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dirty potatoes into boiling water. "Mr. Remington," she said, "don't you wash potatoes before you cook them?" Gravely, he replied, "I should say not. I've tried them both washed and unwashed, and they taste better unwashed. Have you ever eaten boiled, unwashed potatoes? Tell your mother to try them this way." [19]

In combination with Camp, Remington bought horses. They were said to have had 50 brood mares, a typical extravagance after Ike Duvall had recommended they buy only 20. They also had saddle horses. Remington's favorite he described in an 1887 article: "Terra-Cotta was a nervous little half-breed Texas and thoroughbred, of a beautiful light gold-dust color, with a Naples yellow color mane and tail." [20] Camp had an interest in the fast trotter, Joe Young, that grazed in his pasture. Remington also raised cattle, but the claim that his main interest was mules is erroneous and thought to have come from misreading the word "miles" in Remington's careless handwriting.[21]

19. Myra Lockwood Brown and Robert Taft, "Remington Found Kansas" (unpublished manuscript, 1945), p. 3.
20. Frederic Remington, "Coursing Rabbits on the Plains," *Outing*, New York, May, 1887, p. 111.
21. Catherine W. Taggart, "Remington Release," Ogdensburg *Journal*, August 22, 1962.

Camp was from a banking family. He arranged credit for Remington who was enabled to buy his sheep for part cash, the remainder being owed to the Peabody Bank in the form of installment notes.

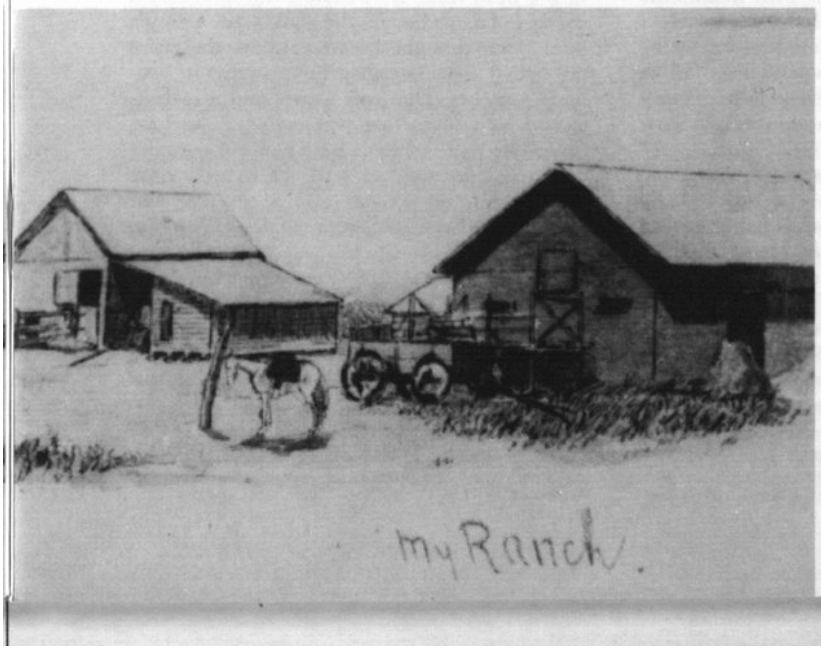
May 16, 1883, Remington wrote to his Uncle Horace Sackrider, the coexecutor under his father's will, on Peabody Bank stationery:

> My account with this bank is within a hundred dollars or so of drawn up and I have this day made a draft through them on the St Lawrence County Bank for one thousand dollars. My sheep sheds are going up and I want the money. Have no delay as I would not have my draft dishonored for the world.
>
> The Mo Land papers came duly to hand and I sent them on.

Remington's investment to this point was $3,400 for the quarter section, plus the money that was originally in his Peabody account that covered his supplies and wages and part payments for the horses and sheep, plus this thousand dollars for sheep sheds, a total of about $6,500.

The Missouri land papers he mentioned would have been his transaction with the Canton lawyer, W. A. Poste, to whom he also wrote the same day: "Papers came all right—are the cheese—man just shot down street—must go."

Remington made this sketch of his Kansas ranch in 1883. Compared to houses in Canton, N.Y., where he had been born, the ranch house was a hovel and there were none of the finer things he relished. He found the operation of the ranch hard work and the sheep stank. From a watercolor sketch, original owned by the Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, N.Y., all rights reserved.



These presumably related to a sale of land Remington's father had bought near Greenfield, Dade county, Missouri.

When Poste received this note, he was so annoyed at its brevity that he tore it up, according to his daughter Alice Gunnison. Then he realized its value in connection with Remington whose future importance he was sure of. He pasted the note together again by backing it to another paper. Mrs. Gunnison observed that "the fact that Remington wrote it in the greatest possible hurry is shown by the blotting of the *entire* note on the bottom of the sheet as he folded it together. . . ." [22] As a Kansan, Remington's biographer Robert Taft could not believe that a man had been shot in the street in Peabody in 1883. He checked all of the newspapers in the area for the period and found no such shooting.[23]

That May Remington who had not yet taken any great interest in his ranch had the opportunity to double his holding by acquiring the unimproved quarter section immediately to the west. May 31 he obtained title from Charles W. and Sara Potwin to the southeast quarter, section 26, township 23, range 3, for $1,250, a fair price.[24] His total investment was then about $7,750.

In addition to serving as cook, Remington undertook the chore of watching the sheep herd. When he had anything better to do or he was bored, he hired a young boy with a dog to substitute for him. He gave boys the run of his ranch and was very popular with them. One day Remington bought candy for Hervy Hoyt who was handicapped. Remington knew the other boys teased Hervy so he told him, "Make them pay." Hervy shared the candy by tossing it in the air for the other boys to catch in their mouths.[25]

Remington was equally popular with some of the neighbors, the ones who enjoyed the boxing, wild steer riding, and drinking that took place on his ranch. He had been a varsity football player and a boxer at Yale. The more sober set resented his lack of thrift, his careless management, his ability to buy everything that appealed to him, while they worked hard. They called him a "hot sister," an overenthusiastic playboy not subject to the usual economic controls.[26] The activity at the ranch was the tough masculine variety. No woman was mentioned as involved, except that Camp went with a school teacher in El Dorado until, as he said, "Charlie Ewing beat my time."

The Peabody *Gazette* in its Plum Grove notes made occasional mention of Remington. The June 21 item was, "Mr. Remington on the 'Johnson place,' is building a large sheep barn." This was the second shed, the one at the top of the slope above the pasture.

Another personal note appeared July 5. Remington and George Shepherd of Peabody were taking a prospecting trip to the "southern part of the State." Remington made a second trip later in the year. Ed Duvall remembered both of these trips as having been to Colorado. South of Kansas was Indian territory, usually entered from Caldwell by a stage road and the cattle trail that went to Fort Reno. Remington was gone most of the summer, leaving the ranch to his young employees.

Remington's Kansas sketchbook still exists. It is of Peabody scenes rather than Indian territory. The drawings are clean lines but tenuous and poorly proportioned. They are innocent, untutored, without a trace of Yale Art School training.

Camp remembered that Remington sketched a great deal, putting down promptly anything that was of interest.[27] Other neighbors recalled sketches of Preacher Dooty, Mother Duvall, a blooded bull with Ed Duvall holding the rope in the nose ring, the Peabody Library, and a carving of a cowboy on the wall inside Camp's barn. Some thought that illustrations that were published years later had their origins in Peabody sketches. One was a cow and a calf attacked by wolves that was called "The Last Stand" so that residents who had not seen the drawing confused it with "Custer's Last Stand." Another sketch was a cowboy that could have been the origin of the "Broncho Buster." [28]

Rolla Joseph said that Remington had been taking care of a boy who had been a problem to his Eastern parents and who had been given into Remington's care "to make a man of him." Remington kept a small black diary about the

22. Alice Poste Gunnison to Robert Taft, July 25, 1943.
23. Taft, *Artists and Illustrators*, p. 201.
24. Bullock to Taft, February 16, 1944.
25. Brown and Taft, "Remington Found Kansas," p. 11.
26. Myra Lockwood Brown to Robert Taft, July 25, 1945.
27. Questionnaire, "Robert Taft Collection," manuscript dept., KSHS.
28. Myra Lockwood Brown and Robert Taft, "Painter of the Rip-Roaring West," *Country Gentleman*, Philadelphia, v. 117, no. 9 (September, 1947), p. 17.

size of an ordinary pocket notebook. One day the diary was open on a table in the downstairs room, and two of the neighboring Lathrop men read the page that was written, "You can't make a man out of mud." [29] This diary is now missing.

There were huge parties the bachelors attended at the ranch and at a clubhouse they kept in Peabody. Boxing matches were held evenings and Sundays. Camp said that Remington had hoped to go far as a boxer but had been disillusioned by a knockout.[30] For one of the parties Remington as cook roasted a whole pig. It proved not to be edible. Remington had not known to dress it so he literally roasted the pig whole.[31]

The government-sponsored interviews with people who had known Remington were conducted by Myra Lockwood Brown as registration number 1808-3831, project number 7763. One was headed "Judge R A Scott, Eldorado, speaking—"

> . . . Camp introduced me to Remington on the street one day. He was a big fellow, fine looking and easy, jovial and popular. . . .
>
> Here is a little incident about Remington. He and I were sitting on a box in front of the drug store in Peabody one day during the summer of '83 when two ladies came by. Fred had on a rough suit, and a cow boy hat that didn't fit him any better than the suit he had on. I didn't know he was acquainted with the young women. When they were nearly past he nodded. I didn't get up. It was a little late for that. If I'd a seen them sooner— But Remington popped up and swung off that hat of his with the grace of a potentate. Later when they had gone and we were both seated again, he said pensively, "People might think I don't know how, but I do." One of those young women has been Mrs. Robert Scott for the past fifty six years. . . .[32]

The theme of all of the interviews is the recurrent picture of a man having a good time, spending his own money as freely as he did his windfalls as an Albany officeholder. J. H. Sandifer, the El Dorado postmaster, recalled:

> . . . Sunday was a big day up there on his ranch. The Daily boys, John and Will from Chelsea, both big Irishmen, and Peder Paulson, and a lot more, used to gather in and round up horses and have races. There'd be bucking and running and plenty of fun. In those early days Fred was just an eastern boy full of life and out for a good time. . . .[33]

What was there about Remington that made him the catalyst? This is Rolla Joseph speaking again:

> . . . I was only ten or twelve years old, but I used to go out to his place lots. There was several of us kids who used to go out there. . . . Remington was the cook. I've eaten lots of meals there. There used to be a lot of boxing on this ranch too. Remington and Jack Smith were both pretty good. Billy Kerr, Al Mathiat, and some fellows from over at Peabody used to box too. It was a regular evening passtime. On the shed lined hills of that ranch . . . Remington kept his sheep. I've seen as many as two or three thousand there at one time. My half brother, George Garrison, used to work up on the Camp ranch. One time he brought home a rough pencil sketch Remington had done. It was on rusty brown paper, and showed a cow and her calf with a wolf ready to attack. We like it. That picture went all around Plum Grove. Everybody saw it. Remington was awful well liked . . . popular! Remington was always doing pictures of people. Once at church at the Plum Grove school house, Remington sat on a bench in the back and while a tall fellow preached he sketched. When the fellow was done Remington had a picture of him. It was passed around at school for a long time after that. . . . Fred was a little reckless at times, used to drink some, but people liked him. . . .[34]

The quantity of two or three thousand sheep is more than the several hundred usually mentioned.

September 5, 1883, Remington sent a wire from Peabody to his Uncle Horace Sackrider: "Can I draw for one thousand dollars telegraph reply." That would have made about $9,000 invested, almost equal to the amount of his inheritance. Whatever additional funds Remington needed he would have to borrow or earn.

He certainly tried borrowing. Cousin Ella Remington wrote that Remington returned to Albany at one period to see her father, Remington's Uncle Bill, to ask for money to buy more land for his sheep ranch. Her father said, "Not a cent," until Remington was willing to settle down seriously to art. Uncle Bill in contrast to his brothers believed Remington had been born to be an artist.[35]

The beginning of October, 1883, Uncle Mart who had become overtired from work in Albany, came out to visit the sheep ranch. This was Remington's 22d birthday.[36] They were riding back from Peabody one day when they were caught in a heavy rain. Drying out before an open fire did not help Uncle Mart whose

29. Myra Lockwood Brown to Robert Taft, January 5, 1945.
30. Brown and Taft, "Frederic Remington, Kansas Rancher," p. 3.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
32. Myra Lockwood Brown, WPA project, pp. 1-2, "Robert Taft Collection," manuscript dept., KSHS.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
35. Ella Remington Mills to Robert Taft, May 4, 1943.
36. Peter H. Hassrick, *Frederic Remington* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1973), p. 21.

"lung trouble" was aggravated.[37] The Peabody *Gazette* for October 18 reported that "Fred Remington's father started for his home in the East, last Monday morning." Father obviously meant uncle. By the next year, December 12, 1884, Uncle Mart was dead of tuberculosis at the age of 36. The Albany *Morning Express* in its obituary wrote, "His was a condensed life."[38] The Albany *Weekly Express* said, ". . . He was a peculiar, but very original man, and, all things considered, one of the most unique features ever seen in Albany Journalism. . . ." In this sometimes short-lived family, Mart's brother, the colonel, had died at 46.[39]

Soon after the unfortunate Uncle Mart left Peabody, Remington experienced the kind of day that would be expected from a "holiday stockman." This was the subject of his May, 1887, article published in *Outing, the Magazine*, "Coursing Rabbits on the Plains." The day began with a mounted troop of the stockmen, owners and hands, using dogs to chase rabbits. This was a more rustic excursion than one of the formal meets of the American Coursing Club in Kansas but it served to excuse the men from ranch cares for another day.[40] "Coursing Rabbits" is all action, all interplay between people and animals, with little attention to landscape or background. The conclusion is the loss of a wager on a horserace with a working rancher that serves to point up the animosity of this group against Remington and his friends: ". . . I hain't got the money that you fellers down in the creek has. . . . I've been a layin' fer you fellers ever since I came inter these yar parts. . . ."

