

A PROFILE OF THE VOTING HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COUNTY AND A
CORRELATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIAL ROLE WITH THAT VOTE

By *1264*

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PREFACE

Acquiring the voting records, so essential to this study, has not been easy. I started in 1968, getting the records from the county clerk's office. There, on the shelves, were the official tallies back to 1890.

My husband and I searched throughout the vault in the basement for earlier records. We could find tax records back to 1870, but no election voting records. So I used the newspapers in the files of the State Historical Society, Topeka. But for three years, 1871, 1874, and 1875, the newspapers did not carry the official vote.

Thinking some of the neighboring newspapers might have run Washington County voting results, I searched the ones in existence at that time. Even so, I could never find any voting results for those years.

I wrote the Secretary of State, who answered that their office did not have the records, but that the files of the State Historical Society might be helpful.

It was possible to get the county's presidential vote from the Annals of Kansas. But so far as the county offices are concerned, this study is missing those three elections.

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CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE STUDY

The voting pattern of a county is an important facet of the county's personality. For counties are like people. They have personalities, too. And just as the personality of a human being is diversified, so the personality of a county is made up of many attributes. One of the aspects that makes a county unit what it is, is its political nature.

Political myths, surprisingly, seem to have a great influence on party politics in the county. Few persons bother to substantiate these with facts. Rarely does anyone compile a county political profile.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore the voting profile of Washington County, presenting such an overview as voting records will show. Furthermore, it will analyze the editorial content of the city's newspapers during the presidential elections years, citing opinion and showing the correlation between it and the vote pattern.

Out of this study should emerge a clear picture of the county's political nature.

As the study progresses, these questions will be under consideration. How accurate is the current apparent belief that Washington County has always voted Republican in

presidential elections? A number of long-time residents believe that the county has never supported a Democratic candidate for President. Does the average resident concur?

Another question that will be explored is this: long considered a conservative area, what has been the support of Washington County to independent political movements? The 1968 election involved an independent candidate who received just a fraction of the total vote. Has the county always been reluctant to vote for such parties?

In recent years the county seat newspaper has been Independent, yet basically supporting the Republican party. What has been the newspaper's historical role in county politics? Has there ever been a Democratic publication in the county? If so, what was its reception? And how effective has the voice of the press been locally?

Decades ago, the voice of the press was a strident, vicious one. How has the pattern of political opinion and editorial content changed, so far as Washington County is concerned? Is there a definite correlation between the voting pattern and the editorial voice? Just what has been the newspaper's role in this political personality?

Once the county's voting pattern has been established, exactly how does it fit in with the voting pattern of the entire state and of the nation? Has the county usually voted for the winner?

Finally, do the people themselves think editorials in newspapers influence their thinking? In a general way, does

the local press have a part in shaping the vote?

These are the questions that will be under consideration as the records and newspapers are explored.

Primary source of readings for this paper is the newspapers themselves. This historical record is an essential part of the analysis. Primarily, this survey will be limited to the papers published during presidential election years only, on the theory that more editorial opinion probably is expressed then than at any other time. During the earliest years, when the county was being established, some of the in-between papers will be investigated. It should help to understand the inter-relationship of newspapering and politics in the county.

Several procedures will be followed in compiling this political profile of Washington County. Voting records in the county clerk's office will be compiled to give a record of county, state, and presidential vote tallies. For records before the years available in the court house, the Secretary of State will be queried. In addition, the files of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, will provide records for some of the county's earliest years.

Informal interviews with county residents will be used to determine how widespread the belief is that the county has always voted Republican. This means will also be used to ascertain how influential voters feel editorials are.

The correlation of editorial opinion and the voting record; the changing nature of editorial opinion, will be acquired through a study of the newspaper files. Some of

editorial opinion will be quoted, in order to convey the precise nature of that opinion. A year-by-presidential year comparison of editorial content and vote record should give a fairly accurate picture of the correlation between the two.

In order to assist the reader in grasping this vote profile, numerous graphs will be drawn, showing various aspects of the county's voting pattern. The local vote will be compared to the national vote.

While this study has some statistics to use for graphs and profile analyses, it is in no sense a scientific investigation of the voting record of the county. There can be no precise measurement of the influence of the press; hence the comparison will be a descriptive one only.

Just what is the justification for doing this kind of study, limited as it is to one county?

For one thing, the study will help the county to understand itself better. Just as psychiatrists better understand their patients when they know their background, so even counties have more self-awareness. Overviews are all too rare.

Of particular benefit will be the phase that analyzes the political stance of the county press through the century. While it does treat one county alone, still the dramatic modifications in verbal expression should be atypical. A picture of those changes in Washington County will be, in effect, a picture of the changes in the state. The correlation

between the political voice and the voting profile may serve to show, although not precisely, how influential the press is, so far as politics is concerned.

No record of this kind in Washington County has ever been made. Little authentic information is known to the average voter in the county. No one can question the importance of politics. It is the basis of our governmental structure. Within its confines are the workings of most of our agencies.

To increase the understanding of that structure, then, is justification enough for any study.

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW

In a New York Times article dated October 23, 1968, Tom Buchanan, editor of the Washington County News is quoted: "There's an old saying around here, and I don't know how true it is. . . .that if the devil was running as a Republican this county would vote for him."¹

This sweeping generalization is part of the myth surrounding county politics. The editor was merely expressing something that he has heard many times during the ten years he has been a resident of the county.

Just how accurate is this popular saying?

A look at the party affiliation profile (Figure 1) is a dramatic verification of the editor's comment.² With the exception of county commissioner, once since 1934 has there been a Democratic officeholder in the court house. In other words, for a total of thirty-four years, Republican domination of county politics has been virtually one-hundred percent.

¹Douglas E. Kneeland, "Politics: The Scene and Views of the Campaign from Four Washingtons, U.S.A.," New York Times, Oct. 23, 1968, p. 28.

²Vote records were taken from the files of the county clerk. From 1882-1888 books of clippings compiled for the commissioners and stored in the court house vault were used. Earlier records were copied from newspapers on file with the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka. No place, however, were the years 1874, 1875, and 1871 available.

The office most often held by a member of the minority party has been that of sheriff: in 1904, then ten years later in 1914; again in 1922 and 1924; and still again in 1930-1932, and 1934. Other than sheriff, the profile sheet shows that the office of county commissioner seems to be the one most accessible to the Democrats.

It should be noted that for the purposes of this study, some offices have been omitted. County surveyor, for example, was an office until 1918, and then the surveyor was no longer needed. In at least one year the county assessor was on the ballot. The position of coroner eventually deteriorated as a prestige office to the point where no one would agree to be a candidate, and the person with the most write-in votes was declared the winner. The office of county superintendent of public instruction is on the graph because it was an elective position until 1968.

Neither does this study include write-in votes. Many years two or three persons have a smattering of write-in votes. In the 1968 election, however, a defeated incumbent sheriff did conduct an extensive write-in campaign, receiving more than a thousand votes in the general balloting. But because early election records were impossible to comprehend, so far as write-in winners are concerned, no distinction is made on the graph.

Another clarification concerning the graph needs to be made. Until 1900, half the county officers were elected in even years, the other half in odd years. For more

parallel visibility, these are shown on the same line.

So the first view of the Party Affiliation Profile shows a sweeping mass of double-dotted areas, representing Republican victories, broken only occasionally by the striped blocks of the Democratic party, by the solid checks signifying the Populists of the late 19th century, by the wavy lines for a victorious Greenbacker, and by the interlocking curves of Independents.

What this Profile does not show is the closeness of the races during some of those years. Republicans may have swept the field, but there were times when the margin of victory was very small.

Just this year, the Republican candidate for county commissioner defeated the Democratic incumbent by a mere 108 votes--1088 to 980. In 1962, a Democrat came even closer to one of those coveted commissioner's seats, lacking only 39 votes of winning.

Ten years ago two Democratic party members braved the strongly-entrenched GOP ranks, but could come no closer than 700 votes within victory.

In 1950 county politics was typical for recent decades. The sole Democrat running was defeated nearly two to one for sheriff. But two years before that another Democrat came within 65 votes of claiming victory for county commissioner.

The position of Sheriff, up for grabs in 1946, went to the majority party by just 862 votes; whereas two years earlier the Republican candidate got nearly a two-to-one

sanction from the voters. In fact, the county clerk's race that year showed a margin of 1649 for the Republican.

In 1942 some determined Democrat nearly ousted the register of deeds 2368 to 2084. And another ran a good race for county commissioner: 724 to 611.

Vote totals were high in 1940. The race for probate judge that year showed 4288 to 3126; county superintendent 4559 to 3193; sheriff 4741 to 3102; register of deeds 5006 to 2305; county clerk 4677 to 2677. It must have been a source of satisfaction to Democrats to realize they could still get out more than 3,000 voters. Especially since two years earlier the Democrats had tried in eight races and had managed, at their best, to come no closer than 1094 votes.

The real years of hope for the minority party in Washington County were the "Dirty Thirties." While people were hard-pressed economically, those of the Democratic faith found renewed hope in 1932, 1934, and 1936. They put up a candidate for nearly every office, capturing three of them. Not only that, their overall vote totals were comparatively healthy. Approximately 7,300 persons went to the polls those years, and Democrats totalled from 2602 to 4373 votes, averaging about 2500 votes. In several races their candidates ran from 300 to 500 votes behind the Republican candidate.

This represented considerable change from the situation that existed ten years earlier, when not even the Republicans could get out that many voters. For example, the GOP candidate for county attorney in 1936 received just 3311 votes;

the Democratic candidate 1945. But 1926 was not a presidential election year; in 1924 a total of 6722 Washington County residents went to the polls.

In 1918 there were three close races. The Democratic candidate for probate judge trailed his opponent by 73 votes. The Democratic clerk of district court received his mandate by a mere 65 votes, and the Democratic candidate for sheriff got a clear nod with 430 votes.

Just 17 votes put a Democrat into a commissioner's seat in 1916: 1259 to 1277. A closer race than that occurred in 1910, when five votes separated the victorious Republican sheriff from the loser. Strangely enough, this was the only race that year.

Continuing to lend depth to the Party Affiliation Profile are additional races. In 1912 competition was close all along the board, ranging from 100 vote difference for register of deeds, 90 votes for sheriff, to 215 votes for treasurer.

Nine voters were extremely important in the 1908 election, for only nine votes put a Republican into the sheriff's office. Other races that year averaged a margin of at least 400 votes.

Vote margins in 1902 were from 35 for commissioner to 300 to 500 vote margins for other offices, all of which went to Republicans.

In 1900 the People's party (which will be explained later) ran a fusion ticket with the Democratic party, to make a strong minority party. This was after legislation

made it impossible for the same name to appear on the ballot twice, a practice which those two parties had used previously. That year the second party had a candidate for every office, still losing to Washington County Republicans. However, this fusion ticket did muster up one lone winning vote for commissioner.

This practice of endorsing the same candidate was used by Populists and Democrats on the local level in 1898 and 1899, with one exception. On the ballot for register of deeds were three candidates: Republican, Democrat, and People's party. Republicans went into office, although the county treasurer managed to do so by just two votes. The combined slate did elect a county commissioner. Races were healthily two-way, however.

A tie occurred in the election of 1897. That year R. L. Foster, running on the Democratic ticket, received 278 votes. The same R. L. Foster, listed on the People's ticket, received 1877 votes. This combination tied him with C. Hogues, Republican, who also received 2155 votes. A note in the election records says that Foster was elected by the board to be treasurer.

Apparently, there was no meeting of the minds on a candidate for sheriff. Each of the minority parties named a man, making a three-way race. Again the fusion ticket (with two slates) managed to elect a commissioner. In the other half of that election, in 1896, the fusion ticket elected the clerk of the district court, to give them three

offices in the court house. Margins that year ranged from 200 to 500 votes.

Between tides of Populist strength, the 1894-95 election years found Republicans again asserting themselves and sweeping the court house. Democrats were a weak third party, getting from 145 to 500 votes, except for coroner, where they managed 1605 votes. The Populist vote that year ranged from 1331 to 1565, about 300 to 500 votes behind the Republicans.

Greenbackers entered the scene in 1882, putting a candidate in three of the four elective offices. Republicans won local races with margins of 500 to 1800 votes, but the county voted for the Greenbacker candidate for governor. Running on a platform of free coinage of silver and the suppression of national bank notes, the Greenbackers had a candidate for every 1883 office but surveyor.¹ Though they elected a sheriff, their strength was limited, for the register of deeds vote went Republican 2503 to 31; treasurer 2660 to 152; clerk 2416 to 336; coroner 2660 to 18; commissioner 832 to 46. Also on the ticket that year was an independent candidate for sheriff who got 51 votes.

During those years, Civil War veterans frequently returned to the county to run for office. And, almost as

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 254.

frequently, they won.

Farel Lobaugh, former county attorney, "dean" of the Washington County bar, and longtime silent power, recalls Steve Hamilton, elected county attorney in 1912. He was unofficial "father" of the current Republican party in the county. At the age of fifteen, Steve wrote "18" on a piece of cardboard, went to the enlistment office and joined the army. He became a member of the battery commanded by his brother, a sergeant. Fighting with Sherman, Steve saw four years of Civil War duty.

During the Battle of Altoona, according to Lobaugh, the Confederates overran the Union detachment, killing Hamilton's brother. Young Steve was immediately designated a Brevet Captain, rallied the troops, and brought the rest of the man through safely. When the war was over, he was just nineteen.

Hamilton married a girl from the East, and with her encouragement studied law, took his bar examination, and became a practicing lawyer. In Farel Lobaugh's opinion, he was one of the most astute politicians the county has ever had.

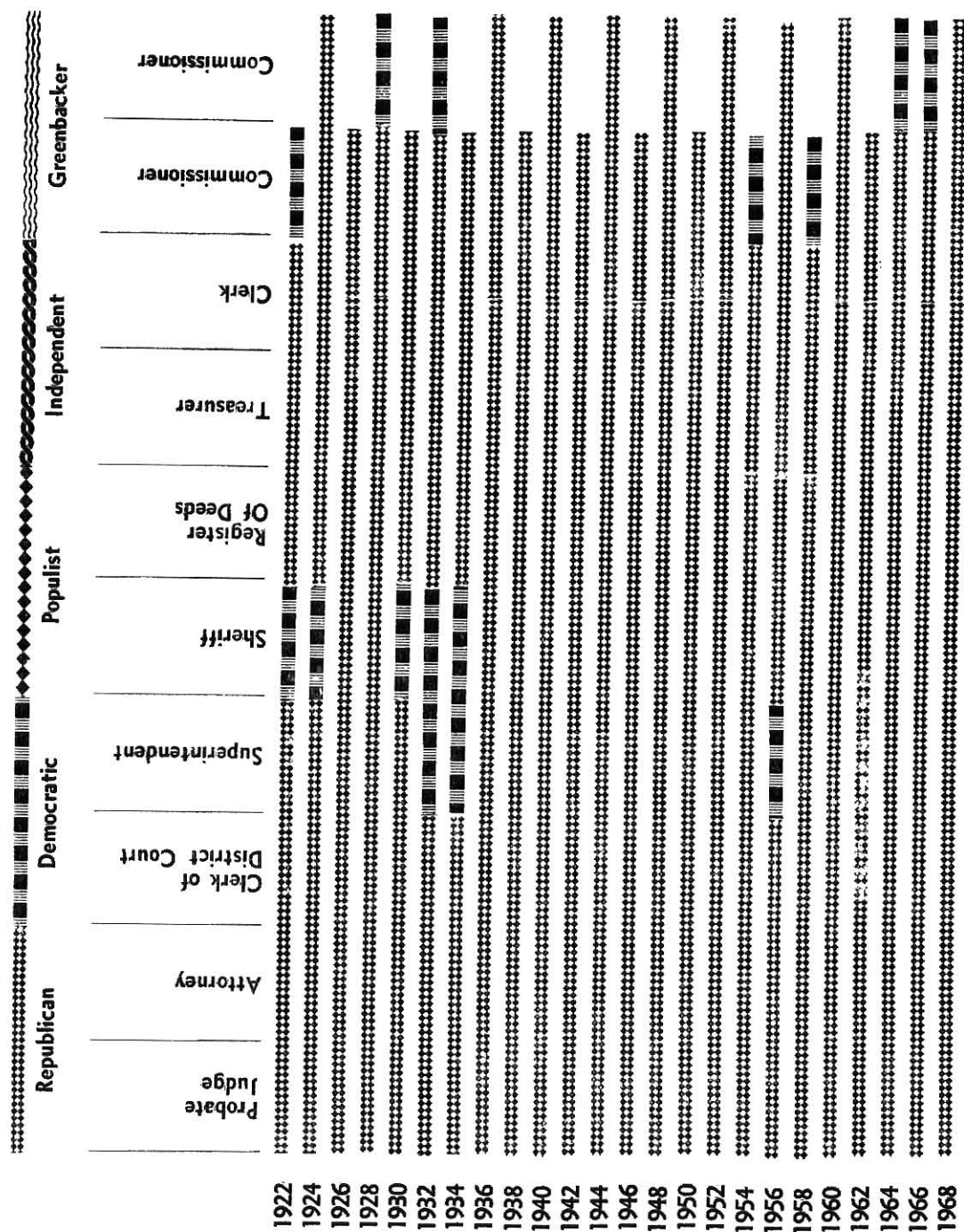
Like most of the other office holders before and after him, Hamilton was Republican. With a history of only occasional success, it is easy to see why Washington County Democrats sometimes become discouraged. One high-school-aged Democrat was heard to say, just after the November 6, 1968, election, "Just once I'd like to know what it feels like to

be a member of the majority party. I always feel so alone."

It may be true, after all, that if the Devil should run locally, he could be elected--so long as his political affiliation is Republican.

Figure 1. Party Affiliation Profile

B. (1922-1968)



Presidential Election Profile

While it is true that there has been competition through the years in Washington County, still the fact remains that the Party Affiliation Profile is outwardly basically Republican. If, as the editor quotes, the Devil could win on the Republican ticket, how widespread and how accurate is the myth that this county is, and has always been, Republican?

Prior to the 1968 election, several longtime residents were questioned. Typical of them was Mrs. Lena Asche, who has been a staunch Republican for all her eighty-plus years. Did she think Washington County had ever voted Democratic in a presidential election?

"Oh, I can't imagine that they ever did," she replied unhesitatingly.¹

Herb Hyland, precinct committeeman whose father was involved in politics before him, qualified his statement. "Well, if they did," he said, "it would have been during the Roosevelt years. And that was the time I was away at college."

Another lifelong resident and politician, Farel Lobaugh said yes, he thought Washington County probably had

¹Interviewees were contacted on the street and by telephone in Washington during the month of October, 1968.

always gone Republican. Then he hesitated. "I wouldn't know about 1932," he said. "The county might have voted Democratic that year."

A history buff, particularly where the county is concerned, Helen Hennon placed the figure of Republican vote at 97 percent. (It actually works out to a bit less than 85 percent.)

Matt Donohue, a resident of the county all his life and a man who has always exercised his right to vote, said no, he did not think the county had ever voted anything but Republican.

Several other persons who were questioned said flatly that they didn't know. Some felt that they had been unaware of what was going on in politics during their younger years, and just couldn't say.

One who preferred not to be named said, "This county even voted for Landon. Maine, Vermont, and Washington County voted for Landon." He was certain the county had always voted Republican.

This particular individual was echoing another saying that is widely repeated in the county concerning the 1936 election. Even his home state did not support Alfred Landon in his bid for the presidency. Washington countians sometimes laugh at themselves for their determined Republican stand.

More than 50 percent of the people asked said they

did believe that the myth was true, that Washington County has always voted Republican in presidential elections.

So deepset is this belief in the impregnability of the Republican party locally that newcomers to the county begin to believe and accept it, too.

During part of the research for this study, the News editor spent some time in the courthouse. He watched the voting records of the past three decades unfold, true to form.

Then the year 1932 came up. His face fell. "This spoils the myth," he said. "This spoils the myth."

Along with a distraught country, Washington countians had given Franklin Delano Roosevelt 56 percent of their votes. (See Figure 2.) The following times FDR ran, however, the county refused to follow the crowd, reverting to type, and voting Republican.

But the myth of the Republican county cracked still wider. Twenty years before, in 1912, the "Bull Moose" protest split the county vote three ways, giving Woodrow Wilson 42 percent of the local vote. Taft, running for re-election on the Republican ticket, received 1315 votes. The Progressives, who had been unable to support Taft and who had formed a third party with Teddy Roosevelt as their standard-bearer, received just one vote less, cutting

Republican support almost exactly in half.¹ So Washington County went along with the nation in electing Wilson President.

Even before that, in 1892, the fusion Democrat-Populist ticket was strong enough to overcome this Republican stronghold. Weaver, the Populist candidate, received 54.8 percent of this county's vote. Benjamin Harrison had 2323 votes, or 44 percent. Cleveland got just 20 votes on the Democratic ticket. Strongly Populist Kansas gave Weaver its electoral vote, but Cleveland won the election.

In 1896 the Populist influence in the county was still powerful enough to keep the Republican margin of victory to 50.5 percent.

The spoiling of the myth about Washington as a Republican county actually was broken as early as 1884. A very close race that year between Blaine and Cleveland, resulted in the election of Cleveland, the first Democrat to be elected President in twenty-eight years. Although he won the electoral vote necessary to put him into office, Cleveland failed to get the popular vote, losing to James Blaine by 250,000 votes.²

¹For additional information about the Progressive party, see The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946)

²Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953) 254.

However Washington County gave him its popular vote--albeit a small one. Some 1392 voters marked their ballots for Cleveland, with Blaine just 42 votes behind him.

Although residents of the county do not realize it, the popular myth is just that and nothing more. Four times the county has voted for someone other than the Republican candidate. The years 1884, 1892, 1912 and 1932 were tumultuous ones in the county's history, forcing its residents to break with a self-imposed tradition.

Even so, the county voted with the nation just half of the time in those four years, helping to elect a President twice.

Of these four digressions, the average resident is aware of just one--partly, perhaps, because 1932 was the most recent year in which the county experienced a change of pace.

Figure 2. Presidential Election Profile
A. (1864-1892)

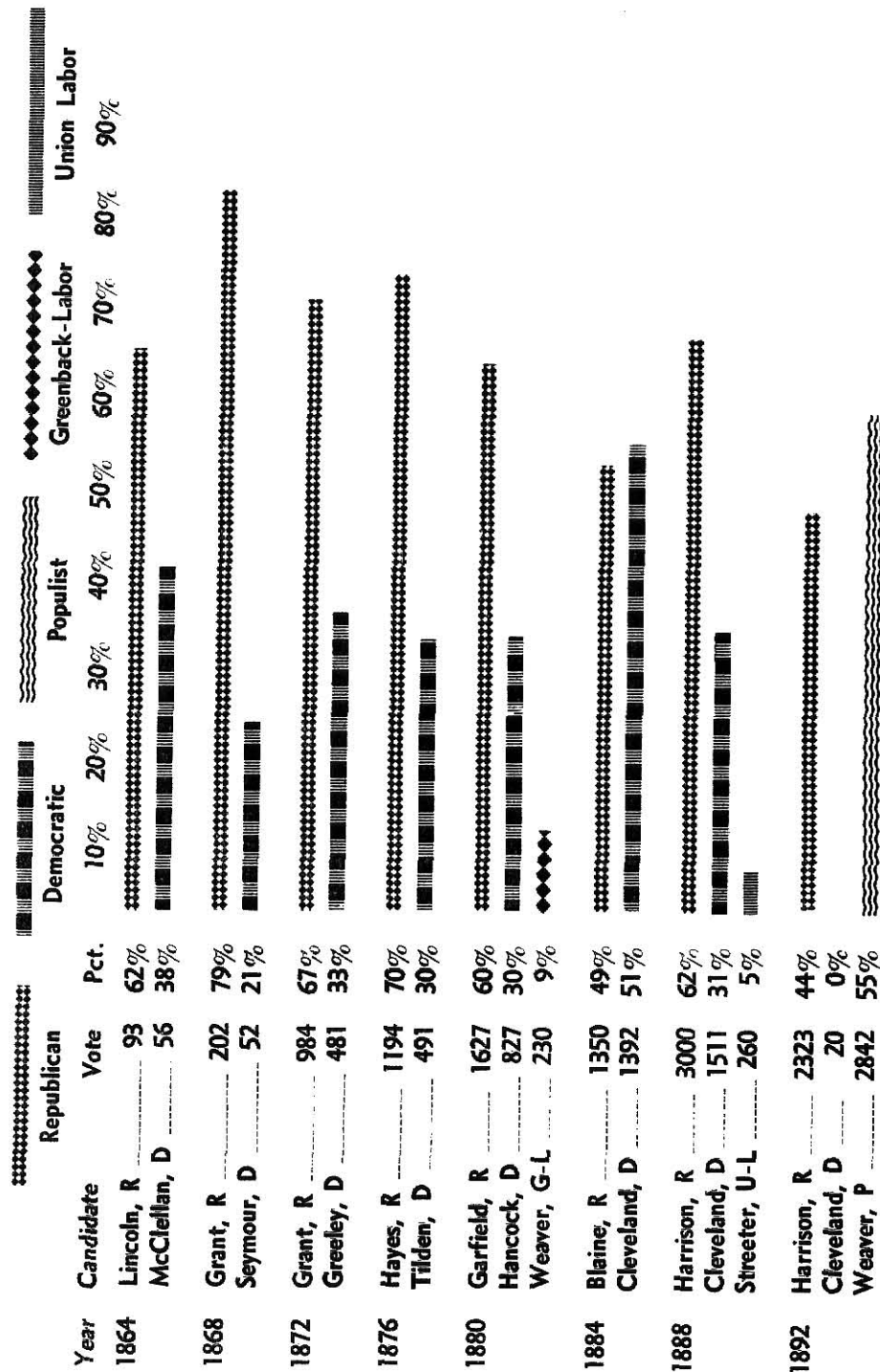


Figure 2. Presidential Election Profile

B. (1896-1928)

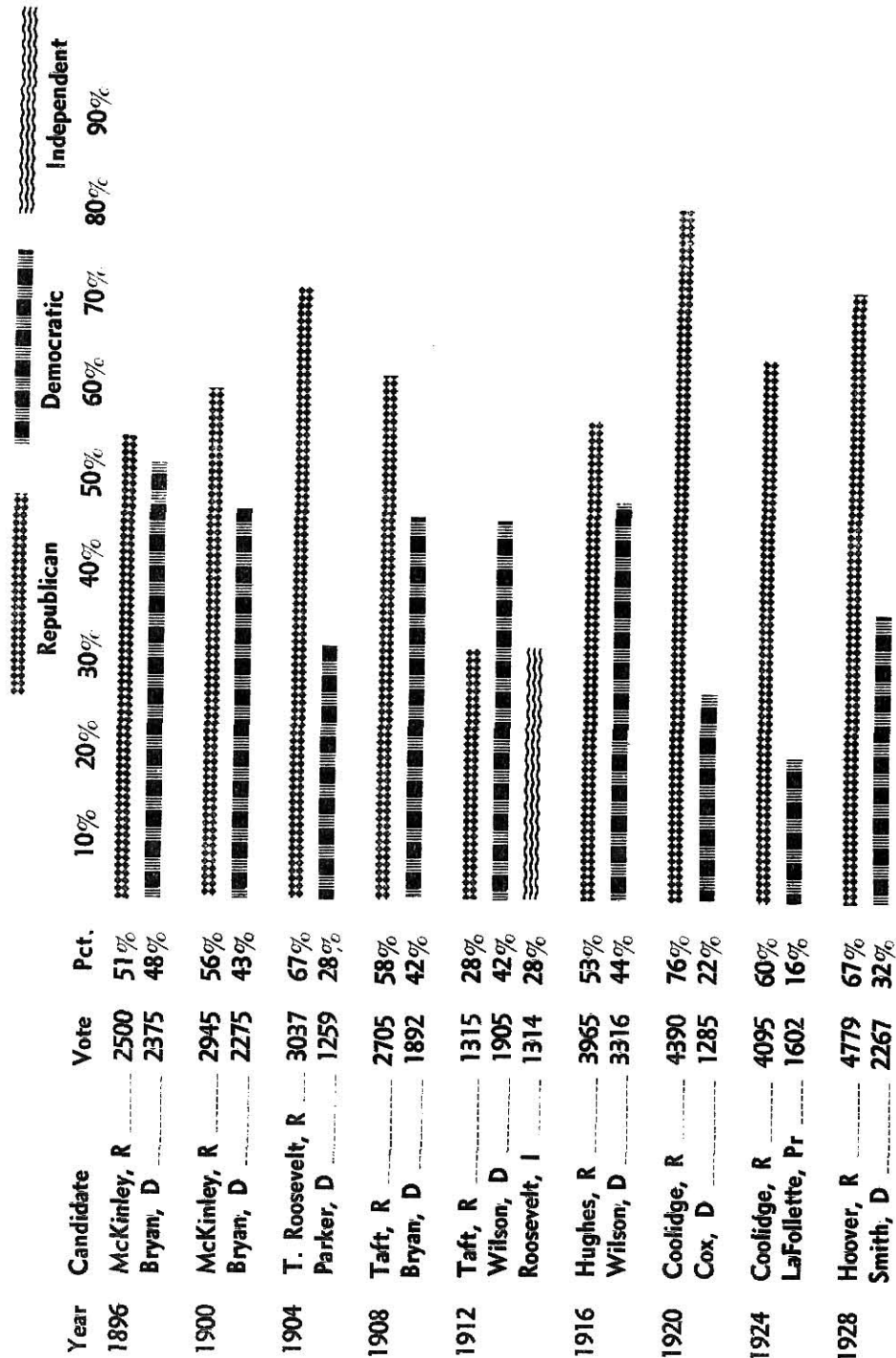
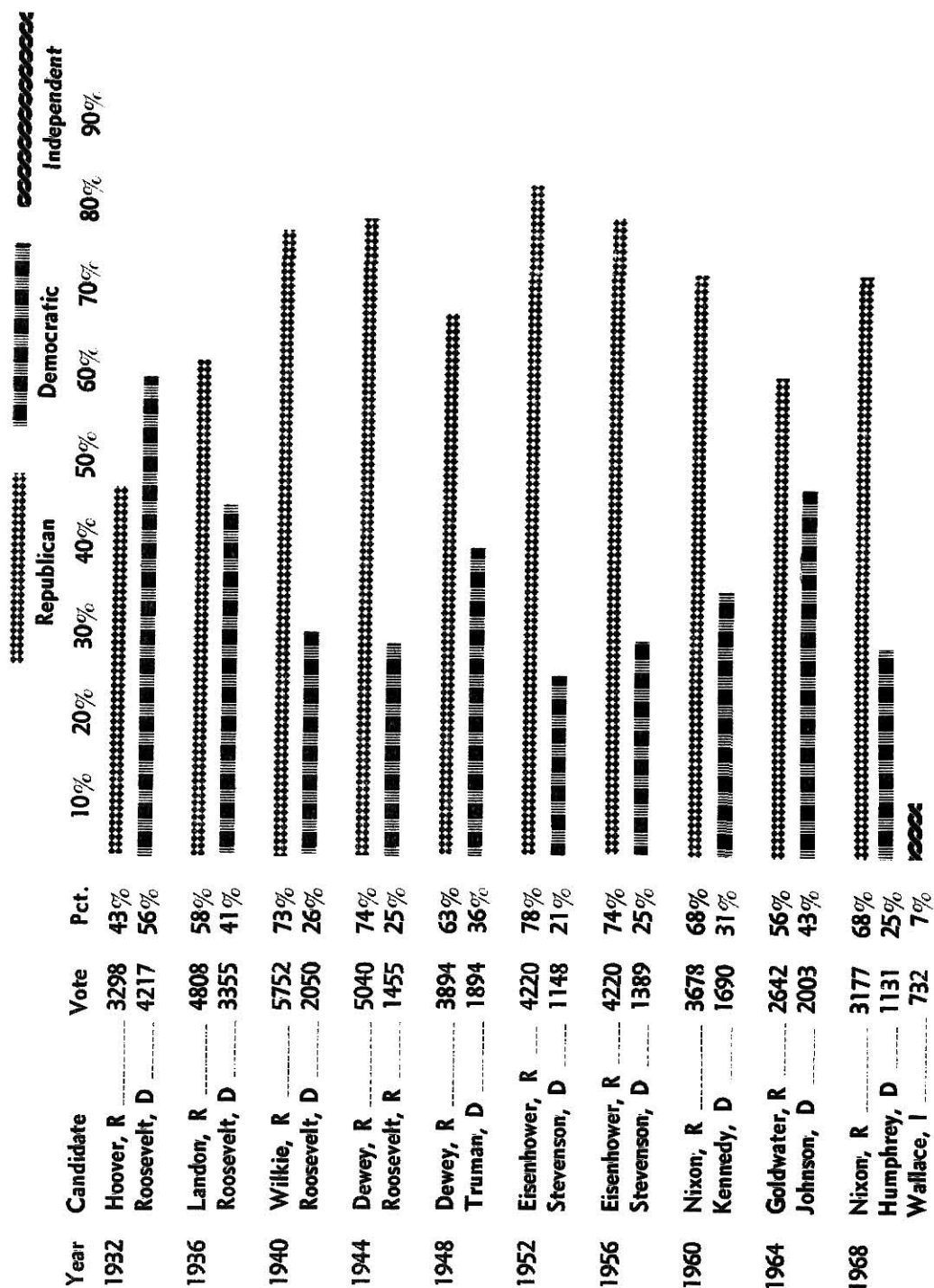


Figure 2. Presidential Election Profile
C. (1932-1968)



County Election Profile

So far, outline graphs have demonstrated that Washington County has become progressively Republican politically through the years. And while the county has lapsed occasionally in supporting the Republican presidential nominee, basically that vote, too, has been Republican. Nevertheless, a deeper look behind the graph has demonstrated that the minority party has frequently come close to winning county offices.

