard-Oil Rockefeller's University of Chicago." To draw the reader's attention to this article, other boxed comments were printed throughout the paper saying, "Read Prof. Small's article in another column and you will wonder how long before Rockefeller's University will be firing another socialistic professor. It contains much old truth put in a way to fix the attention of the profoundest thinkers."¹¹

A glance at other stories on the front page of this particular issue yields such items as an U. S. Commissioner of Labor report on poor housing and high rents; an attack upon Cleveland and the bond sellers; an attack upon eastern-owned farm mortgage companies; a reprint of

¹¹ January 3, 1896.

an Unitarian comment upon the modern church; a discussion on the banning of Coin's Financial School by Rock Island railroad news vendors; and a contrast between the rich and the poor of the middle ages and the present which concluded, "In the middle ages, road agents used to rob the rich and give to the poor. Our modern laws are made to help the rich and rob the poor."¹²

All these stories were slanted either obviously or by innuendo towards approval of People's Party remedies for the evils described. The generalization can be drawn from a perusal of many reform press newspapers that most stories can be placed within a few specific categories. These are accounts of meetings, speeches and individuals favored by the editor; attacks and derogatory comment upon ideas, institutions or individuals disliked by the editor, and, thirdly, factual articles of a vocational and agricultural nature designed to educate on a non-political level.

¹² January 3, 1896.

Other Features of the Newspapers

The same necessity to create interest among the subscribers led the reform press editors to use cartoons, women's and children's columns, and advertising, all tending towards the same goal as the headlines and news stories. Many cartoons, etched with the same bitter and caustic tone as the Thomas Nast drawings appearing in Harper's, were printed in these socially-alert newspapers. The chief reform cartoonist was Watson Heston, a Carthage, Missouri, printer, whose talent for line drawings had been first demonstrated in The Truth Seeker (New York). He became a very well-known figure to reform press readers. An extremely prolific cartoonist, he once remarked to Henry Vincent, "I am as full of ideas as a dog is of fleas -- just give me your suggestion, I'll find the dressing."¹³ Vincent used a Heston cartoon almost every week in the Non-Conformist and these were copied by numerous other papers since the cartoons were considered extremely forceful. A typical drawing labelled "How the Voting Cattle Obey the Will of the Powers that Be" portrayed the major party bosses lashing columns of voters into a line at the polls. At one side a clergyman gestures towards a sign reading, "The Gospel of

¹³ Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library, Ann Arbor.

Monopoly! Be subject unto the powers that be! They what resist shall receive to themselves damnation!!! (Rom. XIII 1-2)" Voters in the queue are also carrying banners stating "Stick to the Grand Old Partee!" "Wimmin air tew ignerunt tew vote." "Thank God for the blessed privilege of serving our masters."¹⁴

Another cartoon demonstrated the reform editors' contention that education was the primary duty of the newspapers. A laboring man's figure lashed to a stake by ropes labelled "mortgages, cornered markets, land monopoly, money monopoly, railroad monopoly, and telegraph monopoly" is about to be succored by a female figure clad in flowing robes who represents "Knights of Labor." She has lifted a flaming sword, "education," to strike the blindfold, "party blind," from the eyes of the bound individual who may thus see the scurrying figures of "usury, national banks, watered stocks, gold bugs, and subsidized press" which have secured him to his stake.¹⁵

The desire to educate extended even into the advertising columns of the reform press. Rather than accept the regular descriptive material from manufacturers of the

¹⁴ American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas), March 22, 1888.

¹⁵ Ibid., June 14, 1888.

products to be advertised in their columns, the editors often drew up their own copy. These ads with a local origin could be recognized frequently through typographical errors made by the local printers. A "Castoria" ad in The Star and Kansan (Independence, Kansas) misspelled the manufacturer's name, Charles H. Fletcher, as Pitcher. Assuming therefore that the advertisement is of local origin, it becomes an excellent example of reform advertising.

Castoria

Mothers, Do you know that Paregoric, Batemen's Drops, Godfrey's Cordials, many so-called Soothing Syrups, and most remedies for children are composed of opium and morphine?

Do you know that opium and morphine are stupefying narcotic poisons?

Do you know that in most countries druggists are not permitted to sell narcotics without labelling them poisons?

Do you know that you should not permit any medicine to be given your child unless you or your physician know of what it is composed?

Do you know that Castoria is a purely vegetable preparation and that a list of its ingredients is published with every bottle?

Do you know that the Patent Office Dept. of the U. S., and of other countries have issued exclusive right to Dr.

Pitcher and his assigns to use the word "Castoria" and its formula, and that to imitate them is a state prison offense?

Do you know that one of the reasons for granting this gov't protection was because Castoria has been proven to be absolutely harmless?

Well, these things are worth knowing. They are facts.¹⁶

The necessity to draw a distinction between the friends and the foes of the farmers and organized laborers led the editor of The Labor Review (Argentine, Kansas) to design his own form of negative advertising which he placed beside the ads in his newspaper. To guide Populists towards purchases of goods produced by ideologically correct merchants, he listed a number of items that should not be bought. Under the heading, "Don't, Don't, Don't," he listed,

Buy scab bread
 Buy Star tobacco
 Buy of Chinamen
 Buy O.N.T. thread
 Buy the city directory
 Buy of Simon, 913 Main
 Buy the Kansas City Star
 Buy a hat without the union label
 Buy cigars without the blue label
 Buy Anheuser-Busch or Lemp's Beer¹⁷

¹⁶ January 3, 1896.

¹⁷ June 20, 1891.

Even such avowed enemies of the capitalist society as the Socialist Labor party saw no incongruity in their effort to obtain advertising. The National Socialist (Cincinnati, Ohio) listed reasons why advertisers should buy space in its columns. "1...only English official Socialist organ in America. 2...Circulation greater than any other labor journal. 3...official organ of the Socialists. 4 ...an organ of the trades unions. As a reliable medium of advertising, it has no superior in the world."¹⁸

Finally, the reform press used advertising to describe its own ventures. The American Non-Conformist announced that the Independent Newspaper Union would distribute patent insides or boilerplate to country newspapers at the rate of a dollar and a half a page. It would supply "Seven column supplements containing the speech (Gen. Weaver's speech in Congress, February 29, 1888), the cartoon, and much of the campaign matter... (All) can be had by ordering at once."¹⁹ The editors were given a choice of "labor" or "independent" editorial

¹⁸ June 15, 1878. Simultaneous editions were published in Cincinnati, Detroit and Chicago.

¹⁹ March 15, 1888. Actually, the Non-Conformist took papier mache proofs of its own set-up pages and sold these as patent insides.

matter. Book ads were also prominently displayed. Hamlin Garland's Main Travelled Roads was heralded widely with laudatory comments such as "If the Farmer's Alliance and the managers of the People's Party should print and circulate a million copies of this book throughout the West and South, they would break up the old party lines and sweep those sections out the next Presidential election."²⁰

It is apparent after an examination of several hundred reform newspapers that the editors and their staffs used almost every conceivable means to promote their aims in the columns of their newspapers. Not only were news stories injected with editorial comment, but frequently the editorials preceded the story, thus laying a pre-determined foundation to aid the reader's perception of the material. Cartoons, features, advertisements and the other sections of the newspaper were slanted to reflect definite views. The final objective of all the maneuvering was to educate the readers into an acceptance of the arguments presented.

²⁰ Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), December 10, 1891.

Finances and Control

The basic difficulty confronting all the reform press editors was the lack of funds that attended the establishment and continued publication of a newspaper designed to reach a group of subscribers whose chief characteristic was also a lack of money. The continuous threat that newsprint sources would discontinue credit and that unpaid typographers would leave forced many editors to yield independent control of their newspapers to outside forces. To obtain financial help, the editors were compelled to share power with less idealistic but more affluent men. Lester Hubbard, editor of The Farmer's Voice (Chicago) lost his paper to Montgomery Ward and Company in 1892 when his editorial policy displeased the company officials. Though he had accepted their weekly twelve page advertisements in 1888 with pleasure, it became apparent four years later that their aid had taken away his independence. Though he immediately opportuned Henry Demarest Lloyd for funds and began publication of The Vanguard, he had left his huge subscription list with the Voice and his new paper failed in less than two years.²¹

²¹ Letters to H. D. Lloyd in the Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society library, Madison.

Henry Vincent had the same difficulties with the individuals to whom he had yielded a certain degree of control over the American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis). He had moved his paper from Winfield, Kansas, to Indianapolis with the expectation that it would develop into the most influential of the reform press. This belief was justified since his circulation soared to 100,000 copies a week when first published in Indiana, whereas his Kansas high had been 18,000. But Vincent achieved this circulation by selling twenty-five cent subscriptions to the paper prior to the 1892 election. The Democratic machine in Indiana sent in thousands of names of Republican farmers to whom Vincent sent the Non-Conformist. "When entering that deal for listing so many names for the campaign, without heeding the admonition of inside and competent advisors, not to hesitate to render bills under which all possible obligations could be taken care of, our future as publishers of the child of our youth, the Non-Conformist, was doomed. The close of the year (1892) found our financial load too much to carry and a company of well-to-do farmers took over the obligations, good will, and all..."²²

²² Collected papers of Henry Vincent, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library, Ann Arbor.

Vincent was retained by the Indiana Populists as managing editor but he felt his independence hampered by their interference and resigned. "Taking over the Non-Con, the Hoosier farmers made a gesture of retaining me as the editor, which proved to be little else than a gesture. After having free rein to say what I felt like on whatever occasion was a different matter when a bunch of farmers entirely new in publishing had made up their minds as how the mistake just recounted must not be permitted to repeat."²³

Offered the editorship of the Chicago Express by Col. Seymour Norton,²⁴ Vincent accepted, but this partnership also developed problems of policy differences. Norton disliked Vincent's emphasis upon the Coxey movement whereupon Vincent resigned to write the history of the Commonweal.²⁵ With funds derived from the sale of his book, he again undertook an independent publishing venture with the Searchlight (Chicago) in 1894. Though his financial problems were great, he found a sponsor, Henry

²³ Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, Ann Arbor.

²⁴ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

²⁵ The Story of the Commonweal, W. B. Conkey Company, Chicago, 1894. Vincent was the official historian of the Commonweal. He later aided Coxey in Coxey's race for the governorship of Ohio, editing both Coxey's Daily and Sound Money (Massillon, Ohio).

Demarest Lloyd, who apparently did not attempt to exercise editorial supervision over Vincent's activities. It appears that Lloyd aided Vincent before they had met personally and continued supplying him with funds for over four months.²⁶ The correspondence between Lloyd and Vincent reveals many facets of this struggle to maintain publication of The Searchlight. Willis Abbott,²⁷ editor of the Chicago Times, offered to print The Searchlight in the Times' plant but the printers' union wouldn't cooperate²⁸ and the attempt

²⁶ Letter from Vincent in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society library, dated November 7, (1894).

"Dear Lloyd,

I have to acknowledge your more than kind favor of Sunday enclosing check for \$25 which helped a struggling cause more than I can describe. The clouds seem to break. There is plenty to encourage us on the outcome as it stands, at same time plenty to dishearten. Hope to meet you ere long. Again thanking you. Henry Vincent"

Letter dated November 28, (1894) from Vincent to Lloyd.

"Friend Lloyd,

Am making up forms and will have paper all right this week. Dr. Taylor is only one who has equalled your sum yet tho several lesser subscriptions have signed and this is to signify that installment no. 1 will be acceptable tomorrow Thurs. eve. H. Vincent"

(A note on the letter in Lloyd's writing reads, "\$10 sent.")

²⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

²⁸ Letter dated December 6, (1894) from Vincent to Lloyd.

"Dear Lloyd:

I fear the jig is up. I had forms all made up, in readiness for going ahead on the Times contract, or proposition, when in comes the Typographical Union constitution that forbids offices loaning matter, which would be such as the pickup we talked of. It is somewhat discouraging I confess, and I shall not enter into display of grievances, for that produces no gain.... Henry Vincent"

failed. However, several months later The Searchlight resumed publication, again with Lloyd's aid.²⁹ When the paper failed a second time for lack of funds, Vincent left Chicago for Massillon, Ohio, to aid Gen. Jacob Coxey in the 1895 Ohio gubernatorial election.

The struggle for survival without financial assistance embittered many of the reform editors. Since one of their chief personal characteristics was a deep sympathy for the individual farmers and laborers who bore the brunt of the economic struggle, Julius Wayland's comment to Eugene

²⁹ Letter dated January 25, (1895) from Vincent to Lloyd.

"Friend Lloyd:

I have not learned yet if you have returned from the east, but after two months the Searchlight has found the channel again, and the third issue is now in the mails. Now would you offer something on your name for the S.L. columns? The ward clubs are taking hold rapidly now, buying paper by bulk by the 100 to be used in educational work, and I think you can help greatly by an occasional contribution to that end.

On matters of expenses, the receipts have exceeded what I had a right to expect, and are increasing steadily, though still it holds me down to pretty close calculating. The attitude of our ward clubs is to me the most encouraging of anything that has taken place. Henry Vincent"

Letter dated February 8, (1895) from Vincent to Lloyd.

"Friend Lloyd:

If this blizzard hangs on another week it will cause me ...uneasiness. While my receipts are better in proportion than others, I must look ahead and if this finds you at home, pardon the suggestion for a remembrance early next week. Mr. Mier assures me of his cooperation after this month. Matters are regaining normal conditions once more and advertising quite encouraging. H. Vincent"

Debs might seem out of the humanitarian context of the movement but Wayland had battled for so long he had become cynical. "Debs, you're a fool. What is the sense in wasting your time on these human wrecks, hopeless victims who can never be of service to themselves or to society? They are only rubbish in the stream clogging the world's progress. Fight the system and let the victims go to the devil."³⁰ Wayland's cynicism had been bred during his difficulties with his first newspaper, The Coming Nation, first published in Greensburg, Indiana, and then moved to a cooperative colony near Greensburg, Tennessee. The paper was financially successful. But Wayland, who had obtained 13,000 subscriptions to the paper by its twenty-fifth weekly issue,³¹ lost control of the paper and plant to the cooperative he had joined. This so enraged him that in a letter to Henry Demarest Lloyd, he described the colony as "a confidence game" and the new editor, A.S. Edwards, as "a dirtier dog than most villains and ingrates."³²

³⁰ Quoted in Howard H. Quint, "Julius Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXV, p. 597, March, 1949.

³¹ The Coming Nation (Greensburg, Tennessee), October 21, 1893.

³² Letter to Lloyd in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, November 23, 1895.

Moving to Kansas City, Wayland started anew. His new enterprise, The Appeal to Reason, became the most widely circulated of all the reform press publications. By 1905, one special edition, "The Trust Edition," had a pre-paid circulation of three million copies.³³ Yet the beginnings of The Appeal were small and filled with difficulty. Wayland stated frankly that the Appeal was a financial failure while describing its establishment.³⁴

The correspondence of Leman H. Weller, Iowa Greenback-Labor congressman as well as editor of the Farmer's National Advocate (Independence, Iowa) reveals very clearly the problems many of the reform editors had to meet. Weller, while a candidate for Congress, had decided he needed newspaper support during his campaign and apparently

³³ The Appeal to Reason, December 9, 1905. Published in the town of Girard, Kansas, this edition employed the entire working population of the town for two weeks to wrap and mail papers. It also required forty U.S. mail cars to ship the edition to its subscribers.

³⁴ The Appeal to Reason (Kansas City), September 7, 1895. "Several persons in the past have asked me how much money it would require to establish a national weekly paper. Of course much depends. However, I can give them just what it takes to establish The Appeal to Reason - or attempt to do it. Up to August 31, date of the first issue, the total amount of money paid out for type, machinery, paper, labor (nothing for me), was \$929.33. The receipts up to the day of first publication were \$155.85 which was paid for 332 subscriptions and 21,328 copies of the paper. Now do your own estimating."

subsidized a number of Greenback and Greenback-Labor newspapers.³⁵ Though denying the charge when hurled at him by the Republican opposition,³⁶ Weller's correspondence gives clear evidence that he financially aided a number of the Iowa reform newspapers that were supporting both he and the

³⁵ The correspondence of Lemah H. Weller with the Iowa reform editors is in the L.H. Weller papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society library, Madison.

In a letter dated August 10, 1878, the editor of the People's Rights (Nashua, Iowa) requested aid from Weller.

"Dear Sir,

It's all about the 'mighty dollar.' We have a package of job stock in the Express office, and our paper bill has not been paid either this week or last; and I fear our paper will not be sent us for next issue, if we don't remit immediately. The whole amount lacks a few cents of \$13.00. Please send me \$15.00, and I think that will carry us until week after next. We have collected all of 70 cents on subscriptions during the past week. You see it will be two or three weeks before we can buy a power press at that rate. Truly yours for the good of the cause. Al McCormack"

³⁶ Weller, accused of supporting the People's Rights, denied his control of the paper in an open letter to the editor of the Nashua Republican, August 16, 1878.

"...Now, sir, you know when you penned that article that I never wrote the insulting words mentioned. When in your office on the 24th of last month, I told you distinctly that I had no more control over the matter published in The People's Rights, Nashua, Iowa, than you. I furthermore stated to you that two young men, Messrs. Hunt and McCormack, came to me well recommended, and stated to me that they desired my help to get up a Greenback paper in Nashua. I have used every effort to assist them to gain a circulation, and further than that had no control over the question."

However, when the paper suspended and Hunt and McCormack disappeared, Weller took over the paper and his name appeared as editor in 1880.

other candidates on the Greenback-Labor ticket.³⁷

The load of financial obligations and irritation at the attempts of others to control their editorial policy were the two basic causes for the collapse of most of the reform newspapers that ceased publication prior to 1895. A large percentage of the editorials in the papers were

³⁷ The support of several Greenback-Labor newspapers was offered to Weller and he apparently responded with the requested funds. A letter to Weller from W.A. Thomas of the St. Ansgar Register (Iowa) dated September 5, 1878, points out that the editors were not averse to the procedure.

"Friend Weller,

Matt Kean of the Times would gladly support you were Allen out of the field. I found that in and about Lawler you have many ardent supporters. Of course Kean's support is for sale - \$100. (!)

I called upon Bro. Haislett of the Tribune and, although a Greenbacker at heart, says to support you would injure his business - about \$300 worth.

Greenback sentiment is taking (?) good hold here."

There were, of course, many editors who were honestly interested in the movement but encountered numerous difficulties. M.H. Moore of the Iowa Statesman (Dubuque) wrote Weller on February 14, 1881.

"Since the election a few of us have paid about 3/4 of its expenses.... Of course it was free before election. Unless there is a general effort made for subscriptions and action I do not see how the paper can run. It costs from \$30 to \$40 per week and 1000 subscribers will not pay more than one half the expenses.

...Yet we must work for our party and our papers or America will need a Land League as badly as Ireland."

Another letter from Moore dated March 16, 1881 stated, "Of the 500 subscribers to the Statesman about 350 are delinquent. The people will not support a paper devoted to their interests."

concerned with the need for an increase in the number of subscribers that were necessary to make a specific newspaper self sustaining. Joseph R. Buchanan, editor of the Labor Enquirer, which he edited first in Denver and later in Chicago, wrote a biographical sketch of his experiences as an editor and examined the reasons for the consistent failure of the reform press. He also attempted to analyze the causes leading to the lack of support for the papers. Buchanan had been an itinerant printer till he became interested in the labor movement.³⁸ As a printer, he "naturally sought the printing press as a means of carrying my message to the oppressed of the earth."³⁹ Though advocating both trade unionism and the cause of the Knights of Labor, as well as socialism and other more radical doctrines, the "oppressed" did not respond and his paper was not a success. However, the description of the newspaper and his efforts to continue despite the hardship make a fascinating corollary to the material of this chapter. Relating his experiences, he found,

It was soon evident that our news and correspondence didn't interest, nor did our editorials inspire a very large proportion of the workingmen of the community. Subscriptions came in slowly.

³⁸ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

³⁹ Joseph R. Buchanan, The Story of a Labor Agitator, Outlook Company, New York, 1903, p. 49.

Expenses were light, Laverty (Buchanan's partner) and myself, with the aid of an apprentice boy, doing all the mechanical work upon the paper excepting the presswork. Our savings were soon exhausted. Laverty, who was unmarried, reduced his living expenses to the lowest possible notch. During his last three weeks he was with me he lodged in the office and ate most of his meals from the imposing stone. There was a little fellow in my family now, and it was pretty hard picking for the three of us sometimes. Many times our rations would have been scantier had my partner accepted a fair share of what strayed into The Enquirer's till. He was a generous and self-sacrificing fellow - one of the kind of men that made the great labor movement that came in later years a possibility. He was brave, too, for it took courage to give up his interest in the paper, and to abandon the hopes that had soared so high. With the tenth issue of The Enquirer he surrendered his interest to me and retired, announcing that there wasn't enough in the paper for the support of two proprietors, and that he could better serve the cause by withdrawing than by remaining.

For four and a half years I published the Denver Labor Enquirer, and during nearly all that time I was in charge personally and edited the paper. I shall have occasion to refer frequently to the paper in relating the stirring events in the labor world in which I bore a part, but to me it seems fit that I should here tell of those experiences which were mine simply through ownership of The Enquirer. It was ups and downs during those four and a half years, with the down side of the score crowding the pages to the margin. Soon after Laverty left me, I was compelled to reduce the paper's size which I did just by halving it. Then the time came when I wasn't able to pay the apprentice boy's wages, and he had to go. What a struggle it was to continue the poor little champion of the workers, which few of the workers themselves ever lifted a finger to assist! It is true the Enquirer wasn't a great paper; it was hardly as large as a patent medicine folder or a circus programme; but that was not my fault. The only limit to size and

character I recognized was measured by the income. Although I labored from sixteen to twenty hours a day - Sundays included - I could set no more type than was required to fill the little paper and have time sufficient to attend to other matters which had claims upon me. Yes, I was an enthusiast-fanatic, if you please.⁴⁰

Buchanan went on to inquire into the reasons for the lack of support for the paper. He reached a conclusion strongly intimating that the laboring classes in Colorado did not have a sense of class consciousness. Since at one time he was the Rocky Mountain district organizer for the American branch of the Second International, Buchanan was cognizant of Marxian doctrines. His book was written twenty years after the experience, however, when he had dropped his International connections and had become labor editor of the New York Journal. The answer which he gave to the question over which he had pondered two decades previously, "Why didn't the labor people support the paper?" was,

There is but one answer to that question. They didn't think it was of any benefit to them. And now, here's something peculiar: During the first eighteen months of The Enquirer's existence there was comparative peace between labor and its employers in and around Denver. Not that labor was satisfied with its condition, but the dissatisfaction hadn't manifested itself in an open protest; there hadn't been a strike. While the men were at work and drawing their pay regularly, they were not disposed to spend a dollar and a half a year for a subscription to the paper. When a strike came, and wages stopped, there

⁴⁰ Buchanan, Labor Agitator, p. 49.

were busy times for the subscription agents. "A friend in need is a friend indeed," and there's the whole story. A temptation to the editor to "foment discontent" as the enemies of the labor agitators express it. I can honestly answer, "Not guilty."⁴¹

Buchanan's answer seems equally applicable to most of the reform press. Whenever the farmers were aroused, there was a great rise in the circulation figures of the reform newspapers. At other periods of comparative calm, numerous papers folded from lack of support. Buchanan faced the same problems when he left Denver for Chicago to start another edition of The Labor Enquirer. Having been promised financial aid by a group of labor unions, he found upon his arrival that actually the money was coming from major party politicians seeking to split the labor vote in Chicago. Rejecting these sponsors, he resumed publication without outside aid and forthwith fell into the morass of lack of support and continual harassment by other reform groups again. An editorial in the Labor Enquirer (Chicago) demonstrated his independence, a characteristic he shared with most of the editors. Headlined "No Collar", it stated,

"John Swinton's Paper went down through the operation of his peculiar obstinacy, and Buchanan's Labor Enquirer will have the same fate if

⁴¹ Buchanan, Labor Agitator, p. 69.

he continues to withdraw himself from the control of organized labor" -- Der Sozialist.

That may be true, but it would take a great many such cases to equal the number of papers that have been starved to death while giving the most complete obedience to the mandates of "organized labor", and the scores so lost did not, combined leave a void like that left by Swinton's Paper.

...The destroyers, the "downers" of the free press may crush a Paper or an Enquirer on every acre in this broad land, but they will never get the collar of any organization or man on Buchanan's neck. As well understand that now.⁴²

This brief summation of the problems of a number of reform editors can be supported by the further perusal of editorials and personal documents of still other editors. Certain generalizations are justifiable on the basis of the material presented. Starting with definite humanitarian and educational views, many editors ran into considerable interference in their attempts to pursue independent editorial paths. Their views were hampered by the lack of support of not only their readers and sponsors but by reform groups whose concepts clashed with those of the editor. Society diminished the full expression of much individual thought by not offering financial support, by continual interference with editorial freedoms and by a studied indifference to the problems of the editors.

⁴² Labor Enquirer (Chicago), August 18, 1888. This was the last issue of the Enquirer.

Despite these hampering considerations, the reform editors used every plane of expression available in their newspapers to present their individual views and attempt to educate their readers. Inherent in their consistent efforts to begin anew after each failure was a strong sense of optimism and a belief that their views, despite the indifference of their fellow men, were acceptable and would at some future date flourish. A few of the editors were successful and realized their ambition to see their newspapers become influential intellectual forces. But even Wayland, the greatest propagandist of the group, lost faith in the value of the individual and committed suicide. Thus conflicting forces of optimism and pessimism fought within the ideological boundaries of each editor's mind. The motivating values of these men are the subject of further chapters in this study.

Chapter IV

THE MOTIVES OF THE EDITORS

Thomas Meredith,¹ publisher of the Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines), land speculator and "shrewd tax title investor",² a well-to-do farmer judged by Iowa standards of the period, acknowledged to his readers one day in 1895 that "I have the blues". He explained, "To think that I have paid out many thousands of dollars in distributing literature, buying new outfits for newspapers, wholly with my own money and helping others by paying their paper bills (and) in many cases not getting it back because of the final failure of said papers for the reason that greenback papers, union labor papers and Populist papers did not and do not pay. I have found out by sad experience that the path of the reformer is a thorny one."³ And yet, "thorny path" withal, Meredith had remained a reformer for twenty years and had even named his grandson, E. T. Meredith, as manager of the Tribune, hoping he would carry on the role. The

¹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

² Henry Vincent papers, Labadie collection, University of Michigan library, Ann Arbor. Vincent relates that Meredith held notes on the plant of the Non-Conformist and sold them to "the local college and G.O.P. ring."

³ Farmer's Tribune, November 13, 1895.

grandson, however, placed directly into a position of power in the reform press field, rejected the "sad experience" of the reformer, fired the Tribune's radical editor, Thomas F. Byron, and switched the editorial policy of the paper towards more conservative views.⁴ Though personal factors may have engendered this change, the belief can not be discarded that the social values and ideological character of the older world of Thomas Meredith no longer penetrated with as great an impact into the mind of the grandson as it had into the grandfather.

With the loss of these social values, not only did the reform press change in the last five years of the nineteenth century, but it virtually disappeared. Meredith's "blues" were obviously caused not only by a loss of money but by a growing sense of failure and frustration and the realization that the reform press, despite its idealism and great dreams, had not been accepted by the society it had hoped to influence. Though Meredith, in his old age, was slowly conceding defeat, it can not be forgotten that he had aided many reform and radical editors in the twenty years of his progressive efforts. Meredith was not alone, both in his fading optimism and in the

⁴ E. T. Meredith was the founder of Meredith Publishing Co., Des Moines, which now issues a number of large magazines.

knowledge that he had fought the good fight. There were many reform editors who looked back, especially after the election of 1896, and re-evaluated the reasons that had pressed them into active journalistic battle.

The majority of the editors had been bred and educated in a rural environment, as had Meredith, and had not had wealthy parents. The majority were the offspring of a society whose chief beliefs had been in equality, in the possibility of a practical economic and political democracy and in an individualistic theory of human rights. To the reform editors, men were more important than institutions. Their parents had in many cases been pioneers on a western frontier where all men supposedly found equal opportunity to gain wealth and security. These editors, finding these familiar values yielding to encroaching urban philosophies and finding their agrarian society weakened by the infiltration of monopolies and large corporate enterprises, joined wholeheartedly in a protest movement they considered vital to the preservation of the society. Their beliefs encompassed a concept of social justice that would not accept the subservience of the farmers, and the laborers as well, to corporate wealth and political domination.

Associated with these intangible moral and democratic beliefs, the editors were given further impetus by the knowledge that while the prices of farm products were steadily falling, the farmers had lost their previous self-sufficiency and were dependent upon a world market for economic existence. The editors grappled with the problems of a financial structure that had enmeshed the farming areas in high interest rates and mortgages and reduced many farmers to a level approaching serfdom. They witnessed in the growing unemployment in the cities, where the attendant poverty contrasted strangely with the enormous wealth of the corporations, another attack upon the principles of equality which they defended. They saw that increasingly large scale land holdings by railroads and speculators were a direct threat to a middle class society of small land holders, a threat to freedom of opportunity and to the democratic principles they had been reared upon. Actually these editors, the older Meredith among them, were conservatives seeking to maintain a structure dissolving about them through the corrosive acts of the new financial forces arising in the land. This was the background from which sprang many of the motivating factors behind the actions of the reform press.

The great majority of the reform editors were not abstract theoreticians and intellectuals. From their environment, their slight schooling, their experiences and their correspondence with each other, they had developed a set of values which penetrated into the consciousness of each man. These concepts, derived from a heritage of democratic belief and an ardent faith in justice and liberty, and understood in an almost instinctive manner, colored their consistently humanitarian actions. These ideas were values of the past placed in a present that was slowly discarding older views. Many of the editors discerned that they were fighting, not necessarily a battle for reform and progress, but rather a battle to save institutions and beliefs which they felt were more worthy of preservation than the materialistic doctrines of post-Civil War American society.

Their humanitarian motives usually suggested simple solutions intended to alleviate poverty as well as financial and political oppression. Most did not seek to renovate the structure of society, though there were among them many theorists whose actions as reform editors were formed by a desire to reconstitute completely the economic and political structure. To the majority, a removal of the economic wants of the farmers

and workers as well as a return to political equality would have destroyed the causation for most of their activity.

Lester Hubbard, editor of The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), describing "The Reform Press of America" in 1890, pointed out several of the characteristics driving the editors during their struggles,

The reform press of America was naturally evolved from the popular recognition of general and particular evil conditions, which must be fought by organized combinations of the people who felt their hurt, if they would be free and prosperous.

It (the pressure of evil conditions) oppressed the well-being of the farmers from one direction and ground it into the city toilers from another. Hence rose class newspapers, that set forth particular lines of grievances and advocated the specific measures that would right them. These journals were "free lances" of reform and independent in the largest sense of the term.

...The sublime and solely essential fact which is true of all of them -- alone concerns us, and that fact is this: they are all working bravely and unselfishly to bring good to mankind.

...There is at the present time not one single daily paper in all the land that is the out spoken champion of the five million strong-handed, stout-hearted producers who know their rights in this country and are determined to get them.

This is a most singular instance on the fact of it, but is thoroughly

understood when we reflect that the wealth of the Nation is owned by the drone classes, and is used against the producing masses in this their giant struggle for a larger liberty and more of justice.⁵

Hubbard could be considered in one sense a predecessor of the progressive movement which swept urban society in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. For his motives for reform were "to do good to mankind" and to seek "liberty and justice". Another tie to this later movement was his strong sense of morality. He wrote, "The Vanguard wages war on bad or perverted institutions, and not against individuals. The moral education of our people and the progress of society demand that a sharp leveling light be thrown on the dark places. ...Undeserved hardships and oppressions endured by the friendless lowly, when pathetically set forth, are object lessons most needed to instruct the newly-awakened consciences of Chicago's great middle class."⁶ The term "middle class" was used deliberately, for Hubbard, as did many of the reform editors, believed that the best society was a one class society.

⁵ The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), September 8, 1890.

⁶ The Vanguard (Chicago), January 21, 1893.

