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**NEBRASKA PROGRESSIVISM:
A Study of the 1907 and
1909 legislative sessions**

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Timothy E. Blankenship

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of The Graduate College of
the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. SCHOLARLY INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT 1

CHAPTER II. WHO WERE THE PROGRESSIVES?: A STATISTICAL PROFILE AND COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF NEBRASKA LEGISLATORS, 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS 33

CHAPTER III. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE PROGRESSIVES AND CONSERVATIVES, AND HOW THESE LEADERS WERE SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT FROM THEIR RANK AND FILE MEMBERSHIP 73

CHAPTER IV. PROGRESSIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS: ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL 94

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS 116

APPENDIX I. ROLL CALLS 143

APPENDIX II. LEGISLATORS: 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS 146

APPENDIX III. FOOTNOTE CODING 150

APPENDIX IV. LIQUOR CONTROL 222

BIBLIOGRAPHY 223

CHAPTER I

SCHOLARLY INTERPRETATIONS OF
THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

The post-Civil War era in America was one of immense expansion; its developmental process involved industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.¹ The entrepreneurs who led the development of industrialization have received praise from some historians and condemnation from others. Louis M. Hacker has referred to these business leaders as "Captains of Industry."² He spoke of their talents, their innovations, their organizational abilities, and suggested that these men were always attempting ". . . to expand production, to lower costs, and to make more goods and services available to the people. . . . the net result of their efforts was substantial progress for the entire nation."³

¹Arthur Mann, ed., The Progressive Era: Liberal Renaissance or Liberal Failure? (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 1. (Hereinafter cited as Mann, Progressive Era.)

²Allen F. Davis and Harold D. Woodman, eds., Conflict or Consensus in Modern American History (n.p.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1968), p. 5. (Hereinafter cited as Davis and Woodman, Conflict or Consensus.)

³Ibid., p. 4.

Matthew Josephson noted the opposite of the foregoing when he called these businessmen "Robber Barons." His thesis indicated that they were

. . . supported by a corrupt government, enriched themselves at the expense of less fortunate businessmen and of the public at large. The results were high prices, shoddy merchandise, poor service, and the rule of a business elite which ignored the well-being of the people.⁴

Whether these industrial leaders were "Captains of Industry" or "Robber Barons," this time of expansion and development brought many social and economic changes. More wares were produced, extensive capital was invested, the need for skilled workers and professionals became widespread, and the necessity of a large laboring class became apparent. Closely connected with this was the changing status of the small businessman who was being squeezed out of the open market by the giants of industry with whom he could no longer compete.⁵ In addition, many other groups were being affected.

During the industrial age American society was permanently altered by the influence of the trade union movement.⁶ The impetus of this movement generally came from

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 101.

individuals who believed in property rights and democracy, and who worked within the American system; only a handful desired the destruction of capitalism.⁷ Although management and labor held many similar values the ". . . most casual glance at the history of labor-management relations in the United States reveals a story of conflict, at times violent and bloody."⁸

Industrial workers were not alone in their discontent with the new order, for the latter decades of the nineteenth century found the American farmer increasingly beset with difficulties. Commercialized farming overtook subsistence agriculture and this change cost the farmer his economic independence. The farmer was now dependent upon bankers, railroads, world-wide market conditions and the whims of mother nature. Some historians have interpreted the farmer as an inept businessman unable to adapt to a changing society; others have said that the farmers' concern was legitimate and that the agrarian element was attempting to halt an ongoing progress of exploitation. Undebatable was the fact that the farmers' life was changing and becoming more difficult;⁹ many of his complaints were founded upon the fact that the

⁷Ibid., p. 102.

⁸Ibid., p. 101.

⁹Ibid., pp. 66-68.

"agrarian-mercantile society" was rapidly transforming itself into a "mass-production economy."¹⁰

The difficulty which immigrants experienced in adjusting to American institutions was a major problem in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These individuals had a difficult time adjusting to American institutions.¹¹ In general, "the American was basically Anglo-Saxon, an offspring of the English people, and it was the obligation of many new arrivals to conform to the patterns of life and to institutions that already existed here."¹²

The immigrants clashed with the native Americans who detested their foreign language, family patterns, education, church, and political beliefs.¹³ Many Americans correlated crime, intemperance, additional taxes, political bossism and corruption with the immigrant hordes,

¹⁰ Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), p. VI. (Hereinafter cited as Josephson, The Robber Barons.)