Just how serious are the residents of this north central county about politics? How competitive, really, is its political nature?

A look at the years when there were races for every local office is revealing. (See Figure 3.) Undoubtedly the most exciting years politically were the 1890's, when the Populist movement was strong. In 1894 and 1895, there were three candidates for every office. The four years prior to those also show many three-way races. In the earliest years of the county's existence, it was unthinkable for an office not to have at least two candidates filed. Since 1899, however, there has never been a time when a minority candidate for a third party has filed. Just two major parties have been represented on the county ballot, even though a variety of other parties have appeared on state and national ballots.

By and large, until 1916 competition was normal on the local political scene. For decades, two candidates were filed for each office. Then 1910 reared its head as an island in this sea of competition, with just one race that year.

But the profile gradually changes during the past fifty years. Offices for which there is no race appear more and more frequently. Again, there is an exception. As recently as 1934, there were races in every office but one.

Not since 1924, however, has there been a race for every county office on the ballot.

Then in 1948 the voting profile altered drastically. That year, for the first time, there were no races on the county level. In the past two decades there have been just three elections where there was a race for an office--with a total of four races during that time.

In the early years of Washington County's history, even the position of surveyor seemed to be a desirable one. In fact, only four times was the candidate unopposed during those years.

Why has this pattern reversed itself so completely? Why, in an era when people are supposedly well-informed and concerned, do political offices become a certain thing for a single candidate?

Tom Buchanan, newspaper editor, says it is largely economic. In young Kansas, he claims, political offices represented a good way of making a living. Yet even during

the depression years of the 1930's, there were always one or two unopposed races.

Then there is the puzzling problem of that year 1910. It looms up mysteriously in an otherwise solid block of competition, with the lone exception of 1899, when two offices went by default. Attorney Farel Lobaugh says he cannot understand nor explain that situation.

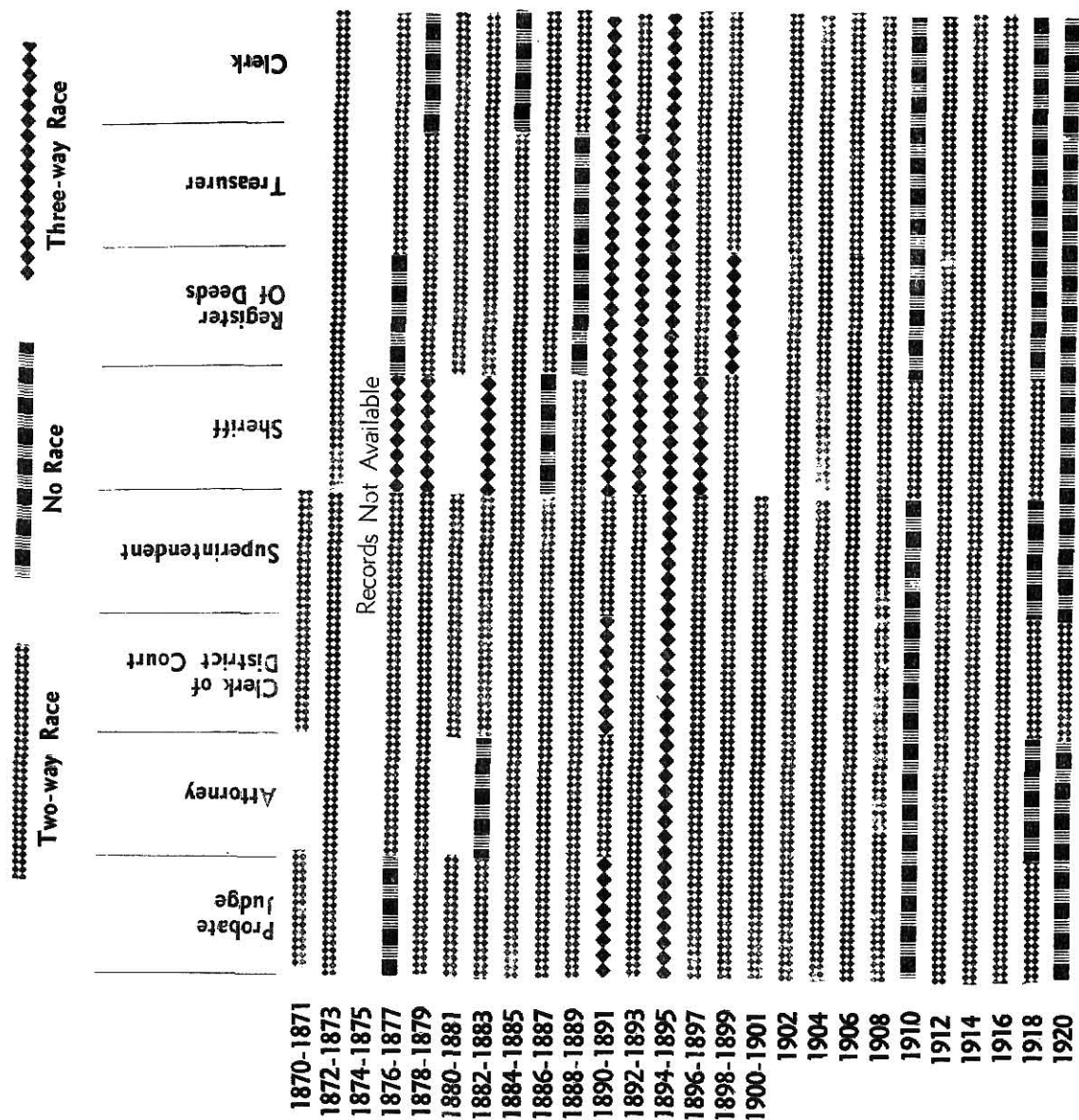
The Profile of Competition illustrates graphically why residents sometimes feel there is little excitement where local politics is concerned. It may explain the reason for Editor Buchanan's comment in the New York Times: "The Democrats don't even bother to come in here and campaign--even for statewide offices."¹

If the Devil were running in Washington County during this decade, the chances are excellent that he wouldn't even have opposition on the ballot.

¹Kneeland, Ibid.

Figure 3. Profile of Competition.

A. (1870-1920)



The Third Party Vote

If Washington County has traditionally been Republican; if by and large there has been a progressive lack of competition from the Democrats; if the status quo seems satisfactory to the average resident--what, then, has been the place of the third party movement?

A pre-1968-election editorial in the Washington County News had as its subject George Wallace, candidate for president on a third party ticket.

The George who's running for president this year isn't surnamed Washington.

Although his first name is the same, he has nothing else in common with the Father of our country; neither does he stand for any thing that anyone of us would be proud to stand for.

Despite his high-sounding call for law and order, all he really wants is segregation at any price. That and nothing else.¹

In his pre-election story on Washington, Doug Kneeland said, "Still, for party members in an area deeply concerned about law law and order, although it has had no murder or armed robberies in more than 10 years, there is a troubling presence--George C. Wallace."²

¹Tom Buchanan, "George Who?" Washington County News, October 18, 1968, p. 2.

²Doug Kneeland, New York Times, October 23, 1968, p. 28.

Prior to election, guesses as to the strength of the third party in Washington County ranged from five percent of the vote to fifteen percent. Those living in the county on a temporary basis--pipe line employees and construction workers involved in a federal housing project--wore Wallace buttons and sported Wallace stickers on their cars. In addition, there was some rather vocal support of the candidacy by area residents.

The independent vote in 1968 was much smaller than most expected. When totals were entered on the books, Wallace's independent attempt had rallied a mere 332 votes out of a total of 4600 votes cast, less than one percent of the vote. (See Figure 3.)

According to a news release from the Associated Press, "The 86,000 plus votes received by George Wallace in Kansas were the most registered in this state for a third-party presidential candidate since 1924.

"In 1924, Kansas cast 98,461 votes for Robert LaFollette, Progressive party candidate for President."¹

What did Washington County do that year? Davis, the Democratic candidate, received just 400 votes more than did LaFollette--1525 to 1102. LaFollette's 16 percent of the total vote and Davis' 20 percent, still allowed Republican Coolidge to have 60 percent of the total.

¹"Wallace Vote in Kansas Not A Record," Kansas City Star, November 9, 1968.

Forty-four years ago the independent vote was considerably stronger than it was this year--another correlation to the increasing lack of competition on the county level.

"The most votes ever cast for a third-party candidate," the Associated Press story continues, "was in 1912. Theodore Roosevelt, running as the nominee of the Progressive party, finished second in Kansas balloting.

"Woodrow Wilson carried the state with 143,670 votes. Roosevelt received 120,123 votes. William H. Taft, the Republican nominee, had 78,844 votes."

Washington County went along with the state in its voting pattern that year. The county was Republican--although it was a small victory indeed. Just one vote behind Taft was Theodore Roosevelt: 1315 to 1314. Wilson had 42 percent of this county's vote.

The success of the 1912 independent movement in Kansas is partially explained by the presence of William Allen White, influential editor of the Emporia Gazette, who worked hard for Roosevelt.

One of the 1314 persons who voted for the third party that year was Lou Frager, a man who has never missed voting in sixty years.

"We need Teddy now," he sighed wistfully, just before the 1968 election. "He was a real man. I wish he were here now."

Except for that one digression to support the third party movement, Frager's Republican record is nearly untarnished.¹

Protests and protest movements have an historical tradition. In 1900 the Socialist Democrat candidate for President rated 268 votes from the county. In 1883, local voters elected a Greenbacker sheriff, putting up several candidates for office, as mentioned earlier.

Undoubtedly the longest and most successful independent movement occurred during the days of the populists. The 1890's may have acquired a reputation as the "Gay Nineties," except that in Kansas they were anything but gay. During that decade Washington County followed the rest of the state in the rise and fall of the Populist empire.

What were these midwesterners protesting? Primarily, the farmer was objecting because of low prices offered for his products. He was burning corn for fuel because it could not be exchanged for coal, except at a loss.² Joining him in the 1968-sounding ballad of tribulation was the laborer, who could not earn enough to feed his family. These two groups aligned themselves against the railroads, whose government support and tactics were the subject of dispute. Wall Street, industry, railroads, and monopolies--

¹Lou Frager, Interview, October 28, 1968.

²William E. Connelley, History of Kansas State and People (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928), II, p. 1156.

these were the highway robbers, so far as many Kansas farmers and laboring men were concerned.

For awhile Grange groups tried to speak for the farmer, but quite ineffectually. During the 1880's, two national farm organizations, the Northern and Southern Alliances, established branches in Kansas. These two groups joined in 1889. Urged on by the former Greenbackers and Union Laborites, they began to run candidates on the local level in 1889.¹

In 1890, this amalgamation of farmers and laboring men formally adopted the name "People's Party--the official title of the Populist party. They had just three candidates on the state slate that year: John F. Willits, who fit their mold as president of the Jefferson County Alliance, for governor; John N. Ives, a former Democrat, for attorney general, and Blance F. Foster, a Negro pastor, for auditor.

Trying to appease the protest group, the Republicans, who nominated Humphrey, offered a platform that included uniform textbooks, a railroad commission elected by popular vote, bank examination, the abolition of railroad passes for state officials, a better system of

¹William Frank Zornow, Kansas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957) p. 198.

property assessments, and the abolition of child labor.¹

Charles Robinson was the Democratic nominee.

The protest movement hit Washington County hard. By habit fairly conservative, the farmers of the county supported the People's party candidate, and Willitts garnered 2102 votes out of a total of 4838. It was a close three-way race, with Robinson getting 1192 votes on the Democratic ticket and Humphrey 1544 on the Republican ticket. The county thought for itself that year. State-wide, Humphrey defeated Willitts 115,025 to 106,792. Kansas, a history book, explains the results this way:

The eastern part of the state, except in the towns where antiprohibition sentiment was strong, voted solidly Republican, and so did the western area. The Populist strength was in the extreme southeast in the coal-mining districts and in the middle counties, except those through which the Santa Fe ran.²

In the Legislature, the Populists claimed 92 seats. With a holdover Republican Senate, it was an impossible political situation. Of the state ticket, only the "Popocrat" attorney general won.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 199.

On the county ticket that year, there were two or three candidates for every office. In the balloting, all of the Populists were successful. These included the candidates for probate judge, county attorney, clerk of district court, county superintendent, and commissioner.

On the Republican ticket for probate judge, Boyington had 1555 votes; Samuel Clarke, a Democrat, had 956 votes; S. F. Nesbett, Populist, had 2325 votes. This is an example of the way the voting ran.

In 1891 the Republicans managed to keep two county officers, while the Republicans and Democrats, in a strange coalition, went together to win the county commissioner seat. Four offices were captured by the Populists, giving them at the end of this two-year period, the lion's share of the courthouse.

By 1892, Washington County was even more strongly Populist. With a full slate for the five county offices on the ballot that year, the People's party grabbed three positions. The Republican candidate for county attorney carried 2640 to 2501, and the GOP elected the county superintendent 2640 to 2538, both close races. Even the representatives, congressman, and congressman-at-large from the county were representatives of this independent movement.

And while the Populist party had been gaining strength, the Democratic party virtually disappeared.

From 14 to 20 votes were all that were cast for a Democrat on the state and national ballots, and there were no candidates from that party on the local slate.

Problems in the 1891 election had convinced the Populists that fusion with the Democrats was essential, and together they nominated Lorenzo D. Lewelling for governor. Trying to counteract the effects of this fusion, Republicans adopted a platform of government control of transportation and communication, a redemption period for debtors (hundreds of farms were being foreclosed), the Australian ballot, woman suffrage, and abolition of child labor.

On the national level, fusion was attempted but was unsuccessful, and the Populists nominated James Weaver, while the Democrats named Cleveland. The entire state "Popocrat" ticket was elected.¹

Washington County followed along, giving Lewelling 2818 votes, or 54.6 percent of the total votes cast. There was a similar lead for President: 2842 to 2323, or 54.8 percent. Cleveland had just 20 Washington County votes. The local totals closely paralleled the state vote, which carried for Weaver 163,111 to 157,237 over Harrison; however, Cleveland carried the nation.²

¹William Frank Zornow, Kansas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), P. 200.

²Ibid.

The political situation in Topeka that next session was intolerable, leading to what has commonly been referred to as the "Lewelling War." Both parties claimed the lower house; both organized and refused to give in. Problems were compounded when the Democrats sided with the Republicans, whereas the governor and senate recognized the Populist house. After much name-calling, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Republicans. During this time of tension, Steve Hamilton, who later became county attorney, was one of the Vigilantes who converged on Topeka to help prevent trouble, according to Farel Lobaugh.

Effects of all this turmoil showed up just a year later in the Washington County election. Lack of organizational leadership on the part of the Populists put the Republicans back in control of the courthouse. With three candidates for most positions, the Republicans carried every one of the seven county offices. (Between 1890 and 1892, voting procedures were changed to the method that is used today: filling all offices in alternate years. Only office filled in 1891 was commissioner). True, the vote was close, with some margins varying no more than 189 votes. Again, the Democrats proved to be very weak, collecting from 300 to 500 votes for their five candidates.

The 1968 editorial in the local paper concerning

the independent movement was mild in tone, compared to front page comments about the Populists that year. In a "news" story then, the editor assumed enough to report:

The following are the candidates nominated by the Republican convention at Topeka, and who will occupy the positions in the capitol now held by the Lewellin calamity administration after January, 1895:

Governor, Edmund N. Morrill, of Brown county.
Lieutenant-Governor, Jas. A. Triutman of Shawnee county. . .

The vote upon governor stood: Morrill 771, Martin 122.¹

As part of their platform, the Washington County Republicans took a parting shot at the Populist fiasco in the Statehouse.

Fifth--We denounce the present state administration for its revolutionary tendencies, its violation of the laws, contempt of the courts, and the corruption and incompetency of its officials, its gross mismanagement of the state institutions and for the discredit it has brought upon the good name of the state.²

Occupying long columns on the front pages of the Washington Post were complete stories of the county nominating conventions. These were the days before primaries, and the editors covered nominations in detail, identifying each of the candidates with praise or censure. In addition, the editor's columns, as much as two or three

¹Washington Post, Friday, July 13, 1894.

²Ibid.

columns long, were devoted to politics much of the time. By and large, the editors were mostly Republican. And while the 1894 account of the Republican county convention bespoke of peace and harmony, the "news" story concerning the Populists read in part:

The populist convention called to nominate candidates for county officers met at the courthouse Saturday. . . .

The proceedings throughout were to a great extent "haphazard," for while it was known that a determined effort had been made by the "fixers" to make up a ticket which would practically result in a fusion with the Democrats their efforts were entirely thwarted by the "middle of the road" element who aroused a sentiment of resentment from such a policy. The sentiment or rather the impulse of the convention was overwhelmingly in favor of "going down in defeat under their own flag" rather than to win a victory under the flag of their enemy, or by dishonorable compromise, as the loud speeches on this line and violent applause plainly indicated. Of course the "fixers" will not give up but will devote much effort towards conciliating the Democrats with whom they have been negotiating for months past and whose overtures have been so recklessly trifled with.¹

There were three-way races for each of the courthouse offices, as a result of this disunity. Again, the Republicans swept the local field, carrying majorities of 150 to 660 votes--except for clerk of district court. There the winner had but eight votes to put him into office.

Back in the Republican fold once more, the county supported Edward Morrill, the Republican nominee for

¹Ibid.

governor, giving him 2160 votes or 43.9 percent; Lewelling 1924 votes or 29.1 percent; Democrat Overmyer 783 votes, and Prohibitionist Pickering 61 votes. Overmyer was an attempt by the Democrats to forestall woman's suffrage, one of the Populist planks. He also represented their objection to prohibition. Major issue that year was the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1.

The Washington County vote followed state lines, which gave Morrill 148,697 to 118,329 for Lewelling and 26,709 for Overmyer. Only one Populist congressman survived, although the carry-over senate was still Populist.

Following that election, a Washington paper read:

FUSION WOULD NOT HAVE WON

REPUBLICANS HAVE A PLURALITY
OVER POPS AND DEMS COMBINED

If Lewelling Had Received All the Votes
Cast for Overmeyer, Morrill Would Still
Have Been Elected by a Plurality of
Nearly 4,000--the Prohibition
Vote Will Barely Reach 5,000¹

Jubilation in the Washington County Republic matched the rest of the state, with the Republicans staging a huge celebration in Topeka. Said the Republic in headlines and story:

¹Clipping is one of a series of commissioners' proceedings and other items pasted in a book and discovered in the vault of the courthouse in Washington. Unidentifiable as to paper and date.

The Long Struggle to Restore our State to her
former Prosperity is Over

The Blight and Shame that has Cursed and
Disgraced Her is Wiped out

CALAMITY OVERTHROWN

The World of Purifying Her Politics
and Regaining the Confident
and Credit of the Coun-
try Begun

KANSANS WILL NO LONGER NEED
TO BE "ASHAMED" OF THEIR
STATE

The Honor and Integrity of Her Peo-
ple is Vindicated.

As if the headlines lack convincing tone, the
story read in part:

The Republicans have won a great national victory and have regained the House of Representatives by nearly a hundred majority, and all things betoken a reconstruction of the sacred temple of American protection which the Democracy had ruthlessly torn down and trampled under their feet. . . .but the Republicans of Kansas have far greater reasons than any other state to rejoice, not only that a solid congressional delegation, with possibly one exception will represent us at the national capital, but that the honor of our people, which had been forfeited by reason of the sentiments of repudiation and confiscation proclaimed by the leaders and officials of a party in power in the state, has been vindicated, and that the wicked officials have debauched our credit and reveled in corruption are overtaken in their sin and iniquity and, like Nebuchednezzar, are turned out to grass like the beasts of the field, and a party that values the good name of our state and her people is to take their places. We can rejoice in Washington County that the reign of hypocrisy, fraud, and deception with which the people for a time were deluded by the "Traitor" Sprengle and other pretended "reformers" whose

influence had been to blacken and defame the country, is entirely at an end. . . .¹

The Washington editor apparently was typical of the state press. In a sympathetically-written history of the Populist party, Elizabeth N. Barr refers to the scorn accorded it by the Kansas press, who treated party members as if they were rascals and near-criminals. For the most part, newspapers, according to her, felt the movement lacked respectability.²

The editor was premature in his enthusiasm, for the Populists came back in 1896 to elect a governor for the second time. The People's party was still a factor in the 1895 Washington County election, running a candidate for every office and getting about 1400 votes. However the Republicans took every office in the three-way competition.

Although the state went Populist the next year, Washington County maintained its Republican posture, allowing the other party just one office, that of sheriff.

The following year, Populists and Democrats elected a commissioner, with races in the other offices not so close as they once had been. Again, in 1898, the combined People's party and Democrat party ran a good

¹Washington County Republic, date unconfirmed.

²Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," from Connelly, History of Kansas State and People (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928), II, pp. 1137-1204.

race, but never managed to finish the fight in first place. Still hanging on to life, they put a commissioner into office again in 1899, but vote totals were behind those of the previous year. Evidently, commissioner was their one remaining hope, for in 1900 they surged back with strong totals, again managing just that single office.

That was the last heard locally of the Populists. A major force in the county for a decade, they brought new life and enthusiasm into the political arena. Their boisterous vehemence made of politics a rough-and-ready sport, rather well adapted to a growing state.

And if Washington countians could just look back, to the time when other editors were appalled at a movement supported by farmers and laboring men, perhaps they could view with less dismay such attempts as the one George Wallace made in 1968.

Although the county is historically Republican, this has not isolated it completely from the effects of those strong enough to think independently.

CHAPTER III

ROLE OF THE PRESS

By 1860, according to the government census, Washington County--or what was to become Washington County--had 383 settlers within its boundaries. These residents voted that year for members of the Territorial Legislature.

The county itself was organized a year before Kansas became a state. Yet not until 1869 did the people in Washington have a newspaper. Many of the settlers were former Union soldiers. In 1864, 149 of them voted in the presidential election, with 93 of them voting the Republican ticket. By the next election there were 252 voters, of which 202 voted Republican. This was the last presidential election during which the people of Washington County had no local editorial voice to direct their thinking.

As the comments of the editors who came and went through the county's 109-year history unfolded, they varied greatly in force and affiliation. Sometimes as many as three or four newspapers existed in the town at the same time. Numerous papers lasted but a few issues, then expired.

What relationship, if any, exists between the editorial comment readers of Washington County could

hear and the way they voted? Were the residents influenced by the men who published their newspapers? Just how effective, during its history, has been the editorial voice of Washington County?

Mark J. Kelley was the first editor to reach Washington County, coming in 1869, nine years after the town was organized. He founded the Western Observer, writing in his first issue:

We have never been in the habit of saying much in regard to politics, but now that we have mounted the editorial "tri-pod", it "behooveth" us to speak of the party we belong to, and the course we expect to pursue in the future.

Know ye then, by these presents, that we are a live, wide awake, Radical Republican, and that when it is necessary for us to talk politics, we will be found in the Republican ranks, battling for liberty, freedom to all, regardless of race and color; and also, favoring universal, or in other words, Female suffrage.¹

In that same issue Kelley decried the current lack of commitment by the press. "Even Wendell Phillips endorsed President Grant's Inaugural. What is the country coming to when all classes find in the new President's confession of faith and declaration nothing to censure. The Democratic press stood aghast, and, like Pilate, obliged to confess, 'I find no fault in this man.'"²

Nearly four months later the new editor was forced to reaffirm his intention of making his political views known.

¹Mark J. Kelley, "Politics," Western Observer, March 25, 1869, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

We have been informed that parties have taken pains to go around in different parts of the county and circulate a report to the effect that we were going to take neutral ground during the fall campaign in this county. We have never said that we should take neutral ground and we never intend to say so.

We, as soon as the canvass is opened, shall roll up our sleeves and go in, as we always have, for the success of the Republican ticket, and we intend that we shall win!¹

¹Ibid., "Neutrality," July 8, 1869, p. 2.

THE 1870'S

By 1870 Kelley had left Washington, started another paper, and then returned to begin the Republican, its first issue appearing August 18, 1879, The editor's political views remained the same.

Politically we are a Republican and shall edit nothing but a Republican sheet. We shall support the Republican nominees of the State, county and senatorial conventions. It may not be necessary for us to speak on political topics every week, but when it is necessary we shall speak without fear or favor from anyone. . . . We suppose that like other men we shall have our friends, and shall do all in our power to have them nominated, but failing to have them nominated we will support the people's choice.¹

Later, however, Kelley was forced to back down somewhat, when he expressed support in his columns for several independent candidates for office.

In announcing and supporting Independent Candidates for a portion of the different county offices we claim that we break no pledge to party, but that we support the choice of the people of Washington County.

We place at the head of our paper the ticket nominated, and we shall support what we can of it. we also place the names of the men the people have called out independent of the convention in the same column, and shall support a part of them. We expect to support the regular Senatorial and State nominees to a man, but so far as this county is concerned we claim the right to support the people's candidates. We cannot be called a bolter as we have had nothing to bolt from.²

¹Mark J. Kelley, "Salutatory," the Republican, August 18, 1870, p. 2.

²Ibid., September 8, 1870, p. 2.

Kelley's support of the independents may have had some effect on the election, following which he urged the people to lay aside their animosities.¹ All But one of his independent candidates won.

. . .The contest between the straight and Independents of this county was close. The straights having the advantage of an organization for years. We opened the fight in behalf of the Independents the 10th of September and with our friends hold half the field, and the front of the enemy is broken and their ranks sadly demoralized. . . .

Taking everything into consideration, the Independent party has gained a splendid victory, and now should hold on to what it has got, and next fall elect the entire ticket.²

Prior to election, Kelley started a daily paper with a man named Young. He served as editor with the primary purpose of getting the independent candidates election. In the first issue, dated October 19, 1870, Kelley said: ". . .We shall make the Daily Republican lively and interesting. . . .We shall watch over the interest of the city and county and use the influence for the election of the independent candidates for the county offices."³

Apparently, Mark J. Kelley was leaving nothing to chance, politically. And the success of his candidates surely must have pleased him.

¹Ibid., November 10, 1870, p. 1.

²Mark J. Kelley, the Republican, November 17, 1870, p. 2.

³Kelley, "Introductory," Washington Kansas Daily Republican, October 19, 1870, p. 1.

So Washington County, whose press started out Republican in nature, soon found itself digressing from that path. Because of this digression, the election had some bitterness. Like many of the new frontier towns, Washington abounded in newspapers that came and went. When Kelley left his infant Western Observer, Shriner and Tallman took it on as the Kansas Magnet. Unlike Kelley, who supported some Republicans, some Independents, editor James F. Tallman stuck with the Republicans.

On this the eve of election, we would appeal to you as Republicans and honest men to stand by the regular ticket. We believe that victory is about to perch upon our banners, and with but a small effort we cannot only win a victory, but a glorious victory. The independent candidates are making a bitter fight, because with them defeat is obscurity, political death and damnation. They have insulted our wives and daughters in their meetings; they have attempted to blackmail our candidates; they have published the most dastardly, infamous, palpable lies, and stooped to the meanest tricks ever heard of in the annals of politics. . . .¹

Two days earlier Tallman had refuted an article appearing in Kelley's paper.

The mean, low, dishonest, and unmanly course of the "Sore Heads" in stooping to trickery of scoundrels to secure their election in what we did not expect from men holding respectable positions in society. The double dealing of the REPUBLICAN, controlled by the "Independents" is more clearly than ever shown in its course towards

¹James F. Tallman, "Voters of Washington County," Kansas Magnet, November 6, 1870, p. 1.

towards the regular nominees of the county convention, and especially towards T. J. Humes, candidate for County Attorney. In its comments on the first Republican meeting in Washington the Republican said "Tommy ought to be elected;" "that he made the speech of the evening." What the Republican has said is but a reflection of the views of these sore head aspirants for office who own and run it. To-day they are circulating bogus tickets to mislead the people. They have ever had words of encouragement to say to Mr. Humes, promising him their support, until just before election they cautiously circulate their tickets with the name of another sore-head added, that of Mr. A. J. Banta. The course that gentleman has pursued is still more surprising to us. He, too, was fairly beaten in the Convention by Mr. Humes; and he has repeatedly said he would not be a candidate against Mr. Humes. In less than one week after saying so he allows his name to be embodied. . . . The rebuke which we predict will be given him next Tuesday will probably teach him to keep his word and good faith in the future.¹

By 1872--the year Washington County first participated in a presidential election--Martin and Stultz were editors and proprietors of the Washington Weekly Republican. The country was deeply involved in a campaign between war hero Ulysses S. Grant and editor Horace Greeley.