The great middle class is our Nation's hope. We use the term middle-class in a strictly financial sense, to indicate that large majority of our citizens who are equally removed from abject poverty and vast wealth. ... Caste, and all privileges claimed by right of birth, were things abhorred by them.

... Our American middle-class is now omnipotent in the land, but maleficent forces are already at work that will dissipate its power by swift and sure attrition, if they be not stopped.

If these disintegrating agencies be not checked, it will not be fifty years until our grand American middle-class is as completely a thing of the past as are the mound-builders.

We ask the thoughtful men of intelligence to study the forces that now menace the existence of the best class in the land, and determine whether it is not a high moral crime to supinely look on while our nation rushes to destruction, for after our middle class is pulverized out of existence, all that remains of the country would be merely a job lot of A-1 material for Hades.⁷

This characterization of Hubbard, the reform editor, as an advocate of the middle class and a humanitarian desiring abstract values of liberty and justice, is necessarily but one aspect of a larger picture. Hubbard, as the representative reform editor, was not part of the twentieth century progressive movement. His ties were

⁷ The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), August 27, 1889.

still agrarian, not urban. Prior to his venture into the newspaper field he had been an officer of the Ohio Farmer's Alliance. His conception of the middle class involved farmers more than the city dwellers. His motives for reform were engendered by a desire to increase the prosperity of the rural areas of the country and not necessarily to uphold the commercial and professional middle class. The majority of the reform editors recognized the differences in values between the "town and country" and cast their lot with the farmers and the small rural communities. So it is not surprising to read in Hubbard's Farmer's Voice, "We determined to give our particular attention to the interests of the farmer class for two reasons -- firstly, because they are by far the most important class of producers in the nation; and secondly, because they are being crushed down into hopeless poverty with greater rapidity than any other class of toilers in the United States."⁸

Milton George,⁹ editor of The Western Rural (Chicago), also stressed this point. "The farmer alone, the mainstay of all industries, has been unorganized and

⁸ May 17, 1890.

⁹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

practically helpless. The agricultural societies are his only hope. United he is the most powerful element of all, divided he is simply what he has been, the tool of the politicians."¹⁰ It was to the farmers that Hubbard called, "Then gird up your loins and join the new crusade that seeks after a lost liberty... No man shall be so rich and no official so powerful as to be above the law, but all men must obey the law. For in this obedience is the living soul of the republic -- and without it, the nation is already dead."¹¹

This plural desire, to aid the farmers economically, to "seek after a lost liberty" and to return the nation to an appreciation of earlier moral values, was expressed by many reform editors. Though the city laborers' plight was often lamented, the great stress was upon the languishing rural economy. The protest movement's chief purposes, according to the editors, was to "advance human rights", "take the side of the under-dog", and "to fight against man's inhumanity to man". W. H. Wright, of the Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas), wrote, "We have bought this paper for the good

¹⁰ The Western Rural (Chicago), January 9, 1892.

¹¹ The Vanguard (Chicago), July 23, 1892.

we think we can do, and not to make money out of it."

For the cause that lacks assistance
 For the wrong that needs resistance
 For the future in the distance
 And the good that we can do.¹²

The lead editorial of the American Non-Conformist's first issue in Kansas stated,

This journal will aim to publish such matter as will tend to the education of the laboring classes, the farmers and the producers, and in every struggle it will endeavor to take the side of the oppressed as against the oppressor, provided the "underdog" has concern enough for his own hide to defend himself when he is given the opportunity, and not turn and bite the hand of him who has labored for his freedom, by voting both back into a worse condition than before.¹³

Paul J. Dixon,¹⁴ editor of The Weekly Crisis (Chillicothe, Missouri), wrote L. H. Weller a letter outlining his desires for a "full legal tender and of a value equal to that we had at the close of the war, when people settled down to peaceful pursuits and laid out their plans for the balance of their lives."¹⁵ This comment again indicates one of the primary motives of the

¹² February 17, 1886.

¹³ Winfield, Kansas, October 7, 1886.

¹⁴ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

¹⁵ L. H. Weller papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society, library, Madison. Letter dated October 2, 1883.

reform press. Dixon sought to return to his conception of a pre-Civil War society in which men had hopes for an equalitarianism that offered opportunity to all, that offered security and had due respect for the individual. Most of the editors used a phraseology and language that did not indicate they actually longed to step backwards. In contrast to Dixon's quiet desire for "peaceful pursuits", the motives were frequently cloaked in ferocious tones designed to arouse the emotions of the newspaper readers.

We are in the throes of a mighty revolution. Appealing to the ballot box to redress the wrongs of twelve millions of toilers, and when we unite, arm to arm, and shoulder to shoulder, the blood-suckers, the money kings and the corruptionists who have subverted this government will be driven from power. It will then not only be a republic in name, but it will be the republic our fathers intended it to be, of law, justice, liberty and equality.¹⁶

Yet all this editor requested in his raging editorial was an equality of law enforcement to include all individuals and corporations, the traditional concepts of justice and liberty and an interpretation of equality that included economic equality of opportunity as well as isopolity.

The stress upon liberty of the individual, a

¹⁶ The Broad Axe (Howard, Kansas), January 19, 1888.

consistent refrain throughout the reform press period, was democratic in both origin and interpretation. Liberty, to most of the editors, meant freedom to express any beliefs, even those which contravened the mores of the society. However, such expressions were not often printed since they were politically inexpedient. Complete liberty of expression meant the right to oppose the moral values imposed by religious institutions as well as to attack the political and economic structure. The case of Moses Harmon,¹⁷ for example, attracted considerable attention in the reform press. Harmon, editor of Lucifer, the Light Bearer (Valley Falls, Kansas), was an ardent advocate of the rights of women. His desires for feminine freedom ran far beyond mere suffrage. Feeling that the laws of the land made women into "chattel slaves" when they were legally married, Harmon advocated "autonomistic marriage", a form of ceremony not countenanced nor controlled by either civil or religious authorities. This ceremony, Harmon believed, would enable women to retain the legal rights they otherwise lost when they entered into the ordinary civil marriage contract. "We must distinctly and positively reject, repudiate and abjure

¹⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

all such laws and regulations ... that force women into chattel slavery."¹⁸ Following his own beliefs, Harmon officiated at a ceremony, neither secularly nor religiously sanctioned, which married his daughter, Lillian Harmon, to Edwin C. Walker,¹⁹ editor of Fair Play (Valley Falls, Kansas) on September 19, 1886. All three of the principals were arrested the next day and lodged in the local jail till the Kansas Supreme Court compelled local authorities to release them on bail. Since common law marriages were recognized by legal statute, they had actually committed no crime but nonetheless all three were tried and convicted for non-compliance with the requirements of the marriage statutes. This attack upon civil liberty enraged many reform editors since one of the basic drives behind these newspapers was the desire to ensure and enlarge the freedoms of the individual. After several delays and another trial upon a different charge, Moses Harmon was sentenced to five years imprisonment. This caused the American Non-Conformist to storm,

The conviction and sentence of Moses Harmon, editor of Lucifer, indicates how

¹⁸ Lucifer, the Light Bearer, November 25, 1886.

¹⁹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

little the people realize that autocratic, irresponsible power has displaced almost every vestige of liberty. . . . His conviction was brought about by the infamous Comstock laws, which are a direct menace to every editor from a political, sociological, economic, or religious standpoint.

. . . I have known M. Harmon for years and have never met a man more modest, less self-assuming and more completely devoted to the emancipation of mankind from the thralls of superstition and state craft. All hail, heroic soul!²⁰

Edwin C. Walker, who had been imprisoned with Harmon for a short time, desiring to prevent the recurrence of such infringements upon personal liberties, moved on into the field of individualistic anarchism. He believed "that the individual is incapable of governing anyone but himself. Nearly all the machinery of the state is designed, or, if not originally designed for that purpose, is used to crush the autonomy of the individual."²¹ Many of the reform editors, including Walker, were influenced in their consideration of the state and its relation to the freedom of the individual by Benjamin Tucker, the philosophical anarchist editor

²⁰ June 5, 1890.

²¹ Letter to Jo Labadie, March 23, 1889, in the Labadie Collection, library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

of Liberty (Boston). Jo Labadie²² and Judson Grenell,²³ two Detroit labor and reform editors, were among many who published newspapers motivated by an incentive to increase individualistic freedom and to denounce the encroachment of government upon this freedom.

A review of the reasons for the publication of reform newspapers thus far indicates that a large proportion of the editors desired a return to earlier standards of freedom of opportunity, individuality, economic and political equality, justice (in the sense that laws should rest on a foundation of equality, i. e., "justice as against privilege"²⁴), as well as a desire for the safeguarding of the economic rights of both farmers and laborers. Though many of these writers often appeared to have no conception that their editorials were based on these beliefs, an assumption can be made that through their education, experiences and contacts with fellow journalists, the editors evolved many of the political and economic suggestions and alleviatory laws proposed by the reform press.

²² For biographical data, see Appendix A.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Lucifer, the Light Bearer (Chicago), January 6, 1897. Moses Harmon re-established Lucifer after he was released from prison.

The Cynical Intellectuals

To the majority of the editors, their chief "duty was to our fellow men who live by honest toil."²⁵ The humanitarian motive lay uppermost in their minds and the protection of the rights of the individual was considered the paramount duty. However, among the editors there were a number whose notions of reform were not essentially humanitarian in nature. Though idealists who had entered the movement with no thought of personal gain, their conception of a better world did not necessarily include the economic and political betterment of their own generation. While concerned with the predicament in which the farmers and laborers of their day had been placed, their long term view of the problem centered upon the necessity of concrete social improvement gained over a period of time. Their primary concern therefore was with the society of the future. Finding their fellow men more interested in the present and in temporary economic gains, a number of the long range planning idealists became cynical and pessimistic. Julius Wayland's comment, "Fight the system and let the victims go to the devil," was an expression of this

²⁵ Pomeroy's Democrat (Chicago), February 10, 1877. Despite this comment, Pomeroy used the movement to his own political advantage a number of times.

cynical approach.²⁶

Wayland's views were echoed by a number of the more radical editors, men who called themselves "socialists" or "anarchists" yet had little connection with the formal socialist and anarchist groups. Only a small percentage of the reform editors associated themselves officially with the parties of the extreme left in this era.²⁷ Since these parties were essentially urban groups and more often based on the writings of Marx, Bakunin and Kropotkin than upon American theorists, it can be assumed that the editors, men whose viewpoints were developed in an agrarian environment, could not find urban doctrines particularly significant or appropriate to their problems. Even Wayland, though he considered himself a socialist, endorsed the People's Party till the nomination of Bryan in 1896.

The second editor of The Labor Enquirer (Denver),

²⁶ Howard H. Quint, "Julius Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXV, March, 1949, p. 597.

²⁷ Daniel DeLeon headed the Socialist Labor party. Victor Berger and Eugene Debs were Populists till 1898 when they were instrumental in the organization of the Social Democratic Party, later the Socialists. Albert Parsons and Dyer D. Lumm were members of the International Working People's Association, an anarchist-socialist group. Parsons, one of the men executed for the Haymarket bombing, was the one exception to the rule that editors with an agrarian background didn't join an urban movement of European origin. Biographical data for all these editors can be found in Appendix A.

following the departure of Joseph Buchanan, was Burnette Haskell²⁸ who was also one of the few radical editors to be a leader of a section of the First International in America. He headed the Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast areas. Interested in an attempt to combine the forces of the Johann Most revolutionary socialists, the Benjamin Tucker individualist anarchists and the Marxian socialists, Haskell was the author of a long document suggesting this union to a Pittsburg convention in 1883. In words paralleling Wayland's bitter tones, he analyzed his party's attempts to indoctrinate the laborers. "We found that the masses of working men were densely ignorant, cowardly and selfish.... That even if they did listen to us and applaud us that by the next meeting they had forgotten the half we had said, our words having slipped out of their minds as water does off a duck's back."²⁹

Haskell, described as "erratic yet brilliant"³⁰ by Joseph Buchanan, having left the socialists to join the Bellamy Nationalists in 1890, related his reasons in an article, "Why I am a Nationalist," in the Twentieth Century

²⁸ For biographical data, see appendix A.

²⁹ Chester McA. Destler, "Shall Red and Black Unite? An American Revolutionary Document of 1883," Pacific Historical Review, vol. XIV, December, 1945, pp. 434-451.

³⁰ Buchanan, Labor Agitator, p. 266.

(New York). His naturalistic parallel between "the state and the human body" in which he maintains that all persons in the body-politic should cooperate in the same manner as all the cells in the human body cooperate again shows his disregard for individual right. "Nature will perfect the state so it shall heed and reach the needs of every unit of its whole. And this is the most inevitable of inevitable things. Let us not tie selfish strings of 'individual right' around our fingers to impede the collective circulation."³¹

Wayland and Haskell can be considered as examples of editors whose intellectual values did not include a stress upon humanitarianism and individualism. There were others in the group, however, whose reasoned arguments, while not as warmly and passionately concerned with the victims of society as was Moses Harmon, were neither as dispassionate as Wayland. Their motivation for entering the reform press movement, while tinged with more warmth, was however, completely intellectual. Frank Q. Stuart, editor of The Arbitrator (Denver) and the Des Moines Leader, was a lawyer whose interest in reform was theoretical and legalistic rather than immediate. His interest

³¹ Twentieth Century (New York), May 15, 1890.

led him to the writing of a brochure "Natural Rights, Natural Liberty and Natural Law" which showed the influence of both Benjamin Tucker and Dyer Lumm. His newspapers always backed the agrarian reform political parties but did not engage in much active campaigning. The writing in the papers was usually coldly calculating, well-reasoned and almost completely lacking in the fervour expressed by the majority of editors in his political party.

Another editor whose writing before 1900 lacked many humanitarian considerations was Louis Post,³² editor of the Public (Chicago) and on the staff of the National Single Taxer (St. Paul). Though he attacked "the plutocratic influences"³³ of wealth and privilege, his reasons were moralistic rather than emotional. Since The Public was published till 1913, Post's values were more nearly akin to the progressive movement than the agrarian campaigns of the earlier years. This is especially noticeable in his dissection of the People's Party in the New York Standard. He pointed out that the Populist party was no more than "a patch work, constructed with good motives,

³² For biographical data, see Appendix A.

³³ The Public (Chicago), April 9, 1898.

but without any analysis of social conditions, any knowledge of social laws, or any adequate thought of the relations of the proposed remedies to the cause of the disease for which they are prescribed."³⁴ It is obvious that Post's analysis, revealing in its biological comparison of social and physical diseases that it was based on the popular scientific methodology beginning to permeate the society of his day, is coldly logical and shows little acceptance of the humanitarian and crusading aspect which united the Populists. He was driven by the desire to construct the good society and yet his scientific approach to the problem appeared to have little appreciation for the values of the individual in his period.

Due consideration should be given to the strong possibility that Marxian social and economic values played an important role in the formative thought processes of these mid-western editors. This would explain, to an extent, the different points of view expressed by those men who battled for radical changes in the structure of their society. Chester McA. Destler points out in this connection that one of the great neglected fields yet to be examined in this period is "the clash of indigenous Populism,

³⁴ March 2, 1892, quoted in Stuart Portner, "Louis Free-land Post: His Life and Times," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1940.

produced by decades of cross-fertilization between urban and agrarian radical movements, with an imported, proletarian Socialism which made its first great appeal to English-speaking wage earners in America in the depression-ridden nineties."³⁵

Another influence permeating with even greater effect was the naturalistic philosophy based on evolutionary ideas of Darwin as carried into the social and political fields. However, neither the editorials nor the personal letters of the great majority of the editors demonstrated any stress, familiarity or understanding of these conceptions. The reasoning of the editors who delved into the theoretical and intellectual connotations of social change may have been, unconsciously, affected by Marxian and naturalistic thought since these were in the cultural atmosphere but most ideas were not expressed in these terms.

The conception of a planned economy, frequently publicized by those editors who lacked strong humanitarian considerations, was also a compelling influence in this reform press movement. Descriptions of the planned millennial societies were not of Marxist derivation, on the

³⁵ Chester McA. Destler, "Western Radicalism, 1865-1901," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXI, December, 1944, pp. 335-368.

whole. The reform editors derived their views from the utopian traditions prevalent since the 1830's in America, and their cynicism developed from a natural disgust that their fellow men refused to accept their "reasonable" viewpoints.

Opportunities and Office-seekers

Though the general historical background of the reform editors ran to essentially the same pattern, each of the men had specific reasons for joining in reform activities. The majority joined to fight for humanitarian and idealistic motives, while a small group sought the fulfillment of abstract intellectual concepts. Still others desired to obtain a degree of personal gain in the form of political offices, power and economic wealth as well as prestige and respect. Though all these reasons were inter-mingled in the minds of most of the editors, specific selfish motives can be adduced to a number of individuals. These men, while concerned with reform, were also interested in their own aggrandizement.

In the statistical analysis of the editors noted in the second chapter of this study, mention is made that forty races for political office were attempted

by the editors surveyed and that twenty-five of the candidates were successful. Though a sizeable number of these men ran several times, thus reducing the proportion of office-seekers to a small percentage of the total, a group of the reform editors did use their newspapers to obtain support for their own political campaigns. A few used their national reform press connections to induce other newspapers to back their candidacies.

Among these men, James Baird Weaver³⁶ was considered by many reform editors as pre-eminently an office-seeker rather than an editor interested in reform. Although he headed the Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines) for twelve years, Weaver was essentially a politician and was intensely disliked by the editors who sought reform through education rather than office. E. O. Davis, editor of The Albia Opinion (Oskaloosa, Iowa) wrote L. H. Weller, "The office seekers are a greater curse to labor than all the monopolists this side of Hades. Did you ever know of a man praising himself, like Weaver does - Jim - through his Tribune. Jim Weaver has killed seven labor papers in this district and one democrat

³⁶ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

paper called the Oskaloosa Standard."³⁷ Lester Hubbard, Henry Vincent and Charles X. Mathews, all Populist editors, attempted to obtain the 1892 People's Party nomination for the presidency for Judge Walter Q. Gresham³⁸ but Weaver marshalled sufficient votes to obtain a majority of the convention delegates. The embittered Henry Vincent, who had thought Gresham a stronger candidate, wrote, "Years later I was informed by Judge Gresham's son that his father would have taken the nomination had he received assurance of the support of General Weaver..."³⁹ Fred E. Haynes in his biography of Weaver⁴⁰ also points out that the general turned to the Greenback and Populist movements to obtain office, having felt disgruntled when the Republican party denied him the recognition he desired.

³⁷ Letter to Weller, June 16, 1888. L. H. Weller collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.

³⁸ Gresham was noted for his comments as receiver of the Wabash Railroad when he told the financial creditors, "You may talk about your creditors to whom this road is indebted, but the working men, the great tin brigade that has made the road and that is doing its work today, must be provided for first, and before any other creditors are paid." Quoted in The Vanguard (Chicago), June 25, 1892.

³⁹ Henry Vincent papers, Labadie collection, library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

⁴⁰ Fred E. Haynes, James Baird Weaver, Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1919.

Another editor, Mark M. "Brick" Pomeroy,⁴¹ editor of Pomeroy's Democrat, was a political opportunist in the Greenback party. Pomeroy's active participation in the organization of 4000 Greenback clubs earned him the political role of presidential nominee for the party in 1878. However, at the Toledo convention in 1878 which combined several Greenback and labor parties into the single Greenback Labor party, Pomeroy was discarded in favor of Weaver as candidate.⁴² Pomeroy soon afterward left the reform press field and engaged in several gold mining schemes and an ambitious project to dig a railroad tunnel through the Rocky Mountains.

Other examples can be cited to stress the point that one of the motives for work in the reform press was the desire for political power, but a further chapter will examine the split between the office-seekers and the editors who sought to educate the voters.

Another ground for engaging in the movement can

⁴¹ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁴² W. P. A. Writers' Project, unpublished biographical sketch in files of Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison. The sketch reveals that Pomeroy had given his assistant editor orders to change the editorial policy of his paper after the Greenback convention. His nomination came as a surprise, and he had to telegraph a quick cancellation of the new policy. It was to have been Democratic.

be described as a desire for economic gain, not for the good of society, but for the individual concerned. Though the majority of the reform newspapers were financial failures, many editors made efforts to develop a profit-making venture in this field. Julius Wayland, the most successful economically, consistently lowered subscription rates whenever the Appeal to Reason showed a sizeable profit. It can not be assumed that Wayland tried "to make a good thing" out of the reform movement. This assumption does not extend to other reform editors such as Joseph Ingalls, who was associated with his father, P. P. Ingalls, as editor of the Iowa State Tribune (Des Moines). Ingalls wrote L. H. Weller that,

It does not pay me to bother with this paper. And I want to make money and think I will be able to accomplish it in my new undertaking. (Ingalls moved to St. Louis to edit The Express in 1881.) Father will still run the paper but I will let go. ...Iowa Greenbackers doing all they can for Chicago papers and not even taking the Tribune. ...the majority of them take Chicago papers and do not touch this paper and I will not spend the best days of my life for nothing. I can make money and I will. ⁴³

Orlando Jay Smith,⁴⁴ editor of both the Terre Haute Mail (Indiana) and The Chicago Express, became very

⁴³ Letter to Weller, June 18, 1881. Weller collection.

⁴⁴ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

successful as a developer of reform press newspapers. His forte was the organization and design of a paper and the proper selection of personnel to run it profitably. As a greenback and anti-monopoly editor of several papers, he obtained sufficient funds to organize the American Press Association in 1882 for the purpose of distributing reform boiler plate material. By 1892 he had over 8000 subscribing newspapers but was no longer concerned with editorial policies of a radical reform nature. His reputation led to the opportunity to establish William Jennings Bryan's newspaper, The Commoner (Lincoln, Nebraska). Smith named the paper, staffed it with his own personnel and had it in operation before turning control over to Bryan. Though at first an ardent greenback and anti-monopoly supporter, Smith later sought wealth rather than reform.

The assumption can easily be proven that a large group of editors thought as did M. C. Mead, editor of the District Post (Postville, Iowa). "I am quite ready to go on and run a paper on principles, but not without my bread and butter."⁴⁵ Many a reform newspaper closed up shop when the editor found no profit

⁴⁵ Letter to L. H. Weller, December 26, 1882. Weller collection.

in the operation. The profit motive should also be considered as one of the factors in the development of the reform press, as well as in its decline.

Though the values of prestige and respect can be demanded for an idea or a group of individuals, one can not ignore the hankering for personal respect that influenced the course of many reform editors. Though their expressed points of view differed radically with the political expressions of the conservative press of the period, many comments can be found in the reform columns reflecting a desire for respect or expressing pleasure that a form of dignified respect had been extended to them by a conservative major party paper.

In spite of the organized plans to utterly ignore the editor who dared to unbuckle the party collar, the fact stands out too bold for question that the splendid organization of reform editors in Kansas and the entire West have, by their manly adherence to the issues up for solution, commanded the respect and recognition of the so-called leading party journals of the old school. Journalism in Kansas today shows a marked contrast with the pot-house, black-guard Kansas Senate style of the past.⁴⁶

The men of the reform press were not often the martyrs they considered themselves to be. They had human

⁴⁶ The American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas), August 20, 1891. The Non-Conformist spoke from long experience for the Vincents had borne the brunt of attack.

failings and human wants. The stimulus for the publication of protest newspapers frequently was supplied by a pedestrian longing for political power, a search for some pecuniary gain or for the soothing of outraged egos through signs of "respect and recognition." These impulses, however, can be considered minor in comparison to the much larger field of humanitarian, idealistic and intellectual values which the editors considered the primary causes for a reform movement.

The Feeling of Brotherhood

Although the reasons for publishing reform newspapers were often mixed and contradictory, the great majority of the editors felt that they, as individuals, were bound into "a mighty army" bent on a crusade to save humanity. This sense of unity, knit by emotional and humanitarian ties, was repeated over and over again in the columns of the reform press. From an examination of several thousand editorials, it appears that this theme of unity, of a fraternity of comrades, was one of the paramount considerations for continuing a struggle which at times appeared hopeless. "We are in the throes of a mighty revolution. ...when we unite, arm to arm, and shoulder to shoulder..."

(and)...carry the banner of the republic, baptized in the blood of the revolution...no despot can oppress freedom."⁴⁷

The parallel of the humanitarian crusading army was often repeated. At times the reform editors were the leaders and at other moments they appeared "as powerful co-adjutors, unrewarded and unheralded, as is the fate of their calling, neither expecting nor receiving reward... They are the small arms behind and beside the artillery, keeping up a rattling of musketry, a ceaseless din, and doing the most deadly destruction."⁴⁸

The fact that this army was composed of many factions that warred among themselves as often as against the enemy was recognized, but "the movement has grown too large to be confined to party."⁴⁹ The crusading spirit overwhelmed the "minor" doctrinal differences between them. The Anti-Monopolist (Enterprise, Kansas) demonstrated this attempt at a fusion of movements by backing all the reform groups, "the Greenbacks, Single Taxers, Anti-Monopolists, the Grangers and Farmers' Alliances and the labor groups", all the parties lined up in the

⁴⁷ The Broad Axe (Howard, Kansas), January 19, 1888.

⁴⁸ Francis X. Mathews, American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), February 13, 1896.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

battle of "man against Mammon. We believe the time when dead issues continue to rule the consciences or sway the prejudices of the majority of the people - when living issues and pressing questions can no longer be straddled or dodged - is about past."⁵⁰

The feeling of kinship extended not only to attempts to diminish editorial differences but to expressions of praise both for individual writers and the reform editors as a group. "Remarkable is the work done by this band of brothers through the columns of the Reform Press."⁵¹ They offered each other material from their own newspaper columns for use in the pages of brother journalists. Invitations to editors whose papers were failing from lack of local support to migrate to areas within their own circulation boundaries were frequently offered. "The band of brothers", drawn by a common belief in reform, left considerations of financial gain and loss behind when ties of friendship and fraternity were under discussion. A blow to one was felt by the others, in varying degrees, and expressions of sympathy were a common occurrence.

⁵⁰ November 4, 1886.

⁵¹ American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), February 28, 1895.

They tell us John Swinton is dying, dying of a broken heart, we would say. John Swinton has been a noble advocate of human rights for more than fifteen years, we believe. If we mistake not, he entered the field of agitators at that Tompkins Square outbreak and has been doing noble battle ever since. He issued a one dollar paper for a long time, a thing every editor of any experience declares cannot be accomplished without failure, which came. He threw his whole life and soul and property in, and all have gone. Friends have disappointed him, and he has at last weakened and nature demands rest and restitution.

We hope from one end of the line of labor to the other he may recover. We need him, but if he dies who will say it was not of a broken heart.⁵²

The feeling of brotherhood extended to an appreciation of each other's newspapers, and special attention was frequently given to unusual editions or to the struggles of new papers for increased circulation. Even Julius Wayland, cynical individualist that he was, entered into the common feelings of comradeship. In The Appeal to Reason, he front-paged a boxed editorial stating,

As the railroad boys would express it, the Labor Day edition of the Railway Times, Terre Haute, Ind., "was a bird". It was 16 pages, illuminated and illustrated, and contained original articles from the pens of the most notable minds devoted to labor in the nation. You can not invest a nickle to a

⁵² American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas), February 2, 1888.

better advantage than by securing and filing away a copy.⁵³

The Vincents in the Non-Conformist praised a newspaper whose survival would diminish their own circulation in the following words,

About the newsiest Union Labor paper that circulates broadcast is the Missouri World published at Chillicothe at fifty cents per annum. It contains plenty of political matter and all the news of the week dished out in crisp, readable style. No excuse for taking a city G.O.P. paper for the news. Try the World.⁵⁴

Lester Hubbard, of the Farmer's Voice (Chicago), lauded one of the "brother journalists" in the columns of his very widely circulated paper.

L. H. Weller, of Independence, Iowa, is the editor and proprietor of the National Advocate, published at that place. Mr. Weller is aggressive and progressive, and keeps the people of his section awake by the friction of daring and original thought. Mr. Weller belongs to that class of bold thinkers who prevent a languid world from stagnating, morally and mentally. Continue to charge on the enemy, Brother Weller.⁵⁵

⁵³ September 7, 1895. Eugene Debs was editor of the Railway Times, and later became an associate editor, with Wayland, of The Appeal to Reason.

⁵⁴ January 10, 1889.

⁵⁵ January 21, 1888.

The feelings of comradeship were not confined to the circle of editors alone. All were driven by a strong incentive to increase the coalition of reformers and enlist new recruits into the crusading army. During the Pullman strike in the summer of 1894, expressions of friendship and sympathy were eagerly sought for as well as expressed in the reform press. Many of the organized labor groups and agrarian organizations were reluctant to back Eugene Debs' American Railway Union strike. The Chicago Searchlight optimistically prophesied, "The Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union have clasped hands, and next comes the Federation of Labor and our country cousins, the Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union, the F.M.B.A., and the People's Party send greetings. All moving together for industrial emancipation."⁵⁶ Debs and the A.R.U. did not, however, receive the united support of the labor unions and the farmers. This lack of support sorely tried but did not split the comradeship of the reform journalists.

The formal expression of this fraternal feeling was the National Reform Press Association. It was organized at Ocala, Florida, during the meeting of the National

⁵⁶ June 21, 1894.

Alliance in December, 1890. Since the National Alliance was the result of a coalition of differing groups, it seemed most appropriate to the editors that they too unite into a national organization. The first officers were C.W. MacCune⁵⁷ of the National Economist (Washington, D.C.) as president, John P. Stelle⁵⁸ of the Progressive Farmer (Mt. Vernon, Illinois) as vice-president and W.S. Morgan of the National Reformer (St. Louis) as secretary-treasurer. The group was more successful in uniting the reform press than the National Alliance was in uniting the factions within its ranks. The N.R.P.A. met at every convention of the People's Party and also had several special meetings. The most notable occurred on February 22 and 23, 1895 in Kansas City when the reform editors showed their open displeasure with Herman E. Taubeneck, the permanent chairman of the national committee of the People's Party. It was this meeting that placed the reform editors' support solidly behind the planks of the Omaha platform during a period when the political leaders of the Populists were contemplating seriously the adoption of "free silver" as the "one plank" platform of the party in 1896. The conception of the People's Party as a vote-getting rather than an

⁵⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

educational medium was bitterly attacked by the editors. One of the considerations of the attack was the belief that the humanitarian principles embodied in the Omaha platform could not be discarded without destroying the editors' unity of purpose and crusading fervour. The belief was well-founded for with the defeat of the Omaha platform and the Populist endorsement of Bryan and free silver, the N.R.P.A. soon collapsed and an enormous proportion of the reform press ceased publication. In 1895, "Over 150 of the more prominent Populist editors were on hand... and others who could not be present sent letters showing their unswerving allegiance to the Omaha platform."⁵⁹ But in 1897, just two years later, when the N.R.P.A. attempted to meet twice, once in February and again in April, only seven editors heeded the call to attend.⁶⁰

Formal organization of the "comrades" of the reform press was also developed on a state-wide level. In Kansas, the Kansas Reform Editorial Association was formed at Hutchinson, February 20, 1891.⁶¹ Its first officers

⁵⁹ The Wealth Makers (Lincoln, Nebraska), March 2, 1895.

⁶⁰ Coxey's Sound Money (Massillon, Ohio), April 10, 1897. Gen. Coxey was a member of the executive board in 1897.

⁶¹ The Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kansas), February 27, 1891. The Kansas group was extremely active during the period when Populists controlled one house of the state legislature, 1890-1894.

were William A. Peffer⁶² of the Kansas Farmer (Topeka), A.C. Pattee⁶³ of the Salina Union and S. McLallin of the Topeka Advocate.

It can be assumed that on the basis of their writings, their expressed beliefs and their actions, one of the stronger driving forces behind the reform press movement was the feeling of comradeship and brotherhood. This fraternal conception was enhanced by the almost universally-held belief that they were engaged in a great crusade or battle for humanitarian values endangered by a rapidly-encroaching materialistic society. To make the ties of the journalistic fraternity more binding, the reform editors aided each other through an accepted policy of reprinting and exchanges, through praise of each other and their newspapers, by economic aid in the location of new papers and by the organization of formal groups of reform press editors to express their united views.