Losing the wager meant Remington was parted from his favorite pony Terra-Cotta, a mare. There was apparently no loss of face in riding a mare in Kansas, as there might have been for a Western cowboy. "Coursing Rabbits" was Remington's only story based on his Kansas experience.

Remington's Halloween pranks were equally poorly suited to endear him to the Plum Grove people. November 1, the preacher found his buggy on top of the church and his cow inside the front door. One of the residents recalled that "Fred Remington paid for getting that buggy down, cleaning up the church, giving it a fresh coat of paint and made the pastor a present of $10 or $15."[41]

Another prank that was talked about with ill-feeling occurred at a party. Remington slipped behind the Englishman Cecil Wickersham and fired his revolver. Wickersham's calm was unruffled. "Put up that gun," he said. "You might hurt some one, Frederic."[42]

The final prank was one where the fact that no one was hurt was only through luck. It finished Remington in Kansas.[43] The quotation is from Jacob DeCou who observed the whole episode:

> When Christmas came the Plum Grove people planned a big entertainment to be given in their school house. It was a large building with double doors at the end and windows along the side like portholes.
>
> Christmas Eve arrived. They had the usual program. A little girl all in a flutter in a white dress recited "Hang Up the Baby's Stocking" and all the rest, you know.
>
> People like DeCou had driven for miles to attend the affair. The building was jammed and children were standing in the windows. Remington and four friends had ridden to town but they had stopped first at the livery stable where they could buy liquor. When the five entered the school, they saw in front of them the bald head of Squire Nathan Duncan against whom Remington nursed a grudge. The five threw paper wads and other things at the bald head until the Squire had them ousted from the school.[44]
>
> The feature, though, was the Christmas tree. As soon as the program was out of the way, all the lamps were turned off and the tapers on the tree were lighted for the coming of Santa Claus.
>
> Remington and his cronies had gone into Hoyt's store where they had more drinks. Remington took a box of excelsior. They brought it into the schoolhouse yard and set fire to it.
>
> Squire Duncan, a good old man, was the Santa Claus. He wore a buffalo robe which concealed his bald head, and false whiskers dangled from his chin. He had just started in to distribute the presents when the double doors swung open and someone shouted "Fire!"

37. Robert Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West. V. Remington in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 16, no. 2 (May, 1948), p. 129.
38. Albany (N. Y.) *Morning Express*, December 13, 1884.
39. Albany (N. Y.) *Weekly Express*, December 11, 1884.
40. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, December 18, 1886, p. 825, "The Meet of the American Coursing Clubs."
41. Dary, "Frederic Remington in Kansas," pp. 86-87.
42. Murdock, "Of Frederic Remington and of the Halt He Made on Prairies of Kansas."
43. Wichita *Eagle*, November 26, 1943.
44. Brown and Taft, "Frederic Remington, Kansas Rancher," p. 6.

Men and women lost their heads and began rolling out windows. . . . An old maid became caught in the sash so she could neither get out or back in again. Dr. Seaman jumped to a seat, waved his cap and commanded, "Sit down. There's no danger!"

After the crowd got out, it found that the fire was caused by the dry goods box right in front of the door. The affair was laid to Fred Remington and his gang.

Great indignation prevailed.

The episode was commented on in the *Walnut Valley Times:*

Some of the youngsters up in Plum Grove, on Christmas eve, at an entertainment in the school house, behaved in a most unseemly manner, judging by report, and got up a row which assumed almost the proportions of a riot. The matter has culminated by suit in the district court; Fred Pennington, Wm. Kehr, John Smith, Chester Farni and Chas. Harriman being the defendants. The first trial resulted in the disagreement of the Jury. Another trial is set for February 4th. The boys are a little "wild and wolly" occasionally in the northwest.[45]

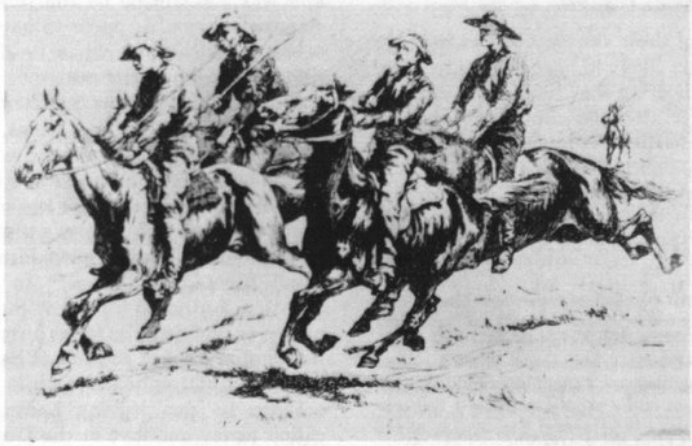
Pennington was of course Remington. All of the names and even the number of defendants varies with the accounts. There was no retrial.

One of the jurors in the trial was the same Jake DeCou. Throughout the trial Remington was called Billy the Kid. According to another juror, Frank S. Allen, Remington was blamed for everything. When one juror wanted to free all but Remington, Allen sent out for a bushel of apples and cigars which the jurors enjoyed during the long Sunday, watching through the windows the slow moving traffic in the mud of the unpaved streets.[46] At the end of the day the jury was still in disagreement.

The judge, Charles Lobdell, who became a public figure in Kansas as a publisher and the speaker of the house wrote his version:

We have just discovered what we think a genuine claim to greatness. In the early part of our brilliant career we occupied the lofty position of justice of the peace of El Dorado township in Butler county. One day there came to our office a complaint that four young men had disturbed a religious meeting, and a warrant was issued. When Constable Cory returned his warrant he brought in three country boys, who had grown up in the county, and a bright young Englishman, with heavy fur overcoat and a laughing face . . . his name was Fred Remmington. . . . After a two day's trial the jury disagreed and the case was dismissed upon payment of the costs, which, along with attorney's fees and all other expenses were borne by Remmington. He only stayed in Butler county a short time after that, quitting his ranch to win fortune and fame in his profession, and we feel quite sure that we have the distinction of presiding over the only court in which he ever appeared as a criminal defendant.[47]

The next week William Allen White, the Kansas sage, corrected Lobdell: "This is all



This sketch by Remington, showing Remington, Billy Kehr, Jim Chapin, and Robert Camp moving out onto the open range near the artist's Kansas ranch, appeared in *Outing* magazine, May 1887. It illustrated Remington's article, "Coursing Rabbits on the Plains," the only story he wrote based on his Kansas experience.

45. *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, January 11, 1884.

46. El Dorado *Times*, November 24, 1943.

47. Kansas City *Tribune*, October 29, 1897.

very true excepting that Remington was an Englishman and that he left Butler county 'to win fame and fortune in his profession.' He went to Kansas City where he entered the saloon business." [48]

The final word was from Jacob DeCou:

> Years afterward, after Frederic Remington had begun to be famous, I met him in Kansas City. He was the same Fred. He asked me to go to dinner with him. I said, "Fred, tell me the truth about that Plum Grove Christmas entertainment."
>
> Remington now fuller and richer of his experiences, laughed. "You heard the evidence and decided I had nothing to do with it, didn't you," the artist replied.
>
> "But, oh say," and he laughed and laughed. "The sight of the old maw who got stuck in the window, and the way she wiggled her legs to get loose, wasn't that a terrible thing for a modest man to see?" [49]

As in the rest of these stories, one has to judge whether they are likely to have been true. Here there is no indication that Remington entered the schoolhouse after the commotion, just as the tale about roasting the hog whole would be unlikely for a young man experienced as a hunter in the Adirondacks.

By December 29 Remington was finished with Kansas. He wrote to Arthur Merkly, a friend, that he was

> . . . trying to sell here and go somewhere else . . . and when I get my money out of this scheme I am going further West . . . and there tackle some business. I don't care whether it is stock, Mercantile—either hardware or Whiskey—or anything else. I should like nothing better in the world than to find a partner in whom I had confidence and who had a little money. You are acquainted with the hardware biz, I believe. Why not start a hardware ranch out West?

Merkly apparently knew Remington well enough to avoid the partnership.

With his land for sale, Remington wanted to get out of Kansas as quickly as he could. According to Judge Scott, Remington

> . . . advertised the sale of his stock and equipment. There were sheep, horses and cattle. I took over the notes for them. At that time he was flat broke. His money was gone. . . . [50]

Buyers at the sale would have assumed the remaining obligations on the notes. Some of the notes would have come due after the stockraising boom had burst so they were worthless. Scott felt that Remington should have paid the balance on the notes but he did not. Scott was said to have for that reason retained personal animosity towards Remington, although if Remington had been legally responsible, Scott as the Peabody banker would have been obligated to press the claim.[51]

Remington left Peabody around the end of January, 1884. According to the Butler county register of deeds, his half section of land was sold February 18 to David W. Green of New York for $5,500.[52] Green took possession May 31 and found the walls covered with Remington sketches. The price would have reflected improvements of $850 in addition to the $4,650 Remington paid. In light of the crash in stockraising values that began in July, 1884, and was a stampede by the summer of 1885, Remington would appear to have been omniscient in getting out when he did. The other holiday stockmen lost out.

Most of the serious ranchers like Robert Camp survived the bad times. Camp must surely have been disconcerted when the Remington he brought to Kansas turned out to have been irresponsible. At the age of 82, though, Camp still had in his room a picture of a rider he said Remington had given him, along with a small Remington bronze.[53] In answer to a question during an interview then, he was reported as replying, "as far as he remembers Mr. Remington did not acquire, if he ever did, the habit of drinking heavily, while in Kansas." [54]

When he was leaving Kansas, Remington called to say goodbye at the Duvall farm. He waved off having the gate opened for him and vaulted over the five-foot barrier.

The *St. Lawrence Plaindealer* for February 27, 1884, carried the item:

> Mr Fred Remington is on a visit from Kansas to his friends in these parts. He arrived in Canton on Tuesday of last week. He is an enthusiastic admirer of Kansas, not as a home, but as a place to make money. He has recently sold out his lands there and appears to have done well. He will return, making only a few days visit.

Remington was said to have returned to Peabody twice. The first was in 1885 as Rolla Joseph thought back to it:

> . . . it was in June when we had the big hail storm that I saw him last. . . . Remington was there, I remember. . . . In the fall after that the first train came through. Remington was a fine fellow. But we never ex-

48. Emporia *Weekly Gazette*, November 4, 1897.
49. David Arnold, "Remington in Kansas," Topeka *Capital-Journal*, March 31, 1974, *Midway Magazine*.
50. Brown, WPA project, p. 2.
51. Brown to Taft, July 25, 1945.
52. Bullock to Taft, February 16, 1944.
53. W. I. Barth to Robert Taft, March 29, 1943.
54. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1943.

pected him to become famous. I couldn't believe it was him at first.[55]

The second time was in 1886 on his way east after his first Southwestern trip as a special artist commissioned by *Harper's Weekly.*

The boxing gloves that had hung in Camp's barn were eventually taken down. The sketch Remington made of the Peabody Library hung there for many years before it disappeared. On file at the library, though, is the original deed to Remington's first quarter section, signed by the Janzens. Other drawings Remington gave away are missing. The Butler County Historical Society had an unfulfilled Kansas centennial project in 1960 to restore Remington's ranch home.[56] The Frederic Remington Rural High School was dedicated near Plum Grove in 1962 but the hamlet itself is gone except for the cemetery.[57] The buildings on the Remington ranch have all been replaced. There are operating oil wells near by, and 20 miles east is the Kansas turnpike.

55. Brown, WPA project, p. 5.

56. Emporia *Gazette*, April 22, 1960.
57. Ogdensburg *Journal*, August 14, 1962.

HENRY VINCENT: KANSAS POPULIST AND RADICAL-REFORM JOURNALIST

HAROLD PIEHLER

MUCH HAS already been written about the Populist movement of the 1890's, one of the briefest but most turbulent political upheavals in Kansas history. Its development, its causes and effects have been studied and analyzed extensively. Yet there is one leading proponent of the People's party whose biography has never been written nor his role fully assessed: Henry Vincent, the controversial reform editor of *The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator* of Winfield, from 1886 to 1891.[1]

Title-page photo: Henry Vincent came from an ardent Abolitionist family background. His father, James Vincent, Sr., had been a Congregational minister who risked his life to free slaves before the Civil War. In this family portrait, Henry is in the top row at left, with his brothers, Leopold, Maurice, and Cuthbert. A fourth brother, James, Jr., is at right in the bottom row. James Vincent, Sr., and his wife, Mary Sheldon, hold Frank, the son of James, Jr., and his wife, Sadie, at left. Leopold and Cuthbert were associated with Henry in the publication of *The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator* at Winfield, which in 1891 claimed to have nearly 20,000 subscribers, "the largest circulation of any political paper in Kansas." Photograph *courtesy* Merrily Cummings Ford, Glendora, Cal.

There are several reasons why the full story of Vincent and the *Nonconformist* has never been told. Chief among these is the fact that Vincent came to Kansas in 1886 and remained scarcely five years before leaving for Indiana, taking his newspaper with him. Second, Vincent never ran for public office during this time nor would he accept any appointment when the Populists were briefly in power in the state. Thus he left a less permanent record and less lasting impression than Peffer, Simpson, Lewelling, Doster, and other Populists who remained in Kansas. Third, until recently Vincent's personal documents, letters, and memoirs had been lost or forgotten.[2]

1. Brief mention is made of the Vincents by such well-known authors as John D. Hicks and Walter T. K. Nugent. The most thorough studies of Vincent and the *Nonconformist* are Seymour Lutzky, "The Reform Editors and Their Press" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1951); Charles Richard Denton, *"The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator:* A Kansas Union-Labor-Populist Newspaper, 1886-1891" (unpublished master's thesis, Kansas State College of Pittsburg, 1961), and Harold Richard Piehler, "Henry Vincent: A Case Study in Political Deviancy" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas, 1975).