¹¹ Oscar Handlin, ed., Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1959), pp. 1-3. (Hereinafter cited as Handlin, Immigration.)

¹² ibid., p. 147.

¹³ ibid., pp. 76-77, 94.

forgetting the important assets that these foreigners offered America during this period.¹⁴

Though poverty stricken, lacking skills, and holding strange cultural values, the immigrants made a contribution to developing city life and to the expanding industrial economy. They played a vital role by supplying the needed labor for an expanding economy; their labor built factories and railroads. The immigrants played a significant role in the development of American agriculture and industry.¹⁵

Whether the immigrants were an overall asset or a detriment to America during this era has been a point of contention, but the indisputable fact was that native Americans and immigrants alike found their world evolving into a new and complex pattern. "The failures of the economic order, the difficulties with the labor force, poverty, insecurity, intemperance, political corruption, and crime continued to demand drastic remedies."¹⁶ Many Americans desired to cleanse the government of its corruption and rid it of the special interests that misused its power. A government that permitted, at least superficially, the majority of Americans to be involved in its functioning,

¹⁴ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵ibid., pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ibid., p. 201.

and one that was capable of giving its citizenry some social and economic relief became the goal of many Americans.¹⁷ All of the above culminated in a cry for change from people who desired to improve their society.¹⁸ It was these beliefs and wishes that fostered and nourished the progressive movement which was the first great manifestation of American liberalism in the twentieth century.¹⁹

The ambiguities and paradoxes of the Progressive era, a period from 1900 through the beginning of the First World War, have led to many different interpretations of this period in American history. The Progressive era has been interpreted as an extension of the farmer's revolt against his capitalistic oppressors,²⁰ an urban-gentry reacting against their loss of status to the corporate magnates,²¹ or an attempt by the slum-dwelling laboring and immigrant

¹⁷ Mann, Progressive Era, p. 2.

¹⁸ Davis and Woodman, Conflict or Consensus, p. 152.

¹⁹ Mann, Progressive Era, p. 1.

²⁰ John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmer's Alliance and The People's Party (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 404-423. (Hereinafter cited as Hicks, Populist Revolt.)

²¹ Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955), pp. 131-173. (Hereinafter cited as Hofstadter, Age of Reform.)

classes to raise their economic level.²² Other explanations are that it was a reform movement spearheaded by large businesses to rationalize the economic structure of the country,²³ or a reform caused by a newly established order in society that placed the middle-class professional and specialist in the leadership roles.²⁴

John D. Hicks, author of The Populist Revolt, contended that the Progressive movement was a direct continuation of the Populist revolt. Hicks' argument was based on two factors: first, the similarity in doctrine between Populism and Progressivism, and, secondly, the legislative measures and programs which were advocated by the Populists and finally enacted by the Progressives. Hicks stated that even though the Populist party died, the doctrines of Populism survived, and its ideology became the major stimulus for the legislation adopted during the Progressive era.²⁵

²²J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX (September, 1962), pp. 231-246. (Hereinafter cited as Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism.")

²³Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 1-344. (Hereinafter cited as Kolko, Triumph of Conservatism.)

²⁴Robert H. Wiebe, The Search For Order (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. VII-IX, 1-333. (Hereinafter cited as Wiebe, Search For Order.)

²⁵Hicks, Populist Revolt, pp. 404-422.

Hicks contended that many concepts of Populism that once were rejected gained acceptance during the Progressive era. Populist measures adopted during the Progressive period included the Australian ballot, voter registration laws, direct election of senators, primary elections, the "subtreasury plan," and low-interest government loans to farmers.²⁶ Hicks concluded that it would be futile and useless to argue "that all these developments were due to Populism"²⁷ yet, most of these measures had been advocated by the Populist reformers and "it would thus appear that much of the Populist program. . . . for altering the machinery of government have, with but few exceptions, been carried into effect."²⁸

Russel B. Nye, author of Midwestern Progressive Politics, also contended that the midwestern progressive movement was a continuance of the Populist revolt, both in philosophy and practice:²⁹

²⁶ ibid., pp. 407-408, 415. ²⁷ ibid., p. 416.

²⁸ ibid., p. 421.

²⁹ Russel B. Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 13, 86, 204, 254, 255. (Hereinafter cited as Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics.)