The St. Joseph Gazette says that on Thursday afternoon a bet of \$500 was made at the Pacific Hotel by one of the most prominent citizens of Quincy, that Horace Greeley will carry Illinois. Of course no one bet that Grant would carry the State. The Gazette does not say anything about it at least. It tries to convey the impression that it was altogether a one-sided bet. We have heard of bets being offered and no takers, but never heard of a one-sided bet being made before.²

¹Ibid., "Treachery," November 4, 1870.

²J. C. Martin, Washington Weekly Republican, August 23, 1872.

In August, J. C. Martin, editor of that paper wrote:

The following good piece of advice is from the New York Tribune of August 1868. "Between this day and the 1st of September we should have a Grant club organized in every township and ward, with a working committee for each election district. This club should have enrolled on its list of members every voter who is openly for Grant, and should at once consider how and whence accessions may be made to the number. It should not expect to hold more than one meeting for public addresses; while it should hold one each week for adding to its numbers. . . .

Although it is four years it is as applicable now, as the day it was penned by Horace Greeley, and we hope every township will act upon it.

The Liberal headquarters have been at work for weeks flooding the county with documents and having the canvas well in progress.¹

The newspaper editor wrote long columns expressing his views. Strongly for Grant, he urged his readers to vote Republican.

The American people will be called upon at the approaching election, to decide by the ballot box, by which they will be governed during the next four years,--policy or principle. The Republican party and its general principles remain unchanged. Progression, liberty, equal rights of all citizens, development of natural resources and NATIONAL sovereignty, have ever and are still characteristic of it as an organization. As the exponent of these principles, it has placed in nomination for President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, a statesman and a soldier, who has fought bravely and nobly in defense of them in war as well as peace. . . .

On the other side, asking for their ballots is Horace Greeley, who thought it policy to abandon principle, and conciliate to a certain extent his life-long enemies, upon whom he had waged an unceasing war, and of whom he could not speak in terms

¹Ibid., "Good Advice."

bitter enough to satiate his laignity. The object sought by this policy, is, as we all know, political aggrandizement, before which, principles sink into oblivion with him.¹

In the issue dated September 20, Martin editorialized on "Why We Prefer General Grant."² The next month, few issues appeared that were not filled with letters to the editor and editorial comment.

After the election there was no news story on page one. Instead, in the manner of the day, the news reached the people via strong-slanted headlines--these by Martin on the editorial page.

THE VICTORY OURS!
The Bloody Chasm Closed.

LIBERAL REPUBLICANISM A FAILURE!

Democrat Defeated!

GREAT REPUBLICAN GAINS EVERYWHERE

WASHINGTON COUNTY: 400 MAJORITY FOR GRANT

THE COUNTY TICKET ELECTED.
REPUBLICAN SENATOR ELECTED IN THE IVTH DISTRICT.

¹Ibid., "Policy or Principle," August 30, 1872.

²Ibid., "Why We Prefer General Grant," September 20, 1872.

The result of the election has been as every Republican expected. General Grant has been elected by an overwhelming majority. The returns thus far give Grant 300 of the electoral votes and Greeley 40, with about 20 yet to hear from. . . .

The smallest results from the greatest amount of boasts has been reaped in this campaign by the opposition party of any campaign in the history of the country. . . .

The Republicans elect all the county officers by majorities ranging from 40 to 200. . . . Thus for the first time since the organization of the county, has the Republican party been victorious in electing all its candidates. The opposition have made a good, active, thorough, honorable campaign. While we do not exultingly glory in their defeat, we can not but rejoice in the victory gained in the Republican party.¹

Along with the nation, Washington County voted for President Grant. Of 1465 votes cast, Grant received 984. And with a race in each of the four county offices on the ballot, the Republicans did, indeed, capture every position.

In the county election just a year later, however, Martin sounded a much more dejected note. Three important positions went to the Democrats. "They Sweep Everything But County Clerk," read the headline. The story indicated that the vote was the smallest that had been polled in years. Explaining that the Democrats were jubilant, the editor said the Democratic corn fed by the Republican farmers was too much for the Republican rooster. "Our candidates, with four exceptions, have been led up as sacrifices on the altar of their country, and that, too, by who have heretofore been their political friends."²

¹J. C. Martin, "The Victory Ours!" Washington Weekly Republican, November 8, 1872.

²Ibid., November 7, 1873.

By the time the presidential election year of 1876 had rolled around, E. N. Emmons was editor and publisher of the Washington Republican. Like many of the earliest editors in the United States, Emmons had also been postmaster, serving in that position until September of that year.

That year the Prohibition party nominated General Green Clay Smith for President and Gideon T. Stewart for vice-president. The National Greenback Convention nominated Petter Cooper for President and Samuel F. Carey for vice-president. And the Republicans selected as their candidates Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler on the final ballot. Democratic nominees were Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks.¹

Like most of his predecessors, Emmons was a highly vocal Republican editor. Headlines on a "news" story in the upper right-hand corner of page one were editorial in nature. "Kansas Republicans Again on the Side of the People. A Ticket that Will Command a Majority not Less than 40,000."²

The Republican State Convention which met in this city at 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon, made no nominations until nearly 3 o'clock this morning. . . . The candidate for Governor is the ablest man who

¹Richard B. Morris, "Reconstruction, 1865-77," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 252.

²E. N. Emmons, "The Result," Washington Republican, August 25, 1876, p. 1.

has been nominated for that position since the nomination of Charles Robinson in 1860.

The Kansas Democracy met at Topeka on the 23rd and married the Independent Reform party, against the express wishes of its father, the editor of the Fort Scott Pioneer. The convention nominated John Martin, of Topeka, for Governor, and indorsed the larger portion of the Greenback party nominations.¹

News stories were difficult to distinguish from editorials in those papers, except by virtue of their location. In the September 1 issue on page one, Emmons wrote:

The representatives of the Republican party of Kansas, in convention assembled, renew the pledge of their devotion to that grand political organization under whose auspices so many triumphs have been secured, and which, in war and in peace, has faithfully battled for those cardinal principles which distinguish free governments.²

On the editorial page in that same issue he said:

Sixteen years have passed away, and yet the Democratic party in soul, purpose, and policy, is the same as when under Buchanan it left the country crumbling into anarchy, a part warring against it, and both factions teaching that our country was a mere confederation of States, too weak to enforce its own laws without power to protect its life.³

Editor Emmons appeared ready to speak his mind, saying in one editorial column that the Atchison Champion. . . . "is, in our opinion, just now making a

¹Ibid.

²E. N. Emmons, Washington Republican, September 1, 1876, p. 1.

³Ibid., September 15, 1876

consummate ass of itself, to the say the least."¹

Concerning the Democratic nominee for President Emmons took this editorial comment from another paper:

Samuel J. Tilden, the bogus reformer, is catching it on all sides. His political friends are calling upon him to come out and explain the charges against him, while he, poor fellow, looks tremblingly on and sees the vision of the White House fading before his sight. The truth is hard to rub out, and this Mr. Tilden. . . has tried to explain his connection with Tweed, and his connection with the Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1864, but the more he explains the worse it is for him. But his income returns for 1862, and his answer to Circuit Court of New York, in 1876, have evidently proven too much for him. In 1863 he swore that his income for 1862 was \$7,118; while in 1876 he swears that in 1862 he received fees from one railroad company to the amount of \$20,000. Come, Samuel, rise and explain. . . If you cheated Uncle Sam in the revenue line you must take a back seat in the reform movement. The age demands honest men, not men who have filled their own pockets at the expense of government.²

On the local level Emmons was equally one-sided in his views:

Owing to the fact that the Republican is a little late this week we are enabled to announce the result of the Democratic Senatorial Convention at Peach Creek today. J. G. Lowe, of our city, was nominated by acclamation. This result will be regretted by many of our citizens. We dislike to oppose so good and public spirited a man as J. G. Lowe, but this is no time for wavering. The duty of every true Republican is plain.³

In the midst of the political campaign, Emmons sold the paper to J. B. Besack. With his last opportunity

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., September 22, 1876, quoting Republic.

³Ibid., September 29, 1876.

to speak out in print, Emmons re-iterated his editorial policy and once more warned his readers to stay true to the party.

Politically, we have done what we considered our duty. Not a word that we have said nor a line of our policy that we have adopted do we regret. We have been faithfully and unwaveringly Republican, and have always supported men whom we considered worthy of our support, and of the support of the great party of Freedom. . . .

Our closing breath as editor of the Republican is a warning to the Republicans of Washington County, not to permit those who propose to be your leaders to give the office of State Senator into the hands of the Democracy. Watch every attempt at such an outrage and thwart it. The Republican who suggests such a policy to you should be set down as untrue and unworthy of your confidence. Let us make a clean sweep from Congressman down to Constable, just this once. We have an excellent ticket and we should stick to it.¹

As he took over the editorial pen, Besack indicated that the newspaper would continue to follow policies Emmons had advocated.

Politically, the Republican will continue to advocate the principles of the good old party, under whose guidance the nation escaped from the thralldom of slavery; the party which was instrumental in bequeathing to a down trodden and oppressed race the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to perpetuate those blessings beyond the possibility of interference by their former oppressors the party is pledged if continued in power. But politics will not be the chief aim of the Republican. We shall endeavor to make it a home and family paper--the medium of intercommunication between the different portions of the county.²

¹Ibid., "Our Exit," October 6, 1876.

²J. B. Besack, "Introductory," Washington Republican, October 13, 1876.

Politically, Besack opposed the Greenbackers. He made use of clever words and puns in creating an editorial page that was bright and readable. "The Greenbackers' Congressional Convention for the first Kansas District, held at Waterville last week, nominated Jacob Weisback as their candidate. If Jake is a wise back he will at once skin back on the doubtful honor. Triangular rights are not in order this year--it is another square issue between loyalty and rebellions."¹

On the local level, Besack was as outspoken as he was on the national level.

Our last week's paper contained a call from the chairman of the Republican Co. Central Committee requesting the members of the committee to meet him in his city last Tuesday, for the purpose of examining charges against the political integrity of Mr. J. A. Bull, the Republican nominee for clerk of the District Court. The call was prefaced by a petition signed by Thomas J. Hay and certain other citizens of Clifton and Sherman townships, which intimated that the signers "had no doubt," that Mr. Bull had voted for the past four years with the Reform party, and had even sought a nomination in a reform convention. The petitioners did not assert that they knew these assertions to be facts, and the committee would have been perfectly justified in giving it no attention; but willing to make their candidates undergo the closest scrutiny, they invited the petitioners and Mr. Bull to come before them for a full and candid hearing. . . . The grumblers failed to establish a single one of their charges, but clearly showed the animus of their opposition to be personal malice of one or two men against Mr. Bull. On the other hand, Mr. Bull completely vindicated himself from every

¹Ibid.

charge. . . .Republicans, go to the polls. . . .sustain Mr. Bull, and give him the triumph he deserves.¹

The week before election Besack wrote:

At no time in the history of Republic has the necessity for a solid front been more imperative on the Republican party than at present. There should be no division in the ranks in the face of the eager foe. . . .The results of a possible defeat should never every true man. . . .It is possible that by the popular vote we can place at the head of the Government a man who unblushingly defrauded it of money at a time when it most needed material strength. Tilden is just the man. . . .²

When the election was over, Tilden had a popular-vote margin of 250,000. However, Republican headquarters refused to concede the election on the ground that the returns were in dispute in Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon. Eventually, Hayes was declared the winner.³

Under a cock crowing, Besack said:

No one ever expected that Washington would go anything but Republican, but no one supposed that the majorities would reach such enormous figures as they have. Republicans have reason to congratulate themselves upon the splendid canvass made and glorious victory achieved.⁴

¹Ibid., November 3, 1876.

²Ibid., November 3, 1876.

³Richard B. Morris, "Reconstruction, 1865-77," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 252.

⁴J. B. Besack, "Victorious!" Washington Republican, November 10, 1876.

Washington County had registered 703 votes for Hayes, 491 for Tilden, 33 for Cooper.

On the local level, all four Republicans were victorious, two of them having no opposition. A total of 1718 votes were cast. The disputed J. A. Bull, who was the subject of an editorial by Besack, won by just 196 votes; whereas the Republican candidate for county superintendent carried a 917 vote margin.

The years between presidential elections were important county-wise for their political maneuverings. Besack continued to support Republican nominees for county offices.

From all parts of the county come the cheerful tidings that the Republicans were never better satisfied with their county ticket than they are this year, and that it will sweep everything before it. Whatever of local dissatisfaction there may have been in certain quarters over the defeat of favorite candidates, has nearly all disappeared in a general desire to secure for once a united party and a straight Republican set of county officers. . . . Republicans should faithfully stand by their colors and elect their men.¹

This is the last issue of our paper before the election and we cannot forego the opportunity of saying a last word for our excellent county ticket, and urging Republicans all over the county to stand manfully up to their principles and their party associates, and do their duty by the candidates which have been placed in the field by the customary mode of party procedure. . . .

The ticket is headed by H. C. Sprengle, candidate for county treasurer, than whom there is not a more honorable, honest and intelligent gentleman in Washington county. Two years ago Mr. Sprengle was nominated for the same office by the republican county convention, much against his wishes; while it is true

¹Ibid., October 26, 1877.

that he was unsuccessful, he made a most gallant run. . . One of the main causes of Mr. Sprengle's defeat at that time was the use of money by the managers of the opposition, in buying up newspapers that were making a show of friendship to the republican ticket, but which were in reality piratical institutions, living by blackmail indiscriminately levied upon prominent men of all parties. . .¹

Following the election, there was no story on page one. But the editorial page headline read, "The Whole Republican Ticket Except Sheriff Elected!"²

Two years later, in 1879, the editor recorded that Washington County had elected its first Republican ticket straight.³ Besack had consistently opposed the Greenbacks in his editorial campaign that year. One news story explained briefly the platform of the Greenback party, as it recorded their county convention.

1st. Resolved that we demand the immediate calling in and payment of the United States Bonds in full legal tender money of the United States. . . .

2nd. That we demand the abolition of the National Banking System. . .⁴

Except for a brief period when Washington County residents read editorial comment promoting Independent candidates, their editorial leadership up to this point had been loudly and staunchly Republican.

The worst enemy to the business prosperity and welfare of this country, is the man who proposes at this time to break in upon the healthy and sound

¹Ibid., November 2, 1877.

²Ibid., November 9, 1877.

³Ibid., November 3, 1879.

⁴Ibid., October 24, 1879.

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at this point.**

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nonexistent.**

condition to which our finances have been brought, and strike down the sense of confidence and security now so well re-established. Whatever object political adventurers may have in such policy, no man who cares for the common good, would be party to throwing the country again into the maelstrom of financial agitation and general distrust. . . .¹

"REPUBLICANS! STAND FIRM!" he cautioned.

This is the last issue of THE REPUBLICAN before the election next Tuesday, and we cannot neglect the opportunity of giving a last note of warning to our Republican readers to stand firm by their ticket, and not be led aside by false issues and hypocritical appeals to sympathy.²

Of the seven county positions to be filled, five had Greenback candidates and one had an Independent candidate. The county clerk was the only man running without opposition. Majorities ranged from 398 votes to 923 votes.

¹Ibid., October 31, 1879.

²Ibid.

Figure 4. Newspaper Editorial Influence

The 1870's

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1864	no newspapers existed to editorialize				62% Rep
1868	no newspapers existed to editorialize				79% Rep
1869	Republican <u>The Western Observer</u>	****	100% Rep		
1870	Republican <u>Kansas Magnet</u> Shriner & Tallman				
	Independent <u>Wash Republican</u> Mark Kelley	****	4 Ind 2 Rep		
	Independent <u>Daily Republican</u> Mark Kelley (started to campaign during county election)	****	4 Ind 2 Rep		
1872	Republican <u>Weekly Republican</u> Martin & Stultz	*	100% Rep	****	67% Rep
1876	Republican <u>Republican</u> E.N. Emmons to J.B. Besack	****	1 Dem	****	70% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1880'S

By the time the National Conventions arrived before the election of 1880, Republicans, especially were in a state of indecision. Hayes had pledged earlier not to run for a second term, and there were two rival factions in the party. James Garfield was drafted on the thirty-sixth ballot. The Greenback Labor party nominated James B. Weaver for President; the Prohibition party nominated Neal Dow, and the Democratic party nominated Winfield Scott Hancock.¹

Prior to the election, most of the Washington editorial comment was copied from other papers, including verbatim copies of long political speeches. These were run on both the front page and the editorial page. Although Besack was still editor, he confined his original writing to commentary on the local political scene.

We are safe in saying that the Republican campaign just drawing to a close has been the most thorough and effective ever carried through in the county. . . .

Voters of Washington County, the Republican under the present management has kept itself aloof from the corrupt rings and cliques which for many years held our county affairs under their control. We have watched their devious course and their capacity for evil is destroyed. The members are scattered, without a recognized leader or head. We warn you to keep them

¹Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson, 1878," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 255.

so. . . .Continue to follow this course and our county will soon emerge from behind the cloud under which it has rested for years. We make no charges, it is not necessary to do so. There are old citizens enough in every community who can remember the past and will sound the note of warning to their neighbors. We will only say to those who desired the welfare of our county above every other consideration, that the republican ticket offers you safe candidates. See that they are elected.¹

Once again the Washington County vote was Republican, following the national trend.

The heart of every Republican is light and happy to-day. Our "Boys have voted as they shot, and the victory of Appomatox is repeated all along the line. From Maine to California, and from the lakes to the Potomac, loyal throats are shouting themselves hoarse over their grand success, and cannons are pealing out the news which men can no longer bring their lungs to duty in giving expression to whet their exuberance.

And why this joy? It can be briefly expressed in one sentence: The Solid North has met the Solid South, and again our nation is preserved. The hydra-headed monster of State Supremacy has been trampled to the ground, and the best government on God's green earth takes a new lease of life. . . .Another civil war stared us in the face if the Southern idea had prevailed; let us hope it is now forever prevented.²

Unofficial county returns gave Garfield 1627 votes, Hancock 827 votes. Similarly, Washington County voted for the Republican candidate for governor, giving him a majority of 825 votes. There were races in every county office, with all the Republican candidates winning, as Besack colorfully wrote following the election:

¹Besack, Washington Republican, October 29, 1880.

²Besack, Washington Republican, November 5, 1880.

The most sanguine Republican in the county, in his wildest flights of fancy, never dreamed of such a complete and overwhelming victory as that achieved by our county ticket last Tuesday. All, of course, confidentially expected that the whole ticket would be elected, but in some instances a small majority was all that was looked for. But we are all happily disappointed in the fact that our party was able to roll a majority that would do credit almost to a State. The entire ticket, from top to bottom, goes through with a whoop!¹

During the years between presidential elections, the Greenbackers continued to be something of a force in the county; although they were able to win few offices. But they were a thorn in the side of the Republicans. In 1882 four of the six county offices up for election had Greenbackers opposing the Republicans. The following year a Greenback candidate won a narrow victory for the office of sheriff. This office was frequently the source of much local bitterness, and many times it was the only hotly contested office on the county ticket.

The editor of the paper continued to name names in his pre-election editorials, concentrating on local politics. In 1881 the Republican candidate for sheriff was the only one who failed to get into office on the Republican ticket. The Republican mentioned that it was the "most bitterly contested election we have experienced in this county." He went on to record that the Republican candidate had a bad record and a bad man championing his cause. He accused a "ring" which had "excommunicated the

¹Ibid., November 12, 1880.

REPUBLICAN" of working day and night to get the Republican nominee elected. "Rector especially higgled at no lie, and hesitated at no means, to accomplish that object." The article continued at length to explain in detail the reason for the man's defeat.¹

It was an era a bold newspapering, partially, perhaps, because the taming of an alien countryside demanded a bold kind of person. The readers of Washington papers during the county's early years grew accustomed to reading articles like this.

Strong Democratic opposition entered the scene as Samuel Clarke established a paper called the Washington Weekly Post, with the first issue dated May 4, 1883. The paper was to change hands several times, to suspend publication at intervals, and to lose Clarke to another new publication, the Washington Palladium. In 1884 for a short time he published the Morning and Day of Reform, a Prohibition paper. Clarke soon acquired a reputation as an outspoken writer, and as long as he was editing a paper, the town had differences of viewpoint in their reading matter. A partnership between J. B. Besack and Son was dissolved in 1882, and in 1882 a new firm was organized called the Republican Printing Company. Besack continued as editor. It was these voices that Washington people heard as the next presidential election came around, plus

¹ibid., November, 1881.

that of another new publication, the Register.

The political campaign of 1884 was one of the most scurrilous in American political history. Competing for the presidency were James G. Blaine, Republican candidate; Grover Cleveland, Democratic candidate; John P. St. John of Kansas, Prohibition candidate. The Republican choice alienated the Independent Republicans, a reform group who regarded Blaine as an enemy of good government. Shortly thereafter dubbed "Mugwumps," they supported the Democratic nominee.

Part of the campaign revolved around the Mulligan letters, which revealed Blaine's corrupt dealings while he was Speaker of the House. Countercharges from the Republicans included Cleveland's illegitimate child.¹

The Morning and Day of Reform was a "national journal of Prohibition, Gospel Temperance, and Family Reading." Said Clarke: "We are aware that this is a 'presidential year,' but the Prohibition train will still be on the track, and Kansas proposes to open the ball by nominating a man for governor who is not afraid to pronounce himself in favor of the home and against the saloon. . . ."2

When Kansas John P. St. John was nominated for President, Clarke promised: "Kansas will throw her radical vote for St. John, and it is no mean vote either."³

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 257.

²Samuel Clarke, Morning and Day of Reform, July, 1884

³Ibid., August, 1884.

With so many editors in Washington, the acrimonious references to each other filled the newspaper columns, perhaps delighting the readers. Said the Republican:

Our contemporary across the way-- "The only Simon-pure Republican paper in Washington County"-- the Register--thinks some of the other papers in the county used too severe arguments in discussing the fitness of the two gentlemen running for judge, and thinks it uncalled for and did not do any good. This is all very good for this hired Democratic sheet, but we wish to inform it that nothing has been said but what was true and also that it did might good work, from the results of the election. Now the tool feels at ease since it has eared its money or whatever the contract may have been and wants to take a big part in hurrahing for the noble Republicans of the county, when if they had tumbled to its racket we no doubt would have to bow our head in submission to the Democrats while they crowed over us. We think the Republicans will see this, and remember it, and show those papers who have been selling them out heretofore, that they want no more of it. We think a Republican paper which turns Democratic on every important occasion is four times worse than the blackest Democratic paper in existence. We think it would look better for the Register to bow its head in mourning than to break its neck hooping over something it tried to defeat.¹

The editor of the Register was not the only one who became the target of attacks by Besack in the Republican.

C. F. Barrett, the water-brained slop carrier on the Post, accuses us of being irresponsible for what appears in the columns of the Republican, and undertakes to prove it by calling us a "10 dollar a week blacksmith." Now for fear some do not know what he means by this term, we will interpret it. A blacksmith printer is one who never worked at the printing trade long enough scarcely to know how to

¹J. B. Besack, Washington County Republican, November 7, 1884.

set type, let alone knowing how to make up and print a paper so it could be read, as has been the case with the Post for the last dozen or so issues. . . This smart Alec, Barrett, who accuses us of these things is the same fellow Joe Lowe hired to come up here to assist Clarke on the Post two years ago. He is the same fellow who run the Greenleaf Journal into the ground in a very short time and who, when leaving this town his first time left board bills which are not paid yet--the same responsible fellow who after running through with a large portion of his father's earnings went back home to live off his poor widowed mother for a year, and who beat her out of enough to purchase one-half interest in the slop bucket across the way...¹

Taking a strong stand on local elections, the papers went on to be very specific in their charges. Besack cautioned the Republican voters against turning any of the offices over to the Democrats. He said if they supported Judge Wilson, they were indirectly voting for the interests of the Democratic party. He mentioned the names of the men who had urged Wilson to run, warning that the county already had a Democratic sheriff. ". . . if you elect Joe Lowe and Wilson, then we will have a Democratic judge and a county attorney who is four times over worse than the meanest Democrat you could scare up."²

No true Republican will bolt any of the party nominees this year. There is no reason for so doing, and should one see fit to do so, it ought to convince every other member of the party that such bolters are not worthy of the name of Republican.

It is not Republicanism to vote the Republican ticket only when you happen to get the man of your choice nominated, but to vote the whole Republican

¹Ibid., October 31, 1884.

²Ibid.

ticket straight and solid, and then you shown yourself to be a true and Simon-pure Republican. If the party had not selected the best man for the position assigned, is that any reason why you should scratch him and vote for a Democrat. We beg leave to inform you that you are just as bad bit by voting for a Democrat as though you had voted for the nominee, and then where have you bettered the case by bolting. Some say the Democrat is a better qualified man, an able talker, a man of greater influence, as was the case with J. G. Lowe who run for Legislative honors two years ago. This was the argument of a great many Republicans and strong prohibitionists then. We will not ask these same Republicans if it would not be better to send a person who would do what he does know how to do, in our interests and use what little influence he does have in our favor, than place in position a Democrat who has all those desirable accomplishments to use against us? We leave the subject with you for you to decide.¹

When the election was over, the Prohibition candidate for President, despite the fact that he was a Kansan and that a local paper had been established to back him, had received just 20 votes. Blaine had 2742 votes, a majority of 1350 over Cleveland. Yet nationwide Cleveland had won by a small majority of popular votes and by 37 electoral votes.²

While we as a Republican would regret the defeat of the head of our National ticket, if such would be the result, we thank God we live in a Republican State and that we have mowed under every Democrat from roach. . . up to Governor, including the Democrat. . . in this county for Judge of the 13th district. And this we can rejoice over if nothing else.³

¹Ibid., October 24, 1884.

²Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 257.

³J. B. Besack, Washington County Republican, November 14, 1884.

Newspaper conditions underwent numerous changes before the next presidential election. The Morning and Day of Reform no longer existed. The editorship of the Washington County Register had changed hands several times, from Clark and Emmons to W. A. Clark, to Emmons and Emmons, to Lute P. Bowen, to J. T. Hole. During the election year of 1888 Hole sold out to J. B. Besack and son, the men who had once been such outspoken publishers of the Washington County Republican. H. C. Robinson took over the Republican in 1885, and in October, 1888, he was joined by a man named Sprengle. Samuel Clarke was to take over the Washington Post in December of that year, with the familiar names of Lute P. Bowen and J. T. Hole being associated at various times with that paper also. At this time the Post was Democratic, the other papers Republican.

During his tenure as President, Cleveland incurred the wrath of Union veterans over several issues. In his annual message that December he pled for lowered protective tariffs in order to discourage the creation of trusts and to lower prices. This speech alienated some elements of the Democratic party, although they still re-nominated him at their National Convention. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison and made the high protective tariff the chief plank in their platform, the first time a campaign was waged on this issue. Other candidates were

Alson J. Streeter, Union Labor; Robert H. Cowdrey, United Labor; Clinton B. Fisk, Prohibition.¹

The tariff became a subject of editorial comment in the Republican.

When this country arrives at absolute free trade--and that is where the Democratic party is leading us--of course the hundreds of millions necessary to carry on the government will have to be raised by direct taxation. That means that the tax payer will have to pay more money for the support of the government than he is now being taxed for all other purposes, state, county, township, city and school combined. Fact, figure it out for yourself. Better let England pay it for you, hadn't you, as she is now doing in the shape of duty.²

The Democratic party has always opposed the homestead measures of the Republican party, and now seeks to deprive Dakota of sisterhood with the states presumably because she has been settled by Republican homesteaders, a large portion of whom were Union soldiers, and the present Democratic administration has very little love for the man who fought for his country. It would not only deprive him of a well merited pension, but would and does say to the 100,000 voters of Dakato, "keep your hands off; you have no right to say who shall be at the head of this nation." How low will the justice-loving people of this great country consent to this iniquity? Is it not time that the lovers of fair play, and the believers in that fundamental doctrine, "No taxation without representation," should rise in their might and by their ballots next November smite the Democratic party hip and thigh.³

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 260.

²Robinson and Sprengle, Washington County Republican, October 26, 1888.

³Ibid., October 19, 1888.

Although Cleveland had fewer than 4,000 votes less than did Harrison, he failed to carry the election by 67 electoral votes, and the incumbent President lost his office. In Washington County, Harrison had a healthy vote of 3000, to 1511 for Cleveland. Similar strong majorities put all the Republican candidates into office in the county.

The editor was ecstatic, interspersing headlines with engravings.

ELECTION
Exciting Republi-
can Victory!

[cut of proud cock]

The Next President and Vice
President of the U.X.

[cut]

[cut]
GLORY!

GLORY!

Make the Welkin
Ring!
Everybody Sing!
An Almost Solid North
Against a Solid
South.

Patriotism and Pro-
tection Win the
Day.

The Old Boys Rally
Around the Flag

[cut]
"Good Bye Old Grover,
Goodbye."

[sketch]
 You Were A
 [sketch of donkey]
 To Run for a Second
 Term.

 You Said You were a
 One Term Man.

 And We Took You at
 Your Word..

The Democratic Par-
 ty Feels Like this
 [sketch of rooster, head low]
 And That is Why we Laugh.
 [sketch of man laughing]¹

Twice during the intervening years for short periods the town had a daily paper of Democratic affiliation. Charles Barrett published the Washington Daily Post in 1886.

To the hundreds of strangers from other parts of Kansas, and from adjoining states, the thousands of our more immediate neighbors, to every one and all who may be pleased to visit Washington during the fair THE DAILY POST EXTENDS A CORDIAL AND WARM WELCOME.²

Later in September, Barrett wrote:

The political history of this county does not show a case of greater want of wisdom than has been displayed since 1882 by the anti-prohibition leaders in the Republican party in this state. The time has been within the past 2 years when they could have taken issue with the Prohibition element in the Republican party and joined the conquering Democracy on the broad ground of principle and consistency.

But it is too late.³

¹Ibid., November 9, 1888.

²Charles Barrett, Washington Daily Post, September

³Ibid., September 24, 1886.

From May 13, 1887 to February 15, 1888 the Washington Daily Times was published by Ben Davidson. It did not have much politics in it, but carried numerous letters. The editor did say: "Vote the Straight ticket and you will never regret it."¹

¹Ben Davidson, The Washington Daily Times, October 31, 1887.

Figure 5. Newspaper Editorial Influence

The 1880's

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1880	<u>Republican</u> <u>Republican</u> J. B. Besack in 1883 the <u>Post</u> a Dem paper was edited by S. Clarke	****	1 Dem	**	60% Rep
1884	<u>Prohibition</u> <u>Morning & Day of</u> <u>Reform</u> Samuel Clarke	*****	1 Dem	****	49% Rep 51% Dem
	<u>Republican</u> <u>Register</u> Clark, Simmons, Kelley	****	1 Dem	****	49% Rep 51% Dem
	<u>Democratic</u> <u>Post</u> C.F. Barrett	**	1 Dem	**	49% Rep 51% Dem
	<u>Republican</u> <u>Republican</u> J.B. Besack	****	1 Dem	**	49% Rep 51% Dem
1888	<u>Democratic</u> <u>Post</u> Samuel Clarke	****	100% Rep	****	63% Rep
	<u>Republican</u> <u>Register</u> Hole to Besack	****	100% Rep	****	63% Rep
	<u>Republican</u> <u>Republican</u> H.C. Robinson Low Sprengle	****	100% Rep	**	63% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand					
* to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1890'S

In 1889, the Republican joined the fast-rising People's party and the editor promoted the populist cause with many editorials and articles. In the 1890 election, he urged his readers not to vote for personal friends. "The republican candidates are very good men of average ability, but if any of them are elected to office their influence and ability will be used against us."¹

On November 13, 1891, L. J. Sprengle said:

It has now been two years since the Republican left g.o.p. and espoused the cause of the people. At or near the time the change was made three hundred republicans withdrew their support and patronage ostensibly because they did not wish to read a populist paper but really, we think, because they believed they could thereby cripple the paper financially. The paper has survived, and instead of 1,700 subscribers then, we now have more than 2,200. Now then, since the plan they pursued failed to "break up" the paper we have devised a plan to assist them, and it will be readily seen that if we do not get pay for our paper we will be compelled to "shut up the shop." The proposition is only to those who quit the paper within one year from Sept. 26, 1890.