2. Mrs. Mary Vincent Cummings (daughter of Henry Vincent) and Mrs. A. P. Ford (granddaughter of Henry Vincent), Glendora, Cal., graciously made their ancestor's memoirs, correspondence, and notes available for my use in preparing my doctoral dissertation. Many of Vincent's letters, which had been donated to the Labadie Collection of the University of Michigan library, Ann Arbor, have unfortunately been lost, apparently discarded by someone who thought they were not important. In 1978 Mrs. A. P. Ford privately published some of the family history in "The Invincible Vincents, Part I."

Yet of all the colorful Populist leaders, no man was more active, more controversial, or more influential in organizing and promoting Populism and the People's party in Kansas than Henry Vincent. Nor was any man more quickly labeled and abused as a "crank," an "anarchist," and a dangerous "agitator" by the Republican opposition. From where did this radical-reform editor come, and what did he do to deserve such obloquy and opposition, only now to be almost forgotten?

HENRY VINCENT, who was born January 1, 1862, at Tabor, Iowa, came from an ardent Abolitionist family background. His mother was a graduate of Oberlin College, and his father had been a Congregational minister who had risked his life to free slaves before the Civil War. In 1879 the elder Vincent, with the help of two of his sons, Henry and Leopold, had established *The Nonconformist*, a weekly newspaper dedicated to "Emancipation from Slavery to Bond-holders and Railroad Corporations." [3] The small liberal paper was considered an advocate of Greenback party principles.

Henry Vincent's editorial career began when his father retired and he and his brother Leopold moved to Winfield, late in 1886, renaming the newspaper, *The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator* (*Nonconformist*, for short). A third brother, Cuthbert, joined them about a year later. Henry directed and conducted the editorial policy, Leopold was business manager, and Cuthbert was a public speaker and field representative. In 1891 the paper claimed to have nearly 20,000 subscribers, "the largest circulation of any political paper in Kansas." [4] Strictly political, the *Nonconformist* often ignored local events, aiming at a national audience, many of whom remained loyal supporters when Vincent later moved to other parts of the United States.

When the Vincent brothers first moved to Winfield, they were generally welcomed by the citizens and their leaders. Editorially, Vincent announced that the guiding political principles of the paper were "the most ultra reform, the Greenback some would call them, but we do not want to stop with them. The air," he declared, "is fairly magnetic with reform." [5]

Vincent also spoke enthusiastically about "the revolution which is going on, . . . destined to overthrow despotism the world over." [6] Organized labor, he claimed, would be the means by which this revolution should occur. By June 2, 1887, Vincent was already referring to the *Nonconformist* as a "people's paper," and neither Republican nor Democratic. No hope was to be had from either of the two major parties, whose leaders, Vincent declared, "arn't [*sic*] worth drowning." [7]

The *Nonconformist's* defense of seven men condemned to die for their part in the Haymarket riot in Chicago was the first major issue which caused the Vincents to be regarded as dangerously radical. The attack was led by Edwin P. Greer, owner and publisher of the Winfield *Courier* (daily and weekly) and a former state legislator, who was now one of the most influential Republican leaders in Winfield and Cowley county. At first Greer was content to dismiss the Vincent brothers as "professional agitators," but as the *Nonconformist* continued its defense of the men arrested in the Haymarket riot, he became convinced that "infamous doctrine" and theories "smacking of anarchism" were dangerous to a decent, law-abiding community such as Winfield. "It is the duty of every citizen," Greer stated, "to at once and emphatically stamp out this treason in our midst." [8]

Undaunted, Vincent declared that if the people really wanted to vote against anarchy, they would do it by striking at the very roots of anarchism: "corporate greed, that breeds anarchism and everything else that is hideous, in the proportion that it deepens its grip upon the industrial masses." [9] When four of the condemned men were actually hanged, Vincent charged that they "were choked to death with all the coolness of a packing house sticker." "The monopolists," he said, "mean to hush every breath that speaks out for effectual reform. A demand was made for blood, and like the savage Apache, the courts connive to hang

3. *The American Nonconformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator*, Winfield, July 25, 1889. A facsimile of the original was reprinted in this issue. All other copies prior to 1886 are lost.
4. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1891.
5. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1886.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1887.
8. *The Courier* (weekly), Winfield, November 17, 1887. The weekly *Courier*, was founded in 1871 by R. S. Waddell & Co., and discontinued in 1891. *The Daily Courier* was founded in 1884 and has continued to the present.
9. *Nonconformist*, October 27, 1887.

the first persons they could lay their hands upon." [10]

Vincent's *Nonconformist* continued to crusade against monopolies "who rule this most corrupt government with a rod of iron." [11] The paper also opposed Chinese immigration, championed the rights of the colored man, and condemned British trade policies as murderous and confiscatory.[12] Closer to home, the *Nonconformist* strongly defended woman's rights and suffrage,[13] criticized prohibition,[14] and dared to rebuke the Southern Methodist Conference for expecting to be guests of the city, with the understanding that "every household that has a spare bed and a few chickens in the back yard, are expected to entertain accordingly." [15] Although his father had been a minister, Henry never professed to belong to any religious group, nor did he join any church until later in the 20th century. As editor, Vincent continued to attack the church claiming that if the church poses as the "guardian of morality" but shields sin and corruption, the cloak must be removed.[16]

IN THE YEAR following establishment of the *Nonconformist* in Winfield, Henry Vincent and his brothers were extremely active within the Knights of Labor and in establishing the Union Labor party in Kansas. As a measure of its success, the Union Labor party candidate for sheriff in Cowley county was elected in 1887 over the Republican candidate by a majority of about 100 votes. Vincent rejoiced editorially, forecasting a clean sweep of the state by the Union Labor party in the 1888 election.[17]

Meanwhile, Greer and his Republican cohorts had found an opportunity to pin the odious label of anarchy directly upon the Vincents with the help of a printer, George W. Poorman, who had been fired from the *Nonconformist*. Seeking revenge and money for his efforts, Poorman supplied Greer with some papers of a mysterious, oath-bound organization—papers that he had helped to print for the Vincents while in their employ.[18]

On October 4, 1888, the contents of this stolen material, containing the constitution, the oaths of office, and the ritual of the National Order of Videttes were published in the *Courier* with lurid headlines claiming that the headquarters of a secret band of anarchist conspirators had been discovered in Winfield, whose ringleaders were the publishers of the *Nonconformist*, Henry, Leopold, and Cuthbert Vincent. But the part that aroused the greatest apprehension, according to Editor Greer, was the oath by which the members of the secret band would pledge to "sacrifice their bodies to the just vengeance of their comrades should they fail to obey the commands or keep the secrets of the order." [19] Greer was convinced that this passage indicated a military order "founded for the purpose of 'Social Reform' and 'Industrial Liberation' even to the extent of sacrifices of life and property." Despite his grave apprehensions, however, Greer did admit that the leaders in the conspiracy, "outside of their revolutionary teachings and peculiar extreme theories, were respectable citizens, industrious and energetic young men." [20]

BESIDES the *Courier*, other papers in Kansas later published the exposé.[21] Learning further information concerning the Videttes, Greer went to Topeka and prepared a second exposé with the help of Capt. Henry Booth, the chairman of the Republican state committee, and Bion Hutchins, the secretary of the state committee. They were assisted by Charles A. Henrie, who was a printer, a former newspaper editor, a member of the Knights of Labor, and one who had already had brief associations with the Vincents. As an employee of the Republican party in Kansas, he had attempted to split the labor party movement. Later it was charged and corroborated that Henrie had known Albert Parsons, one of the four anarchists who had been hanged following the Haymarket riot. Henrie may have been an anarchist himself, but all he would later admit

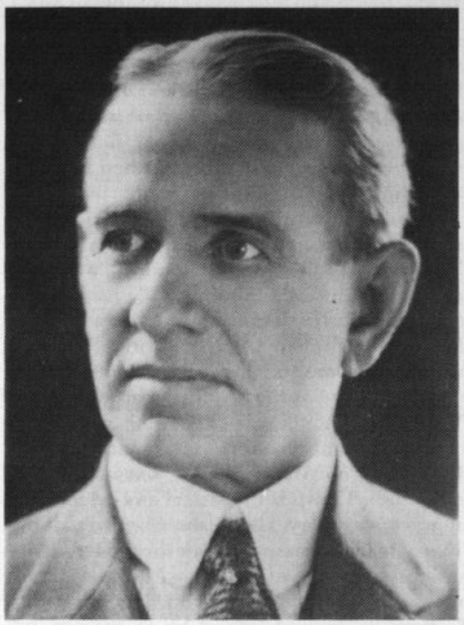
10. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1887.
11. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1887.
12. *Ibid.*, April 7, May 5, June 2, July 14, August 18, 1887, January 19, September 20, 1888, May 1, 1890.
13. *Ibid.*, February 3, April 7, April 21, June 16, 1887, February 27, September 25, 1890.
14. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1887. *See*, also, February 7, 1887, and June 12, 1890.
15. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1887.
16. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1887. *See*, also, June 23, 30, July 28, 1887.
17. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1887.
18. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1888; *Joint Committee of the Legislature of the State of Kansas. Investigation of Coffeyville Explosion* (Topeka, Kansas Publishing House, 1891), pp. 69, 120, 123-124.
19. *Courier*, October 4, 1888.
20. *Ibid.*
21. The Wichita *Morning Eagle*, October 6, 1888. Editorially, the *Eagle* declared, "We doubt if a more terrible oath ever bound together any band of political conspirators, not excepting the Nihilists of Russia."—October 23, 1888.

was that he had attended a meeting with Parsons where the subject of the manufacture of dynamite may have been discussed, but he could not say for certain.[22]

The Topeka meeting indicated a concerted effort on the part of the entire Republican leadership in Kansas to stigmatize and, if possible, to destroy the Union Labor party in the crucial national and state elections of 1888. The exposé that was finally concocted by Greer, Booth, Hutchins, and Henrie was published in the *Courier* on the evening of October 18 and in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, Topeka *Commonwealth*, Topeka *Capital*, Wichita *Eagle*, Hutchinson *News*, and the Atchison *Champion* on October 19.[23] The added revelations made the Vidette organization appear in the worst possible light and attempted to link it with the Chicago anarchists. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, for example, urged its readers to go to the polls and "wipe from the fair name of Kansas this stain of anarchy by rebuking the political organization through which it seeks to spread its deadly poison. Kill the viper!" [24]

At first the Vincents simply belittled and scoffed at the charges, admitting no more than that they had printed secret work for a "St. Louis man," and had sworn not to divulge the work. "We never smelled very much anarchism about it, only so far as the Declaration of Independence appears to echo that sentiment," they argued.[25]

The facts concerning the Vidette organization as they were finally brought out, however, would seem to implicate the Vincents far more deeply than they had cared to admit at that time. In a state congressional investigation in 1891, Henry admitted that he had been a member of the Videttes from the spring of 1887 and during the election of 1888. Cuthbert also admitted to having been a member. He insisted, however, that the organization was entirely civil in character, with absolutely no military characteristics except the titles.[26] The



Henry Vincent (1862-1935), controversial reform editor, was an organizer of the Populist movement in Kansas whose role has not been fully assessed by historians of the period. Though on the Kansas scene for only five years, he was one of the most influential of the promoters of the People's party in the state and one of the most criticized by his Republican opponents. Photograph *courtesy* Merrily Cummings Ford, Glendora, Cal.

National Order of Videttes was actually a secret auxiliary organization of the Union Labor party. Apparently it was formed to provide leadership and guidance for the new party and to prevent its members from fusing with either Democratic or Republican parties. The Videttes, a word meaning "sentinels," used military titles for their officers and swore an oath of secrecy.

THE CHARGES and countercharges concerning the Order of Videttes took a more serious turn with an incident that occurred at Coffeyville, approximately 100 miles from Winfield. The facts indicate that H. M. Upham, the chief agent for the Pacific Express Agency of Coffeyville, received a package the morning of October 18 for shipment to a Mr. L. [or J.] Louden at Winfield. The stranger who sent the box gave his name as P. Jason.[27]

22. *Joint Committee*, pp. 174-175. Two other men testified that Henrie probably did hear Parson's discussion, and they also stated that Henrie belonged either to the International Workingmen's Association (the "Red International") or the International Working People's Association (the "Black International").—*Ibid.*, pp. 179, 191, 193. Apparently Henrie's public association with Parsons was either unknown by the Republicans who hired him or considered a desirable qualification.

23. *Ibid.*, 543-544. The Coffeyville *Journal* also carried the story October 25, 1888, and the *Greenwood County Republican*, Eureka, October 26, 1888.

24. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 19, 1888.

25. *Nonconformist*, October 4, 1888.

26. *Joint Committee*, pp. 266, 279.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 609.

Upham said he took the box home with him as he usually did packages that were to be shipped the next morning, since his house was between the express office and the railroad depot. About 4:00 p.m. that afternoon a sharp explosion demolished part of his house, seriously injuring his wife and daughter, although they both later recovered.

