

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS  
IN KANSAS 1875-1922

by

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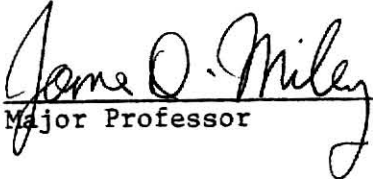
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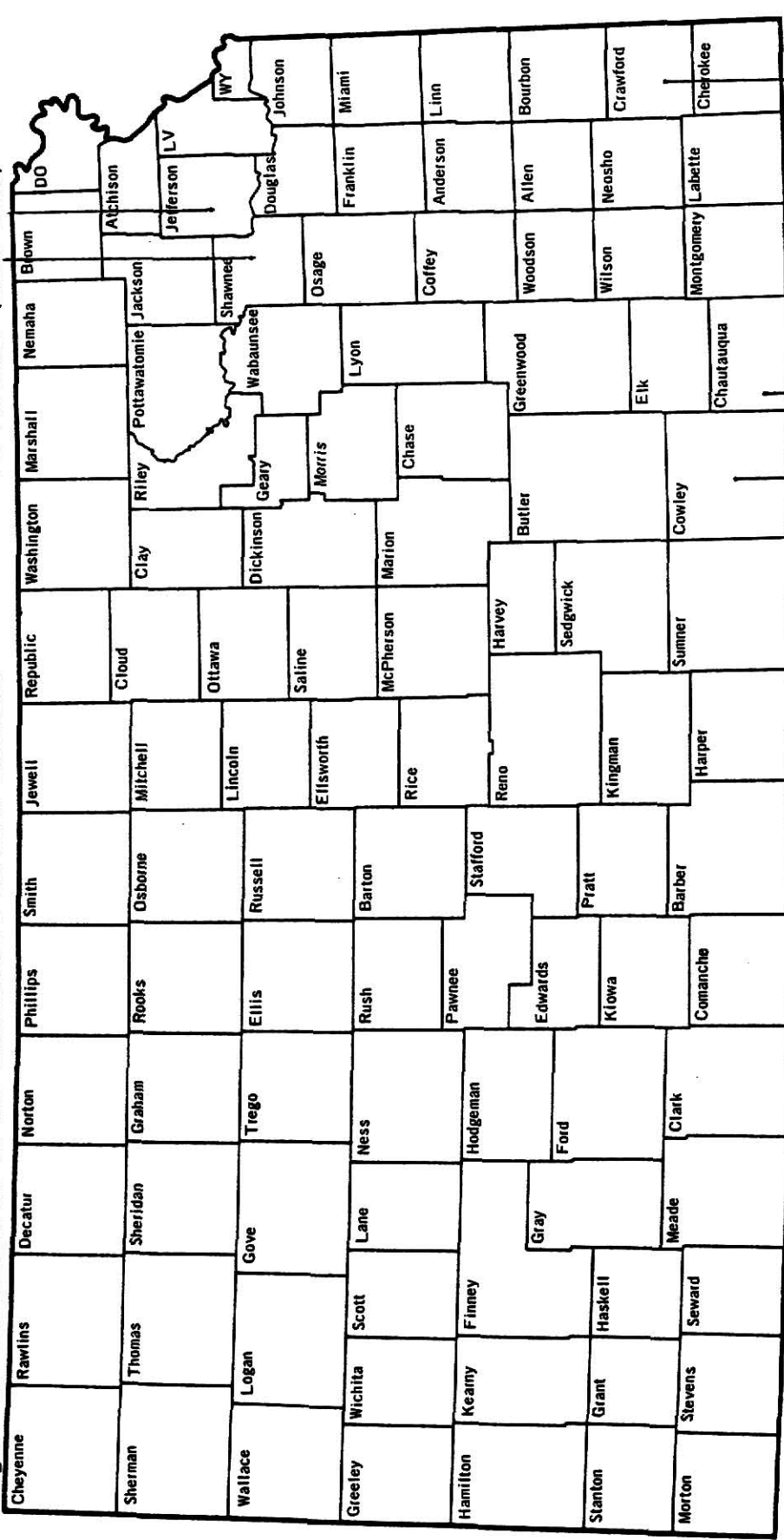
--B.H.W., April 1981



Valley Falls  
 site of Lucifer  
 (1883-1890)

Topeka site  
 of Lucifer (1890-1897)

Figure 2. Distribution of the Alternative Presses Studied.



Winfield, site  
 of American NonCon  
 (1886-1891)

Girard site of Appeal  
 to Reason (1896-1922)

Cedar Vale [Cedarvale]  
 site of Progressive Communist  
 (1875)



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Sociologists are at once drawn to and repulsed by the possibility of an historical sociology. The edict of specialization, that is, to leave history to the historians, is no longer as influential as in past years. The criticisms that the Nelsons leveled at Kai Erikson's social historical work The Wayward Puritans, namely that "sociologists are generally lacking in command over this area" (1969:149), has been counterbalanced by a growing appreciation in sociology of the usefulness of historical data. Not all historical sociology is "good" sociology, however. Upon entering a multi-disciplinary framework, then, the would-be generalist must be aware of certain problems. For example, sociologists have been accused of a general lack of understanding in the use of historical reference materials (Nelson and Nelson, 1969). And historians, despite the "profusion" of materials advocating the application of social science theory in the writing of history, more often fall short of this goal (Berkhofer, 1969:6).

With this in mind, the present effort attempts to extend what has been seen as a strictly historical phenomenon -- the alternative press in Kansas, 1875-1922 -- into the unifying sociological framework of social movements. The problem to be investigated has both a substantive and methodological aspect. Substantively, I conceptualize the alternative press in Kansas as a sociological phenomenon; methodologically, historiography is considered as an approach to sociological materials.

On what grounds is the alternative press to be examined? The press and its producers can be identified as an ideological arm supporting and communicating the aims of various historical social movements. "Ideology", used in a non-pejorative sense, is of key importance here. The alternative press as

a sociological phenomenon -- specifically, its influence in creating "new shared convictions" and in changing existing norms (DeFleur, 1970:130) -- will be used to reconstruct and demonstrate an interface between press, producers and political disorder/dissent. The ultimate outcome, it is hoped, will be an exploratory social history of what I have termed the "alternative press." An explicit assumption here is that understanding these past political realities is valuable, for "we do not yet know where we have been and hence what we may be becoming."

History is not a predictor; it is a descriptor. The historical epoch that lives through the pages of the alternative press is one buried by ignorance, prudery and parochialism. Although the actors and issues have changed, the thread of American radicalism that permeated the seventies, eighties, nineties and beyond, is still an active force. It is in the interests of the radical tradition and the conservative backlash of the present that the historical alternative press is exhumed again.

This particular press has not been neglected by scholars. Students of history have looked at these publications, individually, set in an evolving political milieu (see Trout, 1934; Denton, 1961). Others have introduced them as seen through the eyes of their individual producers (see Yarmolinsky, 1965; Sears, 1977). But despite the testimony of such works that the alternative press was once influential and a viable instrument of reform, the press itself becomes lost somehow in the continuity of history. In this chapter, the alternative press as a distinct phenomenon is conceived of empirically and theoretically as a preliminary to explicitly rendering that interface mentioned above. These introductory pages are intended to both orient the reader and raise certain empirical questions. The first portion deals with the history of the press in Kansas to 1870, providing a brief descriptive backdrop for the remainder of the study. "Alternative" press is then conceptualized at that point when a distinctly different kind of

journalism makes its appearance in Kansas history. The remainder of the chapter details and develops the theoretical framework used in this study.

The particular period chosen has been identified by Kansas scholar James Malin as one marked by volatile social change. Malin identifies three periods of "heightened interest" in reform: the 1870s, 1890s, and early portions of the twentieth century (1964:1)<sup>1</sup>. In Malin's brief look at Moses Harman and the Vincent brothers, all of whom were involved in alternative publishing efforts in Kansas, the alternative press is cast as an arm of this reform era (1964:102-169). Various publications advocated such changes as marriage reform (Harman's Lucifer, the Light-Bearer), labor reform (the Vincents' American Non-Conformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator); and the ideologies of utopianism and communism (Progressive Communist) and socialism (Appeal to Reason). All of these publications, in urging change, also leveled a charge at the existing order, an important element in their rationale for self-classification as an alternative.

#### THE "TWO HISTORIES" OF THE PRESS IN KANSAS

On May 26, 1830, the federal government designated a land mass 600 miles north and south, and 200 miles west of Arkansas and ten year-old Missouri as Indian Territory (McMurtrie, 1931:3). From 1825 until 1841, eastern Indians were moved west of the Mississippi River, bringing some twenty tribes to Kansas Territory (Gaeddert, 1940:21). The plan, as outlined by the government, was to develop autonomous, self-supportive Indian communities after a period of initial aid in the form of missionaries, teachers, tools and implements. Financed by money held in trust for the Indians, and distributed by government agents, the scheme was doomed to fail (McMurtrie, 1931:3-16).

This particular enactment of Congress overlaps the history of printing in Kansas with the arrival of Jontham Meeker at the Baptist Shawanoe (Shawnee) Mission in 1834. Meeker, a Baptist missionary and sometime printer, brought with him a press, purchased for \$550, and a desire to continue his experiments in orthography. The first printing site in Kansas territory, where Meeker set up shop, was just outside the limits of present-day Kansas City, Kansas (McMurtrie, 1933; Miller, 1959). The first paper in Kansas came off Meeker's press. Called "Siwinoe Kesibwi," or Shawnee Sun, the little paper (never exceeding four pages) was begun as a monthly and was published sporadically for almost a decade, from March 1835 until sometime in 1844 (McMurtrie, 1933). According to McMurtrie, a devoted scholar of both Meeker and what he terms the "pioneer press," the original press brought by Meeker was used in three separate sites over a period of twenty-one years (1933).

Meeker died some six months after the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill on May 30, 1854. The territory opened and settlers poured in, bringing with them the bitter politics of slavery and their newspapers. This period opened the "Bleeding Kansas" era, a misnomer of sorts as relatively little blood was shed. During the seven years before statehood, one estimate placed the number of politically-precipitated deaths at fifty-five (Miller, 1959: 511). Miller writes that although blood did not flow so freely as certain Eastern papers would have had their readership believe, "great political issues did indeed confront the early settlers" (1959:513). Immediately after the opening of the territory, partisans from both north and south arrived. In the maneuvering to spread their particular brand of political wisdom, newspapers were needed.

The first territorial paper was the pro-slavery Kansas Weekly Herald out of Leavenworth (McMurtrie, 1931, 1933; Gaeddert, 1941). Its first issue, dated September 15, 1854, was composed and set under an elm tree, according

to its editors (Kansas Weekly Herald, quoted in Miller, 1959). That this was much romanticized is clear in later tributes to the Kansas press. From a commencement address by Captain Henry King, reprinted in the Kansas State Historical Society's History of Kansas Newspapers, comes the following:

The first Kansas banner was a newspaper. It made its advent under an elm tree on the town site of Leavenworth, September 15, 1854. There was not yet a house to be seen, nor any other definite sign of civilization. The situation presented only the aspect of primeval and uninterrupted nature...[S]uch a thing... boldly challenged precedent and announced a new departure (1920: 9).

Gaeddert (1941:5) concedes that the type for the first issue was most likely set under that mythical elm tree, but questions whether the first issue was printed there or under cover of the Herald's new building. Nonetheless, the editors capitalized on the elm, printing poetic tributes to it until the demise of the paper in 1861 (1941:6).

On the heels of the Leavenworth paper came the Kickapoo Kansas Pioneer. Also pro-slavery in orientation, it was begun in November, 1854 and is reported to have folded sometime in 1857 (McMurtrie, 1931, 1933; Miller, 1959).

In the race for the first Free state paper in territorial Kansas, sources cite the Kansas Pioneer, renamed the Kansas Tribune, the Kansas Herald of Freedom and the Kansas Free State. All three papers were published in Lawrence; all three produced a first issue within a week of one another in January, 1855. McMurtrie's (1931) account of early printing sites in Kansas lists George Washington Brown's Herald of Freedom as the winner in the race to produce the first Free State paper. Gaeddert (1941) awards the honor to John Speer's Kansas Tribune. Speer first came to Kansas in the summer of 1854. He prepared part of his copy for the first issue at that time, but was unable to enlist the help of any pro-slavery plant. Speer had to return to Medina, Ohio, then, and issued the first number from his own shop (where he was editor and publisher for the New Era). This issue appeared October 18, 1854 (Gaeddert, 1941).

The pro-slavery press would soon lose its early edge. During the civil strife in Kansas of 1856-1857, the Pro-slavery Party lost popular support to the Free-State Party, and near the end of that decade, it became clear that Kansas would be a free state (Gaeddert, 1940:7). It will be recalled that the Kansas territory, until statehood in 1861, stretched west as far as the continental divide. Before 1860, however, the press in Kansas territory was geographically confined to the northeastern corner of the state with the exception of the Cherry Creek Pioneer and the Rocky Mountain News, both of which were located in what is today Arapahoe County, Colorado (Gaeddert, 1941). In Kansas proper, the farthest point west was reached in June, 1858, when the Sentinel was begun in Junction City. McMurtrie (1931:15) writes that a line drawn from Marysville south through Junction City and Cottonwood Falls, and southeast to Fort Scott diagrams the area in which the early press in Kansas operated (see Fig. 1). Miller (1959:522) notes that over a hundred different newspapers were published in Kansas during its territorial years, 1854-1861.

On January 28, 1861, Kansas was finally accepted into the Union with the Wyandotte Constitution.<sup>2</sup> The birth of the state, Gaeddert writes, "...came at an unpropitious time" (1940:94). Graneries were empty after an extended drought; people went hungry. And the state had only begun to set itself in order when Civil War broke out. Civil War, of course, was nothing new after the border struggles of 1856 and 1857. Editors suffered the war-time shortages and continued to publish during the four years of conflict (Miller, 1959:524). The press continued to push west as well, following the rails and ranchers (Miller, 1959:526). Gaeddert's (1941) account of first newspapers in Kansas by county chronicles this movement through the 1860s and into the decade of the seventies.

At what point does the history of one press begin to diverge from the other? And at what point can the scrambling, virulent, irreverent territorial

press be termed an "established" press, evoking images of bona fide journalism? These questions, and their ultimate answers, are the underpinnings of this effort. The next step, then, is to conceptualize "alternative" press.

#### EMPIRICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

The ever-present temptation facing the scholar of history is to collapse the distinction between observer and actor and become present-minded. Present-mindedness can be defined as reading the evidence in terms of one's own time instead of "postulated past time" (Berkhofer, 1969:15). At issue here is the avoidance of a more contemporary parallel between the so-called underground press of 1967-70, and the alternative press of the late 1800s and early twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> Whether the editors of these papers saw themselves as participating in a larger, innovative press movement is certainly debatable. The press itself was less an issue in its time than the changes advocated.

It is with reasoned trepidation, then, that the scholar of one time period turns to the concepts of another. The conceptualization of the underground press of the 1960s and 1970s has limited applicability here, except to offer a point for departure. There is, first, the question of semantics. In one of the few scholarly attempts to chronicle the underground press as it was dying, Glessing (1970) wrote that not all such presses adopted the descriptive namer "underground". Some preferred the term "radical"; still others "alternative". "Underground" was a carry-over from those days when the anti-establishment press reflected the drug culture (Glessing, 1970:4).

Glessings' work offers no succinct definition of the underground press per se, but rather a series of observations. He acknowledges a "radical political" underground and a "radical cultural" underground (1970:161). Both were distinguished from the established press by virtue of their stance that objectivity is relative, their limited budgets, their content and format and the composition of staff (1970:3-10).

Another study from this period states the underground was regarded as such due to "shared opposition to the American "system" politically, culturally, and economically" and to the new kind of journalism produced (Ellis, 1970:102). The unification of the underground as a movement was further attributed to: 1) the emergence of a "youth culture"; 2) the failure of big city dailies to address this emergent culture; 3) development of new technologies, i.e., offset printing; and 4) a new permissiveness in print following the Supreme Court decision on pornography in 1966 (Ellis, 1970: 102-103). Clearly, there was reason to distinguish underground from established press. Can the same be said of what is called here as the "alternative" press?

The editors of each alternative paper address this question many times. For these individuals, the question was one of both ideological commitment and a justification for continued operation. The Progressive Communist, edited by members of a sectarian communal group near Cedar Vale, carried the following notice in Volume One, Number One:

We begin the editorship...with earnest desire to promote our cause, to fill the vacant place in the American press by issuing a communist paper (January, 1875).

And later, in the same issue:

Neither do we wish our paper to be the organ of only one community, or set of ideas, but that it may...,as far as possible, present the thought of all liberal and reformatory minds (January, 1875).

The Vincent brothers, introducing the community of Winfield to the American Non-Conformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator, wrote:

In every struggle [this journal] will endeavor to take the side of the oppressed as against the oppressor, provided the "under dog" has concern enough for his own hide to defend himself when he is given the opportunity, and not turn and bite the hand of him who has labored for his freedom...The political principles which will guide this journal are the most ultra reform...The air is farily magnetic with reform (October 7, 1886).



The Valley Falls Liberal League's monthly cooperative journal, the Valley Falls Liberal, stated its objective was to "support the cause of Liberalism in its effort to break the chains...of...Christianity" and to "champion the rights of the poor" (Malin, 1964:104). The "Salutatory" column in its first issue read:

Our object is to do what we can for the cause of LIBERALISM, in the contest now waging for Equal Rights and Universal Liberty. Our career may be a short one, but we hope to live long enough to see..."our own native land" become, in deed and in truth, what it has never fully been -- the Land of the Free, as well as the Home of the True and Brave (January, 1880).

The Valley Falls Liberal became the Kansas Liberal in 1881; in 1883, it was rechristened Lucifer, the Light-Bearer.

A first step in determining whether a paper was alternative, then, was to examine the self-proclaimed goal of its editor(s). All such publications ranged from advocating limited reforms to a peaceful revolution at the ballot box to anarchy. This being the case, the alternative press circa 1875-1922 shared with the more contemporary underground press an opposition to the American political, economic and religious system as it existed at that time. This questioning of institutional structures can be seen in the examples given earlier. Third, the alternative press transcended community boundaries and attracted or attempted to attract a regional or national readership. These presses were tied into a national network of paper espousing similar viewpoints. Fourth, few presses grew larger than the producers. Whether charismatic leadership is a general characteristic of the producer of this press or simply accidental is difficult to verify. However, given the ideals of the producers and idealism of their press, one may speculate that the involvement of these unique individuals was not accidental. Regardless, the success of an alternative effort, in one sense, can be gauged by its lifespan after the death or departure of its editor and publisher.

"Alternative" has been chosen to connote this press, as over and against "reform", because it is a more encompassing term. Moreover, not all the so-called reform publications or organizations chose to be politically active. According to the American Heritage dictionary, the word "alternative" means "the choice between two mutually exclusive possibilities" (Morris, 1973). The alternative press did not tread a comfortable middle ground. It offered its readers a choice of viewpoint, or lifestyle, not expressed elsewhere, and often at the risk of legal intervention or even a jail term.

These articulate, often passionate efforts did not differ a great deal in format from their established contemporaries. Any difference in format was liable to be due to the use of cheaper newsprint remnants, though as alternative papers became more stable, some chose to become more experimental (Lutzky, 1951:238). Unlike the later underground press, the alternative press of the nineteenth century did not challenge the journalistic establishment of its day. It did not attempt to create a "new journalism" as such, albeit the evident differences in editorial content and reportage. Graphically, most were unexciting -- and some had no sense of the aesthetic.<sup>4</sup> Economically, the alternative press was dependent on support from advertisers, subscription monies or donations, as well as the sale of political pamphlets in some cases. None were dailies; most appeared with some regularity on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis. For pragmatic purposes alone, those papers I considered were published for a least one year on a regular basis. This was a fifth and final criterion. The existence of an alternative press was tenuous at best, a fact acknowledged by a leary public, weary editorship, and not least, by the researcher. "Naturally, the reader would like to know, how solid is the foundation upon which we base our enterprise?" the editors of the Progressive Communist wrote in January, 1875. The text continued, "He

[reader] has seen so many reform papers starting only to die, that his confidence may be gained only by a plain exposition of our financial standing." As a case in point, the Progressive Communist lasted one year only.

In summary, then, alternative is empirically conceptualized here as:

- 1) a self-acknowledgment of alternative (or reform) status;
- 2) opposition to existing American political, economic or religious institutional forms;
- 3) a regional or national readership;
- 4) the integral leadership role of the primary producer(s); and
- 5) publication for at least one year.

Taken together, it will be seen that the history of the alternative press in Kansas does indeed merit a separate historical treatment. Neither is it an accident that many of these presses were located in southeastern and south-central Kansas. Malin, balking at an implicit condonement of geographical determinism, explains that "unique events in the history of the occupancy of particular areas, or the seemingly accidental fact of dynamic personalities having settled in a particular locality" may explain in and of itself why activism was most pronounced in these areas (1964:55-56).

#### THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS IN CONTEXT: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

With the criteria named above, a sense of the alternative press as a concrete phenomenon is gained. This is only a tentative and preliminary step. To be able to understand the role of such a press, it must be set in some kind of theoretical context. A social movements perspective, out of the area of collective behavior, offers a very broad framework for theoretical construction. However, the point implied earlier must be stated clearly: the alternative press cannot be cast as a social movement per se but rather as one of several components. Selected conceptions of types of social movements can shed light

on the position of the alternative press. Within these types of movements, as stated earlier, the press may have existed as an ideological arm working to promote movement norms and/or values, or more broadly, social change. The alternative presses' role within and without a given social movement can be better understood by calling on Mannheim's sociology of knowledge for elucidation. This discussion moves, then, from a general account of applicable social movements research to a more specific formulation of the alternative press set in Mannheim's sociology of knowledge.

The intersection of sociological and historical perspectives was briefly mentioned earlier. The process of intersection involves both theoretical and methodological considerations. Historically-oriented sociological theories, as applied to a particular period, can be used in another period provided this is done with flexibility. Research applying sociological approaches to history cannot be cast into a set of propositions leading to a grand sociological theory of history.<sup>5</sup> "A theory which is "historical" in nature ought to be designed for the purposes of a particular study or derived from the circumstances surrounding a particular set of data" (Cahnman and Boskoff, 1964:12-13). The social movements perspective, as used here, permits maximum flexibility and a certain latitude in the researcher's interpretation of events.