Other Incentives toward Reform

Motives for the expression of beliefs through the reform press can be perceived in almost every facet of

⁶² For biographical data, see Appendix A. Peffer was later elected U.S. Senator from Kansas.

⁶³ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

the background and activity of the editors. Since these men were essentially a group of individualists, different explanations for their actions can be ascribed to each man. Among the more important general characteristics not as yet mentioned were those factors of the home environments which tended to stress the importance of reform work and the religious beliefs entertained by a number of the editors prior to their entrance into the reform press movement. Another stimulus, not necessarily of a progressive nature, was suggested by the prejudices held by many rural and urban labor groups against negroes, orientals and recently-arrived immigrants.

Judson Grenell, editor of the Advance and Labor Leaf (Detroit), fourteenth child of a Baptist minister, received an education which his parents hoped would lead him into missionary work. His father had aided the underground movement during the Civil War and had impressed upon Grenell a religious text which both he and his father interpreted economically, "The rich and the poor meet together - the Lord is the Maker of them all." Grenell, though previously active in the eastern urban labor movement, had moved to Detroit to become editor of the Michigan Christian Herald, a Baptist weekly. His beliefs in economic equality and freedom of the individual led him from

his religious journalism into the reform press movement. With Jo Labadie he explored socialism and individualistic anarchism. It can be seen that Grenell's attraction for reform can be traced back to his environment, his early training and his religious beliefs.⁶⁴

Another editor, Alexander Longley of The Communist (Friendship Community, Missouri) and The Altruist (St. Louis), also derived his conceptions of reform from an earlier background. Longley's father was a Universalist minister strongly interested in the Fourierist movement. Longley, at the age of twenty, joined a phalanx of the group in New Jersey but left four years later to enter a reform book publishing firm organized by his brothers. His conceptions of reform, molded by the Fourier experience, ran towards collective societies and communal settlements. He had been a member of the Icaria colony in Iowa for a year (1867) before leaving to develop his own form of communism. Though his attempts all failed, he planned five different colonies in twenty years while publishing his newspapers. His principles of reform as well as the pattern of his ideology is

⁶⁴ Judson Grenell, a series of autobiographical articles in the Detroit News beginning September 7, 1930, in files of Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library, Ann Arbor.

easily traceable to his family and his experiences.⁶⁵

James Vincent, first editor of the American Non-Conformist (Tabor, Iowa), derived his impetus for the reform press from his father, a pastor of the Congregational church in Deal, England, who was "a vigorous dissenter from the established church", as well as from his admiration for Edward Mial, editor of an English newspaper named The Non-Conformist. With this intellectual inheritance, he was also a graduate of Oberlin College, Ohio, and had worked for the American Anti-Slavery Society, operating an underground railway station in Tabor, Iowa, before entering into the reform press field. It appears obvious that both his religious and secular training pointed him towards the reform movement. His views also influenced the careers of his three sons. Henry and Leopold Vincent continued publication of the Non-Conformist while Cuthbert Vincent edited the Economic Quarterly (Winfield, Kansas), a reform journal of a more learned nature.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Cincinnati Commercial, August 17, 1872. Also article in the Dictionary of American Biography.

⁶⁶ The American Non-Conformist (Winfield and Indianapolis), October 20, 1886, August 20, 1891, and March 16, 1893; also Kansas State Historical Society Library Biographical Circular, V. 2, M-2.

Environment and personal experiences also played a part in the development of reform incentives for many other editors. Davis H. Waite of the Union Era (Aspen, Colorado) and William A. Peffer of the Kansas Farmer (Topeka) both lost their farms in Missouri when their anti-slavery convictions compelled them to leave the state at the outbreak of the Civil War. As individualists believing in freedom, their outlook was considerably influenced by this restriction upon their opinions as well as the economic loss involved. John McBride of the Miner's Independent (Massillon, Ohio) was the son of a coal miner and began working in the mines himself as a breaker boy at the age of nine. His reform actions were prompted by the desire to outlaw child labor and to prevent labor exploitation in his day. The parents of William H. Robb,⁶⁷ editor of the Independent American (Creston, Iowa), were ardent abolitionists who developed in the younger Robb a bitter hatred for all forms of slavery, both political and economic.

Religious training and beliefs also induced several ministers to enter the reform press movement. Rev. P.P. Ingalls, a Methodist minister, left the pulpit to

⁶⁷ For biographical data, see Appendix A.

edit the Iowa State Tribune (Des Moines) and fight for financial and labor reforms through the columns of his newspaper. He was a well-known figure in the movement and considered "very militant" by Henry Vincent.⁶⁸ Moses Harmon, the editor whose beliefs sent him to prison several times, had been a Methodist minister at the age of twenty but left the church "because he had lost faith in a god who tormented his erring children."⁶⁹ Rev. E.P. Foster, editor of the Golden Rule (Cincinnati) also left his church to enter the newspaper field because he believed that there were many social and economic problems untouched by his religious superiors. Foster backed the labor unions vigorously and took brewery ads for his paper to start a controversy with the prohibitionists. He hoped by this maneuver to force them to admit that liquor was not the only evil in society.⁷⁰

While most aspects of the reform press movement activities can be considered progressive even today, one driving force behind a number of the editors negated the principles of freedom and humanitarianism accepted by the

⁶⁸ Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. For biographical data, see Appendix A.

⁶⁹ Jonathan M. Crane, "Moses Harmon," Mother Earth (New York), vol. V, March, 1910, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Files of the Golden Rule (Cincinnati), 1891.

majority. Drawn from a fear of competition by unskilled workers whose standards of living were much lower, drawn from a disdain for the unusual and the unknown, and permeated with the bitterness still flourishing after the Civil War, a degree of racial prejudice was definitely indicated in the columns of a number of newspapers. Southern Kansas and Illinois papers as well as several Missouri publications displayed consistent dislike and antagonism towards the newly-enfranchised Negro voters. The American Bimetallist (Topeka) stated, "We had a majority of the white voters in Shawnee County. So the Republicans hold Shawnee by consent of Africa."⁷¹ "The bankers and the darkies are the only ones in this country who have any reason to rejoice in the late election. The bankers got the gold standard and the darkies got their "two dalla's sah'."⁷²

The Chinese also received a degree of persecution in this area, though not as much as was meted out by Dennis Kearney and the California Workingmen's Party. The Labor Review (Argentine, Kansas) advertised, "Don't Buy of Chinamen", and one of its editorials read,

⁷¹ November 7, 1896.

⁷² November 14, 1896.

Do you consider you are taking the bread out of the mouths of widows and orphans and giving your cash to an alien who is practically worthless to our country.

Are they acceptable to you as citizens? Do you consider them your equals socially? Ponder over these few lines, friends, and see if you cannot find some widow, whom you can help along in this vale of tears, by simply giving her your washing, instead of giving it to the scab mongolian.⁷³

The belief that the Rothschild group of bankers controlled the financial structure of the international "money market" led to several expressions of anti-semitism, while the threat of southeastern European immigrant competition for jobs aroused considerable discontent in the Populist press. During the Homestead strike (1892) the Kansas City Journal, disliking the importation of "Old world destitute laborers", could express no sympathy for the destruction of the steel company's property. "We have no bowels of compassion for the employers. For mercenary ends they have brought these masses to compete with and drive out the legitimate labor of the country, and they have to pay the penalty."⁷⁴ Thus the Journal

⁷³ June 20, 1891.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Allan Nevins, American Press Opinion, D. C. Heath, New York, 1928, p. 407.

managed to verbally spank the steel companies as well as show its dislike for immigrants.

On the other hand, when motives for discontinuing prejudiced attitudes were offered to reform editors, their humanitarian as well as politically-alert minds instantly grasped the new weapon to increase their voting strength and add new readers to the fold. The Labor Review, the same newspaper which had lashed out viciously against the "chinamen" in June, 1891, offered friendship to the Negro voters the next month. Its editor wrote,

The negro's great man will be found in the great third party (the Alliance party).

Now is the time to show them (the GOP) why the negro has a right to vote for any party of his choice. First, because he is a free man and has a right to vote any ticket he pleases. Second, because he wants to be an American citizen. The American citizens were both democratic and republican. It was ruled, governed and supported by them. But today there is another party composed of the most sensible democrats and republicans. The Republican party looks upon the negro vote as their own property. The Democratic party looks upon the negro as an enemy and their vote to be resisted. The Alliance party is the party to depend upon, it is the laborer's friend.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ July 4, 1891.

The rise of the American Protective Association, a secret group of anti-Catholic individuals, gave the reform press an opportunity to attack prejudice and gather votes. The editors were virtually unanimous in their heated response to this organization. The editor of the Denver News wrote a typical comment,

The pretense of any necessity for protection to American institutions from a body that must operate in the dark and through secret treachery is preposterously false. Let danger show itself and there will be no lack of American manhood to face it openly and deal with it effectively. There is no greater peril in sight just now than the American Protective Association would be, could it but gather force enough to match the mischievous tendencies of the impulse that gave birth to the abortion.⁷⁶

Ignatius Donnelly found the actions of the A.P.A. to be quite profitable to the People's Party.

It is amusing to see how the A.P.A. persecution is bringing the Catholics into the People's Party en masse; and we are glad to see it, for a catholic vote for the right counts for just as much as any other vote.⁷⁷

Even a brief review of all the reasons considered by the reform editors for entering into their activities would cover a vast amount of material. In addition, each

⁷⁶ October 4, 1893.

⁷⁷ The Representative (St. Paul), April 25, 1894.

item would have to be attributed to individual editors. This is manifestly impossible for a discussion of the present length. But it should be noted that the motives do cover a wide range of belief and can be ascribed to economic, political, social, and psychological causes varying from the purely personal to the wholly humanitarian in origin. The majority of the incentives can be considered altruistic and were based on an inherent belief in the freedom of the individual, on traditional concepts of liberty, justice and equality of opportunity. Many were essentially moralistic in nature, while others were completely materialistic. But to all the editors, the beliefs they held were of sufficient value to compel them to leave often remunerative and socially respectable positions for the post of reform editor "to face a storm of ridicule and vindictive hatred ... poverty ... ostracism and persecution" and without encouragement "become an evangel of a better day coming."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), February 18, 1895.

Chapter V

THE TECHNIQUES OF REFORM: EDUCATION AND ATTACK

Mass Education

The editors of the reform press did not publish their papers with the express belief that they were a medium for the dissemination of news. Rather their prime function aimed towards the education of the readers of the various publications into an understanding of the political, social and economic issues of the period, and thereby, through a slow process, correct the outstanding evils of their society. To many of the editors this was neither a planned nor even a pre-meditated program. It was inherent, however, in their expressed beliefs for the need of education and becomes even more apparent through an examination of the blunt tactics of attack used by the editors in their educational and political campaigns.

The conviction that knowledge fully grasped by the voters would remove "the wool from their eyes" permeated the fabric of the entire reform movement. The basis for this faith can be traced directly to the belief in the Jacksonian traditions of equality. To the majority of the editors, all men were equal, and

all men had the capacity to understand as well as the desire to rectify the faults of their society, if only these flaws were presented clearly and simply to them. The editors, on the whole, maintained that the people of their generation had been blinded by false doctrines served up to them in the guise of truth. The traditional concepts of democratic liberty and justice had been deliberately distorted by the publications of the major parties to enable office seekers to gain position and to give free rein to the monopolists and bankers who sought to exploit the resources of the nation.

Thus the reform press had a dual purpose. The first objective, the editors believed, was to educate the people into an understanding of their society and the economic and political ramifications introduced into that society by the rapid growth of industry, banking and railroads. The second objective was to attack the exploiters, monopolists and corporations at every opportunity and to assault as well the major party newspapers and politicians that supported the economic and political power of the destructive forces.

The need for instruction through the columns of the newspapers was understood to be a form of adult

education. One of the earlier editors to examine the problem and seek a solution through the publication of a labor paper was Andrew C. Cameron,¹ of the Working-man's Advocate (Chicago-Cincinnati). Cameron sought through his paper and through several labor groups to instruct the laboring classes, especially the printers, into a realization that only through cooperation could they successfully introduce such innovations as the eight hour day. He was not particularly concerned with the political aspects of reform since he felt understanding had to arrive before political power could be sustained successfully.

The belief that education was a cure-all was, and still is, a prevailing characteristic of American society. Thus Cameron and the editors who followed him were walking in traditional paths when they insisted on a policy of education rather than on a policy of vote-seeking for the new reform and radical parties. This

¹. For biographical data, see Appendix A.

² Glancing at several of the statistics analyzed in the second chapter of this study, it can be demonstrated that the editors' belief in the educative process increased as the number of those desiring public office decreased. Though a much larger number of reform newspapers were published in each succeeding decade of the thirty year period, fewer editors ran for political office on the Populist ticket than had sought election on previous minor party slates.

This belief in the educative process became more widespread through the ranks of the editors during each succeeding wave of minor party growth.

Although few expressions of opinion on the value of education as a good in itself can be found prior to 1885 in the reform press, the attitudes and the phraseology of the editors indicates that they recognized and felt the need for learning. This necessity for wide-spread education was discerned most acutely by men whose devotion to reform was tempered with an ardent belief in the democratic process. While Henry Demarest Lloyd was not a reform editor, his belief in the power of the newspaper as an educational weapon caused him to subsidize a number of Chicago newspapers.³ His reasons were well expressed in a notation he made in one of his notebooks in 1888.

Those students in advance who have investigated through the evils of our present social system, and feel themselves ready to go forward to construct a new and better system, must halt till they have so instructed the multitude that they may have a following which will make their forward synthesis a success. They must in other words give up the luxury of dreaming for the duty of informing and inspiring the people, through whom alone can the new society be made possible.⁴

³ Among the papers Lloyd aided financially were Lester Hubbard's The Vanguard, Henry Vincent's The Searchlight and Louis Post's The Public.

⁴ Caro Lloyd, Henry Demarest Lloyd, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1912, vol. 1, p. 122.

Lloyd's desire to aid in the movement for education was not limited to the financial support of reform newspapers. His book, Wealth Against Commonwealth,⁵ was written to publicize the dangers he felt were threatening the economic structure of the country and became a popular text for the whole of the reform movement. Milton George, editor of The Farmers' Union (Chicago), wrote Lloyd requesting permission to use Wealth Against Commonwealth as a "text in a reading course of study for farmers' societies. Our object being to secure a higher citizenship and more wholesome laws."⁶ Lucius A. Stockwell, of the American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), also recognized the value of Lloyd's volume from the educational point of view. He wrote Lloyd that it was "a book that would make trouble for the railways if it could generally be read." To enable the book "to be generally read," he would "give the book a good notice in the paper, print liberal extracts from it and push its sale."⁷

The belief that education was more important to the cause of reform than immediate gains through the ballot

⁵ Henry Demarest Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth, Harper and Bros., New York, 1894.

⁶ Letter to Lloyd, January 29, 1895, in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society library, Madison.

⁷ Letter to Lloyd, October 17, 1894, Lloyd Collection.

box trapped many reform editors in a dilemma and caused the suspension of a large number of the reform newspapers. This dilemma of the editors can be illustrated by Joseph Buchanan's difficulties with the Socialist Labor party in Chicago. The party leaders felt that the time was propitious for their group to enter into an active campaign in 1888. Buchanan, editor of The Labor Enquirer (Chicago), believed, on the other hand, that education was more important than the game of politics and refused to follow the party's desires in the columns of his paper. As a result, he immediately lost the last of his financial support, since he previously repudiated the labor union groups in Chicago on the same grounds. The last issue of his newspaper maintained to the end the belief that "Until knowledge has been more widely diffused, and the national conscience quickened by the wrongs endured by the toiler in competitive society, the formation of a political socialist party is premature."⁸

While Buchanan gave up the struggle to publish a newspaper that was intended to educate rather than seek votes, other editors kept on with their battle. Leopold

⁸ The Labor Enquirer (Chicago), August 18, 1888.

Vincent published a Populist Handbook for Kansas⁹ with the express intent "to make a thoroughly-informed people" as well as demonstrate the "unscrupulous methods used by the Republican campaign managers."¹⁰ He commented further,

The various reform or third parties that have agitated political affairs during the period since 1874 have all been parties having "ideas" to present, but it seems that they all failed in so presenting their principles as to secure general acceptance. During these years a constant agitation has been kept up that has resulted in a better education concerning political methods and governmental systems than even the friends of reform were aware of. (A short discussion of the Coffeyville bombing follows.)

Thus rudely shaken with vague fears, the public mind was in excellent condition to seek political information. ... In the following winter months, the protests against existing conditions, political and social, took shape in the rapid organization of the Farmer's Alliance, purely as a means of education.

A thoroughly-informed people can not be enslaved, nor kept in slavery long after they become educated concerning the means used to bind them.¹¹

Thomas Byron of the Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines) was one of the editors intensely concerned with the technique of education. He introduced a resolution which was

⁹ Vincent Brothers Publishing Co., Indianapolis, 1891.

¹⁰ Ibid., preface, p. 2.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 3.

accepted at the St. Louis convention of the Populists in December, 1894, resolving "That it is the sense of this conference that the People's Party in carrying on their campaigns of education in the various states should embrace in their work the whole of the Omaha platform."¹² His belief in the educative process and the Omaha platform cost him his post as editor of the Tribune since James Baird Weaver, a leader of the office-seeking clique of the party, persuaded the new manager, E. T. Meredith, to fire Byron.¹³ Byron's belief in the necessity for education was demonstrated many times in the columns of the Tribune. Immediately following the 1894 elections when Populist strength in Congress and in the states of Colorado and Kansas declined, Byron optimistically maintained,

On then, with the work of education!
The future is surely ours, if we will but
act promptly and assiduously in taking ad-
vantage of the splendid opportunity which
the present situation (which could not be
better if we ourselves had devised it)
affords for the education of the voters.¹⁴

¹² Farmer's Tribune, January 2, 1895.

¹³ Letter to H. D. Lloyd, April 8, 1895, Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin.

¹⁴ Farmer's Tribune, November 14, 1894.

The greatest persuader of the group of reform editors, Julius Wayland, had almost an instinctive faith in the power of education. His propagandistic technique, developed prior to his complete conversion to socialism, was based essentially on the belief that the opinions of the people could be changed if the facts concerning the evils in society were placed before them in a mentally-digestible manner. He sided with the great majority of the editors when he commented that "Education is needed more than the offices just now. When education has done its necessary work, the offices will follow to enforce the wishes of the people. Offices without education will do more harm than good."¹⁵ Though apparently he later lost his belief that men would follow the dictates of their reason if given the facts, he still persisted in advocating the educational approach towards reform.

If a pattern of educational beliefs were constructed from the material in the reform press, three outstanding characteristics would be noted. The editors first believed that the process of education, in itself, was a good thing and would lead to the development of the country. Thus any factual material pertinent to the

¹⁵ The Appeal to Reason (Kansas City), July 18, 1896.

issues they thought important to their cause was printed, especially so if promulgated by college professors in schools having no connection with the reform movement. Secondly, they believed that discussions of the issues and problems presented in their papers should be simplified and direct, disregarding extraneous data that might lead to controversy and doubt. And finally, they believed, as did Wayland and Byron, that education was more important to the fulfillment of man's social destiny than was activity in the political sphere.

To the end that all liberal education was wholesome, the reform press printed material by such professors as Richard T. Ely, Edward W. Bemis and John R. Commons. The Knights of Labor (Chicago) noted quite early in Ely's career that he was an unusual man.

We publish this week copious extracts from the able article of Prof. Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins University in Harper's Monthly upon the railroad problem. Prof. Ely is one of the few school men whose schooling has not abolished their common sense.¹⁶

During the spring and summer of 1895 when Ely, Bemis and Commons were attacked for their progressive lectures on socialism and municipal ownership of utilities

¹⁶ September 25, 1886.

while on the Chatauqua lecture tour, the reform editors came to their immediate aid.¹⁷ The Wealth Makers (Lincoln, Nebraska) asserted,

Professors Ely, Bemis and Commons and the friends of truth and righteousness who stand with them, believe in equity and speak against the power and greed of monopolists. ... But of course the class who are growing richer and richer by the decreed prices of monopoly service are not willing to be disturbed or turned away from plundering the people. So they try to weaken and destroy the influence of these teachers of political economics and social science by defaming them, or by instructing their paid bias to do it for them.¹⁸

The American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis) found in this issue an excellent weapon to bludgeon the major party press while at the same time defend its convictions and those of the professors as well.

While the News of this city is demanding the "removal of Professors Ely and Commons because of their offensive opinions", these gentlemen are talking

¹⁷ In Ely's autobiography, Ground Under Our Feet, Macmillan, New York, 1938, he noted that such periodicals "as Godkin's Nation, which was a citadel of conservatism in all matters affecting property and labor, branded me as a radical and dangerous man." (p. 219) Bemis was forced to resign from his post on the Chicago faculty and H. D. Lloyd sought very diligently to obtain another appointment for him. (Lloyd papers, Wisconsin) Commons had to leave Indiana for Syracuse.

¹⁸ July, 1895.

at Chatauqua, from the most enlightened platform in the world, to thousands of the most intelligent people, on the merits of State socialism. The News should insist on the suppression of Chatauqua. In fact, it should insist on the suppression of everybody that does not teach medieval methods of thought and antediluvian political economy.¹⁹

To develop the second characteristic of the reform press educational pattern, the newspapers used simple methods of exposition, attractive pages and cartoons to explain the problems facing their society and the suggested solutions to those problems. A previous chapter outlined the cartoon technique and demonstrated the simplified reasoning portrayed in them. The ultimate in the campaign towards the concept of simplicity resulted in a new form of reform newspaper set up on the order of Punch and Judge. Vox Populi (St. Louis) was a Populist paper filled entirely with cartoons, each carrying a propaganda message of a type easily understandable and plainly drawn. The editors of Vox Populi felt an explanation for this publication was necessary, so their first edition editorial stated,

...it is plain that the political campaigns of the coming two years must be a campaign between wits, in which the

¹⁹ August 12, 1895.

Populists will fight not so much to influence the masses to a particular way of thinking, as to arouse them from an illogical, unpatriotic and indefensible indifference to their own welfare, and induce them to vote as they already think.

For the many who read the 1500 Populist papers now published, with the many additional ones that are being started each week in different parts of the country, will suffice, but to those who are not readers either by habit or education; to those whose labors have made them too weary to read understandingly; and to those who prefer reading pictures to reading printed pages, and who wish to get the thought of an entire chapter or volume at a single glance, cartoons and illustrations are indispensable.²⁰

Though the idea of the paper was possibly justifiable, the editors' evaluation of the financial structure of the paper was faulty. Designed for those individuals with little education who were also usually of the poorest classes, yet each copy cost ten cents. When one considers that a year's subscription to The Appeal to Reason cost fifty cents for fifty-two issues and that Vox Populi carried no advertising, it is apparent why this new venture failed in less than a year.

However, the pattern of simplicity in language and thought was followed as closely as possible in most

²⁰ Vox Populi, May, 1894.

of the regular reform papers. One of the difficulties of the technique was evolved in the background of the editors themselves. Many of them had been apprentice printers on the staffs of regular party papers which often used cumbersome sentence structure and standardized cliches. On the editorial level, the orthodox papers were overly-wordy and learned in content. Despite this earlier training, a large proportion of the editors found that the pattern of simplicity fitted their desire for education and followed it closely.

The third characteristic, that education towards social goals was more important than immediate political action, has been stressed previously and will again be noted in a later chapter relating the conflict between the educator-editors and the office-seekers. The editors constantly referred to this phase of their program, and, although their beliefs were defeated in 1896 with the nomination of Bryan, the first comment after the November election by the Lincoln Independent (Nebraska) was "The most important issue to be learned from the campaign is the importance of education upon political subjects among the masses of the people."²¹

²¹ November 5, 1896.

The Technique of Attack

Parallelling the educational technique, an attack against those aspects of the social and economic structure and its institutions which were considered "evil" factors was undertaken by the reform newspapers. Although specific objectives and individuals were constantly berated, frequent and vitriolic outbursts were directed against such generalized topics as "monopolies", "trusts", "railroads", "invested capital", "bankers" and "corrupt politicians". Implied in the attacks was the assumption that the institutions of the society were not necessarily corrupt but rather that those who have gained control have done so for purposes of self-gain and not for the good of the whole of society. Thus trusts and corporations were not evil in themselves, and in this dual program of education and attack, the papers pointed out that farmers should take advantage of the inherently profitable features in cooperative corporations. The Wealth Makers pointed out, "...it is the line of economic progress and power. Why should not farming in all its branches be carried on by farm corporations, so economizing machinery, reducing all waste to the minimum, and by selecting the best managers

to plan and direct the labor, reduce farming and stock-raising to a perfect science that will benefit all?"²²

However, those individuals who took advantage of the corporate and trust forms for personal advantage were bitterly flayed in the columns of the reform press.

Andrew C. Cameron, editor of The Workingmen's Advocate, indicated his belief that this trend towards corporate control of industry and the natural resources of the country was a danger to democracy. Referring to the terrible conditions under which Ohio coal miners worked, he wrote,

What crushes them into such bondage, and wherein lies the remedy? Just this: they, in common with labor everywhere, although in a greater degree, suffer from an engrafted old-world aristocratic tyranny. They are the slaves of rich anti-republican corporations. In all directions, these corporations have usurped the authority, and perpetuated the tyrannies once confined to the despotisms of Europe.

... Great and essential reforms in the conditions of labor can only grow out of a new social order, which shall unite

²² Lincoln, Nebraska, August, 1895. This suggestion is similar in tone to the post-Civil War labor party attempts to organize cooperative industries. It indicates a belief in private property and the profit system and can be cited as proof that collectivistic political concepts were not prevalent in the agrarian movement. Compare this editorial to that by Cameron cited above.

labor with capital, and render labor forever independent of all outside classes and interests. To employ masses of men is really to govern them, to rob, starve or coerce them into unconditional submission. Labor must essentially be a serf of capital until it becomes its own capitalist and employer.²³

Joseph Buchanan also found the coal miners' situation intolerable and a danger to democratic institutions. "It is impossible for men who have been nursed at Liberty's breast on the milk of American Independence, and have been taught by our Fourth of July politicians that all men are equal in this free country, to peaceably submit to the oppressions of the tyrants who are controlling the industries of the land."²⁴

The railroad combines were a special target for virulence since their tremendous importance to the economic welfare of the farmers was recognized early in the

²³ May 2, 1874. Cameron's comments are typical of the labor attempts to organize cooperative industries for the benefit of the workers alone. It can be compared to the Wealth Maker's suggestion cited previously.

²⁴ Labor Enquirer (Denver), December 6, 1884. Buchanan, in contrast to Cameron, realized that labor did not have the necessary capital to own industry. He therefore advocated the government take over the exploitation of natural resources and the control of utilities. This trend towards government ownership becomes more apparent in the reform press as the problem of monopolies assumes greater importance.

reform campaign. To the editors and their readers, the complete corporate control of the railroads was a moral as well as an economic crime. For the railroad owners to manage and turn towards their own ends one of the basic necessities of agrarian life was more than exploitative - it was sinful and beyond the pale of the protection afforded private enterprises. Even Lester Hubbard, proponent of middle class individualism and anti-collectivist sentiments, desired government ownership of the railroads. Referring to the failure of the railroads to operate in the interest of the people during a winter crisis, he commented,

The horrors of the great blizzard keep crowding in on us. Of course the unforeseeability which cannot be guarded against enters largely into this widespread calamity. But much of the attendant suffering and misery might have been averted had it not been for the criminal greed and selfishness of the railway corporations.

... The Government must own the railroads in order to have the rights and interests of the people receive just consideration.

The rapacity of railway managers in the northwest has been without limit. They have done that which the most despotic government of Europe dare not do, viz: give to individuals an absolute monopoly in the necessities of life.

... On this Railway question the Farmer's Voice is radical. We believe that in a very short time there will be an almost universal demand that the general government shall own the railroads. The evils flowing out of corporate ownership of railroads have declared themselves in the past year with special emphasis. They are now seen of all men who have eyes to see, and the people will not endure them much longer.²⁵

Individual railroad operators also were the recipients of editorial criticism. The attacks contained the same moral overtones attached to the concept of private ownership and control of the railroads. The editors maintained that the owners of the railroads had violated their trust and thus private ownership had fallen into disrepute. An article in the Industrial Free Press (Winfield, Kansas) by J. H. Ritchie sarcastically comments,

We should be very thankful to Jay Gould for gobbling up all the railroads, for some of them might have gotten away. We are thankful that the few are getting all the wealth which enables them to build fine palaces for us to look at and admire, and enables them to ride over the prairies in magnificent palace cars, while we poor simpletons stand by the roadside and gape on them in wonder and amazement.²⁶

Generalized assaults upon the whole structure of monopoly and banking control re-appeared consistently

²⁵ Farmer's Voice (Chicago), January 28, 1888.

²⁶ January 9, 1891.

in the columns of the papers. When eager to charge upon the whole "evil combination", the prose used was frequently flowery and stylized, reflecting a moral distaste for the institutions involved. The Referendum (Mt. Pleasant, Iowa) questioned in 1893, "Cannot the grip of the World's Usurers, upon the throat of the World's Laborers, the limbs of Progress, the wings of Science and Thought and Freedom be broken? ... Is there some demon of the earth, some genii of the sea, or some fiend malign with subtle power to cloud the vision, to lull the ear, to confound the mind that men do not understand the signs of the times?"

And another editor in Nebraska inquired,

Why must some men labor without gain in order that others may gain without labor? It is robbery; it is slavery. But don't say anything against robbery when it is called property income, rent, interest and dividends, or speculation. It is robbery just the same, but it is respectable robbery. It is robbery that the law licenses.²⁷

The two chief targets of the reform press, aside from the mass assaults upon trusts, monopolies and railroads, were the political "pawns" of the corporations and the newspapers of the major parties. The courts, the

²⁷ The Wealth Makers (Lincoln), September 22, 1894.

politicians and the elected officials who catered to the wealthier interests, according to the views of the editors, were frequently below contempt. The abuse heaped upon officials displeasing the editors by their activities would, under present interpretations of libel laws, have placed the editors in jeopardy of imprisonment.

The Wealth Makers' Comment upon President Cleveland's message to Congress is an example of this bitterness.

Pres. Cleveland's principal recommendation to the country is that we retire the greenbacks, burn them, pay interest on bonds to borrow gold of the bankers to buy them, and then borrow bankers' notes at 10 per cent or more to replace them. Grover might better have remained a hangman, or been hung himself.²⁸

Even the mild Milton George of the Western Rural (Chicago) stated that the leaders of the major parties "are all inbecile in office and gratuitously grant the people nothing."²⁹

However, a front page story with a three column headline in the American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis) entitled

FIRE THE CORPSE

IN LIFE IT WAS NOT LOVED, IN DEATH IT'S NOT LOVELY

²⁸ December 7, 1895.

²⁹ November 18, 1893.

is by far the best example of a reform press attack upon legislators who have not acted "in the best interests of the people". The story, concerned with the Indiana state legislature, read,

The most infamous, the most venal, the laziest and the most worthless legislature in the state's history adjourned on Monday. It held on to the very last second allowed by law and clutched frantically at that six dollars a day as long as a cent was in sight. The gang of pap-suckers carried off many thousands of dollars pay besides everything else that was not chained down. The last day was spent by the "statesmen" in throwing books at each other, presumably with the desire to get knowledge on the outside of heads that had precious little within. ...³⁰

There are not many papers in this era with a circulation ranging over a hundred thousand that would express such violent opinions.

Relations With the Major Party Press

When one approaches the relations of the reform press with the conservative newspapers, the background of their disputes must be taken into consideration. The era of personal journalism was still at its height. No quarter was asked and none given in the free-swinging exchanges

³⁰ March 9, 1893.

between the two groups. The reform papers harbored several grievances against the city and large local papers. Chiefly controlled by men who sympathized with the corporations and railroads in their strides towards economic domination of the country, the large major party papers followed a policy in direct contradiction to the reform newspapers. "In those days, what an editor wrote was more important than how the news was handled. This meant that when laboring men went on strike they had two counts against them from the start. The editor swung the weight of his powerful pen against them, and the newspapers as a rule made little or no effort to get the side of the union before the public."³¹

This same policy was followed by the city papers in regard to the agrarian reform movements. Thus the reform press felt that their opinions were not given the fair treatment they felt they deserved and the reform papers made up for their lack of circulation and power by bitter attacks upon the major party papers. The editor of the Kansas Workman (Quenemo, Kansas), expressed their belief by commenting,

³¹ Louis Stark, "The Press and Labor News," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 219, January, 1942.