The lineal descendant of nineteenth-century agrarian revolt, progressivism represented the same ideas traveling in the same direction, with new leaders, new vitality, and new weapons, against the old forces of privilege and corruption.³⁰

Nye stated that "the spirit of protest that cast the six million votes for Bryan" continued to survive.³¹

Nye described the midwestern progressive movement as a unique reform geared to solve its own regional problems and advance the midwest's special interests.³² He termed this movement ". . . common-sense, agrarian, frontier radicalism, a thoroughly indigenous compound of various elements in Midwestern history."³³ Nye contended it was a moderate movement with many conservative methods to produce change.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., p. 182.

³¹ Ibid., p. 121.

³² Nye indicated that the transportation, credit and tariff problems facing the midwestern farmers were the major stimuli for the rise and development of the progressive movement. Farmers detested the outrageous railroad rates, the false land assessments made by the railroads in an attempt to secure lower taxation, and the tendency of railroads to overvalue their assets when issuing stock or setting higher rates. They disliked the high interest rates of the eastern banking houses and rallied against having to sell their produce in an unprotected market while purchasing their wares in a protected market. Ibid., pp. 10, 11, 14, 35-44, 184, 223.

³³ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁴ The midwestern progressives felt that by instituting the short ballot, direct primary, the registration laws,

According to Nye, the progressive movement in most of the statehouses in the Midwest rested within the Republican party.³⁵ He described the leadership of the Progressive movement as ". . . smart young Republican lawyers, district attorneys, and young career politicians . . . They were sharp, well-educated, efficient and practical men, . . ." ³⁶Nye differentiated between what he considered the inner force of the progressive movement and the leadership of this reform when he stated: "For this protest the agricultural class, its roots deep in nineteenth-century agrarian radicalism, provided the impetus, while insurgent Republicanism provided the means of expression."³⁷

the initiative, referendum, and recall, and home rule charters the election process could be brought under their control. Nye contended that the midwestern progressives desired anti-trust legislation, corporate and railway regulations, and tax changes so as to obtain additional control of large businesses. They also advocated banking, insurance, fair trade, public utility and corporate practice legislation so as to increase and guarantee the public's social and economic welfare. The midwestern progressives desired to institute workmen's compensation, employers' liability, safety and inspection rules for factories, old age pensions, and child labor laws. They wanted regulatory commissions staffed with experts that would increase the efficiency of government. Ibid., pp. 186-189.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 189, 222-223. ³⁶Ibid., p. 183.

³⁷Ibid., p. 222. According to Nye, the Congregationalists, Methodists, and Episcopalians, were important contributors to the Midwestern Progressive movement. This identical religious philosophy had played a major role during the Populist movement. Ibid., pp. 152, 154, 157, 159.

George Mowry's study, The California Progressives, suggested that the typical reformer was

. . . a young man, often less than forty years old. He had probably been born in the Middle West, . . . If not, then he was a native to the state. He carried a north-European name, and . . . came of Old American stock. ³⁸

The California progressives were highly educated with more than three-fourths of their numbers having received a college degree, and, occupationally, the majority were professionals. Most were financially comfortable city-dwellers, affiliated with the Free Masons, and were members of the chamber of commerce.³⁹ Mowry further noted that the progressive ". . . leaders were drawn from a different class than were those of the Grangers and the Populists." He concluded that ". . . progressivism was not just a reformulation of our older radicalism."⁴⁰

Mowry emphasized that the United States, historically an agrarian nation, was attempting to make the transition to industrialization, a process which produced much instability. During this period the progressives felt that

³⁸George E. Mowry, The California Progressives (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1951), p. 87. (Hereinafter cited as Mowry, California Progressives.)

³⁹Ibid., pp. 87-92. ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 89.

their morality, religion, and concept of law were being demeaned by the crude power struggle between capital and labor. They considered themselves to be the middle-ground between the evils of corporate interests and the labor unions and felt that the problems of society were caused by the nouveau riche and lower classes. The progressives attempted to appease the former, while tolerating the latter. This middle class body realized they had three choices: government dominated by corporate interest, a socialistic labor government, or one controlled by individuals. The latter was their objective.⁴¹

The progressive movement in California had several goals. "Looking backward to an older America, it sought to recapture and reaffirm the older individualistic values in all the strata of political, economic, and social life."⁴² The California reformers wanted to institute programs that would benefit the public's general welfare.⁴³

In a study, written in 1954, which was an appendix to The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, Albert D. Chandler, Jr. obtained social background information on 260 Progressive party members. He stated that ". . . the leaders of the