A CHANCE FOR A YEARS SUBSCRIPTION FREE.

Proposition:

If at the coming election James B. Weaver does not carry more states than either Cleveland or Harrison we will furnish the REPUBLICAN one year free to all who accept this offer on or before Oct. 10, provided that if Weaver does lead, each party accepting is to pay for the paper before Jan. 1, next at the rate of \$1. per annum. Send in your name.²

¹Washington County Republican, October 31, 1890.

²L. G. Sprengle, Washington County Republican, November 13, 1891.

It was a good year for Sprengle. The county elected four candidates from the People's party ticket: sheriff, register of deeds, surveyor, and coroner. One elected commissioner was a candidate for the Republicans and Democrats combined.

LET THE FLAT WAVE!
LET THE CANNON ROAR!
LET THE ROOSTER CROW!

This is the way we feel about it when we study the official vote which may be found elsewhere in this paper. Had the two old parties "gone it alone," even in this off year, the people's party would have had from 400 to 600 plurality. As it is, in spite of the unholy combination, we have a majority of the officers elected by good pluralities.¹

By 1892 and the campaign of that year, three strong newspapers were involved in the political campaign. J. B. Besack was still editor of the strongly Republican paper, but currently he was publishing the Washington Register. In June of that year he ended twelve years of newspapering in Washington County, having published the Washington Republican eight years and the Register four years. Writing from the office of the Washington Republican was L. A. Palmer, editor and publisher. Penning the editorial opinion for the Post was J. T. Hole, who in January that year assumed sole ownership of the paper.

By this time the People's party had become a strong force, uniting a number of farm and labor organizations.

¹Ibid.

Organized in Kansas in June, 1890, the People's party became a formal organization in St. Louis the next year. The Populist convention elected James B. Weaver its candidate for President and demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1, along with numerous reforms. Benjamin Harrison was the Republican nominee, Grover Cleveland the Democratic nominee, and John Bidwell the Prohibition nominee.

Cleveland adopted an unswerving position on the gold standard, winning strong support from conservative Eastern financial and business groups; whereas the Democrats kept the silver issue in the background for the most part.¹

The populist movement created considerable controversy among the Washington editors. The Republican had switched affiliation and supported the People's party.

Just two years ago we issued the first number of the REPUBLICAN that was ever sent out in the interest of the F. A. and I. U. and the people's party in this county. Many predicted the speedy collapse and failure of the paper, but it is here yet and here to stay. We have never for a moment regretted the action then taken and believe we never shall. The reasons which then prompted us to take the course we did are as potential and forceful to-day as they were then. If there was any justification for enlisting in the early fight, there are many more reasons why we should stay with it now that the victory is in sight.

¹Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 262-263.

From the start we have never doubted the ultimate success of the movement. A child then, but strong in its convictions of right we now behold it grown to man's estate--aye, a giant, whose size and strength are marvelously out of proportion to its years. Stand not in its way, for it is "marching toward a diviner civilization!" Brother, sister, if you would see it reach that goal--the era of the "Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," join its ranks now, and keep step with its step, and your reward shall be the joy of the victor who has won a good fight.¹

In his September 23 editorial column, Palmer said, "The Republicans are relying upon intimidation and bribery for success."²

There is a great deal of fool talk by republican politicians and journalists just now about a vote for Weaver really being a vote for Cleveland; and we regret to say that the fools are not all in that party. We have men in our own ranks who talk with great fluency about our ability to carry states enough to prevent an election by the people and thereby throw the election into the house, in which case it is assumed that Cleveland would be the next president. Any people's party man who indulges in this kind of speculation is an ass. The people's party is in this fight to win a victory for itself and not for democracy, and a vote for the people's ticket is a vote to make Gen. Weaver president of the United States. . . . This movement is a revolution. It is a grand revolt against abuses that have simply become intolerable to the people. . . .³

Writing in the Register, Besack was unsympathetic to the new movement, criticizing it both on the local level and the national level.

¹L. A. Palmer, "Still in Line," Washington Republican, September 23, 1892.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., September 16, 1892.

The same old crowd of candidates and place hunters in the Alliance County Union and conventions of the new party since its organization, were in attendance at the county convention last Friday, and with their usual noise and bluster succeeded in defeating several of their best and most representative men for places on the delegations elected. . . .¹

A resolution was introduced and adopted at the Calamity convention last Friday, declaring against fusion in any form whatever. It was so worded as to forbid combination with any party, and conveyed the idea that the author realized that there are too few offices to be let to furnish rich places for all the lightning rod crowd in the people's party, much less to divide with democrats. Besides a division of the offices with other parties would indicate that principle would have to be abandoned for spoils sake, and the claim of the party that it favored reform would become transparent as glass. . . .²

Besack backed Harrison in his columns, writing:

"They say that Benjamin Harrison does not enthuse people. We'll not argue the point, just now, but content ourselves with stating a more important fact:--He gets the votes; and the people 'enthuse' themselves over the results accomplished by his businesslike, patriotic, safe and American methods and policy. Harrison is right, and the people know it and they like it; they want more of it."³

Besack comments that the People's party were acknowledging that their party was defeated in the south when they said the "force bill was an issue. It would re-enfranchise the Negroes."⁴

¹J. B. Besack, Washington Register, June 10, 1892.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., July 8, 1892.

⁴Ibid., July 15, 1892.

A correspondent asks us to publish that portion of the people's party platform which the organ of that party in this county persistently refuses to give to its readers. . . .It is the most consummate rot ever put before the country by a political party, and ought to damn those who gave it utterance to eternal infamy.¹

One of the most controversial issues, of course, was the currency reform. Said Besack:

Money can not be called into existence at the will of a legislative body--Congress, for instance. Money primarily represents the accumulated wealth of a country. Wealth cannot be created by law. True money contains in itself the absolute value of its face. Paper money is but a promise to pay actual money. It is a debt. . . .

The people's party proposes to increase the currency by the unlimited coinage of 68 cents' worth of silver into a coin which is to be called a dollar, and which they expect will circulate side by side with the present currency of gold or based on gold, and pass for the same value. This is a radical error. ...²

For political jugglery the great swallowing act by the people's party of Kansas takes the lead. They waited until their party platform builders pronounced the democratic party reeking with filth and rankest corruption, and then they threw back their heads, opened their mouths and swallowed the whole mass. And the way Lew Sprengle smacks his lips he must think it a very delicious morsel.³

The republicans of Linn and vicinity will organize a strong republican club next Friday evening. The republicans in that part of the county who joined the third party think it queer that in order to elect Grover Cleveland president the democrats of Kansas must vote for Weaver, and they are fast opening their eyes to the true conditions of affairs. The republicans of this county will have the pleasing opportunity of

¹Ibid., August 5, 1892.

²Ibid., July 22, 1892.

³Ibid.

welcoming back to their ranks hundreds of their old associates who will again take their places and work for the success of the only party that has ever given the country reforms.¹

Again and again, Besack wrote articles in support of the administration. "Its achievements," he said, "will mark one of the brightest eras in the history of the republic."² He criticized the people's party for their "gambling and beer guzzling," which he said was disgusting to those who had considered the new party one of reform.³

Discussing personalities was part of the more-vicious-than-usual editorial stance. "Say, Judge Maunder, How do you feel after putting in your best licks to defeat the party which has made you all you are and given you all you have? Don't you feel mighty shamefaced and small? Well, you ought to! With no hope of an election yourself, you loaned your influence and energies to the enemies of your party and your country, to defeat the candidate who stood for honor, integrity and loyalty."⁴

The Republican seems to think it necessary to make false statements as to the strength of its party in the county, in order to keep up the fast falling confidence of its dupes in the ultimate victory which they are so anxious to achieve. That paper in almost every issue makes the assertion that its party is

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., August 5, 1892.

³Ibid., August 12, 1892.

⁴Ibid., November 11, 1892.

constantly receiving a stream of new adherents, and that its growth in the past two years promises that it will sweep every thing before it in the coming election. But such is not true. The party has not grown in the past two years. It has added nothing to its total voting strength, but, on the contrary, it has lost, as a comparison of the vote in 1890 and 1891 will clearly demonstrate. Take for a comparison Union township--which is. . . a fair average township. . . In 1890 the vote of Union township for coroner was: republican 51; peoples party 71; democrat 3. This shows that the republican gain in Union township last year over the year before was 22 votes; that the peoples party loss was just 22 votes; and the democrat loss 8 votes.¹

The battery of newspaper charges and counter-charges was a triangle. Adding more fuel to the editorial fire was J. T. Hole, who chided both of the other papers in his own newspaper, the Washington Post. Hole outlined his political policy.

The Post has had but little to say in regard to its choice for nomination for the various offices this year. Its policy has been rather to support and demonstrate the wisdom of republican principles, and leave the members of the party as free as possible, so far as nominations are concerned. We have had occasion at times to rebuke those "organs" which have officiously persisted in "fixing" the nominations themselves without awaiting the action of the conventions. . . the Post will not. . . permit any favoritism that the editor may have into making an "organ" of the paper for any one's benefit. We as a republican can expect the same regard for our wishes and our choice. . . rather than make our paper the mouthpiece of our personal wishes.²

Animosities were personal and often bitter.

The intimation that the Republican makes about dissolution of the Post firm being on account of Mr.

¹Ibid., July 22, 1892.

²J. T. Hole, Washington Post, March 25, 1892.

Hole's opposition to Ed. Coleman during the late campaign shows an utter disregard of the truth on the part of that paper. Everyone who knows anything about Mr. Hole's position and has any sense at all, knows that the heartily supported Mr. Coleman through the paper, and in every other way in his power.¹

Like Editor Besack, J. T. Hole had little use for the fairly new third party.

It seems that the alliance in Kansas and Nebraska are now turning their lodges into third party political clubs in the hope of being able to keep up the interest and attendance and to do something. We are glad of this. It throws off the mask and reveals the true character of the organization, as a political machine gotten up by Polk and Willetts and Simpson at the dictation and under the control of the democratic leaders to down the republican party in those states.²

The editors occasionally copied each other's pieces, following them with their own comments, as Hole did in the May 27 issue.

And now comes the news that Deacon Hathaway has been duly installed as political editor of the Washington Republican and to show his superiority over Lew Sprengle, who has to daddie the Deacon's work, he has been furnished rooms over the editorial office of that calamity sheet where he sits in all his glory clothes with the power of command to say to the humbled Lewis: Come, and thou comes. . . .--Register.

It does seem to be a fact that the Deacon has been assigned the room formerly used as the parlor of the Y.M.C.A. apartments as his office and headquarters. We are not aware of any business he is engaged in unless it be the management of the calamity party and as adviser of the officers, leaders and candidates of that party. We wonder if the Alliances are assessed to support such a management?³

¹Ibid., January 22, 1892.

²Ibid., January 29, 1892.

³Ibid., May 27, 1892.

Concerning the monetary system, Hole wrote, "Every Kansan who favors a return to the system of wildcat banking can help that scheme by voting for Cleveland. To do that you must vote for the Weaver electors."¹

The Democrats, too, came in for their share of the editor's comments.

Although the Democrats were defeated on their free-trade issue in 1888, they loudly declared that it was only truth crushed to the earth which would be caused by them to rise again and sweep the country in '92. But the success of the McKinley bill has caused them to weaken on the tariff question, and many of their leaders seem afraid of it. They they talked of making the fight on the silver question, but they are divided on it and afraid of it. So they are rather in a quandry and on the fence. All they want is to reach power and the public plunder and fodder in some way and. . . They are in a pitiable plight for a platform and their next one will probably be another miserable two faced dodge and straddle like that of '80, '84 and '88.²

When all the bitter words had been said and all the votes had been counted, Cleveland was the victor by some 400,000 votes, and both he and Harrison left Populist Weaver trailing far behind.³

Along with appropriate sketches, in the manner of the day, Hole wrote in headlines on page 1: "Republicans are defeated. We take our medicine, if 'tis bitter. Cleveland carries all the doubtful states and has 303 electoral votes and wins."⁴

¹Ibid., October 21, 1892.

²Ibid., January 22, 1892.

³Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 262.

⁴J. T. Hole, Washington Post, November 11, 1892.

At the Register office, the Republican defeat produced even more pronounced mourning. Headlines in that paper also were interspersed with suitable engravings.

SOMETHING DROPPED!

IT SOUNDED LIKE GRANDFATHER'S HAT!

ALL IS PERHAPS NOT LOST, BUT WHAT IS LEFT WILL DO THE COUNTRY VERY LITTLE GOOD.

"We have met the enemy"--of the nation, and in the immortal language of the poet, "we are theirs." In the midst of supposed victory sketch

when nature seemed to be smiling on our cause, and the hectic flush of hope had almost given place to the certainty of success.

defeat sketch
perches upon our banner! Oh! we're sick; so sick! The emetic of democratic victory has acted upon our system until our grandpa hat has been several times filled with the gall and bitterness of despair.

But we are not entirely cast down. Hope points her prophetic finger.

[sketch]
to the source of consolation, holding out the inspiring thought that the people got so tired of Cleveland and his policy before. That they let him out at the end of four years, and they will no doubt do so again. Therefore we will load our

[cannon]
with the solid shot of truth and argument and with the ranks closed in solid phalanx. The Register will fight the infamous fusion concocted

[sketch]
by the unprincipled seekers after the spoils of office; and trusting to the genius of

[liberty sketch]
liberty, and with faith in the patriotism of the good people and their better judgment. . .¹

¹J. B. Besack, Washington Register, November 11, 1892.

So, despite the efforts of two Washington newspapers to elect the Republican nominee for President and despite the efforts of one paper to promote the People's party candidate, the Democrats won.

County-wide, the story was quite different. Voters in Washington County gave Populist Weaver 2842 votes, about 500 votes more than they gave Republican Harrison. Cleveland, the Democratic nominee, received just 20 local votes.

And in the Courthouse, the Populists nearly swept the field. With races in five county offices, including county commissioner, the People's party captured four offices.

Consequently, one paper, the Washington Republican, had cause for rejoicing when the election was over.

Four years later the coinage of silver still was a controversial political issue. During the national conventions of 1896 it split the parties and became the major platform of the campaign. The free-silver group controlled the Democratic party organization, choosing William Jennings Bryan as presidential nominee. In support of the adoption of the free silver plan, Bryan delivered his famous and eloquent speech, "Cross of Gold." As a result of his nomination, the gold Democrats withdrew from the convention, organized the National Democratic party, met and nominated John M. Palmer for President.

On the other hand, the People's party endorsed Bryan's nomination. Not only was the Democratic party split by the silver question, but the Republican party was also. William McKinley was nominated by the Republicans on a platform upholding the single gold standard. Adoption of the gold plank caused Western silver Republicans to bolt and organize as the National Silver Republicans, endorsing the Democratic candidates. This gave Bryan the backing of three groups. The campaign arrayed creditor against debtor, the moneyed East against the agrarian West and South. Even the minority parties were pitted against one another on the issue. The Prohibition party nominated Joshua Levering for President, at which a free-silver minority organized the National party and nominated Charles Bentley.

It was a time of great controversy. The "golden-tongued" Bryan traveled 13,000 miles in fourteen weeks, making six hundred speeches in twenty-nine states. His opponents considered him an anarchist and a revolutionist.¹

By this time the Washington Register had consolidated with the Washington Post to become the Washington Post-Register. J. T. Hole and James Pontius were listed as

¹Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 264-65.

proprietors, the merger being effective July 19, 1895. That year another paper, The Watchman, was started, the first issue appearing January 3, 1896, with L. J. Sprengle as editor. Just a month later Otis Nesbit became editor, and Sprengle and N. M. Smith were named assistant editors. Publisher was the Watchman Publishing Company, The name of the Washington Weekly Republican was officially changed in 1894 to the Republican. On December 6, 1895, L. A. Palmer became the owner and manager, continuing in that business for nearly ten years.

The Watchman was started as a populist paper, establishing this political affiliation in the first issue.

Realizing that there is a demand on the part of the aggressive populism of Washington county for a live populist paper, the Watchman is here to fill that demand.

The Watchman will be a Populist paper, will endorse the Omaha platform and its principles, and will advocate them fearlessly. It will work for reform along all the lines upon which our party is so well agreed. It proposes to make an aggressive war upon all trusts and combines, and wherever capital attempts to degrade labor, or to rob it of its wealth earned, or of its rights as American citizens. We shall attack such enemies of our country with all the power and force at our command. We shall try to show the mistakes in both of the old parties that every vote cast for either of the old parties will aid a policy directly opposed to the interests of every citizen of Kansas; that where Eastern and European capitalists desire to fasten upon us as a financial system is the very thing we do not want . . .¹

¹L. J. Sprengle, the Watchman, January 3, 1896.

A week later the new editor wrote:

The populists of the county were without a paper only three weeks. They never appreciated what a good thing a good populist paper is until those three weeks. Now that the Watchman is on guard to warn them of the dangers of organized greed that threaten the life and perpetuity of our republic and point out a way of safety and how to avoid threatened dissolution, populists and all lovers of the flag, but especially populists, should rally to our support and do all in their power for the success of the Watchman. . . .¹

The papers traded editorial comments back and forth, making the newspaper battle a lively one for Washington readers. Retaliating for an observation written by the editor of the Republican, Sprengle wrote:

Mr. Palmer was right, I did write that Salutory for the WATCHMAN, and I wrote my honest sentiments and convictions in every word penned.

How about the editor of the Republican? Did you speak your honest sentiments about what you expected to do as its editor? It seems to me that yours should have read like this: "I have this day taken charge editorially with Cal Morrow, Reub and Ed Vincent, Andy Freeborn and Blee Johnson, of the old Republic, a populist and prohibition newspaper, staunch and reliable, and I propose to make this a Republican newspaper, one that Emmons-like can be depended on to do any work required by the ring. It will slander and abuse populists to a frazzle; it will help seal any office to which by accident our leaders may have allowed them elected or appointed; and further, with the assistance of our ring, I purpose to break Jake Hole up in business and confiscate his paper. Our clique must rule all the elements in politics in the county or we will ruin everything that stands in our way. The county printing must be mine by contract so that I can be sure of the wherewith to keep my paper on its feet. . . .²

¹Ibid., January 10, 1896.

²Ibid., January 17, 1896.

Meanwhile, L. A. Palmer was penning countercharges in the columns of the Washington Republican. The week before election he wrote:

We wish to whisper a word to our Republican friends just now at the close of this campaign. For nearly one year we have been fighting for Republican success in this county. The REPUBLICAN has stood the blunt of the fight, from the enemy and the editor has been the target shot at since the campaign opened. THE REPUBLICAN has been found in the front rank in the battle, and has never had to take a step backward or retreat. Before the state convention, it was the only paper in Washington that stood up for Gov. Morrill and the state administration, and the only paper that has done any work for Morrill's re-election since the state convention. When the campaign opened we were among the first in the county to take the stump and have been. . . For our services we are asking nothing but the support of Republicans as subscribers to the REPUBLICAN.

All our earthly possessions are right here in the newspaper business, and we expect our support from. . . We have no farms to draw from nor a Populist as a silent partner with money enough to pay all bills as they come do. This paper belongs to the Republicans.¹

Apparently, Palmer was referring to the lack of editorial support from the Post-Register. "Wherever you find a mugwump paper, half Populist and half Republican, so much so that its readers cannot tell where it stands, you will find that paper fighting Morrill and his administration."²

Concerning the national election, Palmer wrote:

We frequently hear the political enemy assert that the treasury was empty when the present administration took charge. That may all be, but do they not remember also that a short time before it was so full that the "surplus" was appalling and that the whole country was tearing its hair to find some means of reducing it? They found the way by appropriating great sums for internal improvements, etc., etc., until the

¹L. A. Palmer, Washington Republican, November 6, 1896.

²Ibid., May 15, 1896.

surplus got a little too low perhaps. But the same party that created the surplus, reduced the national debt at the rate of \$12,000,000 a year and gave us the greatest era of prosperity that the country ever saw, could soon have put the balance on our side again.¹

Even the businessmen put politics into their advertising. Lowe Clothing House on the south side of the "square" advertised, "The first 'Pop' who buys a suit of clothes at our place will receive the unanimous support of our entire force for president when nominated."²

Through the months there was much name-calling against the other Washington papers in the editorial columns of the Watchman. Near the close of the campaign Sprengle wrote, "The Republican's unjust fight on Mike Purcell was remembered by the republican friends here and if that paper had had another week to lie about Mike, he would have carried this city. That paper is indeed a power."³

Trying to be clever, Sprengle ran a headline on page two that read "Predicts a Populist President." Then he quoted: "This year will be a record breaker for good news."--Republican. The next paragraph explained:

¹Ibid., June 19, 1896.

²L. J. Sprengle, the Watchman, January 24, 1896.

³Ibid., November 6, 1896.

"We know nothing else that would be quite such good news, so we conclude we have guessed what the young man of the Republican had in mind."¹

On November 6 Sprengle was editorially furious.

Last week's Republican was the most contemptible publication ever issued in this county. It contained a lot of lies about Mike Purcell that the editor published without any cause whatever. Its instructions to voters was the most glaring of deception ever printed by a newspaper and in the purported copy of the official ballot three names were left off of the "People's" ticket and A. A. Carnahan placed in the "Democratic ticket where it did not belong, as he was never nominated by the democrats and the County Clerk's copy did not have it on it either. (printed ballots earlier, O. K. and Cloud county ballot okay.) It looks on its face as a malicious attempt upon the part of the Republican to deceive. . . . This is in keeping with Palmer's campaign speeches and the reading matter in the Republican during the campaign and prove the absolute truthlessness of the man. His speeches were full of deception and this attempt at publishing an official publication and to butcher it to his own liking is the greatest outrage ever perpetrated in this county."²

Countywide, the Populists and Democrats united forces in naming a slate. The editor of the Populist paper made note of "The Ticket."

It has been made up. It contains five populists and two democrats. Every man stands an ardent supporter of our grand young leader, Bryan, and for the cause which he is championing. The populists on the ticket are men known and true.

Mr. Wilcox, Mr. Roche and Dr. Sutton have been in the movement since 1890. Mr. Ballard came in a little later and Mr. Bennett enlisted as soon as he

¹Ibid., January 10, 1896.

²Ibid., November 6, 1896.

old enough. Mr. Purcell and Mrs. Clarke belong to the genuine democracy and are well known. Some populists would have preferred the selection of other men by the democrats and some democrats would have preferred other selections by the populists, but neither convention could well select for the other. An earnest, active campaign will be carried on.

The victor in Washington County depends alone on the man who love their flag and country, standing together with but one idea and that the triumph of the cause of humanity by restoring silver to its constitutional place, by the side of gold--free coinage.¹

Concerning the Republican ticket, Sprengle commented in a headline, "Some Republicans Meet and Ratify the Selection of the 'Gang'. . . .It was the greatest spectacle of machine politics ever seen."²

As it had many times previously, and would again, politics entered into the assigning of county printing. Frequently the editors made references to this fact.

So the campaign was waged nationally and locally, as the three Washington editors fenced with words.

When election day was over, when all the charges had been made and refuted, when all the votes finally were counted, Bryan's extensive campaigning had failed against the strength of the Republicans. McKinley was President by nearly 100 electoral votes, and the Republicans retained control of both houses of Congress.³

¹L. J. Sprengle, the Watchman, September 11, 1896.

²Ibid., September 4, 1896.

³Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers.) 265.

The vote in Washington County was very close; just 125 votes gave McKinley the lead over Bryan. This close vote carried through for state governor, with Morrill acquiring a slim margin. Countywide, it was one of the closest elections ever held. From 200 to 500 votes determined the winners in each office. Only the office of clerk of district court went to the Populists-Democrats. However Washington County voters did not follow the lead of other Kansans who put Leedy into the governor's office.

Wailed the Republican: "WE SHED TEARS FOR POOR OLD KANSAS AND REMARK TEARFULLY: The Lord gave----and the Lord hath-----taken away-----. Blessed be the name-----of the Lord-----."1

Naturally, the Watchman was exhilarated.

KANSAS REDEEMED.

LEEDY ELECTED GOVERNOR BY NEARLY 10,000 MAJORITY,
BRYAN ELECTORS SWEEP THE STATE BY 15,000. . .
PURCEL IS ELECTED IN THIS COUNTY BY A GOOD MAJORITY.
We congratulate the people of Kansas upon the redemption of the state from the control of a corrupt and profligate administration, and upon the election of non-partisan judges who are not the creatures of corporations; and upon the further fact that they are to have a free silver senator at Washington for the next six years.²

¹L. A. Palmer, The Republican, November 6, 1896.

²L. J. Sprengle, the Watchman, November 6, 1896.

Figure 6. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1890'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1892	Populist <u>Republican</u> L.A. Palmer	****	4 Populists	****	44% Rep 0% Dem 55% Pop
	Republican <u>Register</u> J.B. Besack	****	4 Populists	****	44% Rep 0% Dem 55% Pop
	Republican <u>Post</u> J.T. Hole	****	4 Populists	****	44% Rep 0% Dem 55% Pop
1896	Populist <u>The Watchman</u> L.J. Sprengle	***	1 Pop-Dem	***	51% Rep 48% Dem
	Republican <u>Republican</u> L.A. Palmer	***	1 Pop-Dem	***	51% Rep 48% Dem
	Republican <u>Post-Register</u> Hole & Pontius (the two Rep papers differed on state politics)	***	1 Pop-Dem	***	51% Rep 48% Dem
000000 indicates no editorial stand					
* to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1900'S

By 1900 the newspaper situation in the town of Washington had changed considerably. Two years earlier the Populist newspaper the Watchman had consolidated with the Post-Register. That newspaper had been purchased earlier by J. J. Veatch, who published it for a time with A. E. Veatch, then with Irvin Hogue, later with his son. Veatch was to continue with the paper until it changed its name. Samuel Clarke had revived the Palladium, a Democrat newspaper which he had started in 1893 and published for eight months. Clark's name was a familiar one in the community; he had been publisher of the Morning and Day of Reform in 1884. During the nearly three decades of the Palladium's existence, the Democrat party in the county was represented by a sturdy editorial voice. L. A. Palmer still spoke for the Washington Republican, not retiring from that newspaper until 1904.

Voices of dissent were not so divided in this turn-of-the-century election as they had been four years earlier. The Social Democrats nominated Eugene V. Debs as their man for President. The People's party named Wharton Barker. Socialist Labor delegates nominated Joseph P. Maloney. On a platform upholding the gold standard, the administration's foreign policy, and a United States-built and maintained isthmian canal, the

Republicans nominated President McKinley. Re-nominated by the Democrats was William Jennings Bryan, who was endorsed by the Fusion Populists. "The Democrats made imperialism the 'paramount issue'; the Republicans stressed the 'Fill Dinner Pail' as symbol of the administration's success.¹

Having observed and written about the Populist party for several years, L. A. Palmer made some observations during the opening days of the campaign.

The great change that has come over the Populist party since its beginning ten years ago must be startling to the members of that organization. It was clearly demonstrated at the meeting of the Democratic and Populist Central Committees of the Seventh district, recently held in Hutchinson, to consummate the fusion between these two parties. The work of the day was concluded in the evening by an elaborate banquet which began with oysters on the half-shell and ended with wine and cigars.

Ten years ago when the Populists had a demonstration or a meeting for a political effect, they held it in a grove on the river bank, or in the county fair ground, so as to accommodate the large number of people who were sure to attend. . . .²

Concerning appearances of vice-presidential candidate on the Republican ticket, Theodore Roosevelt, Palmer wrote:

¹Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 265-66.

²L. A. Palmer, Washington Republican, June 1, 1900.

The Roosevelt meetings in Kansas last week were remarkable from the fact that no man ever drew such crowds and talked to so many people before in Kansas. Every stop that was made people were there by the thousands. His meetings were not only large and enthusiastic in Kansas, but wherever he goes. In Nebraska he was greeted by large crowds and at Lincoln, the home of Bryan, he had the largest reception of the campaign. It looks as though Nebraska will go for McKinley and Roosevelt.¹

Four years ago the conditions in this country were such that Bryan could afford only a \$1,000 dinner in New York. He can now afford a \$12 dinner and his name printed on his napkin in gold letters, just think of it. Just think of it, the champion of free silver and common people, dining with the money power and skylock.²

We have been looking for some of that cheap corn Bryan told about four years ago if McKinley was elected. We have a horse and one pig to feed, and have to pay 35 cents a bushel for corn. Every time we buy a bushel of corn we are led to believe Mr. Bryan a false prophet four years ago, and we can not be convinced but what he is a false prophet yet.³

There is no doubt but what Mr. Bryan will be a much notified man., the Democrats have already taken him to Indianapolis and notified him he was their candidate for president. He accepted and ignored silver. No matter if he did ignore silver, the silver Republicans propose to haul him up into Minnesota and tell him he is their candidate for President, where he can make his 16 to 1 speech, providing it suits Stevenson and Croker. The Populists too will get a whack at the notification business and get Mr. Bryan down to Topeka, Aug. 23, to tell him he is their choice for president. To them he can make any kind of an old speech and it

¹Ibid., October 5, 1900.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., July 30, 1900.

will do. He can come out for expansion, against it, for 16 to 1, or for the gold standard, for a high tariff or free trade, it will be all the same to them. . .¹

Although the name-calling was not quite so dirty in the presidential election year of 1900, still the Washington editors wrote some sarcastic items. Said Palmer:

Two weeks ago the whisky organ of Washington, the Post-Register, came out emphatically against any aid going to the famishing people of India, and gave as its reasons that England should take care of the millions of starving people there. We are glad to know that the people of this country are not so hide-bound and hoggish as whisky organ would have them to be and it was demonstrated so last Sunday.²

Palmer was incensed at the attitude of the Prohibitionist party, which he felt evidenced ingratitude for the Republican party and what it had done for prohibition.³

At least two columns of editorial material were carried each week on the editorial page of the Palladium. Politics was Editor Samuel Clarke's primary interest.

Kansas will be one of the fighting states at the presidential election this year, and is claimed by both parties, and admitted by both to be an uncertain quantity. The road has been smoothed for Bryan securing the electoral vote of the state by the action of the Democratic, populist and silver republican conventions at Fort Scott in agreeing on a fusion ticket, on which all three parties are given places. There was earnest discussion and division, but a harmonious result was finally reached. Mr. John W.

¹Ibid., August 17, 1900.

²Ibid., May 4, 1900.

³Ibid., June 29, 1900.