#### Definition of Social Movements

In any history, there are stories of groups struggling within society to change some aspect of culture (Killian, 1964:426). These groups, and their concerted actions, constitute movements. The study of social movements within sociology has focused on "groups and institutions in the process of becoming" (Killian, 1964:427). Thus, the social movement is a fluid construct, amenable to study as one form of collective behavior, or as Killian

suggests, as caught up in the dynamics of social change (1964:426-427). Certain conditions are contingent upon the development or definition of a social movement. Heberle writes that implicit in the metaphor of movement is the connotation of unrest, a "stirring among the people" (1949:349). He defines "movement" as "a collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or a previous condition to be restored" (1949:349). Heberle's "unrest" is Blumer's "cultural drift" in the inception of a social movement (1969:9). By "cultural drift", Blumer refers to a gradual shift in people's ideas, an emergence of a new set of values. People develop new conceptions of themselves against such a backdrop. "They acquire new dispositions and interests and, accordingly, become sensitized in new directions; and, conversely, they come to experience dissatisfaction where before they had none" (Blumer, 1969:9). These indefinite images of self, prompting uncertain behavior, give rise to Blumer's "general social movement." Social movements on the lowest order, then, are "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life":

The career of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life. In its beginning, a social movement is amorphous, poorly organized, and without form..." (Blumer, 1969:8).

In Killian's survey of various sociological conceptions of social movements, he notes that definitions have two common features. There is first the notion of individual intervention in the process of social and cultural change. People have the volition to act, to create change, rather than being merely creations of inevitable social change. Second, the act of creating change posits some kind of collective, concerted effort on the part of involved persons (Killian, 1964:430-431).

By definition, social movements share certain features, regardless of philosophical orientation. Briefly, the salient features can be listed: shared values embedded in the nature of a shared goal or objective, a sense of membership or belonging between those involved, establishment of norms,

and some kind of structure (Killian, 1964:431). The alternative press, dispenser of ideas, helped to mold objectives. The idea was offered earlier that the alternative press could be placed on a continuum with the advocacy of reform on one end; revolt, on the other. This not only conjures an image of a certain kind of press and its political intensity, but a certain kind of social movement such a press would augment.

### Specific Social Movements

The recognition of degrees of difference between reform and revolt, in this context, is not original.<sup>7</sup> Blumer (1969) notes that the two major kinds of specific social movements are reform movements and revolutionary movements. "Both seek to effect changes in the social order and in existing institutions" (Blumer, 1969:20), although "far-reaching differences" exist between the two. Smelser (1962) makes a similar distinction between "norm-oriented movements" and "value-oriented movements." The reform, or norm-oriented movement, and revolutionary, or value-oriented movement are, of course, "ideal types." Specific movements may exhibit characteristics of both, or employ other kinds of tactics. For this reason, Blumer suggests viewing each unique movement from a temporal and developmental perspective (1969:8). For this reason, I utilize the device of the continuum for placement of various alternative presses, extending from ideal-typical reform to ideal-typical revolt.<sup>8</sup> What are these ideal types as developed by Blumer and Smelser?

Blumer and Smelser approach the same kind of conceptualization from slightly different perspectives. Blumer focuses on mechanisms employed by specific social movements, making a distinction on the basis of how these mechanisms are used by each. Smelser outlines the norm-oriented movement and value-oriented movement separately. Each movement is conceived of as a value-added process, that is, one condition precipitates the next in Smelser's

more elaborate theoretical framework. These differences in approach, however, are not so radical that Smelser and Blumer's conceptualizations cannot be compared.

All specific social movements, Blumer writes, utilize the mechanisms of agitation, development of group feeling and group morale, ideology, and some tactical strategy to reach objectives (1969:12-20). By the same token, Smelser's analytic value-added process traces the development of the norm-oriented and value-oriented movement through the determinants of "structural-conduciveness, strain, crystallization of a generalized belief, precipitating factors, mobilization for action, and social control" (1962:382). In the broadest sense, then, it can be said that both reform and revolutionary movements share key features and developmental processes. Yet both scholars separate them analytically.

Smelser defines norm-oriented movements as "an attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of a generalized belief" (1962:270). A value-oriented movement, in his scheme, is a norm-oriented movement taken a step further:

A value-oriented movement is a collective attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create values in the name of a generalized belief. Such a belief necessarily involves all the components of action; that is, it envisions a reconstitution of values, a redefinition of norms, a reorganization of the motivation of individuals, and a redefinition of situational facilities (1962:313).

Blumer's definitions of reform and revolutionary movements acknowledge this difference in scope, and can be summarized as follows.

A reform movement is limited in the scope of the change it advocates -- it is addressed to some specific area in the existing order. For this reason the reform movement is not in opposition to the tenets of society; indeed, it may uphold ideal values of a society as they exist as the correct moral position. The reform movement may be viewed as rather benign, seeking to develop a sympathetic public and using existing institutions to do so.

The revolutionary movement exists to reconstruct the whole of the social order. In so doing, it formulates a new scheme of social values. A revolutionary movement has no access to public institutions and may, in fact, be driven underground. Such a movement is less concerned with developing favorable public opinion (and has little chance to) than winning converts. These "converts", from the ranks of the underprivileged and disenfranchised, may well form a strong, cohesive group who live by a new set of "essentially religious values" (Blumer, 1969:20-22). Although both movements advocate change, they diverge on the question of retention of existing institutional structures as opposed to replacement of those structures with radically different ones. Here, then, enters an alternative press, for "without ideology, a movement could not persist" (Blumer, 1969:19).

After attention has been focused on unrest or agitation spurring a social movement, after persons have been organized, some means must be found to give voice to a group will, to disseminate a body of "doctrine, beliefs and myths" (Blumer, 1969:19-20). I stated earlier the premise that the alternative press came into existence to create new convictions and to change existing norms rather than uphold the status quo. With examination of two specific kinds of social movements, it becomes clearer in a theoretical sense to consider how the alternative press functioned. Engagement of the problem of placing the alternative press in some kind of social context is approached. Focus must still be sharpened, however; and the question of how creation and change might have been implemented needs to be addressed.

### "Ideology and Utopia"

I have proposed that the alternative press was a voice for certain kinds of social movements, related in their strivings or vision of a better society. Within this proposal are terms needing clarification. "Ideology", "ideas", "thoughts", "beliefs" have appeared with some frequency on the past



few pages. In stating (once more) that the alternative press existed to create new convictions and to change or overthrow existing norms, one must be prepared to tackle the awesome: the relationship between, and the nature of, thought and existence. One scholar that clarified this relationship was Karl Mannheim and his "radical" sociology of knowledge.

The sociology of knowledge, according to Mannheim, is "concerned with the problem of how men actually think" (1936:1). In this way, the sociology of knowledge embraces the history of thought and ideas. Mannheim's aim in Ideology and Utopia was to examine how thought functions in public and political life as "an instrument of collective action" (1936:1). To do this, he proposes two modes of transcendent thought -- the ideological and the utopian -- set in the framework of their accompanying thought structures. Wirth's preface to Mannheim's text summarizes these notions. Ideologies are "...those complexes of ideas which direct activity toward the maintenance of the existing order"; utopias, "...those complexes of ideas which tend to generate activities toward changes of the prevailing order" (preface, 23). Mannheim is clearly more concerned with the movement and development of thought than thought in social movements, the focus here. Yet his key concept of ideology, and out of ideology, utopia, has direct application to the present purpose. What follows is a brief exposition of these tenets which have particular bearing upon the alternative press.

Mannheim's central concern is with the phenomenon of ideology. He separates ideology into the "particular" and the "total". The particular conception of ideology is believed to constitute only a part of an opponent's thought; total ideology, the whole of an opponent's thought in a way similar to Marxian "false consciousness" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:9). Berger and Luckmann call attention to Mannheim's "general ideology" ("the general form of the total conception of ideology") as subsuming not only an opponent's thought but one's own as well (1966:9).

With the general concept of ideology, the level of sociology of knowledge is reached -- the understanding that no human thought...is immune to the ideologizing influences of its social context (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:9).

Some elaboration may clarify this point. Mannheim notes that the pejorative "taint" of ideology can be seen in historical perspective. Particular distrust and suspicion directed to an adversary may be the immediate precursor of ideology. When distrust "...becomes explicit and methodologically recognized," then ideology can be detected in other's utterances (1936:61). Skepticism and distrust, then, point to the notion of reality and what constitutes a truth. The philosophical question, 'What is really real?', as explained by Mannheim, appears with greater intensity in various historical epochs. That it emerged in public circles during the nineteenth century is significant. "The notion of ideology cannot...remain the exclusive privilege of [an ascendent] class" (Mannheim, 1936:74-75).

Once a descendent group learns to interpret their opponent's views in ideological terms (i.e., as distortions of reality), "all elements of meaning are qualitatively changed and the word ideology acquires a totally new meaning" (Mannheim, 1936:76). When all parties are subject to this kind of analysis, then the general form of the total conception of ideology, giving way to the sociology of knowledge, emerges.

...(T)he general form of the total conception of ideology is being used by the analyst when he has the courage to subject not just the adversary's point of view but all points of view, including his own, to the ideological analysis (Mannheim, 1936:77).

Ideology, as applied to all points of view, brings Mannheim to propose the notion of "relationism." Relationism refers to the epistemological perspective of his sociology of knowledge -- "...knowledge must always be knowledge from a certain (social and historical) position" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:10). The term becomes clearer in Mannheim's discussion on utopia.

"A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs" (Mannheim, 1936:192). More narrowly, Mannheim defines as "utopian", thought which passes over into conduct, and shatters the prevailing order (1936:193). Both ideologies and utopias can be oriented to objects that transcend daily experience. Every period has had ideas transcending everyday experiences that didn't function as utopias. These ideas "...were...the appropriate ideologies of this stage of existence" so long as they did not offer revolutionary possibilities (1936:193). Utopias are not ideologies "...in the measure and in so far as they succeed through counteractivity in transforming the existing historical reality into one more in accord with their own conceptions" (1936:196). Distinguishing between the two kinds of thought, however, is not so simple as might first appear. One's interpretation of thought must be acknowledged as a function of position, this is the point of Mannheim's relationism. So it is that Mannheim writes that ideas are often labeled utopian by a representative of a past epoch. And "...the exposure of ideologies as illusory ideas...is the work generally of representatives of an order of existence which is still in process of emergence" (1936:203). Always the dominant group determines which is to be considered utopian; always the ascendent group in conflict with the existing order determines what is ideological (1936:203).

"Everyday experiences" and "existing order" lead Mannheim to a dissertation on the nature of sociological existence. Existence, for Mannheim, is that which functions effectively -- the functioning social order. "Every concretely 'operating order of life' is to be conceived and characterized most clearly by means of the particular economical and political structure on which it is based" (Mannheim, 1936:194). Ideas that don't fit this "operating order of life" are situationally transcendent, namely, ideologies not realized in fact ("de facto") and utopias. However, the order as exists is not static -- thus, the dialectical relationship of utopian thought to the

existing order.

Here, Mannheim draws on Droysen to present a "formal outline" of this process. Thought, the ideal counterpart to what is, develops itself as things should be. Thoughts, then, critique what exists, out of existing conditions come new thoughts; out of new thoughts, new conditions (Mannheim, 1936:199). This formulation gets at the emergence of utopias out of existing conditions, albeit in a very abstract fashion.

The dialectical (not oppositional) relationship Mannheim developed between ideology and utopia is concerned with the content of thought, and the action thought produces. Mannheim recognized that all thought arose from existing social conditions. Thus, out of ideologies come utopias. The relationship is not a simple one. The content of the alternative press cannot be labeled "utopian" outright, although it is tempting to do so. Utopian thought implies revolutionary action, and as noted, not all such presses were oriented toward revolution or complete rejection of the social order. Nonetheless, they were oriented more towards change than maintenance of the status quo.<sup>9</sup> The alternative press was fundamentally critical of existing conditions. This fact, however, does not automatically place the alternative press in line with utopian thought. Recall that reform movements, in espousing the ideal values of the existing social order, seek not to undermine the entire order but exalt what "should be" in that order. Thus, although it might not appear so at first, the alternative press must be submitted to an approximation of the kind of critical analyses used by Mannheim in Ideology and Utopia. Dissent on the part of the press did not always entail radical departure from the existing order. Opposition to existing American institutional forms, named as an empirical criteria for determining whether a press was alternative does not necessitate active subversion. As "reform" and "revolutionary" have been used to indicate a continuum of

possible action, so "ideology" and "utopia" can also be used as theoretical guides. These thought structures are not absolutes but measured by degrees.

#### CONCLUSIONS -- A NOTE ON THE GENERAL HISTORICAL MILIEU

There is no question that the alternative press arose in response to currents of thought expressing a relative "utopian mentality" (Mannheim, 1936:209). The period 1870 to just before the first World War was marked by precipitating events that, together, gave rise to a different kind of social order. As Greer (1949) notes, the United States of 1865 had little in common with the United States of 1890. "The simple old ways of a life which was small, agrarian, and personal gave way to strange new forms, a new nation of steel and electricity emerged -- huge, mechanized, and corporate" (Greer, 1949:9). It is not surprising, then, that the socio-economic groups Greer cites as being most involved in early social movements are laborers, farmers, and finally, the middle class (1949:6). Farmers and workers were affected first by the impact of industrialization and a changing economic order. This can be shown in the historical precedence of labor reform and the populist revolt, followed by the middle-class progressive movement (Greer, 1949).

The backdrop of such movements might be summed up in the idealism of the frontier. Turner's thesis on the role of the American frontier, delivered first in 1893, stated that the existence of free land and the continuous wave of population movement west, explain American development (1972:3). While this thesis has been thoroughly criticized, particularly the notion that a rural frontier need result in egalitarian, individualistic and democratic institutions (Lipset, 1968:41), Turner's reading of his own time was accurate. His romanticism was echoed in Greeley's famous advice to "Go West", the frontier being the land of opportunity and hope (Weeks, 1980:1). The Kansas of 1870 was part of the frontier, given over to social experiments and

and a highly politicized population. This theme will become clearer when examining individual alternative presses and their producers in political context as discussed in Chapter Three. The following chapter sets forward the method used in this study, and attempts to more explicitly reconcile the sociological theoretical perspective to historic data used.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY: METHODS

The present effort is both sociological and historical. The theoretical perspectives elucidated in Chapter One aid in conceiving of the alternative press as a sociological phenomenon. The papers, producers and events reported are drawn from a fixed historical time frame, 1875-1922. The actors are dead; the era is past. Given that such a sociological framework shapes and makes sense of historical data, interdisciplinary problems emerge. These problems, and there are many, are addressed extensively in the literature. This chapter begins with a look at interdisciplinary issues, viewed from either side of the question. In its entirety, the first section presents a kind of introduction to historiography (the "doing" of history). It is appropriate that such discussion preface the amalgamation of method used for this study. To ignore the historian's approach to exhuming materials is to invite unwarranted problems, particularly as regards the adequacy and accuracy of sociologic interpretation.

### HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY REVISITED

Arguments for and against the development of an historical sociology were briefly mentioned in the last chapter. These arguments are amplified when both sociologists and historians address the question. For example, if some sociologists have deplored the desertion of historic and humanistic themes found in the classics of Weber and others (Mariampolski and Hughes, 1977), historians have vehemently protested the "dehumanizing methods of social sciences" (Bridenbaugh, 1963:326). Foremost in this "dehumanization" is quantification, and many have spoken to the scientific bent of post-War trends. Bridenbaugh wrote, "the finest historians will not...worship at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess QUANTIFICATION" (1963:326).

These statements, regarding orientation toward data, are only one possible point of departure. I choose, instead, to begin by emphasizing broad similarities and differences between the two disciplines. Commonly held notions about the nature of "history", the nature of "sociology" and the course of each discipline's development leads to uncovering important notions of generalization and reconstruction in history.

Both history and sociology focus on human interactions. In a conciliatory vein, sociologists Cahnman and Boskoff note that this focus has made the two "partners and competitors at the same time" (1964:1). Although even the casual observer can see the interdependence of the two disciplines, it is unfair and inaccurate to fail to acknowledge their divergence in technique, area and perspective. Part of this divergence can be seen in the process of the development of history in some contrast to sociology.

Hofstadter's essay on history's "mixed inheritance" develops archetypes along the lines of history-as-art opposed to history-as-science (1968:3-5). The division is admittedly too clean. He brings in this "conventional debate" to emphasize certain differences between sociology and history.<sup>1</sup> History's narrative tradition (history-as-art), with its emphasis on literary style, high drama, and great characters (Hofstadter, 1968), antedated the development of an academic tradition (history-as-science) by several centuries. During the nineteenth century, as Hofstadter tells it, academic history struggled to gain a foothold while the social sciences proliferated (1968:7). By the 1920s, historians were aware of those other disciplines with common concerns but with a greater fealty to "science" as shown in expansive conceptual frameworks based on the natural sciences. After World War II, academicians attempted to make history more relevant to the present, producing an "incomplete" sociological history -- that is, "social history without sociological ideas" (Hofstadter, 1968:8). According to Hofstadter, resistance



in history to the incorporation of sociological thought seems to hinge on the issue of maintaining a separate intellectual identity, and at least as important, on the recent ahistorical bent in sociology (1968:11-12). How, then, is history delineated as a distinct area of study? To what extent have methodological techniques bounded history?

### History and Generalization

History has been variously defined as "the study of all past human activities" (Strayer, 1950:6), or as the intent "to understand man's behavior in past time" (Berkhofer, 1969:7). Even more sweeping was the Social Sciences Research Committee's definition of history as "the study of mankind in all its bewildering variety" (1954:18). Barzun and Graff suggest four meanings of the word "history." There is 1) the event itself, the fact of history; and 2) the recounting of that event, or the story of history. There is also 3) the fashioning of history, its method, which falls between the structuring of the professional attitude and the rules of art. This process has come to be known as historiography. And finally, 4) there is history as collective recollection, or Folk History (1962:47-50). As can be seen, the historical event or character, the verifiable "fact", looms large. "History must be concerned with the analysis of (a) particular set of events or processes. Where the sociologist looks for concepts which subsume a variety of particular descriptive categories, the historian must remain close to the actual happenings..." (Lipset, 1968:23).

Sociologists have been particularly critical of this focus on the unique, the "idiographic" tendencies of history. Various levels of generalization, while perhaps not explicitly stated, are present in many historical works. The implication, of course, is that sociology must have more general, or nomothetic, objectives. That historians are aware of the need to develop

broader, more explicit, frameworks of conceptualization is attested by such works as Gottschalk's (1963) bulletin for the Social Sciences Research Committee on generalization in the writing of history. The sociologist, then, must meet the historian halfway. Cahnman and Boskoff (1964) acknowledge the need for balance between the "unique" and "general":

We may focus upon the uniqueness of facts by segregating them from other facts or by ignoring the points of similarity among such facts. Or we may choose to emphasize similarities while ignoring the obvious but operationally irrelevant differences. The objective of the investigator determines the relative value of such analytic aspects. However, overemphasis on any one aspect leads to disaster (1964:4).

While the historian's approach to generalization may be less self-conscious than that of the sociologist, it is similar. Generalization, in the historian's view, is that part of history akin to science. Those materials upon which historical study are based are "extant objects capable of scrutiny, categorization and generalization" (Gottschalk, 1963).

Hughes (1960) delineates four levels of historical generalization. The first level is semantic generalization -- the use of verbs or nouns that imply abstractions from reality. The second level of generalization involves "groupings of statements about events"; for example, concluding statements to make ideas "of a piece." Third, the historian may employ "schematization", organizing historical data in terms of process or structure. Here, the procedure of generalization is most like that of the social sciences -- and here is where few historians have chosen to venture. The fourth, and final, level Hughes suggests is the "plane of meta-history" (1960:23-37). To those in both fields, the historian who insists he deals "only with individual situations" (Hughes, 1960:23) or the sociologist who will not acknowledge implicit generalization without the use of an explicit theoretical label, this particular scheme may appear well-intentioned but pointless. Robert Palmer's case study on generalization, as applied to the concept of "revolution", illustrates this point. Although Palmer doubts that history is a

social "science", he believes "...it should make use of concepts drawn from social science or any other useful source" (1963:66). And with this qualifier, he pulls together "workable bodies of information" utilizing the assumption that there was a "revolutionary era" in the Western world during the period 1760-1800, a "culture-wide" phenomenon (1963:66-67).

The present research is more specifically in line with Hughes (1960) third level of generalization, schematization. Historical data is ordered in terms of process or structure. Structure suggests a "static cross section of a particular situation in the past" (1960:26). The "situation" here, the alternative press as it appeared in Kansas, is studied over a span of forty-seven years. Hughes equates process with "...a coherent theory of change over time" (1960:26). He uses the term in a very literal sense, as it denotes the passage of time or movement. Process here is provided with a social movements backdrop. Against that backdrop, the concepts of "ideology" and "utopia" certainly imply conceptual generalization.

Mannheim, in fact, anticipated criticisms the historian might direct to his use of "utopia" on the grounds that the construction is arbitrary. In acknowledging the structural organization of historical "facts", Mannheim wondered if historically naive constructions might not act as obstructions in uncovering historical relationships.<sup>2</sup> The question he addressed to history in his delineation of utopia was this: are there ideas not yet realized in reality which transcend a given reality? If so, these ideas can be stated in the form of a concept. When a term is defined in the context of a specific historical epoch, or a specific event, the procedure of the researcher cannot be faulted. The definition, "utopian shall signify such and such..." is an admission that the term is designed for a certain purpose (Mannheim, 1948:201-202). But,

When,...in addition we link such a definition with the historically evolved connotation of the term, it is done with the purpose of showing that the elements which we have emphasized in our conception of utopia are already present in the utopias as they have appeared in history. On that account, we are of the opinion that our abstract concepts are not just arbitrary and willful intellectual constructions, but have their roots in empirical reality. The concepts which we have created exist... to assist in reconstructing structural forces which are present in reality though not always obvious (1948:202) [emphasis added]

It is important that Mannheim begins with a question: 'Are there ideas not yet realized...which transcend a given reality?' The sociologist, unlike the historian, begins with this kind of question, and perhaps little knowledge of historical evidence to support his or her contention. Hughes (1960: 26) recognizes that "...a social scientist states a generalization for which history is expected to supply data or examples. A historian works the other way around."

Sociologically, a contemporary theory of social change over time may be better elucidated by taking the historical view. Historically, an individually descriptive construct may be reworked in such a way that temporal barriers are potentially transcended. An originally descriptive idea may become an explanatory device.

### History and Reconstruction

The historian cannot recreate the past. Through imagination, she or he may reconstruct it. The only history, then, is historiography (Berkhofer, 1969:12). The past itself "has no existence at all outside its reconstitution by the historian" (Rock, 1976:355). In reconstructing a "novel" past, the historian produces a "contrivance", or an "artifact", to use Rock's terms.

A good deal has been written about the process of reconstruction. It is somewhat more difficult to find specific guidelines for "doing" reconstruction due to the necessary infusion of imagination and lack of agreement as to the importance of an organizing framework. Moreover, it is difficult

to discuss "reconstruction" as applied to sociology. Recent sociology has slighted the historical to such an extent that the only "historical perspective" acknowledged is the comprehensive review of the literature that prefaces most ahistorical, empirical studies. What are the grounds for methodological comparison between a determined sociology of the present, and history?

Recall that both sociology and history study human interaction to enable human understanding. The historian looks at such interactions in the past tense, and is restrained by the survival of secondary sources. He can never know his subjects or observe their behavior firsthand. But "...knowledge of past men's futures more than compensates for present men's inability to relive the past" (Berkhofer, 1969:15).