It was presumed that the contents of the stranger's box caused the blast, especially since both names, Jason and Louden, were apparently fictitious. Although Upham could fully describe the appearance of the stranger, he was never able to identify positively anyone as the man who had given him the box.[28]

Ed Greer's *Courier* headlined tne story with "Dynamite! A Terrible Explosion . . . What Does This Mean? . . . Evidences of Anarchism in Kansas are Increasing." [29] Despite the lack of any evidence to support his theory, Greer later implied that the Vincents had attempted to destroy the *Courier* building because of the exposé but had failed when the dynamite had exploded too soon. The Coffeyville *Journal*, edited by D. Stewart Elliott, was even more direct in charging the dynamite explosion to the Vincents and their associates, claiming that they wanted to destroy those who had exposed the order.[30] The Topeka *Capital* quoted an item from the Emporia *Gazette*, characterizing the Vincents as dangerous traitors, men like Guiteau who had assassinated President Garfield.[31]

The Vincents, on the other hand, attacked their Republican accusers with equal vigor. They believed that the dynamite had been sent at the connivance of the Republicans to be used against them and their newspaper. The dynamite, they reasoned, was to be sent to Winfield; it was to be planted, if not actually used, somewhere near the *Nonconformist* office; officials would "suspect" it, and the evidence would corroborate the charges that the Union Labor party was anarchist. Like Greer, the Vincents believed that the plot fell through when the dynamite exploded too soon.[32] Henry Vincent's response to the events of the campaign of 1888 was vividly recalled in his unpublished memoirs:

> Things looked not so good to the opposition. Something must be done. So a pretty and very melodramatic plot was cooked up, which afterwards became history. . . . We were "anarchists," so-called. Anarchists and bombs were occasionally associated. What better than to find an infernal machine on our premises! But it didn't get as far as Winfield. A Labor skate left it in an Express office in Coffeyville, Kansas.[33]

Henry Vincent's brother Cuthbert similarly recalled the incident, blaming it upon the efforts of the Republican state central committee. Only the accidental premature explosion of the "machine," he felt, saved the lives of the Vincents and prevented the destruction of the paper.[34]

How great an effect the explosion may have had upon the November election is impossible to determine. Certainly the Republican leadership of Kansas was jubilant when the election results became known. Benjamin Harrison had defeated Grover Cleveland in a close national race; his margin of 80,000 in Kansas, however, was the largest of any of the states. Moreover, Republicans had captured all of the state offices in Kansas, easily retaining control of the legislature. "Cowley County Republicans Sweep the Platter Clean, Driving the Mongrels to the Brush!" the *Courier* exulted. "The law-abiding, country-loving people of Kansas have annihilated the Videtts [*sic*] and their benighted and deceived off-spring, the union labor party. They are killed for good." [35]

AFTER THE 1888 election, Vincent and his Union Labor friends began to look for some new political party that could receive broader support. As a consequence, the old Union Labor party and the National Order of Videttes disappeared. In 1889 the State Reform Association, to which the Vincent brothers belonged, apparently investigated and recommended the Farmers' Alliance of the South. There is no evidence, however, to substantiate W. F. Rightmire's claim that Cuthbert Vincent and others went to Texas, were initiated into the Southern Farmers' Alliance, and brought it back to Kansas in 1888.[36] Rather, the facts indicate that the Farmers' Alliance was en-

28. *Ibid.*
29. *Courier*, October 25, 1888.
30. The Coffeyville *Journal*, "Extra," October 18, 1888.
31. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 31, 1888.
32. *Nonconformist*, October 25, November 1, 1888.
33. Henry Vincent, "Unpublished Memoirs," biographical notes, X, *courtesy* of Mrs. A. P. Ford, Glendora, Cal.
34. *The American Nonconformist*, Omaha, March 24, 1898; also unpublished notes of Cuthbert Vincent, *courtesy* of Mrs. A. P. Ford.
35. *Courier*, November 8, 15, 1888.
36. W. F. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas—Origin of the People's Party," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 3. For a further discussion of the issue, *see* Robert C. McMath, Jr., "Preface to Populism: The Origin and Economic

couraged to promote a new party, called the People's party, in 1889 and 1890; and Alliance support proved to be a vital factor in Populist victories.

Although the People's party had numerous beginnings, there is much evidence to indicate that in Kansas, at least, its origin can best be traced to Winfield, the county seat of Cowley county. There in 1889 a group of Democrats, dissident Republicans, and Union Labor backers, with the very influential help of the Farmers' Alliance organized a new political union called the People's party.[37]

The county Republican leadership greatly aided the new party movement by precipitating a walkout in its party convention in Winfield in August, 1889. Edwin P. Greer and state Sen. William F. Hackney, the two most powerful Republicans of Winfield, had attempted to dictate the Republican party's nominations; and a number of rebellious Republicans, led by M. H. Markham, S. W. Chase, and Samuel Strong, had walked out of the meeting. They suggested to prominent members of the Democratic and Union Labor parties that if they could unite and put "a people's ticket" in the field, the Republican farmers would support and elect it. Henry Vincent later vividly recalled the incident in his memoirs and his role as secretary for the meeting.[38]

A subcommittee of the Union Labor party's central committee and the Democratic central committee was subsequently formed to draft some plan of procedure. The committee, including Henry Vincent, issued the call for a "People's Convention" to be at Winfield, September 21. At this convention a People's ticket of local county offices was named. Only the treasurer, sheriff, register of deeds, clerk, coroner, surveyor, and commissioner were named since there were no state or national elections that year.[39]

The Republican opposition attempted to win as it had in 1888 against the Union Labor party by attacking the character and integrity of the new party's leadership in an effort to discredit the entire party. Contemptuously Greer's *Courier* charged that "the Vincents are the sole originators of the late People's Convention."[40] By October 31 the *Courier* was even more scornful and specific in its charges that the Vincents were the chief principals responsible for the new party's organization. "This convention was used to carry out the carefully prepared plan of the Vincents by the nomination of a ticket made up of men whom they dictated as fit for their purposes."[41] Greer personally attacked the Vincents as parasites: "They have no credit, no reputation, and are regarded as dangerous and unhealthy citizens."[42]

It is worth noting that neither Henry Vincent nor his brothers ever claimed to have been the sole originators of the People's party in Cowley county in 1889 or in Kansas in 1890. Henry Vincent's role as one of its principal organizers and promoters as revealed by the records and his own memoirs, however, is truly significant. During the campaign, of course, Vincent minimized his role as a founder of the party he had helped organize, obviously believing that the radical-anarchist label pinned upon him the previous year would scarcely be an asset to the new party.[43]

Stung by the *Courier's* charges, however, the Vincent brothers fought back with increasing vehemence, accusing Greer of publishing falsehoods and distorting facts with "the cunning of a fox and the fiendishness of a human hyena."[44] Vincent's strongest attack upon the Republicans, however, centered on the unsolved dynamite explosion at Coffeyville the previous year. No conclusive evidence had been unearthed to indicate the identity of the guilty party who had sent the dynamite. Nevertheless, Henry Vincent was certain it was the work of Greer and his Republican friends. Before the election of 1889 was over, Vincent was

Development of the 'Southern' Farmers' Alliance in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 42 (Spring, 1976), pp. 55-65. Neither do the unpublished records and memoirs of the Vincent brothers substantiate Rightmire's recollections.

37. *Nonconformist*, August 22, September 5, 12, 26, October 3, 10, 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21, 1889, July 30, 1891; *Courier*, October 3, 10, 17, 31, 1889, November 13, 1890; Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement," p. 3; Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, William E. Connelley, ed. (Chicago; Lewis Publishing Co., 1918), v. 2, pp. 1142-1143; Henry Vincent, "Unpublished Memoirs," pp. 12-14, notes to M. Pettit, March 4, 1930, *courtesy* of Mrs. A. P. Ford.

38. Henry Vincent, "Unpublished Memoirs," pp. 13-14. These notes, according to his daughter, Mrs. Cummings, were dictated by Vincent and written by hand by his wife. For full account, *see* Piehler, "Henry Vincent: A Case Study," p. 163.

39. *Nonconformist*, September 5, 12, 26, 1889, July 30, 1891.

40. *Courier*, October 3, 1889. *See*, also, October 17, 31, 1889.

41. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1889.

42. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1889.

43. *Nonconformist*, September 5, 26, October 3, 10, 1889, July 30, 1891. In Vincent's unpublished memoirs he takes considerable pride in his role in organizing the People's party, claiming that he risked his life in order to make the campaigns in Kansas a success. *See*, also, Chicago *Searchlight*, January 9, 1895.

44. *Nonconformist*, September 26, 1889. *See*, also, September 12 and October 31, 1889.

categorically accusing E. P. Greer, C. A. Henrie, Republican Governor Humphrey, and others as being directly involved in the Coffeyville explosion.[45] Although there was inconclusive evidence for Vincent's charges, two actions by the Republican administration tend to substantiate his assertions. First, C. A. Henrie was appointed as assistant in the State Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Republican state administration. The Vincents claimed that his appointment was payment for his services not only for preparing the exposé but also for sending the dynamite. Repeatedly Vincent called for a state investigation of the Coffeyville dynamite explosion, but the Republican administration chose to ignore the demand.[46]

Second, Greer was appointed postmaster in Winfield; and Vincent was certain that this was a payoff and that he had been correct in his allegations. "Rewarded At Last" was the headline of the *Nonconformist*. "Common murderers are hanged or otherwise punished; but political murderers are appointed to office in the state house and various postoffices at the hand of the high lord executioner." [47]

Just before the election, Vincent made a dramatic appeal to the electorate to consider the economic conditions, their hunger and cold. "As editors, we have dared to take a stand," he concluded after denouncing the Coffeyville outrage "that now stands unquestioned at the door of a few men high in authority in the councils of the present dominant party." [48]

Greer countered by declaring that the People's party ticket had been dictated by the Vincents for their purposes and "is a direct result of the teachings of socialism and debauchery. People of Cowley County," he pleaded, "it is left with you to choose between these two sets of men—between decency, law and order upon the one hand, and socialism debauchery and heathenism upon the other." [49]

In this county election, however, a combination of circumstances aided a party united against Republican domination. The severe economic depression, the prolonged drought, the Republican party split, the active support of the People's party by the Farmers' Alliance, as well as the charges that the Republicans were responsible for the Coffeyville dynamite explosion—all these factors contributed to the victory of the People's party. All its county candidates were elected over the Republican opposition by majorities of approximately 500 to 800.[50]

IN RETROSPECT it is evident that Vincent overreacted to the county election victory of the People's party in 1889, as articles such as the following would indicate:

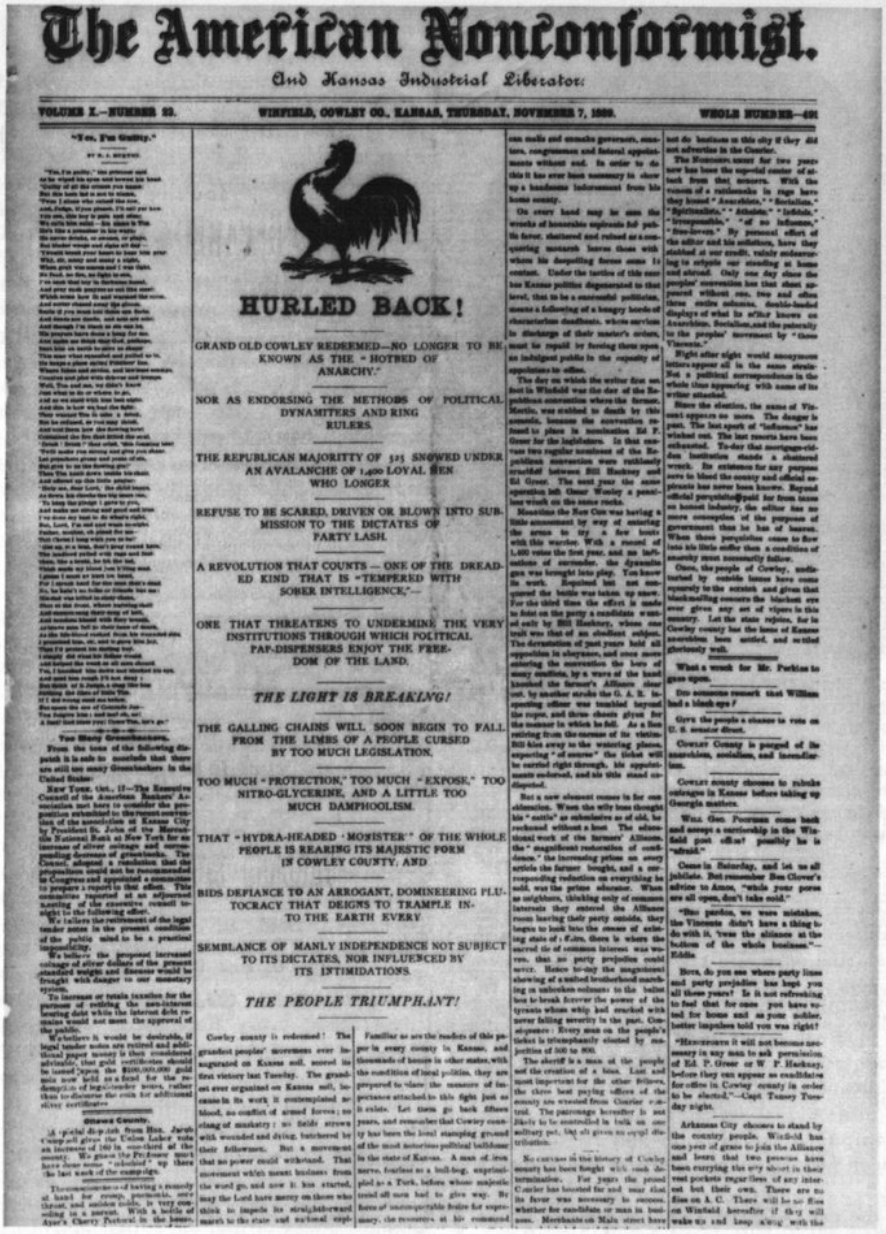
> Cowley County is redeemed! The grandest peoples' movement ever inaugurated on Kansas soil, scored its first victory last Tuesday . . . that movement which meant business from the word go, and now it has started, may the Lord have mercy on those who think to impede its straightforward march to the state and national capitals.[51]

The *Courier* retracted nothing, only admitting that the election results, while not entirely unexpected, were still a surprise to most Republicans. They had not anticipated that the Farmers' Alliance would so strongly support the People's ticket.[52]

The victory of the People's party in the entire county, however, became well-known all over the state. " 'The way they did it in Cowley County,' was on the lips of every reformer," according to one historian.[53] On June 12, 1890, the People's party was organized on the state level at Topeka. Benjamin H. Clover, a close friend of the Vincents who had supported the People's party in Cowley county, was selected as state president of the Farmers' Alliance; and he agreed to run for congress in the Third congressional district on the People's party ticket.[54]

In the ensuing statewide election, Vincent enthusiastically reported the campaigns with considerable journalistic hyperbole. Undoubtedly the large crowds who attended the rallies, as well as their enthusiasm, contributed to Vincent's confidence of another sweeping vic-

45. *Ibid.*, February 7, June 6, 20, September 12, 1889. The most sweeping and specific charges were made June 20, 1889.
46. *Ibid.*, June 6, 20, July 25, August 22, September 5, 12, 26, October 31, 1889.
47. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1889.
48. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1889.
49. *Courier*, October 31, 1889.
50. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1889; *Nonconformist*, November 14, 1889; Denton, *"The American Nonconformist,"* pp. 119-122.
51. *Nonconformist*, November 7, 1889. For overreaction, *see*, also, November 14, 21, 1889, November 13, 1890.
52. *Courier*, November 7, 1889.
53. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," p. 1143.
54. Rightmire, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 4, 6. According to Rightmire, "he [Clover] placed himself under the guidance of the members of the executive committee of the Reform Association, and actions advised by its President and Committeeman Vincent always received his approval and hearty cooperation." In his unpublished memoirs, Henry Vincent refers to Clover as "a well-to-do farmer near Winfield," who became president of the Farmers' Alliance for Kansas, and "a speaker of homely eloquence, entirely spontaneous with him."