Breidenthal, nominated for governor, is one of the strong men of the state. . .The republicans claim the state by virtue of the great wheat crop Mr. McKinley has permitted providence to allow the Kansas farmers to grow this year.¹

In his four-page paper, a high percentage of the column inches were devoted by Clarke to the election. In an editorial entitled "A Word to Democrats" Clarke wrote:

Reports multiply that as a last desperate expedient the trusts and the money power, controlling the industries of the country, propose to adopt again the methods used before for the coercion of the people by bringing on, just prior to the election a panic. This done, and it can easily be done by the industrial and financial agencies which Mark Hanna typifies, the cry will be raised by republican newspapers and speakers that the panic is wholly due to apprehension of success of the Democratic party at the polls and that only by McKinley's re-election can prosperity be regained. No long political memory is needed to recall the success with which this game was played to force the repeal of the Sherman purchase law in 1893. . .²

Clarke quoted part of a speech by Roosevelt which he labelled "insulting"³

Clarke wrote frequently about the local elections, in September making these observations:

The county ticket, nominated by the Democrats and populists at the recent conventions excites the admiration of its friends and challenges the successful criticism of its opponents. . .They deserve to succeed in the coming election, and no only as

¹Samuel Clarke, the Washington Palladium, August 11, 1900.

²Ibid., September 29, 1900.

³Ibid., August 11, 1900.

qualified candidates do they deserve to success but on account of the eternal principles of the great democratic party which they represent, do they deserve an election. Every man of them is a protest against the unwise, un-American policy of McKinley imperialism, republican trust rapacity and the exaltation of the military over the civil power of the country. Added to all this the fusion candidates stand for economy in county expenditures, lower taxes and the control by the state of transportation to the end that our farmers may not be robbed of the profits which is just due them, as a recompense of their labor.¹

Some predictions about the candidates came from the Democrat editor's office. He said that G. M. Baum, candidate for clerk of the district court, was "running like wildfire, and if there ever was a doubt of his election the work of the past two weeks has dissipated it." Concerning representative from the sixty-third district, Clarke commented that "the republicans have practically given up the election of Dr. Maintz and are bending their energies to save a portion of the remainder of their ticket. . . .Bill Webster will be elected." Continuing in this optimistic vein, Editor Clarke said, "For county attorney there seems to be but little doubt that Mr. Fulton is going to sweep the platter.. . .In every township Mr. Fulton is receiving large accessions from the republican ranks, while he is absolutely certain of carrying the northeastern townships solid." He

¹Ibid., September 15, 1900

continued his prognostication, saying that the probate judge would have a landslide. "Jack Thompson is the least competent of all the candidates. His election would be a calamity."¹

When the election was over, Jack Thompson, that weakest of candidates, had won by 370 votes. The Republican nominee for county attorney had a majority of 337 votes. Republicans took the contest for state representative by 223 votes. And the clerk of the district court position went to the Republicans by 404 votes. Samuel Clarke had been wrong in every prediction.

We have taken the trouble this week to make a comparison with the vote of the county, this year, with that of 1896, the last previous presidential year, from which we learn that the total vote of the two parties for president in 1896 was 4,905 and in 1900 was 5,212, a gain in the vote of 379. In 1896 the republicans cast for McKinley 2,514 votes; in 1900 they cast 2,960--a gain of 446 votes. In 1896 McKinley's majority in the county was 123; in 1900 it was 708. He therefore increased his majority 585 votes while he only increased his vote 446.

In 1896 there was cast for Mr. Bryan for president in Washington County 2,391 votes; in 1900 he had 2,352--a loss of 139.

In 1896 Morrill, who was the republican candidate for governor, had 2,487 votes, and Leedy, the fusion candidate, had 2,363. Majority for Morrill, 124. This year Stanley for governor had 2,881 votes and Breidenthal 2,321 votes. Majority for Stanley, 569. The republican gain on governor in four years was 436 and the democrat loss for the same time was 42. . .county attorney: . . .a gain in majority of 117. . .superintendent of schools: 303; clerk of court: This year Mr. Baum had 2,405 while in 1896 the democratic candidate had 2,530--showing that although defeated he only ran 125 votes behind the best record ever made. . .

¹Ibid.

The average republican majority in 1896 on the offices mentioned was 224; average for the same offices this year is 410; new average republican gain in four years, 186. The opposition lost votes on three offices this year, being those of president, governor and clerk of the court. Of the other five, viz, those of county attorney, superintendent, probate judge, senator and representative, they made an average gain over four years ago of 169. As compared with the republican average gain it shows but 17 in favor of that party.¹

The Republican heralded the local victory, as well as the national one. McKinley had 292 electoral votes, Bryan 155.² Countywide, the election was no landslide. McKinley had 2945 votes, Bryan 2227. The fusion of Democrats and Populists elected one county commissioner.

REPUBLICAN VICTORY

WM. MCKINLEY ELECTED EMPORER OF THIS GREAT EMPIRE
BY AN INCREASED MAJORITY.

OLD KANSAS GOES REPUBLICAN BY 25,000

THE SENATE WILL BE REPUBLICAN BY 16

MAJORITY, THE HOUSE BY 27

our congressman W. A. Calderhead
re-elected by about 3,000 majority.

WASHINGTON COUNTY REPUBLICAN BY 500.

EVERY REPUBLICAN ON THE COUNTY TICKET ELECTED
BY INCREASED MAJORITIES, COMMISSIONER TIE.

Election returns are most satisfactory to the Republicans, in fact the opposition, except office seekers, are not feeling very much discouraged. The re-election of President McKinley was looked for and no one feared any evil results from it. The time has passed when a Republican administration scares the American people.³

¹Ibid., November 17, 1900.

²L. A. Palmer, Washington Republican, November 9, 1900.

³Ibid.

Palmer was less than accurate in designating the vote for commissioner a tie. The People's candidate had, in fact, won by one vote. Wrote Clarke:

The result of the election in this county, while in the main a disappointment to the opposition, is yet gratifying to the extent in which we were successful. J. S. Nims is elected county commissioner by the narrow majority of one vote, and for the first time we will have an opposition county board. For district judge, Hugh Alexander was an easy winnerALEXANDER AND NIMS ELECTED! THEREFORE THIS DEMOCRATIC BIRD REJOICES WITH A GREAT JOY!¹

Four years passed. C. E. Ingalls took over the publication of the Republican. A. E. Veatch changed the name of the Post-Register to the Washington Register. Oscar L. Clarke became manager of the Palladium, with Samuel Clarke retaining his position as editor. The county seat town of Washington still had three strong editorial voices.

Presidential candidates in 1904 were President Theodore Roosevelt, Republican; Eugene V. Debs, Socialist National; Silas C. Swallow, Prohibition; Charles H. Corregan, Socialist Labor; Thomas E. Watson, Populist; Alton B. Parker, Democrat; Austin Holcomb, Continental.²

During the initial part of that campaign, L. A.

¹Samuel Clarke, Washington Palladium, November 10, 1900.

²Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 268.

Palmer was concluding his tenure as editor of the Republican, and the editorial comments were not nearly so lively as they were after August 5, when Ingalls took over. However he was incensed enough to write:

There are a few machine men in this county who are making the thin skinned argument that the reason Palmer is opposed to the Bailey administration is because he did not get the county printing. What more could you expect from a machine politician? They want to measure every person in their small peck measure, never rising above the dollars and cents that can be derived from politician pulls. If we had received the county printing last year and this, and the Bailey administration had been as it is, we would have opposed it as vigorously as we are now. It is just as reasonable to say that the 83 Republican papers in Kansas that are opposed to the Bailey administration did not get the county printing. . . .

The facts are these, the Republican became disgusted with W. J. Bailey before the county printing was let last year.¹

When Ingalls published his first issue of the Republican, he wrote the usual "Salutatory."

Those who are acquainted with us need not be informed of the political policy of this paper, and those who are not will have no difficulty in discovering before the campaign is over. . . . We believe that all factionalism in the party in this state ought to be buried so deep that not even the memory of it might never know. . . . If you are a good Republican you ought to separate yourself from your private grievances and grudges, pull off your coat and work for the good of the ticket nominated at the national, state, and county conventions. If you are not willing to do this you

¹L. A. Palmer, Washington Republican, January 29, 1904.

are not a Republican at all and the sooner you transfer your affections and affiliate yourself with the opposition, the less hypocritical you will feel.¹

Ingalls wrote with some of the vituperation that had characterized the early years of his predecessor's editorship. "Last week's Palladium gives the Democratic party credit for the establishment of rural free delivery. This is in harmony with the statements made by a prominent Democrat in the east that the Democratic party was founded by Christ. . . ."2

It is quite evident from a contribution in the Palladium that a certain amiable diagnostician in this town is suffering from an accute attack of chronic volcanic eruption, and being entirely destitute of ideas or argument or the necessary control of the English language to present an argument, and not being painfully desirous that the "common people" should not lose any opportunity to drink in the hourishing doctrines of popocracy as they drop from his inspired lips, he has opened up the cess pool that decorates his shoulders and gone off in his ardent zeal and left it running. Having relieved himself of this mess of vituperation which "like vomit from hiw yawling entrails poured," it is hoped that he feels better and his many friends look for a speedy recover. It is too often the error of mediocre minds to mistake abuse for argument. There has been nothing in any of the doctor's articles but abuse and yet he wants to know why he isn't answered.³

¹C. E. Ingalls, Washington Republican, August 3, 1904.

²Ibid., October 7, 1904.

³Ibid., September 2, 1904.

Charges of wrong-doing among the county officials were leveled by Ingalls. In a four-column tirade entitled "A Small Collection of Prevarications from Last Week's Palladium," Ingalls said, "A man must be utterly devoid of conscience and wholly without shame to make the effort the Palladium is making to win this campaign by stuffing its paper full of falsehoods."¹

While Samuel Clarke was not above mentioning local names, he devoted considerable space to national issues.

. . . calls attention to a change of front "made overnight" by the leaders of Democracy in the nation's capital. One of the leading tenets of Republican doctrine, that has occupied a conspicuous place in every party platform since 1888, in fact nothing less than reciprocity itself, having fallen into innocuous desuetude" by reason of the disfavor of indifference of congress, has been adopted as one of the fundamental principles of Democracy for the future. . .

No great amount of thinking is needed to convince any one of the immense tactical advantage given to the Democratic party by this move. Reciprocity, as a tariff corrective, was a creation of that "peerless leader" among the Republican, James G. Blaine. It was heartily endorsed in every message except the last by President Harris, McKinley and Roosevelt. . . . And the fact that the Republican party possessed of full power in congress failed to fulfill its party pledges, even when called upon time after time by republican president, when pressed home by Democratic eloquence, will give the latter party a tremendous weapon of offense in the next presidential campaign.²

¹Ibid., November 4, 1904.

²Samuel Clarke, the Palladium, January 2, 1904.

A series of campaign paragraphs brightened the first page of most issues of the Palladium. "Teddy does not think he has encroached as an executive. No emperor even admits that he encroaches."¹

Clarke was alarmed about Roosevelt's attitude toward the Quakers. He felt that there was danger of war, if Roosevelt were elected. "A vote for Roosevelt is a vote for danger. . . ."2

Locally, Clarke's pointed pen made such cutting comments as: "Fred Randall's only hope of being elected probate judge is the fact that he is not as well known away from home as he is in his neighborhood; if he were, then he would not have a ghost of a show in the race against Roger Howley. . . ."3 (Despite Clarke's support, the Democratic nominee lost by 354 votes.) Clarke took a strong stand against Republican Lashbrook for county superintendent; still Lashbrook won by 612 votes.

The outlook from all over the state never looked better than it does at the present time. The reports from every point in the state show that the people are tired of the way the so-called republican party

¹Ibid., October 1, 1904.

²Ibid., October 8, 1904.

³Ibid., November 5, 1904.

has been running things for the last four years. The last session of the legislature disgusted all of the honest men in what was supposed to be the republican party, and they will not vote to keep such a lot of boodlers in power. The bosses are trying every way to get them to vote the ticket this fall but they are fooling away their time as a large majority of the voters are taxpayers and will not stand to have their money squandered the way the ring has been doing.¹

As early as January the Register carried a front page full of political comment. Week after week, politics prevailed, and by spring the second page also carried political news. By the time E. A. Veatch turned over the ownership of the paper to J. A. Totten, that paper was a vociferous voice in the editorial war. When Governor Bailey withdrew:

To the Republicans of Kansas: It is apparent to all that the bitter vactional fight that is not going on in the Republican party in Kansas is a menace to Republican success. I have believed and now feel that under the traditions of the party I am entitled to a renomination, but there has never been a day of my political life when the party's welfare was not paramount to my personal ambition. . .²

State politics was very much in the news that year. Totten wrote a great deal about supporting Hoch, who became the nominee after Bailey withdrew. Totten said that one of the reasons people had been opposed to Bailey was because of high taxes, and he pointed out that the taxes had been raised by the senate with which Bailey "had no influence, but which generally went

¹Ibid. October 8, 1904.

²J. A. Totten, Washington Register, February 4, 1904.

went opposite to his wishes," and that the senate had squandered a great deal of money.¹

It is quite amusing to see the efforts made by the "new machine" editor here, to justify himself for supporting Kelly. He claims that he should be renominated because the Leland forces nominated him before, which is not the case.²

On national politics, Totten wrote on the front page:

Recent debates in the United States senate indicate that the Democratic leaders intend to make "Roosevelt" their issue in the coming campaign. The Republicans are willing to accept the challenge as they are quite willing to go before the country on the record of their party chief.

In his short but eventful administration, President Roosevelt has been brought face to face with the most serious problems of the present generation; the labor question, the trust problem, the race question, and questions of international politics, and each and all he has met with unflinching courage, and so far as it was possible, solved in a manner that has gained the approval of a large majority of his countrymen. . . .³

In one long front-page article, Totten mentioned that the Democrats were advocating a change and were magnifying every "petty grievance." He suggested that voters contrast the business of 1896 with that of 1904, then went on to compare merchandise exports, balance of trade, the gold flow, foreign commerce, and bank deposits.

¹J. A. Totten, Washington Register, February 18, 1904.

²Ibid., March 3, 1904.

³Ibid., April 14, 1904.

At the end of the discussion of each point, he asked,
 "Do you want a change?"¹

Editor Totten quoted an article from the Republican early in August, in which Ingalls said that Governor Bailey, along with a Washington County politician, had tried to persuade the men of Clifton, in the south end of the county, to organize against S. H. Hamilton for state senator. The Republican's editor said that the county would do its own deciding and that the governor should stay out.

We are sorry too that we are compelled to give any attention to the course of the Republican. We are also sorry that its editor has done nothing but try to raise trouble in the Republican party every since he could not have all the patronage.

We are also sorry that he has shown so little regard for the success of the party and the candidates already nominated as to raise the factional cry and try to ring it into county politics. . .will give credence to a false report, that Governor Bailey and Cy Leland are meddling with the politics of this county. . . .Finally, we would advise Editor Palmer to be more consistent politically, and exhibit less factional spirit.²

Fighting the Palladium, too, Totten referred to a story in the Democratic newspaper about a straw vote taken at the depot which purported to show that the Republican nominee received one vote. "The Palladium does not mention that the hat was not passed to the fifty or more Republicans present."³

¹Ibid., August 18, 1904.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., October 6, 1904.

In the early years of the county's existence, races occurred for most county offices. In 1904, however, this was not so, and Totten explained why he thought there were not more political races. Every one is prospering in farming, and business, he said and it would not pay to fool with a county office.¹

The change in the impact of the People's party was also pointed out by Editor Totten. Washington, of course, no longer had a populist newspaper.

The Populist newspapers are not devoting a great deal of space to the support of the fusion ticket. These papers which are for the ticket are listless. This is not because the editors lack fighting qualities, it is because there isn't much to fight. There was a time when the Populist editor made things hum. But in those days he wasn't called upon to support a candidate for governor who played to the galleries of three different candidates for president.²

When the Palladium charged the county commissioners with reckless use of tax money, Totten claimed that Editor Clarke left loop holes in his arguments. "Further, Sam'l exhibits a degree of egotism which comes with poor grace from such a humble appearing personage as himself."³

The Republican party of the county in convention this year, as usual secured the best men possible for the several offices, and when they closed general satisfaction, with the ticket, prevailed all over the county.

¹Ibid., March 3, 1904.

²Ibid., October 13, 1904.

³Ibid., October 20, 1904.

The Democrats held their convention, and with difficulty secured the consent of men to accept the several offices; the Palladium begun and has continued a course of false statements, defaming the Republican nominees and misrepresenting them in all ways possible without regard to the truth. We have met and successfully contradicted the multitude of falsehoods which were put in circulation, and as the campaign is now practically closed, we are satisfied that the voters will go to the polls next Tuesday and deal fairly with all candidates. . .¹

So the campaign in Washington was waged, with even the two "Republican" newspapers at odds. It was one of the most editorially prolific years in the history of Washington.

Following the election, headlines in the Republican read:

THE COUNTY TICKET.
THE MAJORITIES RANGE FROM 400 TO 1100.
THE REPUBLICANS ELECT THE ENTIRE TICKET WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SHERIFF AND SECOND DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.
Washington county has gone overwhelmingly Republican. With the exception of sheriff and commissioner every man on the ticket was elected with splendid majorities. . . . Connie Collins, candidate for sheriff, met defeat after one of the most disgraceful fights ever made on a candidate in the history of the county.²

Meanwhile, Samuel Clarke was personal in rejoicing over the defeat of a populist county commissioner.

Respectfully dedicated to John S. Nims: It always pays to be fair and keep one's word. When a

¹Ibid., November 3, 1904.

²L. A. Palmer, Washington Republican, November 12, 1904.

Democratic editor pulls off his coat and by his own personal exertions elects a pop to the office of county commissioner, common decency and gratitude would seem to require that the commissioner should stand by the editor of county printing. But John S. Nims remembered none of these things when he got in office, wherefore his scalp now hangs on a high pole in front of our tepee. Good bye, John.¹

Roosevelt defeated Parker by more than 2,500,000, getting 336 electoral votes.² Washington County recorded 3037 votes for Roosevelt, 1359 for the Democratic nominee, 46 for the Prohibition candidate, 60 for the People's party, and 67 for the Socialists. Once more Washington County was in the winning column. And Sam Clarke, Democratic editor, took solace in small victories.

The year was 1908. During the four years of his administration Theodore Roosevelt had emphasized conservation of forest and water resources. When time for National Conventions arrived, the People's party nominated Thomas E. Watson. Nominee of the United Christian National Convention was Daniel B. Turney. The Socialist National group chose Eugene V. Debs once more. Republicans nominated William H. Taft, and the Democrats re-nominated William Jennings Bryan. Other minor party

¹Samuel Clarke, Washington Palladium, November 12, 1904.

²Richard B. Morris, "Domestic Issues from Hayes to Wilson," Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 268.

nominees were Eugene W. Chafin, Prohibition candidate; August Gillhaus, Socialist Labor, and Thomas L. Hisgen, Independence party.¹

Changes on the Washington publishing scene had changed somewhat dramatically. In 1905 the Republican absorbed its rival, the Register, becoming the Republican-Register on July 13, 1906--a name which would last for five years. C. E. Ingalls continued as the editor. Differences of editorial opinion were still available for readers, since Samuel Clarke and the Palladium continued publication.

Prior to the nominating conventions, Ingalls wrote:

These Democratic papers that are disposed to regard the Bryan boom with a sullen disdain might as well smoke up and look cheerful for Bryan can have nomination if he wants it. . . .His most recent coup is a desire to make his campaign on the "Roosevelt" platform. . . .However the people of this country prefer that the Roosevelt policies be carried out by a Roosevelt man, and we believe that Taft or Huges or Knox could do it much better than the Democratic fireeater who tries to carry water on both shoulders.²

When Bryan did receive the Democratic nomination, Ingalls took a back-handed approach in commenting in a

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 269-270.

²C. E. Ingalls, Republican-Register, February 7, 1908.

headline: "LOOK TO THE WEST. THERE LIE HOPES OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS. WITH BRYAN AS THE NOMINEE THERE DOES NOT SEEM ANY GOOD REASON WHY HIS PROBABILITY OF ELECTION SEEMS GOOD."¹

Concerning his political philosophy, Ingalls had this to say:

A man asked us the other day if we would support Stubbs for governor in case he got the nomination. Sure thing. And more than that we think we would probably make a good governor. The Register is a Republican paper and supports the Republican nominees. We are not the kind that sulks when our choice gets it in the neck. We believe that the majority of the party should rule. We expect their support if our favorites get nominated and they in turn have a right to expect ours if their man gets a nomination. No one has a right to belong to a party and claim he is a Republican who does anything else. The party is like a big firm, if the majority of the members of the firm vote for a certain line of procedure the rest should fall in line and look pleasant. . . . You can't always be on the winning side. . . . The golden rule ought to be applied in politics. . . .²

Throughout the campaign Ingalls news and feature stories were pro-Republican and anti-Democrat. Time after time he rebuked the Palladium for articles appearing in its columns. In an editorial on page one called "Sam Clarke Again," Ingalls wrote:

So long as the editor of the Garbage can live, the Republicans will not lack for a good friend to look after their welfare for them. The zeal of this good man is laughable to a loyal Republican and he furnishes them with lots of amusement from week to week in his blind efforts to "bring out" candidates

¹Ibid., March 20, 1908.

²Ibid., April 24, 1908.

for the various offices to be filled by the Republicans this year. . . And the Republicans laugh and tickle him in the ribs and puff him up till he is likely to burst with the imagination of his own importance. . . [concerning a county race] the Garbage Can will have to hurry to get anyone in the race against him at this hour. But there is no harm in his trying. It amuses him and it amuses the Republicans to see him cavort and flatter himself that he cuts any ice. As an amusing non de-script and an utterly irresponsible, unreliable specimen of inflated self importance, he is a howling success. The Republicans are willing to allow him the honor of being official Court Jester for the Democrats so long as he allows them to bag most of the offices.¹

Ingalls outlined his newspaper policy, so far as political write-ups were concerned, saying that a prominent Democrat had come to the paper, asking for a writeup for which he would pay the regular rates. "We believe that it is not right for a Republican paper to run stuff laudatory of a Democratic candidate after the primary is over. Before that it is a different proposition. It is not fair to the Republican candidates after the nomination however and it is useless to bring that kind of stuff to this office."²

Change in the Kansas political nature became apparent through Ingalls' writing, in which he observed that for the first time since 1890, the Populists had no state ticket. "The old time Populists are so prosperous that they have no time to howl calamity.

¹Ibid., June 19, 1908.

²Ibid., January 10, 1908.

Most of them are back in the Republican party working for Taft and Stubbs and the rest of the Republican ticket."¹

As it had many times previously, the county printing became a subject of editorial comment, and Ingalls castigated the commissioners for giving the printing to a Democrat.²

We have to beg the pardon of our lady readers for the amount of politics that this paper has contained for the past few months. We take an interest in these matters and have tried to do what we could to let the voters know the truth of everything of importance that has come up in this campaign. This has frequently caused us to cut out other reading matter. . . .The men who are interested in politics have had their inning and now the women, who are interested in news will get theirs.³

During the campaign of 1908, trouble was brewing among the Republicans--trouble which erupted four years later. A hint of this trouble was the subject for an Ingalls editorial.

The esteemed (self) Republic of Manhattan wonders why the papers of Washington and Marshall counties do not get in line with it and be up-to-date in Republican politics. In other words why do "they support Long and Calderhead instead of Roosevelt, Taft, LaFollette and Stubbs." Well there is at least one good reason. The people of this county are too intelligent to be fooled by the support of "Roosevelt and Taft and LaFollette and Stubbs." All the Washington county Republican papers are supporting

¹Ibid., October 23, 1908.

²Ibid., January 17, 1908.

³Ibid., January 17, 1908.

the former two and consequently are unable to do anything for the two latter. Roosevelt himself has repudiated both of them when he said "do not send from Kansas a delegation allied with Harrimanism or LaFolletteism." The people of Washington County know this. They are for Roosevelt and Taft and so are all the Washington county Republican papers. If the Republic had been more Republican and less Populistic Riley county might not have shown such a terrible slump in the Republican vote at the last election. Washington county held its state vote better than any county in the district. . . .¹

County candidates made use of the columns in the paper to refute charges made against them by Samuel Clarke in the Palladium, and vice versa.

The editor of the Garbage Can warns its readers to beware of a lot of bad stories on some of their candidates in this issue of the Register. Sorry to have given you such a scare Sam. We have the stories all right and you know it. We believe however that the good people of this county those who belong to the better element will take enough interest regardless of party in this election to defeat your special candidates. We have conducted a campaign on its merits so far and it is too late to initiate your tactics at this late date even if we do have a lot of good true stories "on" your fellows to counteract the mess of fabrications you sprang on ours.²

Just before election, Ingalls heaved a verbal sigh.

This is the last issue of this paper before election and we are glad of it. We enjoy a political scrap with an enemy who is a white man and who observes the rules of the game and fights fair and

¹Ibid., February 28, 1908.

²Ibid., October 30, 1908.

honestly, but after a month or two with an unprincipled liar like Sam Clarke leading the opposition, the campaign ceases to be a political contest and narrows down to an effort to kill the stench of the sewage. . . .¹

Running four pages early in the year and increasing in size as the presidential election year progressed, the Democratic Palladium refused to suffer Ingalls' comments in silence.

Our contemporary, the Republican, must have taken a dose of something lately--opium, hasheesh, "coke" or some other narcotic, as it appears to be "seeing things;" or else it is the victim of hallucinations or subjective visions; or what is more likely, it is suffering from an attack of obliquity of moral vision superinduced by mental strabismus aggravated by chronic cussedness and a permanent inability to tell the truth.

Last week, out of the depths of its own inner rottenness, it hatched the improbable pipe dream that the Democrats intended to abandon the cause of Willis P. Cook for register of deeds and trade him off for votes for Edgar Bennett for county attorney.

Of course there is nothing to it except Ingalls' feeble imagination--he hasn't brains enough to have a bright one. . . .²

Concerning national politics, Clarke opined:

Our republican friends say that the democratic platform is a Bryan platform, which is praise enough to satisfy the democrats. Will they please note that every plan in the platform, with two or three exceptions, has been at some time or other advocated by their idol, President Roosevelt. Will they also please note that every one of those adopted by the President was advocated by Bryan before Mr. Roosevelt championed it. . . .³

¹Ibid.

²Sam Clarke, the Palladium, August 21, 1908.

³Ibid., August 14, 1908.

Throughout the campaign, Clarke was optimistic, at least in writing, about the Democratic chances. He predicted that the election would be a "landslide. Bryan. is going to carry Kansas and don't you forget it."¹

When the voting was over and tabulated, Bryan had been defeated once more. Washington County voted Republican nearly three to one, giving Taft 3037 votes and Bryan 1259 votes. Mourned Clarke:

VICTORY FOR PIEPER!
THAT IS ALL THIS ROOSTER LIFTS UP HIS VOICE FOR
The result of the election in this county was a republican victory, marred by the fact that Mr. J. T. Pieper, democratic candidate for commissioner 2nd district was re-elected by the small but safe majority of 29. Dan Perkins republican was re-elected sheriff by about 40 votes. Risinger led him a magnificent race, but tired on the home stretch and was counted out. Over nearly one hundred democratic votes were thrown out for various insufficient reasons and technicalities. These would have given Mr. Risinger, for sheriff, a good, safe majority. Edgar Bennett was defeated for county attorney by about three hundred. This was the greatest surprise of the election, as it was generally thought by republicans and democrats alike that he would be successful. . . . Other republicans had about the usual beastly majorities. The re-election of Mr. Pieper means another term for County Assessor Hood as also the continuance of the Palladium as the official county paper.²

Although Clarke called the Republican votes "beastly majorities," the county candidates won by much narrower margins than did Taft in the race for President. With races for every office, margins ranged from 264 to 1034.

¹Ibid., October 23, 1908.

²Ibid., November 6, 1908.

Figure 7. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1900'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1900	Democratic <u>The Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	***	100% Rep	***	56% Rep
	Republican <u>Post-Register</u> J. J. Veatch	**	100% Rep	**	56% Rep
	Populist <u>Republican</u> L.A. Palmer	**	100% Rep	**	56% Rep
1904	Democratic <u>Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	***	2 Democrats***		68.8% Rep
	Republican <u>Register</u> (formerly <u>Post-Register</u> Veatch to Totten	000000	2 Democrats**		68.8% Rep
	Republican <u>Republican</u> L.A. Palmer to C.E. Ingalls	* ***	2 Democrats*	** (under new ed)	68.8% Rep
1908	(Merger of two) Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> C.E. Ingalls	***	2 Democrats	****	57.6% Rep
	Democratic <u>Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	****	2 Democrats	****	57.6% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand					
* to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1910'S

During the interim, William Allen White of Kansas became deeply involved in the political controversy that eventually produced a split in the Republican party. Theodore Roosevelt was disenchanted with Taft and his conservative leadership and decided to oppose him for the nomination. He campaigned widely for the nomination, and his support grew. When the National Convention met at Chicago, the national committee excluded most of the Roosevelt support represented by contested delegations. As a result, Taft was renominated. Meeting in June, the followers of Roosevelt condemned the nomination as fraudulent and persuaded Roosevelt to assume the leadership of a third party. It took the name Progressive, later being called "Bull Moose." The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson. Minor party candidates included Arthur E. Reimer, Socialist Labor; Eugene Debs, Socialist National; Eugene Chafin, Prohibition.

The two major political party platforms were similar in their support of conservation, a corrupt practices act, and banking and currency reform. The different issues were involved in monopolies; Democrats asked for their virtual abolition, Republicans for stricter regulation of trusts. Roosevelt believed trusts

harmful if federally regulated; Wilson thought them positive evils.¹

The publishing field in Washington remained fairly constant, except that in March, 1912, E. T. Trasker became editor of the paper now called the Republican Register, without the hyphen.

The editor of the town's Republican newspaper was not for Roosevelt. He called him an "all-round man who could drink with the drinkers, cuss with the cussers, then go into the pulpits and preach with the preachers."

. . . .When he was president he was both the executive and the legislative departments, and he tried hard to be the judicial. While he was in power his boots were licked by Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist and Socialist, Protectionist and Free Trader, Harriman and Gompers, Lover and peace and Lover of War. . .²

The editor admitted that he could not get enthusiastic over Roosevelt's speeches.³ He took swipes at Alice Roosevelt.⁴ Later he observed that Kansas was for Taft.

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 272-73.

²C. E. Ingalls, Republican Register, March 1, 1912.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., March 8, 1912.

Hurray! Aside from mussing up the party, this Roosevelt thing may be all right after all. LaFollette licked the stuffings out of TR in the North Dakota primaries last week. . . .¹

At this point Ingalls gave up the paper he had editorialized in so strongly for nearly ten years, and E. T. Trasker wrote:

We are proud of Washington County--politically proud of her sane views, proud of the fact that she was the last remaining county in the district to stand pat for the right.

Politically the paper will continue to support the Republican party, but will not be tied to any faction, either local or foreign.²

Trasker had previously been business manager for the paper, and his purchase was sudden and unexpected. However he started immediately to publish political comment.

What is probably the last county convention that will ever be held in this county was pulled off here last Thursday according to program. Program is a good word for the Taft men were out generaled at every step of the game. They were too confident, too innocent, too trusting. They assumed that all men were honest, especially reformers and lived to learn that "for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, the heathen Chinee is peculiar," substituting reformer for Chinee. This writer has been behind the scenes in most of the conventions in this county for the past dozen years. He has known of township trading delegations to help candidates from their locality but it remained for an organization of reformers to resort to tricks that you read about in ward politics of the big cities. . . .