The Republican press is thoroughly unreliable. It lacks both honor and intelligence. It is an unsafe teacher. Its ideas of morals are exceedingly low. One day it abuses and the next it praises. One day it exposes fraud and corruption and the next it lionizes the guilty parties. Under its guidance this nation is rapidly approaching the end of nations.³²

Individual papers were also blasted for their lack of morality in news reporting. Joseph Buchanan had little love for the Milwaukee Sentinel when he penned the following lines.

Perhaps there is not a dirtier, more despicable sheet on our bumbug-loving continent than the Milwaukee Sentinel. As a newspaper, everyone knows what an utter failure it is, composed of Associated Press reports (and) garbled thefts from Chicago dailies of the day before....

As an instructor of the people and an exponent on prominent questions, the paper is more conspicuously a failure than ever. So vile and unpalatable is it that its Milwaukee patrons have to read the none-too-good Chicago dailies "to take the taste out of their mouths."

...It can heartily be recommended as the most untrustworthy sheet in the west.³³

Among the smaller major party papers and the reform newspapers the feuding reached a highly personal and vicious level and the papers were often filled with scurrilous comments that today seem humorous in their bitterness.

³² October 22, 1886.

³³ The Labor Enquirer (Chicago), January 28, 1888.

To these men the economic and political future appeared as a much more intimate and personal objective than it does to the press of our present society. When the Quenemo Republican (Kansas) ran an article denouncing Cyrus Corning, editor of the Union Labor party's Kansas Workman, also of Quenemo, as a socialist-anarchist and maintained that Corning had "been in training with Spies and Parsons just prior to the Haymarket riot,"³⁴ Corning retorted with a story headed "Brazen-Faced Liars" which stated,

No where in this state is there a more brazen-faced liar, a more contemptible slanderer, a more treacherous scoundrel than Asa Curl. Formerly he preached the gospel but latterly he has consorted with the base element and delighted to corrupt the morals of the community in which business he is now engaged. Just to show his monumental cheek, innate cussedness, the looseness of his make up, the total depravity of his nature, we reproduce an article he wrote and published in the barnyard sheet over the way, over his own signature and the signatures of two fools known as James Robinson and E. G. Louk. (Went on to call Curl a "drunkard", a "brawler" and a "disgrace".)³⁵

Another instance of this same bitter feuding can be cited in the difficulties between the Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas) and the Herald (Clyde, Kansas).

³⁴ October 29, 1886.

³⁵ Kansas Workman (Quenemo, Kansas), November 5, 1886.

to comments by the Republican editor of the Herald, the Greenback-Labor editor of the Critic retorted,

The fellow who runs the Clyde Herald never had the stamina to stand before us and argue a question fairly while we ran a paper in the same town as he but the moment we turn our back he strikes at us, like the coward that he is, but as usual his blow falls harmless because it is devoid of truth, in fact he can not tell the truth in anything he writes about us.

... But such attacks coming from the source they do can not hurt us, a man whose unpaid debts in this city savor up the air around us, can not injure anyone.

...unprincipled trickster, ...a knave and a coward, ...blackguard. Let us alone,³⁶ gentlemen; or be prepared for broken bones.

The chief complaints against the major party papers by the reform editors were that these papers covered up news that could be termed unfavorable for their political party,³⁷ that their policy was determined chiefly by "the counting houses",³⁸ that their news stories were

³⁶ September 20, 1882.

³⁷ The Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas) inquired on January 10, 1889, why no mention of the trial of a leading Republican attorney had been published in the Cherryvale, Kansas, papers. The attorney was charged with the rape of a young girl. "We have been looking in the Courier every evening since for announcements of a fund being started for Mr. Cole's benefit. ..."

³⁸ The New Crisis (Pueblo, Colorado), August, 1892.

frequently untruthful and incomplete, and that they refused to give adequate coverage to labor and farm reform group meetings and speeches. While the same charge of hiding unfavorable news could be levied against the reform press, few of the reform editors were guided by financial considerations in their editorial policy.

The Non-Conformist Anarchist Scare

The most exciting instance of the local feuding and a case which received the most publicity, not only in Kansas but all over the country, was the dispute between the American Non-Conformist and the Winfield Daily Courier, a Republican paper, in 1888. The Union Labor slate of candidates in Kansas had been receiving an unusual amount of interest from nominally Republican sections of Cowley County, the site of the two feuding papers, during the pre-election campaign. The fear that the Union Labor ticket might carry the country induced a number of Republican county and state officers to charge that the Non-Conformist, the Union Labor organ, was anarchistically-controlled. The Courier opened the attack upon the Non-Conformist with a story headlined,

ANARCHISM
 THE HENIOUS AND TERRIBLE "MONSTER OF ANARCHY"
 REARS ITS HYDRA HEAD WITH
 WINFIELD AS HEADQUARTERS!!

The story maintained that,

For over a year it has been known to a few that this city was the headquarters of a band of men calling themselves "Industrial Liberators", whose real principles were the rankest anarchism. The Courier at that time called attention to these anarchistic tendencies of these parties and their newspaper, the American Non-Conformist, and the paper gradually cooled off....³⁹

It further charged that the Non-Conformist was printing secret material for anarchist groups throughout the country. The next day, the Vincent brothers, editors of the Non-Conformist, stung by the charge, retorted through the columns of their paper,

"ANARCHISM" -- BOW WOW!!

Such was the heading to a full page of inflammable bug-a-boo that appeared in the Courier of this city last evening.

After devoting half a column to the most heart-rending headlines, followed by two columns of double-leaded rantings of an inflamed and disgruntled as well as a diseased mind...⁴⁰

They explained that the secret documents were actually being printed for a group in the G. A. R., the "Videttes",

³⁹ October 4, 1888.

⁴⁰ October 5, 1888.

and in turn charged that the Courier was "disgruntled" because the Non-Conformist was "doing so much more business than the Courier". However, never leaving a discussion on a defensive note, the Non-Conformist continued,

Talk about "anarchists"! Men who can't step from the cars in a neighboring city but their first break is to revel in the bawdy houses of vice, then come back to write Sunday School and anarchist editorials in the interest of virtue and sacredness of the home!

If the Republican party of Cowley County can survive the bossism of that class of scabby half-born ulcers, certainly the Union Labor party can overlook these little sputtering explosions, knowing that the explosion most feared by the Courier is that which surely awaits the G.O.P. on November 6th.⁴¹

The Vincents commented further the next week. "We pricked this flimsy bubble last week and today there is not a sicker set of villains out of the pen than the Republican central committee and some of its candidates."⁴²

The Republican group and the editor of the Courier, unabashed by the failure of their attempt and still fearing the Union Labor candidates, evolved another scheme to destroy the influence of the Non-Conformist and discredit the Union Labor ticket in the forthcoming

⁴¹ October 5, 1888.

⁴² The American Non-Conformist (Winfield, Kansas), October 11, 1888.

election. The evidence pertaining to this incident, which was known as "the Coffeyville bombing," was investigated by a committee named from the Kansas state legislature in 1890. The findings were printed in many newspapers as well as in the legislative record of the proceedings.⁴³

About October 23, 1888, a box was prepared for shipment from Coffeyville, Kansas, by an unidentified person. The box, addressed to Winfield, Kansas, was given to the Pacific Express agent in Coffeyville, a Henry Upham, who took it to his home since the train depot was closer to his home than the agency office and the box was to be shipped out on an early morning train. However, during the night the box, supposedly filled with dynamite, exploded and badly injured Upham's wife and daughter. The day of the explosion, the same day in which the box was to have reached Winfield, the Winfield Courier published a fourteen column article attempting to prove that the Union Labor party was anarchistic and ready to use bombs to win the election. The story cited the Coffeyville explosion as an example of the party's intentions. In the newspaper story was a facsimile of a letter purporting to

⁴³ This discussion of the bombing is taken from the minutes of the legislative committee's investigation. The records are in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

show this Union Labor plan. The next day, the same letter was printed in the columns of the Kansas City Journal, the Topeka Commonwealth, the Topeka Capital, and the Atchison Champion. There were no means for sending facsimile by wire at that time so obviously the material had been prepared prior to the time of the explosion.⁴⁴ Most of the Republican papers in the state immediately charged the Non-Conformist with an attempt to bomb the Courier printing plant and in this manner destroy the Union Labor opposition in Cowley County. Henry Vincent proved to the investigators of the legislative committee, however, that the chief of police in Winfield had known about the bomb plot and that another box of dynamite had been prepared which was to be secreted in the Non-Conformist office. It was to be discovered there and used as another proof of the violent intentions of the Union Labor group. Further proof was also offered the committee to indicate that the editor of

⁴⁴ The Weekly Telegram (Winfield), a paper with Democratic affiliations, was highly suspicious when the facsimile letter coincidence was uncovered. It pointed out,

"This circumstance also shows evidence of a scheme which includes others besides Winfield parties in the pretended exposure of anarchy in the Union Labor party. It is evident that the Republican state central committee has taken a hand in the expose business for the purpose of calumnizing the Union Labor people and by so doing induce the more fair-minded among them to desert the new party and return again to the Republican party."

November 1, 1888.

the Courier had taken out special insurance, just two days before the bomb blast occurred, to cover any unforeseen explosions in his own plant.

The adverse publicity given the event by the predominatingly Republican press in Kansas wrecked the chances of the Union Labor ticket in the 1888 election. However, the publicity given the investigation of the bombing by the legislature aided in the defeat of the Republicans in the nineties in Kansas as well as increasing the circulation of the Non-Conformist to 18,000 copies a week.

Using this increased circulation, the paper continued the standard policy of the reform press, to educate and to attack. Through the process of gradual education, the editors hoped to enlighten the voters and to clarify the issues which concerned the political and economic welfare of the farmers and laborers. Through the policy of attack, the reform editors expected to whittle down the influence of the "monopolists," check the "abuses" of the legislative bodies and the judiciary and finally, to curtail the "lying" of the major party press.

Chapter VI

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE REFORM PRESS

The objectives of the reform press were as diverse as were the motivations of its editors. Though the techniques for gaining their ends were, as previously related, limited primarily to the education of the people into an understanding of the problems of society and to an attack upon the individuals and institutions that impeded their concept of progress, the concrete suggestions for reform varied from editor to editor and from group to group. Even if one were to examine the platforms of the labor unions, the farmer organizations, the third parties and radical groups of the three decades, 1870 to 1900, only a partial picture of the reform editors' demands would be obtained. For the only basic conception that can be grasped from the number of goals sought by the editors is the sole fact that these editors were individualists, unshackled on the whole by party ties, and willing to revise their beliefs to fit the changing times. Very few retained any doctrinaire assumptions with unvarying faithfulness through these years.

The problem of examining these objectives in any sort of order and determining if a pattern of thought

exists becomes very difficult under these conditions. It is virtually impossible to divide the editors on the basis of their political party connections, nor is it feasible to conjecture whether the editors retained either an agrarian or an urban bias, a farmer or a labor slant, or even whether they were impartial in their desires for the reform of all evils.

A partial understanding of the objectives of the editors can be obtained through a careful examination of the aims of each man. By dividing their proposals into large generalized classifications, all the ideas can be analyzed in their relation to the broad trend of reform suggestions during the period. Since to a great extent the propositions for reforms varied constantly, the objectives would also have to be listed chronologically, thus enabling one to recognize the changes in program as the years progressed. For the purposes of this chapter, no attention will be given to the additional and highly significant factor of conflict between various proposals offered by the editors. The next chapter will demonstrate that one of the basic flaws of the reform press was the constant dispute between themselves over their objectives which, while recognized and condemned

by the editors, led to the downfall of the whole reform press movement.

For the purpose of analysis, therefore, the various suggestions of the editors have been divided into a number of categories under the titles: currency reform; the working conditions of labor; the ownership of land; the control of property clothed with "public interest"; monopolies and trusts; changes in election procedure towards greater democracy; changes in the structure and functions of government; and changes in the beliefs of society. Though the material discussed under these headings by no means covers all the reforms proposed by the editors, it is representative enough of their ideas to offer adequate evidence that the newspapers were not limited to the planks of any specific political parties but rather were extremely fertile with measures whose purpose was to change the social, economic and political structure of their time.¹

¹ Chester McA. Destler in "Western Radicalism, 1865-1901," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXV, December, 1944, pp. 335-368, indicates that while the program seems "like a 'crazy-quilt' of unrelated and 'crackpot' proposals," certain elements predominate in the whole western radical program. These include antimonopolism; economic collectivism not of socialistic derivation; "direct democracy," that is, corrective measures to rejuvenate "the feebly functioning system of representative government..."

Currency Reforms

One of the basic problems of the period, in the eyes of the reform groups and the editors, was the lack of adequate quantities of a common medium of exchange. To this lack of currency was attributed a great many of the economic difficulties of the society, including the low prices of farm products, the poor wages given laborers, the increasing rates of interest on farm mortgages and the reputed power of foreign capital over the American financial structure. Editors concerned with the poverty of the farmers consistently urged many schemes to increase the amounts of paper money in circulation and blamed the agrarian depression upon those who limited the issuance of further currency. "It is plain to be seen that we are in the clutch of the money power of Europe, and of this country, and that the enslavement

with the larger objective of subjecting corporate capitalism to the control of the democratic state"; and the "labor-cost theory of value", the concept that capital was a product of labor and "deserved little or no reward". Though most of the reform editors subscribed to these notions, their own suggestions often spread beyond the limits of the minor party resolutions and embraced doctrines not considered by the majority of the radical or reform parties.

is being made the more complete by traitors to the best interests of the masses of the people."²

The leaders of labor also maintained that both farmers and laborers were "oppressed" and underpaid "because the medium of exchange is lacking; because labor is too cheap and plenty, and money too dear and scarce."³ To solve this problem, many solutions were offered by the editors. Several based their reasoning upon the writings of Edward Kellogg, a pre-Civil War economist. Kellogg, in his book, Labor and Other Capital, suggested that the amount of currency in circulation be increased through the issue of "an inter-convertible bond" by a federally-controlled national bank. These bonds would be issued on real estate security at a one per cent interest rate and would be acceptable as legal tender for all transactions. Thus farmers and businessmen would be able to obtain liquid funds easily and the supply of money would always be adequate to the needs of the nation.⁴

² Western Rural (Chicago), November 11, 1893.

³ T. V. Powderly, "The Army of the Discontented", North American Review, vol. CXL, April, 1885.

⁴ Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Viking Press, New York, 1946, vol. II, p. 680.

The notion of a plentiful currency at a minimum interest rate was very appealing and innumerable variations upon Kellogg's original suggestion were promoted. James Buchanan, editor of The Sun (Indianapolis), thought one per cent interest was too low and advocated "The Plan," a method whereby greenbacks would be loaned to individuals at a three per cent rate by the national government through the use of state and county offices.⁵ The Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas) also desired "Direct loans to the people on real estate security at not more than three per cent per annum."⁶

A few years later, Lester Hubbard of the Farmer's Voice (Chicago) suggested a two per cent interest rate on loans directly to the people.

Our present money system is rankly and flagrantly unjust, and on that ground alone we demand righteous changes in it.

Sweep away all National Banks and favored Depositories, and let the Government issue its money direct to the people on land security at one or two per cent interest, and our country will enter an era of unexampled prosperity.⁷

⁵ Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; also News (Indianapolis), January 6, 1894.

⁶ February 3, 1886.

⁷ February 2, 1889.

He reiterated this suggestion constantly, pointing out that only through adequate per capita circulation of currency could the prosperity of the country be maintained.

The salvage of the American farmer is bound up in cheap Government money, fifty dollars per capita of government money in circulation, government money to be loaned on land at two per cent per annum, so as to kill off the wolfish Shylocks of home and foreign breed who are now eating the farmers up alive.⁸

The most famous of the proposals for loans to farmers at a minimum interest rate was the sub-treasury plan advocated by the Southern Alliance in 1889. This received wide-spread approval by mid-western editors for several years. The Alliance demanded that the government issue paper currency through a number of sub-treasuries on the basis of either real estate or farm crops such as cotton, corn and the other staples for an amount up to eighty per cent of their market value to farmers at an interest rate of one per cent. This would offer the farmers the benefit of an elastic exchange and would not depress farm prices during the harvest season.⁹ The

⁸ May 17, 1890.

⁹ Dorfman, The Economic Mind, vol. III, p. 122.

National Economist (Washington, D. C.), a widely read Alliance paper, explained the background and intent of the sub-treasury plan in June, 1890.

As population and business increase, the currency becomes more contracted, and the demand for an increase becomes more imperative. It was because of such conditions, and for the purpose of furnishing the producer with a cheap and sufficient medium of exchange, that the sub-Treasury plan was prepared. Men who were competent gave the proposition their best thought and careful examination. In doing so, they discovered at once that, if the farmer bought money of the government, it must be through the agency of large contractors, which made it too expensive; or if it was loaned from the government, it must be done through the banks, which also rendered it too dear to use. To obviate this difficulty and relieve labor in production of its heaviest burden, the principles of a cheap, flexible volume of currency were evolved and clothed with the details of the sub-treasury system.¹⁰

Tied in with the demand for cheap interest rates on loans was the parallel demand that the government take over the issuing of currency and that private printing of money by national banks cease. Among those editors whose economic training had not enabled them to grasp the intricacies of interest rates and the contractual tendencies of the currency during the harvest season, the simple concept that private bankers had the privilege of printing

¹⁰ June 14, 1890.

money "whenever they pleased" became a tender issue. The Kirwin Independent (Kansas) proposed that the legal tender be limited to "government currency. No bank notes to serve as money. Those who earn should have. Those who do not earn, should not have."¹¹ Another Kansas paper demanded "the issue of full legal tender money (Treasury notes) by the government alone."¹² And the People's Rights (Nashua, Iowa), eschewing all profound knowledge of financial affairs, merely questioned, "...We are Greenbackers; moderate, honest and earnest Greenbackers. Could the Union have been saved without the Greenback dollars?"¹³ The whole of the Greenback press, of course, demanded the issuance by the government of currency that could be considered "full legal tender and of a value equal to that we had at the close of the war...."¹⁴ Few other original suggestions concerning the Greenback dollar were offered by the editors.

¹¹ January 7, 1886.

¹² Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas), February 3, 1886.

¹³ July 4, 1878.

¹⁴ Letter to L. H. Weller from Paul J. Dixon, editor of the Weekly Crisis (Chillicothe, Missouri), October 2, 1885, in Weller Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

The greatest furore, on a financial level, was created in the reform press over the "free silver" question. To many, the conception that the problems of the farmer were caused by anything else than the manipulation of the currency by "gamblers and money-sharks" was unthinkable. "The talk about sound money or cheap money is all bosh. There never was a depreciated dollar unless it was by stealth depreciated in the interests of gamblers and money sharks. ... This sound money talk is only got up to fool the people."¹⁵ But in the minds of the majority of the editors, the advisability of free silver was the paramount question for almost eight years. Though the ideas of bimetallism were acceptable to most of them as a partial panacea for the problem of farm and labor depression, at the same time they decried the fact that too many people were flocking to the free silver cause since it was portrayed as a "cure-all", a solution to all the economic ills of the nation. Those Populists who were office seekers felt that the issue of free silver would sweep the People's Party into power, and were therefore persuaded that all the other planks of the

¹⁵ Industrial News (Jackson, Michigan), April 10, 1896.

Omaha platform be dropped in favor of a one plank platform. These men were flanked by a few editors who recognized that "free silver as a fundamental remedy for economic ills is useless; as a scarecrow to the ignorant rich it may serve a good purpose."¹⁶ But the largest percentage of the editors were against free silver as a major issue because it would tend to overshadow those other reforms considered more important and of permanent value. Since there was a large field of disagreement concerning free silver in the reform press, the arguments will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter. However, it should be stressed that a group of reform editors did consider free silver as one of their major goals. Ignatius Donnelly, editor of The Representative (St. Paul), advocated bi-metallism late in 1893 but did fervently fight for the Omaha platform when it was endangered.¹⁷ Milton George, editor of the Western Rural (Chicago), had endorsed the issue of free silver even earlier.¹⁸ As the time for the Populist convention of 1896 approached, the dispute became more bitter. With the culmination of the

¹⁶ National Single Taxer (Minneapolis), July 11, 1896.

¹⁷ December 13, 1893.

¹⁸ April 30, 1892.

1896 campaign, the financial issue of free silver had split the reform editors into two groups, the fusionists and the "middle of the road Populists," and the downfall of the movement was assured.

The Working Conditions of Labor

Though the reform papers whose editorials were aimed towards the agrarian population were little concerned with the problems of the city workers, there were frequent expressions of cooperation between the farm reform and the labor reform journals. Thus much attention was focussed upon the difficulties the laborers were undergoing in their battles against the same monopolies and corporations that were levying economic tribute upon the farmers. To the end that both groups had a common enemy, both groups fought as allies. When an issue did not affect the farmers, there was little attention given it in the agrarian press. The question of the working hours of labor was of this nature. As early as 1864, Andrew C. Cameron of the Workingman's Advocate (Chicago), had proposed the eight hour day.¹⁹ Earlier attempts had been made to institute

¹⁹ Workingman's Advocate (Chicago), May 27, 1871. Cameron had been a member of the staff under editors James Hayde and John Blake, who had founded the Advocate in 1864 as the voice of Chicago and Cincinnati labor.

this labor innovation but Cameron's efforts in the National Labor Union and the Grand Eight Hour League were one of the first organized attempts to force this shortened work day into practice. Following Cameron, many other editors took up the cry for the eight hour day and it became one of the major aims of the labor reform press in the 1880's and 1890's.²⁰

Cameron also voiced the proposal that laboring men should organize cooperative factories in which they would receive all the profits of their labor. The conception that labor, by providing the capital, would reap greater rewards reflected the earlier optimistic beliefs that all men had the right to wealth and that democratic equalitarianism should extend along the economic level.²¹

Other issues that were recognized to be specifically urban in character and not in the jurisdiction of the farm newspapers were such reform press objectives as the abolishment of the prison contract system, the modification of the criminal conspiracy laws which directly

²⁰ The Labor Review (Detroit), edited by Jo Labadie, proposed the eight hour day in 1880. Other mentions of this goal are found in the Knights of Labor (Chicago), The Union (Indianapolis), Railway Times (Terre Haute), while the Eight Hour Herald (Chicago) was almost completely devoted to the issue.

²¹ Workingman's Advocate (Chicago), May 27, 1871.

attacked the organizing strength of labor unions, the adjustment of the mechanic's lien laws, the establishment of a federal department of labor, regulations concerning the sanitary inspections of workshops and mines, state laws concerning employer liability for accidents to workers and the abolition of sweatshops.²² The complete abolishment of child labor was both a moral as well as an economic necessity in the eyes of the reform editors. The Knights of Labor (Chicago) reflected this point of view in 1886.

Would that the ministers of Chicago would get less material for sermons out of dusty books, and more out of dusty factories, musty tenement houses and lusty dives. When Jesus said, "Suffer little children to come unto me", He did not have a shirt or cloak factory, nor a planing mill that He wanted to put them into at forty cents a day.²³

Another objective dealing essentially with urban labor that became endowed with a moral virtue was expressed in The Vanguard (Chicago) during the Homestead strike of 1892. The Vanguard, which was a paper directed primarily

²² Reform papers particularly concerned with these goals included the Knights of Labor, Labor Enquirer, Rights of Labor, Labor, Workingman's Advocate, all of Chicago; Advance and Labor Leaf (Detroit), Railway Times (Terre Haute, Indiana), Kansas Workman (Quenemo), National Workman (Topeka), Miner's Independent (Massillon, Ohio).

²³ September 25, 1886.

towards the farm groups, nonetheless came to the aid of the strikers and pointed out that laboring men establish inalienable rights to their positions by holding their jobs for a number of years. The paper maintained that industry did not have the right to discharge men from work on arbitrary grounds and used moral arguments to sustain its reasoning.

The primary purpose of the workingmen of Carnegie's vast iron plant, and for which they bravely fought and heroically died, is this: that the toiler who had bought a plot of ground, built a home, married a wife and is rearing a family near a great factory where he had worked for years, had gained thereby certain inalienable rights which capital must respect; that the autocratic millionaire owner, moved by selfish greed, shall not arbitrarily discharge this man and reduce his family to beggary; that the honest toil of this worker has given him a valid claim to a means of subsistence through toil; that he has a moral mortgage on the mighty factory which his labor has helped build up, and that it will furnish him a living through the toil of his hands so long as he does his task and behaves himself as a decent man; and that if questions come up between the laborer and the capitalist as to wages or treatment, then that shall be settled by fair arbitration.²⁴

Though The Vanguard considered arbitration a fair means for composing disputes, labor reform editors were forced to adopt a median approach towards this goal. They were limited in their desire to fully endorse

²⁴ July 16, 1892.

arbitration by the fact that the largest group of labor unions, the American Federation of Labor, opposed compulsory arbitration. However the Eight Hour Herald (Chicago) got around labor's objections by again formulating its aims in terms that designated arbitration as a moral good.

We are well aware that the idea of compulsory arbitration is repugnant to the great mass of the workingmen of this country. The proposition seems to carry with it a suggestion of a restriction or invasion of liberty which would be a greater evil than the one for which a remedy is sought. On the other hand it must be admitted that there is little sense or utility in a law providing for voluntary arbitration which does not arbitrate. ...if a citizen, or a number of citizens have a grievance, the state should be in a position to see that justice is done all parties concerned, and this no matter whether the grievance relates to property interests or industrial disputes. Not an unreasonable proposition, to our way of thinking.²⁵

While the entire reform press was concerned with the general atmosphere in which the laboring men of the country worked, only certain newspapers with an urban circulation were interested in the definite objectives that would tend to aid the laborers as a special interest group. This attitude of indifference was heightened by the growing recognition of the editors of the labor reform papers that a split was developing between the agrarian and urban

²⁵ Eight Hour Herald (Chicago), June 20, 1896.

papers. It was based on the realization that the farmers were much more interested in reforms that would benefit them in their roles as small business men than they were in a scheme to reform all of society.

The Ownership of Land

The objectives of the reform press in regard to the holding and ownership of land were simple. Yet the issue concerning the restriction of land ownership to individuals rather than corporations and the issue of the limitation upon the amount of land that could legally be held by any one individual was discussed in the columns of every reform paper, both rural and urban. Several basic grievances caused the unanimity of opinion upon the topic. Both the farmers and the laborers were provoked by the fact that all the railroads received huge tracts of valuable land in the form of land grants. They were also irritated by the knowledge that foreign investors controlled many acres of good farm and range land and were holding both these and valuable city properties for solely speculative purposes. "There is enough land in the large cities held out of use by speculators to put every idle man to work improving it. Tax land values, and see how quickly these dogs-in-the-mangers will let go or put up

fine buildings."²⁶

The demand for free homestead lands, originally suggested by George Henry Evans, editor of The Man and The Workingman's Advocate (New York) in the 1840's,²⁷ was taken up by many of the reform editors after the Civil War. The belief that land should be distributed on an equalitarian basis was easily assimilated into the thoughts of men who advocated a democratic economic equality. The editors recognized that the Homestead Act was a valid attempt to carry out an equitable distribution of land, but objected to the government's requirement of cash for purchase of the land. They wanted land in the public domain to be distributed free to settlers only and wanted a prohibition against further grants to railroads and corporations. A. C. Cameron expressed this belief in 1871, "Limit distribution of land to 160 acres per family, none to corporations."²⁸

Lois Waisbrooker, editor of Foundation Principles (Clinton, Iowa), pointed out that "no man or set of men has the moral right to hold land not in actual use

²⁶ Journal of the Knights of Labor, June 17, 1894.

²⁷ Dorfman, The Economic Mind, vol. II, p. 684.

²⁸ The Workingman's Advocate (Chicago), May 27, 1871.

from those who need it, and that rent taken from the use of such land is robbery and illegal when measured by the law of natural justice."²⁹ Even the Knights of Labor, a wholly urban paper, demanded that "alien landlordism be abolished" and that "a restriction be placed on landholding by individuals."³⁰ These measures were absolutely necessary, other papers stormed, because the farmers "are being crushed down into hopeless poverty with greater rapidity than any other class of toilers in the United States."³¹ It can be assumed therefore that the unanimous objectives of free homesteads and the restrictions upon land ownership were a strong bond between all the groups in the reform press movement.

The Control of Property Clothed with "Public Interest"³²

Another goal of the editors upon which virtually unanimous approval was expressed by the agrarian, the urban, and even those newspapers whose ideas were conditioned

²⁹ January 2, 1885.

³⁰ September 11, 1886.

³¹ The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), May 17, 1890.

³² This phrase is based upon the wording of the Supreme Court decisions in the case of Munn versus Illinois as well as the other Granger cases.

by a belief in the importance of the middle classes, was the demand for government control or ownership of the means of transportation, communication, and those industries in which the public shared an interest. Grievances against "the gouging tactics" of the railroads, the telephone and telegraph companies, grain elevator operators and other monopolistic utilities aroused a consistent furor in the reform press. Suggestions for reform originated from both Marxian and native socialist doctrines as well as "the common sense" of the journalists. Prior to the Civil War, spasmodic efforts had been made to compel government control of the railroads but these efforts were poorly organized and lacked public support since the abuses were not yet foreseen. With the growth of the Granger movement after 1869, the cry for government control increased immeasurably. The Munn versus Illinois decision of the Supreme Court was greeted with many editorial shouts of satisfaction and gave a great impetus towards the final goal desired by many of the editors, government ownership of all corporations in which the public shared an interest.

Though government ownership theories may have in most part originated from European sources, the American reformers usually had little knowledge of the background for their demand. Most reform editors used the comparison

of the post offices in their home towns to indicate the feasibility and practicability of the project. The Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas) advocated "The ownership or control by the government of all railroads, telegraphs and other means of transportation and communication to the end that they may serve the people at cost as the Post Office system now does."³³ While Socialist Labor papers such as the Labor Review (Detroit) and The Socialist (Cincinnati) suggested government ownership of these industries on doctrinaire grounds, other papers indicated that government ownership would make costs cheaper and that "This change will benefit the people to an extent that will at once delight and amaze them."³⁴

Though the entire reform press sought some measure of control or ownership by the government, the groups can be divided on the basis of their motives in seeking this aim. They can be categorized as the agrarian radicals, the urban laborers, the doctrinaire Marxists, and the Bellamy nationalists.

As Benton H. Wilcox demonstrated, many of the farmer radicals were "ordinary business men, slightly

³³ February 3, 1886.

³⁴ Farmer's Voice (Chicago), December 31, 1887.

over-individualistic perhaps, seeking to correct injustices in the marketing and credit system, trying to cut down fixed charges which threatened to devour their margin of profit, and endeavouring to build up the wealth of the community."³⁵ This was the group represented by such newspapers as the Kirwin Independent (Kansas) which called for "government ownership and control of the railroads,"³⁶ and the Western Rural (Chicago) which urged "Nationalization of the means of transportation and communication."³⁷ The Representative (St. Paul) voiced the sentiments of this group as well, seeking "state-run grain elevators"³⁸ while the American Non-Conformist was most vociferous on the same aspect of the railroad problem,

That government ownership of railroads is the way out is being made plainer every day. The gigantic consolidation of many lines under one management, which has been a marked feature of the last decade, shows a tendency which can only end in one general head for all. Huntington, in an interview some time ago, said the railroads would be better off with only one president. The general public agrees with this but disagrees as to the name of the president.

³⁵ Benton H. Wilcox, "An Historical Definition of Northwestern Radicalism," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXVI, pp.377-394, December, 1939.

³⁶ January 7, 1886.

³⁷ April 30, 1892.

³⁸ July 21, 1894.