The sociologist, on the other hand, creates his or her own sources. A problem is chosen, or a question posed, and the method applicable to the area of study decided upon. If, for example, research involves human subjects, the sociologist need only determine what the population will be and proceed from that point. The problem is one of sheer volume -- which potential data should be drawn (Cahnman and Boskoff, 1964:2-3). However, the ability to observe human interaction as it occurs in the present does not preclude problems of the relationship between the analyst and the subject matter (Berkhofer, 1969:8-10). Guidelines for observing a distinction between observer and actor apply to both history and sociology, as does awareness of the differences between the "ideational" and the "behavioral" (Berkhofer, 1969:15-17).

And finally, neither sociologist nor historian can begin construction or reconstruction (as the case may be) without some framework with which to structure observations. That framework might be as simple as a single concept, such as "revolution", or an interpretation based on the tenets of a

theory like Turner's environmental determinism of the frontier. A framework bounds the problem.

The framework has been set forward here; the alternative press has been conceived of empirically and theoretically. What remains is the process of reconstruction, of effecting the synthesis discussed in this section in the remainder of the study and the disclosure of methods to be used.

#### METHODS

Between 1870 and 1900, more than 4,000 reform to radical publications appeared nationally. Several hundred of this number were published in Kansas alone, particularly during the period when Populism swept the state (Lutzky, 1951). My first step was to look at a number of these papers and choose a manageable sample to illustrate the idea of an alternative press. Connelley's (1920) History of Kansas Newspapers was an exhaustive attempt to compile a list of all newspapers and magazines published in Kansas from 1854-1916. Most of these publications are on microfilm in the Kansas State Historical Society's archives.

In the early stages of this effort, I spotted possible alternative papers as indexed in Connelley by name and by political affiliation. Some of these papers were designated as "independent"; others, such as the Non-Conformist were set apart by virtue of name. Most alternative papers had been discontinued by the time Connelley's work went to press. Others had lasted only a year or two and are listed as "short lived" publications. In pursuing this idea, my initial task was to determine if indeed there had been an alternative press, and if enough materials remained to produce a study of it.

Once these two questions were answered affirmatively, I began to look at papers that were at once unique while sharing similar features. The

papers upon which this study is based were not drawn as a random sample. I deliberately chose papers reasonably well-documented by Kansas historians, and papers focused on different currents of thought. The Progressive Communist (1875) the first paper reviewed in the case analysis of the following chapter, advocated an early version of the cooperative system later eschewed by Wayland's Appeal to Reason (1895-1922). The Progressive Communist's criticism of institutional marriage was taken up a few years later by Moses Harman and his Lucifereans. Harman's Lucifer, the Light-Bearer (1883-1907) came to center on the principles of sex radicalism and individualistic anarchy. Harman's continuous struggle against Comstock statutes was publicized by the Vincent's American Non-Conformist (1886-1891). The Non-Conformist integrated earlier strains of Greenbackism, urban labor reform and the agrarian movement, and helped spearhead the Populist movement in Kansas. In 1895, when the Appeal to Reason made its debut, Wayland supported the efforts of the Populists until that time when the Populists fused with the Democrats. These sketchy examples show that the four publications I chose to study did overlap one another ideationally. Despite their differences in perspective and historical situation, all shared a belief in the importance of educating their rural readers and in their vociferous criticism of the world around them.

Of the four papers examined, the Non Con (as it was referred to) was most in line with reform. Henry Vincent advocated a peaceful revolution at the ballot box, and found greatest fault with the then-current system's excesses and abuses. Both the Appeal and the Progressive Communist advocated the capitalist system be replaced altogether. And Harman, whose Lucifer, the Light-Bearer, was most difficult to categorize, placed his faith in individual government. Lucifer was most aligned with a revolutionary movement, but a revolution of limited scope. How, then, to situate these papers

between the two extremes of revolutionary, utopian thought on the one hand, and a reformist approach, on the other?

One of the fundamental premises upon which this research is based is that the content of these alternative papers may be taken as an indication of how thought functions as an instrument of collective action. Two related methods were used, both contingent upon printed artifacts, upon what was said by the principals involved regarding their extant political reality.

#### Life History Approach/"Qualitative" Content Analysis

Through the course of case analysis, or the life history approach, the alternative press takes shape as an institution. Although the life history has been primarily used to reconstruct the life of an individual, so also can it present "...the experiences and definitions held by one person, one group or one organization as this person, group or organization interprets those experiences" (Denzin, 1978:215). Materials for reconstructing the "life" of each paper, then, included records and documents bearing on the lives of individuals involved in their production. This kind of reconstruction should intensely involve the researcher in an attempt to recapture the everyday world, Mannheim's "reality", of a world lost to the historian. The "dead are known mediately" through typifications drawn in an inferential and speculative fashion (Rock, 1976:354). This speculative, thus subjective, process must be supported through triangulation. Primary sources here included the alternative presses themselves, and letters/accounts produced by individuals involved with those papers. Secondary accounts, such as autobiographies and scholarly works on the lives of the producers, were also used. Finally, contextual works such as Malin (1964) and Greer's (1944) texts of historic social movements and Destler's (1944) treatise on American radicalism provided perspective and a backdrop against which the alternative press takes shape.



The life history approach afforded an opportunity for the researcher to begin to know each producer and important events in the life of each paper. When coupled with content analysis a rough sense of the kinds of issues deemed important and more subtle transitions in thought in this press is added to complete the impression. In an important sense, the historical case analysis is itself a form of qualitative content analysis. From a large volume of historical accounts, and excluding materials unavailable to me, I had to shape a profile of each individual and each press. I selectively chose what to emphasize. As Berelson has written, a broad definition of "content analysis" would "...include a large part of the work in literary history and intellectual and cultural history generally" (Berelson, 1952:114). As this study deals entirely with the analysis of print, a kind of impressionistic content analysis cannot be observed.

Lutzky's observation that most copy appearing in the (specifically) reform press could be placed within a few general categories is accurate. His categories, however, are rather too broad to be useful. He suggests a division of content into 1) accounts of meetings and speeches; 2) comment on ideas, institutions and individuals disliked by the editor; and 3) factual articles designed to educate readers (1951:54).

The following general categories emerged in the course of carefully examining each of the four papers studied here: 1) Women's Suffrage and Sex Reform; 2) Spiritualism; 3) Communism/Co-operation; 4) Science and Health (techno-progress); 5) Farming and Labor Issues; 6) Anti-monopolism and Capitalism; 7) Currency and Taxation; 8) Socialism; 9) Free-thought and Liberalism; 10) Filler (miscellany); 11) Critique and comment on established press; 12) Notices of other alternative publications; and 13) Notices from other alternative publications.

This list is not inclusive. The four papers I sampled span almost fifty years of political activism. Moreover, given the nature of editorial content, every piece of copy had to be categorized. Measuring editorial copy by the column inch, the most direct approach, was not feasible due to widely variable type sizes and constant changes in the make-up of each paper. Instead, I categorized, by dominant issue, each separate piece of copy. Although a numerical frequency was assigned each category, and each paper carefully read, these figures do not appear here. Let me explain.

Like Bridenbaugh, I am not in awe of that "Bitch-goddess Quantification" -- but neither am I opposed to quantification when research warrants the specificity of numerical tallies. The research question determines the method chosen. Content analysis, as it is typically employed, tests some explicitly stated problem or hypothesis. It is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their content" (Krippendorff, 1980:21). There is no hypothesis but a symbiotic relationship tested here. If my research question had been focused, for example, on the nature of the differences in editorial treatment of Populism from alternative press to party press, careful content analysis would have been appropriate. Instead, the research question here, if it be called that, is of a broader rubric. I have tried to explain historic data by the use of a sociologic theory. Out of this inquiry, more specific (and quantifiable) questions may eventually be raised. And out of these questions, my intuitive predeliction may be proved false because "quantitative historical studies have more often been effective in dissolving and destroying older categories and hypotheses than in suggesting equally powerful and persuasive new ones" (Thernstrom, 1968: 65). I am interested in the content of the alternative press only insofar as 1) it conveys a history of that press; and 2) a picture of the political milieu affecting its producers and readers enabling placement on a reform-revolt continuum.

Historians are generally leary of quantitative content analysis. "Many historical issues involve ideas and relationships which cannot be reduced to rules which a machine can follow" (Thernstrom, 1968:68). That 55% of Lucifer's copy was devoted to free speech and a free press means little as an isolated "fact." The percentage does not speak to Harman's persecution in the Kansas courts, and later, Illinois; it does not explain why Harman became increasingly involved with sex radicalism. If I write that 60% of the Appeal's copy was devoted to socialist commentary, I exclude the 20% with a definite socialist slant. A deeper, more reflective kind of analysis is enabled by using qualitative content analysis.

The next chapter presents my data, not as isolated tabulations and facts to bear out the idea of an alternative press, but in historical context. A brief biographical sketch of each press and producer, in chronological order, is followed by a detailed analysis of the alternative press generally using theoretical guidelines presented in Chapter One.

The task of Chapter Three is to implement the research strategy outlined here without losing sight of the interdisciplinary issues named earlier. I have sought a balance between "idiographic" and "nomothetic" objectives; between reconstruction, and implications for the present.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PRESS; THE PRODUCERS

#### INTRODUCTION

A composite of nineteenth century man has been drawn by numerous scholars. Contemporaries of this fictitious individual drew him either larger than life, like his folk heroes; or hopelessly mired in the smugness of the American village. The environment determinism of Frederick Jackson Turner, which stated that the frontier shaped the man and his institutions, was echoed by a generation of historians (Taylor, 1972). More recent scholars have rejected the determinism but not the importance of the frontier. Commager (1970) believed that the "quantitative cast of American thought" during this period -- the idea that a person's worth could be materially measured and that the United States had endless, inexhaustible resources -- could be partially explained by the frontier experience. The paradoxes of the "public mind" of this period are particularly compelling in the light of the social upheaval that festered for three decades before its cooptation after the turn of the century. Individualism was celebrated, yet at the same time, eccentricity not tolerated. Religion became increasingly dogmatic and moral codes as set into practice were not to be violated.

By prevailing standards, then, the men and women who spearheaded the alternative press were not merely eccentric. With their different brand of journalism and patriotism, they presented an affront. The frequent allusion in various columns to the alternative press "doing battle" was grounded in reality. That the alternative press persevered in the face of adversity over several decades would indicate a "stirring among the people" that gradually grew in volume and in numbers.

In looking over the field of alternative publications of the nineteenth

century, an idea, an infidelity, can be physically charted. A way of seeing had its moment and was then forgotten or replaced. "Progress" pushed older ideas and technologies to an ignoble end as the industrial age fundamentally altered the shape of society. Ideas and social conditions created their own structure, the alternative press, and peaked and receded with a kind of fluidity across the plains -- communism and utopian socialism (1870s), free thought, free love and liberalism (1880s), labor reform, trade unionism, agrarian alliances and populism (1880s, 1890s). Still the waves of protest continued into the twentieth century in an attempt "to batter down the growing structures of economic monopoly and political indifference threatening to destroy the agrarian economy of the west" (Lutzky, 1951:4). The alternative press spread the politics of discontent, and opened their columns to readers and subscribers to do likewise.

Their success varied. Although it cost very little to begin a paper, many alternative efforts failed for financial reasons. On top of the initial outlay for presses and type, these presses attracted subscribers characterized by their lack of money. Newsprint was cheap, however, and got cheaper. By the end of the century, newsprint cost only 4/5 cents per pound (Lutzky, 1951:13).

Of the four papers chosen here, out of the hundreds of similar efforts, finances were a problem for all but one, the Appeal to Reason. The Progressive Communist never developed an advertising or subscription base. It is distinguished by its tenacity given the fact that its editors warred publicly and the physical hardships endured by the communists. Moses Harman's Lucifer lasted twenty-four years but was never financially solvent. Harman kept it alive throughout his numerous court battles, perhaps because of his position as a movement martyr. The Vincents managed to stay afloat in Winfield with the Non-Conformist for five years. Their fortunes rose with

that of Populism, and when they left Kansas in 1891, their subscription list numbered 20,000. Under shady circumstances, the Non-Con failed after its relocation in Indianapolis. Only the Appeal turned a profit, due to the financial savvy of its founder, J. A. Wayland. The socialist publisher, though driven to his death by other men of means, was able to make a good deal of money and channel those funds right back into the "little old Appeal".

Reform and radical press efforts were tied into a network of other such papers. At first informal, eventually a number of editors came together to form a Reform Press Association in the early 1890s (Non-Con, Jan. 1891). Alternative presses filled their columns with reprints from their exchanges, papers with a similar political bent; and many offered special "clubbing" rates. For a little more money, a reader could subscribe to two reform or radical papers at a substantial savings.

Each paper studied here reflects, in different ways, the local and national political climate of its time. The Progressive Communist, for example, was not oblivious to the Greenback party movement in Kansas. The communists had lived in Kansas since 1871, and the election the following year had focused on reform issues (Malin, 1964:20). With the election of 1876, and the rise of the Greenback movement, Kansas joined the protest vote (Lutzky, 1951:28).

Beginning with 1875, and the Progressive Communist, this chapter presents an analysis of each press and each producer in chronological order. Political issues and party movements affecting each are discussed in their appropriate context, but the thrust of this chapter is to develop the press itself. Following individual cases, the four papers are systematically compared in line with the empirical framework developed earlier, and a picture of the alternative press as a forgotten historical institution begins to emerge.

## PROGRESSIVE COMMUNIST

William Frey, Editor (1839-1888)

By all accounts, Vladimir Konstantinovich Geins was not a patient man in any of his incarnations. Existing photographs show a man with piercing eyes, a passionate man of ideas, impatient with those who had not his foresight. As a young nihilist in Russia, as the re-christened William Frey ("free"), as plains communist, as Comtean positivist, he exhibited a tireless zeal that drew people to him but ultimately alienated many.

Frey's career as an editor was short-lived, less than one year. Although the life of the Progressive Communist was brief, it bears the mark of a failed utopian effort and illustrates an early form of socialism that would surface as a more sophisticated doctrine by century's end.

The study of Frey himself from firsthand accounts presents some difficulty. Many accounts are in the original Russian, and Frey's personal papers are housed in the New York Public Library. Fortunately, Frey's life has already been ably treated in a biographical-historical account by Yarmolinsky (1965). His paper was itself the subject of Maher's (1974) unpublished thesis.

Had Frey remained in Russia he would have been marked for military service. His father, and grandfather before him, had been professional soldiers. After graduating from a military college, and receiving a commission in the Guards, Frey rejected military service for a career in science. He studied geodesy at the Academy of General Staff and taught higher mathematics there for a time (Yarmolinsky, 1965:2). The comfortable and genteel future stretching ahead of him, however, was a source of mental anguish. He was the beneficiary of a social system he believed corrupt, despotic, exploitative. As a young man, Yarmolinsky writes that Frey was influenced by the written work of Western thinkers such as Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and

others. He wanted, by age 20, to take some kind of political action. Seven years later, he went through a severe depression, considering suicide. The only remedy he could see was to re-educate himself, and put into action the dreams of the utopian Socialists in the hopeful setting of the United States. Before leaving Russia, he married 20 year-old Maria Slavinskaya, a young woman as devoted to an egalitarian ideal as was Frey himself. Indeed, her devotion to Frey's ideas would outlive her devotion to Frey. The couple landed in Jersey City, April 12, 1868, and gave their names as William and Mary Frey (Yarmolinsky, 1965:7-9).

In the following year, Frey contacted a number of communal groups. Both he and Mary also intensively studied English and Frey quickly developed a reasonable written familiarity with his second language. Early in his stay, Frey contacted John Noyes, leader of the Oneida Community whose Perfectionist teachings had gained attention in Russia. In the spring of 1869, the Freys with their infant daughter, applied to join the community. They were dissuaded from joining by a fellow expatriate. Later that year, Frey again contacted Noyes, this time for the address of The Communist, a journal published by Alcander Longley in rural Missouri. In November, 1869, he applied for admission to the Reunion Community, Longley's group, and was accepted (1965:14-15). The Freys arrived at Reunion in March, 1870.

To this time, Frey was still involved with Russian politics. He expressed interest in the Russian Section of the International Workingmen's Association, based in Geneva. He subscribed to the Bulletin for the Section, and accepted an invitation to be an agent and contributor to the sheet in these words: "I am convinced that revolutionary activity is both necessary and useful, and that organized despotism can only be overthrown by force" (Yarmolinsky, 1965:17). The organization was short-lived and Frey did little for it in the States aside from contributing five dollars to the treasury.



The seed of the idea that sustained him in later years was slowly coming to fruition. Frey began to move away from revolutionary tenets. He believed a lengthy revolution in Europe was inevitable. But he also believed that a small group of individuals, removed from revolutionary activism, could work out a kind of cooperative living plan to ensure maximum happiness. Frey decided to devote his life to this different kind of struggle (Yarmolinsky, 1965:18-19). Reunion Community was Frey's first opportunity to observe firsthand his plan put into action.

Unfortunately, Reunion Community had developed a serious philosophical division. Longley's Communist had advocated complete equality between the sexes sometime before the Frey's arrival. By 1870, some members felt equality could be best achieved as "free lovers". The schism was complete by the summer of 1870. When the air had cleared, and the advocates of free love forcibly removed, Reunion Community consisted of the Freys, the Longleys and Stephen S. Briggs. Briggs, a "hygienic" physician and surgeon and spiritualist, had been an outspoken abolitionist before and during the Civil War. It wasn't too long before friction surfaced between Longley and the others. The Freys, Briggs, and a Russian couple William and Mary had met in Jersey City in 1868, the Brooks, decided to begin their own community. Briggs was dispatched to buy Osage trust land in southeastern Kansas.

#### Progressive Community

Briggs' choice of land was poor. When Frey, Briggs and Brooks arrived in Kansas during the bitter cold winter of 1871, their first days were spent in finding a new location for the community. They settled on land near the small town of Cedar Vale in present-day Chataqua County. In later years, the community would celebrate its anniversary from January 28, 1871.

By the first anniversary, the community had dwindled in size. The

Brooks, who had joined as a business venture, never became convinced of the virtues of communal living. They soon moved to a separate dwelling and broke ties with Frey and the others.

Nonetheless, the community of three adults formally adopted a constitution that year, later reproduced in the Progressive Communist and in Nordhoff's (1875) text. The community was to be considered a family. "The members shall unite in their labor and business, hold their property in common for the use of all, and dwell together in a unitary home." All decisions affecting the community would be made by its members in weekly meetings. Once a new member had been voted in by the community, he or she was to give to the community "all property...without reservation or return." And in return, members would be provided with food, lodging, clothing, education, and care in the event of "sickness, misfortune,...or old age" (Nordhoff, 1965:355-356).

1872 was a difficult year for the remaining members. Mary became ill and returned to New York; Briggs left for a time to visit relations (Yarmolinsky, 1965:36). But by the third year, the community had begun to attract new members. J. G. Truman, a printer by profession, joined the group in December, 1872. Another young Russian, Grigory Machtet, spent eight months in the community as an observer. By April, 1874, the community had eight members and four probationary members. In the fall, they incorporated under Kansas law as a "benevolent and educational institution" (1965:44). Sometime that year, money arrived from Russia for the express purpose of publishing a paper. The first issue of the Progressive Communist was published in January, 1875. This community effort, of uneven quality and reflecting the various philosophies of Frey and Truman, got progressively worse and then simply ceased to exist.

### The Progressive Communist: Ideology

The Progressive Community was part of a larger movement of co-operative efforts that had begun in the United States sometime before the Civil War. By the 1820s, it was obvious to many middle class reformers that the free enterprise system was not working. As the disruptive effects of the industrial revolution began to have national impact, activists looked for a means to stop the inevitable class conflict. One solution seemed to be the spirit of cooperation embodied by these communal efforts.

"In the 1820s and 1830s some nineteen cooperative colonies were founded under the direct inspiration...of Robert Owen. And in the 1840's, Fourier's American disciple, Albert Brisbane, saw the hopeful beginning and dismal ending of more than forty Fourierist phalanxes" (Kipnis, 1952:2). Noyes, of the Oneida community, believed these two strains of "excitement" produced a uniquely American socialism. Although Owen and Fourier were theoretically opposed to one another, Noyes wrote that both hinged on "the enlargement of home -- the extension of family union beyond the little man-and-wife circle to large corporations" (Noyes, 1966:23). By the early 1870s, Noyes and his Perfectionists had survived more than two decades. Frey and his fellows firmly believed, with Noyes, that a new form of the family was the social unit of the future. There could be no compromise. This was the tone set in the early issues of the Progressive Communist.

The paper had a dual purpose. It publicized the community as a viable effort in an attempt to attract like-minded others. Less successfully, the paper tried to instruct readers in the philosophical and political brand of communism practiced by the progressive communists. In the first issue, Frey explained,

We are progressive, because we reject in toto the idea of reducing mankind to one standard...let the reader judge for himself who is more assuming: we -- progressive communists -- or those who think that outside of their narrow belief, there is no salvation, no way to get out of the present misery (January, 1875).

The readers Frey addressed were certainly limited. Maher (1974) reports only 65 paid subscribers and nowhere is mention made of how many copies of the paper were actually circulated. Maher speculates that most were given away. From the first issue, Frey's more serious, didactic pen was balanced by Truman's flirtation with spiritualism, nudism, and his later attempts at reproducing communistic thought through "romances" and drama. The eventual split between the two men can be seen from the first issue. Truman's contributions included a rather cloudy treatise on women's rights ("The Social Question"), an article on labor and capital, a piece describing the geographical location of the community, and a critical essay on Grant's affiliation with "gold-hearted" capitalists. Frey, ever the teacher, concentrated on pieces showing how philosophy could be translated into action. He wrote a piece on community success and another on the meaning of "progressive" communism, quoted above.

Throughout its brief life, the Progressive Communist was an eight page, 10 by 12 folio (Maher, 1974). Despite Frey's desire to issue a communist paper, the community was sorely limited in editorial talent. In the early issues, all original material was furnished by Frey, Truman and Briggs. The remaining space was filled with reprinted materials from other community circulars.

In his article, "The Secret of Success" Frey had written, "Is it not the object of communism to realize the most complex form of society? Does it not embrace numerous reforms clamored for throughout the world? Health reform, labor reform, educational reform, reforms in marriage and in family life..." (January, 1875). As he wrote, the ideal did not betray the bleakness of the real. Frey had begun to have problems keeping his own marriage intact. When Machtet had visited the community in 1872, he and Mary Frey

became lovers. Mary left the community for a time, but on her return, became involved with yet another Russian member, Vladimir Muromtzev. The second affair had been more serious, and Frey, believing Mary to still love Machtet, was furious when the truth surfaced in the winter of 1875. Mary left the progressive communists with Muromtzev that spring.

During her absence, two more couples and a woman with three small children joined the others. One of the new members, a Mrs. Robbins, was also a spiritualist. From the beginning, the American spiritualists and the Russian materialists had had an uneasy truce. But with the arrival of Mrs. Robbins, and her contributions to the Progressive Communist on spiritualism, the rift between the two factions began to widen. Spiritualism made its way into the columns of the Progressive Communist from the second issue of the paper, when very bad poetry "through the mediumship of E. M. Pearsoll" became a regular feature.