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 88, 91, 95-97. ⁴² Ibid., p. 89.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

Progressive party were city men of the upper middle class. Second, they were native-born Protestants; . . . Politically, all but a handful had previously been Republicans."⁴⁴ Chandler further noted that the majority of Progressive leaders were highly-educated professional men. Farmers, laborers, non-professionals, and white collar workers were not represented in the progressive ranks.⁴⁵

In reference to the area west of the Mississippi, Chandler indicated that the Progressives of professional stature were dominated by editors and lawyers, and their businessmen were generally real estate dealers or had cattle or lumber interests. He stated that even though the city-dwelling editors and lawyers detested the railroads ". . . they had little sympathy with the Democratic heirs of Populism."⁴⁶

Richard Hofstadter borrowed many of the aforementioned ideas and themes from Mowry's The California Progressives and Chandler's "The Origins of Progressive Leadership." He examined both the social and psychological aspects of a changing society which led the professional men to "become

⁴⁴Albert Chandler, Jr., "The Origins of Progressive Leadership," in Elting E. Morison, ed., The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 1462. (Hereinafter cited as Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership.")

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 1462-1463.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 1464.

the advisers and the gadflies of reform movements." He stated ". . . all groups with claims to learning and skill shared a common sense of humiliation and common grievances against the plutocracy."⁴⁷

According to Hofstadter, the urban-gentry, which basically consisted of professionals and small businessmen, was confronted with a choice: accept the newly-established status quo, which to them meant an abandonment of traditional values, or battle the adversary until these traditional values could be re-established. The latter course was chosen by the urban-gentry.⁴⁸

In addition to the above, Hofstadter also felt that many individuals from the urban-gentry were

. . . Progressives not because of economic deprivations but primarily because they were victims of an upheaval in status that took place in the United States during the closing decades of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. Progressivism, . . . was . . . led by men who suffered from the events of their time not through a shrinkage in their means but through the changed pattern in the distribution of deference and power.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Hofstadter, Age of Reform, p. 149. Hofstadter's study showed that quite often when people lose power and status, they revert to becoming members of fraternal and patriotic organizations, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 135, 137, 140. ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 135.

The Progressive movement was built upon individuals of Anglo-Saxon origin;⁵⁰ their religious beliefs were deeply rooted in Protestantism. This reform movement showed ". . . the prominence of the cultural ideals and traditions of New England."⁵¹

Hofstadter stated that most Progressives were native-born, urban dwellers, and were relatively young.⁵² He contended that the Progressive movement was not led by "the silver-haired veterans of old monetary reform crusades."⁵³ The types of occupation held by the Progressives testified to their high level of education. The majority were professionals. If the progressive was not a lawyer, professor, clergyman, or editor, he was apt to be a businessman. Farmers, labor union officials and white-collar people were usually not Progressives.⁵⁴

⁵⁰Hofstadter noted that many middle-class persons became advocates of Progressivism because of their hostility toward the immigrant value-system. The Yankee concepts of politics, which included "responsibility," "wide-spread participation," "moral principles," and "corruption of personal habits" had little meaning in the immigrant communities. Hofstadter stated that the immigrants were not interested in the passage of the initiative, recall, or referendum, because within each of these measures was embedded the concept of active political participation; nor were the immigrants supporters of women's rights, prohibition, and Sunday laws; ibid., pp. 182-185.

⁵¹ibid., p. 139.

⁵²ibid., pp. 144-145, 170, 174.

⁵³ibid., p. 167.

⁵⁴ibid., pp. 144-145.

Hofstadter's "status revolution" was not universally accepted by other scholars. Many follow-up studies have attempted to prove or disprove his conclusions.

Herbert Janick studied eight Connecticut progressive party members with the objective of testing Hofstadter's "status revolution" thesis. His conclusions showed that two major age groups existed: four individuals were in their thirties, three men were in their fifties, one reformer was in his forties. All progressives were financially secure and were respected citizens in their communities. Janick stated that the progressives were educated men with seven having received undergraduate degrees and six of these had completed some graduate studies. These reformers were middle-class individuals who had been born in small towns or on country estates. Janick contended that the unifying theme for the Progressive movement was religious background. Six of the eight had strong religious ties and the "Puritan Ethic" permeated this group.⁵⁵

Janick concluded that ". . . the careers and attitudes of the leadership of the Progressive party in Connecticut sustains many of the conclusions reached by Mowry and

⁵⁵Herbert Janick, "The Mind of the Connecticut Progressive," *Mid-America*, LII (April, 1970), pp. 85-90, 99. (Hereinafter cited as Janick, "Connecticut Progressive.") Janick used an extensive biography of each figure while formulating conclusive remarks; *ibid.*, pp. 83-101.