If you call him Vanderbilt or Gould or Huntington or Roberts, No! If you say Uncle Sam, all will exclaim, yes.³⁹

The second group, consisting primarily of urban laborers who sought government ownership in the belief that the profits from these enterprises would be returned to them in the form of better wages and working conditions, was represented by the Knights of Labor (Chicago), the Railway Times (Terre Haute, Indiana), and other urban papers. These also demanded that "the railroads, telegraph and telephone companies (be placed) in the hands of the government"⁴⁰ as well as advocating "the municipal ownership of street cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat and power."⁴¹ The third group, already examined, would include the Socialist Labor party and other socialist organizations based on Marxian and pre-Marxian European economic doctrines.

The final category of individuals backing the concept of government ownership, though basing their ideas on an American re-evaluation of the French agrarian socialists, disavowed the term "socialist" and maintained

³⁹ July 21, 1894.

⁴⁰ Knights of Labor (Chicago), September 11, 1886.

⁴¹ Eight Hour Herald (Chicago), May 10, 1894.

they were "Bellamy nationalists." Many editors of the reform press were delighted with Edward Bellamy's novel, Looking Backward, and espoused his theories in their columns. Julius Wayland's first newspaper, The Coming Nation (Greensburg, Tennessee), subscribed to a policy which was "For a government of, by and for the People as outlined in Bellamy's Looking Backward abolishing the possibility of poverty."⁴² The New Nation (Boston) which Bellamy edited had a large circulation in the west and took particular note of the activities of the People's Party in reference to the goals of government ownership.

There is a good deal of nationalism in the St. Louis platform, but there does not seem to be enough to suit the Westerners.... We have printed the proceedings of conventions...which have demanded nationalization or State control of the coal supply...and operation of all public utilities including lighting, waterworks and transit systems. There is indeed, something almost enough to take one's breath away in the rapidity with which the plan of a nationalized industrial system, which only a year or two ago was ridiculed as the Utopian dream of a few visionaries, is taking hold of the masses of the people.⁴³

Upon examination of all the aims expressed by the different groups within the ranks of the reform press

⁴² The Coming Nation, October 21, 1893.

⁴³ June 11, 1892.

movement, it appears that the issue of government control and ownership of utilities, transportation and communication met with the widest support of all the proposals under discussion among the editors.

Monopolies and Trusts

The problem of monopolies and trusts was a difficult one for the reform editors to face objectively and search for a solution. The bitter hatred expressed towards the "captains" of industry and the financiers was characteristic of every group in the movement. The editors recognized the techniques and the operation of the trusts and monopolies but they could find no cure for their alleged abuses. Filled with anger, the usual recourse was to attack the trust involved.

A sewing machine trust is the latest. Competition was cutting down the profits of the manufacturers and so they combined. Laboring men are not as wise as the serpents who manage the capitalistic institutions.⁴⁴

The editors were fully cognizant of the entire trust structure and were further enlightened upon its intricacies by such well-documented and authoritative books as

⁴⁴ The Star and Kansan (Independence, Kansas), January 3, 1896. H.W. Young, the editor of the Star and Kansan, devoted many pages and even full issues to the problem.

Henry Demarest Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth.⁴⁵

Using this knowledge, the editors attacked the trust system, demanding complete reform of the "evil institution." Mixed with the vituperative blasts were expressions of despair, reflecting the belief that it was impossible to destroy the huge corporations through legal and democratic means.

The Republic is a delusion, freedom is a dream and the song of liberty is a funeral dirge. A king is already enthroned. The last hope of the poor is being squeezed out. Autocrats rule, rob and revel. Labor is hampered, hungry and haggard. All the bullets, bayonets and bludgeons of the country are centralized around stolen dollars. Ill-gotten wealth is regarded as the hallowed shrine of a nation's glory. Labor travails in tears and destitution. Right is no longer might. Corporations and the money power boast of their willingness to spend millions to destroy labor organizations, but not a dollar for increase of wages or living prices. Sixty million voices demand justice for over-worked and underpaid labor, but the black-hearted corporations spurn the collected will of the masses with a fiendishness that would seem to discount the envy of infernal demons.⁴⁶

During the Pullman strike, the provoked editor of the Journal of the Knights of Labor suggested violent

⁴⁵ The files of the Henry Demarest Lloyd collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society are filled with letters from reform editors who have either written Lloyd to ask for a copy of his book or to thank him for the documentation they found and used in his book.

⁴⁶ Journal of the Knights of Labor, February 23, 1895.

military action.

Heretofore the advice to workingmen has been to keep out of the militia. It should be changed. Every workingman should join the militia, thus getting the arms and discipline necessary to defend the country and the people from the anarchistic railroad managers, their trust attorneys, and the murderous deputies and Pinkertons whom they employ.⁴⁷

But on the whole, the reform editors did not suggest this policy since it was recognized that violence bred violence. Rather the editors proposed reforms that could be achieved through education instead of revolution. Beyond this generality, the only other course left was the endorsement of such half-hearted measures, to them, as the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The only groups that did offer specific proposals that would ameliorate the problems of the trusts were those groups advocating either socialism or Bellamy nationalism. Their ideas partially permeated the vacuum in the policies of other organizations to the extent that the Eight Hour Herald (Chicago) demanded "the collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution"⁴⁸ but support for the measure was not enthusiastic. The nationalists, using the naturalistic

⁴⁷ July 22, 1894.

⁴⁸ May 10, 1894.

parallel of evolution and business competition, maintained that they could replace the spirit of competition with moral values closely akin to the Christian virtues. Thus they believed trusts would soon become discarded institutions.

We find that the conditions of success under the competitive system are such ... (that) the fittest to survive are precisely the least desirable types of the species affected. We nationalists believe we can do better; that it is possible to substitute for the present debasing system of competition, one of generous emulation, in which the fittest shall be the noblest, the leaders the best, and he that is greatest the servant of all.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the socialists advocated the continued building up of the trust structure since this procedure was part of the evolutionary process of capitalism. After capitalism had been fully developed by the capitalist society, the final stage would be reached in which the government would take over the completed structure for the benefit of the whole people.

The railroads are now taking the last step toward socialism, and are making a grand railroad trust in the interest of a few great capitalists and the detriment of the people. When they shall have convinced the public that the system can be

⁴⁹ June 20, 1893.

run successfully under one management, the people will step in and assume control and proprietorship....⁵⁰

The capitalist then would be an outmoded creature and would soon die out as a species.

The answer of socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him just as society now does without the slave-owner or the feudal lord, both of which were formerly regarded as necessary for the well-being and even the very existence of society.⁵¹

For the purposes of this study, the conclusion can be drawn that the problem of trusts and monopolies, while often considered by the reform editors, was never fully solved to the satisfaction of any large percentage of them.

Changes in Election Procedure towards Greater Democracy

Despite the fact that few of the political reform party platforms concerned themselves with the various types of election procedure proposals devised to facilitate more democratic elections, the editors were

⁵⁰ Western Watchman, quoted in Non-Conformist, January 17, 1889.

⁵¹ Progress (Sandusky, Ohio), May 10, 1895.

prolific with suggestions.⁵² One of the earliest objectives of the reform editors was women suffrage. The most ardent group in favor of this innovation were the socialists of native American extraction who undoubtedly felt the early work of Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennie C. Claflin, editors of Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly (New York) earned both them and the rest of the feminine population the right to vote. Both Jo Labadie and Judson Grenell, editors of the Social Labor Bulletin and the Labor Review (Detroit), urged the adoption of women suffrage for over twenty years. Following the native American socialists, a number of agrarian reform newspapers took up the crusade for suffrage. The Cloud County Critic wanted "equal suffrage for all without regard to sex" as did the Western Rural. The arguments offered for the extension of suffrage by those groups outside the socialist field were that women were a moral influence for good and would make the work of reform much

⁵² The Greenback Labor Party sought women's suffrage in 1880. The National Farmer's Alliance meeting in Ocala, Florida in 1890 demanded only the direct election of senators. The 1892 Populist platform mentioned the Australian ballot, the initiative and the referendum. Henry S. Commager, Documents of American History, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1948; also Kirk H. Porter, National Party Platforms, MacMillan, New York, 1924.

easier. This belief was stressed in both the rural and urban reform papers.

The National Women's Suffrage Association was in convention recently in Washington, and their reports of progress in the work was good. God speed them in their work. Woman was never given an opportunity to do good that she did not embrace it, and if she once gets the right to vote, the work of reform will be much easier.⁵³

The Populist press, even in the far west where the important issue remained free silver, pointed out that women would be an invaluable aid in reforming society if given the vote.

Perhaps the argument of greatest force for arming women with the ballot is that it would open the way for utilizing the most potent moral element of society in our political affairs. ... It is especially demonstrated by the attitude of those organic bodies of women who have devoted themselves to the material and moral improvement of society.⁵⁴

Although no comments were published after the 1894 election in Colorado, many of the Populist editors undoubtedly re-examined the value of women suffrage for the reform movement since the election returns in that state indicated that the feminine vote, given women by

⁵³ Journal of the Knights of Labor, February 23, 1895.

⁵⁴ Denver News, June 24, 1894.

the Populist legislature and Governor Davis H. Waite, was the decisive factor in the defeat of the Colorado Populists in 1894.

The right of the referendum was also considered an important goal by a number of editors. Perry Engle of the Herald (Newton, Iowa) published the Iowa Referendum, a paper specifically devoted to propogandizing for the adoption of the measure, for several years (1887-8). The Eight Hour Herald (Chicago) proposed "the principle of referendum in all legislation" in 1894.

Other measures that were consistently introduced in the reform press as important in the battle for democratic equality were the Australian ballot which was adopted in Iowa and Michigan through Union Labor efforts, the initiative, the recall, proportional representation, and the direct election of senators and the president. One ardent editor, seeking to eliminate the electoral college while undoubtedly irritated at the Kansas legislature for its poor selection of federal senators, demanded the "Abolition of the U. S. Senate and the election of the President and vice-president by the direct votes of the people."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The Independent (Kirwin, Kansas), January 7, 1886.

To the majority of the editors, the new measures, designed to increase the influence of the individual within the democratic structure and at the same time limit the power of the legislators, appeared to be of tremendous significance. While no great campaigns or ardent appeals were undertaken for their adoption, the constant reiteration and stress placed upon the valuable benefits to be obtained by such legislation created a public opinion which finally forced the legalization of most of these measures throughout the geographic area in which the reform press was most active.

Changes in the Structure and Functions of Government

While the operating structure of the government was usually disapproved of on general grounds, fundamental changes were rarely demanded by the reform editors. Criticisms arose from the underlying assumption held by most of the press that the judiciary, the politicians (not necessarily to be confused with elected officials), legislators, non-civil service government officials, and frequently the executive, were engaged in a vast conspiracy to undermine the democratic freedoms of the country while offering its vast wealth to monopolists and railroad

magnates. Thus changes that would remove the friends of the wealthy from power and place government officials in civil service posts beyond the reach of politicians were considered the prime factors towards the alleviation of corruption in government. The editors sought "a judiciary that will deal out justice to rich and poor alike",⁵⁶ and in this same search for equality, desired "laws that will put the millionaire and the lowliest citizen of the republic on an equal footing."⁵⁷ They also sought a graduated income tax to equitably distribute the costs of government, economy of government, a postal savings system guaranteeing depositors' funds, and other additions and changes in the powers and activities of the federal government.

On only one level could it be considered that the reform editors disagreed upon the fundamental aim, equality of treatment. This field of dissension concerned the tariff. The urban labor editors usually worked for a strong protective tariff under the impression that the tariff, by keeping out foreign products, would create a scarcity of domestic goods. This scarcity

⁵⁶ Knights of Labor (Chicago), September 11, 1886.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

would directly lead to increased employment and higher wages. On the other hand, the farm editors, recognizing that a high tariff raised the prices of manufactured articles, desired a policy of free trade. Since their produce was not protected by tariff barriers, they felt no need to protect other goods. The Farmer's Voice (Chicago) analyzed the problem in that manner. In its statement of policy, the editor said, "We will advocate a radical revision of the present tariff that shall totally relieve from taxation articles of comfort and necessity, thereby making imported luxuries and domestic whiskey and tobacco furnish all governmental revenues."⁵⁸ It appears obvious that Lester Hubbard, the editor, implemented his economic convictions with strong moral overtones. This same tone of moral reprimand pervaded all the criticisms of faults in the governmental structure. These criticisms far outweighed, in number, the suggestions for reform. In this category therefore, the editors could be considered destructive rather than constructive critics of their society.

⁵⁸ December 31, 1887.

Changes in the Beliefs of Society

The final group of objectives of the reform press are difficult to classify. The editors had developed through the years a set of convictions, democratically based, yet not cohesive and easily set into an understandable pattern. Through a possibly instinctive grasp of their values, they were able to criticize the actions and thought of their society as well as suggest material aims designed to alleviate many of the ills of their generation, they believed. But this instinctive understanding is too tenuous to analyze. In a more advanced form, it lay the background for the moral values of the twentieth century progressive movement, but the beliefs of the editors still retained many of the individualistic and secular principles drawn from the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The disturbing influence of Darwinian evolutionary theory and its application to society by Herbert Spencer formed another pertinent current in this ocean of reform press ideas. However, this construct of thought was not complete, remaining barely a skeleton, a hatrack of notions, often expressed irrationally and always vehemently. It can

not be said that the reform editors had a set doctrine of principles since they were too individualistic, too open-minded, and too easily swept away by new conceptions.

The most characteristic expression of this group attitude was written by Moses Harmon, editor of Lucifer, the Light Bearer (Valley Falls, Kansas), one of the more extreme reform editors,

Lucifer's object, first, last and all the time, is to Set People to Thinking! To wake the dormant intellects of men and women and provoke if possible, a little independent thought - a little independent investigation. In religion, in government, in social ethics, the masses of the people have always allowed themselves to be led by the nose, to be dictated to and to be led like sheep by a few cunning ones who have taken advantage of the docile stupidity of these masses to serve their own selfish interests.

...our chief object is to promote and provoke independent thought - independent investigation - and in order to do this we are compelled to demand absolute freedom of speagh and absolute freedom of publication.⁵⁹

The desire for freedom of speech and freedom of press was necessarily basic to the editors' tenets, for these primary rights privileged them to express new ideas and to suggest reforms to their society. The

⁵⁹ November 13, E. M. 285 (1885).

imperative demand for freedom of expression extended from the extremists in the anarchist groups to whom all "legal rights" were a "usurpation, because acquired at the expense of natural rights which are inalienable",⁶⁰ to the mild requests for freedom so that the editor may advise on "wise, just and strictly practical lines".⁶¹

To most of the editors, the anarchist view seemed irresponsible, though their statements had to be given the equal freedoms that all others received. Rather, the majority thought, "We believe in the elevation of mankind to nobler levels of being, by the slow process of evolution, but at the same time this march towards perfection and reformation through evolution must perforce be wrought out within the body of society, and by the conscious acts of living men. No power external to humanity will do it, for such is plainly not the divine plan for the lifting of men."⁶² Yet men, although their fates were created out of their "conscious acts", must at the same time be guided by a "high need of brotherly love, mercy, and charity among men, for these are God's

⁶⁰ The Alarm (Chicago), March 6, 1886.

⁶¹ The Vanguard (Chicago), January 21, 1893.

⁶² Ibid.

best gifts to humanity, and through them only can man create a civilization that will long endure."⁶³

The "acts of men" included the principles of equality and justice for all men and for all shades of opinion. "The Ashland Appeal will be published in the interest of organized labor regardless of race, color, sex, religion, or previous condition of servitude. It believes in equal rights for all."⁶⁴ These beliefs and the moral training that would spread such conceptions were to be accomplished, the editors envisioned, by "free, compulsory and secular" education, for without education, "how often sentiment dominates reason upon grave and important questions...."⁶⁵ These objectives were very dear and personal beliefs to many of the editors. Milton George, of the Western Rural, an ardent advocate of education, donated 300 acres of valuable land so that the state of Illinois might erect the Illinois Manual Training School for Boys and then served as a director of the school for twenty years.⁶⁶

⁶³ The Farmer's Voice (Chicago), December 31, 1887.

⁶⁴ Ashland Appeal (Ashland, Wisconsin), August 15, 1894.

⁶⁵ Western Rural (Chicago), April 30, 1892.

⁶⁶ Biographical files of the Chicago Historical Society.

The optimistic conception that all men were capable of great deeds and could rise to the loftiest heights of morality, justice and equality if only given the opportunity, pervaded the pages of the reform press. The majority of the editors were not philosophers by either training or disposition, nor were they concerned in promulgating a consistent set of explanatory values for use in the turmoil of their daily activities. But through all the writing, however, an aura of democratic morality, of an instinctive faith and assurance in the value of their belief that the greatest rewards should go to the greatest number of people, appears consistently. These men were human and many prejudices did overshadow their inherent good will, but, withal, it was powerful enough to coat the entire era of the reform press with a sensitivity towards humanity rarely felt previously by large groups of journalists and seldom displayed since.

Chapter VII
CONFLICT AND DECLINE

Despite the basic desire of the editors for the unity of all the forces campaigning for reform, a number of deep and pervasive streams of dissent eroded and distorted the universal beliefs in individualism, humanitarianism and democratic justice. These ideals slowly faded as a conflict over economic issues between the various groups whom the editors represented began to disintegrate their common bond of reform. Though realizing that this growing dissension was destroying the coordinated efforts of the reform press, the individual editors gradually yielded to its force. They yielded perhaps to retain their diminishing editorial power, perhaps even to retain the circulation of their papers or because their moral principles were undermined by constant attack. But with this relinquishment of unified strength, the reform press structure crumbled before the onslaught of the Populist politicians. And when the editors failed in their last stand for education to crush the politicians and fusionists as well as cleanse their own ranks of political opportunists, the whole reform press movement was ripe for the virtual collapse that occurred in 1896.

The sources of the conflict were both moral and economic in nature. In their attempts to battle the common foes, the railroads, monopolies and trusts, the editors had herded all the forces of reform into one theoretical flock. But within this flock, despite the ravening wolves threatening to devour them all, a growing realization had developed that the farmers and the city laborers did not have common aims. As had so often occurred during periods of prosperity in the past, the goals of these two groups grew markedly apart during the short period of prosperity beginning in 1895. Further examination of the conflict proves that even within the ranks of the laborers there were internal disputes while the farmers, as well, were not united by universal goals. Thus schisms developed that the editors were unable to close nor even to compromise since the proposals advanced by each group only served to widen the gaps between them.

In the early years of the post-Civil War reform movement, the farmers and laborers had had certain common aims which tended to unite them. The laborers had not as yet organized themselves into integrated special-interest groups nor had their objectives been fully outlined. Their thoughts were still colored with the belief that through cooperative effort working men could assume ownership of

their own industries and thereby compete in a capitalist society on a similar plane with other entrepreneurs. Andrew C. Cameron of the Workingman's Advocate (Chicago) was one of the proponents of this notion and stressed its efficacy in the columns of his paper. Labor therefore still had a businessman's outlook. The farmers, small businessmen themselves, concurred in the common conception of the value of individual enterprise. Another ground for agreement lay in the National Labor Union's economic doctrines, or as Commons phrases it, "the wage-earner phase of greenbackism," wherein labor groups expressed the belief that the withdrawal of greenbacks from circulation raised interest rates and thus made it difficult for labor to obtain capital for their enterprises.¹ The farmers agreed that the rising interest rates worked a hardship on their ability to pay for newly-purchased land and the two groups remained in harmony. It was not till 1872 when the agrarian organizations advanced the argument that an increase in the circulation of greenbacks would raise the prices of farm products on the market that friction began. For labor, slowly losing the optimism that had flowered in the industrial boom of the Civil War, began to realize that

¹ John R. Commons, History of Labor in the United States, MacMillan, New York, 1918, vol. II, p. 121.

cooperative industries were not usually successful and that they, as consumers, would suffer from rising farm prices. Even though the phrase had not as yet been coined, the laborers knew that wages were traditionally "sticky" in relation to prices, that living costs always rose more quickly than did their wages. So despite carefully contrived arguments by Greenback editors, labor became extremely suspicious of inflationary suggestions.

Not so the farmers, for despite the fact that "the cheaper the money, the less groceries and clothing can be bought with it; the farmers think of their debts more than of their necessities, and the longing of their souls is for cheap money."² Since the laborers had little to gain by an inflated currency and the farmers believed they had much to gain, this motif of dissension became one of the primary causes of the split.

This situation was not new in American history. Urban laborers in the Jacksonian period also had realized that "hard money" was of greater economic utility to them than "cheap money." Though the labor groups wielded little political power in the days following the depression of 1837, their demands were consistently anti-inflationary.

² Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers," Forum, vol. X, p. 320, November, 1891.

As Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. points out in The Age of Jackson, the labor groups were united with the small businessmen of the South and East in the cry for "hard money." On the other hand, the farmers of the frontier West, as debtors, desired inflation to lessen their burdens. Under Jackson's leadership, an attack was made upon the National Bank which the farmers believed would lessen the grip of the Eastern "money power" and enable an increased circulation of currency in their region. However Jackson's assault upon the bank did not reflect a demand for "cheap money" for Jackson remained true to his campaign promises to urban business and labor to continue a "hard money" policy. But, as Schlesinger indicates, the Democratic party leaders deliberately soft-pedalled Jackson's currency views in the West. Thus Jackson, in reality, was supported mistakenly by the frontier farmers.

One of the basic differences between the revolt of the farmers in the 1830's and their second revolt after the Civil War was that while in their first campaign the farmers backed a man who did not hold their monetary views; in the 1890's they did support leaders urging "cheap money." As the reform press arose after the Civil War, the issues could no longer be confused. For the reform newspapers educational campaign clarified the questions for

the farmers and there was little support forthcoming from agrarian voters for "hard money" candidates, even if they were supported by urban labor.

Since both the laborers and the farmers were clearly informed by the reform press concerning the issues involved and this information only tended to widen the gap between the two groups, one can say that the reform editors themselves were instrumental in destroying the unity they so ardently desired. With the money issue arising as a barrier between them, the farmers failed to provide any other sufficiently strong incentive to the laborers to join a combined farmer-labor party and all chance of cohesive action was lost.

Another influence tending to enlarge this field of disagreement arose in the discussion of the tariff. Organized labor pursued a high tariff policy in the belief that protection would yield the workers higher wages and would also prevent the competition from ill-paid foreign labor from lowering the American standard of living. On the other hand, farmers felt that free trade should be the accepted policy since it was to their economic advantage to purchase low cost manufactured goods excluded by the high tariff. Since American grain was competing on the world market fairly successfully, the agrarians believed

that the manufacturers and laborers should also be forced to compete.

Labor's eager acceptance of such land tax reforms as the single tax suggested by Henry George also aided in the alienation of the farm groups. Since labor had no land at stake, the farmers considered that the city labor groups were willing to tax away farm profits while not willing to pay their fair share. Numerous expressions of irritation were recorded in rural reform papers during the Henry George mayoralty campaign in New York.³

The drive for the eight hour day, a major objective of many of the urban reform editors for twenty years, was another point of dissension. Since the farmers averaged many more than eight hours a day they were unable to agree with labor groups that a federal law limiting hours of labor was justifiable. In 1884, the Illinois State Grange sent a delegation to the Illinois Federation of Labor convention but the grangers left after the first day of the meeting because they couldn't agree upon the principle of the eight hour day.

³ On the other hand many reform papers, forgetting their economic differences, were "elated over the Henry George vote." Cloud County Critic (Concordia, Kansas), November 10, 1886.

The grangers will have nothing to do with this convention, and our delegation will return home tomorrow morning. We cannot act in harmony with these labor organizations, since they will advocate the eight hour system of work, which, of course, no farmer can live up to, especially during harvest time.⁴

The continual distrust of the man on the land towards the man who has left the land to work in the city also played a strong part in the farmer-labor conflict. Even such an important figure as Leonidas L. Polk, the head of the Farmer's Alliance, commented that the farmers were the most important group in society and that no others had such "basic values." If the farmers came to the city, he claimed, "their sterling and rugged ability would crush out city labor competition."⁵ Labor on its part had no desire to see farmers come to the city, not because they feared the "sterling worth" of the agrarians but rather because farm migrants rarely were interested in unions and often worked as "scabs" in strike-bound shops.

The farmers also distrusted the newer immigrant groups that settled in the cities rather than homestead on farm lands in the west. When the immigrants entered into

⁴ Chicago Tribune, March 27, 1884, quoted in Eugene Staley, History of the Illinois Federation of Labor, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 28.

⁵ Leonidas L. Polk, "The Farmers' Discontent," North American Review, vol. 153, pp. 5-12, July, 1891.

labor union activities, farm papers immediately envisioned that the unions were being sabotaged by unAmerican workmen. The Western Farmer (Madison, Wisconsin), an Alliance newspaper, stated,

The problem of the labor movement is as far from being solved as ever, and as long as the honest, industrious and frugal workman is misled by inexperienced foreigners, so long will the problem be unsolved. The Knights of Labor should firmly disconnect their order from the influence of Old World socialistic principle and continue their good work in a reasonable democratic manner, remembering that capital has rights as well as labor....⁶

As labor became more vociferous and active, the farm papers expressed much concern over the growth and increasing power of the unions. The Pullman strike produced more anti-labor comments from the agrarian reform press than any other strike during the period. The Western Rural (Chicago), an alliance paper and one that had been radical enough to demand "nationalization of the means of production and distribution" nonetheless condemned Eugene Debs and the American Railway Union very vigorously.

The government at Washington certainly has enough to do to maintain order and to protect life and property from the diabolism of the real anarchists who are over-running our country and filling the land with the dread of coming disaster, by strikes, destruction of property and by interference with the rights

⁶ Western Farmer (Madison), January 3, 1886.

of men to labor when they find work to do. If the leaders of the labor unions are unable to control the members of their orders sufficiently to prevent the lawless acts of their organization they had better disband than as they only deserve the contempt of any law-abiding citizen.⁷

Less than a month later the same paper maintained that the unions were more of a menace than even "the monopolistic extortions of greedy capitalists."

The business interests and the social harmony of the country are kept in constant turmoil by the autocratic dictates of the leaders of the labor unions. The coal miners' strike was no sooner off than the Pullman strike was inaugurated, and while the latter at first was only a local affair which scarcely affected no one but the strikers themselves, it was soon made national in the form of a boycott against all railroads using the Pullman cars. E.V. Debs, the leader of the American Railway Union, with his associates is managing the affair in a highhanded and dictatorial manner, giving encouragement to lawlessness, which is rife on all occasions where their demands are made where strict obedience to law is not enforced by the strong arm of government.

The greed of capital is conscienceless and extorts from productive labor the last penny of profit possible, by the formation of trusts and other great combinations of men as heartless as Satan. But wherein is the autocratic authority of a labor leader any more to be respected than the monopolistic extortions of the greedy capitalists? Are not the actions of the labor unions more dangerous than those of the capitalistic thieves, inasmuch as they are more turbulent and dangerous to life and property?⁸

⁷ June 7, 1894.

⁸ Western Rural (Chicago), July 5, 1894.

The growing break between labor and the farmers had been recognized earlier by discerning reform editors. Lester Hubbard and Alzina Stevens, editors of The Vanguard (Chicago), pointed out in a series of editorials that labor had cast a strong bloc of votes for the reform parties in the 1880's but the conflict since between the farmers and the unions was driving the urban vote back to the major parties. In an article entitled, "Where the Late Vote Was Cast," Hubbard warned the Populists that they were losing all the urban reform voters, as well as the farmers east of the Mississippi, whose votes would have to be regained if the reform movement were to be successful.

Ninety-five per cent of the votes given General Weaver in the recent election was cast by farmers, and 85 per cent of the total number of ballots deposited for the People's Party ticket in the nation at large was dropped in the boxes west of the Missouri River. These are significant facts and are worthy the attention of People's Party leaders who are already planning for 1896.

In the last campaign the People's Party signally failed to secure any votes worth mentioning from either the enlightened and patriotic middle-class of the towns and cities or the organized workingmen of the great trade and manufacturing centers.

In the northern states east of the Missouri River the organization of the People's Party was merely in outline and lacked substance and filling in. Even in Illinois the People's Party cast less than 2 per cent of the total vote of

the state while in most of the states to the east excepting Indiana, the new party was merely a bodiless phantom....⁹

The struggle for different objectives was not limited to the differences between the farm and the city. Labor itself was split by union feuds and a diversity of principle between leaders. A basic struggle between the Knights of Labor and the new American Federation of Labor cut labor forces virtually in two. The Knights, a union admitting all workers and most middle class professionals to its ranks, battled for survival against the powerful and well organized trade unions in the A. F. of L. As the Knights lost members and prestige, its editors swung wildly and violently against the Federation's activities. At first, the Knights had sought a coalition in the political arena. Prior to the 1886 Illinois state elections, the editor of the Knights of Labor (Chicago) requested,

No radicals, no conservatives, no home club men, no socialists, but all workingmen laboring for a common purpose, for the elevation of our brethren. This should be the motto of all sensible and consistent members of the labor organizations. When we have won our great victory at the polls we will

⁹ The Vanguard, November 26, 1892.

fix up the minor differences that separate us in our assembly rooms.¹⁰

Then, disillusioned by the lack of cooperation between the reform groups, the same paper struck out at all "class parties".

As a national organization a labor party or any other distinctively class party is played out. If any demonstration of that fact is needed we refer to the returns of the late campaign. The Union Labor party, which was supposed to represent the Knights of Labor, the Grangers, Anarchism, Socialism, Greenbackism, Free Land, Free Labor, Free Transportation, Free Banks and Free Lunch polled about one hundred and fifty thousand votes, and that too after a campaign of brag and bluster such as was never indulged in by a prize fighter.¹¹

The unions in Chicago consistently battled each other, placing two or more labor reform tickets on the ballot and then berating the opposition for splitting the voting power of the workers. Although Joseph Buchanan, editor of The Labor Enquirer (Chicago) supported the United Labor ticket,¹² the Knights of Labor which supported another labor coalition, chose to call both him and the unions backing

¹⁰ August 14, 1886.

¹¹ December 29, 1888.

¹² February 23, 1887. The bickering of the leaders and the intricate maneuvering of the Chicago radicals is well documented in Chester M. Destler, American Radicalism, 1865-1901, Connecticut College, New London, 1946.

the United Labor ticket "anarchists."

The Knights of Labor feels terribly cut up over the attempt of Joe Buchanan's little group of dirty anarchists...to sit down on us with such a dull thud as it were. "When the spring time comes, gentle Annie," and when these fellows get out of the bath tub they will feel differently. There is nothing that will effect a change in the opinions of an anarchist so quickly as soap and water.¹³

This constant feuding among the Chicago labor unions of course undermined the strength of labor all over the country yet it continued for many years. As late as 1894, the Eight Hour Herald rebuked the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly for not deciding on a candidate. "...if the working classes cannot agree among themselves on a line of political action, they can scarcely hope to secure the confidence of the public."¹⁴ After the 1894 election, another Chicago paper commented,

One of the most lamentable phases of the political labor sky in Chicago is the unreliability and divided state of its leaders. An endless number of factions has grown up in the political labor arena here, each led by a man at enmity with all other such leaders.... These factions and agitators are hopelessly divided. They hate each other worse than all together hate the common enemy. There is the Ryan faction, the "Doc" Taylor and Chris O'Brien faction, the single taxers, the old line

¹³ May 14, 1887.

¹⁴ Eight Hour Herald (Chicago), August 25, 1894.

populists, the regular trade unionists and half a dozen other offshoots, each led by a hungry agitator.¹⁵

The bones of contention between the unions included the question of compulsory versus voluntary arbitration, a long range program of reform as against "day to day" unionism, the jealousy of the unskilled groups towards the privileges of the skilled trades, as well as disputes over most of the legislation demanded by the different organizations.

The third group of dissidents who aided in the final destruction of the reform press unity were the farmers themselves, the backbone of the reform movement whose cause had been most heartily espoused by a majority of the editors. Their disputes concerned a number of monetary and government regulation issues under consideration for many years. The farmers east of the Missouri River had been most active in the Granger and Greenback movements in the 1870's and early eighties. But as they slowly paid off their debts, as farm land values rose and as their states attempted to regulate the abuses of the railroads, these farmers veered towards more conservative views. By the nineties they considered the violent demands of the

¹⁵ Chicago Dispatch, November 19, 1894, as quoted in Staley, History of the Illinois Federation of Labor, p. 128.