In June, Frey decided the differences between him and the spiritualists were too great to be reconciled. Truman wrote that, "Mr. Frey announced his firm conviction that under present circumstances he can better work for the cause by withdrawing from us and starting another community by the side of this" (June, 1875). Truman's brief statement concluded on the note that the two communities would continue to cooperate, that no breach was implied.

This was not at all the case as was shown in the first issue of Frey's insert in the Progressive Communist. Beginning in July, 1875, pages four and five were taken up with the Social Investigator, the name of Frey's new venture. With customary bluntness, he wrote,

Communists who would like to make their paper readable by all classes of people and suitable to all tasks must inevitably mix valuable information with second-hand articles of a very inferior value and with compilation from other papers (SI, July, 1875).

He promised his readers he would not resort to poetry, or "...trash of any kind to fill the place."

Truman, who had probably not seen Frey's July copy before the paper went to press, called attention in that issue to the fact that correspondence had fallen off. "By the tone of some of the letters...we have received," he wrote, "we should think that the impression has gone abroad that the Progressive Community is about breaking up. Nothing is further from the fact" (PC, July, 1875). The division, he continued, was a formal one in that the community became what it had been socially all the time: two communities. By August, after the shock of Frey's comments, Truman lambasted his fellow communist. In an article on community leadership, he attacked those communists whose "eyes are upon the leadership." And,

...when they find they cannot rule they are ready to split up, divide, and sometimes destroy all that they have done... This class has done more to discourage true communism and to block up the way of social improvement than all the "dead heads" and lazy persons could do...(T)hese persons are bound to rule or ruin; and they will work against...the whole, if thereby they think that they can overthrow some fancied rival to leadership (PC, August, 1875).

Elsewhere, in a truly vituperative vein, Truman did not bother to veil to whom he referred. He wrote, "If our friends want a despotism why did they not stay in Russia where there is plenty of it?" (August, 1875).

The documentation of this disintegration did not long continue. Mary had returned to Frey in June, pregnant by Muromtzev. The last regular issue of the Social Investigator appeared September, 1875. In October, Frey announced the sad state the community had fallen into. The men were all ill, one member had defected, and the burden of responsibility had fallen upon the two women. At this time, Mary was in an advanced state of pregnancy. With regret, Frey wrote:

We cherished the idea of having our own organ. It was through our instrumentality that the press and printing materials were obtained...but the reality taught us a heavy lesson... (P)rinting must follow but not precede the material welfare of the community...(F)rom this month the Social Investigator may be regarded as temporarily suspended (October, 1875).

Truman and company continued the Progressive Communist for two more months. In December, Truman announced the beginning of the second volume. "There is no money in the treasury nor debt to pay; but we have sufficient materials to print it for about six months or longer at our present rate of issue" (PC, December, 1875). There was never a second volume.

So Frey's brief career in journalism ended although his faith in a communistic utopia continued to sustain him. He and Mary, with Bella and little "Wolly" who Frey adopted as his own son, went on to live in the nearby Cedarvale Community with another group of Russians. Sometime later, they helped begin a Jewish settlement in Oregon. Frey converted to Positivism in 1879 and spreading that doctrine consumed the latter portion of his life. He and Mary, despite their differences and difficulties, remained together until his death. The Freys left the United States in 1885. In July of that year, Frey returned to Russia although he was not to live there again. The family had re-located in London. Three years later, Frey was dead at age 49. Mary was to outlive him by many years. Both Bella and Wolly lived out their years in institutions for the insane.

As for Truman and the rest who had remained at the original site of the Progressive Community, there are few records. Yarmolinsky reports that the community probably folded sometime before the spring of 1878, and that the printing press was offered to Frey (1965:87). In the Chicago edition of Lucifer for July 23, 1898, an article on marriage and the church has the by-line "J. G. Truman". Truman, in his middle-thirties early in the life of the Progressive Community, would have been a mature man in his fifties or early sixties at the time of writing. The style and the subject offer a reasonable possibility that Truman had not totally given up his ideals of an improved society.

## LUCIFER, THE LIGHT-BEARER (1883-1907)

Moses Harman, Editor (1830-1910)

When Moses Harman died on January 30, 1910, his daughter Lillian published a memorial issue of his last publication, The American Journal of Eugenics. It was a fitting tribute. Harman was mourned, in print, by those whose political impotence had found in him a champion; by the great, and by those who have faded into obscurity as has Harman himself. Eugene V. Debs, editor and political agitator, penned a memorial which later appeared in J. A. Wayland's Appeal to Reason.

As the editor of Lucifer (Debs wrote), Harman's life was a continuous round of poverty, privation and persecution...He knew nothing about the ways of harshness and brutality employed by conventional society to keep its victims in darkness and subjection, but strangely enough he was made to feel them all as if to prove that "upon the tenderest heart the deepest shadow falls" (American Journal of Eugenics, 1910:29-30).

George Bernard Shaw's angry letter also appeared in this tribute edition.

He wrote:

Dear Lillian Harman: It seems nothing short of a miracle that your father should have succeeded in living seventy-nine years in a country so extremely dangerous for men who have both enlightened opinions and the courage of them as the United States of America. It is certainly no fault of the Americans that he did not die before; that last imprisonment of his was really an outrage to political decency (American Journal of Eugenics, 1910:11).

With the memorial issue, Eugenics suspended publication. So ended Moses Harman's thirty years in publishing. He died in his own bed in Los Angeles, his death possibly hastened by his last prison term, spent breaking rock in the harsh Illinois winter at age 75.

He had been more things than most men. He had been a minister, a teacher, an editor and author, a publisher and a convict. He had been called iconoclast, radical, freethinker, atheist, and anarchist. Unlike those who threw this last epithet, Harman did not find these labels offensive. He



once wrote that "anarchist" is an expressive name, meaning self-government or "government from within instead of from without." He concluded,

The writer of this does not object to being called an Anarchist, any more than he objects to being called an Abolitionist, a Freethinker, an Infidel or an Atheist (Kansas Liberal, 1882).

Harman was born October 12, 1830, in Pendleton County, West Virginia. He lived briefly in Ohio and Indiana, but eventually, his family settled in Crawford County, Missouri in 1838. Harman attended college in Arcadia, Missouri. He was a voracious reader, possibly due to an accidental fall in childhood that crippled him (Sears, 1977: 29). Ordained as a Methodist minister before age 20, Harman severed ties with the church before the Civil War. As an abolitionist, he could not accept the church's view of slavery (West, 1971). He left Missouri for a time, returning around 1860. Harman and a fellow abolitionist, Stephan S. Briggs, earned notoriety for their abolitionist views. The residents of Crawford County voted to run both men out of the territory (Sears, 1977:30).

Moses Harman married Susan Scheuk, the daughter of a slain Union sympathizer, on July 25, 1866. They had two children. George was born in 1867, Lillian was two years younger. In 1877, Susan Scheuk Harman died of childbirth complications. She survived her infant by only a few days (Sears, 1977; West, 1971).

Two years later, Harman and his children moved from Missouri to Jefferson County, Kansas. By 1880, he was teaching school as he had in Missouri, and had married Isabelle Hiser of Valley Falls. That same year, Harman joined the Valley Falls Liberal League. At the age of fifty, he became a journalist (West, 1971). After a debate on Christianity in the columns of the Valley Falls New Era grew to unmanageable proportions, the

Liberal League decided to publish their own freethought journal (Lucifer, April 3, 1885). The four page, monthly Valley Falls Liberal was begun in August, 1880. In the beginning, obviously the organ of the league, state and local league activities were reported. Like other freethought papers, it crusaded for women's rights, free speech and, to a limited extent, radical political systems. Those reformers who "defined liberalism in libertarian...terms attracted sex radicals to the cause and nurtured others" (Sears, 1977:41). Harman was one of those nurtured.

He wrote as "Rustic" for the Valley Falls Liberal. An article, "Marriage", signed "R." is probably Harman's work, and a foreshadowing of the cause with which he would be aligned (Malin, 1964). The article pokes at the sacred nature of marriage, questioning why so many marriages sanctified by proxy (clergy) turn out so badly (Valley Falls Liberal, September, 1880). "Rustic's" pieces were in keeping with the Liberal's aim "to provoke controversy and to bring comments from subscribers" by ridiculing the agents of Christianity (West, 1971).

In November, 1880, Moses Harman and A. J. Searle, also a schoolteacher, were elected co-editors by members of the Liberal League. At the end of its first year of publication, Harman announced a name change to the Kansas Liberal and the expansion of the paper. The Valley Falls Liberal, he wrote, was a probationary experiment. Although the paper had not been the financial success its projectors had hoped for, enough support had been rallied to continue its publication. Harman stated the renamed publication would "aim to present the claims of Freethought or Rationalism, and to be the earnest advocate of REFORM, in the best sense of that much abused word" (Valley Falls Liberal, July, 1881).

The larger Kansas Liberal made its appearance in September. Beneath the name plate appeared its credo: Total Separation of the State from Supernatural Theology. Perfect Equality before the Law for all Men and

Women. No Priviledged Classes or Orders -- no Monopolies" (Kansas Liberal, September, 1881). In that first issue, Harman declared his independence. The new name, Kansas Liberal, had been suggested by others. He said,

We hope this name will not be regarded by the Liberals of Kansas as an Assumption or Claim to be their Organ. All we ask is a share of their Patronage and Support (Kansas Liberal, September, 1881).

The Kansas Liberal was the success its predecessor had been. By January, 1882, Harman announced the paper would begin appearing on a weekly or fortnightly basis. He moved the Liberal to Lawrence for a period of six months, then returned to Valley Falls. The year was an important one for Harman. Searle had left the paper, and a farm boy anarchist from Norway, Iowa, Edwin Cox Walker, replaced Searle as Harman's co-editor. Walker eloquently introduced himself to the paper's readers:

In assuming the co-partnership of this paper I do not in the least underrate the difficulties which beset the Liberal publisher and journalist...In its editorial columns, the Kansas Liberal will express the views of its editors rather than those of the presumably hostile majority. It may be true that it is the mission of the metropolitan journal to gather the news, and reflect popular prejudices by seeking to conserve what is, instead of prophesizing that which should be; but the reform paper has a far more difficult and pecuniarily paying task. It can do no less than to point to the evils existing in individual life, society and government, and labor for their elimination (Kansas Liberal, 1882).

Harman had a rather unusual system of dating his papers. The Valley Falls Liberal, for a time, bore the date "A.N. 105." The paper, Harman explained, was dated from the American revolution rather than affixing a Judeo-Christian date. The Kansas Liberal was dated by "Era of Man" following the National Liberal League's designation. Thus, the year 1883 became E.M. 283. The Liberals dated from 1600, when scientist Giordano Bruno was martyred. 1600 was a dividing line "between the Dark Ages of priestly and kingly rule on the one hand and the era of modern mental enlightenment and personal liberty on the other" (Kansas Liberal, Jaunary, 1883). January, 1883,

began a new series of the Kansas Liberal. The new numbering was due to irregular publication. For the greater part of two and a half years, the Liberal was issued as a monthly; for two months it appeared weekly, and for the rest of the time, it was issued as a fortnightly publication.

#### Lucifer, the Light-Bearer: Ideology and Response

The Kansas Liberal's metamorphosis into Lucifer, the Light-Bearer was not announced in advance. The new name appeared in August, 1883, and unlike the "liberal" appendage, was chosen by Harman and Walker. Harman explained that because the paper was not local in character, many subscribers had urged that "Kansas" be dropped. Further, he said, so many papers carried the name "liberal" that it caused confusion. "(I)n looking over the field we find two Latin words that strike us as very appropriate: Lux, light, and Ferre, to bear, or to carry -- hence the compound word Lucifer, or Light-Bearer" (Lucifer, August, 1883). Lucifer would continue the charge of the Kansas Liberal: "We abate not one jot of our opposition to all religions, political and social systems which seek to bow men and women in the dust of obedience at the feet of Authority" (Lucifer, August, 1883). Harman also continued to stress the paper's autonomy. In no sense, wrote Harman, was Lucifer the organ of the Kansas Liberals or any branch of them. To judge from the strength of rhetoric, the reader a century later may wonder at these Kansas liberals and the network of national freethinkers. In fact, a national organization of freethinkers never developed (Sears, 1972:383), although Kansas had an active state organization. And as time passed, Lucifer became more aligned with issues more specific than contesting authority; issues that would result in the legal harassment of its editor and publisher.

As editor of the Kansas Liberal, Harman had continued in the tradition of other freethought publications. Equal space had been allotted to movement progress, the hotly contested notion of prohibition, the labor movement and expression of anti-monopolist sentiments. As years passed, however, Harman's Lucifer came to focus increasingly on sexual politics and dealt less with broader economic, political and social issues. Harman found his focus in a movement that had no spokesperson, and little respectability. His journal, the only one of its age standing for sexual liberty, placed him firmly in the camp of sex radicalism.

The historical backdrop for Harman's sexual anarchism began several decades prior to 1883. Sex radicalism, or free love, initially shared a symbiotic relationship with spiritualism and the feminist movement. Together, these three movements were characterized as the great mid-nineteenth century "infidelities." Feminism, or infidelity to male supremacy, began as an organized movement in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Spiritualism, the infidelity to organized religion by direct communion with the spirit world, began with the Hydesville rappings in 1848. And free love, originally characterized by infidelity to the primary social relationship of the family began during the same period. The three infidelities supported one another -- a good reformer worked in all three areas. But of the three, free love was seen as being the most threatening (Sears, 1977:6-8). As feminism took a more conventional turn, lobbying for the vote and opting for moderate political leverage, free lovers became closer philosophically to the spiritualists. Spiritualism was emphatically secular and individualistic, freeing the believer from the bonds of dogma and the authority of the church. And "the notion of "affinity" in spiritualism offered a romantic freedom from the constriction of familism" (Sears, 1977:21).

Two factions of sex radicals developed in the 1870s, coinciding with a split in the spiritualist movement. Exclusivist sex radicals, like Victoria Woodhull, believed true love created true marriage between two persons alone. Varietists, such as Moses Hull, believed love to be more "general than specific in its objects" (Sears, 1977:22). By the 1870s, much of this debate was moot. Victoria Woodhull left the country and renounced her earlier work; many sex radicals deserted the cause. The later radical-reform movement that Moses Harman supported in his Lucifer had a broader base than marriage reform and sexual liberty. Added concerns included the right to a free press in Comstock's America, and the right to educate about birth control and sexuality (Sears, 1977).

So, Harman and his Lucifereans came onto the scene after the movement had peaked, when the term "free love" signified sexual anarchy and indiscriminate promiscuity. Harman's task was to re-organize and educate his readers. One reader explained,

It is not the office of radical journalism to develop unanimity of belief or opinion. Discussion differentiates. Differentiation leads to organization; but organization does not involve the extinction of individuality (Lucifer, January 16, 1885).

Harman's journalism, which he admitted was "personal", might not have struck the responsive chord in his readers had he not tested the law on libertarian grounds. His Lucifer had drawn fire from the local press, but in 1886, Harman, Walker and Lillian began a lengthy series of battles in the Kansas judicial system, uniting sex radicals in a common cause. Had he not become a willing martyr, his paper would have certainly suffered more than financial problems. As a journalist, Harman's editorial vision was limited. The same ideas were re-cycled during the sixteen years he published in Kansas; the discursive, eclectic tone of Lucifer continued even after Harman's move to Chicago.

Harman's Tactics: Comstock's America

Harman's rejection of institutional marriage has been explained. Several years before Lucifer came down clearly on the side of the sex radicals, he had argued that marriage was the most important act in the life of a man or woman. He wrote, "does it not stand to reasons that this, of all others, should be their own ACT and DEED?" (Valley Falls Liberal, September, 1880). So it was, by their own act and deed, that Lillian Harman, 16 and Edwin Cox Walker, 37, declared themselves married before witnesses September 20, 1886. They were quickly arrested on the charge of "living together as man and wife without being married." At the time, Kansas had no legal recourse for common law marriage bonds, and Lillian and Walker were promptly jailed. Columns continued to appear in Lucifer, written by Walker, and rather dramatically titled "To Jail and There." The first of many such defense funds was raised by a readership who responded to the hypocrisy of legislators failing to recognize consensual marriage. Lillian and Walker's ordeal continued for seven months, ending with the arrest of Moses and George Harman and Walker for the publication of "obscene" materials in Lucifer's columns. As explained in a lengthy summation, the couple had remained jailed on principle. When the publishers of Lucifer were arrested, both decided the issue of a free press and free mails subsumed the specific marriage issue (Lucifer, April 8, 1887).

This period marked the beginning of legal proceedings against Harman and Lucifer that would continue for nine years. To better understand the legislative martyrdom of Harman, it is necessary to understand the heavy hand of Anthony Comstock of the New York Vice Society. The Comstock law, passed in 1873, was an attempt to legislate morality in Victorian America. The statute, while declining to define "obscenity", barred obscene matter from the mails as well as other "immoral" materials such as birth control

information. Harman had defended Ezra Heywood, publisher of The Word, through the columns of the Kansas Liberal. Heywood had been arrested in 1876 for distributing a pamphlet on birth control, "Cupid Yokes", under the Comstock statute (Sears, 1972:380). It was only a matter of time before Harman would follow Heywood's lead.

When he printed the Markland letter, which would send him to jail twice, Moses Harman was standing behind the free-language policy he had announced in Lucifer. The offending letter, so innocuous today, sent Lucifereans scattering into two camps. And the protest against government censorship eventually drove a wedge between Harman and Walker. The letter, from a Tennessee physician, related a case where a husband had forced himself upon his wife, sexually, after her recent injury in childbirth. The act of intercourse caused severe physical damage. Markland asked Lucifer's readers if there was not such a thing as legal rape. That portion of the letter pounced on in the indictment read,

If a man stabs his wife to death with a knife, does not the law hold him for murder?...If he murders her with his penis, what does the law do? (Lucifer, June 18, 1886).

With true misplaced Victorian outrage, the indictment came to center on the word "penis" rather than what the letter described. Harman summed his anger without repeating the heinous word. "The particular word upon which the indictment is supposed to rest is the scientific name of the male organ... heretofore presumably safe from attack by the meddling of the Vice Society" (Lucifer, April 8, 1887). In a later Lucifer, Harman expressed to his readers his ignorance of what the indicted matter was in its entirety. Five issues of the paper had been confiscated but, wrote Harman, "with a...duplicitous worthy only of the old-World Anti-heresy Inquisition we are left to guess what the articles are that have offended our immaculate censors" (Lucifer, April, 1887). The April 20 edition happily announced the indictment had been



"Quashed!" in a three-banner headline, but a week later, Harman and company were re-indicted. The materials involved were the Markland letter, a letter written to correspondent Elmina Slenker (published June 25, 1886), an anecdote entitled "Family Secrets", and Elmina's reply to a correspondent (published January 14, 1887) that addressed the subjects of male continence and birth control.

Walker, perhaps unnerved by the prospect of spending time at Lansing or Leavenworth, announced plans to begin his own "Radical fortnightly". Although he claimed in Lucifer's columns a belief that "more classes of liberal thinkers can be reached with two liberal papers", he was wary of Harman's plain speech policy. Fair Play, published by Lillian and Walker, appeared in June, 1888. Initially, it appeared there was no enmity between Harman and Walker. Fair Play carried news of the court proceedings and staunchly defended the principles involved:

...Arguments, facts, appeals to the sense of justice and fair play, were all of no avail; the government-spy machine did not stop: M. and G.S. Harman were arrested, kept in suspense for more than a year, and then the indictments were quashed. But immediately the enemies of free speech and women's emancipation began again the work of inciting the authorities to fresh invasion of our citizen rights, and in a few days a new batch of indictments were found (Fair Play, June 2, 1888).

Just a year later, Walker was more open about his reasons for beginning Fair Play. Responding to a reader's letter in a lengthy editorial titled "Battle for Principles, Not Words", Walker reflected on the "plain style" taken up (specifically) by Lucifer. The irresponsibility of an editor could jeopardize the innocent, he wrote. And:

...no matter how often the offending individual, the blundering publisher of worse than useless matter, may declare, "I assume all the responsibility," the feeling will remain that the codefendants sympathize with his injudicious actions" (Fair Play, July, 1889).

The editorial concluded on the note that Walker could remain silent no longer -- that he objected to the publication of matter "which is in no

possible way likely to help advance the cause in whose service we struggle and endure."

Harman responded quickly with an exposition on the right to use plain words and a commentary on his son-in-law's editorial. Obviously stung by the criticism, he noted that Walker's editorial was the most "...formidable and damaging assault that has ever been made upon Lucifer" (Lucifer, July, 1889). The rift between the two men was not immediately healed, but when the Valley Falls Register took note, Walker quickly responded that while he differed from Harman as to methods of "propaganda", "there are none who better know or will more cheerfully testify to the sincerity and uncompromising earnestness of Moses Harman" (Fair Play, August 10, 1889).

When Harman was finally brought to trial in April, 1890, charges were dismissed against E.C. Walker and George Harman. Neither had been directly involved with Lucifer at the time the indicted materials appeared. Moses Harman was sentenced to five years in the penitentiary and fined three hundred dollars (Fair Play, May 10, 1890). In the meantime, Harman had been arrested again for publication of the O'Neill letter. That letter made explicit reference to oral-genital sexual contact, a practice Victorian society did not even acknowledge.

On May 2, 1890, Harman was imprisoned at Leavenworth. He was released by late August on a legal technicality. After his release, he moved Lucifer from Valley Falls to Topeka in September, 1890. By this time, Fair Play had been relocated in Sioux City, Iowa due to Walker's poor health. Otherwise, the remainder of 1890 and 1891 passed rather uneventfully. Then in June, 1892, Harman was again jailed for the period of one year. All charges by this time were focused on the Markland letter which had appeared six years previously. Lois Waisbrooker, herself a well-known campaigner for women's rights, took over the paper in Harman's absence. This arrangement was

short-lived; by the last week in August, Lillie D. White stepped in as acting editor.

After serving ten months of this sentence, Harman was released. Still his legal troubles were not over. The Lucifer of 1893 and 1894 carried little of the Comstock entanglement involving the publisher. In response to a reader who asked why this was the case, Harman replied:

I do not say much about myself -- except in so far as my personality is inseparately connected with Lucifer's work -- because I think principles are the proper subject of attention and discussion, and not persons. Also because of the fact that the charge has frequently been made that our conflict with the officials of government, both state and national, was knowingly provoked by Mr. E. C. Walker and myself in order to get notoreity for ourselves and for the paper Lucifer...These reasons...seem to dictate that I should say as little as possible about my own personal affairs (March 9, 1894).

In 1895, imprisoned for the O'Neill letter, Harman announced plans to begin a quarterly magazine, Our New Humanity. The new effort, and Lucifer, were in Lillian's hands. She had returned to Lucifer's offices in Topeka with her daughter, Vida. E. C. Walker had moved to New York. The couple had chosen to spearate.