Hofstadter . . ."⁵⁶ Yet he observed that even though the profile of Connecticut Progressives was very similar to the Mowry-Hofstadter model, the "status revolution" theory was unfounded during this era in Connecticut politics. Janick was unable to discover any rebellious attitude produced by a loss of influence or prestige in the community. These progressive figures showed no outward sign, by action or voice, to suggest a loss of status.⁵⁷

Janick suggested that a motivating force that caused these men to become progressives was the social evil confronting their society. He contended that "this tension between a complacency born of success, and a restlessness feeding on the presence of injustice, drove the Connecticut progressives to seek ways to rejuvenate traditional values."⁵⁸ Their ultimate goal was to purge the abuses in society without altering the American system.⁵⁹

Richard Sherman researched the role of Progressive, Republican, and Democratic party leadership in Massachusetts during the election of 1912. He concluded that the Massachusetts Progressives not only were similar to the Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter model, but also resembled the

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 84.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 87-88, 101.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 85.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 95.

regular Republican leadership. Sherman stated that the Republican leaders came from Yankee, Protestant backgrounds and had received a somewhat better education and possessed more political experience than the Progressives. Likewise, the Democratic leadership in Massachusetts was not radically different from either the Republican or Progressive. In conclusion, Sherman stated that none of the political leaders were representative of the general population in respect to nativity, education or occupation. Sherman asked, if the backgrounds of the Progressives and regular Republicans were similar, then why would some individuals become progressive while others maintained their conservative position? He made no attempt to solve this problem, stating that the "status revolution" affected only certain segments of the middle class.⁶⁰

David Thelen researched the legislators of 1897 to 1903 in Wisconsin. He chose legislation which he considered progressive, found out how a legislator voted on these measures, and rated him, accordingly, as a progressive, moderate or a conservative. Thelen concluded that occupation,

⁶⁰Richard B. Sherman, "The Status Revolution and Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. LXXVIII, (March, 1963), pp. 59-65. (Hereinafter cited as Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership.") The author used collective biographies and class analysis in making his conclusions.

educational level, and nativity had no major effect on a legislator's voting pattern. The age similarity of all groups suggested a lack of conflict between generations and he noted that the progressives were not the least politically experienced of the legislative factions.⁶¹

Thelen also found the backgrounds of the leaders of the Wisconsin progressive movement to be very diverse. These men of widely differing origins and occupations shared a common belief that vigorous action was essential in solving Wisconsin's problems arising from industrialization and urbanization.⁶² Thelen concluded that his study ". . . clearly suggest [s] that no particular manner of man became a progressive."⁶³

Thelen's thesis stated that relative to the Gilded Age or the 1920s, the Progressive Era was socially peaceful and filled with cooperation. Thelen gave examples in which socialists, businessmen, agrarian groups and unions worked cooperatively toward certain objectives and goals.⁶⁴ He concluded that the ". . . basic riddle in progressivism

⁶¹ David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," Journal of American History, LVI (September, 1969, pp. 331-333. (Hereinafter cited as Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism.")

⁶² ibid., p. 334.

⁶³ ibid., p. 332.

⁶⁴ ibid., pp. 335, 337.

is not what drove groups apart, but what made them seek common cause."⁶⁵

Daniel E. Potts studied the likenesses and dissimilarities of the Theodore Roosevelt, Albert B. Cummins and the Standpat Republicans in Iowa from 1900 through 1912. He concluded that the major differences between these groups were age and political experience. The Roosevelt Republicans were younger and lacked the political experience of their counterparts; they were more urban and had a higher education. The Roosevelt Republicans were the most likely not to be farmers; their chances of being businessmen and professionals were extremely high.⁶⁶

The similarities of the three groups studied by Potts were numerous. All of the fathers of the Roosevelt-Cummins-Standpat Republicans were of northern European ancestry. All three groups were basically composed of Protestants, with the Roosevelt Progressives showing more religious diversity. Fraternal affiliations of the three groups were very similar.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 341.