The American Nonconformist.

And Kansas Industrial Liberator.

VOLUME X.—NUMBER 23. WINFIELD, COWLEY CO., KANSAS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1889. WHOLE NUMBER—491

"Yes, I'm Guilty."

HURLED BACK!

GRAND OLD COWLEY REDEEMED—NO LONGER TO BE KNOWN AS THE "HOTBED OF ANARCHY."

NOR AS ENDORSING THE METHODS OF POLITICAL DYNAMITERS AND RING RULERS.

THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY OF 525 SNOWED UNDER AN AVALANCHE OF 1,400 LOYAL MEN WHO LONGER

REFUSE TO BE SCARED, DRIVEN OR BLOWN INTO SUBMISSION TO THE DICTATES OF PARTY LASH.

A REVOLUTION THAT COUNTS — ONE OF THE DREADED KIND THAT IS "TEMPERED WITH SOBER INTELLIGENCE,"—

ONE THAT THREATENS TO UNDERMINE THE VERY INSTITUTIONS THROUGH WHICH POLITICAL PAP-DISPENSERS ENJOY THE FREEDOM OF THE LAND.

THE LIGHT IS BREAKING!

THE GALLING CHAINS WILL SOON BEGIN TO FALL FROM THE LIMBS OF A PEOPLE CURSED BY TOO MUCH LEGISLATION.

TOO MUCH "PROTECTION," TOO MUCH "EXPOSE," TOO NITRO-GLYCERINE, AND A LITTLE TOO MUCH DAMPHOOLISM.

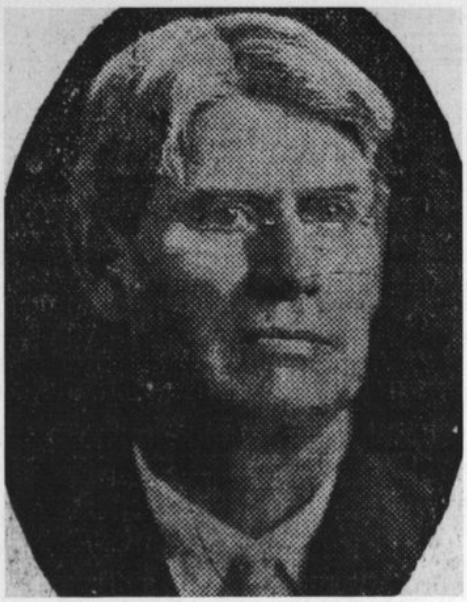
THAT "HYDRA-HEADED MONSTER" OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE IS REARING ITS MAJESTIC FORM IN COWLEY COUNTY, AND

BIDS DEFIANCE TO AN ARROGANT, DOMINEERING PLUTOCRACY THAT DEIGNS TO TRAMPLE INTO THE EARTH EVERY

SEMBLANCE OF MANLY INDEPENDENCE NOT SUBJECT TO ITS DICTATES, NOR INFLUENCED BY ITS INTIMIDATIONS.

THE PEOPLE TRIUMPHANT!

Henry Vincent's newspaper, founded in 1886 at Winfield, was strictly political, often ignoring local events and aiming at a national audience. The editor, one of the most active of the organizers of the People's party in Kansas, crusaded against monopolies, defended woman's rights, and criticized prohibition. When the Populists elected all their Cowley county candidates in November, 1889, Vincent overreacted with a front page calling the local victory only the beginning of a "straightforward march to the state and national capitals."



Edwin P. Greer (1857-1924), publisher of the Winfield *Courier* for 40 years, was a Republican leader in Cowley county and served in the state legislature in 1893 to 1894. Believing Henry Vincent was dangerously radical, he published materials accusing him of being a ringleader of an anarchist conspiracy. Stung by the *Courier's* charges, the Vincent brothers fought back with increasing vehemence and accusations of their own.

tory. As in 1889, the Vincents were charged by Republican critics as being part of the group of radical, anarchist Union Labor leaders who were actually running the People's party. In 1890, however, the charges were more statewide in their scope; and the Topeka *Daily Capital*, edited by J. K. Hudson, denounced the Vincents and their friends as "anarchists" and "professional agitators" who were trying to manipulate the election and frighten Republican farmers into voting for the People's party.[55]

As the campaign of 1890 progressed, all of the old issues were renewed with added zeal. The distress of the unemployed and the poverty of the farmers were again emphasized by the Populists. In addition, Sen. John J. Ingalls, who had represented Kansas in the U. S. senate since 1873, became one of the chief targets of Populist campaigners. No newspaper was more scathing in its denunciation of Ingalls than the *Nonconformist* which had accused him, among other things, of being "a caricature of the strongest type," "a bombastic egotist," "an inborn traitor to highest American principles," and one who had made "an ass of himself in the United States senate." [56] For additional campaign literature, Vincent printed "The Plot Unfolded," a history of the "Coffeyville Dynamite Outrage," which had previously been published by installments in the *Nonconformist*. A popular Alliance and Labor song book, compiled by Leopold Vincent, went through three printings.[57]

Moreover, the *Nonconformist* printed "patent insides" [58] for as many as 40 local newspapers throughout Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, and other states in the same region through a chartered corporation known as the Independent Newspaper Union.[59] About the same time the Vincents organized a lecture bureau whose most popular speaker was Mary Elizabeth Lease, an able lawyer whose fervent, colorful speeches made her an effective campaigner.[60]

In the election results of 1890, the Populists found much reason to be encouraged although no party won complete control of the state government. The People's party had, however, elected five of seven congressmen to the U.S. house of representatives. The new state house of representatives would consist of 91 Populists, 26 Republicans, and eight Democrats, thus assuring the retirement of Senator Ingalls, who was replaced with Populist Sen. William A. Peffer. Despite the Populists' successes in these areas, every Republican on the state ticket was elected except the attorney general, whose opponent had been on both the People's and Democratic tickets.

55. Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 4, 11, October 7, 1890. *See*, also, Coffeyville *Journal*, October 10, 1890.

56. *Nonconformist*, August 15, 1889. *See*, also, September 25 and October 9, 1890.

57. *Ibid.*, February 20, March 6, 1890.

58. "Patent insides" or "ready-prints" were sheets printed on one side with news and blank space on the other side for local advertising or additional news. Use of "ready-prints" saved considerable time and expense in hand-setting of type and were especially helpful to newspapers just getting started or to editors with limited finances. Advertising space, as well as news, was also sold in advance on "ready-prints." The type of advertising, particularly patent medicines, gave the product the name of "patent insides."

59. *Nonconformist*, March 8, 22, April 5, June 14, 21, September 20, 1888.

60. Mrs. Lease, a former Republican, had broken with the party to campaign for the Union Labor party candidates in the election of 1888 and for the Populist party in 1890 and 1892. She also sold subscriptions for the *Nonconformist* after her rallies.—*See Nonconformist*, September 25, 1890.

In Cowley county it was, Vincent admitted, "clearly a case of over-confidence on the one hand, and unparalleled effort on the other." [61] The Republican party had not only succeeded in cutting down the Populist majorities in Cowley county from the previous year but had also elected two Republicans to county offices. Benjamin H. Clover won his congressional seat but lost Cowley county by almost 100 votes. Editor Greer congratulated himself for having put up such a good fight, declaring that if the other counties had done as well as Cowley, the state would have gone safely Republican. "The *Courier* does not want to claim the credit for the admirable campaign in Cowley county, which resulted in almost the defeat of the party that found birth here, but it will share in the credit." [62] The Topeka *Capital* also rejoiced in Republican gains in 1890 and later in 1891: "Calamity," it declared, "is dead. It was born in Cowley county and was cooked in its cradle." [63]

IN 1891 the Kansas legislature investigated the Coffeyville dynamite explosion with hearings that lasted over seven weeks and involved more than 80 witnesses. The investigating committee was composed of four Populists, three Republicans, and one Democrat. All the principals testified, but little new evidence or significant information that might determine the guilt of those responsible for the blast was unearthed. Much of the testimony consisted of speculation, innuendo, and circumstantial evidence. Since the committee as a whole could not agree except on the basic facts of the explosion itself, its members submitted differing party reports.[64]

The Populists on the committee felt the evidence still pointed to the Republicans as the guilty party although Upham had failed to identify Henrie positively as the mysterious Jason who had presumably delivered the package to the agent for shipment. The Populists believed, however, that Henrie might have been disguised; at the very least they felt he had "some connection" with the explosion. The strongest evidence was probably the fact that a close Republican friend of Governor Humphrey, Leland J. Webb, testified that the governor had told him that he had to appoint Henrie.[65] Vincent's *Nonconformist* insisted that the investigation had proved, with only one minor exception, every charge advanced by the Vincents for the past two years, particularly that Greer and state Republicans were the sole authors and operators in the conspiracy which resulted in the Coffeyville dynamite explosion.[66]

The Republicans, however, felt that the investigation completely exonerated them of any blame or responsibility for the explosion, declaring the entire investigation "A Howling Farce." [67] They somewhat weakly defended Henrie's appointment to the Labor Bureau but introduced a number of reputable witnesses who testified that Henrie was in Topeka rather than in Coffeyville on the day the dynamite exploded. The Republicans also believed that the explosion was an attempt by Upham to kill his wife and stepdaughter rather than an overt act by Union Labor party leaders to punish Greer for his exposés. Greer himself was convinced that the investigation had proved beyond doubt that the Vincents were "irresponsible scoundrels and irredeemable liars—if not procurers of perjury." [68]

The lone Democrat on the committee, Sen. Edward Carroll, criticized the conduct of both Republican and Union Labor participants but declared that no one had been shown to be guilty of any conspiracy. Although he was convinced that Henrie was a disreputable person, he did not believe that Henrie could have delivered the box of dynamite for shipment. Neither did Carroll believe that there was any evidence to connect the Vidette organization with the explosion.[69]

DESPITE the incomplete Populist triumph of 1890, Vincent continued to believe that the People's party was riding a crest of national support that would sweep eastward and capture the White House in 1892. Hence, the Vincents made the decision to move the

61. *Nonconformist*, November 6, 1890.
62. *Courier*, November 13, 1890.
63. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 4, 1891.
64. *Joint Committee of the Legislature*. Perhaps the most exhaustive studies and analyses of the investigating committee's work have been done by Denton, *"The American Nonconformist,"* and Lutzky, "The Reform Editors." Denton believes that the striking aspect of the investigation was the fact that the Videttes were cleared of any responsibility for the Coffeyville dynamite explosion.
65. *Joint Committee*, pp. 288, 631-636.
66. *Nonconformist*, April 9, 1891.
67. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 5, 1891.
68. *Courier*, March 26, 1891.
69. *Joint Committee*, pp. 636-638.

Nonconformist newspaper plant to Indianapolis early in September, 1891, where, "As a national organ the NON CON can serve the masses of Kansas far better than from its present location." [70]

Although the *Courier* could not resist in rejoicing in "the last shipment of the *Nonconformist* crowd" [71] from Winfield, it nevertheless testified to the influence and effectiveness of the Vincents by declaring that never, perhaps, in history had any political reform party so quickly risen to power and swept the county as the Populists had in the past two years. Scornfully, Greer gave the Vincents and Benjamin Clover the credit for organizing a people's party on a statewide basis. "But what did Cowley county get for originating this brilliant affair called the 'people's' party?" he asked.[72]

As for Henry Vincent, his five years on Kansas soil had been years of tumult, worry, vigilance, and struggle which he hoped he would not experience again. He charged that he and his family "have lain beneath a stigma of anarchism; have been boycotted in the community; ostracized in society; . . . and to cap the climax, deadly explosives were to be shipped to this city, and the scenes of the Haymarket repeated." [73]

From the earliest issues of the *Nonconformist* in Kansas, Vincent had quickly established himself as a radical-reform editor whom his opponents could not lightly dismiss. His loud and persistent defense of the Haymarket anarchists, his membership in the secret oath-bound Order of Videttes, his slashing attacks upon orthodox religious institutions, and, most of all, his ability to establish and promote political organizations that could, and sometimes did, win crucial elections—all these factors made Vincent a genuine threat to the established powers in Kansas and elsewhere.