Kansas and Nebraska farmers too radical and voted against the newer reform parties. Yet the issues remained essentially the same, that is, grievances against the railroad and grain elevator operators and an overwhelming desire for an increase in the medium of exchange. Despite the similarity of goals the Populists were unable to obtain the support of more than a small fraction of the Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa farmers. This engendered much bitterness among the plains states radicals and the reform editors reflected this anger in their writings. When a reform leader, Gen. Jacob Coxey, did arise in Ohio, most of his laudatory comments came from the reform papers of the west. A few papers east of the Mississippi came to Coxey's support in a half-hearted manner.

It seems almost incredible that such a movement as now is taking place could be in free America. That it is so is a practical demonstration that our social organization is badly out of gear. In what ever light you may view the means taken by the erratic reformer, there are millions who admit that were his demands acceded to...employment would be given to all the idle men in the country and charity, which they do not want, would cease.¹⁶

But Henry Vincent, who had become editor of the Chicago Express, lost his post because Col. Seymour Norton, owner of the Express, editor of the Chicago Sentinel and ¹⁶ Industrial News (Jackson, Michigan), May 1, 1894. The News was an Alliance paper despite its title.

former Greenback candidate for the presidency, disagreed with Vincent's ardent and picturesque advocacy of Coxey and the Commonweal.¹⁷ It became apparent to both the agrarian and labor reform editors that most of the farmers east of the Missouri were not willing to engage in any campaign to aid their western compatriots and commercial rivals.¹⁸ It was equally obvious that they did so since they feared the competition of the plains states farmers would lower their profits if rail freight rates on corn and wheat were lowered west of the Missouri River.

From the various expressions of opinion detailed by the reform editors concerning the conflicting groups within the ranks of both the farm and labor organizations, it can definitely be understood that the disputes could hardly be considered a strengthening factor. Recognizing that their unity was slowly being ripped apart by the struggles between their constituents, the reform editors joined together for one last attempt to reach the goals set by the Omaha platform and to reunite the dissidents.

¹⁷ Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. Vincent became official historian of the Commonweal.

¹⁸ See previously cited selection from The Vanguard, November 26, 1892 for data on farmer voting in the midwest.

The Last Effort

The Omaha platform, evolved amidst a spirit of optimism and a growing belief in the triumph of democratic values, contained almost all the revolutionary and humanitarian principles sought by the editors. Through constant reiterations and voluble interpretations of its planks, the reform editors had hoped to educate the electorate towards an acceptance of all the proposals which were designed to alleviate a large proportion of the evils in their society. The term, "the Omaha platform", became a slogan, a rallying point, a basic doctrine that all the editors could adhere to and use as an anchor. It was not a point of departure but rather a goal which the editors felt should be accepted in its entirety. Thus, though the issue of free silver was included within the planks of the Omaha platform, it was but one plank and definitely not of supreme importance within itself. All the planks were important because each righted a wrong that was affecting the welfare of the farmers, the laborers and the nation as a whole. The Omaha platform was equally important because it was the independent expression of the People's Party, of their young and vigorous party that would cleanse the

American political and economic atmosphere and rejuvenate the government, returning the nation to the first principles of democracy and humanitarianism as the editors understood them.

Soon after the election of 1894, recognizing that dissension among the reform groups as well as the office-seeking activities of the professional Populist politicians was endangering not only the Omaha platform but the very existence of the party itself, the reform editors launched a bitter attack against the politicians, the free silverites and the fusionists through their newspapers and their national organization, the National Reform Press Association.

A struggle against the three propositions, office-seeking, free silver, and fusion, had been carried on for a number of years in the columns of the reform newspapers. Many editors had in the past protested against the politicians who sought fusion or coalitions with major parties out of office in order to gain political power. In 1888, a Union Labor editor wrote L. H. Weller, "Fusion has played hell in the sixth district and all labor papers are blotted out except those

that (for money) are willing to assist old rotten bour-
bon democracy."¹⁹

In the struggle over free silver, the office-
seekers had launched attacks upon various reforms, later
formulated into the Omaha platform, as early as 1890.
The National Economist (Washington, D. C.) noted that
the "capitalist press is industriously circulating the
lie (originated by the office-seekers) that the Alliance
has about abandoned the sub-treasury plan, and will be
content with the free coinage of silver...."²⁰ The
paper went on to say that free coinage was "class leg-
islation" and it would only accept the proposal if "the
profit of the mine owners was taken away".²¹ Even at the
height of the Populist fervour in 1892, those who advo-
cated the sole plank of free silver had to be subdued.
The Industrial Advocate (El Dorado, Kansas) stated,
"The People's Party, while favoring the free coinage
of silver, has been looking upon it as an insufficient
remedy for existing financial evils, and it is

¹⁹ Letter from E. O. Davis, editor of the Albia Opinion
(Albia, Iowa), to Weller, June 16, 1888, in Weller Col-
lection, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²⁰ December 13, 1890.

²¹ Ibid.

unquestionably right."²² The Advocate and Topeka Tribune (Kansas) expressed the essence of the reform editors' beliefs upon the question when it rebuked the Rocky Mountain News (Denver) in 1893 for suggesting that the Populists reject all other planks of the Omaha platform in favor of free silver.

There are several doctrines of the People's Party that are considered fundamental, and one of these is that we want no metallic basis for money, whether it be mono-metallic or bi-metallic. We demand that every dollar in circulation in the United States shall be equal before the law to every other dollar, without regard to the material of which it is composed; and it needs no other basis than the exhaustless resources of the country and the national credit.

Aside from this, we have other demands which were not made for mere diversion. They were incorporated in our platforms because they are right, and they will not be abandoned at the dictation of parties who seem to have but a single idea in this contest. We favor free coinage among other things, because it is right that silver should be placed upon an equality with gold, but the News may be assured that the People's Party will never even consider the proposition to drop the other demands and make a contest upon this issue alone.²³

When the Populists in Nebraska were considering the possibility of fusion with the Democrats behind the

²² June 2, 1892.

²³ March 15, 1893.

candidacy of William Jennings Bryan in 1894, the furore aroused in the reform press deterred their action. The American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis) roared, "The Populist who talks of fusion these times is a traitor. This is nottime for unholy marriages, nor does the party in the heyday of its youth deserve to be betrayed with a kiss."²⁴ The Nebraskans, seeking to calm the reform editors, came up with their happy solution, to run Bryan as the Populist candidate with Democratic support for the ticket. This action again failed to silence the Non-Conformist, "Suppose some Populist in Nebraska should announce himself for office on a Democratic platform? What would be thought of him? Yet that is just as logical as a Democrat on a Populist platform. The whole thing is too ridiculous to entertain for a moment."²⁵

These episodes, however, were mere minor skirmishes preceding the major battle which began early in 1895. H. E. Taubeneck, permanent chairman of the People's Party executive committee, and James Baird Weaver, perennial reform party presidential candidate, opened the attack of the politicians upon the planks of the Omaha

²⁴ August 4, 1894.

²⁵ September 2, 1894.

platform at a conference of Populist leaders and editors in St. Louis. Following his request for a change in the platform at this conference, Taubeneck addressed a form letter to all the reform editors in the N.R.P.A. His letters were understood to be a form of directive to the editors to cease their educational activities in favor of the Omaha platform and to emphasize the free silver issue alone. The barrage of letters aroused the ire of the editors, and an immediate meeting of the National Reform Press Association was called for February 22, 1895, in Kansas City. Prior to the meeting, Thomas F. Byron, editor of the Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines), the paper which Weaver had previously edited and in which he still owned a part interest, took the bit in his teeth and discussed the situation frankly.

We are credibly informed that, as a step in this desired change of front, they (the office-seekers) will attempt to depose W. S. Morgan from the editorship of the Reform Press ready-print mat service, which they think in his hands smacks too much of the despised Omaha platform, and elect Dunning of the National Watchman, which is their special organ, in his place. They would also like to see George C. Ward, editor of the Kellogg People's Party ready-print mat service silenced....

We are getting very tired of these vexatious self-seekers, these mouthing men at Washington and elsewhere who have no

visible means of support except scheming in questionable politics, and we would have exposed them by name and scheme long ago, had we not had a perfect confidence in their inability to do the party any harm. We have been urged to expose them for the party's sake, but for the party's sake we have held our peace. For the same reason we now deem it good to say what we have said. We have felt all along that the men alluded to, while imagining that they are running the party, or that they may succeed in swinging it around to suit their schemes, are really only flies on the plow-beam, neither drawing the plow nor guiding it, and that hence the party (the plow) is quite safe from all their trotting up and down in a vain effort to turn it out of the furrow where its two million voters want it to run. We are astonished to see these men so lacking in ordinary political sagacity. The People's Party is now too intelligent, too determined, too large and too well self-governed for self-seeking, would-be bosses either to harm it or control it....

P. S. Since the above was put in type we have received positive information that one of the single-plank clique has written a letter to the Kelloggs, "demanding Mr. Ward's discharge as reform editor". This is exactly as, judging from our own case, we had inferred in the foregoing article, and it seems to indicate that these unscrupulous conspirators against the Omaha platform have entered upon the task of destroying its defenders by stabbing them in the back. "To get rid of the platform, assassinate some of its defenders and bulldoze the rest," appears to be their plan.²⁶

A week later, Bryon defended the freedom of the press and the educative process against the free silver adherents in

²⁶ February 20, 1895.

an article entitled, "Free Silver is Not Enough".

Free silver men in the old party ranks profess to be unable to understand why the People's Party do not jump at the chance to attract their votes, and thus possibly assure the new party immediate success, by just dropping all the rest of the Omaha platform and making the fight exclusively on silver. ... In short, their inability to understand the Populist position is due entirely to their ignorance of the money question. ... All that these old party spectators think their uneducated new brethren need is knowledge ... Thoughtful men, who are not afflicted with the itch for immediate office-seeking, but who want to see a reform of the old existing system which shall be lasting, and are actuated mainly by love of country, such men in our ranks deem it best for the party and country that, naturally impatient as we are for results, the party do not grow too quickly, lest the people come into it faster than they can be educated in the deep meanings or the principles, and the party get out of control of its friends, and the reforms enacted prove in the new hands only superficial. We want thorough work, for none other will emancipate this people, and this can come only from thoroughly informed men; hence we had rather not be overrun at this critical juncture by the Silver Goths from the forests of the two old parties, but when they can come into the movement understandingly they shall be welcome as brothers. ²⁷

At the Kansas City meeting of the N.R.P.A., over 150 editors met and agreed "upon unswerving allegiance to the Omaha platform".²⁸ They proposed that the Populists

²⁷ Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines), February 27, 1895.

²⁸ Wealth Makers (Lincoln, Nebraska), March 2, 1895.

not engage in the free silver controversy and instead, allow the formation of a new silver party. "Let it be born, we say, and so permanently separate a large element from both the Democratic and Republican parties whom we have thus far been unable to reach.... All that a one idea free silver party can accomplish is to break the old machine."²⁹

Herman E. Taubeneck, leader of the Populist political wing, immediately sent the meeting a letter in which he berated their action and threatened the editors indirectly with loss of advertising and Populist patronage. The editors were further aroused by Taubeneck's message and upon their return from the N.R.P.A. meeting began publishing their version of the controversy. Charles X. Matthews, editor of the American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis) reported,

After he (Taubeneck) called his St. Louis conference, and the program he had mapped out in his mind was not agreed to, he commenced to scold certain Populist newspapers and declared that they had "gone over to the Socialists." He picked out the leading Populist papers for his censure and wrote letters all over the country complaining of their course....

Everybody who reads the Non-Conformist knows very well that it has never swerved an inch from the Omaha platform or the principles

²⁹ Wealth Makers (Lincoln, Nebraska), March 2, 1895.

of the Populist party. It advocates now precisely what it has always advocated, entertains the same views, upholds the same doctrines, is aiming at the same objectives....

We insist that all the misunderstanding arose from the chairman's effort to assume an authority which did not belong to him and his attack upon Populist newspapers because they saw fit to edit their columns in their own way without consulting him. The Populist newspapers have done their duty always and never rendered more substantial service to the party than by refusing to allow the platform to be emasculated and a side show set up in its place at the dictation of a small coterie who imagine they know it all because they have spent a few months in Washington.

...Here is the whole thing in a nutshell. If supporting the Omaha platform makes a man a Socialist, we are all Socialists. If it was not Socialistic to support the platform for two years up to last December it was not Socialistic to support it after that date. If the Omaha platform was Socialistic when made it is Socialistic now. If it was not so in its origin it has not become so since. It is not logic to applaud the Populist press for supporting the document up to the St. Louis conference and then censuring them for continuing the same line of policy after that event.³⁰

Thomas Byron also returned to the columns of his newspaper in Des Moines and began an unveiled attack upon James Baird Weaver and Taubeneck. He no longer felt it necessary to conceal the names of the "conspirators" since he realized that Weaver's overwhelming ambition to be the fusion candidate for the presidency in 1896 combined with

³⁰ American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), March 7, 1895.

Weaver's prestige in Iowa would soon drive him, Byron, from the editorship of the Tribune. Discussing the Taubeneck letter and the Reform Press Association meeting, Byron wrote,

Every editor in the meeting where this letter was read probably knew who it was that persuaded the Michigan state convention to declare for this one-plank policy, for they all knew that General Weaver, who has been the arch-conspirator in this persistent attack upon the Omaha platform from the first, was in attendance upon that convention for that especial purpose; and the editors also knew that Weaver, in the week following, was in Washington when the above proposed address of the Populist congressmen was prepared and issued, probably written by Weaver, whose name was carefully placed last, and taken around for signatures by Taubeneck; and the editors have all got the justifiable impression, besides, that Mr. Weaver who never did like the "middle of the road," is animated by an overwhelming desire to be the fusion candidate of the old party silverites and the People's Party for president in '96. If Weaver had a hand in the Taubeneck letter, as is very likely, the ridiculous feebleness of its argument may be said to be in perfect keeping with the short-sighted folly of the conspiracy.³¹

To justify his actions in openly attacking the office-seekers, Byron compiled from his reform newspaper exchanges a number of opinions expressed by other editors upon the issue of free silver and political offices as against the policy of education. The Topeka Advocate desired to remain "steadfast to principles." The Missouri

³¹ Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines), March 6, 1895.

World (Chillicothe) maintained that "the Omaha platform has been re-affirmed." The Progressive Age (Minneapolis) stated that "No great political party ever was created around one issue." Julius Wayland in the Coming Nation (Greensburg, Tennessee) said "Taubeneck is not the man to lead." The Chicago Express wanted "no dictation of self-appointed leaders" and the Silver Blade (Atlantic, Iowa) considered that the Populists "can be no success on one plank."³² Despite the overwhelming proof offered by Byron that the editors favored the Omaha platform, he was overruled by Thomas Meredith, aging owner of the Tribune who had been urged by Weaver to remove Byron. Byron's bitterness and disappointment is reflected in a letter to Henry Demarest Lloyd a few weeks after his survey of the reform press. He first maintained that the "one-plank" men were attempting to read both him and Lloyd out of the party for following the Omaha platform policy and then continued,

I have to inform you that the Farmer's Tribune, of which I am editor, and which had been leading in the fight for the preservation of the People's Party and all of its principles, trying to save the party from the maw of the silver barons and certain idle politicians - this paper has now come under the influence of these plotters against the people's cause. The deal was completed last Friday. The publisher (interfering for the first time in the

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Farmer's Tribune (Des Moines), March 20, 1895.

editorial conduct of the paper) has forbidden me to criticize either the single-plank party (Sibley's) or the single plank shouters in the People's Party....

Also while I am silent, Weaver is to advocate the "stripping the platform to one plank" as he lately put it, in letters to the Tribune.³³

Disgusted by his enforced silence, Byron also requested Lloyd's financial aid in the preparation of a new paper, The Platform Defender. However Lloyd did not accept the suggestion. A month later, Byron again wrote Lloyd to notify him of their defeat by the "one plank platform crowd" and of Byron's resignation as editor of the Tribune.³⁴

Though Byron was defeated, other reform editors kept up the struggle against the free silver trend and the office-seekers for a longer time. George Howard Gibson, editor of The Wealth Makers (Lincoln, Nebraska) suggested to H.D. Lloyd that the editors circumvent the "free silver crowd" by condensing the People's Party platform to "Government banks, public ownership of public utilities, and the Initiative and Referendum."³⁵ Later he attacked the

³³ Letter to Lloyd, April 8, 1895, in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

³⁴ Letter to Lloyd, May 28, 1895, in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

³⁵ Letter to Lloyd, December 19, 1894, in H.D. Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

the stress upon free silver and denied it would be of any aid to the farmers of his state.

The free coinage of silver is all we want, men are saying. What would the free coinage of silver provide? Only about 75 cents per capita more money, and the millionaire owners of the silver mines would get about all of that, and placing it in the banks the only way the people could get it would be to borrow it at high rates of interest as are now demanded. We can get money now by putting up lots of security and paying interest for it. What we want is money, the people's money, at cost. And this we can only get through government banks. The money question is the interest question. Keep that fact before the people.³⁶

But Gibson's efforts to keep the facts before the people failed and The Wealth Makers ceased publication in 1895.

Another Nebraska editor, Jay Burrows of the Farmer's Alliance (Lincoln, Nebraska), fighting against the politically-inclined Populists in Nebraska, also lost in the battle against the office-seekers. Struggling to prevent the nomination of C.H. Van Wyck as Populist candidate for governor, he lost so much circulation and advertising he was forced to suspend the Farmer's Alliance.³⁷

³⁶ The Wealth Makers, May 4, 1895.

³⁷ An obituary of Jay Burrows in The State Journal (Lincoln), January 17, 1900 in the files of the Nebraska Historical Society, states, "While Mr. Burrows did much toward organizing the Populist Party in Nebraska and in the nation he was not in sympathy in later years with the men who worked in the interests of fusion. ...a man of decided convictions...and independence of thought."

Thus the reform press lost another of the humanitarian editors to the onslaught of the "free silver crowd."

In the cities the urban reform press had mixed opinions over the issue of free silver. The Journal of the Knights of Labor reflected the agrarian reform views,

It is reported that the People's Party and other organized anti-monopoly elements will be switched by a few leaders into the support of free silver and that question made the only issue in the campaign of next year. ...we protest and will oppose it.... Free coinage...may be important to the welfare of the people but of all the issues now agitating the public, it is the least....

The people want an entirely new deal and will have it.³⁸

The Eight Hour Herald (Chicago), seeking a means for alleviating the industrial depression, considered free coinage a doubtful panacea but backed the issue on the grounds that it might be of some assistance to labor.

Vast numbers of people are out of employment, business is depressed, and times are out of joint generally. ...the free coinage people assure us that in the event of the success of their measure, business will revive to an extent as will permit the employment of all who are willing to work, and that the question of wages can be adjusted later. (This) is certainly the more important feature to be considered now, and we feel that the support of the working classes can be secured to bring it about, regardless of how much one political party loses or gains....³⁹

³⁸ May 4, 1895.

³⁹ May 2, 1895.

But less than a year later, the Herald returned to labor's traditional position on inflation and took a stand against free silver. "...every attempt made in the past to cheapen a nation's currency has been attended by a simultaneous advance in the prices of all commodities, while the advance in wages has been slow, uncertain, and only partially attained after the most serious contests between capital and labor."⁴⁰

Though it was apparent that the slow and easy process of education had been defeated and public opinion followed the "free silver" ideas with great enthusiasm, the editors continued their losing battle. Just prior to the major party conventions of 1896, the Star and Kansan (Independence, Kansas), among other reform papers, renewed its thrusts against the efficacy of free silver in one last forlorn hope that the objectives of the editors would triumph in the currency debate. "My readers are well aware that I am not enthusiastic in my advocacy of free silver; and that I don't think the coinage of more silver dollars is going to bring the millenium."⁴¹ Having made this last gesture to forestall the adoption of silver as the principal

⁴⁰ Eight Hour Herald, April 30, 1896.

⁴¹ Star and Kansan, June 19, 1896.

plank of the Populists, H.W. Young of the Star and Kansan acceded to the pressure of the public and the politicians. Upon the conclusion of the Democratic convention, though preferring Eugene Debs as the Populist candidate, Young reprinted Bryan's "cross of gold" speech and conceded that five out of six people in his county would vote for Bryan despite any statements by the Star.⁴²

His action reflected the general movements of the remaining reform editors. Defeated by the politicians, their beloved Omaha platform shattered and forgotten, the last of the editors backed Bryan and Watson, the Populist ticket. Their support was not based on principle nor on a belief in Bryan but rather their choice resulted from an acceptance of the lesser of two evils. Eugene Debs, editor of the Railway Times (Terre Haute), explained his stand after the 1896 election.

I supported Mr. William J. Bryan and the platform upon which he stood, not because I regarded the free coinage of silver as a panacea for our national ills, for I neither affirmed nor advocated such a principle, but because I believed that the triumph of Mr. Bryan and free silver would blunt the fangs of the money power. ... The free silver issue gave us, not only a rallying cry, but afforded common ground upon which the common people could unite against the

⁴² July 17, 1896.

trusts, syndicates, corporations, monopolies -
in a word, the money power.⁴³

Besides the downcast and defeated majority, there were two minority groups among the editors who followed different paths prior to the 1896 election. One group, represented by the Industrial News (Jackson, Michigan), an Alliance paper, joyfully accepted free silver and wholeheartedly endorsed Bryan. "Free silver means a doubling in the price of farm products, steady employment, increase in wages, and livelier and better times."⁴⁴ The other minority, the bitter-enders, turned towards the more radical parties, leaving the Populists and Bryan completely. Julius Wayland explained his actions and his stand as a representative of this group.

The one-hoss at no time contemplated supporting anybody whom the democrats would nominate on any kind of a platform. I like Mr. Bryan, but Bryan is only one man. The men who put him in power will be the administration, and they are the same corrupt and ignorant politicians -- barring a few millionaires -- who have helped and aided in the passing of the infamous laws of the past thirty years. These men are today as much in favor of getting rich at the expense of the working people as they ever were.

⁴³ Railway Times, January 1, 1897.

⁴⁴ July 11, 1896. The Michigan state Alliance is referred to in Thomas Byron's article, f.n. 31, as Weaver-influenced.

They oppose every principle of socialism. They would not take the power away from trusts and combines to rob the people by making the monopolies public property -- the only possible way to do it. The Appeal has always been fighting, never wavering, for socialism, in the best way.... There were conditions when it could do greater good in supporting the People's Party, but since it died the broad field of socialism is the place to do the most effective work.⁴⁵

Wayland then supported the Socialist-Labor ticket.

After-Math of 1896

Disillusioned, their hopes and beliefs strewn to the winds, the reform press virtually disappeared after the 1896 election. Though a renewed effort was made to organize the National Reform Press Association, only seven editors arrived for the scheduled meeting in Girard, Kansas, on February 22, 1897. It was apparent from this poor showing that the disconsolate editors had, for the moment, lost all their desire to continue their campaign of education. Although their doubts that the issue of free silver would carry the country were vindicated, the blows struck by the Populist politicians and single-plankers had destroyed both their prestige and initiative.

⁴⁵ The Appeal to Reason (Kansas City), September 5, 1896.

Few of the reform editors continued to edit their papers or attempted to start new journals after the campaign.

A few hardy individuals did try to continue the crusade. Julius Wayland accepted completely the Socialist doctrines, and his Appeal to Reason became "the most widely read propagandist publication in America".⁴⁶ Eugene Debs also turned to socialism after his disappointment with the Populists. He became a member of the editorial staff of the Social Democratic Herald (Chicago and Milwaukee) which pointed out that it was the organ of the "socialist element" as against "an opposing conglomeration of factions which included Populists, anarchists, silverites, single taxers, colonists and other theorizers...."⁴⁷

Several of the "middle of the road Populists" also carried on. Henry Vincent began publication of the American Non-Conformist again in Omaha for a few months in 1898, having regained title to "the child of his youth" from the "Hoosier farmers". Leman H. Weller persevered as editor of his Farmer's National Advocate in Independence, Iowa. But their voices were thin and

⁴⁶ William J. Ghent, "The Appeal and its Influence", Survey, vol. XXVI, p. 24, April 1, 1911.

⁴⁷ July 9, 1898.

carried little weight, soon silenced by a lack of subscribers. Having condemned the panacea of free silver,⁴⁸ General Jacob Coxey continued espousing his particular panaceas, good roads and non-interest bearing bonds. But his paper, Sound Money (Massillon, Ohio) no longer aroused the spirits of its readers to the fervent heights reached during the high tide of the Commonweal. For all due purposes, these last remnants of the reform press were emotionally dead.

The spirit of humanitarianism which the reform editors had waved as their banner was taken over by many writers in the Progressive movement. But the transaction remolded this spirit into a moral crusade waged by a middle class urban society. No longer were the country weeklies the sources of radical sentiments, no longer did they seek to educate while waving their Omaha platform flag. With the coming of the progressive period, the reform editors and their Jacksonian conceptions of society truly vanished.

⁴⁸ "The silver issue is dead, and who would seek to revive it, or set up its corpse to burn incense to it, should be branded as a tool of the Rothschilds and the Rep-gold-Dem party." Sound Money, November 5, 1896.

Chapter VIII

THE EDITORS: THEIR EFFECT UPON SOCIETY

Though the reform press movement virtually disappeared after the election of 1896, its impression upon the nation was felt for many years. For the editors were not voices crying in the wilderness but were rather the printed expression of the demands of a large segment of the American population. The editors were an intrinsic segment of the democratic and humanitarian tradition of their day, a tradition which Ralph H. Gabriel terms "neo-rationalism."¹ They were the active exponents of the discontent of a democratic individualistic society which believed that through the fullest use of reason and the

¹ Ralph H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, Ronald Press Company, New York, 1940, p.212.

"The neo-rationalism of the 1880's and 1890's was, like its eighteenth century prototype, primarily an expression of discontent with the existing status quo. It appeared in the heyday of the older trusts... (and when) the farmers...were suffering from evils due in part to the...railroads. In such an American scene the new rationalists proposed a philosophy of hope.

...George, Ward and Bellamy all proposed social solutions for social ills. They proposed to use the positive state as an instrument for bettering the unhappy lot of men. ...They insisted that man can be the master of his fate, that his only reliance is reason, that the State is his instrument, and that the planned society is the solution for social ills.

They were all democrats. ...the neo-rationalists maintained that collectivism can be made the servant of individualism."

institution of the state, the social ills of society could be cured. Their crusade of education, intended to free the farmers and laborers from the social, economic and political conditions which jeopardized the welfare of these groups during the latter part of the nineteenth century, bore fruit in the form of many legislative measures accepted by the people of today as their just due.

The editors and their newspapers were the journalistic phase of a movement determined to create a heaven on earth in lieu of the discredited religious haven of the pre-Darwinian denominational doctrines. Though the propositions they advanced were not original, their newspapers were the chief and often the sole means for the dissemination of the objectives of the social reformers to the masses of the people. Without the editors, few in their society would have become cognizant of the aims of the agrarian and labor parties of the period. Without the channels of communication provided by the reform press, the leaders of the progressive movement in the twentieth century would have encountered a public lacking familiarity with the beliefs and ideas of social reform.

Though the great majority of the editors had no recognition of the fact that their belief in the power of education paralleled the sociological premises of Lester

Ward, they would have instantly agreed with one of Ward's basic beliefs; that men, equipped with the ability to learn and provided with adequate knowledge, could engineer a new world.² For the editors believed education was the foundation of progress. They consistently expressed their conception that through an understanding of the workings of society together with an almost religious adherence to the principles leading to the growth of equalitarian values within society, their generation would lead the nation to a state of social justice.

The editors also felt, with Ward, that the instrument most suited to the building of their new and democratic society was the state. In the columns of the reform press can be found one constant refrain; give the government power to regulate and control the monopolies, the trusts, the railroads, the grain elevators, and a greater degree of social equality will immediately be achieved. Even though the editors were individualists, they apparently never foresaw the inherent dangers to individualism in an all-powerful state. Possibly their

² Lester F. Ward's books were frequently advertised in the reform press and were praised in glowing terms. But little evidence can be found in the newspaper columns to substantiate any claim that his Dynamic Sociology was widely read by the editors.

belief in democracy, in the Jacksonian version of democracy wherein no man was superior to another and all were equally capable, gave them confidence in the ability of men to stand against even an all-powerful state.

Their belief in the power of the state to promote the common welfare was collectivistic in character. Unlike Marxian ideology, the collectivism of the editors included no doctrine of the class struggle. In the planned state of the editors all men were of one class, a more or less middle income group. This essentially utopian view led the editors into one of their basic fallacies, a tendency to lump all the occupational classes of society into one protesting group. They did not recognize, till very late, that the various agrarian organizations sought goals that directly contradicted those of the several labor groups. Nor did they see that there were points of dispute within the associations of farmers themselves. The editors only realized that a number of evils existed in the political and economic structure of their society and that a measure of collectivism was necessary to ameliorate those evils.

It should be pointed out that the reform press, as the propaganda medium of the reform parties, was a strong influence in the curtailment of the growth of

Marxian ideologies in America. For the editors, though collectivists in theory, were individualists in fact and had no belief in a class-structured society nor in the inevitability of revolution. They channelled the spirit of protest into a traditionally American pattern of reform. Only the most despairing of the editors sought violent methods of change for all were imbued with the dream that democracy could give birth to an economically-just state without the pangs of warfare. If only men had the vision and the education, the editors prophesied, their generation would be the last to tolerate economic exploitation and political chicanery.

Despite these visionary beliefs, the editors were not theorists. They had no clear picture of the final shape of their reconstructed world but rather proceeded on the assumption that the slow accretion of reforms would produce a new society through the natural process of evolution. Thus their program contained definite short term goals. These objectives were insistently repeated in the newspapers and were indelibly impressed on the minds of their readers. While the editors can not be credited with the formulation of most of the aims of the reform parties, their desire to educate did profoundly influence the

course of and induce the acceptance of many new ideas.

One of the chief aims of the editors, as the voices of the reform groups, had been currency reform. The editors had proposed loans on farm products and land at low interest rates, the issuance of currency on a non-metallic basis by the government alone, and an increase in the per capita circulation of the medium of exchange. Though the process was long, all these objectives were finally attained. The Federal Reserve Act of 1914 carried out many of the provisions of "the Alliance sub-treasury plan" while the organization of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Commodity Credit Corporation in 1933 fulfilled the desire for cheap interest loans on crops and farm land and the stabilization of farm prices. The per capita circulation of money has increased from five dollars in 1893 to over two hundred dollars in 1947 while the abandonment of the gold standard left the currency on essentially a non-metallic base. Though they can not be given sole credit, by any means, the editors' campaigns did play an important part in setting the stage for the later adoption of these financial changes.

The newspapers of the labor reform editors during the period of discontent were strong factors in the development of the labor union movement and the legislative

adoption of laws intended to safeguard the rights of labor. The eight hour day, state and federal bureaus of labor, government arbitration boards and prohibitions against the contracting of prison labor, all aims of the editors as early as the 1870's, have long been commonplace. Breaking strikes through the use of court injunctions, a practice especially berated by the editors, was regulated by the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 while the desire of labor for security led to the Social Security Act of 1933.

One of the most ardently advocated aims of the editors, free and compulsory education and federal construction of schools, is constantly becoming a more important federal government function. The corollary to increased education, the increased participation by the people in democratic government, has received the attention of Congress and the state legislatures. The initiative, the referendum and the recall have been generally accepted in the western states. Proportional representation has been the subject of experiments in several cities while women's suffrage was adopted in 1920 through the twentieth amendment. The direct election of senators, the use of the Australian secret ballot and direct primaries, also goals of the editors, are now the law of the land.

Federal aid to housing, first suggested in 1888, and a system of public works, demanded by Jacob Coxey and other reform editors, are permanent adjuncts of our social structure today.