⁶⁶ Daniel E. Potts, "The Progressive Profile In Iowa," Mid-America XLVII (October, 1965), pp. 259-268. (Hereinafter cited as Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa.")

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 267.

Potts' study showed that the Iowa Progressives were not "uniquely middle-class." Evidence showed that just one segment of the middle-class revolted. Potts' conclusions refute the Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter theory that the Progressive movement was based strictly upon middle-class support.⁶⁸

Jack Tager tested the validity of Hofstadter's "status revolution" theory by examining Toledo, Ohio during the years 1905-1913 when a noted urban progressive, Brand Whitlock, brought reform to that city. He noted that the socio-economic characteristics of Toledo's progressive Independents and conservative Republicans were similar.⁶⁹ Tager concluded, "Thus, we see the middle class leadership in Toledo split in two, one group progressive, the other not. The status-revolution theory based on collective middle class action, . . . did not exist in Toledo . . ." Tager questioned whether it existed at all.⁷⁰

Charles N. Glaab researched the North Dakota progressive movement with the objective of testing the historical

⁶⁸ ibid.

⁶⁹ Jack Tager, "Progressives, Conservatives, and the Theory of the Status Revolution," Mid-America, XLVIII (July, 1966), pp. 167, 169, 172-173. (Hereinafter cited as Tager, "Theory of the Status Revolution.")

⁷⁰ ibid., p. 175.

generalization that "all Midwestern reform movements were essentially agrarian."⁷¹ He concluded that Progressivism in North Dakota was not an agrarian reform movement; it did not have the goal of advancing the farmer's economic status. Although seventy per cent of North Dakotans lived in rural areas and were "entirely dependent on agriculture," the general agricultural prosperity during the period 1906-1912 caused farm problems to be de-emphasized. The North Dakota Progressive movement was led and supported by urban dwellers who were "advancing a non-agrarian program."⁷² It was a movement of lawyers, editors, teachers, and small town businessmen who desired to advance political democracy, strip the ward bosses of their decision-making power and produce responsible government.⁷³

The overemphasis upon ". . . reforms and other political devices that would ensure honest government . . ." hindered the implementation of agrarian reforms. Glaab attributed the failure of rural reforms to the ignorant immigrants who were not capable of expressing their political opinions and were too often manipulated by ward

⁷¹ Charles N. Glaab, "The Failure of North Dakota Progressivism," Mid-America, XXXIX (October, 1957), pp. 195-209. (Hereinafter cited as Glaab, "North Dakota Progressivism.")

⁷² ibid., p. 196.

⁷³ ibid., pp. 200-202.

heelers.⁷⁴ Glaab concluded that the historical generalizations that all midwestern-progressive movements were agrarian-based might be erroneous and his work suggested that North Dakota progressivism reinforced Richard Hofstadter's interpretation.⁷⁵

In 1962, J. Joseph Huthmacher published an interpretation that differed from that of Hicks or Hofstadter.⁷⁶ Huthmacher questioned the historical assumption that ". . . the Progressive Era . . . [was] a manifestation of the Yankee-Protestant ethos . . ." and suggested that ". . . the triumphs of . . . the Progressive Era, . . . were owed to something more than strictly middle-class dynamism."⁷⁷ He contended that the middle-class "status revolution" interpretation of the Progressive era had neglected the roles that labor and the immigrant communities played with their support of progressive reform measures. Examples of immigrants aspiring, advocating and succeeding with their reform endeavors could be found in New York and Massachusetts. The urban lower class support for reform legislation in these states far outweighed the middle-class or rural support of these measures. Huthmacher took issue

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 208.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 195-209

⁷⁶ Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism," pp. 231-241.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 234.

with the argument that immigrants were anti-progressive and were obstacles to reform legislation.⁷⁸

The lower classes, according to Huthmacher, had lived with deprivations of life; they had first-hand knowledge of the ills of society. Because of the lower-class closeness to numerous social problems, they were realistic and pragmatic with their reform goals; their interest rested with economic issues. The lower-classes, because of their experiences with local bosses, felt at home with a centralized and paternalistic government system and did not want a government with emphasis upon ethereal individual liberties. Because of this, it was only reasonable that the urban lower-classes would strongly support a specific type of reform program.⁷⁹

Huthmacher contended that urban lower-class support of certain reforms ". . . depended more upon local conditions of practical politics than upon the workings of a Yankee-Protestant ethos."⁸⁰ The representatives of the urban working class were not interested in changing political machinery; they wanted government support for better working conditions, higher wages and more job security. This group supported legislation for workmen's compensation, pension

⁷⁸ ibid., pp. 233, 234, 238. ⁷⁹ ibid., pp. 235-236.