Although Vincent recognized his nonconformity and even boasted of it on occasion, he never considered himself to be dangerous or a menace to society. Rather, Vincent believed that the changes he proposed might preserve democracy from a violent upheaval or bloody revolution. Throughout his life Vincent believed that reform could best be accomplished through peaceful means. He was confident that if the public were fully informed and educated, a peaceful revolution could take place at the ballot box. Vincent abhorred violence and openly rebuked "Anarchistic-Socialistic exiles" who sought to overthrow the government through bloodshed or warfare.[74] He was convinced, however, that change could not be brought about through the two major parties, either Republican or Democratic. Essential change and reform, Vincent believed, could best be effected through an independent third party.[75]

Vincent was not without weakness and faults. He was an intensely human individual, ambitious, strong-willed, determined—a proud man who sometimes played the role of martyr. Idealistic and occasionally naive, he never achieved financial success. His daughter declared that he never indulged in such worldly things as drinking or smoking; on the other hand, he was never at home very much nor did he provide very well for his family. "He had to save the country," she stated, "and the family could get along how they could." [76]

As an editor during a period of intense personal journalism, Vincent was unabashedly partisan. His bombastic rhetoric, wild charges, bitter local feuding, and occasional disregard for the facts were not untypical of this period of rough-and-tumble journalism. For Vincent it was often a matter of survival. Finally, the Panic of 1893 and debts incurred by overexpansion accomplished what Vincent's opponents had failed to do. The Vincent brothers were forced to sell their printing establishment in Indiana and thereby lost control of the *Nonconformist*.

In 1893 Vincent went to Chicago where he was associate editor of the Chicago *Express* for almost a year. In 1894 he established the Chicago *Searchlight*, a Populist newspaper which lasted less than a year before it merged with the

70. *Nonconformist*, September 3, 1891. In his unpublished memoirs, Henry Vincent admits that the move was a mistake: "In this heyday of our youth we didn't realize that one swallow doesn't make a summer or that one or more victories for Kansas didn't cover the U.S.A. Our firm yielded to an invitation to 'come over to Damascus and help us.' We went bag and baggage to Indianapolis in 1891, printing plant, families, and all. There the plant was lost to us through that terrible financial slump of 1892-93 and the three brothers were separated."—Letter by Henry Vincent to Ford M. Pettit, Detroit *News*, March 4, 1930.

71. *Courier*, October 1, 1891.

72. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1891.

73. *Nonconformist*, April 9, 1891. *See*, also, September 3, 1891.

74. *The Age*, Chicago, April 13, 1895.

75. *Nonconformist*, October 31, 1889, February 26, 1891; Chicago *Express*, September 16, 1893; *Sound Money*, Massillon, Ohio, August 22, 1895.

76. Mary Vincent Cummings, Glendora, Cal., interview, July 26, 1971. Mrs. Cummings died February 22, 1978.

Chicago *Age*. From 1895 to 1896 Vincent was editor of Jacob S. Coxey's newspaper, *Sound Money*, having previously participated in Coxey's 1894 "March to Washington" as publicity director and official historian. In 1907 Vincent and his family moved to Girard, Kan., where he became active in the Socialist party, serving as its district secretary from 1908 until he left Kansas in 1911. The Vincent home in Girard became a mecca for many Socialists, including Eugene V. Debs, a good friend whom Vincent vigorously supported as the Socialist party candidate for President in five national elections. Poverty or near-poverty characterized Vincent's later years, during which the family moved about the country seeking employment. Vincent died in Ypsilanti, Mich., October 29, 1935.[77]

77. For a more detailed account of Vincent's later years, *see* Piehler, "Henry Vincent: A Case Study," pp. 197-238.

It is impossible, of course, to measure precisely the exact extent or degree of Vincent's influence, since so many factors were involved; but the actions and testimony of his opposition indicate that his influence was significant. The short-lived but decisive victories of the People's party in Cowley county in 1889 and in the state of Kansas in 1890 were all too real to Republicans, who, without the advantage of hindsight, may have overreacted to Vincent's journalistic attacks. Although the People's party had many leaders and many beginnings, Henry Vincent appears to have been among the most active, the most resourceful, and the most influential in organizing and promoting the People's party in Kansas. Certainly, he was among the most criticized, the most stigmatized, and the most abused by his Republican opponents—a tribute to his efforts and a measure of his success.

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

THE LOGAN COUNTY NICKEL MINE

JOHN M. PETERSON

IN WESTERN Kansas in the boom days of the late 1880's there seems to have been almost no limit to the expectations of many of the settlers. The soil was rich and almost free, and rainfall had been adequate. The farmers had a good crop or two, most new businesses flourished, and much of the populace was willing to believe almost any claim which town promoters or railroad land salesmen might dream up. For example, the proposition that the northwestern part of the state might well become a great fruit raising center was taken seriously. There is little wonder then that reports of valuable mineral prospects were frequent and were given serious consideration. After all, a man of 40 in the late 1880's could well remember the gold rush of 1859-1860 in the Rocky mountains, and he knew that it turned out to be a real bonanza for at least some of the would-be miners. The fact that the geology of western Kansas differs greatly from that of the Colorado Rockies was not known, or could easily be ignored in his wish to believe in the great potentialities for wealth in his new home.

One such mineral boom was the Logan county nickel "find" of 1888. The cast of characters of this minor but bizarre episode included two wandering prospectors, some gullible local residents (and some who weren't so gullible), a distinguished professor of science from the University of Kansas, and the curator of metallurgy of the Smithsonian Institution.

The first published notice of the discovery of nickel in Logan county appeared on August 23, 1888, in the two newspapers published in Russell Springs. In a wildly enthusiastic story the *Logan County Republican* informed the world that two prospectors, Jerome Coldren and Clinton Phelps, who had been prospecting in Logan county since April, had just found "an immense deposit of nickel." They also had come across iron, silver, and coal but

> . . . wanted something more valuable and in more paying quantities. Their search was finally rewarded by finding this almost inexhaustible mine of nickel. It is in what is termed a blanket ledge, cropping out all along the gulch, and is so situated that it can be mined with a pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow. . . . As soon as they made the discovery they sent specimens to assaying offices in

Title-page photo: Promoters of western Kansas in the 1880's made some extravagant claims, and in those days people seemed ready to believe some of the promotion. "Discovery" of nickel deposits in Logan county in August, 1888, resulted in a short-lived rush by prospectors to the area. It was a hoax or worse, and the episode was a sore point with local boosters by the end of the year. This photo is a recent view of some of the nickel mine area showing eroded rock outcroppings in the foreground and the Smoky Hill river valley in the background. Photograph by the author.

Denver, Kansas City, Topeka, to the U. S. mint at Philadelphia, and to assayers in other cities. These assays ran from two to twenty-five percent pure nickel. Nickel is worth $16 per ounce. Thus it will be seen that at the lowest estimate this deposit is worth $7,680 per ton. . . .[1]

The story in the *Republican* went on to say that there were only one or two producing nickel mines in the United States and that a company soon would be formed to work the mine. Obviously all of this information came from the two ". . . gentlemanly, intelligent appearing men . . . miners of long experience . . . [who] were in this office yesterday. . . ." Although the newspaper story did not provide the location of the prospective nickel strike, it soon became common knowledge that it was about eight miles southwest of Russell Springs in the southwest corner of Sec. 2 and the northeast corner of Sec. 10, T. 14 S., R. 36 W. On August 20, the Monday prior to the appearance of the newspaper story, Coldren and Phelps each had filed a mining notice with the Logan county register of deeds recording their claims.[2] Coldren named his claim the "Nickle King" while Phelps called his "Eureka No. One." Both claims were located by a stake with a tin can at its foot containing written notice of the claim.

The rush to stake out claims must have begun even before the newspaper story appeared. We have no way of knowing with certainty how many claims were staked out but we do know that by Saturday, August 25, 13 additional claims had been recorded on the books of the register of deeds. The actual location date of all of those claims was Thursday, August 23, except for one. B. F. Cannon, who called his claim the "Nickle Queen," must have received some advance notice as he located his claim on the 22d.[3] Each of these claims was 600 by 1,500 feet, thus containing something over 20 acres. Locations were based on existing filed claims or on stakes or mounds of rocks. The early claims were all in either Sec. 2 or Sec. 10 but before long all feasible locations in those sections were taken up and claims in Secs. 3, 8, and 11 were recorded.

The area in which these claims were located is about three miles south of the Smoky Hill river where ravines cut into the north-facing bluff to expose layers of dark conglomerate rock. In 1888 this was all open range land belonging to the U. S. government and presumably open to mineral claims. The earliest claimants were local homesteaders and residents of Russell Springs or Winona, the towns next nearest to the mine. They included J. E. Cummins and G. E. Egger, local real estate men, and C. A. Black, the county treasurer. Other early claims were recorded by Thomas B. Thorpe, a real estate man in Winona, and George C. Fleming, the Logan county register of deeds.

In 1888 Russell Springs was a small but booming town of a few hundred people. Situated near the center of Logan county, it had won the county seat election just a year earlier and already boasted of a sizable stone courthouse. Two weekly newspapers were published in the town. Other businesses included two hotels, a bank, several stores, and a livery stable. Two physicians and several lawyers provided professional services. The Union church ministered to spiritual needs. The town's major weakness was its lack of a railroad; the nearest line was the Kansas Pacific tracks about 12 miles north.

By August 30, when the next issue of the *Republican* came out, several more claims had been filed and the paper placed its comments on the mining developments under the heading "Nickelville Notes." The only really new development reported was that Coldren and Phelps had found a fine spring of water near their mine, to the benefit of the would-be miners and other visitors. Even so, interest in the mine was reported to continue at "fever heat" and hundreds of people were said to have visited the area. The *Republican* noted that other nickel deposits had been reported in the county but deferred comment until particulars could be learned. Not all of the items were serious: W. A. Lyon was said to estimate the value of the nickel ore in his claim as "about a billion and a half" and some of the claim holders who had staked land a mile or more from the original claims were assured

1. The story in the *Logan County Leader* was much calmer and considerably shorter. It quoted the assay reports as running from seven to 25 percent. The seven may have been a typographical error as other sources quote the two to 25 percent range. The *Republican's* estimate of the value of the ore was greatly exaggerated as the actual price of nickel was about 65 cents a pound.

2. "Miscellaneous Records," office of register of deeds, Logan county, v. 1, p. 98.

3. Names of the early claims show considerable imagination. In addition to names linked with nickle (*sic*), such as King, Queen, Prince, and Band, there were the Western Chief, Hazzard, Willow Gulch, Big Medicine, Little Gem, Phoebe, Young America, Fat Badger, Wild Cat, Black Diamond, and Stag Gulch.

Still Has Faith.

We notice the REPUBLICAN still continues to have faith in the nickel discovery. Perhaps they have something more convincing and encouraging from assays than we have here. Our patience has all been exhausted, and while we want it understood that we are not denying the possibility of rich metals existing in Logan county, we think it high time some substantial evidence and proof be produced and made public.—Clipper.

You are right when you say we still have faith in the nickel discovery. In fact, we have never had any reason for not having faith in it, whereas we have had a good many "substantial evidences" to cause us to believe that it is a bona fide discovery and one which will be a great benefit to Logan county. As will be seen from the following item in the same issue of the Clipper its editor is mistaken when he says no "substantial evidence and proof" have been produced:

Jerome Coldren was in town Sunday afternoon and he showed us an assay from the city assayer of Topeka, made from ore sent from the mine in Logan county and his report is 4 28 per cent. nickel and .72 per cent. cobalt. Coldren says he will be able to show the people something reliable between the 10th and 16th inst.

Since getting this assay he has received one from an assayer at Springfield, Mass., which shows 4.8 per cent. nickel. The precipitate showed 1 per cent., making the assay 5.8 per cent. pure nickel.

As we have before remarked, the only doubters in this vicinity are Grove and a few others.

In an article October 11, 1888, the *Logan County Republican*, Russell Springs, said it "Still Has Faith" in the nickel discovery. Less than two months earlier the newspaper had informed the world enthusiastically that two wandering prospectors had found "an immense deposit of nickel." Reports of favorable assays kept people's hopes high in the area, but the bubble was to burst and little was published about the nickel mine after November 1.

they could ". . . congratulate themselves upon possessing fine agricultural plats."

The last item under "Nickelville Notes" was by far the most significant. Prof. F. H. Snow of Kansas University visited the nickel mines on August 29, examined them thoroughly, and selected several specimens of the deposits which he took with him. He was reported to have told the bystanders that there undoubtedly was mineral in the ore but that only an assay at the laboratory in Lawrence could tell the kind and quantity.

DURING the next two weeks activities at the nickel mines picked up pace. By September 12, 31 claims had been filed, some by outsiders from as far away as Denver. Visitors had become so numerous—300 were estimated to have journeyed to the isolated location on Sunday, September 2—that some of the more enterprising locals were setting up businesses to serve them. E. P. Teeters and his wife set up a tent, variously described as a hotel and a restaurant, from which they apparently served meals and refreshments and may have provided a place to bed-down for those who wished to stay over night. A hack line began to offer regular service between the mine site and Russell Springs at 75 cents a round trip. The county surveyor was reported to have surveyed the site of a new town in the area to be called Nickel City.[4] Coldren and Phelps were reported on September 6 to have said that although mining progress had been slow, their Topeka backer would visit the site shortly and ore production then would begin on an extensive scale.[5]

By this time the major question in the minds of many of the claim holders and interested observers was whether or not assays of the ore would substantiate the original assertion of two to 25 percent nickel and whether the bulk of the ore would run at the upper or lower end of that range. It was obvious that a mine about 15 miles from the nearest railroad siding, and much farther than that from the nearest feasible site for a smelter, would not be a paying proposition unless the ore was considerably richer than the two percent ore which a New

4. Above items from the *Logan County Republican*, September 6, 1888. The Nickel City plat, if actually drawn, was never recorded on Logan county books.

5. *Logan County Leader*, September 6, 1888. The identity of the backer, if he existed, in unknown. No visit by anyone from Topeka was reported in the newspapers.

Jersey mine was said to be working profitably. It also was known that the $16 per ounce price for nickel quoted in the original story in the *Republican* was about 400 times too high.