There were two delegates from Highland. It is customary to appoint a committee on credentials to decide who's who in a case of that kind. But that sort of procedure would have put the convention in

¹Ibid., March 29, 1912.

²E. T. Trasker, Republican Register, May 3, 1912.

control of the wicked Taft men, hence the matter was quietly and amicably settled by the reformers before the convention was called. The caucus in Charleston township was advertised for Saturday but was not held then so the chief reformer, the most holy and self righteous one in the bunch phoned out from Washington to a few of the faithful and a meeting was hurriedly held and two T. R. men of course sent to the county convention. The same, honest, upright reformer phoned to the faithful in Franklin and tried to get Grant.

But with all the dishonesty, the Taft men had 53 votes and the T. R. men 49. . .

Chickens come home to roost and the leaders in this crooked piece of work will not be forgotten by the Taft men.¹

Still, with all the countywide upheaval, Trasker was a chamber-of-commerce type editor, boosting Washington a great deal more than his predecessor had done.

He kept his readers apprised of the tense situation in the Republican National Convention; then when Taft was finally nominated, he expressed satisfaction.

"In our opinion the Republican convention at Chicago nominated the right man last Saturday and the Republican party would have been false to her obligations had the not recognized the past administration of President Taft."²

Not content with the situation, the dissenters refused to give up.

Bill White, Roosevelt's committeeman in this state has sent out a short ticket to every progressive Republican in this county and a great many standpatters have not been forgotten. With this ticket comes a letter handing out a gentle hint that that ticket is

¹Ibid., April 26, 1912.

²Ibid., June 28, 1912.

the only one to be voted on at the primary. This little stunt has caused a great many of our Republicans who claim to be progressive to conclude that Mr. White is drifting away from the progressive ideas in assuming the responsibility of telling the voters of Kansas how they must vote and that it looks to them like they were still under the ban of a boss.¹

When the Progressive party organized and nominated Roosevelt, Trasker pointed out that the adoption of woman suffrage was considered a strong plank and a vote getter.²

Following the primary election, Trasker's paper noted that the Progressives carried the county by about 250 votes and that the fight for senator and county attorney was a "warm" one.³

The political situation that confronts the political parties of to-day is such that no one seems to be able to define it, give plausible cause or furnish a way to settle the disturbances. . .

Now for instance take the heads of the Republican, Democrat and Progressive parties. Each has a separate platform which expresses different ideas.

. . .The writer had a friend tell him this week that in his opinion we were beginning to see the end of the Republican party. . .at this time we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Republican party is preparing to attend its own funeral.⁴

In headlines and stories, Trasker promoted Taft. He ridiculed Roosevelt, defining a bull moose. He claimed that because Roosevelt could not possibly get the required

¹Ibid., August 2, 1912.

²Ibid., August 9, 1912.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., August 16, 1912.

electoral votes, the election was really between Taft and Wilson. Aware that the split vote could very well be fatal, he warned Republicans to mark their ballots for Taft.

The Editor of this paper is a Republican and has voted Republican ticket since his 21st birthday, we are not a radical, however. We believe every man has a perfect right to vote and think for himself, as every true American should do. . . .

As the publisher of a local newspaper we take the same stand, we are entitled to think as we believe right and if by any fair argument, we see fit to publish, we can make you see as we do, we have gained a point in our favor. On the other hand we do not want to seem selfish as some of our subscribers have intimated. . . .

Our choice for president and vice-president, is Taft and Sherman, we believe the past administration has been sound and businesslike and we know that the country is prosperous. In our mind there is little cause for the birth of a new party, had it not been for the workings of the Stubb machine, backed by the Kansas City Star and one or two other papers in this state who had a grievance against the administration of Taft because their personal ambitions were placed on the shelf, the new party would never have been launched.¹

The new party had no editorial support in Washington. True to its heritage, the Palladium blasted both Taft and Roosevelt, supporting Wilson.

It truly looks as though Mr. Roosevelt had completed the mix-up in the republican party and made it impossible to elect any republican president this year. . . . It was a great speech, though I do think Teddy made an ass of himself and brayed at the wrong time.

¹Ibid., August 30, 1912.

²Samuel Clarke, Washington Palladium, March 1, 1912.

Following the Republican National Convention, Sam Clarke said that Roosevelt "is as surely insane as was the woman who reigned so long at the Topeka asylum as Queen of Sheba."¹

The vituperation that characterized the political commentary of 1908 did not exist in the Washington press during 1912. Part of the reason may have been that Samuel Clarke himself was running for state senator. For a time a man called Deacon Hathway wrote the column in the Palladium called "The Gossiper." Clarke expressed the hope that out of the political mix-up would come an increase in the number of political parties.²

When the election was over, the split in the Republican party had, indeed, been fatal. The Republican county of Washington had voted Democratic. Republicans received just one more vote than Independents. County races were close. Trasker wrote:

The unofficial returns of the county vote show the effects of a divided house and where the normal Republican majorities have heretofore been 700 and 800 many candidates, where there was any contest, were elected by less than 200.

Possibly the most bitter fight by the opposition was the Democratic press against Walter Wilson for State Senator. . . .

¹Ibid., June 28, 1912.

²Ibid., August 23, 1912.

On the presidential vote Wilson received 1898, Taft 1308 and Roosevelt 1293 (unofficial returns). . .¹

The Palladium claimed that the Democratic stand on monopolies was responsible for that party's success at the polls.

The democrats stood by their guns and Governor Wilson made an earnest campaign upon the platform of his party which son, and which shows that the American people cannot be driven away from the great central idea that tariff protected private monopoly must be broken down if all the people are to participate in the prosperity which should be ours for the next century.²

Twice during the years between 1912 and 1916 the editorship of the Republican Register changed hands. When the 1916 presidential election rolled around, J. H. Barley was editor, having taken over in February of that year. Samuel Clarke continued as editor of the Palladium, giving the community two newspapers representing both major political parties.

The men they wrote about that year included Charles E. Hughes, Republican candidate for President; President Woodrow Wilson, Democratic nominee; J. Frank Hanly, Prohibitionist; Arthur E. Reimer, Socialist Labor; Allen L. Benson, Socialist.

The Progressives met and nominated Theodore Roosevelt, who declined the nomination and threw his

¹E. T. Trasker, Republican Register, November 15, 1912.

²Samuel Clarke, the Palladium, November 15, 1912.

support to Hughes. This led to the rapid disintegration of the third major party. Major theme of the campaign for the Democrats was "He Kept Us Out of War," referring to President Wilson's neutrality.¹

Unlike his predecessors, Barley devoted little space to original editorials. He copied many from other papers, and those he used did not appear on the front page as they had previously. One week he did run a biographical sketch of Republican candidate Hughes on the front page, below a headline that read: "THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."² Most of the clipped editorials were pro-Hughes. One of his few original editorials was called "Broken Promises."

"You who do possess an accomodating memory will easily recall that one of the most talked of planks in the Democratic platform four years ago was that of economy, reducing the running expenses of the government." Barley went on to list various costs. "Campaign promises should be made to be kept and when once made they should be carried out."³

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 276-77.

²J. H. Barley, Washington Republican Register, June 16, 1916.

³Ibid., August 18, 1916.

Beginning in August a picture of Hughes and vice-presidential candidate Fairbanks ran at the top of the editorial column, along with short paragraphs of subject matter concerning the election. The editor also used a front page story on the Republican platform. On October 16 Barley clipped an editorial from the Topeka Daily Capital and ran it on the first page, dispensing with editorial comment on the regular editorial page. "HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR," ran the headline. Then the editorial asked, "When was it Wilson kept us out of War?" and declared it was "ALL HUMBUG"-- So the People are for Hughes."¹

A rare original editorial discussed an address at the Democratic convention:

The shortcomings of the Democratic administration during the past four years are numerous and many. One of the more serious charges against Mr. Wilson is his demoralization of the civil service. . . He has discharged competent men who were not of his political party and replaced them with so called "deserving Democrats." The Democrats are surely hard pressed this year to justify the acts of their leader, being driven to the extremity of printing and sending broadcast, at the expense of the public, speeches designed to bolster up the present administration.²

While the two Washington papers did not indulge in nearly so much name-calling as they had in other campaigns, Barley was forced to write in October:

¹Ibid., October 13, 1916.

²Ibid., August 18, 1916.

We should have liked to see the local county campaign go thru one year without the candidates on either side resorting to falsehoods about their opponents, but it seems that this is a vain hope. The Democratic candidate for county attorney is Mr. Charles W. Clarke, a son of Sam'l Clarke of the Palladium. In his father's newspaper of three weeks ago and again a week ago, Mr. Clarke had an article about his candidacy. In this article Mr. Clarke says that his Republican opponent, Mr. Frank C. Baldwin lived in this county only while going to school. That when his parents moved to near Wichita some years ago, Mr. Baldwin made that place his home and only came back here last June to enter the campaign. Now this statement of Mr. Clarke's is false and untrue and we are of the opinion that Mr. Clarke knows it as well as we do. At the time his parents moved away, Mr. Baldwin was working here in Washington and supporting himself and since he was a small boy he has never made any other place his home. He has been a continuous resident of this county for the past thirteen years. We have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Clarke is just as well acquainted with the truth of this as anyone. And yet for political purposes Mr. Clarke has undertaken to misrepresent to the voters of this county about his opponent and to try and make them believe things that are not true. We fail to see how Mr. Clarke hopes to gain any thing by this method of campaigning. The voters of this county are not going to elect to the important office of county attorney any man who will deliberately attempt to make voters believe things about his opponent that are false.

If Mr. Clarke deliberately tells falsehoods about his opponent in the campaign, there is not telling how much his word could be depended upon should he be elected to the office of county attorney. We want in this important office a man whose word may be depended upon, a man who will tell the truth. . . .

Such a man is Mr. Frank C. Baldwin, the Republican candidate.¹

Barley accused Wilson of being a wiley politician, calling him a "phrasemaker."² "Why scratch?" he headlined

¹Ibid., October 13, 1916.

²Ibid., October 27, 1916.

an editorial. "This year we expect every Republican to do his duty. Let every Republican vote'r straight and we will have the fulfillment of Justice Hughes' slogan, 'American First and American Efficient.'"¹

In the Palladium offices, Sam Clarke backed Wilson all the way.

President Wilson is before the country for re-election upon the record of his administration. Mr. Wilson we know and his record we know. To say that he will continue to make mistakes is to say merely that he is a human being. But high above the mistakes that he may have made his administration must be accredited with an unusual state of prosperity, unsullied national honor and peace and contentment in the fact of most trying conditions. . . .If he is elected it will be a triumph for Americanism. . .²

A republican national victory would mean a reactionary senate with the reactionary Fairbanks as its presiding officer. It would mean that the important chairmanships will be held by Penrose, Smoot, Gallinger and that bunch. They would have absolute control of the government. What say the progressives? Some of their leaders may be reconciled to such a possibility, but hardly the honest masses of the betrayed organization.³

Clarke claimed that Hughes created no enthusiasm wherever he campaigned. He also wrote on politics as it concerned Washington county elections. In some of his editorials he accused the other paper of untruths.

¹Ibid.

²Sam Clarke, Washington Palladium, June 23, 1916.

³Ibid., September 1, 1916.

The young fellow who runs the Republican-Register of this town seems to imagine that feeding his readers with untruths in regard to democratic candidates is going to win something for his party. For instance, he says Congressman Helvering came home because he was scared as to the outcome of the elections. Nothing to it. Mr. Helvering came home because the house, being a long way ahead of the senate, there was nothing to do but wait. . . The young fellow who runs the Republican-Register knew this, but he preferred to lie about the congressman's trip home.¹

We know you will keep it in mind but we want to remind you once more anyway to remember that Ross Bird is a candidate for clerk of the district court and would appreciate your vote election day. Washington county never had a better officer than Mr. Bird; he understands its duties thoroughly and performs them satisfactorily. . . Besides Mr. Bird's physical condition is such that he is disabled for manual labor, and you will surely not turn out a cripple 62 years old to give the place to a strong able-bodied young man whom, for aught that is known, has no aptitude for the duties which will be incumbent upon him if elected.²

In the October 27 issue of the Palladium, Clarke used Wilson stories throughout the paper. It was with real triumph, therefore, that his front-page headlines on November 10 shouted: BIG DEMOCRATIC VICTORY. WOODROW WILSON TRIUMPHANTLY REELECTED PRESIDENT." Clarke followed the headline with several pithy paragraphs.

The republicans of this town die hard, and when Walter Wilson intimated that the party was a corpse, Steve Hamilton promptly informed him to his face that he was a d____ liar.

The Republican politicians of this town died very hard, and the horrible contortions and grimaces

¹Ibid., September 15, 1916.

²Ibid., October 20, 1916.

which they made while giving up the ghost was truly a sight little calculated to produce feelings of gratification even in the breasts of the victorious democrats.¹

Barley, on the other hand, pointed out that

. . . The pre-election dope has been badly upset. Kansas has gone for Wilson by 15,000 or more. . . The labor vote, the women's vote and the foreign vote has been very uncertain and has worked strange and unexpected results all over the country.²

Wilson had 277 electoral votes; Hughes had 254.

So close was the election that the final result was in doubt until it was definitely known that California had gone Democratic--by only 3,773 votes.³

Barley's paper reflected this in its headline on November 10: "ELECTION UNCERTAIN. LATEST RETURNS GIVE LESS HOPE THAT HUGHES WILL OVERCOME WILSON'S LEAD. FINAL RESULT DEPENDS ON CALIF."⁴

In Washington County the vote was unusually close. The Republicans gave Hughes 3765 votes; the Democrats gave Wilson 3316 votes. Influence of the Democratic party showed up in the county returns, as well. They took three offices that year: sheriff, clerk of court, and one commissioner. Republican editor Barley tried to

¹Ibid., November 10, 1916.

²J. H. Barley, Washington Republican Register, November 10, 1916.

³Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 277.

⁴J. H. Barley, Republican Register, November 10, 1916.

soft-pedal the defeat by saying in a headline, "IN COUNTY
REPUBLICANS CARRY ALL BUT THREE OFFICES--SHERIFF, CLERK
OF COURT AND ONE COMMISSIONER TO DEMOCRATS."¹ Yet
the loss was a great one in a county which had been
accustomed to having nearly all Republicans in the courthouse.

¹Ibid.

Figure 8. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1910'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1912	Democratic <u>Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	****	2 Democrats	***	28% Rep 42% Dem 28% Ind
	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> E.T. Trasker (for Taft, anti Roosevelt)	****	2 Democrats	***	28% Rep 42% Dem 28% Ind
1916	Democratic <u>Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	***	3 Democrats	****	53% Rep
	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> J.H. Barley (wrote few original editorials)	*	3 Dems	*	53% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1920'S

During the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, the "man who kept us out of war," the United States became involved in a great and costly war. During the summer of 1920, Wilson vetoed a joint resolution of Congress which declared the war at an end. Such action was finalized July 2, 1921. Subsequently, the League of Nations became a matter of controversy and very much a part of the political campaign.

The Democrats, following Wilson's urging, endorsed the League. Because the Republicans were divided on the issue, their platform straddled the question. Warren G. Harding, Republican candidate for President, had no strong convictions either way. The Democratic nominee James M. Cox promised that as soon as possible the United States would enter the League.¹

Other minor party candidates that year were W. W. Cox, Socialist Labor; Eugene V. Debs, Socialist; P. P. Christensen, Farmer Labor; Robert C. Macauley, Single Tax; A. S. Watkins, Prohibition.²

¹Richard B. Morris, "Foreign Relations," Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 318-19.

²Ibid., "Domestic Issues," 331.

On the home front, the newspaper situation was exactly the same as it had been four years earlier. Editorial policy was gradually mellowing--either because of the mood of the men or the mood of the times. For the most part, neither J. H. Barley nor Samuel Clarke indulged in the vituperation that had been so prevalent in the past. Occasionally, to be sure, Clarke did resort to personal vilification.

On the front page of the Republican Register Barley carried articles criticizing the Wilson-Cox League of Nations plan, questioning the advisability of meddling in European affairs. On the other hand, Clarke published articles explaining the League of Nations. Otherwise the Palladium's commentary on national politics was far more limited than usual.

Concerning local politics, Barley observed that Ross Bird had been at the public crib long enough and it was time to give him a rest. He prefaced this remark by saying:

The candidates on the Republican ticket this year from President down to township officers are, in every case, the equal of their Democratic opponents and in many instances they are superior. Washington county has a normal Republican majority of fifteen hundred and there is no good reason why the lowest man of the Republican ticket should not have at least this majority.¹

¹J. H. Barley, Washington Republican Register, October 22, 1920.

On a more personal level, the editor of the
Republican Register wrote:

One of the most touching exhibitions of gall is that of the Democratic party in this county. That party through its mouthpiece, Sam'l Clarke is for economy in government and is asking for Republican votes on the record of the Democratic administration!?

In order that we may get this thing straight let us cogitate for a brief space. Not only Sam but his two disciples whom he is running for county commissioner in the second and third district are vehement in their assertions that the present Democratic administration is the best and the most economical the nation has ever had and that every one who dares to say or even think otherwise is a liar and the truth is not in him. Evidently their ideas of economy are not what the tax payers of Washington county want to see adopted in this county. Neither candidate has shown himself eminently capable in his own business. The one runs a small business in a small village and the other runs an 80 acre farm. Both are past middle life, and yet Sam says they could run the county fine. Maybe so, but the ones who pay the bills--the tax payers, will probably express a different opinion on the second of November.¹

Samuel Clarke retaliated.

J. H. Barley is the subject of torn emotions these days. He wants to be for Red Weidemheimer for register of deeds, but he belongs to the coterie of jimcrow, cheap screw politicians who have parcelled out the offices and assigned each office seeker his or her place and he is compelled to stand by his bond. He took a raw way to break it the other day, going to one of the candidates and requesting her to resign in Fred W's favor. Nothing doing; she required that Mr. B. stick to the program. We wonder what Mr. Stearns, a good republican of Haddam township, will think of this impartiality upon the part of Mr. B. who professes to be conducting the official organ of

¹J. H. Barley, Washington Republican Register,
 October 15, 1920.

the republican party of the county, and as such should show no favors to candidates for nomination. Isn't it just possible that Barley has got tired of his cheap screw friends and that the sight of Fred W's ten dollar announcement fee seduced him from his allegiance to the program?¹

As the votes were tabulated, the Republican Register ran a headline: "WARREN G. HARDING. REPUBLICAN VICTORY GROWS GREATER WITH EVERY REPORT."

The election on Tuesday was a Republican landslide turning to an avalanche of votes for Senator Harding. . . . Every Republican candidate in this county was elected by a substantial majority. The contest for county treasurer was closer than was expected. . . . The clerk of court was also a surprise, but the other way, for they rather expect it to be much closer than it was. . . .

We are not very good at crowing. We said before the election that we believed the people have gotten enough of the misrule of the Democratic party and when this county with a normal Republican majority of fifteen hundred gives Harding better than three thousand majority, we feel that we had the situation sized up correctly.²

As Barley pointed out, Washington County had, indeed, given Harding a huge majority. He received 4390 votes to Cox's 1285 votes. The Socialist candidate rated 95 votes. Harding received 74 percent of the vote, the highest percentage since 1868. Not until 1952 would the Republican party do so well in the county.

Ross Bird, whom Barley had considered ready for retirement, lost the position of clerk of district court

¹Samuel Clarke, Washington Palladium, May 26, 1920.

²Barley, November 5, 1920.

by 637 votes. Except for county commissioner and county treasurer, no other candidates had opposition.

Samuel Clarke could not withhold his disappointment.

The general result of the election is sufficiently disgusting without going into details. The republicans made a clean sweep of the country. . . . In Washington county the entire republican ticket is elected. It seems to have been a republican year and never in the cards for the democrats to win.¹

He went on in what is popularly called a "sour grapes" manner.

It is a good thing for the democratic party that it was defeated in this election. There is an awful change coming during the next four years in the matter of readjustment of wages, and prices and it is just as well to let the republicans have it and wrestle with. . .

It goes without saying that this paper is not pleased with the result of the election. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. . .²

After years of exercising a strident voice in the community, Samuel Clarke leased his paper, now called the Washington County Palladium, to M. L. Weeden. Then in January, 1924, after five years' experience on large dailies, Sam Clarke, Jr., returned to become editor of his father's paper. As he had in other years, J. H. Barley ran many clipped editorials in the Republican Register. He did take a stand

¹Clarke, November 5, 1920.

²Ibid.

before the primary on county candidates. Both editors made occasional references to the "organ" of the opposite political party.

Early in 1924 scandals were exposed in the Harding administration, particularly in the departments of Justice, Navy, and the Interior, and in the Veterans Bureau and the Office of the Alien Property Custodian. Prominent men were indicted for fraud, conspiracy, and bribery. This was the year of the teapot dome scandal, a time of general national unrest.

As time for National Conventions arrived, the man occupying the President's chair was Calvin Coolidge, who had taken over when Harding died of an embolism. The Republicans nominated Coolidge for President, writing a platform supporting reduced taxes, retrenchment in government expenditures, and limitation of armaments, among other things. With a split Democratic party, John W. Davis was not nominated until the 103rd ballot. A new progressive party endorsed by the Farmer Labor party, the Socialist party, and the American Federation of Labor nominated Robert M. La Follette for President. The Workers' (Communist) nominated William Z. Foster.¹

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 333-35.

In support of Coolidge, J. H. Barley wrote:

President Coolidge has been doing his best to reduce waste in public expenditures. He has been consistent all the way through and just before congress adjourned last week he vetoed the bill to increase salaries of post office clerks because he said it was an unnecessary expense and no provision had been made to pay it. . .¹

Young Sam Clarke was very outspoken as he picked up where his father had left off. Each week he ran at least two columns of political commentary, as well as comments on local problems. Greeting the subscribers of the Palladium upon his return from five years in other places, he said:

And next comes Washington--and Main Street--not a bad place after all, folks. Yes, it's good to get back home, back where one can see his own people--his own kind of people.

This expresses myself of my arrival in Washington to take over The Palladium (Old Sam's paper--for by that name he was so well known.)

No, folks, "Young Sam" probably won't be the editor his dad used to be, but he has ambitions along that line, and probably there are many more who have some one to look to as an example.

However, I believe The Palladium columns will be worth reading. . .²

By September that year "Young Sam" was vigorously supporting Davis, the Democratic candidate for President.

If Mr. Coolidge is elected, there probably will be a Republican majority in Congress, though that majority is opposed to the President on all important matters.

¹J. H. Barley, Washington Republican Register, June 13, 1924.

²Samuel Clarke, Jr., Washington County Palladium, January 18, 1924.

If Mr. LaFollette is elected, there will not and cannot be a majority in Congress. . . .

A vote for Coolidge is a vote for standing pat and continuing the discriminations which have brought American agriculture to the edge of ruin.

A vote for LaFollette is a vote protest, natural but futile.

A vote for Davis is a vote for rebuke and reform.

The farmer's chance of a square deal depends on the election of John W. Davis.¹

This clipped editorial from the Chicago Journal expressed Clarke's feelings, but he expressed his own in equally clear words.

We see by the Republican-Register that the Republicans are going to hold a big rally before election. All of you Republicans who have kicked over the traces and are intending to vote for Senator LaFollette and Bill White are especially invited to attend, as this meeting is being held for your benefit. In fact, this is your meeting, only someone else will be ringmaster and you will be whipped into line and told to vote 'er straight, whether you wish to or not. This is the direct purpose of this meeting, and don't you forget it. So come in and have the bosses tell you how to vote. If you can't swallow this Klan thing, maybe they can give you a little physic with it so it will go down easier. Come on in and take your medicine.²

So far as J. Harry Barley's opinion of the county candidates was concerned, he expressed some dissatisfaction.

. . . .This newspaper opposed some of the men who were nominated on the Republican ticket, because we believed better men were running. And we still think so for that matter, but even they are much to be preferred to one of the opposite party and this paper will give its support to the entire Republican ticket. The members of the party have spoken their choice and we believe in the majority rule. . .

¹Ibid., September 19, 1924.

²Ibid., October 24, 1924.

Republicans should remember that a Democrat will be against everything the Republicans stand for. . . .¹

In October Barley set these lines in type:

The Democratic organ of this county, the Washington Palladium, is getting all "het up" about Steve Hamilton closing the gambling joints at the stock show when our democratic sheriff refused to do so until Steve made him do it. Of course they should have been closed up. All good citizens, who are worthy of the name, realize that now since they have had a few days to think it over. . . .

But whether Steve was right or even if he was undeniably wrong, there is still no excuse for the Palladium making the dirty and libelous attack on him that they did. Steve Hamilton is an old and respected citizen of this city and county. Steve has held many offices of trust and responsibility and has acquitted himself with credit. He is one of the few remaining "Boys in Blue" who gave the best years of their life to save the Union; and it will take more than the abuse of the young smart alecks who run the Palladium to convince the people of this county that he is a thief and a grafter as they charge. . . . They will find it is much easier to make a charge in a newspaper than to prove it in a court room.²

Despite this objection to the opposition newspaper, Barley wrote just the following week:

The past two or three weeks the Democratic organ in this county, the Palladium, has just about cut out its characteristic mud-slinging. We don't know what this action means. It may be that the Democratic leaders have muzzled the editor because he was doing the cause much more harm than good; or it might be that they are planning to use that old political trick of saving their big stuff until the last issue before election so that the

¹J. H. Barley, Republican Register, August 15, 1924.

²Barley, Ibid., October 24, 1924.

Republican newspapers cannot answer them. . . .

This county has a Republican majority of 1400 or more as a usual thing. Republican voters should think twice before being influenced by last-minute charges of the Democrats. . . .¹

Clarke retaliated immediately.

Here's the best one yet. Harry Barley in his Republican-Register says: "The last two or three weeks the Democratic organ in this county, The Palladium, has cut out its mudslinging. We don't know just what this action means. It may be. . . more harm than good." That's a good one. Who ever heard of muzzling a Clarke in the newspaper business? Harry, it can't be done. And, speaking of mudslinging, did you ever notice that when a Democrat accuses anyone in the county of being a four-flusher and a crook, the Republican Register begins to shout "Mudslinging"? If telling the voters of the county the truth--that Jim Hyland is not fit for a public office; that Kornbaum wasted nearly \$3,000 of the taxpayers' money; that the Republican-Register got \$16 more than it should for the primary election notice; that Lew Asche bosses the Board of County Commissioners; that "Steve" Hamilton and Andy Freeborn run the county attorney's office--oh well, we could go on forever, with the present ring at the courthouse. You voters "Be Not Misled." Just go right ahead and let Harry and Asche tell you how to vote. They'll mark your ticket for you if you wish. Harry also says there is not a candidate on the Republican ticket from top to bottom but what the party may well be proud of. Wonder if they will show their appreciation of Mr. Hyland over around Hanover and Independence? And as for getting in the last word, The Palladium is going to press at the same time it always does. That's unfortunate, Harry. You might start a daily.²

Brother Barley of the Republican Register clings to the straw upon the water--just as the drowning man. Harry has been run out of Republican politics in this county for good. And he has been run out by HIS OWN PARTY--every influential

¹Ibid., April 4, 1924.

²Clarke, the Palladium, October 31, 1924.

Republican in the county will tell you that. However, like all people who attempt to make the "perfect ass" of themselves, he still is pouring out loud and long nothingness through the columns of his newspaper--did we say newspaper--hoping to catch a sucker here and there--someone who don't know him. Harry and his under-dog, Lou Asche, are scheming and plotting to run the Washington city school. . . .¹

And now, J. Harry threatens us with a libel suit for insinuating that Senator Hyland might be guilty of a criminal offense in connection with the wrecking of the People's State Bank at Hanover. Receiving deposits after the bank is in a failing condition is a criminal offense under the banking laws of Kansas, and we understand from some Hanover merchants that Mr. Hyland took deposits up to 4 o'clock on the last day the bank was open, and all that time he knew he owed the bank more than its capital stock as carried on its books. We never were sued for libel yet, and it will be time to get scared when we are convicted of saying something about a candidate for public office which we think to be true.²

Headlines following the election read:

"COOLIDGE IS ELECTED DEMOCRATS CONCEDE ELECTION TO REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES."³ Coolidge had a huge majority, receiving 15,725,016 votes to 8,385,586 votes for Davis. He had 382 electoral votes to 136 for Davis.⁴

In Washington County Coolidge received just 60 percent of the vote; he had 4095 votes; Davis had 1525 votes, and LaFollette had 1602 votes.

¹Ibid., April 4, 1924.

²Ibid., September 26, 1924.

³J. H. Barley, Republican Register, November 7, 1924.

⁴Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 333-35.

"In the county," wrote Barley, "the Republicans did as well as they usually do, for party lines disappear somewhat on local elections. The Republicans lost two county offices and carried all the others. . . .The closest contest among county candidates was for probate judge with W. T. Lloyd, Republican candidate, winning by 28 votes."¹

Clarke wrote:

. . .Ed Bennett--yes, the same old Ed who started "filling" on the Democratic ticket 'way back in 96, when Bryan first came out for President, will be Washington County's contribution to the State Senate of Kansas. Oh, yes, it will be a terrible blow to some of the standpatters in this county to think that Jim Hyland has been beaten--a terrible blow. But, from all appearances, the people of the county, after many years, have come to the point where they realize that Ed Bennett is a bigger man than was supposed. . . .And, of course, as far as The Palladium is concerned, we don't wish to take all credit for helping to elect Mr. Bennett, but we do take some credit and we have some peace of mind in the fact that the people were shown before it was too late, the record of Jim Hyland. It seems that The Palladium, although branded a liar by other papers in the county, has some influence and not everyone refuses to believe it.²

So Samuel Clarke, Jr., ended his first and last political editorial campaign. The "Young Sam" who returned from work in other cities to take over his father's newspaper stayed just one year. Then O. L. Clarke became editor, buying the paper in 1925.

¹Barley, Republican Register, November 7, 1924.

²Samuel Clarke, Jr., the Palladium, November 7, 1924.

But the voice of the Democrats in Washington did not last much longer. An outspoken vehicle in a predominately Republican community, the Palladium ceased publication in February 26, 1926. Even worse, or so the Democrats must have thought, it consolidated with the paper it had fought so long.

By the time another presidential election rolled around, the voice of the Republican-Register was the only one seeking to be heard. In 1928, J. H. Barley, publisher, and Luella Hill, news editor, provided the only editorial comment available for the residents of Washington. Consequently, there was virtually no political controversy on the "editorial" page. The paper did carry a syndicated column.

President Coolidge refused to run for re-election that year. Meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, the Republicans nominated Herbert C. Hoover on the first ballot, choosing as his running mate Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas. Hoover upheld free competition and private initiative, condemning the Democratic platform as state socialism. Promoting that platform was candidate Alfred E. Smith. Minor candidates were William F. Varney, Prohibition; Frank E. Webb, Farmer Labor, and Verne L. Reynold, Socialist Labor.¹

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 336-37.