On the other side of the ledger, the two most vital goals of the editors have not as yet been reached. Although The Western Rural (Chicago) took full credit for the adoption of the 1887 Interstate Commerce Act, "This publication has had a way of bringing about reform legislation instead of making a great noise about it,"³ the problem of the control of big business, trusts and monopolies is one still pertinent to our present society. The one issue upon which the largest percentage of the editors were agreed, the government ownership of the means of communication and transportation, has not been accepted either. On the whole, however, the great majority of the reforms advocated by the editors have since been fitted into our present pattern for society.

Francis X. Mathews said of the editors in 1895, "Remarkable is the work done by this band of brothers through the columns of the Reform Press. It alone would

³ January 16, 1892.

constitute a chapter in nineteenth century history."⁴ Though their own conception of the importance of their contribution may have been over-estimated, yet it must be granted that in many ways these men did affect the destiny of their country. Through the aid of their blunt criticism, their advocacy of little-known and unappreciated reforms, and their great spirit of democratic humanitarianism, society gained the knowledge and the will to attack its own evils and to reconstruct a newer world on firmer ground.

⁴ The American Non-Conformist (Indianapolis), February 28, 1895.

APPENDIX A

A COMPILATION OF BIOGRAPHIES

Abbot~~x~~, Willis J., born in New Haven, Connecticut, 1863.

Family was of wealthy, Puritan New England ancestry. Mother was a noted physician and reformer, having been a Populist candidate for the office of Regent of the University of Illinois. Abbott received a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1884. He worked on the New Orleans Times Democrat and the New York Tribune. Later he purchased a share in and edited the Kansas City Evening News, 1887-90. He was editor of the Chicago Times, 1890-96; during the Pullman strike this newspaper supported the railway workers despite an advertisers' boycott. Left Chicago to act as chairman for Henry George's mayoralty and single tax campaign in New York, 1897. Joined the staff of Hearst's New York Journal in 1900. Abbott's beliefs ranged from Populist and single tax concepts to a belief in the strength of organized labor. ¹

Ayers, Thomas W., born in Iowa, had schooling in a rural school near Tabor, Iowa. Began training, while in early teens, as printer's devil and compositor. Worked on a number of Iowa newspapers with Henry Vincent before publishing his first newspaper, the Vermillion, S.D., Plain Talk in 1888. By 1892, he had gone to

North Dakota and published the North Dakota Independent. As a Populist propagandist, he ran into much criticism and was convicted on false advertising charges in 1892. This charge, considered a "trumped-up" indictment by the reform press, created some furore during the 1892 election. Ayers had pointed out that North Dakota Republican newspapers were printing advertisements as editorial matter, and in turn, they retaliated by charging that his editorials were Alliance advertising.²

Ayres, H.C., born in Cleveland, Ohio, 1836, received public and high school education. Read law at age of 24 and admitted to bar, 1862. Was in Union army for few months, disabled in combat. From 1862 to 1868, practiced law in Akron, Ohio. Left for Iowa in 1868 and was lawyer in Osceola till 1875. Till that time Ayres had been a Republican but he became provoked over currency trends in G.O.P., bought the Osceola Beacon and became a Greenback editor from 1875 to 1879. In 1872, he had been county superintendent of schools for Clarke county. In 1880, he ran as Greenback candidate for Congress.³

Belden, W. Scott, born in New York, 1835, educated in the public schools till 17, then taught school in Kentucky till age of 21. Turned to the drug trade, remaining in it till Civil War. In Union army four years, commissioned a captain in the field. Came to Jackson

county, Iowa, after war. Elected sheriff of county, 1865. Became editor of Maquoketa Excelsior in 1871, learning printing at same time. Began own Greenback newspaper, the Jackson County Record in 1878.⁴

Berger, Victor, born in Austria, 1860, educated in the European equivalent of the American high school, as well as the University of Budapest. His parents and family emigrated to Bridgeport, Conn., in 1878, stayed two years and moved to Milwaukee. Berger taught German in the Milwaukee high schools while editing his German language reform newspapers, the Wahrheit and the Daily Vorwaerts, published from 1892 till 1898. Politically, he was a delegate to the People's Party convention in St. Louis in 1896 and became disillusioned with the fusion movement of the convention. He, with Eugene Debs, was one of the original organizers of the Social Democratic Party, later the Socialist Party, in 1898. He became editor of both the Social Democratic Herald and the Milwaukee Leader. Though elected a U.S. congressman from the Milwaukee district earlier, he was not seated in Congress till 1923 and served three terms till 1929 as a Socialist member. Was municipal reformer, Populist and Socialist.⁵

Buchanan, James, born in Montgomery county, Indiana, 1837. Parents were farmers. Educated in country schools and

Waveland Academy. Studied law and admitted to bar in 1861. Practiced in Attica, Indiana and in 1870, in Indianapolis. Buchanan was a student in economic theory and evolved his ideas about interest and usury into "The Plan" which involved loaning greenbacks to farmers by the national government through state and county governments at three per cent interest. Began a newspaper, the Indianapolis Sun in 1873 as a Greenback organ as well as to express his own ideas. Was editor for over ten years while running on the Greenback ticket for Congress. Was also a successful inventor of a strawstacker and a traction engine wheel. Was later interested in Populism.⁶

Buchanan, Joseph Ray, born in Hannibal, Missouri, 1851.

Educated in public schools. Parents farmers. Began printing experience on the Louisiana, Mo., Riverside Press as combination editor, reporter, type-setter and ad-solicitor. Worked on Denver Democrat as compositor, 1878. Joined Typographical union in Denver and became interested in labor movement. Working in Leadville, Colorado, he aided striking miners. Became active in Knights of Labor in Denver, 1882. Started the Labor Enquirer in 1882 as a labor reform newspaper. By 1887, Buchanan had been chairman of the Colorado State Anti-Monopoly Party; division organizer of the International Workmen's Association, the first International; had aided the Knights of Labor

to settle several railroad strikes and was on the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, 1886. Began the Chicago Labor Enquirer in 1887, working on the appeal for the Haymarket anarchists. Joined the Socialist Labor party but was expelled for ~~desiring~~ ^{advocating} non-violence. Although Henry Demarest Lloyd supported paper, the Enquirer collapsed and Buchanan went to work on the staff of the New York Sun. He had been one of the editors desiring to educate the electorate who had been rejected by those political groups desiring immediate action.⁷

Burrows, Jay, born in Maysville, New York, 1833. Parents were farmers in Chautauqua county, part of the western New York area which in the 1830's had many religious revivals. Burrows was educated in the public schools. During Civil War, served with Custer and Sheridan. Moved to an Iowa farm, then in 1889 to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he began publication of the Farmer's Alliance. The paper was the official Populist party newspaper till the fusion tactics of the People's Party compelled Burrows to resign. As a farmer and as an economist, he had deep convictions which didn't allow him to compromise with Bryan and the Democrats.⁸

Byron, Thomas F., born and educated in Glenwood, Iowa. Had worked with Gen. Ben Butler and the Massachusetts

Greenback party while publishing the Lowell, Mass., Sun for seven years. Later edited other eastern Greenback papers before becoming editor of the Des Moines, Ia., Farmers' Tribune in 1894. Byron fought with Gen. James B. Weaver over the fusion issue, maintaining that the Populists should stand on the Omaha platform but Weaver prevailed upon Thomas Meredith, owner of the Tribune, to remove Byron.⁹

Cameron, Andrew Carr, born in Berwick-on-Tweed, England, 1834.

Father was a printer and after a brief elementary education, Cameron went to work as printer's devil. Emigrating to the U.S., he found a position on the Chicago Courant, later the Times, Stephen A. Douglas' paper. Joined the Typographical union and a printer's strike in 1864 led to the establishment of the Workingman's Advocate, published both in Chicago and Cincinnati, 1864-1877. Paper was the organ, in turn, of the National Labor Union, the Labor Reform party, the Industrial Congress and the Greenback party. Cameron organized the National Labor Union, attended the Basel convention of the First International and helped start the Greenback party in Cleveland, 1875. He organized the Workingmen's League of Illinois, was a member of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, president of the Grand Eight Hour League and president of the Illinois State Labor Association.

He urged political action and backed the Greenback movement. His greatest interests were in the labor movement and his last venture, the Inland Printer, is still published as a printing trade monthly.¹⁰

Carpenter, Stephen D., born in Chautauqua county, New York, in 1821. Father was an adventurous farmer who died fighting with the Texans at the Alamo. Carpenter's newspaper work began as reporter at age of 17 after short elementary education. Wrote and published various papers in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. In 1850, came to Madison, Wisconsin, worked and edited three newspapers. Worked as inventor at same time, successfully developing a rotary pump and grain binder. Kept on editing various Wisconsin papers in Fond du Lac and Oshkosh till 1873 when he joined Greenback and anti-monopoly movement. Began publication of the Daily Worker, 1875, the Daily Madison Patriot, 1876, *which were Greenback and labor* ~~both radical legislation~~ newspapers till 1877."

Casey, William J., born in Ohio, 1861. Father was a lawyer and mayor of Knoxville, Ia. Educated in Knoxville public schools and McKee's Academy till age of 15. Began training as printer's devil on Knoxville Express at that time. Became professional typographer and half-owner of Express, 1887. Editorial policy backed Greenback movement, the Union Labor party and the

Populist party. Later he became a Wilsonian Democrat.¹²

Clark, James K., born in Ireland, 1846. Educated in Dublin schools. Emigrated to U.S. in 1863, lived in Chicago but burnt out in fire of 1871. Moved to Kansas and while working in boot and shoe manufacturing, was elected to the Kansas State legislature. Moved to Mt. Pleasant, Ia., 1880 and started the Mt. Pleasant Herald, a Greenback newspaper, destroyed by fire in 1884. Ran for Lt. Gov. of Kansas on the Greenback ticket in 1885. Returned to Mt. Pleasant and re-opened the Herlad as a Union Labor party and Knights of Labor publication in 1886.¹³

Corning, Cyrus, born in St. Lawrence county, New York, 1844. Completed his education at Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisc., and at Ripon College. Had previously spent a year at Allen's Grove Academy. Published a number of Union Labor party and Knights of Labor newspapers in Kansas. These included the Stockbridge Enterprise and the Topeka Tribune. His successful paper was the Silver Lake News which became the Quenemo Kansas Workman. He was also associate editor of the National Workman, a Knights of Labor newspaper. His newspapers followed a Greenback party editorial policy.¹⁴

Cowgill, B.H., born in Clark County, Missouri, 1854.

Parents were frontier farmers. Cowgill educated at Christian University, Clark County, and at Christian Brothers College in St. Louis. Appointed Pike County deputy collector and in 1875, founded the Pike County Express, backing the Greenback movement for six years. In 1881, he purchased the Anti-Monopolist, changed the name to the Laclede County Sentinel and backed the Union Labor party. He continued his support of reform groups through the 1896 Populist campaign. Was a member of Odd Fellows, Knights of Labor and the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁵

Craig, Francis A., born and educated in Iowa, a printer by trade. Had been editor of La Junta, Colo., Daily Democrat before an interest in the Populist movement aroused him to start the Mt. Pleasant, Ia., Referendum, 1893. Was an ardent and radical Populist and active platform speaker. Had fairly large subscription list but not in Iowa so advertising was difficult to obtain. Chicago Times listed Referendum as one of papers aiding Debs' American Railway Union strike.¹⁶

Davis, Crawford F., born in Illinois, 1854. Had public school education and was a telegrapher for one year. Learned printer's techniques on Bloomfield, Ia., Granger

Advocate. Studied law and admitted to bar, 1877.

Established the Bloomfield, Ia., Legal Tender Greenback in 1878 with equipment from the Commonwealth. Had a circulation of 2000 in 1879 as well as county printing contract. Received contract since Greenback ticket had won every office in county. Davis was a delegate to the Greenback convention in St. Louis, 1880 and was secretary of the State Greenback Editorial Association. Member of the Odd Fellows and Good Templars.¹⁷

Debs, Eugene Victor, born in Terre Haute, Indiana, 1855.

Parents were storekeepers, of Alsatian origin. Debs had public school education till 15, then worked on railroad becoming locomotive fireman. Helped organize Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Elected city clerk of Terre Haute, also elected to lower house of Indiana legislature in 1892. Organized and led the American Railway Union and edited its newspaper, the Terre Haute Railway Times, 1893. Managed Pullman strike and while in jail following strike failure, was converted to socialism. Though backing Bryan in 1896, he helped organize the Social Democratic party in 1898, a group later called the Socialist Party. He became an editor of the Girard, Kans. Appeal to Reason and aided in editing the Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee.¹⁸

De Leon, Daniel, born in Curacao, Dutch West Indies, 1852.

Came to U.S. in 1872, attended and graduated from Columbia Law College, became a lecturer on political economy at Columbia. Supported Henry George in 1886, joined Knights of Labor, 1888, interested in Nationalism, 1889, finally joined Socialist Labor party, 1890. Became leader of party and editor of newspaper, The People, issued in Chicago and New York, 1892. Opposed ~~immediate gain policy of working with~~ trade unions and was bitter enemy of Samuel Gompers. Aided in defeat of Powderly as head of the Knights of Labor and split the Socialist Labor party by founding the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, 1895. De Leon was considered a rigid doctrinaire Marxian by Debs, Berger and the other founders of the Socialist party.¹⁹

Diggs, Annie L., born in London, Ontario, Canada, 1853.

Father was wealthy lawyer. Her education was through a governess, a convent and several public high schools. She travelled as a sociologist, studying factories in New England and England, writing her findings in the form of newspaper stories for Boston and New York papers. She was very active in many reform movements as well as a writer for the reform press. Wrote for the Lawrence, Kans., Journal and the Topeka Commonwealth. Was a Populist, Socialist, Woman Suffragist, member of the W.C.T.U.,

secretary of the National Citizen's Independent Alliance, 1882, president of the Women's Alliance, 1892, president of the Kansas Free Silver League, 1897, a delegate to the International Co-operative Congress and to the Int'l Peace Congress. Also editor of the Lawrence Journal, 1890.²⁰

Dixon, Paul J., born in Putnam County, Ohio, 1851. Father was a lawyer. Dixon attended public schools, passed bar examinations in 1871 at age of 19. Lawyer by profession. Became editor of Chillicothe, Mo., Crisis, 1878, and turned paper into Greenback organ. Elected member of city council, 1875, ran for office of Secretary of State on Greenback ticket, 1884, polled over 204,000 votes. Editorial policy was that of full legal tender currency and anti-monopoly laws. Backed Peoples' Party and was authorized in 1895 by the National Reform Press Association to establish a Populist news bureau in Kansas City.²¹

Donnelly, Ignatius, born in Philadelphia, 1831. Father was a physician. Donnelly educated in Philadelphia public schools, studied law and admitted to bar, 1853. Went to Minnesota, 1856, and attempted to set up a model community at Nininger. Panic of 1857 wrecked his plans and he turned land into family farm. Had been a Republican prior to Civil War, elected to office of Lt.

Governor of Minnesota at age of 28, 1859. Elected as Republican Congressman, 1863-1869, but battled with party leaders and lost his chance for fourth term. Turned to Granger and Greenback movement, publishing the Anti-Monopolist, 1874-1879, and was elected to the Minnesota State Senate as a Greenbacker, 1874-1878. Elected president of Minnesota State Farmer's Alliance and led the group into the People's Party through his editorials in the St. Paul Representative. Wrote the preamble to the Omaha People's Party platform, 1892. Supported Bryan in 1896 unwillingly since he, with most of the other reform editors, considered fusion as the "great betrayal."²²

Engle, Perry, born in Ohio, 1841. Parents were farmers and Engle was left an orphan at 15. Attended both Long Island University and University of Michigan, receiving M.D. at Michigan in 1871. Was a hospital superintendent in Cincinnati Ohio. Established the Newton, Ia., Herald as a Greenback newspaper. Paper continued its reform policies till 1900, as the voice of the Greenback movement, the Union Labor and Populist parties. Also established the Iowa Referendum in Newton, 1887, to publicize proposed legislative reforms. Elected in 1889 as Iowa state senator on Union Labor ticket from district which had always been Republican, served

two terms. As state senator, he introduced the Australian ballot law in Iowa, also a bill setting up the Industrial School for the Blind. Ran as People's Party candidate for Congress in 1892.²³

Felber, John H., born in Switzerland, 1843. Father was a carpenter and after brief public school education, Felber worked as carpenter, 1859. Was mail carrier and storekeeper in St. Helena, Nebraska, 1873. In 1882, he purchased the Cedar County, Neb., Nonpareil and published it as a bitter anti-monopoly paper.²⁴

Flower, Benjamin O., born in Albion, Illinois, 1858. Had public school education and attended University of Kentucky. Edited the Albion American Sentinel as a Greenback newspaper till 1880. Published the Boston magazine The Arena, 1889-1896 in which he called for the initiative, referendum, recall, proportional representation and direct primaries as well as other political and economic reforms. In 1897, he returned to Chicago to edit The New Time, a single tax publication which also advocated the income and inheritance taxes to tax away accumulated wealth.²⁵

Gamble, J.D., born in Ohio, 1836. Parents were farmers. Had public school education and was farmer till 19. Went to McGee College, Missouri, later taught school and

read law. Admitted to bar, 1860. Fought in Civil War, Fourth Iowa Infantry. Elected to Iowa state legislature, 1865. Practiced law, farming and was bank cashier till 1879. Became editor of Greenback newspaper, the Knoxville, Ia., Democrat. Advocated currency reforms and anti-monopoly legislation.²⁶

George, Herbert, Born in Jackson, Michigan, 1853. Parents were farmers. Had public school education. Became a commercial traveller, finally settling in Colorado for health. Worked as prospector and in rock quarry. Began publication of George's Weekly, organizing the Cripple Creek Citizen's Alliance which helped settle a miners' strike. Established the Denver, Colo., The Road as a national circulation People's Party organ. Though stressing free silver as an issue, he maintained that he was "revolting" against the spirit which "demonetized silver." Was brilliant propagandist and aided Davis H. Waite to win election as Populist governor of Colorado, 1892. In 1918, George headed the Denver Employers' Association, a strike-breaking, open shop group.²⁷

George, Milton, born in 1834, had a brief elementary education. Was a farmer till 1879 when he came to Chicago and founded the Western Rural, which he edited for 25 years. Organized the National Farmers' Alliance in Cook

County, Illinois, 1877, later organizing a national organization in Chicago, 1880. Was director of the Illinois Manual Training School for Boys, having contributed 300 acres as a school site, 1889. The Rural backed Alliance actions and editorially supported the People's Party.²⁸

Godfrey, George, born in Perry County, Pennsylvania, 1827. Father had been sailor and adventurer, having fought with Bolivar in South America. Godfrey educated in country district schools till family moved to Indiana. At age 23, he became a telgrapher, working as an operator in Chicago and Racine, Wisc., for six years. Then taught school in Wisconsin for two years. Became reporter on Milwaukee News, 1859. Started the Milwaukee Daily Commercial Letter as well as the Free Democrat, 1860. In 1870's he edited the Milwaukee Guide, The Wisconsin Greenback and The Signal. He ran on the Greenback ticket for State Senate, 1878, and for Congress, 1880. Owned a prosperous job printing business during entire publication period.²⁹

Gould, Edwin F., born in Alliance, Ohio, 1853. Had public school education. Became a railroad telegraph operator taking prominent role in 1876 and 1883 railway strikes. Active as a member of the Knights of Labor and later, the trade unions, he was blacklisted by the railroads.

Founded The Union, Indianapolis, Ind., 1888, as the official organ of the Indiana Federation of Trade and Labor Unions. Was president of the Teamsters and Shovelers Union though not a union member. Was active in and supported all forms of labor activity.³⁰

Grenell, Judson, born in upstate New York, 1847, the fourteenth child of a Baptist minister. Had French and New England Puritan background, strong reform tendencies in family since father interpreted Bible equalitarianism on economic grounds. After brief schooling, Grenell became printer's devil at age of 14. Travelled as an itinerant printer, joining Typographical Union in late 1860's. Worked in labor movement in New Haven, Conn., till 1874, then moved to Detroit to edit the Michigan Christian Herald, a Baptist weekly. In Detroit, he became acquainted with the German Socialists, joining them. Began work on staff of Detroit News, 1884, also editing The Socialist. Later was editor of the Advance and the Labor Leaf with Jo Labadie. Believed in peaceful righting of economic and social wrongs. Elected on Union Labor ticket to Michigan legislature, advocated Australian ballot while in office. Was also a Single Taxer, a free trader, and a Socialist.³¹

Harmon, Moses, born in Pendleton County, West Virginia, 1830,

of deeply religious, frontier farmer, parents. Harmon joined the Methodist church through conviction at 16 and was a licensed preacher by 20. After a short brilliant career as a minister, he lost faith and rebelled against a god who "tormented his erring children." He began a campaign of anarcho-socialism which emphasized an attack against the economic and sexual slavery of women. He published his newspaper, the Valley Falls, Kans., Lucifer, the Light Bearer, for over twenty years, twice being sentenced to federal prison for sending obscene, as defined by the Comstock Law, literature through the mails. Changed name of newspaper to The American Journal of Eugenics and continued editorial writings till death in 1910.³²

Haskell, Burnette G., a western lawyer, erratic but very vigorous in an espousal of socialism, Bellamy nationalism and anarchism. Was leader of Pacific Coast branch of the Marxist first international, 1881. Edited Truth in San Francisco, 1882-1885. Took Buchanan's place as editor of the Denver Labor Enquirer, 1887.³³

Hawthorne, William H., born in Cumberland County, England, 1867. Came to U.S. at age 13, educated both in English and Streator, Ill., public schools. Studied law privately and admitted to Illinois bar. Edited the

Spring Valley, Ill., Gazette in 1890 when it attracted national attention publicizing the Spring Valley Coal lockout. Had long correspondence with Henry Demarest Lloyd and Samuel Gompers over coal miners' plight. Editorial policy was primarily concerned with labor but backed Populist ideas.³⁴

Hayde, James, born in Ireland, 1836. Came to Hamilton, Ont., at age 14 as printer's devil. As itinerant printer, worked on Chicago Tribune in 1861. Was largely instrumental in forming the first typographical union in America. Became co-editor, with John Blake, of the Chicago Workingmen's Advocate which was an exponent of organized labor, against monopoly corporations, and favored the eight hour day during the agitations of the late 1860's. Hayde later was a Board of Trade operator in Chicago for twenty-five years.³⁵

Hayes, Max S., born in Havana, Ohio, 1866. Educated in Ohio public schools and became apprentice printer. Was a member of the typographical union and aided in the establishment of the Cleveland Citizen in 1890 which he later edited. As a reform labor editor, he attacked Cleveland and backed the Populist party ticket. After 1896, he became a Socialist and worked in the trade unions as both lecturer and editor.³⁶

Hirth, Frank, born in Germany. Had brief elementary education. Emigrated to Detroit and joined German Socialist group in that city. Member of the Cigarmaker's Union but maintained as editor of The Socialist, Detroit, 1877-1878, Chicago, 1878, that he was "disgusted with the whole labor movement." Had a belief called both communist and socialist, yet didn't believe in force.³⁷

Holcomb, Walter L., born in Ripley County, Indiana, 1856. Parents were farmers and Holcomb had a common "log school" education. Was a printer by trade. Became associate editor and, later, editor of the El Dorado, Kansas, The Industrial Advocate. Paper was organ of the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, and People's Party in Kansas. Was strong advocate of Omaha convention and also desired free silver.³⁸

Holden, W.C., born in Frankfort, Indiana, 1842. Had short public school education. Parents were farmers. Began apprenticeship as printer at age of 15 in Shelbyville, Ind., Banner office. Worked as itinerant printer in Iowa till Civil War when he enlisted and served in the Second Iowa Cavalry. Moved to Nebraska and began publication of the Orleans, Neb., Republican Valley Sentinel, 1873. In 1879, he purchased the Kearney, Neb., Central Nebraska Press. Both papers were Greenback and union labor newspapers.³⁹

Hoskins, Frank, was a printer by trade and editor of the Henning, Minn., Alliance Advocate. As editor, 1891-1896, he aroused much hostility from the conservative elements in Minnesota. His editorial policy varied from Populism to socialism, backing free silver at one point and attacking local banks at another. Local historians credit him with causing on run on Hennings banks. A banker accused him of criminal libel, had him committed to the State Hospital for the insane. In 1898, Hoskins returned and aided in the defeat of the hostile banker who had been running for county attorney.⁴⁰

Hubbard, Lester C., born in Ohio. Parents were farmers.

Began career as farmer but joined Ohio Farmers' Alliance and became sub-Alliance organizer for state. In 1887, began publication of Chicago Farmer's Voice. Montgomery, Ward Company subsidized paper to extent of twelve to sixteen pages of catalogue prices each week. Editorial policy began with desire for tariff revision, government ownership of railroads and telegraph lines and cheap money. His policies became more radical till, in 1892, the company which had gotten a financial interest in paper, dropped him. He, thereupon, founded The Vanguard, H.D. Lloyd supplying the funds. This paper was radical Populist.⁴¹

Ingalls, P.P., born in Ohio, 1823. Educated at Ohio Wesleyan University. Entered ministry at age of 20, becoming a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church. Had churches in Keokuk, Mt. Pleasant and Des Moines, Ia. Was an army chaplain in Third Iowa Cavalry during Civil War. Became editor of the Iowa State Tribune in 1879. Followed Greenback and Union Labor editorial policies till 1884, had circulation of over 10,000 while publishing in Des Moines. Due to illness, resigned editorship and became secretary of the Iowa Orphans Home. Had relations with most of the reform leaders of the period and was called "a power on the stump."⁴²

Ingalls, Joseph, born in Iowa. Father was minister and reform editor. Educated in Iowa public schools. Began as printer's devil in Iowa State Tribune, Des Moines. Went to St. Louis, 1881, and published the St. Louis Express as Greenback and labor newspaper.⁴³

Ives, Nelson M., born in Ohio, 1818. Parents were frontier farmers and Ives had brief elementary education. Came to Iowa at age of 25, taught in Burlington, Ia., schools. Joined army during Mexican war but fought Minnesota Indians instead. Returned after war to farming. Was elected Deputy county treasurer and collector in Burlington. Elected chairman of Anti-Monopoly state convention, 1873. Began publication of the Ottumwa, Ia.,

Spirit of the Times, 1874-1878, as anti-monopoly newspaper. Editor of the Ottumwa, Ia., Industrial Appeal, 1882, with labor and Greenback policy.⁴⁴

Kautzman, Ham, born in Ohio, 1847. Parents were farmers. Had brief schooling and began as printer's devil at age of 13. Became printer by trade. Edited the Casey, Ia., Clarion and the Stuart, Ia., Headlight, 1875-1877, before publishing own newspaper, the Winterset, Ia., Beacon Light. Paper had Greenback editorial policy. Had circulation of 800 in 1879.⁴⁵

Labadie, Charles Joseph Antoine, born in Paw-Paw, Michigan, 1850. Father, of French-Indian descent, was an interpreter for the Jesuits among northern Michigan Indian tribes. Moving about with father gave Labadie chance for little formal education. Became printer's devil in South Bend, Ind., at age of 16. Worked as itinerant printer, wandering about country, for eleven years before settling in Detroit and marrying. Wife, well-educated, polished his writing technique to point where Benjamin R. Tucker, editor of Liberty, printed Labadie's column "Cranky Notions." Was member of Typographical union, aided in organization of Michigan Knights of Labor and was Greenback-Labor candidate for Detroit mayor, 1878. Was a student of Marxism and anarchism but trade union background sent him into the

Detroit Council of Trades and the Michigan Federation of Labor to achieve economic reforms. Was editor of the Detroit Socialist, the Detroit Advance and Labor Review, the Detroit Unionist, and the Lansing, Mich., Sentinel. His collection of radical and reform literature forms the basis of an enormous library of material in the Labadie Collection of the University of Michigan. ⁴⁶

Lamb, C.J., born in Lapeer County, Michigan, 1849. Parents were farmers. Was a graduate of Concordia State Normal School, Fort Wayne, Ind. Became editor of the Kirwin, Kans., Independent in late 1880's. Was an ardent advocate of the single tax and the Populist movement. His comments on economy of Kansas considered so pertinent that they were featured in both the Kansas City Star and the Boston Arena. ⁴⁷

Lindsay, Anna, born and educated in Stafford, Kansas. Was a public school teacher before an interest in the activities of the Farmers' Alliance induced her to become editor of the Stafford, Kans., Alliance Herald, 1890. Newspaper policy was strongly Populist. ⁴⁸

Loucks, H.L., born in Ontario, Canada, 1846. Parents were farmers. Had brief elementary education, studied privately and finally obtained college degree. Was

chief of the Independent Order of Good Templars of Canada before age of 25. Became farmer near Clear Lake, S.D., and began publication of the Huron, S.D., Ruralist. Called the first People's Party convention in the Dakotas in 1890. Was Populist candidate for Congress in 1891. Elected vice-president of the National Farmer's Alliance, 1892. Newspaper followed a Populist party Omaha platform policy.⁴⁹

Longley, Alcander, born in Oxford, Ohio, 1832. Father was a Universalist minister interested in the Fourierist movement. Longley had public school education. Joined a phalanx of the Fourier movement in N.J. in 1852, left four years later to organize reform literature printing firm in Cincinnati, O. Worked as typesetter and compositor for the Cincinnati Commercial. Joined the Icaria colony in Iowa, 1867. Left to publish his newspaper, The Communist, 1868-1885, which promoted his own form of colony communism. Attempted five communistic colonies in Missouri at intervals till 1885. All failed. Began publication of the St. Louis Altruist, 1885-1918, which backed the Socialist Labor party, later the People's Party and finally the Socialist Party. Believed in "Common property, united labor, mutual assistance, equal rights and phonetic spelling."⁵⁰

Lumm, Dyer D., born in New York or Massachusetts, 1840.

Was well-educated and saw service in the Civil War. Was active in the Labor Reform movement in Massachusetts, running for position of Lt. Governor, 1876, while Wendell Phillips headed the state ticket. Went to Washington, 1877, as secretary to a congressional commission on industrial reforms. Became active in the Chicago anarchist movement in 1887, assuming the editorship of Albert Parsons' The Alarm, Chicago anarchist newspaper, after Parsons was imprisoned following the Haymarket episode. Transferred Alarm to N.Y., 1889, and died 1893.⁵¹

Macune, C.W., born in Wisconsin, 1851. Parents were farmers of Scotch-Irish descent. Well-educated, Macune studied both law and medicine, receiving medical degree, at University of Illinois. Practicing medicine in Milam County, Texas, he became interested in the Farmer's Alliance and was elected president of the Texas State Alliance, later president of the National Alliance. In 1889, he formulated the sub-treasury plan advocated by the Alliance and became editor of the Washington, D.C., National Economist, national organ of the Alliance, with a circulation all through the west. In 1892, he fought and lost battle with other People's Party leaders, who, not desiring fusion, caused his resignation.⁵²

Mahony, Dennis H., born in Ireland, 1821. Came to Iowa, 1843. Was public school teacher in Dubuque, Ia., later elected to state legislature. While teaching, became reporter on Dubuque Miner's Express, a labor paper. Studied law and admitted to bar. Became editor of Dubuque Express-Herald, 1856, and advocated labor and economic reforms. Began Dubuque Telegraph, 1871, which began ardent Greenback campaign. Died 1879.⁵³

Mann, F.A., born in Ohio, 1838. Had brief education and became printer's apprentice. Was compositor by trade. First published the Guthrie County, Ia., Journal, 1873. In 1874, Mann became editor of the Beacon Light, second Greenback paper in Iowa. As a delegate to Des Moines Greenback convention, 1876, he drafted the first state Greenback political platform. Became editor of the Albia, Ia., Industrial Era, a Greenback and labor reform newspaper.⁵⁴

Mann, Thomas E., born in Ohio, 1856. Father was a farmer and Christian Union church minister, a labor union member and a candidate for state representative on Greenback ticket, 1877. Mann had primary school education but received college degree, marrying a minister's daughter before graduation. Taught school and entered Greenback politics. Invented his own hand press rather

than pay \$400 for a Washington press. Began publication of the Gladbrook, Ia., Tama Northern, 1881, as a Greenback and Union Labor paper.⁵⁶

Mathews, Charles X., born in Indiana. Was a newspaper reporter by profession, working as a feature writer on the Cincinnati Enquirer. In 1892, he became associate editor of the Indianapolis, Ind., American Non-conformist under Henry Vincent. Became editor in 1893 when Vincent left. Was very active in Farmer's Alliance and Populist party movements, advocating an adherence to the Omaha platform and education of the electorate rather than office-seeking.⁵⁶

Meredith, Thomas, born in England, 1824. Had short elementary education. Became a pioneer farmer in western Iowa, having stopped in Iowa rather than take Oregon trail. Became fairly wealthy as land speculator. Loaned money to Vincents when they began the Tabor, Ia., edition of the American Non-conformist. Later, 1889, published the Industrial West, Atlantic, Ia. In the 1890's, became publisher of the Des Moines Farmer's Tribune. His policy followed the whole gamut of reform movements, greenback, union labor and Populist. In 1896, Gen. James B. Weaver was editor of the Tribune, under Meredith.⁵⁷

Miller, Minos, born in Indiana, 1841. Parents were farmers.