⁸⁰ ibid., p. 237.

plans, higher wages, shorter hours, factory safety regulations, and governmental regulation of business. They detested legislation such as prohibition, parochial school regulation, and blue laws aimed at Americanizing their cultural groups. Huthmacher noted that the working people desired environmental reform which generally differed from the cultural and behavior reforms of the middle-class reformers.⁸¹ He concluded with a brief comment about Hofstadter's "status revolution" thesis by stating that perhaps the middle-class felt a loss in status, but he stressed at the same time ". . . the working class faced an equally compelling fear of insecurity of livelihood and living conditions."⁸²

A more recent interpretation of Progressivism has been presented by Gabriel Kolko, author of The Triumph of Conservatism. He argued that this reform movement was spearheaded by big business concerns which had as their objective the beneficent regulation of their industries by federal government. Kolko stated that this reform urge occurred only after business leaders failed to rationalize their economy by means of voluntary association and mergers.⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 237-239.

⁸² Ibid., p. 237.

⁸³ Kolko, Triumph of Conservatism, pp. 4-6.

Kolko noted that the federal legislation enacted during the Progressive era

. . . to most historians has appeared to be a reaction against the power of the giant monopoly, or a negative response . . . by a threatened middle-class being uprooted . . .

.
Progressivism has been portrayed as essentially a middle-class defense against the status pretensions of the new industrialists, a defense of human values against acquisitive habits, a reassertion of the older tradition of rural individualism.⁸⁴

According to Kolko, the Progressive era was a period of conservatism. The reformers had as their objective the preservation of the capitalistic system. These progressives were not attempting to benefit the status of the average man but were endorsing ". . . a movement that operated on the assumption that the general welfare of the community could be best served by satisfying the concrete needs of business."⁸⁵

The goal of this progressive business element was to endorse governmental policies that would inevitably produce "windfall profits, subsidies and resources."⁸⁶ Although these business elements attempted to control state legislatures, the number one priority was federal control, which

⁸⁴ ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁸⁵ ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁸⁶ ibid., p. 58.

became ". . . the defense of business against the democratic ferment that was nascent in the states."⁸⁷

Samuel P. Hays, in "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," studied two municipal reform movements, one in Des Moines, Iowa and the other in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.⁸⁸ Hays noted that in June of 1907, with the endorsement of major business and professional groups, a commission government was instituted in Des Moines. An analysis of the voting pattern on this measure showed that it received widespread support from the upper socio-economic groups, but it gained little support from the lower-classes. The goal of this movement was to replace, in political office, the storekeeper, mill-worker and clerk who represented the lower-middle classes with upper-class representatives who were ostensibly more qualified to hold political office. Fundamental to this elitist movement was the concept of innate leadership.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁸ ibid., p. 6; Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," in Abraham S. Eisenstadt, ed., American History: Recent Interpretations, Book II: Since 1865 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), pp. 233-258. (Hereinafter cited as Hays, "Politics of Reform.")

⁸⁹ ibid., pp. 240-243.

The Pittsburgh reform movement had as its objective the abolition of the ward system and implementation of at-large elections for city council and school board offices. Its strongest supporters were the upper-class professionals and the business leaders. Most were affiliated with large corporate or banking interests. Hays contended that "these reformers . . . comprised not an old but a new upper class."⁹⁰ He stated that these reformers ". . . were not the older professional men, seeking to pressure the past against change; they were in the vanguard of professional life, actively seeking to apply expertise more widely to public affairs."⁹¹

The major stimulus for reform, Hays stated, came from the fact that city bosses and their political machines had such control of the decision-making power that it kept the large business groups and other influential people politically limited. The major obstacles were the accommodations established between ward heelers, city officials and select business elements. These accommodations ". . . proved to be burdensome and unsatisfactory to the business community" The upper classes decided that changes were mandatory because of the uncertainty, cost, waste, and inefficiency

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 241, 250.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 241.

in local government. Indirect control was no longer a feasible method. Direct political control became their objective.⁹²