The third incarceration took its toll on Harman. His health suffered, and his eyes began to bother him. He kept a diary during his time in Leavenworth; Lillian excerpted portions in her memorial. The day before his sixty-sixth birthday he wrote that he was "mending" but that his eyes were weak and painful. The entry concluded, "Shall I ever see the close of another year of my life in prison? Hope it is not all in vain..." (AJE, 1910: 33-36). Beneath the words of her father, Lillian commented that even if Harman had known that he would spend another birthday in prison (in 1906), "...he would have gone on just the same." A letter printed in Lucifer during Harman's imprisonment indicates the depth of support the isolated editor received from loyal readers. The letter read, "Grover Cleveland in the White House and Moses Harman in the penitentiary -- what a sad comment upon

our American civilization" (Lucifer, June 21, 1895).

Almost immediately after Harman's release, he and Lillian announced plans to move the paper to Chicago. April 24, 1896, Lucifer appeared with Chicago by the dateline. The formal reasons for the move included the large number of subscribers in Chicago and advantages of issuing the paper from a large commercial center. Despite Harman's ties to supportive Kansans, he must have felt some sense of bitterness after three prison terms, time served for rebelling against the smugness of the American village" (Sears, 1972:382). Sears comments that Harman's "sex and anarchist interests did not endear him to the Populist reform movement centered in Kansas in the early nineties" (1972:386).

The move to Chicago did not end Harman's Comstock persecution. Lucifer was repeatedly seized, by direct order from Washington, and refused access to the mails (Sears, 1972:387). Still Harman persevered. By January, 1897, Lucifer's format was changed to an eight-page tabloid and a third series begun. E. C. Walker's name again appears on the Masthead in 1898 as Lucifer's "Eastern Representative." Regular features, exorcising the same demons of repression, began to appear. One of these was the serialized "Sociologic Lesson." Harman was imprisoned for the last time in 1905 for two articles, apparently picked at random, on sex education (Sears, 1972:387).

Lucifer was succeeded by the American Journal of Eugenics in 1907, a logical progression from Harman's continued concern regarding the enslavement of women. Sears (1972:389) points out the distinction between Harman's anarchist eugenics and the racist eugenics which later followed. Anarchists believed that a child's character could be prenatally influenced. Thus, enslaved mothers could only produce enslaved human beings. Harman's earliest mention of stiripculture or eugenics is in the mid-1880s; he became more

convinced of its significance as years passed. The American Journal of Eugenics was moved to Los Angeles in 1908. An issue had just come off the press, and Harman had supervised its mailing, when he became ill and died. When Lillian announced suspension of the publication, she mentioned plans to publish her father's papers with a biographical treatment. For whatever reason, there is no evidence that such a biography ever appeared.

In all, Harman left behind an indelible mark on the alternative press efforts in Kansas. His papers were published in the state for sixteen years. His Light-Bearer Press produced several political reform pamphlets. One of Harman's tracts, Digging for Bedrock (1890), was published in Valley Falls before Lucifer made the move to Topeka. The Light-Bearer Press also reproduced and sold copies of the indicted articles of 1886, and the defense offered by attorneys G. C. Clemens and David Overmyer (1889). As Harman himself said, he can be known through Lucifer, an intensely personal publication. To the end, he remained an advocate of freethought, free love, free speech and other freedoms abhorred by the "Nation of Villagers" that was America in the 1890s. He lived by Spencer's formula, which he paraphrased and quoted: Each has the right to do as he pleases so long as he does not invade the equal rights of others (AJE, 1910:37).

#### Life After Lucifer

Lucifer was a paper that, in one sense, out-lived its movement. Harman's awareness of this was reflected in the name change to the American Journal of Eugenics, coupled with a more scholarly format. By the turn of the century, the popular press had begun to discuss marriage, divorce and sex education -- topics that had been the province of the sex radicals. Articles accepted in the established press were indicted in the alternative press. And although the surviving sex radicals welcomed the new discussion, a greater ease of divorce rather undermined the ideas of "free love" and autonomistic marriage.

Possibly the greatest failure of the sex radicals was their failure to have "obscenity" legislatively defined. The federal law was not revised until 1930, and Comstock-type statutes are still in the books today, retrieved now as then, when best suits the pursuit of justice.

#### THE AMERICAN NON-CONFORMIST AND KANSAS INDUSTRIAL LIBERATOR

##### Henry Vincent, Editor (1862-1935)

The story of the Vincent brothers in Kansas is intertwined with the prevailing political winds of Populism that swept the Midwest in the 1880s and 1890s. It was a unique period when reform editors such as Henry Vincent were able to reconcile the aims of labor and of agriculture. It was a violent period when tempers flared, plots were hatched and secret societies exposed.

Until recently, little biographical material was available on the life of Henry Vincent. Piehler (1979) suggests this is due to three factors: the brief period that Vincent was an active force in the state (five years); his refusal to run for office or accept an appointment when the Populists gained power; and, until recently, Vincent's letters and documents had been forgotten. Several of the Vincents are filed in the Kansas State Historical Society Circulars -- Henry, his brothers Leopold and Cuthbert, his father James, and mother, Mary Sheldon Vincent. Henry's circular is in his handwriting and, contrary to printed instructions, not fully completed.

The Vincent brothers grew up in an atmosphere of agitation. Their father, James Sr., was an ardent abolitionist and Congregational minister. He married Mary Sheldon, a young woman from Ohio, and the couple settled in Tabor, Iowa. They had five sons, James Jr., Maurice, Cuthbert, Leo and Henry (Kansas State Historical Society, n.d.). The senior Vincent began the Non-Conformist in 1879, seven years before Henry and Leo brought it to Kansas. None of these earlier issues remain (Piehler, 1979). Remembering the beginning of the

NonCon, Henry Vincent wrote,

Let's see, just nine years ago this week, in the attic of the old home in Iowa, two boys with a card press and a 100 pounds of old type, issued the first number of the NonCon... (W)ell do we recall the comments made by the townspeople upon its first appearance. Some regarded it as a crazy ventur,...others who had known for 25 years the metal (sic) of the senior editor regarded its advent with fear and trembling, for it meant more than idle play (Winfield Non-Conformist, July 26, 1888).

When James Vincent, Sr. retired, Henry and Leo brought the NonCon to Winfield, Kansas. Both were young men in their twenties. The first issue from Winfield, continuing the numbering the last Tabor issue, was Volume VII, Number 20. The subscription list numbered about 1,600 (Non-Conformist, Oct. 7, 1886). Among other things, the first issue introduced the Vincent brothers and their weekly to that community, re-stated the guiding principles of the paper, and tested the local political climate:

This journal has always maintained that the revolution which is going on -- and by the way, does the reader realize that we are now, not on the eve of, but a good beginning is already made in, the grandest revolution that has ever been conducted... (I)t is destined to overthrow despotism the world over; corrupt courts, corrupt senates, corrupt governments, corporations, monopolites, aristocracies, monarchies, empires all resemble so many pins. Labor organized is the ball to be skillfully hurled to knock them down... (Non-Conformist, Oct. 7, 1886).

#### Non-Conformist: Ideology and Hidden Brotherhoods

During the five years he published in Kansas, Henry Vincent concentrated on the same kinds of issues. As seen from the quote above, Vincent felt strongly about plutocracy, monopolies and was, initially, a great supporter of the Knights of Labor. Articles of substance in the early issues dealt with the Knights and their Union Labor party, issues that concerned farmers and laborers such as taxation and currency reform, and consistently condemned money men like Jay Gould and Russell Sage. Although news of the Farmer's Alliance was occasionally given space, the Alliance lost out to labor concerns.

In 1888, Vincent published a list of 29 Union Labor papers, including the NonCon in that number. On the eve of state and national elections, he advised, "Now is the time to start your papers. Every county where a fight is to be made should have a paper of their own" (March 15, 1888). Vincent's involvement with the Knights of Labor fueled an attempt to discredit him and his brothers. By late 1887, he and Leopold had been joined by Cuthbert who served as field representative and worked the lecture circuit (Piehler, 1979:15). The attack against the Vincents was some time in coming, but began to develop almost from their first days in Winfield.

Henry Vincent had identified tactically where he stood from the first issue of the NonCon with his impassioned defense of the Haymarket radicals. This single act, as Piehler writes, may have tipped off the locals to the breed of radicals they harbored (Piehler, 1979:15). The Haymarket riot and bombing in Chicago, and the subsequent arrest of seven men on the basis of specious evidence, aroused in the popular mind of the 1880s the idea of anarchist as terrorist. Four of the seven men indicted for murder were condemned to die, essentially for unpopular political views. It was no coincidence that Moses Harman's litigations began after his defense of the men (Sear, 1977:97). Neither was it coincidental that the Vincent's problems began after they had defended the Haymarket radicals and condemned the system that put them to death.

The attack against the Vincents was led by Edwin P. Greer, publisher of the Republican Courier. An anti-anarchist backlash was coming to a head in 1888. Greer, a former state legislator, had power and influence on his side. The Vincents, while without power per se, had their paper. The NonCon marshalled its own kind of power. It was, in Vincent's words, the "people's paper" (Piehler, 1979:15). Vincent didn't bother to distinguish between the Republicans and Democrats, as evidenced by the Demo-Republican prayer he published in August, 1888. The text reads, in part,



...oh Lord, repent of this great evil that Thou hast done to the American people, and regulate production...(B)e with us, for we are in need of Thy services, and if you do not regulate the production, we are certainly lost, lost!, [etc.]

The stage was set for a lengthy battle, with recriminations on both sides. All that was needed was something with which to pin the title "anarchist" on the Vincent brothers.

In the fall of 1888, George W. Poorman, a printer fired by the Vincents, supplied Edwin Greer with ammunition. Poorman sold Greer copies of a secret, oath-bound society, printed in the offices of the NonCon (Piehler, 1979:16). The story that emerged can be told rather more dispassionately than Greer's version.

When the Union Labor party was organized in Cincinnati, February 22, 1887, a number of the Kansas delegation had been initiated into a secret society known as the Videttes. The Videttes adopted a military form of organization, and their membership was limited to white males of "superior intelligence" whose wealth did not exceed \$10,000 (Malin, 1964:159-160). The society met a day or two before the Cincinnati convention to secretly prepare the convention program. In this manner "the political party was virtually a captive organization, the rank and file members not knowing of the manipulations of the Videttes" (Malin, 1964:161). When the Kansas council met in March, 1888 at Yates Center, Kansas, the Vincents were designated as the Vidette printing house until completion of an organization plant. A few months later, the Union Labor party held its convention at Wichita to adopt a thirteen point program. Nothing was said about the regulation of railroads or monopolies (Malin, 1964:34-35).

Poorman had supplied Greer with copies of the coded constitution of the Videttes, their ritual, and minutes of the Yates Center and Wichita council meetings (1964:162). Greer published his first exposé of the Videttes on

October 5, 1888. As the election was only a month away, Greer made the most of advantageous timing, claiming that "the headquarters of a secret band of anarchist conspirators had been discovered in Winfield" (Piehler, 1979:16). After Greer's exposé, other Republican party officials became involved. A second account was published in the Courier of October 18, and in several other party papers around the state. The Republicans swept the election in November. The NonCon noted,

The g.o.p. had armfuls of sheets of their great discovery of the secret order they call the Videttes, Anarchists, etc., and they were either afraid or ashamed to sign their names to the paper...and called it a "supplement" (NonCon, November 22, 1888).

And a week later,

...It has developed by that most powerful of all, circumstantial evidence, that a conspiracy, a distinct understanding, existed among certain leading men in the g.o.p. whereby the Union Labor party were to be scattered to the four winds (NonCon, November 29, 1888).

Neither the Vincents or their adversaries were acting under the purest of motives. The Republicans had successfully discredited the U.L. party by deliberate distortion; but the Vincents, despite their protestations, were involved with the Videttes. This initial skirmish was soon overshadowed by events that followed, however.

Sometime after Greer's second exposé, a package was delivered to the Coffeyville express office, addressed to a "L. Louden" in Winfield. The package contained a bomb; a bomb that exploded too soon. The express agent carried the package home with him as it was closer to the railway station than his office. The train was due at 4:30. Around 3:30, the package exploded, seriously injuring the agent's wife and adopted daughter. As Malin remarked, the facts up to the point of the explosion are clear. But as to who had prepared the bomb, whether its destination was the Courier or the Non-Conformist offices, and the motive for sending the package, no answers were forthcoming (1964:163).

The Vincents quickly took the stance that the package was to have been delivered to the Non-Conformist, "discovered" there, and used to corroborate charges that the Union Labor party was anarchist. In several installments, they published "The Plot Unfolding" -- that is, the plot against the NonCon by Greer and the Republican leadership. Immediately after the incident, the NonCon reported that one of its correspondents had overheard a wager being made the day before the explosion that the Non-Conformist would not be issued again (NonCon, Nov. 29, 1888).

For Greer's part, despite a lack of evidence, he believed the Vincents had tried to destroy the Courier building in reaction to his Vidette series. Others were even more direct than Greer in making a connection between Henry, Leopold, and Cuthbert Vincent and the Coffeyville explosion (Piehler, 1979:18).

After the 1888 election, the Union Labor party and the National Order of Videttes were finished. The Non-Conformist was more durable. In November, 1888, it had expanded from a four-page to an eight-page format. In addition, the paper was attracting more subscribers -- 3,200 in 1889, 9,000 in 1890 (NonCon, May 8, 1890). After the Coffeyville fiasco and the dissolution of the Union Labor movement in Kansas, the Vincents supported the rejuvenated Farmer's Alliance.

#### The Farmer's Alliance and People's Party

The Farmer's Alliance had been preceded by several other farm orders -- the Patrons of Husbandry, the Granger Movement, the National Greenback party. From the early 1870s, farmers had shown a willingness to organize to redress grievances. Several of these alliances made headway in the South and Midwest. The one claiming most membership in Kansas was the Northern Alliance, formed by a Chicago farmer-editor, Milton George, in 1880 (Hicks, 1931:96-98). The Alliance made great gains for the first few years of its existence in Kansas,

Nebraska and Iowa. Then membership, and activism, plummeted in the early 1880s.

Kansas became a boom state during the first years of the decade 1880-1890, and the cause of prosperity was the high price of wheat and corn. New settlers poured into the state. From 1880-1885, the population figures jumped from 900,000 to 1,200,000 (Miller, 1925:470). One of the features of the boom was the construction of railroads, financed to stimulate prosperity and increase land values. The result of inflated land values was increased borrowing. A newcomer to the state could no longer purchase farming land with the profits of one season's crop. Eastern land agents stepped in, and as the boom continued with no end in sight, the size and the number of mortgages increased (Miller, 1925:475). When the boom collapsed in the winter of 1878-1888, the farmers were hard-hit. Miller attributed the collapse to three related factors: 1) artificial stimulation of bond issues in the cities and towns; 2) inflation as a result of high produce prices; and 3) adverse climatic conditions in Western Kansas (1925:478). Kansans reacted politically to the ensuing depression, and Henry Vincent supported them.

"As the hard times of the late eighties set in, the strength of the Alliance movement increased accordingly" (Hicks, 1931:102). The national Alliance conventions of 1886 and 1887, the first since 1883, adopted resolutions which suggested government control of the railroads be supplemented by actual government ownership of one or more transcontinental lines and free coinage of silver. By the end of the decade, voices in the Alliance were urging that various groups merge as one united party.

In May 1890, Vincent published the up-coming state People's party convention in June, "combining delegates from the Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union, the Farmer's Mutual Benefit Association, the Patrons of Husbandry,

the Knights of Labor and Single Tax Clubs." A few months later, as the voices of Kansas farmers grew still louder, Vincent commented:

A very amusing thing in Kansas right now, is the bitter opposition of many little party papers to the Farmer's Alliance and the People's Party. Many of them have lost three-fourths of their subscribers; yet they will manage to live for they are well-subsidized by the money power, and will stay to do its dirty work if they haven't a dozen subs left (NonCon, July 1890).

The state nominating convention met in August, 1890, and named a People's party ticket (Hicks, 1931:156). Out of that convention came a party platform, pledging to deal with the great questions of labor, land, transportation and finance. The platform ended on a philosophical note;

People of Kansas, we come to you on this platform. Our candidates, speakers and writers will waste no time discussing minor matters. The past is gone, the present is with us, and the future before us. Old issues are dead. We come to you with new ones (quoted in Malin, 1964:36).

The People's party swept the election of 1890. The Populists elected five of seven U.S. representatives, ousted Ingalls as state senator, and failed by a slight margin to take the gubernatorial race as well (Miller, 1925:469). One result of the Alliance-Populist victory was an investigation of the Coffeyville episode. Four reports were made by the committee; a Republican version, a Populist version, a statement of the facts, and a version by the lone Democrat on the committee, Senator Edward Carroll (Malin, 1964:164). No one was absolved, and no "version" agreed upon, when the money allotted for the investigation ran out (Malin, 1964:164).

In September, 1891, the Non-Conformist moved to Indianapolis, Indiana. A summary statement noted that the Vincent borthers had come to Kansas five years before when reform elements in the state were fragmented and disorganized. Hopefully, the Vincents wrote, some change had come about in the "public mind" that had been so ready to believe "...blood-curdling charges made by a servile press, and ignore and far as possible the existence of any but 'two great parties'" (NonCon, September, 1891).

When the paper moved to Indianapolis, its subscription list soared to an all-time high of 100,000 persons, in great part due to Henry Vincent's special campaign offer of 25 cent subscriptions. He was unable to meet costs, and the NonCon went broke. The young editor later learned that the Indiana Democratic machine had mailed in thousands of names of Republican farmers (Lutzky, 1951:67). He wrote some time later, "When entering that deal for listing so many names for the campaign...our future as publisher of the child of our youth, the Non-Conformist, was doomed. The close of the year [1892] found our financial load too much to carry and a company of well-to-do farmers took over the obligations, good will, and all..." (Henry Vincent in Lutzky, 1951:67).

Though Vincent stayed on as acting editor, he resigned after a short time due to policy differences. He moved to Chicago and began another paper, The Searchlight, in 1894. Though well-received, that venture failed twice for lack of money. He continued to stay active in the People's party, campaigning for General Jacob Coxey in the 1895 Ohio gubernatorial race (Lutzky, 1951:67). In 1895 and 1896, Henry Vincent edited Coxey's paper, Sound Money (Piehler, 1979). Briefly, the Non-Conformist was resuscitated in Omaha, Nebraska in 1898. It appeared for a few months before folding again (Lutzky, 1951:238).

Vincent returned with his family to Kansas in 1907. They settled in Girard, where J.A. Wayland was still single-handedly publishing his Appeal to Reason. For a time, he was active in state Socialist Party activities. Vincent left the state for the last time in 1911. He died, in poverty, in Ypsilanti, Michigan on October 29, 1935 (Piehler, 1979).

The Vincent brothers had a great impact on Cowley County and the state of Kansas in general. The Courier grudgingly conceded the brothers' role in rallying votes for a People's party victory in the county in 1889, and for

its strong showing in the election of 1890 (Piehler, 1979). Henry Vincent was an organizer -- of people, parties, and presses. The Non-Conformist always acknowledged the network of similar, struggling publications that it was a part of.

The early issues of the Winfield Non-Conformist show the inexperience and doubts of two young men continuing the legacy of a paper that, to that time, was strongly associated with the legend of the elder Vincent. They found their stride and their style. Not all the Non-Conformist was given over to politics. Mrs. Vee Vincent regularly edited "Our Lady Friends", a "woman's page" given to discussion of education of children, manners and morality. There was usually a children's column as well. Vincent also generously used the political cartoons of Watson Heston, a Carthage, Missouri printer whose line drawings call to mind the work of Thomas Nast (Lutzky, 1951).

Vincent has been classified as a radical-reform editor (Lutzky, 1951; Pierhler, 1979). He did, in fact, advocate radical reforms and spoke of revolution, but one feels the revolution Vincent believed imminent was an awakening on the part of laborers and farmers. Political power, he believed, could be gained by working in the strictures of existing power structures. Vincent was no anarchist, but probably agreed with the statement made by one of his exchange papers:

We have no use for Anarchists, but pernicious as they are, they are less dangerous to American freedom than the men into the hands of whom the government has placed the control of our futures (Rice County Eagle in NonCon, May 7, 1891).

## APPEAL TO REASON (1897-1922)

Julius Augustus Wayland, Editor (1854-1912)

His full name was Julius Augustus Wayland, but he signed his copy 'J. A. Wayland.' Born poor in Versailles, Indiana, he learned early how to beat the capitalists at their own gain. He lived the American dream for a time, pulled himself up with true bootstrap logic and accrued a comfortable amount of wealth. Ultimately, that was not enough. His good business sense both helped and hindered him in his early attempts to spread the politics of socialism. Of all the editors discussed here, despite some setbacks, Wayland was by far the most financially successful. He was able to wait out the lean periods while his Appeal gathered a phenomenally large subscription list.

Wayland was the youngest of seven children (Fogarty, 1980:117). He had only two years of formal education before being forced by circumstance to go to work as a printer's devil -- a "roller boy" on the old hand presses (Quint, 1949; Appeal, Nov. 23, 1912). For a time, Wayland worked at the Versailles Gazette which he eventually purchased. He left the Gazette to publish the Cass News in Harrisonville, Missouri where his wife, Etta Bevins, had an aunt. The Cass News was a staunch Republican paper in Democratic party territory. For his work in this Democratic enclave, President Rutherford B. Hayes awarded Wayland a postmastership, earning him the title of "carpetbagger" from unsympathetic neighbors (Quint, 1949; Appeal, Nov. 23, 1912). The years in Harrisonville were difficult for the young publisher. After a feud with the local Democratic sheriff, Wayland kept a loaded gun nearby (Quint, 1949: 388). In 1881, the Waylands returned to Versailles and bought back the old printing business. The next year they were on the road again, this time to Pueblo, Colorado.

During the years in Colorado, Wayland made a good deal of money in real



estate speculation. More importantly, he met an English shoemaker, William Bradfield, who gave Wayland his first Socialist pamphlet. Through Bradfield, Wayland became involved with the People's Party and underwent a profound political conversion (Simons, 1913:26). In a relatively rare biographical moment, Wayland later recalled for Appeal readers his first exposure to Socialism.

Sauntering down Union avenue, Pueblo, Colorado, one June evening nearly six years ago, I approached a small group of men talking the commonplaces of the day, in front of William Bradfield's shoe shop. The topic has been lost to me in the sands of time, but it turned somehow onto strikes and the public ownership of railroads.

Wayland supported government ownership of the roads and, voicing his opinion, was laughed at by the other men. After the group dispersed,

Bradfield asked me if I'd like to read something on the subject. Receiving a reluctant affirmative, he...got a pamphlet on the public ownership of railroads and gave me, requesting its return when read as it was the only one he had...Unconsciously, I had taken my first lesson in Socialism, which was to change my whole life, financially, socially, morally...(Appeal, February 6, 1897).