About the only editorializing Barley did was to remind voters to get out for the primary. Even without his help, there was a huge Republican victory. "AL SMITH IS THE WORST DEFEATED CANDIDATE THE DEMOCRATS EVER HAD," he headlined.¹

Hoover had 21,392,190 votes, Smith 15,016,443. In Washington County the Republicans gave Hoover 67 percent of the vote, marking a total of 7,095 ballots. Republicans carried the county offices as well.

. . . Several upsets took place in county candidates. Ed Bennett, running for a second term as state senator. . . The race for county clerk was fairly close and in the early part of the evening it looked like Walter Montgomery, the Democratic candidate, had won. However when the returns were all in, Miss Henderson was found to have 3579 votes against 3150 for Montgomery. This is the first time a woman has ever run for that office in this county and many seemed to think that it is not a woman's job. However other counties have women for county clerk and in general they handle the work just as well as men.

One of the big surprises was the race for sheriff. Harry Pepple was running for a second term and opposing him was Dan McLeod, who had already held the office four terms at different times. . . . Pepple received the largest vote this county ever gave to any candidate for any office, big or little, according to officials around the courthouse. 5258 ²

¹Barley, Republican-Register, November, 1928.

²Ibid.

Figure 8. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1920'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1920	<u>Democratic Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke	*	100% Rep	*	74% Rep
	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> J.H. Barley	*	100% Rep	*	74% Rep
1924	<u>Democratic Palladium</u> Samuel Clarke, Jr. (returned home after years)	****	2 Dems	****	60% Rep
	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> J.H. Barley (Just clippings)	000000	2 Dems	000000	60% Rep
1928	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> J.H. Barley	000000	1 Dem	000000	67% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1930'S

During the years between 1928 and 1932 the economic distress of the country increased. President Hoover advocated an economic recovery program based on the assumption that government loans to banks and railroads would check deflation in agriculture and industry, finally restoring the levels of employment and purchasing power. In July ex-servicemen formed a "Bonus Army" and descended on Washington, D. C., intending to remain there until Congress authorized payment of their adjusted compensation certificates.

Stressing the need of reconstructing the nation's economy, the Democrats nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President. "I pledge you, I pledge myself," he told the convention, "to a new deal for the American people." The platform called for a drastic cut in government spending, a balanced budget, a competitive tariff for revenue, unemployment and old-age insurance, a sound currency, repeal of the Prohibition Amendment, help for the farmer, banking reform.

Republicans renominated President Hoover, with some of the same planks in their platform. However,

Hoover condemned Roosevelt's governmental philosophy as a "radical departure" from the American way of life and advocated free enterprise.

Minor party candidates were Verne L. Reynolds, Socialist Labor; Norman Thomas, Socialist; William Z. Foster, Communist; William D. Upshaw, Prohibition; Jacob S. Coxey, Farmer-Labor; W. H. Harvey, Liberty.¹

In this time of great economic distress only one political voice was available in Washington, and that voice was J. H. Barley, still editing the Washington Republican-Register. Moreover, he became involved as a candidate in a three-way race for state senator. Throughout the election year, Barley opposed the income tax, maintaining that government spending could be lowered so that no further taxes would be required.² In fact, income tax appeared to be the subject of greatest concern to the editor of the paper. That and the candidates for local office. Explaining his reasons for running, Barley wrote:

A considerable number of years ago when we took a course in typewriting, the popular test sentence was, "now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party." In the past two weeks

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 338-341.

²J. H. Barley, Washington Republican-Register, July 24, 1932.

the editor of this newspaper has permitted himself to be persuaded that, so far as it concerns him, this time is now at hand. To put the whole matter in a couple of nut shells, Andrew H. Brown, president of the Fresh Air Taxicab Co. says, the state senator contest in this county for the Republican nomination is a mess.

There have been three candidates in this race since last January and we have been told by a considerable number of people that none of these three is satisfactory or seems to fill the bill. There seems to be an insistent demand from the voters for at least a fourth choice, a desire for another candidate to get in who will come right out in the open and stand up for the people's interests, one who is not afraid to come right out and say what he stands for and who can be depended on to stick to it after he says it.

The editor of this newspaper has been repeatedly importuned to get into this race, in fact we have been almost drafted. When one cannot live on the salary the office pays, it is a sad. . .but on the other hand we hesitate to take a position of shirking our public duty. Every good citizen must or should contribute some of his time and effort to the common good and we don't want to be classed as a slacker.

Several friends who have been urging us to offer ourselves to the voters have called to our attention the fact that a newspaper man who has conducted his business with even some slight degree of success, must and does know something about a lot of different things. He comes in frequent contact with nearly every line of business and endeavor and comes to know something about all of them. He has learned to know something of the viewpoint of the farmer, the doctor, the lawyer, the storekeeper. . .¹

So wrote Barley, in an explanation of his political ambition that took up nearly three full columns of space. He was not the first Washington County editor to enter politics, nor would he be the last.

¹Ibid., May 27, 1932.

Barley did not mind printing conjecture early in the season, before he knew exactly who was running for office.

Some more candidates are being talked of the past week. Art Taylor who lives north of Washington is about to become a candidate for sheriff on the Republican ticket. Art is the only Republican that has told us definitely he expects to get into the race this year for that office.

Geo. Wilkens called at this office a few days ago and said he was about to announce for county commissioner from the third or west district. Geo. has been trustee in Strawberry township for the past dozen years and has been urged to run for commissioner two or three times before. This time it looks like he will get in. Harry Burt is the present commissioner from that district and we suppose he will run again, though he has not told us whether he will or not. Both are Republicans.

There are only two of the commissioners to be elected this year. The other district where the term expires is the 2nd or northeast district which includes Washington and Hanover. Adlop Riggert is the present commissioner and we assume he will run again, but he is a Democrat in a Republican district and of course he will have a fight on his hands if he runs. Clifford Asche is being talked as a Republican candidate. He lives in Highland township west of Hollenberg. We have not talked to Mr. Asche so his possible candidacy is only a rumor. There has been some talk of Dr. Burnaman running but the good doctor tells us he would prefer to stay out and back some good candidate like Cliff Asche. We have also heard that Earnest Moser of Franklin township might consider it but that is only a rumor and we do not know he is even thinking about it. About the first of February we shall probably see the official announcements of most of the candidates.¹

Some weeks later the paper did indeed run announcements of formal candidates for office. Barley analyzed each one, giving brief background facts. For

¹Ibid.

the most part he avoided flowery flattery that had characterized editorial judgments in earlier newspapers. At the conclusion of his listing, he wrote:

All the above candidates mentioned are Republican, no candidates having yet announced on the Democratic ticket. In one way the Democrats are better generals than the Republicans for we are told they expect to have a sort of caucus Wednesday or Thursday of this week for the purpose of attempting to agree on the candidates for their ticket. Quite often the Republicans in this county have such bitter contests among themselves in the primary campaign that many of them do not support their party nominee in the general election. The result of this is that we usually have one or two Democrats in the court house in spite of a normal Republican majority in this county of at least 1500 votes.¹

This was the year that the infamous Doc Brinkley ran for governor of Kansas. Barley had a rather amusing comment on the doctor's platform, saying it sounded as if it had been copied from his own announcement for state senator printed the week before.²

The largest number of votes ever recorded in Washington County were cast that year. Without any local Democratic newspaper voice, the county voted Democratic for the third time in its history. In 1912 the county had voted for Wilson, largely because of a split in the Republican ranks. And in 1884 Republicans in the county failed to elect their candidate, giving Cleveland a majority of 42 votes. Only one other time did the county fail to vote Republican. That was in 1892

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., June 19, 1932.

when Weaver, the third-party candidate received a slight majority.

The tide that swept the county in 1932 swept the entire country. Roosevelt received an unprecedented 472 electoral votes to Hoover's 59.¹

While the tide did not sweep the courthouse clean of Republicans, it did carry some Democrats into office. Barley recorded in his paper:

DEMOCRATS WIN
OLD RELIABLE REPUBLICAN PRECINCTS GO DEMOCRATIC
ON MANY OFFICERS.

Washington county as well as most other places in the nation polled a larger vote in Tuesday's election than ever before. In this county the largest vote was for sheriff, a total of 7740 votes being cast for this office. This would indicate that at least eight thousand ballots were cast in this county Tuesday. . . .

It seemed to be a Democratic landslide in this county and most everywhere else too. The court house will have more Democrats in it than for many years, if it was ever exceeded. In a strong Republican county like this six Democratic office holders in the court house is surely out of the ordinary. The Democrats won the following: district judge, state representative, sheriff, county superintendent and two county commissioners. For sheriff, Alvie McLeod won by a large majority for a Democrat, it being by 1220 votes.²

Certainly in an earlier era, the editor would have brought out the straggliest rooster he could find in his cases to describe the sad plight of the

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 340-41.

²J. H. Barley, Washington Republican-Register.

Republicans in the election of 1932.

Kansas was in the spotlight nationally during the election year of 1936. At the Republican National Convention, Alfred M. Landon, governor of Kansas, became a candidate for President. The platform condemned the New Deal. Democrats renominated President Roosevelt, and his candidacy was endorsed by Labor's nonpartisan League, which included the American Labor party in New York State, and the National Progressive Conference. Earl Browder of Kansas was nominated by the Communist party National Convention. William Lemke declared himself the Union party candidate. John W. Aiken was the Socialist Labor candidate, Dr. Leigh Colvin the Prohibition candidate, and Norman Thomas the Socialist candidate.

"The campaign ranked among the most bitterly waged in U. S. political history. The Republicans attacked the New Deal as a bureaucratic planned economy. About 80% of the press opposed Roosevelt. In defense, Roosevelt declared in his opening speech of the campaign (Syracuse, N. Y., 29 Sept.): 'The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices and inequalities as arise from it.'"¹

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 354.

One of the papers opposing Roosevelt was the Washington County Register, now being published by the Washington County Publishing Company. In March that year, Margaret C. Barley, who had been president and editor for a time in 1933, again became the editor. Winona L. Beach was news editor.

Margaret Barley apparently was an editor who believed in the worth of the editorial page. While she was in charge, the Register carried many locally written columns and editorials. As early as January the paper ran an article recommending Bill West as a good potential candidate for Kansas governor.

On February 7, a long front page story and picture described Alfred M. Landon as a person of "presidential timber." The article quoted extensively from the Rocky Mountain News.¹

Mrs. Barley continued to campaign for both West and Landon during the following months. In "Hurdy Gurdy," a column written by Winona L. Beach, appeared the following comment: "Kansans who feel that Alfred Landon is not 'big enough' to be president may be surprised to know that there was a time when people

¹Margaret Barley, Washington County Register, February 7, 1936.

admired the logic of Abraham Lincoln but thought him much too uncouth to be elected president."¹

News stories recorded the progress of the Landon-for-President movement. In March the Republicans of Washington County organized a Landon for President Club, and the newspaper duly reported its activities. When, finally, Landon did receive the nomination, a special train ran from Marysville to Topeka, carrying Kansans to be present at the notification. The train story was in the foremost position on the front page, along with another headline reading, "Alfred M. Landon Republican Candidate Brings Epochal Honor to Kansas."²

Although Mrs. Barley printed many general editorials on the importance of knowing the candidates and of voting, she took no stand on local candidates before the primary election. In fact, this policy of absolute silence regarding county races continued throughout the campaign months. The only areas merited political editorials were the presidency, the governorship, and the necessity of voting. A front page story, apparently original and editorial in tone, appeared late in October.

¹Winona L. Beach, Ibid., March 13, 1936.

²Margaret Barley, Ibid., July 24, 1936.

Kansas pridefully offered one of her citizens, one of the common people, for the great office of president. Happiness glowed in the heart of Kansas when the nation paused to look at the noble virtues of one of her sons. Pride swelled in the breast of Kansas when he was found worthy of high honor. After years of rebuffs and jeers, her hour had arrived.

But this Kansas pride was not to go unchallenged. Kansas was destined to be reminded of her motto, "To the Stars Through Difficulties." Selfish and vicious forces did not welcome the advent of the common honesty and square dealing that are characteristic of Kansas. Kansas principles and Kansas ideals must be halted before they became too powerful.

Then came the attack, strategically planned, designed to destroy Kansas pride. Under the guise of friendship, the sapping of the Kansas spirit was carried on, carefully and methodically. Suggestion and innuendo were given time to have their effect. Half truths were whispered here and there. The preliminary work of weakening Kansas pride at its very roots was well done.

And now the final crushing barrage is on in full force. Crippling Kansas pride is not enough; it must be annihilated. Kansas must learn that honors are for other members of the family. Kansas mothers must realize that their sons are exceptions to the proud declaration that "any boy may become president."

Tons of derogatory literature, thousands of dollars worth of radio time, mile after mile of billboards, paid agents of falsehood, volunteer defamers of character, imported exponents of the Tammany system--anything and everything that will smash Kansas pride--all concentrated with the cunning of master minds to accomplish their announced purpose. Expense is no worry. Ample funds are available, diverted from the worthy purposes to which they were originally directed. Even Kansas is helping supply them.

Nothing that Kansas holds dear is spared. Her children are made to appear illiterate. She is pictured as heartless when the needy cry for bread. Her citizens are branded before the nation as little better than heathen.

Thus is Kansas pride threatened. Thus is she made the victim of a vicious attack that knows no restraint. All because she has offered one who has served well, fully confident he would serve a distressed nation equally well.

Kansas fought her way into the sisterhood of states, refusing to be overpowered by forces opposed to the Kansas ideals of justice and liberty. Her pride in those stirring days left its heritage for future Kansans in the simple sentence, "Ad Astra Per Aspera."

What shall our answer be to those founders of our fair state when we are confronted with this present day challenge to Kansas loyalty? The Kansas spirit still lives, Kansas pride will not be crushed to earth. Again she will reach the stars, regardless of the difficulties so shrewdly placed in front of her.¹

In the last issue before election, Mrs. Barley took exception to the view that Landon was opposed to the working man and that Roosevelt was for him. She claimed that Landon was, indeed, for the laborer, but would have him stand on his own feet.²

For ten years the town of Washington had been served by a single newspaper. In 1936, however, W. C. Coates started a second paper, the Washington County News. He published the paper less than three months, then sold it to L. A. Lobaugh and Winona Lobaugh Beach, brother and sister. Mrs. Beach was one of the columnists who had been writing for Margaret Barley.

"Howdy, Folks," read a front-page headline in the initial issue of the new paper.

¹Margaret Barley, Washington County Register, October 30, 1936.

²Ibid.

Explaining that he had shipped the newspaper plant to Washington and why he had picked the community, Coates went on to describe the political philosophy of the News.

The political color of the newspaper is Republican, however, we do not mean by this that we will not recognize Democratic candidates, as we have in our time supported candidates of that political faith, especially in the local community. The columns of this newspaper are open to all political parties who wish to get their views before the public. As we have stated above, we wish to make the Washington County News a community newspaper.¹

Like the Register, the new paper supported Landon for President. The second deck of a front-page headline asserted: "Judging From Reports This Morning, Nothing Can Stop Our Governor From Presidential Nomination."²

On the editorial page each week a long column of political comment appeared under the title "Capitol Comments." One week the column had the byline "By Special Topeka Correspondent"; otherwise it is impossible to tell whether or not the column was original, or locally written. However it, too, was Republican in bias.³

Another way in which the News resembled the Register during this period was that it also declined to take any

¹W. C. Coates, Washington County News, May 31, 1936.

²Ibid., June 11, 1936.

³Ibid.

editorial stand on local politics. Even the admonition to vote appeared only in the second deck of a news story and not in an editorial.¹

Then the week of the primary election, the Lobaugh-Beach team took over the infant newspaper. A full column of locally-written editorials appeared the second week they published the paper, as well as copied editorials and "Hurdy Gurdy," the column which once had been written for the Register.

The News editors did not record their political philosophy: however they had grown up in Washington, both had worked for the Register, and they were already known as staunch Republicans.

A close primary election was recorded by the News, with the nominee for county treasurer undecided until absentee ballots were counted.

Supporting Landon, the editors wrote numerous editorials in his defense. In one editorial they maintained that the New Deal had maliciously misrepresented Landon's attitude toward the Kansas school system. The editorial enumerated the financing arrangements Landon had promoted for the schools.²

¹Ibid., July 30, 1936.

²L. A. Lobaugh and W. L. Beach, Washington County News, September 17, 1936.

Up to election time the News mentioned no county candidates and took no stand on local politics on the editorial page.

When the returns were in, Washington County was one of the few areas in the United States which had voted for Landon. He had 4809 votes; Roosevelt had 3355 votes. It was the most overwhelming electoral majority since Monroe victory in 1820.¹

In addition, the entire courthouse was Republican, including commissioners. Closest race for sheriff had a majority of 362 votes.

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 354.

Figure 10. Newspaper Editorial Influence
THE 1930'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1932	Republican <u>Republican-Register</u> J.H. Barley (he was candidate for state sen in primary)	000000	3 Dems	000000	43% Rep 56% Dem
1936	Republican <u>Wash Co Register</u> Margaret Barley	000000	100% Rep	*	58% Rep
	Republican <u>Wash Co News</u> started by W.C. Coates; sold to L.A. Lobaugh & Winona Lobaugh Beach	000000	100% Rep	**	58% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1940'S

Four years later the newspaper situation in Washington remained unchanged. There were two Republican newspapers, the Washington County Register published by Mrs. Margaret Barley and the Washington County News published by Loren Lobaugh and Winona Lobaugh Beach.

Europe was involved in the beginning of World War II. As a result, President Roosevelt requested increased money for national defense and release of surplus or outdated supplies to Great Britain. Bombing of Britain increased in intensity. Canada and the United States established a permanent joint Board on Defense.

Although he said that he had no desire to be a candidate for a third term, President Roosevelt was renominated by the Democratic National Convention. Republicans nominated Wendell L. Willkie. Other nominees were Norman Thomas, Socialist; Roger Babson, Prohibition; Earl Browder, Communist; and John W. Aiken, Socialist Labor.¹

In a July editorial, Margaret Barley wrote:

The nomination of Wendell L. Willkie as the Republican presidential candidate signified a triumph

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 262-265.

of aggressive public sentiment over machine politics--and on top of that, it was a political miracle--an inexplicable political development which takes place only once in a lifetime--the twentieth century phenomenon.

Mr. Willkie has never held a public office. Six or seven years ago he was virtually unknown. . . .

It has been obvious to many political observers that the American people had become wearied of emergencies, continued unemployment and depression, experimentation, wasteful spending and incompetence in their federal government. . . .

While Mr. Willkie believes in private enterprise, he believes in strict regulation, and the iron-handed elimination of business abuses. On foreign policy, he favors aid to the Allies, but is pledged against declaring war. . . .

It is said by many experts that the nomination of Mr. Willkie makes the draft, if necessary, of President Roosevelt almost certain. The reason is that the Democrats must now put their best foot forward--and the president is their best foot by far. Mr. Willkie is far too strong a candidate, far too good a speaker, to oppose with a colorless or routine candidate. If these forecasts prove true, and colorful Mr. Roosevelt does run against colorful Mr. Willkie, it should be one of the most dramatic campaigns in our history.¹

Late in September, editorializing against the re-election of Roosevelt, Mrs. Barley listed the many things that might be used against him. Dozens are listed one after another.

But these dwarf into insignificance when compared with the issue of "freedom versus fascism." With freedom lost we cannot salvage, cannot repair or cannot rebuild our Republic and its democratic institutions and traditions. This issue transcends war. With Europe's tragedy spread out before us, we have followed step by step many of

¹Margaret Barley, Washington County Register, July 12, 1940.

the theories that led to their ruin. Our danger lies in our own inability to see or unwillingness to believe that we have already detoured from the path of democracy to the trail of totalitarian which had a "dead end."

Leading the crusade for democracy and against government control (the Fascist State) Wendell Willkie. Leading the forces entrenched in government is Roosevelt, WHO IS GOVERNMENT CONTROL. Tyranny of government has destroyed Europe. Are we immune?

Do your thinking while you have freedom--afterwards it is too late! ! ! !

The last editorial on national politics appearing in the Register before election cited the reasons for opposing a third term. There were no editorials on county politics, only an article urging people to vote.²

Having published the Washington County News for almost four years, Beach and Lobaugh were no longer running an editorial column. They used what appeared to be a syndicated column called "Capital Comments." And the human interest column, "Hurdy Gurdy," was still running. But the partnership that had written at length about every type of controversial issue in 1936 no longer were doing so.

The year of 1940 was a Republican one in Washington County. Residents voted for Willkie more than two to one, giving Roosevelt 2050 votes and Willkie 5752 votes. The majority for the Republican candidate for

¹Ibid., September 27, 1940.

²Ibid., November 1, 1940.

governor of Kansas was not quite so great.

Nationwide Willkie did not fare so well; although the election was fairly close. Roosevelt received 27,244,160 votes; Willkie had 22,305,198. Yet Roosevelt had a fantastic 449 electoral votes.¹

Without any editorializing in their behalf, the Republican candidates for county office all were successful. There were no races for the office of county attorney, clerk of the district court, or county treasurer. In those offices where the Democrats had a candidate, the closest majority was 1162 for probate judge. Other majorities were 2000, more or less.

The flamboyant editorial voice in Washington's past had grown staid with age. In both 1936 and 1940 there was no personal animosity in the editorial columns. Endorsement of local candidates had become almost a thing of the past. Certainly, the image of the editor had changed a great deal.

Subject of greatest interest as the year 1944 progressed was the war. Many of the news stories, editorials, and ads concerned the possible return of the servicemen, the purchase of bonds, and the projected conclusion of the war.

¹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers), 365.

Two Republican newspapers still were available for Washington subscribers, but the dramatic editorial tone was growing ever more muted. Before this presidential election year Winona Beach and Loren Lobaugh had sold the Washington County News to Conner Coates, son of the man who had started it. Unlike the editors who preceded him, he had no editorial page, carrying no opinion, either original or copied. Only Margaret Barley, editing the Washington County Register, offered local readers some editorials. Yet these, too, were increasingly innocuous.

In September the Register ran in its editorial column a campaign speech by Thomas Dewey. This was the only time the name of a political candidate appeared on the editorial page.¹

Late that month the almost-perennial editorial admonishing people to get out and vote was published. This was the extent of the political editorializing available in Washington in 1944.

Candidates were Thomas E. Dewey, Republican; President Roosevelt, Democrat; Norman Thomas, Socialist; Claude A. Watson, National Prohibition; Edward A. Teichert, Socialist Labor. ²

¹Washington County Register, September 22, 1944.

²Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 383.

By a vote of more than three to one, Washington County gave Dewey a handsome majority. He had 4888 votes, Roosevelt 1449.

Nationally, Roosevelt had 25,602,505 votes, Dewey 22,006,278. Electoral votes for Roosevelt totalled 432, for Dewey 99.¹

The Washington County vote for governor was even more one-sided, with the Republican nominee receiving a majority of 3655. There were five races for county office, including commissioners, and each of the Republican candidates had an easy victory.

Four years later, in 1948, the Washington newspaper status remained unchanged. Margaret Barley, running the Washington County Register, published both original and clipped editorials, most of which were fairly general in nature. The Washington County News was still appearing without editorials.

Harry S. Truman had become President upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Victories in the national elections in 1946 gave the Republicans control of Congress for the first time in fourteen years. President Truman became the Democratic nominee and Thomas E. Dewey the Republican nominee. Other minor party candidates included Henry A. Wallace, Progressive; Norman Thomas,

¹Ibid.

Socialist; Claude A. Watson, National Prohibition, and Edward Teichert, Socialist Labor.¹

In March Mrs. Barley published an editorial supposedly expressing her opinion of the role newspapers play.

If all other forms of education should fail, if libraries and reading rooms should close their doors, if lecturers should cease to orate and clubs give up their classes, even if colleges and schools should suspend all but elementary studies, yet the American people could still maintain a high degree of intelligence if they would read good newspapers and read them thoroughly.

The American newspaper is second to no other force as a popular educator, except possibly the schools, continues the Kingman Journal. As the schools take people for a short period in youth, while the newspapers are communicating information and intelligence for the lifetime of their readers, the latter may be the greater educational force.

Even if it is admitted that many newspapers give too much attention to the baser and more trivial side of life, it remains true that the principle attention of the press is given to the spread of information and intelligence. Modern newspapers are wonderful record of the progress of events. Every movement for betterment in government, for international peace, every effort to promote community interests, is reported in detail. The claims of rival parties and factions and candidates for office are set before the people, so they can form their own opinions.

A constant campaign is maintained in behalf of good causes, and every philanthropy and charity and movement for human betterment gets support from the press. It is this watch which makes it the duty of newspapers to realize and meet their obligations to the public.²

¹Ibid., 400

²Margaret Barley, Washington County Register, March 12, 1948.

Many of the editorials promoted Kansas, Christianity, and Prohibition. A late August editorial was complimentary to the Republican candidate, Dewey.

Governor Carlson revealed a little sidelight on Tom Dewey's fine personal character in telling of an incident during Gov. Dewey's visit in Kansas City early in the year, writes Will Beck in the Holton Recorder.

It happened that four men were having a dinner in the private dining room in the Muehleback hotel. They were Gov. Dewey, Gov. Carlson, Harry Darby and a neighboring governor. They were there to discuss political matters quietly. As they sat around the table, before breaking bread, Gov. Dewey said, "We will have grace." Then he offered a blessing from the Episcopal ritual, thanking the Almighty for food and guidance.

That, said Gov. Carlson revealed a deep spiritual side to his character that one would want to see in an American president.¹

As the presidential campaign drew to a close, virtually the only subject meriting local editorial comment was prohibition and its repeal in Kansas. Front-page editorials opposed the repeal, as well as some appearing on the editorial page. No mention was made of county-wide contests.

Following the election, Mrs. Barley wrote:

President Truman won in his own right, the great honor and heavy responsibility of guiding this nation for the next four years.

That it was a staggering upset of virtually all predictions is now past history, scarcely worth reviewing. That Democrats are jubilant goes without saying. And that Republicans are disappointed keenly is of course evident.

There is this however, upon which Democrats and Republicans by the millions will agree:

¹Ibid., August 27, 1948.

Our people have elected an American President, and in the American way.

It should be a source of satisfaction to the great majority of our citizens to read the popular vote results and to note that Henry A. Wallace attracted such little support that his ballots were all but negligible in most areas of the country.

That is good for America, and that is perhaps a more eloquent rebuke to Stalin and the Communists than any official pronouncement of our statesmen might be.

Wallace's weak showing also helped restore confidence without our own country, for Wallace opened wide the door to the disloyal and the crackpots. That so few failed to be misled is a matter of pride to all others.

And now, in the American spirit of good sportsmanship and in prayerful consideration of the grave issues before the nation, our people are prepared to wish President Truman well and to hope for his success.

Above all things, the people want the peace maintained. That comes first. Next, there are pressing domestic problems which Mr. Truman said he could not handle satisfactorily with a Congress dominated by the opposite political party. He now has a Congress which will be ruled by Democrats, and greater co-operation between the executive and legislative branches is in prospect.

In addition, President Truman has the assurance of Governor Dewey, as spokesman for millions of Republicans, that there is a spirit of unity which should assist Mr. Truman in his task. . .¹

The total Washington County vote that year was smaller than it had been since 1912. Dewey had a two-to-one margin, receiving 3894 votes to 1894 votes for Truman. As Mrs. Barley editorialized in the post-election issue, Truman was the choice of most Americans.

¹Margaret Barley, Washington County Register, November 12, 1948.

Figure 11. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1940'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1940	<u>Republican Register</u> Margaret C. Barley	000000	100% Rep	**	73% Rep
	Republican Lobaugh & Beach <u>News</u>	000000	100% Rep	000000	73% Rep
1944	<u>Republican Register</u> Margaret Barley	000000	100% Rep	*	74% Rep
	Republican <u>News</u> Lobaugh & Beach	000000	100% Rep	000000	74% Rep
1948	<u>Republican Register</u> Margaret Barley	000000	100% Rep	000000	63% Rep
	Republican <u>News</u> Lobaugh & Beach	000000	100% Rep	*	63% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand					
* to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1950'S

If things were becoming unexciting in the political arena, they were destined to become even more so in the newspapers. In 1951 Margaret Barley sold the Register to Conner Coates, who merged it with his own paper. For the last time the town of Washington had a choice of papers.

From the time when as many as three editors were expressing very strong opinions, frequently vicious in nature, the community had progressed to a single voice that had no opinion at all.

National candidates in 1952 were Dwight Eisenhower, Republican; Adlai Stevenson, Democrat; Hamblin, Prohibition, and Hoopes, Socialist.

Washington Countians gave Eisenhower 5135 votes, Stevenson 1148 votes, Hamblin 21 votes, and Hoopes 5 votes. A single race for county commissioner again produced an all-Republican county.

1956. Except for political advertising, no note was taken of the national election. A story did run following the primary elections, giving the results. But the only way a person reading the Washington County News could fill in the slate prior to election was by reading the ads.

Even so, the county went along with the overwhelming Ike movement. Just seventy miles from Abilene, Ike's boyhood home, the residents of the county had a close association with the popular Republican candidate. Some of them recalled having seen him or spoken to him or even taken pictures of him.

The percentage for Eisenhower reached the high level of 1912, but did not quite come up to the 1868 record of 79 percent. He garnered 4220 votes, to 1389 for Stevenson--just four percent less than his 1952 majority.

Just as there was no competition on the county level in 1952 and 1954, so there was not again in 1956. While a Democrat was successful in becoming county commissioner in the off-presidential election years of 1952 and 1948, the Republican tide was complete in 1956. Not a single Democrat was elected to office.

Gradually, a county that since its beginning had been largely Republican was losing even occasional breaks with tradition. To be a Democratic voter in the county was rapidly to be in a state of limbo.

Figure 12. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1950'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1952	(In 1951 the <u>News</u> bought out the <u>Register</u>) Republican Wash Co <u>News</u> Conner Coates Editor	000000	100% Rep	000000	78% Rep
1956	Republican Wash Co <u>News</u> Conner Coates Editor	000000	100% Rep	000000	74% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

THE 1960'S

In 1959 a corporation purchased the News from Conner Coates, and in August of that year Tom Buchanan became a partner in the corporation and editor of the paper. The editorial page was re-established, and the paper was Independent but Republican in nature.

During 1960 the town celebrated its centennial, and many of the editorials concerned that event. Others considered the problems of the farmers, road safety, voting in the primary, and similar subjects. The editor suggested that both parties would woo the farmers before election.

Numerous front-page news stories alerted readers to the fact that election was near and who was running for office.

Mrs. Kenneth Dütsman, citizenship chairman for the Farm Bureau, has compiled some rather frightening statistics about how many Washington countians voted in the last primary election, August, 1958.

Of the 7,143 eligible voters in the county in 1958, only 2,128 went to the polls in the last primary. In other words, considerably less than one-third helped in the nomination of party candidates.

(A tabulation from each precinct follows.)

If the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, it would seem that not many were paying the price. Apathy in government can only lead to more restrictions, less justice--both applied by incapable office holders.

Taking a few minutes to mark a ballot Tuesday, August 2, would seem to be a small price to pay for the American heritage of government "of the people, by the people and for the people."¹

¹Tom Buchanan, Washington County News, July 29, 1960.

Following the primary, the top news story started: "Probably the lightest vote in a primary election since the early days," seemed to be the opinion of most political observers here regarding the turnout in Tuesday's primary election. It estimated one-fourth had voted.¹

No editorials were published before the primary which promoted a candidate for office. On the local level, the editor was silent.