Had a public school education. After Civil War, took courses in a commercial college. Worked as a farmer, book keeper, coal dealer and planing mill operator before becoming editor of the Knoxville, Ia., Democrat, 1879. Newspaper was Greenback organ for area. Elected as clerk of county courts, Marion, Ia., 1880, on Greenback ticket.⁵⁸

Moe, Martin, born in Wisconsin, 1855, eldest of eight children. Parents were farmers. Had common school education, then became printer's devil. A compositor by trade. Became editor of the St. Ansgar, Ia., Register, 1877, and followed a Greenback and labor reform editorial policy.⁵⁹

Morgan, W.S. While Morgan's Buzzsaw, Hardy, Ark., was a reform newspaper in the first decade of the twentieth century, Morgan also edited The National Reformer, St. Louis, and handled all the boiler plate material of the Populist party and the National Reform Press Association.⁶⁰

McBride, John, born in Wayne County, Ohio, 1854. Father was a coal miner. McBride had little formal education and began working in the mines at the age of 9. Joined the Miner's Union, 1870, and elected union president, 1883. Elected as member of Ohio state legislature,

1883-1887. Became editor of the Massillon, Ohio, Miner's Independent, 1891. Elected president of the American Federation of Labor, 1894, for one year, defeating Samuel Gompers. McBride advocated the most political and radical platform the AF. of L. ever endorsed. Included such planks as municipal ownership of street cars, waterworks, gas and electric plants and the abolition of monopoly land holding.⁶¹

Norton, Seymour F., Col., editor of the Chicago Sentinel, a reform newspaper for forty years. A Civil War veteran, Norton employed many radical former army officers whose opinions carried weight for the voters to write in favor of the greenback movement, the Labor Reform and Populist parties. Died in Chicago, 1912.⁶²

Owen, Sidney Marcus, born in Ohio, 1838. Father was a store keeper. Owen educated in public schools and Oberlin College. Worked in mercantile business, 1857-1884, writing for reform newspapers at same time. In 1884, he began publication of the Minneapolis, Minn., Farm, Stock and Home, which backed and organized the Minnesota Farmer's Alliance. The editorial policy also favored Ignatius Donnelly and the Populist movement in Minnesota. Owen was one of the prime movers in the development of the Minnesota State Agricultural School. Had a large circulation of 36,000 in 1893.⁶³

Owen, Thomas, Jr., born in Flint, North Wales, 1853. Had elementary education and graduated from Holyhead College in Wales. Came to U.S. as professional writer, assumed editorship of the Chicago Farm, Field and Fireside, 1877, 1880. Established the Clyde, Kans., Democrat, 1880-1882, as a Greenback newspaper. Became editor of the Concordia, Kans., Cloud County Critic, 1882-1888. Paper was a well-written labor and economic reform newspaper.⁶⁴

Parsons, Albert, born in Montgomery, Alabama, 1848. Father was a shoe and leather manufacturer, a Universalist. Ancestry extends to English settlers in Massachusetts. Parents died at age of 5. Parsons was sent to Texas to eldest brother who edited the Tyler, Tex., Telegraph. Parsons lived on a ranch and learned to use rifles and pistols as a youngster. Became a printer's devil in Waco, Tex., at age of eleven. Ran away to join Confederate Army at thirteen. Only education was six months at Waco University. Founded the Waco Spectator, 1868, with editorial policy supporting the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments as well as political freedom of the negroes. Republicans appointed him to various federal political offices in Texas before he was 24. Married a Spanish-Indian wife and came to Chicago, 1872. Member of Typographical union, worked on Chicago Times. Became in-

terested in labor movement, joined Workingmen's Party, and Knights of Labor, 1876. Railroad strike of 1887, during which he made a speech to strikers, caused him to be blacklisted. Left political labor parties in 1880 because he felt laborers were too downtrodden to have political inclinations. In 1884, founded The Alarm as organ of the International Working People's Association. In 1886, Parsons arrested for anarchist convictions after Haymarket episode and imprisoned.⁶⁵

Pattee, A.C., Dr., born near Ft. Wayne, Indiana, 1846. Had college education and received medical degree. Moved to Kansas and became editor of the Salina, Kans., Union, 1890-1898, a strongly Populist newspaper. Elected president of the Kansas State Alliance, 1891. Was also a president of the National Reform Press Association.⁶⁶

Peffer, William Alfred, born in Pennsylvania, 1831. Parents were farmers. Was educated in country schools and began teaching at age of 16. Becoming interested in anti-slavery movement, he moved to southern Indiana and became a farmer, 1852. Lost his farm in financial panic of 1857. Moving to Missouri on another farm, he was forced to leave since his anti-slavery opinions were not acceptable in Missouri during the Civil War. Joined Union army, studying law while in service, and

opened law office in Wilson County, Kansas, 1870. Elected to Kansas state senate, he also became editor of the Coffeyville Journal, 1875-1878. In 1881, he became editor of the Topeka, Kans., Kansas Farmer, advocating free coinage of silver, government control of transportation and a low tariff. Was very active in formation of Kansas Peoples' Party. Elected to U.S. Senate, 1891, from Kansas. Was also elected as permanent president of the national conference of the Peoples' Party, 1891, in Cincinnati.⁶⁷

Pomeroy, Eltwood, born in Newark, N.J., 1860. Educated in public schools. Obtained position in paste and ink manufacturing company and rose to presidency of firm. Editor of Direct Legislation Record, 1892, newspaper of the National Direct Legislation League, a group seeking enactment of initiative, referendum and recall measures. Elected a member of the national committee of the Peoples' Party. An associate editor, Girard, Kans., Appeal to Reason, 1895. His political beliefs could be described as conservative Socialist, of a Fabian character.⁶⁸

Pomeroy, Mark "Brick" M., born in Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, 1833. Of Revolutionary War ancestry, his father was a watchmaker and business man. Pomeroy had public school

education. Started as printer's devil at age of 17 on Corning, N.Y., Journal. Became itinerant printer, travelled through U.S. and Canada. Began editorial work as editor of the Milwaukee, Wisc., Daily News, 1858. Later purchased an interest in and edited the La Crosse, Wisc., Union and Democrat, 1860. In this position he became nationally known from a re-printed anti-Lincoln, anti-war editorial of his in Greeley's N.Y. Tribune, 1865, which connected him with Lincoln's assassination. Circulation of paper reached 68,000 in 1868, many of the subscriptions coming from the South. Becoming wealthy, Pomeroy moved to New York and published the N.Y. Democrat, receiving aid from Boss Tweed. Turning against Tweed, he helped break ring but lost his paper. Moved Democrat to Chicago as chief Greenback newspaper for mid-West and aided in the organization of 4,000 Greenback clubs. Again, he lost paper. Re-organized as the La Crosse, Wisc., Democrat, he became presidential nominee for Greenback ticket but was discarded when Greenback Labor party was formed and Gen. Weaver accepted as candidate instead. Going bankrupt again, he evolved schemes for building tunnels through the Rocky Mountains west of Denver and gold mining corporations. Died in 1896. Was brilliant propagandist for reform press. ⁶⁹

Post, Louis F., born in New Jersey, 1849. Father was wealthy gentleman farmer, well educated and of respectable social status. Post had public school education to age of 15 but left of own accord to work as printer's devil in publishing houses in New York. Studied law, admitted to bar, 1870. Joined staff of N.Y. Truth as editorial writer, 1879-1882. Became well known speaker for labor and greenback groups in the East, running for political offices under minor political party auspices in 1880's. Aided Gen. Butler's Greenback campaign, 1884. Wrote for John Swinton's Paper. Worked with Henry George and Single Tax party. Became editor of the N.Y. Standard, single tax organ till 1892. Attacked Peoples' Party campaign as not radical but rather an attempt towards office-seeking. Worked on staff of St. Paul, Minn., National Single Taxer. Began publication of his chief means of editorial expression, the Chicago The Public, 1898, attacking "the plutocratic influences."⁷⁰

Richey, Frank, a resident of St. Louis. Had college education and admitted to bar as lawyer. Editor of the St. Louis Vox Populi, 1894-1896, a tabloid size illustrated newspaper intended to propagandize Populist ideas through pictures and cartoons. Delegate to Populist convention in St. Louis, December, 1894.⁷¹

Robb, William H., born in Pennsylvania, 1847. Father was a farmer and ardent abolitionist who moved to Iowa in 1856. Robb was educated in county public schools, Nebraska City College, and studied law in Pittsburgh, Pa. Taught in college five years before establishing Afton, Ia., Independent American, 1877, a newspaper "devoted to the great labor and farm interests, thoroughly anti-monopoly." Elected to Iowa state legislature for two terms as well as clerk of city of Creston, Ia., 1896. Paper moved to Creston and became a daily, 1893, following a Greenback, Union Labor and Populist policy till 1896 when it backed Bryan and the Democrats.⁷²

Sanders, W.H., born in Ohio, 1852. Parents were farmers who moved about in mid-west, settled in Iowa, 1879. Had public schools education and was farmer till he opened mercantile store, Wiota, Ia., which was burnt down. Began publication of the Atlantic, Ia., People's Advocate, 1883, a Greenback and labor newspaper. Later co-edited the Atlantic, Ia., Industrial West with James R. Sovereign, 1888, president of the Knights of Labor in Iowa. Backed Populist ticket in 1890's.⁷³

Schilling, Robert, born in Osterburg, Saxony, about 1845. Had brief elementary education in St. Louis and worked as a cooper in beer breweries. Elected president of

the St. Louis Coopers' Union at age of 20. Headed national union at 25. At that time the Coopers' Union was the most powerful union in U.S. In 1873, he was elected president of the Industrial Congress, forerunner of the Union Labor party, for two years. Moved to Ohio in 1875 and published the Cleveland, O., Sunday Times, Cleveland, O., The Weekly Advance, Canal Dover, O., The National Leader, and Canal Dover, O., The Citizen, all Greenback and labor newspapers. In 1880, he moved to Milwaukee, was elected as grand master workman of the Knights of Labor in Wisconsin and organized the first brewer's union. Established the Milwaukee, Wisc., National Reformer, a German language daily, and the Daily Advance, in English, editing both for twelve years. Became associated with the Populist movement and was secretary of the national party for several years.⁷⁴

Shirley, David D., born in Quebec, Canada, 1855. Parents were farmers. Had brief education in Missouri during Civil War. Began as printer's devil at age of 10, and was earning three dollars a day as compositor at age of 14. Worked on Lineville, Ia., Tribune. Assumed editor's position on Allerton, Ia., News, 1881-1885, and elected mayor of Allerton, 1882. Newspaper followed a Greenback editorial policy.⁷⁵

Sovereign, James R., raised and educated in Iowa. Parents were farmers. Co-editor of the Atlantic, Ia., Industrial West, 1888. Headed Iowa Knights of Labor and in 1893, combining forces with Daniel De Leon and the New York Socialists, he defeated Powderly and became national master workman of the Knights of Labor. Was a strong Populist editorialist and politician but had an agrarian reform attitude.⁷⁶

Smith, Orlando Jay, born in Terre Haute, Indiana, 1842. Parents were farmers. Education included a year at Depauw University before he joined army in Civil War. Rose from private to colonel in four years. Became a cotton planter in Mississippi for three years but returned to Terre Haute and edited the Mail, 1870-1872 and the Express, 1872-1879 as successful greenback and anti-monopoly newspapers. Moved the Express to Chicago, 1879-1882, where it had a very large circulation at a subscription cost of fifty cents a year. Organized the American Press Association, 1882, which distributed Greenback and reform boiler-plate to over 4000 papers by 1892. Began and named W.J. Bryan's newspaper, the Lincoln, Neb., The Commoner, before turning paper over to Bryan as editor.⁷⁷

Stelle, John P., born and educated in Illinois. Family

had printing background in Hamilton County, Illinois. Became editor of the McLeansboro, Ill., Union Eagle, a Republican newspaper, 1864. Established the McLeansboro, Ill., Golden Era, 1872, changing editorial policy in 1876 to Greenback party. Also began publication of the Progressive Farmer which continued as a Peoples' Party newspaper in Mt. Vernon, Ill., till 1896.⁷⁸

Stewart, Bert, of Illinois. A printer by trade. Was one of the early organizers of the Illinois Federation of Labor, a delegate from the Decatur Workingmen's Club. Editor of the Chicago Star, a Knights of Labor publication, 1882. Co-editor of the Chicago Knights of Labor, 1886, later re-named the Rights of Labor. Was nominated for Secretary of State on Union Labor ticket in Illinois, 1887.⁷⁹

Stevens, Mrs. Alzira Parsons, born in Ohio, 1849. Worked as a newspaperwoman on the Toledo, O., Bee and was a member of the Typographical Union. Elected master workman of District Assembly 72 of northwest Ohio, Knights of Labor. Became co-editor, with Lester Hubbard, of the Chicago Vanguard, 1892, a radical Populist newspaper subsidized by H.D. Lloyd.⁸⁰

Stevens, E.A., born in Yorkshire, England, 1844. Had brief

elementary education, running away at age of 14 to join Garibaldi in Italy. Returned to the U.S., he joined the Union army at age of 17. As a member of the Knights of Labor, 1876, as an avowed secularist, he refused to take an oath of allegiance when elected to the chairmanship of the national executive board. He and Powderly, a Catholic layman, disputed religion and Stevens was forced from the editorship of the Knights of Labor newspaper in Detroit. A printer by trade, he was a member of the Typographical Union. Became editor of the Chicago Radical Review, 1883, a free thought and anarchist publication. Was secretary of the American Secular Union, the free thinkers, in Chicago.⁸¹

Stockwell, Lucius A., born in Brattleboro, Vermont, 1849.

Father was a farmer who came to Indiana when Stockwell was 10. Had public school education and began teaching at age of 17. Was a county superintendent of schools in Indiana for six years. Turned to farming later. Became politically interested in the Peoples' Party and the Farmers' Alliance. Became an editor of the Indianapolis, Ind., American Non-conformist, 1893. Was a candidate for Congress from Indiana, 1894. Also an active speaker at Peoples' Party convention, 1894, in St. Louis.⁸²

Stuart, Frank Q., born in Iowa, 1856. Father was a farmer.

Stuart had a schooling in Chariton high school and turned to telegraphy till 1874. Studied law and admitted to bar, 1877. Elected a member of the Colorado legislature, 1885, and helped enact prohibitions against contract convict labor, black-listing, and was interested in a free land policy. Edited the Denver Arbitrator, 1889, having previously published the Chariton, Ia., Living Issues as well as the Democrat. Was a brilliant propagandist for reform ideas disclaiming either a socialist or anarchist label. Elected mayor of Chariton, Ia., 1891, but resigned to become editor of the Des Moines Leader. Editorial policy was anti-monopoly and Populist. Ran for Congress as an independent but was endorsed by the Populist press, 1894.⁸³

Todd, Mrs. Marian, of Chicago, a lawyer by profession.

Editor of the Chicago Express, 1884. Was a candidate for attorney-general of California on the Greenback ticket, 1882.⁸⁴

Van der Meulen, S., born in Germany, 1856. Came to U. S.

in 1872. Educated in Eberfeldt Seminary, Germany.

Worked as storekeeper and clerk in Ottumwa, Ia.,

became assistant editor of the Knoxville, Ia., Marion

County Express, 1879. Became editor, 1880, adopting a Greenback policy and doubling circulation of his paper by printing correspondence he undertook with Dutch and German Socialists.²⁵

Vincent, Henry, born in Tabor, Iowa, 1862. Father was a radical reformer, a graduate of Oberlin College and an ardent abolitionist. Had elementary education. Began printing assisting father in publication of the Tabor, Ia., American Non-Conformist, 1879, at age of 17. First printed on thirty-five dollar press, paper grew and was transferred to Winfield, Kansas, 1886. Obtained a national circulation as Union Labor and Populist newspaper. Vincent blamed for a bombing in Coffeyville, Kans., later proven to have been an attempt to attack the Non-Conformist politically, 1888. Moved to Indianapolis, 1892, and considered the official Peoples' Party newspaper for the mid-west. In 1894, Vincent, having resigned from the Non-Conformist, began publication of The Searchlight in Chicago, subsidized by H.D. Lloyd and aided by Willis Abbott, editor of the Chicago Times. The venture having failed, Vincent became editor of Coxey's Sound Money, Massillon, O., 1894. Vincent previously had been official historian of The Commonweal, the name for Coxey's Army. He remained a reform editor and printer the rest of his life, dying in 1929 and leaving his letters to the University

of Michigan Labadie Collection.⁸⁶

Vincent, James, born in Deal, England, 1821. Father was a pastor in the Congregational church, "a vigorous dissenter." Received elementary schooling in England and attended Oberlin, College, Ohio. Worked for the American Anti-Slavery Society, leaving Ohio for Kansas but remaining in Tabor, Iowa, where he ran an underground railway station, 1856. Was western correspondent for Greeley's New York Tribune and Garrison's Liberator. In 1879, began publication of the Tabor, Ia., American Non-Conformist, which he edited for six years with aid of two sons who later transferred paper to Winfield, Kansas. Name of paper came from an English anti-slavery newspaper prominent in the 1820's.⁸⁷

Vincent, Leopold, born in Tabor, Ia., 1863. Father was James, (previous biography) Had elementary education and entered into publication of the American Non-Conformist at age of 15. In 1886, accompanied Henry Vincent to Winfield, Kans., to continue publication. When Non-Conformist moved to Indianapolis, Leopold began a reform literature publishing house in that city. Later moved business to Texas and in 1898, attempted with Henry Vincent, to resume publication of the Non-Conformist in Omaha, Nebraska. Was strongly Union Labor and Populist in his editorial convictions.⁸⁸

Waite, Davis H., born in New York, 1825. Father was a prosperous lawyer. Educated in Jamestown, N.Y. public school and Jamestown Academy. Studied law and admitted to N.Y. bar. Travelled around country prior to Civil War, taught high school in Houston, Mo., 1857. Anti-slavery beliefs compelled him to leave Missouri. Became editor of the Jamestown, N.Y., Chautauqua Democrat, a Republican newspaper. Moved to Kansas, 1876, and elected to state legislature. Established the Aspen, Colo., Union Era, 1881, while superintendent of schools in Pitkin County, Colo. Newspaper backed labor and Populist demands in the state. Elected governor of Colorado, 1892, on Peoples' Party platform. Nicknamed "Bloody Bridles" when he called out militia to enforce reforms that state and city officials refused to accept. His actions were considered legal by the state supreme court. Settled many labor disputes and gave women suffrage. This action supposedly defeated him since women voted against Peoples' Party in 1894.⁸⁹

Wakefield, W.H.T., born in Vandalia, Illinois. Parents were farmers who came to Kansas, 1854, and participated in "border troubles of the period." In Union army, 1861-1867, acting as provost-marshal of the Freedman's

Bureau for Arkansas, Louisiana and Indian Territory. Became associate editor of the Memphis Post, leaving to be a farmer and stock raiser in Kansas. Began the Topeka, Kans., National Workman, 1882, as a Knights of Labor newspaper. Changed name to The Anti-Monopolist and moved to Enterprise, Kansas, 1884.⁹⁰

Walker, Edwin C., born in Lancaster, New York, 1849.

Parents of New England ancestry, farmers, moved to Iowa when Walker was six. Had elementary education and remained on farm with parents, teaching school in wintertime. Joined Greenback party in 1876, but chief interest was in "scientific anarchism." Was friend of Benjamin Tucker. Became editor of Valley Falls, Kans., Kansas Liberal, renamed Lucifer, the Light Bearer, with Moses Harmon. Imprisoned in 1886 for "antinomistic" marriage with Lillian Harmon, without use of clergy or civil license, till 1887. Started new newspaper, the Valley Falls, Kans., Fair Play, 1887. Became assistant editor of The Truth Seeker, 1893, in New York City.⁹¹

Warren, Fred D., a printer by trade. Was editor of the Rich Hill, Mo., Coming Nation, 1902, before accepting position of associate editor under J.A. Wayland with the Girard, Kans., Appeal to Reason. He received

national attention in 1908 for offering a reward for a fugitive governor of Kentucky of the same value as that offered for Moyer and Haywood, leaders of the I.W.W. Placed on trial but not convicted.⁹²

Wayland, Julius A., born in Versailles, Indiana, 1854.

Went to public school for one year, then became a printer's devil in Versailles. Established his first newspaper in Harrisonville, Mo., the Cass News. Moved to Colorado and engaged in real estate speculation and printing. Became converted to socialism in 1890 after an intensive study of the subject. Returning to Greensburg, Ind., he began publication of the first of his socialist propaganda newspapers which were to make him one of the greatest of American propagandists, the Coming Nation, 1893. Moved his newspaper to a socialist colony in Ruskin, Tenn., and after quarreling with group over ownership of press and newspaper, left group for Kansas City, Mo., where he established The Appeal To Reason, 1895. The Appeal was both Populist and Socialist till 1896 when Wayland refused to support Bryan and became solely a Socialist. Transferred paper to Girard, Kans., where costs were cheaper. Newspaper had a tremendous circulation. Some editions were issued in the millions of copies. Policy was completely socialist.⁹³

Weaver, James Baird, born in Dayton, Ohio, 1833. Parents were farmers who came to Iowa when Weaver aged nine. Had public school education, graduated Cincinnati Law School and admitted to bar, 1855. Entered Civil War as a lieutenant, brevetted a general in 1865. Elected district attorney of Iowa, 1866. Elected Iowa Congressman, 1878. Had been a Republican but changed to Greenback movement feeling he could obtain office in Greenback party. Ran as presidential candidate of Greenback-Labor party, as well as Populist party, 1892. Became editor of the Des Moines Farmers' Tribune, 1895, seeking to make the Populists a one plank party.⁹⁴

Weeks, A.W.C., Born in Indiana, 1847. Parents as farmers came to Iowa, 1857. Had public school education, clerked in store, engaged in land registration abstract business, read law and admitted to bar, 1872. Became interested in finance and joined Greenback movement. Remained a reform politician till 1893 when he established the Winterset, Ia., Review as a Populist organ. Elected as permanent chairman of the Iowa Peoples' Party convention, 1896, a defeat for Weaver. Weeks was a "middle of the road" Populist who was against fusion with the Democrats in 1896.⁹⁵

Weller, Leman Hamblin, born in Connecticut, 1833. Educated in state Normal school and Literary Institute, Suffield, Conn. Studied law and admitted to bar, practicing in Iowa in 1860's. Elected Justice of the Peace, Chickasaw County, Ia., 1865. Began publication of The People's Rights, Nashua, Ia., 1878. Elected Congressman from Iowa, 1883-1885 on Greenback-Labor ticket. Established the Independence, Ia., Farmer's Advocate, 1885, which he edited for over twenty years. Was a member of the national executive committee, People's Party, 1890. Ran on Populist ticket for Governor and Supreme Court Judge several times. As a congressman, he handled legislation dealing with manufacture of oleomargarine. Was connected with every reform movement in Iowa for forty years. "Reform is my religion..."⁹⁶

Woodruff, Marcus T., born in Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1853. Was an editor and publisher by profession. Studied finance and joined Greenback movement, editing several Greenback newspapers in Michigan. Was original founder of the Dearborn, Mich., Independent, later known as Henry Ford's newspaper. Also edited papers on Cadillac, Fairview, Hamtramck and Grosse Point. Was an associate of Henry Vincent.⁹⁷

Wright, Samuel, born in Illinois, 1837. Father was a farmer and first superintendent of schools in Wayne County, Iowa. Wright had public school education. Carried U.S. Mails, 1858-1861. Elected a member of the Allerton city board of supervisors. Elected sheriff of Allerton, Ia., 1874-1876. Became interested in the Greenback and labor reform movements and began publication of the Allerton, Ia., News, 1877-1881. Elected to the Iowa State Assembly on the Greenback ticket, 1883. Returned to farming, 1886.⁹⁸

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX A

1. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, James T. White and Co., New York, 1945, Vol. XI, p. 103.
2. Taken from the files of the Indianapolis, Ind., American Non-Conformist, 1892.
3. Biographical and Historical Record of Clarke County, Iowa, Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago, 1886.
4. James W. Ellis, editor, History of Jackson County, Iowa, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1910.
5. National Cyclopaedia, Vol. XXII, p. 163, also files of Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee, Wisc.
6. Henry Vincent, Reminiscences, a collection of unpublished manuscript in Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library; also John H.B. Nowland, Sketches of Prominent Citizens of 1876, Tilford and Corlon, Indianapolis, 1877; also Indianapolis News, Jan. 6, 1894.
7. Joseph Ray Buchanan, Story of a Labor Agitator, Outlook Co., New York, 1903; also Knights of Labor, Chicago, May 14, 1887.
8. The State Journal, Lincoln, Nebraska, Jan. 17, 1900.
9. Farmers' Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 10, 1894; also letters in the Henry Demarest Lloyd collection in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.
10. Allen Johnson, editor, Dictionary of American Biography, Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1929, Vol. III, p. 433; also Eugene Staley, History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930; also files of Inland Printer, Chicago.
11. Data in the files of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, gathered by the W.P.A. Writers' Program.
12. History of Marion County, Iowa, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1915.
13. Biographical Review of Henry County, Iowa, Hobart Publishing Co., Chicago, 1906.

14. A.T. Andreas, History of Kansas, Chicago, 1883, Vol. I, p. 587.

15. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties, Missouri, The Goodspeed Publishing Co., Chicago, 1889, p. 704-705.

16. Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, Evening News, Nov. 19, 1894.

17. From the L.H. Weller collection of letters in the Wisconsin State Historical Society; also History of Davis County, Iowa, State Historical Co., Des Moines, 1882.

18. From H.D. Lloyd letters; also Ray Ginger, The Bending Cross, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1949; also files of Railway Times, Terre Haute, Ind.

19. Files of The People, Chicago, 1892; also William D.P. Bliss, Encyclopedia of Social Reform, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1908, p. 369.

20. From files of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

21. History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, National Historical Co., St. Louis, 1886, pp. 1088-1089; also L.H. Weller letters; also Farmers' Tribune, Des Moines, February 27, 1895.

22. Files of the Anti-Monopolist, Minneapolis, and the Representative, St. Paul, 1874-1896; also John J. Hicks, "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. VIII, pp. 80-132, 1921.

23. James B. Weaver, editor, Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa, B.F. Bowen Co., Indianapolis, 1912.

24. A.T. Andreas, History of Nebraska, Chicago, 1882, pp. 427, 530.

25. Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 494.

26. History of Marion County, Iowa, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1915.

27. The Vanguard, Chicago, January 21, 1893; also in The Great Divide, Denver, January, 1893; also in the National Cyclopaedia of American Biography.

28. Chicago Tribune, December 24, 1909; also W.A. Peffer, "The Farmers' Defensive Movement," Forum, December, 1889, Vol. VIII, p. 464.
29. Files of Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.
30. Indianapolis News, May 5, 7, 1906; Indianapolis Central Labor Union, Trade Unions of Indianapolis, 1896.
31. Series of articles by Judson Grenell in Detroit News, starting September 7, 1930, filed in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.
32. Jonathan M. Crane, "Moses Harmon", Mother Earth, March, 1910, Vol. V, p. 10; also files of Lucifer, the Light Bearer in State Historical Society of Kansas, Topeka.
33. Buchanan, Story of a Labor Agitator, p. 266, et passim.
34. H.D. Lloyd Letters in Wisconsin State Historical Society files; also G.B. Harrington, Past and Present of Bureau County, Illinois, Pioneer Publishing Co., Chicago, 1906, p. 440.
35. Chicago Tribune, March 3, 1925; also files of The Workingmen's Advocate, Chicago and Cincinnati, 1864.
36. New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 568.
37. Detroit Socialist, May 18, 1878.
38. The Industrial Advocate, El Dorado, Kansas; also Carter's Monthly, November, 1897, vol. XII, p. 584.
39. From the files of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.
40. H.D. Lloyd letters; also John W. Mason, The History of Otter Tail County, Minnesota, 1916.
41. H.D. Lloyd letters; files of Farmer's Voice, Chicago, 1888-1892; files of The Vanguard, Chicago, 1892.
42. L.H. Weller letters, Wisconsin Historical Society, Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; Will Porter, Annals of Polk County, Iowa, George A. Miller Co., Des Moines, 1898.

43. L.H. Weller letters; Porter, Annals of Polk County, Iowa.

44. History of Wapello County, Iowa, Western Historical Co., Chicago, 1878; also Industrial Appeal, Ottumwa, Iowa, 1882.

45. History of Madison County, Iowa, Union Historical Co., Des Moines, 1879.

46. Letters in files of Labadie Collection; R.C. Stewart, "The Labadie Labor Collection," Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review, Spring, 1947, vol.LIII, pp. 247-253; The Ann Arbor, Michigan, News, January 14, 1950.

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48. American Non-Conformist, Winfield, Kansas, December 8, 1890.

49. Omaha, Nebraska, Sunday Bee, July 3, 1892.

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51. Files of The Alarm, Chicago; also Henry David, The History of the Haymarket Affair, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1936.

52. Omaha, Nebraska, Sunday Bee, July 3, 1892; also files of the Washington, D.C., National Economist.

53. Files of Dubuque, Iowa, Telegraph; also History of Dubuque County, Iowa, Western Historical Co., Chicago, 1880.

54. Frank Hickenlooper, Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa, Albia, Iowa, 1896.

55. J.R. Caldwell, History of Tama County, Iowa, Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago, 1910.

56. Henry Vincent papers, Labadie Collection.

57. Henry Vincent papers, also files of Des Moines Farmers' Tribune; also History of Cass County, Iowa, Continental Historical Co., Springfield, Illinois, 1884.

58. History of Marion County, Iowa, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1915.
59. History of Mitchell and Worth Counties, Iowa, Union Publishing Co., Springfield, Ill., 1884.
60. Des Moines Farmers' Tribune, February 27, 1895.
61. New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 739.
62. Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1912; also files of Chicago Sentinel.
63. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, vol. XIV, p. 381.
64. A.T. Andreas, History of Kansas, vol. 2, p. 1020.
65. Knights of Labor, Chicago, October 16, 1886; also files of The Alarm, Chicago.
66. Files of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
67. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, vol. I, p. 299; also files of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
68. The Appeal to Reason, Kansas City, September 21, 1895.
69. Unpublished biographical sketch compiled by W.P.A. Writers' Program in Wisconsin State Historical Society; also R.F. Howard, "Brick Pomeroy's Life and Schemes in La Crosse," La Crosse, Wisconsin, Chronicle, January 1, 1905.
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76. Norman J. Ware, The Labor Movement in the U.S., 1860-1895, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1929; also files of the Industrial West, Atlantic, Iowa.
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78. Files of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; also Progressive Farmer, Mt. Vernon, Illinois.
79. Files of Knights of Labor, Chicago; also Staley, History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.
80. Files of Chicago Vanguard; also files of Chicago Historical Society.
81. George E. MacDonald, Fifty Years of Free Thought, The Truth Seeker Co., New York, 1931, vol. 2, p. 481.
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(The dates placed beside each newspaper indicate the years of publication which were examined for the purposes of this dissertation and are not the complete runs of the papers.)

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