However, it took some time before Wayland could convince local Populist leaders that he was sincere. They were understandably wary of the well-heeled land speculator. He tried several times to contribute money, and finally, party members were convinced of his change of political allegiance (Quint, 1949:589). He offered his services to the local Populist-labor paper, the Colorado Workman and Farmer. The name of the paper was later changed, at Wayland's suggestion, to the Coming Crisis (Appeal, February 6, 1897). Wayland threw himself into the 1892 campaign, printing thousands of leaflets. In that election, David Waite, the Populist candidate, was elected governor. Wayland had seen, first hand, the power of the printed word (Quint, 1949:590).

After the election, Wayland left Colorado for Florida, but returned shortly to dispose of much of his land holdings. Wayland was convinced a depression was imminent, and left Colorado a second time with \$80,000 in gold

and government bonds (Quint, 1949:590). Remembering the lessons of the 1892 campaign -- how to reach the working people and spread the message -- Wayland began The Coming Nation in Greensburg, Indiana in August, 1893 (Quint, 1949: 591). The Coming Nation found a responsive audience, with a circulation of 65,000 in little over a year (Simons, 1913). Success exacted a price, however. Wayland advocated complete socialism of industry and agriculture. The people of Greensburg, horrified, would have nothing to do with an openly avowed socialist or his family. This ostracism spurred Wayland to develop, through the pages of The Coming Nation, the idea of the Ruskin Community. The Ruskin Cooperative Association lasted five years before internal cliques dissolved the community. By then, Wayland was in Girard, Kansas, printing his Appeal to Reason.

In July, 1894, Wayland and twenty-five other males, along with wives and children, took possession of 1,000 acres of land outside Tennessee City (Kegel, 1958:45). Earl Miller, a colonist who came to the Ruskin settlement sometime after Wayland left, recalled in his memoirs that Wayland was "more visionary than practical" in choosing a location and in setting up a cooperative effort under a capitalistic charter. Charter membership was offered through Wayland's paper to anyone sending in 200 or more subscriptions. Failing that, membership could be purchased outright for \$500 per share (Kegel, 1958:48-49). Sources differ on whether Wayland bought the land and financed the community himself. Wayland claimed he had paid for the community land. At any rate, he left the Ruskin venture much poorer than when he began, no longer a believer in a utopian-styled commonwealth (Appeal, August 27, 1910).

Wayland had moved his paper, and all his staff, with him to Tennessee. A former staff member who had been fired, Alfred Edwards, urged the charter members demand that Wayland turn his printing plant and paper over to the community. Since Wayland had already donated land and all the profits of

the paper above operating costs, he refused. But in the summer of 1895, disgusted with the in-fighting, Wayland turned over the printing plant and paper to the Ruskin Cooperative Association and left. Edwards, hovering in the wings, was made editor (letter to Earl Miller in Kegel, 1958:50-51). Wayland, as the community's benefactor, may have expected more deference. Relations had been strained before the battle over the presses; they became acutely uncomfortable after (Quint, 1949:593). Some of the later arrivals to Ruskin like Earl Miller, who had not known Wayland, found the charter members intolerable. When the Ruskin Community broke up in 1899, some tried to establish another cooperative in near-by Georgia. For numerous reasons, that, too failed. The last gasp from the cooperative came in 1901 (Kegel, 1958).

#### Appeal to Reason: Ideology and Response

Wayland was bitter but by no means destitute. He returned to Missouri, and in August, 1895, the first run of the Appeal to Reason made its debut. Unlike The Coming Nation, the Appeal was not an instant success. At the end of its first year, it was costing Wayland almost a hundred dollars an issue with a circulation that hovered at 11,000 (Quint, 1949:594). This was a discouraging start, and no doubt the fact that Wayland's own Coming Nation was his healthiest competitor added insult to injury. Still, a dauntless optimism marked the early issues of the Appeal. Only on occasion did personal anger surface. Despite flagging finances, Wayland wrote in January, 1896 that

...the (Appeal's) success ought to teach some reform editors that there is nothing lost by advocating the most radical reforms. The only successful reform papers are radical ones.

For three weeks in October, 1896, the Appeal was printed in Kansas City, Kansas. In the issue of October 24, Wayland told his readers that the Appeal would not appear again until November 14. He did not tell them that he was at the point of suspending publication and was ready to take drastic measures

(Quint, 1949:594). The action he took was to move his plant to the country town of Girard to cut down on overhead costs. Many subscribers believed the paper had folded during its three months of silence. The first Girard Appeal made this explanation:

It was the intention to resume in a couple of weeks, but other plans presented themselves and I concluded to move to a smaller place, buy a home, put in a printing plant and settle down permanently. This has been done and you receive this issue from Girard, Kansas, the prettiest town I found in three months to make my home (Appeal, Feb. 6, 1896).

In that same issue, Wayland appealed to his readers to bring in new subscribers. He wrote, "I am ready too (sic) work...Will you help spread the gospel? Will you do a little toward enabling me to get readers to talk to? I shall not fail you!" One year later, he exulted, "Paid circulation 36,000 weekly! Done in a year! An index to the wonderful growth of socialism in the United States!" (Appeal, Feb. 5, 1897).

From its first year of publication, the Appeal railed at many of the same enemies identified by the Vincent brothers a few years previously -- monopolies, trusts, class battles -- albeit in a different fashion. If Henry Vincent agitated for a third party and criticized the abuses of the system, Wayland wanted to see it overthrown entirely. He did not, however, advocate anarchy. The term was as nebulous in popular use then as today, and Wayland attempted to explain his position to his readers. Socialism, he wrote, favored a concentration of property "in such a manner that division is impossible", a condition attainable only by law. Anarchists also wanted a better state of affairs, he said, but "insist that it cannot be unless law is done away with. They believe in individual property, except in the elements." Assuming a safe distance, Wayland declared socialism and anarchism to be complete opposites (Appeal, Feb. 5, 1897).

Despite its stature as a widely read radical publication, the Appeal was severely criticized by the capitalist press and radicals alike. The capitalist press' response to their gratis subscriptions courtesy of the Appeal Army was uniformly negative. The Dayton Daily Press said "the sheet is edited in the interests of all incompetents and malcontents who hate the American Government because it is not run on a paternalistic and pauper basis." Other papers dubbed it "Squeal to Treason" (Quint, 1949:595).

On the other side of the fence were those radicals who believed Wayland didn't know his Marx from his Bellamy (Quint, 1949). Through the nineties still working as the "one hoss", Wayland's formula was to write short, simple, folksy pieces. The paper struck a tone of moral outrage, with vivid accounts of social injustices perpetuated by the system. Wayland did not theorize. He struck at the gut and if his prose was simple and his graphics crude, his growing subscription list testified to his effectiveness. His eclectic education can be seen in a roll call from an early issue.

In modern times Ruskin, Carlyle, Mill, Spencer, Smith, Marx, Laselle, Bebel, Liebnicht, Singer, Massini, Bellamy and others have by different methods impressed on the mental world that governs the material world the spirit of...ancient philosophers (Appeal, Feb. 6, 1897).

Such a diverse group of luminaries is only one example of the kind of thinking that prompted Holbrook to write that the Appeal was called "socialist" for the sake of a label. The Appeal, said Holbrook, "was ready to support almost anything that conventional people termed radical" (1957:317). This is not a fair assessment. Wayland was socialist but made no claim to be a doctrinaire. Readers were cautioned,

Do not think that you can get any adequate idea of Socialism by reading the Appeal, or, for that matter, any other paper. The most a Socialist paper can do is to arouse an interest in the subject and leave the educational work to books prepared for that purpose (Appeal, Jan. 26, 1907).

Despite his belief in Socialism, Wayland was reluctant to endorse a socialist party. The Populist party, with its strong stance against monopolies and plutocracy, had gained the allegiance of many Western radicals through the middle nineties. Wayland continued to support Populist aims until 1896, when the party cut its own throat by merging with the Democrats on a free silver platform and endorsing William Jennings Bryan. Although he suggested his readers vote the Socialist Labor party ticket that year, he considered it far from ideal (Quint, 1949:597-598). When Eugene V. Debs formed the Social Democracy of America, out of his American Railway Union, Wayland did not extend his support. The SDA proposed a mass migration west, where co-operative communities would be formed, providing a solid base for the socialist movement. Many socialist editors were frankly cynical of the plan, including Wayland (Ginger, 1949:195). Eventually, the Social Democracy of America split into two groups -- those who believed in the colonization plan, and those who advocated direct political action. The latter group formed the Social Democratic party in 1898. Wayland slowly extended support. The party organ, the Social Democratic Herald, was edited by his nemesis from Ruskin, Alfred Edwards and Wayland was slow to forgive (Quint, 1949:599). But by 1900, when Debs made his maiden run for the presidency, Wayland and the Appeal were firmly behind him.

Labor, specifically trade unionism, was an important issue to Socialists of all persuasion. Wayland urged his readers to become involved with trade union activities "with an end to socializing the labor movement in the United States" (Quint, 1949:599). If laborers voted a party ticket, in Wayland's eyes, they deserved what they got. Or, as he said, "If labor is too ignorant to cast off such traitors to it as men of the Gompers, McBride, Arthur and other republican and democratic stripe they ought to slave for an existence" (Appeal, Feb. 5, 1897).

### The Issues, the Litigations

Wayland used every means available to him to spread news of the class struggle. He urged his comrades to bring in still more subscriptions. The Appeal Army, a growing band of subscribers who were active in raising funds, he cajoled, scolded, pleaded. "The popular mind is advancing slowly to a point where it will seize in a firm grasp the question of whether the means of production and distribution are to be owned by private individuals or by the people collectively," he wrote. "Thousands of people and hundreds of thousands of people are talking about it now...There is no going back -- we must push on" (Appeal, Feb. 2, 1901).

With a paid subscription list of 150,000 in 1901, and an even larger weekly press run, the Appeal to Reason was perceived as a seditious threat by the federal government. That year, the first of many indictments by the postal authorities was served to Wayland. The case was dismissed a year later but the message was clear: The Socialist press was making inroads with workers and farmers. Washington was alarmed. In 1901, Wayland was joined by Fred D. Warren, an editor from Rich Hill, Missouri, whose Critic was about to succumb. "Wayland, worn with overwork, saw in him the helper he needed and engaged him on the spot to aid with the Appeal" (Appeal, Aug. 27, 1910). Warren, who came to be known as "the fighting editor", eventually changed the complexion of the Appeal to Reason. Except for a brief leave to try to revive the Coming Nation, Warren took over editorial duties, and Wayland took to the road. Under Warren's editorial direction, longer, thoughtful pieces took the place of Wayland's homilies. Although Wayland had virtually retired from the directorship by 1904, he continued to play an active role in spreading the Appeal's message. And the Appeal kept growing. In 1904, although subscriptions had dropped, the paper was circulated in all of the states, Indian territory and Canada (Appeal, Jan. 30, 1904)

Then, in 1906, an event in Idaho brought radicals together and widened the sphere of the Appeal again. On December 30, 1905, former Governor of Idaho, Frank Steuenberg was killed by a bomb when he opened the gate to his home. The authorities arrested Harry Orchard, a member of the Western Federation of Miners. Orchard confessed, and claimed he had been hired by Bill Haywood and Charles Miner, both organizers of the International Workers of the World, and George Pettibone, a Denver businessman. Their motive according to Orchard, was revenge against the man who had called out the militia during labor disturbances in 1899. Moyer, Pettibone, and Haywood were indicted for murder March 6, 1906, and extradicted from Colorado to Idaho on Saturday night when the courts were closed. There could be no stay granted (Ginger, 1949:245). Eugene Debs immediately sent a strongly worded protest to the Appeal, beginning a long association with Wayland and Warren. The Appeal's head on March 10, 1906, read, "AROUSE, YE SLAVES!" Debs began to write weekly articles for the Appeal, and lectured around the country to rally support for the framed defendants. Both factions of the Socialist party moved to mobilize support, and even the American Federation of Labor entered the fight (Ginger, 1949:248). The, Warren struck a blow. The Indianapolis Star filed this report,

One thousand dollars reward to any person who will "sandbag and kidnap" W.S. Taylor of Indianapolis, ex-governor of Kentucky, and deliver him to the Kentucky authorities, where he may be tried for complicity in the murder of William Goebel, who was once his opponent in a race for the governship of the Blue Grass state.

This, substantially, is the offer made in the editorial columns of the Appeal to Reason...The evident purpose of the article is to draw a direct parallel with the cases of Heywood, Pettibone and Moyer, who...Socialists assert, were kidnapped and taken from Colorado, charged with complicity in the assassination of ex-Governor Steuenberg, of Idaho (Appeal, Jan. 26, 1907).

In August, 1907, after nationwide protest, Haywood was acquitted. The trials of Pettibone and Moyer were formalities after this victory (Ginger,



1949:254). In the meantime, Warren had been indicted for his "kidnapping" issue. The proceedings against him drug on for four years, and while Warren waited for a decision, he made life uncomfortable for several district judges in a series of exposés. On November 21, 1910, an opinion was finally filed. Judge John C. Pollock sentenced Warren to six months hard labor at Bourbon County jail and ordered him to pay court costs. Warren assured his readers, "This action was intended to bring about my humiliation and the suppression of the Appeal, but I am not humiliated nor is the Appeal suppressed" (Dec. 3, 1910). Debs, a contributing editor by this time, set about organizing a massive protest. His "Declaration of Revolt" appeared January 7, 1911. Before action could be taken, however, President Taft pardoned Warren on February 1. With Warren freed, subscriptions dropped again.

If this effort to suppress the Appeal failed, the next nearly debilitated the entire editorial staff. Immediately after the election of 1912, the Republican administration served indictments again on Warren, Wayland and Debs, and Charles Lincoln Phifer, another contributing editor. The Appeal had run a series on the deplorable conditions at Leavenworth Prison that had resulted in the dismissal of a deputy warden. The government investigated, and their investigation substantiated the Appeal's charges. Once again, however, the Comstock statutes were invoked, and the men charged with sending obscene literature through the mails. The four were to appear before the judge November 11, 1912. But on the night of November 10, 1912, Julius Wayland went home, clamly placed his revolver in his mouth, and pulled the trigger. He died two hours later. A note found tucked between the pages of Looking Backwards read: "The struggle under the capitalist system isn't worth it. Let it pass" (Ginger, 1949:313).

Although his enemies would later intimate that Wayland's death was attributable to the upcoming court appearance, the argument had no logic.

Wayland was no stranger in the federal courts. He had always stood his ground. His suicide came on the eve of a probable indictment under the Mann Act. A former Appeal employee had charged that he had taken her to Joplin, Missouri for immoral purposes. The truth of the rumor was irrelevant, although the charge was obviously a false one. The case would have continued for years, providing sensational copy for the capitalist press and, in the process, destroying the Appeal. Wayland had also been severely depressed since his second wife's death in a car accident the year before (Ginger, 1949: 313).

Warren, Phifer, Debs, and other members of the staff were shocked and disheartened. There was, however, little time to grieve. The men still had to appear in court, before a judge who had declared, "I'm going to bankrupt the Appeal, force its editors into exile and suicide or land them behind the bars at Leavenworth" (Appeal, Nov. 23, 1912). The verdict poured in from the Appeal Army -- don't give it up. Keep publishing the "little old Appeal."

During the last years of his life, Wayland had been criticized by many of his fellow Socialists. In death, he was a fallen comrade, forced to suicide by the system. Of him, Charles Phifer had written some years before his death,

Wayland has been accused of being a capitalist. He has never denied the allegation...(But) it is Wayland's ability as a financier that has made possible the Appeal and helped hush the sneer that socialists are all incompetents (Appeal, Aug. 27, 1910).

### The Survivors

After Wayland's death, charges against the remaining editors were dropped. In 1913, Eugene Debs submitted his resignation to Fred Warren, ending his fruitful association with the Appeal. Warren continued, enlisting new blood for the editorial staff. One of these men, Louis Kopelin, editor

of the New York Call, joined Warren in 1914. He appealed to his young colleague, Emmanuel Haldeman-Julius (then, Emmanuel Julius) to join him there.

World War I split the Socialist party in two, and the Appeal's circulation correspondingly dropped. In 1919, Haldeman-Julius bought the plant for \$25,000 plus a note for \$50,000, payable in one year. Under his direction, the paper did not suffer. Upton Sinclair, whose work "The Jungle" had been serialized in the paper in 1905, returned as a regular contributor. The Appeal was still a fighter to the end -- fighting to stay afloat, fighting to get Debs out of prison for opposing the war. But Haldeman-Julius realized that since the war, Socialism had declined:

There is no use fooling ourselves...Socialism as far as a movement is concerned is practically bankrupt. Our organizations have no members. Our candidates have no votes...Our newspapers have no readers (Appeal, Sept. 3, 1921).

With the issue of November 11, 1922, the Appeal to Reason became Haldeman-Julius Weekly. The old Appeal had disappeared before the war. The old guards had passed. Most of the other papers of its ilk had folded much earlier. And never again would the press have such an immediate, visceral impact.

#### A SUMMARY STATEMENT

In Chapter One, I made the statement that alternative editors may not have been aware of participating in a larger journalistic movement, that agitation for change provided focus. After preparing the life histories on each press for this chapter, perspective alters. These alternative presses may have called themselves by different names (reform, radical, communist, socialist, anarchist, etc.), and participated in different exchnages or "clubs" with other such presses, but they identified a common enemy. That enemy, the total ideology of the dominant group in power, was voiced by the established press.

The established press was universally viewed as a servile press; its editors, hirelings who reflected "popular prejudices by seeking to conserve what is." Those are Edwin Walker's words, echoed almost a century later by Lazarsfeld and Merton (1952). When the Non-Conformist and Lucifer were simultaneously publishing in Kansas, both reproduced a story from the New York press about a well-known journalist asked to toast the "independent press" guaranteed by freedom of speech. It seems the journalist stood, cleared his throat, and said,

The business of a New York journalist is to distort the truth, to lie outright, to villify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon...We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes...Our time, our talents, our lives, our possibilities, are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes (Lucifer, October 7, 1887).

Each of these editors, whatever their editorial shortcomings, were distinctly aware of what they did not want their press to be. Identified as the "secular" press (M. Harman), the "party" press (H. Vincent), the "capitalist" press (J. A. Wayland), the established press presented a reality that alternative press editors found repugnant. To these individuals and their constituents, is a deliberate distortion was being perpetrated on an uneducated public.

And so, reform and radical editors alike presented other possibilities (or alternatives) ranging from small cooperatives to an independent third party to Eugene Debs' call to revolt. They rejected the dominant ideologies of their day, attacked the foundations of extant political reality, and publicized the consequences. Each identified the monoliths they would attack, and kept their readers posted of their progress. They struck out, not against industrialization, but against the casualties of industrialization.

One way to comparatively examine the four presses as a group is to return to the framework developed in Chapter One. This empirical conception was provided to both situate and elaborate the tenets of the alternative

press. It consists of five points: 1) identification of the press as an alternative; 2) opposition to then-current political, economic or religious institutions; 3) attempts to gain a regional or national readership; 4) integral leadership role of the producer; and 5) lifespan of at least one year.

1) As seen in Chapter One and in the life histories, each editor did carefully identify the kind of press he would try to provide. Most did this explicitly in a statement of policy in the first issues, and continued to redefine this initial statement throughout the course of the paper's existence. The one exception to this was Julius Wayland. He identified himself only as a "reform editor" although the tone of the Appeal did not long support this label.

2) Not all these papers rejected the entire order of their day. The focus of Lucifer was sexual politics from 1886 onward. Lucifer lasted long enough to undergo substantial changes in orientation. As the free thought editor of the Valley Falls Liberal and Kansas Liberal, Harman had advocated "Total Separation of the State from Supernatural Theology." Later, Lucifer's editor pledged to oppose "all religious, political and social systems which seek to bow men and women...at the feet of Authority" although the journal's political battles were limited to protecting the right to an "untrammelled press." The Progressive Communist, so torn by conflicting philosophies and personalities, opposed the political and social system by choice of lifestyle more than rhetoric. As emphasized earlier, by the time the journal was published, Frey had rejected revolutionary activities as an immediate solution to social ills. His Progressive Communist, despite its occasionally strident voice, offended no one.

The Kansas Industrial Liberator and American Non-Conformist did not couple religion with the economic and political machine as a perpetrator of

social injustice. Quite the contrary. James Vincent, Sr., as Congregational minister and Knights of Labor supporter, continued to exert editorial influence on his two youngest sons, even after his retirement. The Vincent boys didn't realize that the Knights would be destroyed by their linkage to "anarchist" opinion. Caught in the thicket of charges themselves after the Coffeyville bombing, they continued to stand by the grievances the organization had attempted to address. They vigorously opposed the two party system and economic inequities suffered by farmer and laborer alike. J. A. Wayland also spoke to many of the same issues, and supported the revolt of the farmer until Populists fused with the Democrats in 1896. Although willing to support much needed reforms, and the immediacy of relief those reforms might bring, Wayland believed the ultimate solution of social ills lay in the overthrow of the capitalist. The next logical step, he believed, was socialism. In his efforts to publicize the movement, he often grew irritated with Eugene Debs' efforts to help individual victims of capitalism. He is reported to have said to Debs, "Every minute you waste on an individual is at the expense of the greater good you could be doing for all society. Cut it out and devote your time to the larger movement. Fight the system and let its victims go to the devil" (Ginger, 1949:294).

3) Three of the four publications here achieved national prominence. The Progressive Communist was probably mailed to prospective community members across the country and, aside from community news and description of the area was not a local organ. Henry Vincent built a subscription list of 20,000 and was encouraged by Populist gains to move to a larger, urban area. The Non-Con did devote one of its eight pages to local news but was never aimed at a strictly Kansas audience. Harman published subscription figures rarely, and then in special supplements that have not been preserved. He did

indicate before Lucifer's relocation that his largest subscription base was in Chicago. Again, with the exception of publicizing Liberal league activities and his own litigations, Harman ignored local news items. J. A. Wayland, like the Vincent brothers, continually publicized subscription figures, with the additional information of cost of publication and geographical distribution of his readers. At the time of his death, his Appeal Army numbered 60,000 and several special editions of the Appeal had topped 400,000.

4) Print journalism of the nineteenth century was not the highly homogenized, mass medium it is today. Insofar as coverage of issues were concerned, various alternative presses did borrow from their exchanges in an early kind of wire service, but each bore the distinctive impress of its editor. The NonCon did not survive after Henry Vincent left when personal differences with the paper's new management interfered with his editorial vision. Lucifer was, in the strictest sense, Moses Harman, and died with him. Once Frey left the Progressive Communist, the entire tenor of the paper changed. One gets the distinct impression that, had Frey not tried to operate the paper cooperatively in its first months, his tenacity alone might have lengthened the tenure of the Communist. Only Julius Wayland's Appeal survived him, possibly because of the groundwork Wayland had done to insure its success. By the time of his death, editorial powers had been passed to Fred Warren, an abler journalist than Wayland.

Part of the longevity of three of these four publications must be attributed to the editors' ability to make his private troubles of public concern. Harman's readers helped pay his many legal defense funds. Wayland and Warren asked their readers not to contribute to such a fund, but to find new subscribers for the Appeal instead. In the cases of the NonCon, Lucifer and the Appeal, in particular the personal lives of the producers were inextricably intertwined with the personal history of the publication. The extreme example of this was Wayland. When it became clear that a personal attack

on him would severely damage the Appeal, he took his life.