Several assay results were reported in the newspapers. Some were rather vague as to who submitted the ore and who did the assaying. One report quoted an assay of 12 percent nickel for some ore sent to Denver.[6] Later reports tended to fall within the two to 12 percent range. The only documented report of an early analysis is contained in a letter published in both Russell Springs papers on September 20. Fred P. Dewey, curator of metallurgy of the U. S. National Museum, a branch of the Smithsonian Institution, reported in a letter to B. F. Cannon, dated September 13, that the specimens he had been sent contained nickel and cobalt and a small amount of copper but were not adequate for use in determining the percentage of metal in the ore. He seemed quite optimistic about the material he had seen, requested larger samples and additional information, and mentioned that, if the data and samples furnished were satisfactory, he would write up the discovery in a paper to be presented to the American Institute of Mining Engineers.[7] The *Republican* further reported that on September 19 C. W. Smalley, who did not have a recorded claim, and George C. Fleming, one of the early claim filers, went to Nickel City and obtained the information and specimens for mailing to Dewey on the 20th.

Questions as to the true assay value of the ore do not seem to have depressed local activity or enthusiasm. On September 5 E. I. Burdick sold a one-half interest in his claim, known as the "Phoebe," to Frank Fullerton for $500.[8] Shortly thereafter a stock company, the Western Nickel and Cobalt Mining Company, was formed to engage in mining and smelting of minerals and the improvement and sale of real estate. Its place of business was to be Russell Springs and it was authorized to issue 200,000 shares of stock at $10 each. The six trustees of the new company were Jerome Coldren, Clinton Phelps, E. P. Teeters, I. F. Teeters, T. F. Wright, and Charles B. Adams. Adams was elected president, E. P. Teeters took the job of secretary, I. F. Teeters that of treasurer, and Jerome Coldren became superintendent. The company's charter was filed with the Kansas secretary of state on September 20. The formation of the company was reported by the *Republican* on that date, with the comment that ". . . we would not be surprised to see Nickel City a booming reality and a large force of men at work there before snow flies."

THE NEXT Monday, September 24, 30 or more parties holding mining claims met at the camp of Coldren and Phelps and organized the "Russell Springs Mining District" composed of sections 1-4, 9-12 in township 14, range 36. The officers elected by the district were George C. Fleming, chairman, G. E. Egger, secretary, and W. A. Lyon, recorder. All three were among those who filed the earliest claims. Other business consisted of the appointment of a committee to draft regulations for the district within the next five days.[9]

Early in October Coldren and Teeters visited Russell Springs and confirmed that the actual removal of ore would begin about October 10. On October 4 the *Republican* stated that the mine would employ 20 or 30 men in addition to those who would haul the ore to the railroad for shipment to both Kansas City and Denver. Even more sensational was the word that on September 27 Henry Van Loon had been paid $1,000 for his claim, the "Big Medicine," by the Western Nickel and Cobalt Mining Company. His claim, it was pointed out, lay between Coldren's "Nickel King" and Phelps's "Eureka No. One."[10] Another item in the same issue mentioned that B. F. Cannon had sold a half interest in his claim, the "Nickel Queen," for $500.[11]

During September and the early part of Oc-

6. *Logan County Republican*, September 13, 1888.

7. The September 15, 1888, issue of the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, New York, contained a letter signed by Dewey concerning the initial sample of nickel ore from Russell Springs which had been submitted to him for examination. He described it as consisting of ". . . very smooth quartzose pebbles, from bean size down, cemented by a more or less manganiferous limonite. It contains nickel and cobalt and a small amount of copper, but whether these metals are present in sufficient amount to constitute an ore, has not been determined. . . ." He went on to say that he would lay the matter before the next meeting of the American Institute of Mining Engineers in more detail. No further correspondence or report on the matter by Dewey in the *Engineering and Mining Journal* has been discovered.

8. A copy of the bill of sale is recorded in v. 1, "Miscellaneous Records," office of the register of deeds, Logan county.

9. *Logan County Republican*, September 27, 1888. Presumably these regulations were to govern such matters as claim disputes, routes, and roads for transporting ore, etc. No further information on the mining district has been located.

10. Recorded in "Misc. Records," v. 1, office of the register of deeds, Logan county.

11. Public records do not entirely substantiate this story but show that on October 10 James M. McCormack agreed to deliver a span of mules in good condition to Cannon in December for the half interest in the "Nickel Queen."—"Misc. Records," v. 1, office of the register of deeds, Logan county.

tober the nickel fever spilled over into other parts of the county. Several claims were filed on land in T. 12, R. 34, mostly on Sec. 28. This was about eight miles northeast of Russell Springs. A few others were filed northwest of town and one was filed 16 miles to the southwest. Apparently any dark-looking rock was considered possible nickel ore by the enthusiasts.

On October 11 the Russell Springs and Winona papers reported favorable assays received by Coldren.[12] The city assayer of Topeka was said to have found 4.28 percent nickel and .72 percent cobalt in the sample he analyzed while a report from Springfield, Mass., showed 5.8 percent nickel.[13] An item not reported by the newspapers was that on October 11 two of the trustees of the Western Nickel and Cobalt Mining Company deeded their claims to the company, in each case for a consideration of $10,000. One of these was Clinton Z. Phelps, one of the two original discoverers of the nickel strike; the other was Joseph J. Wright who did not record his claim, the "Cow Boy," until September 12.[14]

It seems most unlikely that the company was in a position to pay these sums in cash; possibly much of the payment was made in shares of stock.[15] The company's only source of cash would have been receipts from the sale of stock to the public, and it is hard to believe that enough was sold in its first three weeks of existence to pay Wright and Phelps, as well as Van Loon, in cash.

Phelps is not mentioned in the newspapers after late September. Jerome Coldren, though, continued to carry on, with the help of E. P. Teeters. On October 18 the company was reported to be building a 14 by 38-foot stone structure at the nickel mine to be used as a boarding house for the miners. A week later Coldren and Teeters reported that the building was nearly completed and also announced that the company would open an office in Russell Springs. They also stated that, although only a few carloads of ore would be taken out before winter, operations at the mine would begin in earnest in the spring.[16] Not reported in the papers was the transfer of a warranty deed for the "Nickle King" mine from Jerome Coldren to the company for a consideration of $10,000 on October 23.[17]

Also not mentioned in the local papers was the report which Professor Snow prepared concerning the specimens he took from the mine site shortly after the discovery of nickel was announced. His paper on the Logan county nickel mines was read on November 2 at the 21st meeting of the Kansas Academy of Science held in Leavenworth.[18] The subject of his paper was mentioned in the Leavenworth *Times* in the issues of November 2 and November 3 but it did not publish a summary of the content of his report. The volume of reports containing the text of Snow's paper was not issued by the academy until some time in 1889. Even so, it seems strange that the existence of his report was not picked up by the Logan county newspapers, when one of them mentioned the fact that he had been back at the mine site only the previous week.[19]

PROFESSOR Snow's report was devastating to the hopes of the nickel mine enthusiasts. He stated that the specimens which he had personally selected at the two claims considered to have the most valuable ore, when analyzed by Prof. E. H. S. Bailey, showed a metallic content of one third of one percent of cobalt and one tenth of one percent of nickel. Furthermore, the so-called ore was ". . . the characteristic conglomerate or pudding-stone which overlies the eroded surface of the Niobrara limestone and shales . . .," although of a darker color than usual. It was not crystalline rock that had been subjected to metamorphic action and

12. Coverage of the nickel mine story by newspapers in the nearby towns varied with their distance from the scene and the extent of rivalry with Russell Springs. The papers in Winona and Augustine published reports of the main developments. The Augustine *Herald* generally added comments that equally rich lodes undoubtedly could be found within a few miles of Augustine. The editor of the Monument *Obelisk* visited the scene and announced that Monument undoubtedly was the logical point from which to start a trip to the mines. The papers in Oakley, which had recently lost the county seat election to Russell Springs, mentioned the original discovery but carried no further news of the nickel mine. Further afield, papers in Scott City, Dighton, and even in eastern Kansas picked up the original story but adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

13. *Logan County Republican*, October 11, 1888.

14. "Deed Records," v. 3, office of the register of deeds, Logan county.

15. No records of the company have been found. A facsimile of the only share of stock known to exist, Certificate No. 103 for 22 shares issued to Jerome Coldren, is in the Butterfield Trail Museum in Russell Springs.

16. *Logan County Republican*, October 25, 1888.

17. "Deed Records," office of the register of deeds, Logan county, v. 3.

18. *See* F. H. Snow, "*Logan County Nickel Mines*, *Transactions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Annual Meetings of the Kansas Academy of Science* (Topeka, Kansas Publishing House, 1889), v. 11, pp. 39-42.

19. Winona *Clipper*, October 25, 1888.

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without that action there is little or no chance of finding metallic ores of consequence. Further exploration of Logan county revealed no crystalline rocks and no veins containing metallic ores. The traces of metal found by chemical analysis probably came from meteor dust which sifted to the bottom of the ocean which covered the area in Tertiary times.

Whether or not the content of Snow's report became common knowledge, little was published about the nickel mine after November 1. About the middle of the month a report was issued by F. P. Dewey of the Smithsonian concerning specimens of ore from another location in Logan county which had been submitted to him for assay by Amos Bull. He reported that ". . . of the specimens sent No. 1 is of same character as material sent by Mr. Cannon and contains some nickel; Nos. 2 and 3 contain a large amount of iron with but little, if any, nickel." [20] Unfortunately we have no record of what Dewey found in the second selection of ore from the Coldren and Phelps mine.

December 6 marks the last news of the nickel mine in the Russell Springs papers. On that date Coldren and Teeters said that the company would wait until spring before taking out any ore.[21] So far as is known no further action took place at the mine site. The company and the mining district seem to have withered away and left no records. The partially completed building probably served as a source of stone for the construction of ranch buildings at a much later date.

A BREEZY and entertaining epilogue to the whole nickel mine story is provided in a letter written nearly 18 years after the events took place by John F. Coulter, a former resident of the Russell Springs community who had moved to Michigan.[22] Coulter wrote that in the summer of 1888 he

20. *Logan County Republican*, November 15, 1888.

21. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1888.

22. Russell Springs *Leader*, March 3, 1906.

For a brief time in 1888 residents of Logan county were caught up in a nickel mine fever that sustained a short-lived boom for some local businessmen. In this recent photo taken near the center of the nickel mine area, ruins of an unidentified stone structure might be all that remains of the boarding house for miners that the mining company is said to have built in anticipation of operations they planned for the spring of 1889. The stone shell of the "Nickle Mine" school is just barely visible at the upper right. Photograph by the author.

. . . noticed a goodly number of teams hitched to buggies passing south of my place and over the hills in the "breaks of the Smoky," and also quite a number from Winona, which crossed the river at my place; and I could not imagine why so many people could have business over that way. . . . One day I chanced to see someone who . . . told me the news, so a short time after that I happened over where the great find was supposed to be, and that country was staked all over, almost as far as you could see. The Russell Springsites had been out and "staked;" Winona had been there and "staked;" and up and down the road had been over and "staked." The writer hereof didn't "stake"—too many had been there and got right on the "ground floor." . . .

Well, they met—the knowing ones—and some that knew more later on, and organized a company, and chose Worthy Lyon to keep the records. Now someone may ask, what were they going to record? Well, I shall never tell you, but let that remain a mystery. Yes, they went further, I think they put up a part of a stone house, for stone out there was very cheap. That I presume was to be the headquarters of the company while they watched the hole out there that some shrewd fellow had put a few pockets-full of the precious metal in, just to see what would come of it. Did anyone make anything out of it? Why yes, the liveryman did a good business for a little time. The register of deeds that recorded all those lots made a nice thing out of it.

Print Teeters, who was right "up to snuff," put up a tent and started an eating house, for he knew full well those fellows would be gaunt and hungry after climbing up there and staking off their claims and swapping yarns for a while. . . .

Well, in the course of time it leaked out that they all had been fooled, and none more so than the one that tried to fool the rest. . . .

AND SO WE come to the question, "Was it all a hoax?" And, since the scheme appears to have been too elaborate for just a practical joke, how did the hoaxers expect their plan to pay off and did they, in fact, make anything out of it?

The newspapers of the area are silent on the subject except for a comment in the *Leader* on February 7, 1889. In reply to the Topeka *Democrat's* questions, "What has quieted the boom in Logan County over the supposed find of nickle? Was the claim salted?" [23] the *Leader* stated that: "The Democrat shouldn't ask such leading questions. We can inform it right here, however, that if there is any salting to be done the people out here will do it." By spring when the mining company was supposed to "begin operations in earnest," the nickel mine seems to have been forgotten. Even earlier a blurb recounting the glories of Logan county did not mention nickel but did suggest that deposits of coal had been found in the county which might have commercial possibilities.[24]

Considering the evidence we have, one can only conclude that the Logan county nickel discovery was a hoax, or something even more nefarious. Coulter, a presumably unbiased eyewitness, was certainly of that opinion. Jibes from outsiders and the sudden dropping of the nickel mine story in the local newspapers also point in that direction. One suspects that the subject was a sore point with local boosters toward the end of 1888.

We can only conclude that Phelps and Coldren were the originators of the scheme but undoubtedly some of the local residents were let in on the secret. Joseph J. Wright may have been one, as he was the only person, other than Coldren and Phelps, whom we know deeded his claim to the company for $10,000. Henry Van Loon also may have been in on it, as his claim was the first one bought by the company although he only received $1,000. Possibly he suspected the truth and was paid off to keep quiet. B. F. Cannon, who may have been the first person other than Coldren and Phelps to learn of the nickel discovery and who sent the original specimens to Dewey, also may have been one of the conspirators.