It would seem to this observer that both major political parties in Kansas missed the boat last week at Topeka when they held their party pow-wows and adopted platforms for their candidates to run on at the November general election.

The Republicans blamed the Democrats for all the ills of the state and the Democrats blamed the Republicans for everything that isn't quite perfect with Kansas.

How gullible do they think the voters are?

Neither party proposed anything very concrete as to how to stem the tide of ever higher state expenditures. Neither party offered anything practical as to how to solve the farm problem--how to stem the loss of the rural population of the state--a population that has made this state a great one.

Neither political group paid much more than lip service to economy in government. Nor did they submit any ideas as to how to hold down the ever-increasing cost of welfare--or highway construction--or the state colleges.

Most of the sound and fury of the political orators seems to have been wasted on pardons and paroles--a subject about which the average voter isn't much concerned.

Where is the candidate who ran on a platform of cutting out all un-necessary state spending. The candidate who pledges to stop the centralization of power in Topeka? The candidate who proposes to give the taxpayers of Kansas some major relief at the pocketbook?

We have a hunch that candidate could be elected

¹Ibid., August 5, 1960.

in November with ease.¹

Prior to election a series of editorials explained the proposed amendments the voters would find on their ballots in November. Another editorial urged people to help their candidates by contributing to their campaign funds.²

A total of 5400 votes were recorded that year. Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, received 3678 votes. John F. Kennedy had 1691 votes. The Prohibition candidate received 31 votes. But the county did not vote with the nation. By a very close majority, Kennedy became President.

On the county level, the only race was for county commissioner, and the Republican nominee won by a majority of 368 votes.

Washington county voters went to the polls in in unusually large numbers Tuesday (apparently more than 80% of the eligible voters in Washington City) to give Republicans all down the line commanding majorities.³

Early in January of 1964, a heated primary race for governor of Kansas appeared to be ahead. Buchanan ran a long editorial concerning the possibility. He also editorialized favorably concerning the political career of a former resident of Washington County.

¹Ibid., September 9, 1960.

²Ibid., September 29, 1960

³Tom Buchanan, Washington County News, November 11, 1960.

The last issue that month carried pictures and a story, "A Host of Office Seekers Bring Kansas Political Pot To A Boil."¹

In April he started an editorial campaign to get 5,000 voters, using the motto: "Five Thousand Voters in '64."² Another editorial pushed the possibility of a presidential primary in Kansas. Numerous paragraphs in the editor's column also pertained to politics.

A top news story in June said: "Many Gaps in Ballot as Deadline for Filings Approaches."³

Lyndon Johnson was nominated by the Democrats as a candidate for re-election. Barry Goldwater, in a heated National Convention, became the Republican nominee.

Should Barry Goldwater win the 1964 presidential election, we will have seen one of the biggest upsets ever in American political history.

For Lyndon Johnson goes into the campaign with nearly every possible advantage on his side. He is an incumbent president which carries tremendous influence. To the conservatives he is more or less a conservative himself. And to the liberals he is a liberal. He goes to New York City next week to accept the endorsement of New York's Liberal Party.

He carries with him into the election the endorsement of many of the influential independent Republican newspapers and magazines. The Kansas City Star, which has endorsed every GOP presidential candidate since U. S. Grant, this year has endorsed Johnson. So has the New York Times. This week the

¹Ibid., January 31, 1964.

²Ibid., April 3, 1964.

³Ibid., June 19, 1964.

Saturday Evening Post not only endorsed Johnson but issued a scathing denunciation of Senator Goldwater.

The right wing Republicans are saying it's all part of a gigantic conspiracy to elect a President always in accord with the wishes of the secret king-makers of the Eastern seaboard. Many Republicans here have received the past week copies of "A Choice Not an Echo," a paperbound book by someone called Phyllis Schlafly, which purports to chronicle how the Eastern conspiracy has controlled the selection of presidents for decades.

Those of us who ride is what might be called the moderate conservative Republican boat are in a quandry.

We are conservative, particularly in opposing federal government spending, in resentment of government intrusion into private lives and private businesses and in protesting the continued growth of the federal debt and the buying of votes by a "benevolent" federal government.

Is Goldwater the shining white knight who will lead us from the land where government is for government alone to the paradise where the government is for, by and of the people?

So far, this Republican has an open mind. He is disappointed by Goldwater's seeming inability to keep his feet from between his teeth. But Hoof & Mouth Disease is not incurable.

Most men are poorly prepared for the awful responsibilities of the power of the presidency, yet they grow in and with the job. Can we hope for as much with Goldwater?

Many, many people will be making up their minds, too, in the remaining 50 days before November 3. The outcome of the election will be determined by whether or not the Senator from Arizona can convince people he is responsible enough for the most awesome job on earth.

At the moment, however, one can only conclude that a national Republican victory this year is about as remote as the death of income taxes.¹

The editorial reflected the uncertain mood of the year, and the dilemma facing those who usually voted Republican. Barry Goldwater did not have the

¹Ibid., September 18, 1964.

support of much of his party. However the Bobby Baker-Walter Jenkins scandal became a subject of national concern.

. . . Should the nation turn topsy-turvy November 3 and elect Mr. Goldwater of Arizona, the primary reason will be that the voters do not approve of "old cronyism." Yet, in the Senator's inner circle, there are no doubt a few men who should have been left behind in Arizona.¹

The week before election the News editor ran a do-it-yourself editorial, which was a tongue-in-cheek list of questions written in multiple-choice style.²

On November 6, the news coverage started:

Barry Goldwater carried Washington county over Lyndon Johnson in the race for president Tuesday but his margin was even less than that of Alf Landon in 1936.

Goldwater collected 2642 votes to 2006 for Johnson, or roughly 57 percent of the vote. Landon got 59 percent of the Washington county vote in 1936.³

There were no county races that year, except for county commissioner, and the Democrat was elected by 200 votes.

Richard Nixon came back from what some thought was permanent political oblivion to become the Republican nominee in 1968. Vice President Hubert

¹Ibid., October 23, 1964.

²Ibid., October 30, 1964.

³Ibid., November 6, 1964

Humphrey was nominated by the Democrats. And for the first time in years, a third-party movement gained some strength with George Wallace running as a Conservative. Integration was a subject of great concern during the presidential campaign. Another issue was the war in Vietnam.

In May the editor had this to say:

Entrance of Nelson Rockefeller into the race for president this week gives the Republican party, too a choice in the presidential sweepstakes.

While the Democrat party has had three candidates running, the GOP has had only one--Richard Nixon--and the party convention promised about as much excitement as a well-worn sock.

We believe Rockefeller is a candidate who can win. Almost alone among big name party members, he has much the same "charisma" going for him as do the Kennedys. The Grand Old Party will need that plus all the other advantages it can muster to win in November.¹

Additional editorials backed Rockefeller, as well as backing a primary candidate for governor. He took a stand on a candidate for lieutenant governor and for United States senator. Again he pushed the idea of a presidential primary. Study the issues, Buchanan warned readers. "An informed electorate is a blessing this country could well use in this time of trouble and strife."²

¹Ibid., May 3, 1968.

²Ibid., September 13, 1968.

Nixon carried every precinct in the county but one, where Humphrey had a lead of 17 votes.

The strength of George Wallace in the county proved to be largely mythical.

Wallace did not carry a single precinct. He did win second place in Sheridan township with 17 votes to 11 for Humphrey. In Strawberry he tied for second with Humphrey--13 votes apiece.

The Prohibition ticket gathered 12 votes for president.

Nixon collected 68.4 percent of the total.

In 1964 Goldwater got 2642 votes in the county to 2003 for Johnson.

Surprisingly enough, 29 more ballots were cast for President in 1964; 4681 versus this year's 4652.

Nixon's complete, but unofficial total was 3177. Humphrey's total was 1131. Wallace's total: 332.¹

There were two county races in 1968. A Democrat filed for the office of probate judge, but the Republican candidate received 74 percent of the total vote. There was a closer margin in a race for county commissioner. Once more the county went 100 percent Republican.

So the political makeup of Washington County--both editorially and actually--continued in the path it assumed more than a hundred years before.

Is there a correlation between the expression of editorial opinion and the way people in the county have voted?

The county was settled by Republicans, many of them Union soldiers who had fought in the Civil War. Even before a newspaper was established in the county,

¹Ibid., November 6, 1968.

the settlers voted Republican. Highest percentage ever recorded was in 1868--shortly before the Western Observer was published--when 79 percent of the votes were Republican.

At various times the town had a Populist newspaper, several Democratic newspapers, a Prohibition newspaper. At no time has the community been without a Republican newspaper; although frequently the paper ran no editorial opinion.

Except for four presidential elections, the county has voted Republican. In three of those elections, the newspaper voice was divided--just as it was at other times when the county voted strongly Republican.

Apparently, there is little correlation between the editorial comment of the men who published papers in Washington and the way their subscribers voted. If there is a correlation, it is so tenuous as to be unmeasurable. In retrospect, it is impossible to gauge whether those voters were influenced by editorial opinion beyond that which they read in their hometown paper.

It is a fact, however, that circumstances peopled the county with individuals who were largely Republican and that this undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the complexion of the community's newspapers.

It is also a fact that through the years the

local press has become increasinly less vindictive in its editorial expression. This progression has been nearly constant, except that, after a period when there was no editorial voice, the community acquired some editorial leadership ten years ago.

While the findings are intangible, still the picture of the community's newspaper voice produces a greater understanding of the community.

Figure 13. Newspaper Editorial Influence

THE 1960'S

Year	Newspaper	County Editorial Stand	Co. Vote	National Editorial Stand	Nat'l Vote
1960	Independent Washington Co. <u>News</u> Tom Buchanan Editor (basically for Republicans)	0000000	100% Rep	**	68% Rep
1964	Independent Wash Co <u>News</u> Tom Buchanan Editor (basically for Republicans)	000000	1 Dem	**	56% Rep
1968	Independent Wash Co <u>News</u> Tom Buchanan Editor (basically for Republicans)	000000	100% Rep	***	68% Rep
000000 indicates no editorial stand * to **** indicates some editorial stand to a great deal					

CHAPTER IV

WHAT VOTERS THINK

If the correlation between editorial opinion and actual vote appears to be so intangible it cannot be measured, how do the voters actually feel about editorials? Do they think newspapers influence the way they vote?

Mrs. Winona Beach, retired school teacher who once helped publish a Washington newspaper, says, "Yes, I do. I suppose I'm judging myself. I read editorials in a great many papers. I like to weigh them against each other. I have an opinion to start, and sometimes it changes me."¹

Fred Stavely, formerly head of Firestone's research department, agrees, "Definitely. They affect my opinion. In this day and age, how can you know all the candidates?"

Back in the days of Samuel Clarke, says Dr. Donald Bitzer, newspapers certainly influenced voting. Now, however, he believes that television is the medium which possessed this power to change people's minds.

¹Interviews were conducted at random, by phone and in person, beginning in November, 1968, through November, 1969. All but Dr. Stavely are residents of Washington County.

Jim Dickson, auctioneer and real estate agent, concurs.

Something of an unusual opinion was expressed by Paul Smith, county Farm Bureau director and former high school coach. "When they editorialize, it has reverse psychology so far as I am concerned. I think there must be some reason behind the editorial that does not give a complete picture of the man." He claims that neither is he influenced politically by television.

Mrs. Dean Sawin, mother of six, says, "Yes, definitely. I try to get both viewpoints, hoping to get both sides. I just hope they're not biased."

Gerald Kvasnicka, lifetime resident, began by agreeing that editorials do influence voters. But he admitted that they probably do not change his thinking. "I'm too much of an opinionated man myself."

While Lucille Kongs, housewife, believes that newspaper editorials do affect the way she votes, she says she is influenced even more by television.

Helen Hennon agrees that newspaper editorials are responsible for some of the decisions she makes in voting.

On the other hand, highway patrolman Steve Kaminski, a former resident of Kansas City, claims he is not motivated by city newspaper editorials.

Another who says bluntly, "No," is Florence McCawley, high school graduate who is working as a secretary.

A primary teacher who declined to be named also believes that newspaper editorials do not influence her voting pattern.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Washington County's political nature is no longer an elusive, mysterious quantity. The political aspects of her personality have been clearly defined.

The old saying about the Devil winning in the county on the Republican ticket has some virtue. His chances get better every year, as the county becomes progressively one-sided. Years ago he might have been defeated. It is almost certain that during the first fifty years of the county's history, he would have had opposition. And while he might have found some support on an independent ticket, he would have found it very difficult to get a majority vote there.

But the myth that Washington County has never voted for a nominee other than a Republican for President is false. Four times the people in the area have voted outside the Republican party. The myth continues to grow because more and more the Democrats are winning, or trying for, less and less. The average Washington County resident believes the myth of the all-Republican county; although some people speculate that the county may have voted for Roosevelt in 1932.

Washington County was settled by Republicans in 1860. Nine years later the first newspaper was established,

a Republican one. This paper soon supported some Independent candidates for county office. Through the years newspapers came and went, some of them very short lived. There were Prohibition, Populist, and Democrat papers. In the first decades, these papers were often vitriolic in their editorial attacks on candidates and each other. At times there were three or four newspapers being published in Washington at a single time.

It is nearly impossible to find any direct correlation between the editorial opinion expressed in the town's newspapers and the way the county voted. The press has been more consistently Republican than anything else. Yet occasionally the voters have given a majority to a party which had no local editorial representation.

Even so, more than half of the Washington County voters questioned believe that newspaper editorials influence the way they vote. Some of them think that television is replacing the newspaper as a molder of opinion.

Through the period of its existence, Washington County has become increasingly staid, both in the amount of political competition and in the nature of its editorial voice. Age apparently has produced a lessening of the sometimes passionate fires that heated the local political fires.

This, then, is the political nature of Washington County. Counties truly are like people. They have personalities, too. Yet like people, those personalities change.

No final, complete political personality portrait will ever be verbalized, for no matter how deeply one probes, there remain impenetrable depths to plumb.

It's as simple--and complex--as that.

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APPENDIX I

Newspapers on file at Kansas Historical Society Used for the Paper:

Emmons & Groody's Washington County Answer.

Dated Winter and Spring 1882.

E. N. Emmons, Editor.

Issued from Emmons & Groody's land office, only issue.

The Freethought Ideal.

March 1, 1898 - Vol. 4, No. 19.

Only issue in files.

Kansas Magnat.

Aug. 26, 1870 - Vol. 2, No. 22.

Continuation of the Western Observers, Washington, founded Mar. 25, 1869. Shriner & Tallman, Editor and Publisher. This issue and one of Nov. 4, 1870, is all we found in files.

The Morning and Day of Reform.

July 1884 - Vol. 10, No. 7.

Mrs. Emma Molloy, Editor. Samuel Clarke, Publisher.

Aug. 1884 - Vol. 10, No. 8.

This and July issue all in files.

The Palladium.

Jan. 13, 1893 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Samuel Clarke, Editor and Prop.

Sept. 15, 1893 - Vol. 1, No. 36. Suspended after this issue.

Dec. 27, 1897 - Vol. 3, No. 14. Revived. This is first issue on file after revived issues. Joseph G. Lowe, Editor.

Oct. 15, 1898 - Vol. 4, No. 8. Samuel Clarke, Edr. & Prop.

Oct. 24, 1903 - Vol. 9, No. 10. Samuel Clarke, Editor and Oscar L. Clarke, Manager.

Mar. 12, 1915 - Vol. 20, No. 29. Oscar L. Clarke retires.

Jan. 28, 1921 - Vol. 26, No. 17. Kathryn C. Roche, Editor.

Mar. 17, 1922 - Vol. 27, No. 22. J. A. Roche, Business Manager. Kathryn C. Roche, Editor

Apr. 28, 1922 - Vol. 27, No. 28. Name changed to:

Washington County Palladium.

Apr. 13, 1923 - Vol. 27, No. 23. M. L. Weeden, Lessee & Editor. O. L. & M. A. Clarke, owner.

Jan. 18, 1924 - Vol. 28, No. 11. Name changed to:

The Washington Palladium.

Mar. 28, 1924 - Vol. 28, No. 21. Samuel R. B. Clarke, Editor. Name changed:

Washington Palladium.

Mar. 20, 1925 - Vol. 29, No. 23. O. L. Clarke, Editor.

Sept. 11, 1925 - Vol. 29, No. 51. O. L. Clarke, Edr. and Publisher.

Feb. 26, 1926, - Vol. 30, No. 22. Last issue.

Consolidated with the Republican-Register.

The Republican Register.

Feb. 24, 1905 - Vol. 36, No. 41.

See Washington Republican.

The Washington County Independent.

Jan. 5, 1900 - Vol. 1, No. 26. Earliest issue we have. The Populist Printing Co., Pubrs. George Higgins, Editor.

Jan. 12, 1900 - Vol. 1, No. 27. Sold out to Washington Palladium.

Washington County News.

May 21, 1936 - Vol. 1, No. 1. W. C. Coates, Publisher

Aug. 6, 1936 - Vol. 1, No. 12. L. A. Lobaugh & Winona Lobaugh-Beach, Publishers.

Dec. 29, 1939 - Vol. 4, No. 32. Last issue in bound files.

Washington County Register.

Aug. 18, 1870, Apr. 24, 1874, Jan. 7, 1876,

Aug. 24, 1959 on microfilm.

Aug. 20, 1881 - Vol. 2, No. 1. Williamson & Clarke, Pubrs.

July 29, 1882 - Vol. 2, No. 50. Clarke & Clarke.

Samuel Clarke & W. A. Clarke, Pubrs.

Jan. 6, 1883 - Vol. 3, No. 21. W. A. Clark, Publisher.

Jan. 13, 1883 - Vol. 3, No. 22. Clark & Emmons, Publishers.

Mar. 1, 1884 - Vol. 4, No. 29. Mark J. Kelly added to Editors.

June 20, 1885 - Vol. 5, No. 45. Clark & Emmons, Pubrs. W. A. Clark, Editor.

Oct. 3, 1885 - Vol. 6, No. 8. Emmons & Emmons. Pubrs. and Proprietors. E. N. Emmons, Edr.

June 19, 1886 - Vol. 6, No. 45. Register Pub.

Co., owners and Publishers. H. A. Moore, Edr.

July 31, 1886 - Vol. 6, No. 51. Lute P. Bowen, Editor.

Nov. 26, 1886. - Vol. 7, No. 16. J. T. Hole,
Editor and Publisher.
Jan. 7, 1887. - Vol. 7, No. 22. J. T. Hole, Edr.
and Publisher. Owner after June 28, 1887.
May 25, 1888. - Vol. 8, No. 41. J. B. Besack
& Son, Publisher and Proprietor.
June 22, 1888. - Vol. 8, No. 45. Name changed to:

The Washington Register.

July 4, 1890 - Vol. 10, No. 46. J. B. Besack, Editor.
Oct. 10, 1890 - Vol. 11, No. 9. J. B. & J. E.
Besack, Pubrs. W. H. Besack, Proprietor.
Aug. 17, 1894 - Vol. 15, No. 2. E. N. Emmons,
Publisher and Prop.
July 19, 1895. Consolidated with the Washington
Post under the name of:

Washington Post-Register.

J. T. Hole and James Pontius, Proprietors.
Sept. 27, 1895 - Vol. 16, No. 8. Bought subscription
list of Greenwood Journal and merged same with the
Washington Post-Register, the following week.
Dec. 6, 1895 - Vol. 16, No. 18. J. T. Hole, Edr. and
Proprietor.
Feb. 21, 1896 - Vol. 16, No. 29. E. N. Emmons, Editor.
Feb. 28, 1896 - Vol. 14, No. 30. J. R. S. Birch,
Editor pro tem. T. P. Roney, Business Manager.
Mar. 20, 1896 - Vol. 16, No. 33. J. T. Hole
died March 16, 1896.
Apr. 3, 1896 - Vol. 16, No. 35. J. J. Veatch,
Edr. and Prop.
Oct. 30, 1896 - Vol. 17, No. 13. J. J. & A. E.
Veath, Edrs.
Nov. 5, 1897 - Vol. 18. No. 13. A. E. Veath and
Irvin Hogue, Editors.
Jan. 8, 1898 - Vol. 18, No. 23. J. J. Veatch &
Son, Pubrs.
May 2, 1898 - Vol. 18, No. 39. Semiweekly hereafter.
Back to weekly Nov. 24, 1898.
Dec. 26, 1901 - Vol. 22, No. 21. A. E. & J. W.
Veatch, Pubrs.
Mar. 27, 1902 - Vol. 22, No. 34. A. E. Veatch, Publisher.

Washington Post-Register.

Dec. 11, 1902 - Vol. 24, No. 17. Name changed to:

Washington Register.

Feb. 23, 1905 - Vol. 26, No. 29. J. A. Totten,
Editor and Prop. Last 8 issues loose in back of
Volume for 1904. Consolidated with the Washington
Republican and continued under name of Washington
Republican.

Washington Daily Post (d) (1st)

Sept. 21, 1886 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Charles F. Barrett, Publisher. Sept. 25, 1886 last issue in files.

Washington Daily Post (d) (2nd).

Issued a short time during 1887 then discontinued. Started between Apr. 13 and 20 and quit before August 3, 1887.

Washington Independent.

Aug. 12, 1899 - Vol. 1, No. 5. Only issue in files. Mrs. Jennie Higgins, Publisher.

The Little Blue (Jenkins Mills, Nebr.

Aug. 21, 1869. Vol. 1, No. 1. Mark J. Kelley, A. W. Robinson, Proprietors, M. J. Kelly, Editor. Oct. 30, 1869 - Vol. 1, No. 11. Mark J. Kelley, Edr. and Prop. Feb. 16, 1870 - Vol. 1, No. 23. Name changed to:

Mark J. Kelley's Little Blue.

Mar. 16, 1870 - Vol. 1, No. 26. Last issue in files.

Washington Kansas Daily Republican.

Oct. 19, 1870 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Kelley & Young, Proprietors. Mark J. Kelley, Editor. Nov. 7, 1870 - Vol. 1, No. 12. Last issue in files. In bound volume entitled: Mark J. Kelleys Papers. 1869-1870.

Washington Kansas Republican.

Aug. 18, 1870 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Mark J. Kelley, Editor. Kelley & Young, Proprietors. Jan. 14, 1871 - Vol. 1, No. 17. Last issue in files. James O. Young bought interest of his partner, Mark J. Kelley, and has purchased the Kansas Magnet, consolidated under name of Washington Republican & Magnet.

The Washington Register (d)

Mar. 4, 1891 - Vol. 5, No. 1. Edwin Locke, Editor. Only issue.

Washington Republican.

Jan. 7, 1876 - Vol. 7, No. 33. E. N. Emmons, Editor and Publr. July 14, 1876 - Vol. 8, No. 8. Change name:

**Manuscript is
miss-numbered
at this point.**

**Page 210 is
nonexistent.**

Washington Weekly Republican.

Oct. 13, 1876 - Vol. 8, No. 21. J. B. Besack, Publisher
 Jan. 5, 1877 - Vol. 8, No. 33. Copies for July 28
 and Aug. 16, 1876 are bound in front part of volume
 for 1877.

Washington Weekly Republican.

Jan. 2, 1880 - Vol. 11, No. 33. J. B. Besack &
 Son, Publishers.
 Jan. 1, 1881 - Vol. 11, No. 34. Partnership
 dissolved. J. B. Besack Editor and Publisher.
 Feb. 10, 1882 - Vol. 13, No. 39. Form new firm
 known as Republican Printing Company.
 Jan. 9, 1885 - Vol. 16, No. 35. H. C. Robinson,
 Editor and Publr.
 Oct. 19, 1888 - Vol. 20, No. 24. Robinson &
 Sprangle, Publishers.
 Sept. 26, 1890 - Vol. 22, No. 21. Robinson retires
 to become Postmaster.
 Feb. 23, 1894 - Vol. 25, No. 43. Name changed.

Washington Republican.

Dec. 6, 1895 - Vol. 27, No. 32. L. A. Palmer, Owner
 and manager.
 Aug. 5, 1904 - Vol. 36, No. 12. C. E. Ingalls,
 Editor and Publr.
 Feb. 24, 1905 - Vol. 36, No. 41. Absorbed the
 Washington Register. Changed name.

The Republican-Register.

July 13, 1906 - Vol. 38, No. 9. Name changed to:

Republican Register.

Aug. 25, 1911 - Vol. 43, No. 17. Change name to:

The Republican Register.

Mar. 3, 1912 - Vol. 44, No. 1. Register Publishing
 Co., E. T. Trasker, Editor.
 Aug. 8, 1913 - Vol. 45, No. 15. Register Publishing
 Co., J. C. Lehmkuhl, publisher. E. T. Trasker,
 Editor. Not mentioned after May 8, 1914.

Jan. 22, 1915 - Vol. 46, No. 39. J. C. Lehmukuhl,
 Publisher. Paul K. Cowgill, Editor.
 Feb. 19, 1915 - Vol. 46, No. 43. J. C. Lehmukuhl retires.
 Feb. 11, 1916 - Vol. 47, No. 42. Register Pub. Co.,
 Publishers. J. H. Barley, Editor.
 Aug. 29, 1919 - Vol. 51, No. 19. The Mahaska Leader
 was sold on Feb. 8, 1918 to A. Q. Miller and since
 then has been printed at Belleville. That arrange-
 ment not being satisfactory, the Mahaska Leader
 was consolidated with the Republican-Register at
 Washington.

Dec. 17, 1920 - Vol. 52, No. 35. J. H. Barley,
Editor, Lloyd Griffis, Advertising Manager.
Feb. 26, 1926 - Vol. 57, No. 46. Consolidated with
the Palladium. Change Name.

Washington County Register.

July 2, 1926 - Vol. 57, No. 18. Luella Hill, Editor.
Sept. 2, 1927 - Vol. 59, No. 27 - C. L. Orr succeeds
Lloyd Griffis. Aug. 5, 1927.
Nov. 9, 1928 - Vol. 60, No. 37. C. L. Orr retires.
June 20, 1930 - Vol. 62, No. 17. L. A. Lobaugh,
Adv. Mgr.
Dec. 2, 1932 - Vol. 64, No. 41. Myrl Hart Kliesen
succeeds Luella Hill as editor.
July 7, 1933 - Vol. 65, No. 20. Paper sold to stock
company. Mrs. Margaret C. Barley, President and
Editor. L. A. Lobaugh, vice-president and secretary,
managing editor and advertising manager. J. M.
Crane, Treasurer & Business Manager.
Myrl Hart Kliesen, Editor.
Oct. 6, 1933 - Vol. 65, No. 33. Winona Lobaugh Beach
succeeds Myrl Hart Kliesen, as news editor.
Sept. 7, 1934 - Vol. 66, No. 29. Name of J. M.
Crane appears for last time in this issue.
Aug. 23, 1935 - Vol. 67, No. 27. L. F. Houk,
succeeds L. A. Lobaugh as business manager.
Mar. 13, 1936 - Vol. 68, No. 4. The Washington
County Publishing Company, Publishers. Margaret C.
Barley, Editor. Winona L. Beach, News editor.
Mar. 27, 1936 - Vol. 68, No. 6. The Washington
County Pub. Co., Publishers. Margaret C. Barley, Edr.
July 3, 1936 - Vol. 68, No. 20. Name changed to

The Washington County Register.

Dec. 29, 1939 - Vol. 71, No. 46. Last issue in bound
files.

Washington Weekly Post.

May 4, 1883 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Samuel Clarke, Editor.
Dec. 7, 1883 - Vol. 1, No. 32 - Last issue until
Nov. 13, 1885 - Vol. 3, No. 30. Charles F. Barrett
Editor and Pubr. Name changed.

Washington Post.

Nov. 24, 1886 - Vol. 4, No. 36. Lute P. Bowen,
Editor. Retired March 2, 1887.
May 2, 1888 - Vol. 6, No. 8. Changed to semi-weekly
July 4, 1888 - Vol. 6, No. 26. Changed to weekly.

Dec. 13, 1888 - Vol. 6, No. 48. Samuel Clarke,
Editor and publisher.
Dec. 4, 1890 - Vol. 8, No. 48. J. T. Hole, S. T.
Veath, Editors, Publishers and Proprietors.
Jan. 7, 1892 - Vol. 10, No. 2. J. T. Hole, Editor,
Pub. and Prop.
Nov. 30, 1894 - Vol. 12, No. 43 - Otis B. Nesbit, Editor.
July 12, 1895 - Vol. 13, No. 22. Last issue in the
files.

The Watchman.

Jan. 3, 1896. - Vol. 1, No. 1. The Watchman Pub. Co.,
Pubr. L. J. Sprengle, Editor.
Feb. 7, 1896 - Vol. 1, No. 6. Otis Nesbit, Editor.
L. J. Sprengle & N. M. Smith, Ass. Edrs.
Mar. 13, 1896 - Vol. 1, No. 11. Otis Nesbit, Editor.
Mar. 4, 1898 - Vol. 3, No. 9. Sold to The Watchman
Pub. Co., a stock company. George Higgins, Edr.
Dec. 2, 1898 - Vol. 3, No. 48. Consolidated with
the Post-Register, Washington

The Western Observer.

Mar. 25, 1869 - Vol. 1, No. 1. Mark J. Kelley, Editor
Aug. 5, 1869 - Vol. 1, No. 20. Last copy in bound
files. Issues Feb. 10th & 17th and June 23, 1870, loose
in bound file. Later the Observer was sold to
Shriner & Tallman and continued as the Kansas
Magnet. In bound volume entitled: Mark J. Kelley's
papers 1869-1870.

A PROFILE OF THE VOTING HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COUNTY
AND A CORRELATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIAL ROLE WITH THAT VOTE

By

CHRISTINE BUCHANAN

B.A., Sterling College, 1950

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Technical Journalism

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1970

A PROFILE OF THE VOTING HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COUNTY
AND A CORRELATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIAL ROLE WITH THAT VOTE

Like people, counties have personalities. One of the most important facets of that personality is a voting profile of the county. There is a myth in Washington County that if the Devil were running on the Republican ticket, he could be elected. Some residents believe the county has never voted anything but Republican.

This study explores the vote pattern during the 109 years of the county's existence. It examines the voting records, correlating them with the way the nation voted.

As the study progresses, it attempts to answer these questions: How accurate is the current popular opinion that Washington County has always voted Republican in presidential elections? Knowing that this belief exists, exactly how widespread is it? Does the average resident, for example, concur in this belief?

Long considered a conservative area, what has been the support of Washington County to independent political movements? The 1968 election involved an independent candidate who received just a fraction of the total vote. Has the county always been reluctant to vote for such parties?

What is the newspaper's historic role in county politics? Has there ever been a Democratic publication? If so, how was it received?

The county acquired its first newspaper in 1869--a Republican publication. The study begins with the nature of the editorial comment in the press during the early years. It then analyzes the political stance of each of the papers being published during presidential election years. As quotations from editors are used, the study shows how the nature of editorial comment has changed during the decades. Finally, the study attempts to discover whether or not editorials appearing in Washington have any correlation with the way the residents of Washington County voted.

After trying to correlate editorials and voting records, the opinions of county voters are recorded, assessing whether or not editorials affect the way they vote.

When the study is complete, there is a detailed profile (including graphs) of the voting history of Washington County for 109 years with an analysis of the newspaper editorials during that time.