The history of the alternative presses, and important events bearing on the lives of their producers, is an incomplete history. One cannot hope to resolve all questions or ask all the pertinent questions, much less to cover all materials presented in this press in a limited amount of space. I have tried to selectively present each paper, and each producer, in the context in which it came to be. I have tried to capture a sense of the conflict and change that marked the end of the nineteenth century. While the next chapter doesn't answer all questions asked, it offers a resolution and a basis for further work in this area.

The final chapter establishes the alternative press in the realm of the explicitly sociological. This chapter has presented each press as an entity; the next, returns that press to the environs of collective behavior and the sociology of knowledge.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### OF IDEOLOGIES AND ALTERNATIVES

#### INTRODUCTION

The alternative press of the nineteenth century, as it functioned as a critical and educational tool, often ran the risk of creating an "us/them" dichotomy. This dichotomy was crude but effective; and was probably necessary to rally support warranted by its subordinate position. The historical "existing order" was and is typified by the established press -- and the established press did not hesitate to discredit the alternative press when possible. Both presses tried to unmask the other as "ideological", that is, false. From the vantage point of the present, however, one cannot help but note which press has been dismissed as a distortion.

The historical "existing order", as represented by the established press, was beginning to wear the cloak of "objectivity" by the turn of the century. Conversely, the alternative press as interpreted today, if receiving mention, is construed as "utopian" in the limited sense of that word.

"Utopian" in popular usage means an idealized vision of what could be. As Mannheim pointed out, however, utopian can also be used to discredit a vision. One can "suppress the validity of the claims of the relative utopia" by pointing out that such a vision cannot be realized. (The underlying notion being that existing institutional structures are practically impossible to transcend.) "This reluctance to transcend the status quo tends toward the view of regarding something that is unrealizable merely in the given order as completely unrealizable in any order" (Mannheim, 1936:197). And so, with the exception of a few theses and dissertations, the alternative press and its reaction to and against the "topia" of its time has been largely forgotten. How could a journalistic phenomenon of national impact, spurring such activism, be suppressed by historical omission? A clue has already been given in

individual case studies of the last chapter, and is related to the way "facts" are presented or exposed as falsehoods.

A central contention of Mannheim's "total ideology" under the theory of ideologies is that the whole of an opponent's thought can be unmasked as false. As mentioned, this is precisely the tactic the alternative press, as a body, used to undermine the power, and the louder voices, of representatives of the existing power structure. This did not exempt alternative press editors from producing a press that could be attacked on ideological grounds. They did not pretend otherwise. The alternative press presented a particular kind of reality, openly based on values, feelings, and the hope that a more just society was within the grasp of human capabilities during that particular historical epoch. I quote again the charge of Kansas liberals:

"...(W)e hope to live long enough to see..."our own native land" become in deed and in truth what it has never fully been -- the Land of the Free, as well as the home of the True and the Brave..."

The established press, in treating such publications, seldom deemed a serious appraisal necessary. For example, Manford's Magazine commented on Harman's Kansas Liberal,

The whelps [Harman and Walker]...should be at once put where they cannot practice the deviltry they so delight in. They are the enemies of society and should be cast out. What has fair Kansas done that it should be cursed with such creatures within its borders? We need not say that this fiendish paper is atheistic to the backbone (quoted in Kansas Liberal, June 4, 1883).

And the Denver Daily Republican wrote of Wayland's coverage of the trial of Moyer and Haywood,

An anarchistic paper is published down in Kansas that appeals to the passions of the ignorant and hesitates at no misstatement or twisting of the facts to excite animosity toward the industrious and successful...To this publication the arrest of Moyer and Heywood has proved a regular gold mine (quoted in Appeal to Reason, January 26, 1907).

These two quotes illustrate the kind of fire drawn from more politically conservative presses. "Anarchistic," "atheistic" and "fiendish paper" are inflammatory qualifiers. "Misstatement of the facts" gets at the heart of the matter. The question becomes again, as Mannheim stated it, "What is really real?" Or in this case, how are the facts represented? What and how are the facts chosen? How is the status quo best maintained?

To its contemporaries in publishing, the alternative press was at once ideological (false and "twisted"), and utopian (unrealistic). The established press reflected the concerns of legislators and judges who attempted to suppress the vision expressed in alternative publications by launching attacks on its editors. In three of the four papers I examined, a blatant attempt was made to cause bankruptcy of this press. In the short term, for both the Non-Conformist and for Julius Wayland, these attempts were fatal. In the long run, a kind of historical "moral bankruptcy" has successfully fooled subsequent generations. When men like Theodore Roosevelt (who once suggested Eugene Debs and other radical leaders be shot) are deified (Ginger, 1949: 191); when men and women of vision like Wayland, Harman, Lillian Harman and Lillie D. White pass into obscurity, it becomes painfully clear who and what determines the basis of "truth" in a given area.

This is not a particularly profound observation. It is certainly not a new one. Rather, this extended preamble is provided to prepare the reader for a reexamination of the alternative press in theoretical context. As indicated, this chapter brings the promise of a resolution and a more explicitly sociological accounting of the alternative press. I begin by returning to the press as a component of a social movement, and conclude by attempting to resolve the competing strains of "ideological" and "utopian" thought represented in it.

## THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS AS A COMPONENT OF SPECIFIC SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Earlier, I proposed that the alternative press could be visualized as bridging the gap between an intellectual movement on one hand, and individuals on the other. The predominant movements of which the four Kansas publications were supportive were (in chronological order): utopian socialism (Progressive Communist), sex radicalism (Lucifer), the Farmer's Alliance and the People's Party (American Non-Conformist), and socialism (Appeal to Reason). At this point, it is helpful to review again the components of specific social movements following Blumer (1969).

A reform movement advocates limited, structural changes in the existing system. Because it tends to uphold idealized tenets of society, it is often able to develop a sympathetic public through existing channels of communication. In contrast, a revolutionary movement calls into question the entire social order. Rather than developing a base of public opinion, the leaders of a revolutionary movement seek converts to put into practice the new values advocated by such a movement. These are the two extremes.

The publications dealt with in this study are not so easily categorized. All of the editors seem to have conducted their papers following Hobsbawn's observation that every movement undergoes the pull of reformism and revolutionism at different times (Hobsbawn, 1959:11-12). For example, although Wayland considered himself socialist, he editorially supported Populist reforms for five years and expressed deep disappointment when one of the last Populist papers, the Representative of Minneapolis, ceased publication (Appeal, January 31, 1903). The populist movement was primarily a reform-oriented movement, but as noted, it drew Western radicals to its ranks. Preceding populism an eastern-based form of socialism known as nationalism had attracted many agrarian radicals before losing its identity in the People's party (Destler, 1944). This example illustrates the processual

nature of social movements, the difficulty of separating out one movement from another, and the continuity of thought.

The populist movement was remarkably effective, as seen, in electing legislators throughout the Midwest to represent economic interests of farmers. It was based on "home and hearth" -- that is, on the agrarian economy of the small family farm. However, the populists rapidly lost support when the party endorsed the Democratic candidate in 1896. The willingness of farmers to redress grievances, however, was a lesson not lost on socialists of the later 19th century. In 1911, Warren urged through the Appeal that readers be mindful of the possible base of support to be found in farm communities,

History has proved that the farmers are the most revolutionary class in the nation when once aroused. The whole strength of republican insurgency is among the western farmers. Insurgency is simply revolt without a program. The farmer who is an insurgent can be made a Socialist, because Socialism is the remedy for the disease which produced insurgency (January 21, 1911). (emphasis in original)

Many farmers, struggling to stay ahead of the bank, did support the Appeal and its program (although some questioned the idea of public ownership). Socialism, in the face of rapid industrialization, was a way for the farmer to support the same kinds of aims he had worked for a decade earlier, even if those aims were situated in a different context. Thus, those who had supported a reform movement turned to a movement of revolutionary intent with little hesitation.

Historians might blanch at the way Populism is quickly dismissed, and its adherents summarily reorganized as socialists. Of course this is an over-simplification. Such simplification does not invalidate the usefulness of the concepts and the dialectic of "reform" and "revolt" but points to the difficulty of arriving at the following conclusions. Generally, Lucifer and the Non-Conformist supported the aims of reform-oriented movements

although each exhibited components of revolutionary thought. The Appeal and the Progressive Communist supported more basic and systemic changes although in a very different fashion. Let me support this contention by briefly examining each publication, and each movement, individually.

William Frey, by his own testimony, came not to advocate revolutionary violence. He chose to put into practice the tenets of a revolution that he could see, in a limited fashion, come to fruition. The purpose of the Progressive Communist was explicitly to win new, ideologically-compatible converts and to elucidate the principles of progressive communism. Unlike Wayland, Frey did not challenge institutional precepts outright. The ideas advocated by Frey and the progressive communists would surface two decades later in Wayland's Ruskin experiment and in Debs' proposal through the Social Democratic party to colonize the West.

Wayland, after the failure of Ruskin, was frankly skeptical of such attempts to either infiltrate the system slowly or to be isolated from it. The socialist movement, for Wayland, was one of revolutionary possibilities. He had no patience with reforms or other "plute traps" used to ensnare the gullible and desperate (Appeal, January 26, 1906). As Debs wrote,

There are many tactical differences among Socialists...but these are...all secondary to the great revolutionary issue itself, of overthrowing capitalism, abolishing wage slavery and establishing a true democracy instead of the false one that now exists in name only. Upon that aim and end they are all agreed and such differences as divide them now are perhaps necessary as the only means of developing a sound and scientific propaganda for the revolutionary movement (Appeal, 1912).

Neither Debs nor Wayland stopped short of advocating revolutionary violence if warranted by the opposition. However, as Ginger (1949) notes, Debs' call for socialists to arm themselves was always a last resort and stayed in the realm of the rhetorical. Wayland was an avowed pacifist.

Moses Harman's involvement with the sex radicals, and his identification of himself as an anarchist, make it more difficult to classify Lucifer in

line with a reform movement. Earlier, I wrote, "Lucifer was aligned with a revolutionary movement, but a revolution of limited scope." What the later sex radicals advocated -- autonomistic marriage and open dialogue about sexual matters -- was certainly seen as revolutionary at that time. It might be more accurate to identify Harman personally as a revolutionary, and the sex radical movement as reformist in intent. The sex radicals offered an alternative to the institution of marriage and attempted to influence public opinion. By the time of Harman's death, as has been shown, the established press had taken up discussion of divorce, marriage and human sexuality.

Insofar as their politics were concerned, the Vincent brothers were more articulate than Harman. Populism has already been discussed in the light of economic and political reforms. The populists were able to develop a very strong organizational base, but unfortunately, the reforms advocated by the People's party were essentially bound in conserving a rapidly fading economic order. In limiting their program of change, the Populists ultimately faced defeat. Although Henry Vincent did not state it in so many words, the problem he identified was that of structured economic inequality. Significantly, the social problem (and not the specific program) governed his later activities after leaving the Non-Conformist in the hands of wealthy farmers.

Despite the different movements with which these editors were aligned, each chose not to work through existing institutions. In each individual instance, as should be clear by now, some structural change was urged, at the very least, in the extant system. The established press, both maintained by and helping to maintain that system, did not provide the outlet for dissemination of movement beliefs. This brings discussion back to the content of the alternative press -- the form and the presentation of beliefs and values. Was the alternative press ideological or utopian? By what definition?

## FORMS OF THOUGHT AND THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

This effort has attempted to examine particular modes of thought as expressed through the alternative press and tied to a particular social-historical epoch. Mannheim distinguished between the sociology of knowledge as involved with this kind of effort, and the theory of ideologies. "The study of ideologies has made it its task to unmask the more or less conscious deceptions and disguises of human interest groups...The sociology of knowledge is concerned not so much with distortions due to a deliberate effort to deceive as with the varying ways in which objects present themselves to the subject according to the differences in social settings" (Mannheim, 1936: 265). As indicated (and on pain of redundancy), both alternative and established presses attacked one another on the grounds of the theory of ideologies. However, under the total conception of ideology, the word refers to the perspective of the thinker. It does not take on a pejorative connotation in the realm of the sociology of knowledge (1936:266), one reason I have used the term so freely when discussing belief structures of each editor and paper.

Again, the problem of categorization rears its head. Certainly the kin of publication I have examined did not contribute to "the maintenance of the existing order" (Wirth, 1936:23). But neither did these papers succeed, in full measure, in "transforming the existing historical reality into one in more accord with their own conceptions" (1936:196). I would argue this: insofar as each of these papers offered radical possibilities and urged change be effected; insofar as they succeeded in attracting covert and overt attacks by representatives of the existing order, they not only expressed a relative utopianism but aroused a fear that that relative utopia might be realized in fact.

"A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality in which occurs" (Mannheim, 1936:196). William Frey, Moses Harman,



Henry Vincent and J. A. Wayland each opposed the mainstream intellectual current of their time. But this, in and of itself, did not make their thought, as manifested in their publications, utopian. Again, according to Mannheim, not every state of mind which "departs from reality" can be considered utopian. He clarifies the concept further. "Only those orientations transcending reality will be referred to...as utopian which, when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at that time" (1936:196). This formulation is specific. "The order of things prevailing at that time" refers not to changes buried in retrospect, changes that we from our historical position are unable to perceive or changes that appear on the surface to have been epheral. Each of these publications, (with the possible exception of the Progressive Communist) and certainly each of these individual lives, did produce change. To observe that the radical elements in populism succumbed to reformis does not negate the tremendous strides made by that movement. To pontificate on the failure of the Progressive Community is to ignore the longevity of the ideal of a society of small cooperatives. It is too easy, and historically naive, to point to the failures and ignore the small successes. But it is too optimistic, as well as inaccurate, to believe that these presses, or their producers, were able to effect major structural changes. Therein lies the problem. What legacy was left us by the alternative press -- that is, what does it mean today? What can these individual lives and concerted efforts teach us?

It is important to note that none of these individuals promoted change for the sake of change. Each believed what he worked towards was realizable, if not inevitable. Their "wish-images" were firmly rooted in their historical epoch, borne out in their own conduct and to some extent, the conduct of their readers.

Every period carries the promise of change and individuals who resist the dominant ideology of that period for moral and political reasons. The alternative press does not leave behind a dated but effective method of "propagandizing" as Julius Wayland might have protested. Rather, the alternative press offers an historical blueprint for cultural resistance. In better understanding its successes and failures, its gains and losses, we can better understand ourselves.

The alternative press, its purpose and indeed its very existence, was/is predicated on a very different world view than that of established presses. The alternative press today is perhaps the only voice in a sea of media which recognizes that the "gatekeeping" function of print and electronics has become another form of cultural, social and political hegemony. Once the province of court intelligensia, today's sedating electronic noise priming consumerism, and presenting an interpretation of reality (news) is provided by media.

Cultural hegemony can only be affected when extant political reality is fairly stable -- it requires a consensus. The concept, as developed by Antonio Gramsci, meant that one group (political class) had persuaded other social classes to take its moral, political and social values as their own (Joll, 1978:129). If successful, this involves the minimum use of force. The perpetuation of hegemony, then, becomes an important function of media. The medium relays the message.

The "normal" exercise of hegemony in the area which has become classical, that of the parliamentary regime, is characterised by the combination of force and consensus which vary in their balance with each other... Thus if tries to achieve that force should appear to be supported by the agreement of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion -- newspapers and associations... (Gramsci quoted in Joll, 1978:129) [emphasis added]

Only in periods of crisis does hegemony fragment: no one group is able

to obtain the consensus enabling it to govern. This was the situation in the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century until after World War I - the potential for a shift of power was present, presumably for a government of force (1978:129-130). The balance of political power may be in the process of shifting today.

The independent press in its numerous forms -- insurgent, alternative, community -- is the lone combatant speaking out in the public interest against not only cultural, social and moral hegemony but media hegemony as well. The example of the earlier efforts examined here becomes even more important because the alternative press, if not yet subverted, is not confined to historicity.

## NOTES

Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Greer's (1949) study of American social reform movements acknowledges a similar, although more extended, time frame for such movements. The first portion of his text deals with the period 1886 to 1917. In focusing on general social movements, as opposed to "heightened interest in reform", his thesis is not dissimilar to Malin's.

<sup>2</sup>The Wyandotte Constitution was the fourth and final such attempt to enter the Union. Previous attempts had included the Topeka constitution (1855), the LeCompton constitution (1857), and the Leavenworth constitution (1858).

<sup>3</sup>Sources differ on the actual length of the underground press era. Most credit the Village Voice (1955 to present) as the innovator and founding father; but offset sheets seem to have peaked during that period 1967-1970, termed the "age of paranoia" by those who were there (Rolling Stone, 1972).

<sup>4</sup>Again, the reader is referred to Glessings' (1970) work. The underground press of the 1960s is perhaps as well known for its graphic challenges as its intended offense to the canons of journalism. Interestingly, some of the products of the underground press have been compared to yet another period in journalism's history -- the "yellow" press.

<sup>5</sup>"What remains dubious, however, is whether a simple "general" theory can structure the pertinent data for all times and places; the attempt may result in the superimposition of theory upon reality" (Cahnman and Boskoff, 1964:13).

<sup>6</sup>The distinction is very old. Hobsbawn (1959:11) traces it to Joachim of Fiore (1145-1202) who separated the "region of justice" (regulation of social relations in an imperfect society) from the "reign of freedom" (or the perfect society).

<sup>7</sup>Hobsbawn (1959:11-12) can be called upon for clarification. He wrote: "In practice, every man...and every social movement undergoes the pull of both reformism and revolutionism, and with varying strength at different times. Except at the rare moments just preceding or during profound crises and revolutions, the most extreme revolutionaries must also have a policy about the existing world in which they are obliged to live. Conversely, the hope of a really good and perfect society is powerful, that its ideal haunts even those who have resigned themselves to the impossibility of changing either the 'world' or 'human nature', and merely hope for lesser reforms and the correction of abuses. Between these two extremes [reform and revolution] a wider position of positions may be occupied."

<sup>8</sup>As an interesting side note, see Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1948) essay on the function of the established press. They contend the press as a "mass" medium acts more as a maintenance institution than as a "pervasive social force." The contention here, of course, is that the alternative press intentionally tried to become a force for social change.

## Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup>The "conventional debate" is not unknown in sociology. See, for example, Nisbet's *Sociology as an Art Form* (1976). A more general treatment is Snow's discussion of the two cultures -- the culture of art and the culture of science (in Matson, 1966).

<sup>2</sup>As an example of an historically "naive" concept, Mannheim cites the technical historical use of utopia, similar to the Utopia of Thomas More. "It is not our intention to deny the utility of such individually descriptive concepts as long as the objective is the comprehension of the individual elements in history. We do deny...that this is the only approach to historical phenomenon" (1936:201).

<sup>3</sup>Gottschalk's (1963) distinction was used earlier. Generalization in history, he notes, is similar to "science", reconstruction in history, akin to "art."

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1875 January-December. Cedar Vale, KS.

Valley Falls Liberal

August 1880-September 1881. Valley Falls, KS.

APPENDIX A

LUCIFER'S "AWFUL" LETTERS

## APPENDIX A

LUCIFER's "AWFUL LETTERS"

The texts of Markland and O'Neill letters are partially reproduced below. They appeared in Lucifer's columns (respectively) on June 18, 1886 and February 14, 1890. Moses Harman's first indictment came to center on the Markland letter. Eventually, he was jailed for having published both. O'Neill's letter is a delayed response to Dr. Markland. Both men were proanarchist physicians, who, in the tradition of many Victorian sex radicals, both idealized women and rejected the wisdom of the times that sexuality be coupled with ignorance.

## ANOTHER "AWFUL" LETTER

[Dudes, prudes and statute moralists had better not read this letter. --ED]

EDS. LUCIFER: To-day's mail brought me a letter from a dear lady friend, from which I quote and query:

"About a year ago F\_\_\_ gave birth to a babe, and was severely tron by the use of instruments in incompetent hands. She has gone through three operations and all failed. I brought her home and had Drs. \_\_\_ and \_\_\_ operate on her, and she was getting along nicely until last night, when her husband came down, forced himself into her bed and the stitches were torn from her healing flesh, leaving her in a worse condition than ever. I don't know what to do."

Now, Searlites: "Laws are made for the protection of life, person and property."

Will you point to a law that will punish this brute?

Was his conduct illegal? The marriage license was a permit of the people at large given by their agent for this man and woman--a mere child--to marry.

Marry for what? Business? That he may have a housekeeper? He could legally have hired her for that. Save one thing, is there anything a man and woman can do for each other which they may not legally do without marrying?

Is not that one thing copulation? Does the law interfere in any other relations of service between the sexes?

What is rape? Is it not coition with a woman by force, not having a legal right?

Can there be legal rape? Did this man rape his wife? Would it have been rape had he not been married to her?

Does the law protect the person of woman in marriage? Does it protect her person out of marriage?

Does not the question of rape turn on the pivot of legal right regardless of consequences!

If a man stabs his wife to death with a knife, does not the law hold him for murder?

If he murders her with his penis, what the law do?

If the wife, to protect her life, stabs her husband with a knife, does the law hold her guiltless?

Can a Czar have more absolute power over a subject than a man has over the genitals of his wife?

Is it not a fearful power? Would a kind considerate husband feel robbed, feel his manhood emusculated, if deprived of this legal power?

Does the safety of society depend upon a legal right which none but the coarse, selfish, ignorant, brutal, will assert and exercise?

If 'marriage is a civil contract,' has the female partner a legal right to "twenty-five dollars" of the firm's money to purchase the civil consent of CIVILIZED LAW, to a civilized dissolution of said contract?

Why charge one dollar to get into the show and "twenty-five" to get out? Why not reverse it?

Does "conjugal fidelity" depend upon a "Be it enacted?"

Does chastity, honor, truth, love, justice, honesty, purity, depend upon "an act to define, regulate and enforce" the said virtues?

If "love is taken as the only guide there will be no trouble" says A.J.S. Is there any necessity, then, in such cases, of a legal guide?

If the legal bond is recognized, is love the only bond? ("guide")

If there is no "love guide" in a case, what is the legal guide?

Is not consistency a jewel, competency another, truthfulness another, honesty another?

Is a person whose moral horizon is bounded by statute law a safe citizen, entitled to confidence in preserving the aforesaid jewels?

Has freedom gender?

Will some archist, or semi-archist, please tell the mother quoted above, "what to do?"

## O'NEILL LETTER

...I often recall to mind the question I once saw discussed in a book for Catholic priests, on the Hearing of Confessions: viz, as to what penance should be imposed on a man for insisting on putting his private organ in his wife's mouth. A woman once came to me with her mouth and throat full of chancres (venereal ulcers) caused by her husband's doing as above indicated. There seems to be no limit to the brutality and bestiality of many men.

Mr. F. of Wyoming wrote me for advice concerning a disease resembling syphilis and scrofula, but he never had coition with a woman: always with sheep, pigs, mares, etc., all his life. He was aged 48.