It seems likely that the hoaxer's scheme was to salt a likely looking site with some real nickel ore, announce some spurious assay results and provide some of the salted ore to interested parties to submit to distant, reliable assayers, hurriedly form a company, sell stock in it while the nickel fever was at its height, grab the proceeds by selling their original claims to the company, and get out of town before the truth got out. Probably what upset this plan was that they did not know that F. H. Snow was only a few miles away collecting insects. Unfortunately for them Snow not only was a widely known and experienced scientist of uncorruptible character but also was a man of great energy and wide-ranging interests. Before they could get their scheme really started, he appeared at the site, selected ore samples from the locations pointed out as the best sources, and took them off to the university for analysis. There in addition to the chemical analysis by Professor Bailey they also probably were examined by Erasmus Haworth, a highly respected geologist.

23. Topeka *Democrat*, February 5, 1889.

24. *Logan County Leader*, January 31, 1889.

This development must have dismayed the schemers but did not stop them from pushing ahead. They continued to issue optimistic reports, formed their company, and set up a mining district. Probably about the time that people began to suspect their claims, they received a windfall in the form of the letter from Dewey of the Smithsonian, who undoubtedly had been furnished some of the spurious ore and who appears to have been completely unfamiliar with the area.[25] So they sold some stock, presumably for cash, and hoped that they could keep their bubble inflated long enough to make their efforts worth while.

Undoubtedly they also hoped that Professor Snow would not get around to working on his samples for some time. If so, this was a vain hope as he had his report written and presented to the public within two months. Despite the lack of written evidence, it seems impossible that word of his strongly worded negative report didn't reach Logan county by mid-November. Meanwhile, Phelps and Coldren had sold their claims to the company and it appears Phelps had departed. Coldren hung on considerably longer but probably gave up by Christmas.

Although we don't know how much cash the company actually took in, we can calculate that for Phelps, Coldren, Wright, and Van Loon all to have received cash for their claims, the company would have had to sell 3,100 shares of stock at $10 each. Since this seems almost impossible we wonder who got what little cash the company had. Maybe Coulter's remark that the one who tried to "fool" the rest, himself got "fooled," indicates that Phelps or the others got most of the loot and that Coldren was left "holding the bag."

Coulter seemed to feel that the only people who really made anything out of the nickel fiasco were the livery man who provided transportation to the site, E. T. Teeters who sold meals to the claimants and visitors, and whoever provided all the stakes which were used to mark the claims. Maybe he was right. On the other hand, the only people who lost any considerable sum were those who paid cash for a share in someone's claim and the optimists, if any, who bought a number of shares in the company.

In any case, the nickel episode enlivened the Russell Springs scene for a few months and provided a subject for conversation for many years. It also provided the name for the Nickle Mine rural school, Logan County District No. 7, which for many years served that area, and whose derelict stone school house can still be spotted on a distant hill to the southwest as one approaches Russell Springs from the north.

25. As Dewey did not follow up his earlier promise to publish a report, it seems likely that when he received the second ore sample, he realized he had been duped and dropped the whole matter.

"DANCE-HOUSE."

PROSTITUTION AND CHANGING MORALITY IN THE FRONTIER CATTLE TOWNS OF KANSAS

CAROL LEONARD AND ISIDOR WALLIMANN

IN VIEW of the fact that the American frontier of the latter 1800's has been the focus of much historical interest and research, it is curious to note that almost no historical research has been done on the role played by the demimonde in frontier town life and development. This gap is particularly glaring since it is widely known that prostitutes were among the first women to come to Western frontier towns, and that consequently they were an integral part of early frontier life.

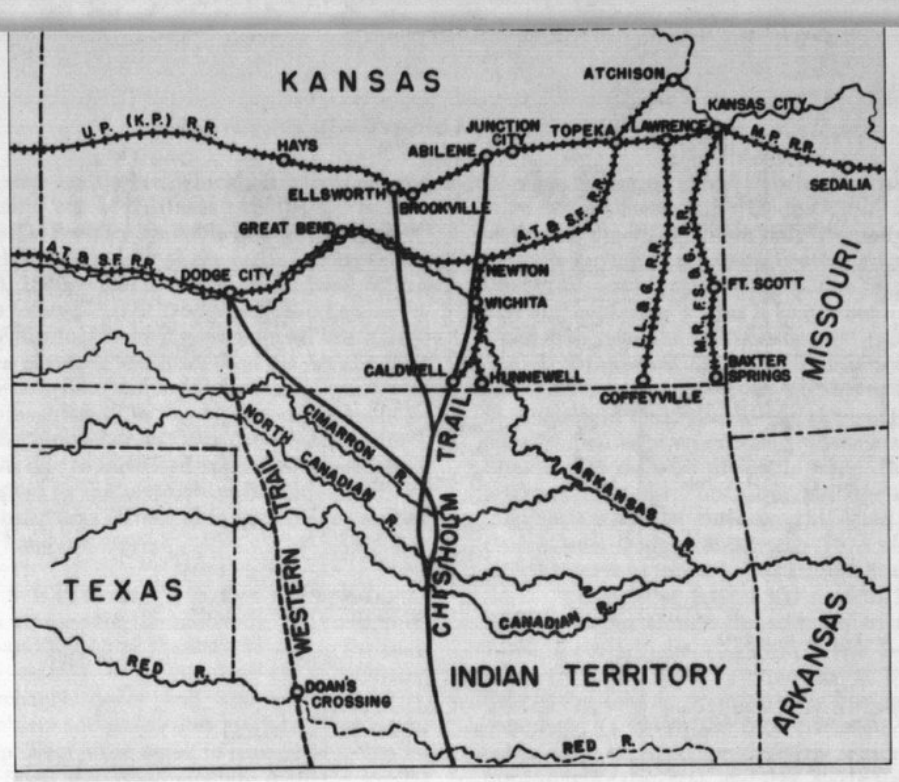
Kansas frontier history is no exception. Although the Kansas boom towns of the 1870's and 1880's contained large numbers of prostitutes, who catered to the desires of the single young cowboys and frontier men, this group of Kansas pioneers has largely been ignored by historians and social scientists.

In this paper, the role of prostitution in the frontier cattle towns of Kansas (Abilene, Ellsworth, Wichita, Dodge City, and Caldwell) is explored, using census material, city and court records, and newspaper articles from the cattle boom years. Particular attention is given to the change in the treatment and view of prostitutes by cattle town residents as the towns grew and developed. Before the subject of cattle town prostitution is discussed, however, a short review of the history of the Kansas cattle towns will be useful in providing the reader with the necessary historical and social context.

Title-page photo: A contemporary artist has depicted cowboys relaxing at a dance hall in Abilene after a long cattle drive. Dance halls, saloons, and especially prostitution felt the influence of moral reform in the cattle towns as more families arrived to settle and the cattle business diminished.

For their advice and help in carrying out this research, the authors would like to thank Joseph Snell, Jack Traylor, Robert Dykstra, and Wayne Rohrer.

THE CUSTOM of driving large herds of cattle from the vast ranges of the Southwest to Northern cattle markets for a profit was well established by the mid-1800's. During the Civil War, it was suspended due to lack of manpower and regional hostilities. After the war, Texans began to drive their herds northward again, but soon discovered much to their dismay that Kansas, along with other Northern states had passed (and also enforced) quarantine statutes prohibiting the entry of Texas longhorns into the eastern portion of the state during the warm months. The reason for these statutes was that Texas cattle were carriers of a



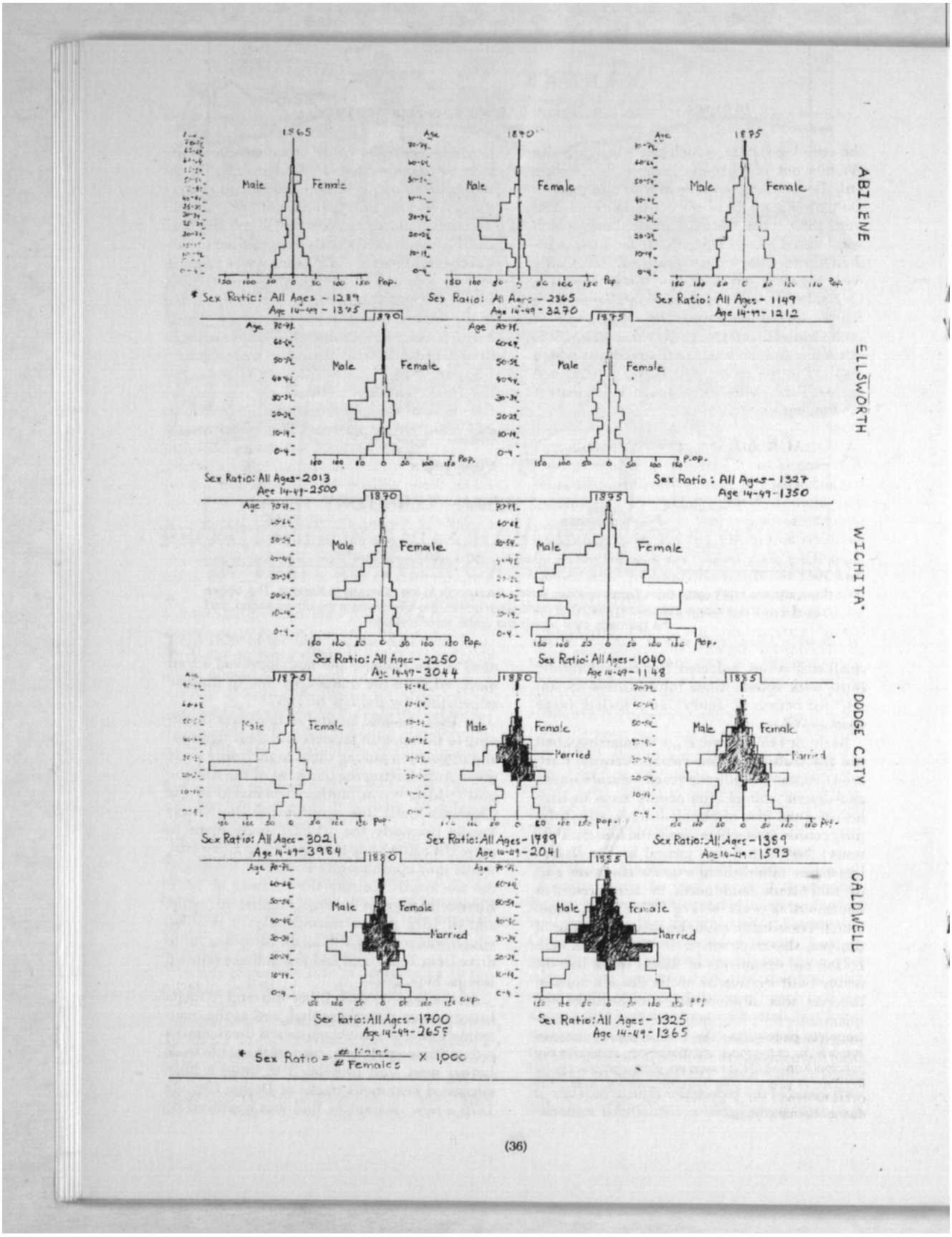
From 1867 to 1885 cattle from Texas ranches were driven north to the railroads in Kansas. The above map shows the principal trails along which the cattle were driven, the towns where the drives ended, and the railroads over which the cattle were shipped.

small tick which infected Northern domestic cattle with splenic fever (often called "Spanish" or "Texas" fever) and killed large numbers of them.

Early in 1867, however, it became apparent that the tracks of Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, would soon reach central Kansas, and several enterprising people seem to have hit upon the idea of establishing a cattle shipping center somewhere along the line. In February, 1867, a bill was passed by the Kansas legislature establishing a quarantine zone east of McPherson and north of Rice counties. Southwest Kansas was a "free zone" into which Texas cattle could be driven any time of the year. By September, 1867, the first eastbound rail shipments of Texas cattle left the newly built stockyards of Abilene. In spite of the fact that Abilene was northeast of the quarantine line, it became the first cattle shipping point because there was less resistance from townspeople in Abilene than there was in towns farther west. The governor of Kansas, well aware of the economic value to the state of the cattle trade, gave a semiofficial endorsement of the Abilene site and approved a trail surveyed from the quarantine line to Abilene as provided by the law of 1867.

By 1871 the land around Abilene was beginning to fill up with farmers and their families, and opposition among them to the cattle trade grew. Anticipating the blockage of the Abilene trail (which was a northern entension of the Chisholm trail), the directors of the Kansas Pacific (formerly the UPED) made plans to move the cattle trade farther west to Ellsworth, where they consequently bought and enlarged the stockyards. During the summer of 1871, Ellsworth shipped a large number of cattle, and in 1872 it was second only to Wichita, which was south of Ellsworth (thus less far to drive from Texas) and had just gotten a railroad line in May, 1872.

As the area around Ellsworth and Wichita became more densely settled, and as the quarantine line was moved westward the Santa Fe railroad saw a chance to capture the cattle trade farther west, and proceeded to build a huge stockyard next to its tracks at Dodge City. In 1876 a new quarantine line was approved by


ABILENE
1865
Male
Female
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1289
Age 14-49 - 1395
1870
Male
Female
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 2365
Age 14-49 - 3270
1875
Male
Female
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1149
Age 14-49 - 1212
ELLSWORTH
1870
Male
Female
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 2013
Age 14-49 - 2500
1875
Male
Female
P.op.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1327
Age 14-49 - 1350
WICHITA
1870
Male
Female
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 2250
Age 14-49 - 3044
1875
Male
Female
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1040
Age 14-49 - 1148
DODGE CITY
1875
Male
Female
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 3021
Age 14-49 - 3984
1880
Male
Female
Married
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1789
Age 14-49 - 2041
1885
Male
Female
Married
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1389
Age 14-49 - 1593
CALDWELL
1880
Male
Female
Married
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1700
Age 14-49 - 2658
1885
Male
Female
Married
Pop.
Sex Ratio: All Ages - 1325
Age 14-49 - 1365
* Sex Ratio = # Males / # Females X 1,000
(36)