Mr. P.C. of California wrote asking if I could cure him of an insatiable appetite for human semen; he is a rich man; all his family (grown up men and women) suck each other's private parts in the presence of each other. He himself goes roaming all over the country trying to find men to allow him to "suck them off" as he says. He wrote me about it two years ago. He says he inherited this fearful legacy from his father...

With regard to the prevention of conception, there is not a physician who does not give advice how to do that everyday in the week. Many medical journals contain full instruction as to use of sponges, injection, etc. See, for instance, the Columbus (Ohio) Medical Journal for February, 1889 (last year) and numerous others. Yet they are not prosecuted. Why?

I desire to enter my stern protest against the maliscious persecutions of yourself and your associated by the enemies of freedom...

Reprinted from Hal D. Sears, The Sex Radicals (Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas) 1977, p. 110-111.

APPENDICES: B, C, D, E, F,

FASCIMILE OF PAPERS

(Photos courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society)



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# THE PROGRESSIVE COMMUNIST.

## JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY.

VOL. I,

PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY, KANSAS, MAY, 1875.

No. 5.

### ENDURANCE:

BY FLORENCE PERCY.

How much the heart must bear and yet not break!

How much the flesh may suffer and not die!

A question much if any pain or ache

Of soul or body brings our end more nigh,

Death chooses his own time— 'till that is sworn,

All things may be borne.

We shrink and shudder at the surgeon's knife,

Each nerve recolling from the cruel steel,

Whose edge seems searching for the quivering life,

Yet to our sense the bitter pangs reveal

That still, although the trembling flesh be torn,

This also can be borne.

we throw ourselves on our backs; and Mr. Frey is going to place cows' bladders under the children's arm pits, that they may not shak.

There is always a gentle breeze, usually from the south, when the gales are recupering for a terrific blow, so that we do not feel the heat as intensely as in some cooler climates.

Above, on the highest summit, stands a solitary oak—a sentinel on guard, one could imagine—with rounded top, thick glossy leaves; but alas, that I should be forced to utter it, on a near approach, dead limbs mar its beauty! In vain my eyes wander to the woodland—when it is to be found—for one finely developed tree. The fall and spring prairie-fires that rage intermittingly, for the benefit of our grazing herds, not only deface much of the natural beauties of Kansas, but destroy many of our wild straw-berries, raspberries, and blackberries, which the settlers find very palatable, for want of

ward equal attainments in intellectual development, which to be just, I fear few women can claim.

Now, my friends, we change to the interior of our home. We have been having Sunday evening meetings for social chat more than fiery debate. The week previous, one of the members selects a subject on which we desire to learn the views of all the family, so that our thoughts may be particularly directed towards it. Of late, education has been discussed; and there was very nearly a perfect unanimity that if the development of any part of our nature should have the precedence it is the physical; and in practice, it is an enthusiasm among all the members, as far as is compatible with our conditions, without making ourselves repulsive as extremists, to approximate towards a healthy attainment of body. We adopt the Grahamite system, but would not restrict any one in his dietetic habits, believing that all,

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VALLEY FALLS, KANSAS, OCT. 1, A. N. 106.

NO. 2

## THE KANSAS LIBERAL,

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M. HARMAN, - - - - EDITOR.  
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§77 We invite communications on all subjects.

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### The Coming Woman.

Poem Delivered by Mrs. E. Watson at Ivona Hall, San Francisco, before the First Spiritual Union, Sunday Evening, Aug. 21st, and expressly reported for "Light for All."

Lo! she is coming up the highway of the age,  
A beautiful companion for philosopher and sage;  
Her garments full of healing, her heart And love's surpassing splendor a shining in her face.

Her brow a mimic mountain of sweet, unsmiled snow,  
Where thought, like morning's glory,  
Her eyes celestial windows, where the tender soul looks through  
In eager search and yearning for some noble work to do.

### What We Demand for Woman.

The question of Woman's Rights and Woman's Wrongs has become so hackneyed that most readers skip every article with a bounding like the dove. The LIBERAL has seen yet said but little on the subject, and does not now propose to enter extensively upon the discussion; but we simply ask our friends to give us a short hearing thereon.

It needs no argument to show that upon Woman, in her capacity of Wife and Mother, rest all the hopes of the future Progress and even the Existence of the human race upon the earth. It then follows as a logical sequence, that all right Effort, all Sensible Schemes for the Amelioration of the condition of Mankind must begin with the wife and mother. The Office, the Function of Motherhood, is, without question, transcendently the most important Factor that enters into the Solution of that most Complex Problem called Humanity or Human Life. To improve humanity then—to ensure its continued existence even—we must see to it that this Fundamental Factor is allowed its natural, its normal position in the Equation or Problem. We must see that it is not hampered and weakened by unnatural conditions

sauntlet and challenged to mortal combat one of the Meanest, most fearful, most Cruel, most Fiendish of Despotisms that ever cursed the race of man. A despotism that while it has its origin in and derives its vitality from a Natural Instinct, without which the race could not be perpetuated, and which when kept under the control of enlightened reason is conducive in the highest degree to the happiness of the Individual, yet, when permitted to riot in unbridled license is productive of Untold Misery, and threatens the Existence of the Race itself.

This abuse, this despotism is Time-honored. It flourished among the aborigines—the primitive savages of the forest and cave; and our modern civilization instead of destroying seems absolutely to foster and perpetuate it. We well know that to many good people this whole subject is eminently distasteful; just as, not many years ago, the agitation of the subject of African Slavery was very distasteful to many excellent people. They then said, "you Abolitionists are right enough in Theory no doubt; but your views are utterly impracticable. Domestic Slavery is too deeply seated, too strongly entrenched behind social

Once more; because we have achieved our own independence of the aforesaid Despotisms shall we grow tired of the fight and say, let others push forward the cause of Reform—the Car of Human Progress, while we take a rest? For one, we emphatically say No!

The whole fabric of Social Ethics stands remodelling, and in no department so much as in that relating to the right Use and to the Abuse of Man's Reproductive nature; and hence we repeat, let this whole field be thoroughly Canvassed and Discussed—honestly, fairly, kindly and candidly, in the pure air and clear sunlight of Reason and the Experience of all Time, instead of by the dim and delusive lantern (Jack-o'-lantern?) of Theology.

Allow us in conclusion of an article already extended far beyond the intended limits, to ask one or two more questions:

1st. What is the greatest crime that any human being can commit against society? What the greatest injury that any one can inflict upon his race? Is it not to become the parent of—to send into the world another human being with a weak and diseased body and with a mind predisposed to the commission of crime? And, Secondly, What is the greatest

### Reply to Register August 6th. (Continued.)

The orthodox christian minister regards an infidel as a sort of Moral Monstrosity—an Outcast from the "Kingdom of Grace," whose claim to Equal Rights the God-Believer is in no wise "bound to respect." Rev. Dr. Edwards, in speaking of the proposed Christian Amendment to the Constitution is reported as saying: "There are three kinds of people whose rights of conscience would be infringed on by these amendments, namely, Jews, Deists, and Atheists. But what is the character of these people? They are ignorant, and what they know they have learned from us. I think an Athelst has a right to live like any other

FOUR LUNATIC,

and that is all!"

An Rationalist we do not Retaliate. We would not deprive Christians of their equal share of rights if we could. We do not hate their clergy for such petty exhibitions of spite, of bigotry and intolerance. We do not try to injure them in their personal reputations as they try to injure us. We think we have learned better the law of Charity. We remember that they, like our-

# LUCIFER.



## THE LIGHT-BEARER.

New Series, Vol. 2, No. 3. VALLEY FALLS, KANSAS, MARCH 7, E. M., 284. Whole No. 67.

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**DE PROFUNDIS.**  
BY KENNETH LANAR.

Where the singing proves of summer  
glitter in the crystal calm,  
Wave the black, funeral branches.

**FLASHES.**  
For the fourth time faithful Northampton sends the indomitable Bradlaugh to Parliament. Into the House of Commons again override law and decency by rejecting this man of the People? Let the majority of that House beware! They walk over a volcano. For lesser crimes traitorous law makers have bared their necks to the executioner.

Christians and Mohammedans are just now engaged in the pleasant pastime of cutting each other's throats. England, utterly unable to do justice by Ireland, and sending her best men to prison for "blasphemy," is posting before the world as the champion of outraged innocence and imperiled civilization. An overgrown bully, she dares to strike none but children among nations, and the swords of her unforgotten slaves are fished in half-armed and naked savages, or the undrilled legions of some oriental princely ally.

The temperate conduct of English radicals in the face of the continued

Charles Bradlaugh, the staunch republican and enemy of royalty, the early and earnest land and labor reformer, the unshaker of the hereditary pensioners, and the unwavering friend of liberty, finds opposed to him in his battle for his rights and the rights of constituents the very men who are loudest in their denunciations of the House of Brunswick and the English cabinet.

Our sympathies are wholly with the friends of self government for Ireland, but we have only the most profound contempt for the men whom the Irish constitutions send to Parliament. They are, almost without exception, the most insignificant of men, un-loyally, and dignified with an redeeming trait of generosity or gratitude.

Fred Douglass, in his reply to private Haizel, gets in some very hard hits against the society morality of the day. In speaking of the attacks that have been made upon him for his recent marriage with a white woman, Mr. Douglass says: "There are a million of people in this country of mixed blood—mainly the children and grand

**LIBERAL LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS, ADOPTED BY THE MILWAUKEE CONGRESS.**  
(CONTINUED.)

(a). National legislation in regard to manual labor, covering the following points:  
(1). The introduction of a normal day's work.

(2). The untrammelled right of association guaranteed to laborers as well as other citizens, so as to enable them to protect their own interests.

(3). A system of statistical bureau to collect data concerning conditions of labor and production, and to give information and advice gratuitously.

(4). The prohibition of continuous employment of children under fifteen years of age in factories, mines, and workshops to the detriment of their physical, mental and moral development.

(5). The sanitary protection of the laboring population, by regulations taking cognizance of the needs of the different ages and sexes, by a controlling supervision

resolution, however, we must be careful that the principle is not stretched to justify acts which are a clear invasion of the rights of the people.

(6). This is altogether too sweeping. The circumstances should always be taken into consideration. Many employees are far more careless than their employers. Justice is what we should seek, and class differences must be put out of sight wherever possible.

(To be continued.)

E. C. WALKER.

The above named gentleman returned to Liberal last Friday, and at the request of friends, delivered a lecture at the Opera House last Saturday night. He chose for his subject "Liberty and Liberal," and handled the same in a skillful manner. The lecture was well received. Some of the ideas expressed by the gentleman were comparatively new to our people, and worthy of serious consideration. The real value of the principles enunciated by Mr. Walker, consisted chiefly in the fact that they can be reduced to practice. —[Capt. Greene in Liberal, Liberal Mo.]

# The American Non-Conformist.

And Kansas Industrial Liberator.

VOLUME IX.—NUMBER 30.

WINFIELD, COWLEY CO., KANSAS, THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1889.

WHOLE NUMBER—450

An Open Letter to Hon. Freston B. Plumb.

DEAR SIR:—Now that you have been nominated and are sure to be elected to the third term, as U. S. senator for six more years, I thought I would write you about our condition out here in the agricultural west.

You will now have a grand opportunity to do us lots of good, and as the "Kansas Farmer" told us just before election, you being a grand old horny handed farmer, know just what we need in the way of legislation.

You may have been away from us so long that you may have lost track of some of us, and in the grand rush of legislative business, which has characterized congress for a good while, I was afraid you might have overlooked some of our needs.

Farm loans and chattel mortgages are all the business in this country that pays, and the bankers tell us we are a "lazy, lousy set," or we would not have to borrow.

Now Freston, did you ever know of one entire class as unmerciful as the farming class, to suddenly become "lousy and lazy" before?

You see I talk confidential to you, because you said in your great speech on the bond purchase bill that the contraction of the currency was the cause of the unmerciful depreciation in the value of products of labor." True,

He used to live up on the Cottonwood you know. Well poor Tom, he had to give it up. In Chase county, so he came down here and from here he went west to try again. He had to borrow money to deed his land or loose it, and crops were poor and Tom saw that something must be done, so he rigged up his team and covered wagon and went to work on the Rock Island railroad last winter.

He kissed his wife and babies and went with as good grace as he could muster. Soon after he got to work the awful blizzard of last winter came on and after six weeks of hardship he returned to his family to find that they had died of hunger and exposure, and bankers, and county officers, and bankers, and corner lot speculators of the town were sending out word that there was no lack of all the comforts of life and that peace and plenty reigned supreme.

In answer to questions as to the situation, and offers of relief. You know what a modest hand Tom's wife was at cooking, and how many good suppers she used to provide for us in the good old days when "a man was a man, how're poor he might be."

Your son, her life was a life of toil, and when I think of her thoughtful kindness, her old-time joyous laugh, her high hopes of the future, and then contemplate her weary life of toil and her death, in that hardy dug-out, with her two little girls, I can but drop a tear.

the other day, that you was trying to squirm out of what you said in that speech I have mentioned. He said you was now writing all over the country, and saying that the farmers had gone in debt to buy stock and land, and had set the fool generally, and would have to take their "medicine."

Now, for God's sake, Freston, don't go back on us, for you are nominated so unanimously that everybody will think Kansas is a "Plumb" fool, and that the farmers of Kansas like to be mortgaged out and that it is gay old fun to be sold out by the sheriff.

Freston, as soon as you can get time, come out and take a good look at Kansas again. She is the brightest star in Liberty's diadem. Come, look at her sunny skies and her teeming fields. See the proud cities we have built and the triumphs of the labor of our hands.

You know it is not our fault that this state of affairs exists. It is not the fault of this fair land of ours. You know what is the matter. Why don't you and the rest of our delegation in congress speak right out or do you yet have to cringe to the money power? I see you did take a stand on "free glubbers," or something. Of course that is something tax farmers need badly.

The Shylocks out west are saying a crop failure is what is the matter. But in this part of the country they say it is over-production. We hear that those sands in the east have not enough to

The Unemployed.—IV. St. Louis Christian Advocate.

In trying to trace the true history of the matters under notice, and to what has been said in the preceding numbers, the next step is to notice the contraction of the circulating medium which followed the picture already described. During the "dash" times men calculated largely, traded freely, and under the apprehension or feeling that "times would continue flush," many contracted heavy debts, to be paid in the future, and to secure payment mortgaged much and in some cases all the property they held. The spirit of speculation was wide spread and rampant.

Let it be kept in mind that on the government money, the "greenbacks," the people paid no interest. It was safe and reliable, because backed by the government, and was issued in some convenient to the transaction of all kinds of business among rich and poor. But the money kings wanted money they could make pay—that would increase—and to invest greenbacks in commerce or manufactures just at that juncture would require active personal supervision and also involve more or less risk. To invest in houses or lands would also require attention and perhaps greater risk, with the addition of annual taxation. But, investments in government bonds are entirely safe, no taxation, no risk, no

here. But no. In 1874, according to the reports, \$75,191,000 of certificates of indebtedness, which had been made legal tenders, \$44,760,000 treasury notes, \$6,335,015 legal tenders, \$3,000,000 fractional currency and \$1,400,000 bank notes were put away. 5,932 failures; loss reported at \$153,236,000. More men out of employment and strikes increased.

In 1875 the volume of currency was contracted \$40,817,418. The failures were 7,740. Loss to creditors, \$201,060,000. Perhaps a million or more of laborers out of work, hunger stared men in the face and tramping came to be a sort of profession.

It is not necessary to give further details on this line. Most readers will remember the leading events of 1876 and 1877, when wages were cut down to almost starvation prices, when strikes were frequent, and mobs, such as occurred at Pittsburgh, Chicago and elsewhere, were not uncommon. When men by scores traveled over the country, sleeping and eating when and where, and what they could, and hundreds and thousands of wives and children of honest workmen nearly out of food and comfortable raiment, because the husband and father could find no employment. Circulating money was scarce. So much of it as had been used in the purchase of bonds and loans to the treasury there to be destroyed, and while this had been going

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KANSAS CITY, MO., SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1896.

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**RECIPROCAL.** People tell me, that in some places do, that the substitution of public property where now is private property, in business, would destroy the incentive in men that pushes them on today.

Grant ed. But it may prove, on investigation, that that is the very thing to be desired instead of deplorable. It may prove to be another idol of ignorance and religion into barbarism if they had no king to guide and protect them.

With the idea of profit, (which from actually producing wealth with one's own hands, for which all property is now held, all business conducted, and all speculations engaged in), being the incentive of man's onward progress, let us take up the news of the day, the actions of men on the stage of life, and see whether my position is correct or not.

Let me re state my position: I claim that profit (incentive), for which private ownership of land and business is only held, in the course of all crime and retard development of the race.

A wine company at Minneapolis, Minnesota, has been indicted for forging trade labels to wine. Public ownership would have given them no profit for such action and destroyed the incentive to forgery.

If the railroads were public property it would destroy the incentive in them to bribe congress, senate, legislatures, city councils and courts, and would therefore leave public officials without temptation. Yes, it would, certainly, destroy the in-

centive to had and distribution would destroy the incentive to had and reward good acts. No others could have anything, no workers could be in want of anything. Men would cultivate the virtues as they now cultivate the vices. Joy would hover over every home, where now misery hovers over every home; there is a abolition in all classes today.

Then will be "peace on earth, good will toward men," and not until then.

A look of distress, anxiety and care is on nearly every face you meet. A gloom is everywhere apparent. A foreboding of evil is in the atmosphere.

"There is something wrong," is being repeated with increasing vigor. Men are talking more about the awful commercial conditions, the increasing features and hopeless prospects than they are of McKinley, Cleveland, tariff or money. This is caused of doing any thinking in any age of civilization's progress.

The monopoly stores are flourishing, and he is actually trying to think. Working people who have about half of their time to hunt jobs are also thinking. As a rule, men in regular employment never take the trouble to think, so once on their minds. Altogether the outlook for a change—a radical change—is good. All phases of mental conditions are summary proceedents to political earthquakes. And this country needs a political earthquake.

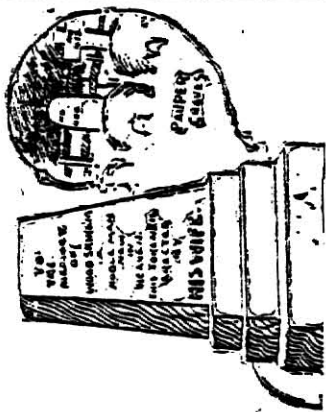
There has been much inquiry for a cheaper edition of Henry D. Lloyd's great book "Wealth Against Commonweal," which has been \$2.50. A 51 edition is being printed and every reformer, whether populist, socialist, single taxer or pro-

If number 36 is opposite your name on label 37 your subscription expires with the next issue.

**APPEAL TO REASON:** Amongst the world of good things we always find in the Appeal there is one idea that so I read it, but perhaps misunderstood (as in that case many others must also do), that impresses me as not being really good, and as it is frequently reiterated, and I should think must therefore hurt the power of the Appeal in its most successful efforts to benefit a kind humanity, I take the liberty of respectfully questioning it.

The idea I refer to is that "all private ownership of property" is radically wrong. I go with the Appeal in believing in the necessary utility to civilized existence upon this planet—to the limitation of the property that can be acquired or held by one person, whether in land, houses, money or anything else—but to abolish all private ownership would, it appears to me, be unjust and impracticable, do away with that incentive to individual effort and practically offer a premium to the trifling and lazy.

The average man will not work without some incentive, besides that which of others not immediately related to them. The basis is the altar of true patriotism. A man at will be a servant, who can be discharged as he is not a free man, and here let me ask a question. Millions of people have acquired small homes, through industry and economy, or are trying to do so, or have them partly paid for. Now, have they will it take to convert those millions to the belief that they should surrender their freehold homes to submit to the untried theories and unknown limitations and trammels of the abolition of "all private ownership"? So far from abolishing the private property for public ownership, I should wish to increase them. I have always thought I was greatly well advanced in my views of necessary reforms—too much so on a scale to make it advisable to force them in full upon the average reformer who was still in the A B C, and I must say



STORY OF THE CAPTURE.

**TALK** about trusts and monopolies. What would you do with them? Would you make a law to compel the great factories to divide up their business into little individual concerns? Would you deny the right of two men or two thousand to form a partnership? Would you compel men to compete or fight each other instead of working in harmony? Would such a law be right or could it be enforced? Most certainly not. Men are going to conduct their business to make the most out of their customers. That is what they are in business for. The little retailer is doing the same thing as the Standard Oil Company is far as he can. There is no difference in kind between the little corner grocer and the greatest monopoly in the land. It is only a matter of DEGREE. Why these little fellows who are golling at the heads of the great monopoly department stores would do just as these stores do if they could. I tell you that the consumers of this or any other nation is not going back to the planless, expulsive, small methods, of years ago. The time and use of small dealers have passed. Everything is tending to concentration and economic order and harmony. It is not a question of forcing the big stores to divide up—it is a question of who shall own the big stores. If the people will, them it will be well. If a private capitalist owns them stores, the big factory, the big bank—all are here to stay. No matter what the people with them. All little fellows must get the way of the old time tanner. The big people, if they love liberty, must make these things public property

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS  
IN KANSAS 1875-1922

by

BETH HARTUNG WEINMAN

B.S., Kansas State University, 1976

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis has both a substantive and methodological focus. It represents an attempt to construe sociologically a concrete historical event -- the alternative press in Kansas during the late nineteenth century. Second, it examines historiography as an appropriate research method for sociological questions.

In the opening sections, the alternative press is conceived of both empirically and theoretically as an institution attempting to create new, shared convictions and change existing norms. Briefly, I propose that the alternative press of the late nineteenth century: 1) stated its objectives in terms of providing an alternative to extant political reality; 2) opposed and critiqued existing social, political and religious institutions; 3) attracted or attempted to attract a regional or national readership; and 4) finally, that the producer's role in the paper was inextricably linked with a paper's success or failure. For the purposes of this study only publications which lasted for one year or longer were considered. These criteria, however, provide only a tentative step towards situating the alternative press in the appropriate context.

Following the statement of empirical tenets, then, the alternative press is set in the social historical framework of a social movements approach. This press supported and communicated the aims of (specifically) reform or revolutionary-oriented social movements. It is believed to have bridged the gap between various intellectual movements and individuals. The alternative press itself did not constitute a social "movement", however. It disseminated ideas and beliefs in order to promote action and change. The content of the alternative press is elucidated using Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, an explanation of how thought functions as an instrument of collective action.



Out of hundreds of available reform to radical presses, four such publications are examined using a life history approach and qualitative content analysis. In chronological order they are: Progressive Communist (Cedar Vale, 1875); Lucifer, the Light-Bearer (Valley Falls, Topeka and Chicago, IL, 1880-1907); the American Non-Conformist and Kansas Industrial Liberator (Winfield, 1886-1891), and Appeal to Reason (Kansas City, MO, Girard, Kansas, 1895-1922). An entire chapter of the thesis is devoted to detailed examination of these publications, their editors, and the surrounding political milieu.

The final chapter offers a sociological resolution, placing these particular presses in the framework developed in the first chapter.