Hays concluded that the reformers were successful at using democratic methods to expand their own political power. The industrialization of America afforded the upper-classes an opportunity to increase and extend their controls on government. The reform changed the classes of people and the geographical regions that were to be represented; the lower-middle socio-economic group lost their political dominance in city government while the upper-classes acquired political decision-making power.⁹³

The most recent overall evaluation of the Progressive era has been Robert Wiebe's The Search For Order. Wiebe's thesis ". . . presents the Progressives as members of a dynamic and optimistic new middle class deliberately attempting to substitute an entirely new set of values for traditional but outmoded American beliefs."⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid., p. 254.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 254-258. He contended that the major mistake of most historians has been their acceptance of an individual's own evaluation of his political practices. Because of this, most historical accounts have had the tendency to emphasize ideology rather than practice.

⁹⁴ Wiebe, Search For Order, p. VIII.

Wiebe explained that America's entrance into the twentieth century brought a new way of life; a change in the order of society. The bailiwick of the city bosses and their underlings were gone as was the personal touch, the assistance that came to the people of the local community. The "new order" was impersonal and formal; an industrialized, urban-based society which granted powers to its centralized government. The "new order" rested with the middle-class fundamentals of management, administration and government bureaucracy.⁹⁵ There was "endless talk of order and efficiency, endless analogies between society and well-oiled machinery."⁹⁶

The "new order" emphasized an individual's occupational status. A man's social identity was no longer derived from the community in which he lived, but from his area of employment. The values and policies of a man's occupation became guidelines for his lifestyle. The crux of the new order was the specialist; he became an indispensable tool.⁹⁷

Wiebe stated that the individuals who made up this "new order" had lost their ethnic attachment. Also, their political party affiliation was not as important as it once had been. Paradoxically, the trend of self-consciousness stimulated their political involvement.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. VIII, XIII-XIV. ⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 154.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 129, 174-175. ⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

Wiebe indicated that the "new order" was the catalyst that prompted the urban based middle-class reformers to spearhead progressivism.⁹⁹ Wiebe defined progressivism as ". . . millions of Americans in a single crusade against the inefficiency and injustice of special privilege, social ignorance, and habitual indifference."¹⁰⁰ The reformers wanted the government to be streamlined. They wanted to destroy the ". . . pact between bosses and businessmen which financed the machines and sold public favors on request."¹⁰¹

When speaking specifically about the Midwest, Wiebe stated that the merchants, bankers, lawyers, and commercial farmers were the advocates of Progressivism.¹⁰² These elements realized that the order of society was changing so they capitalized on this movement by placing themselves in the

⁹⁹ ibid., p. 128.

¹⁰⁰ ibid., p. 198.

¹⁰¹ ibid., p. 167.

¹⁰² ibid., pp. 129-130. Although some of the Progressive demands (railroads and business regulatory legislation, governmental efficiency, rationalized tax structure, initiative, referendum, recall and direct primary) were similar to those advocated by the Populists, Wiebe noted differences in styles of reform existed. He added that "Very few of these progressives had looked kindly upon Populism . . . Struggling to secure a place for themselves during the eighties and nineties, they had either avoided such movements or opposed them as a direct threat to their ambitions." Search For Order, p. 178.

leadership role. Wiebe concluded: "Progressivism generally emanated from an influential group of citizens who were just then appreciating the advantages of modernization as an aid to their expanding interests."¹⁰³

Each of the aforementioned studies, though suggesting different interpretations as to the causations, leadership personalities, goals and achievements of the progressive movement, ultimately attempted to answer ". . . whether the Progressive era was a liberal renaissance or a liberal failure."¹⁰⁴ That which follows will attempt to answer these questions: What were the social backgrounds of the Nebraska legislators of the 1907 and 1909 sessions? What role did the Nebraska progressives play as distinct from that played by those of other political points of view? What were the specific accomplishments of the Nebraska progressive legislators? Finally, how does the Nebraska progressive movement fit into the general historical perspective as interpreted by other studies of progressivism?

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁰⁴ Mann, The Progressive Era, p. 5.

CHAPTER II

WHO WERE THE PROGRESSIVES?: A STATISTICAL PROFILE AND COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF NEBRASKA LEGISLATORS, 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS

The classification of legislators as "progressives," "moderates" or "conservatives" was accomplished first by establishing criteria for what was considered progressive legislation; secondly, by completing an extensive roll call analysis of these measures which was used to construct a lawmaker's voting pattern; and, lastly, by producing the criteria for categorization of legislators into political groups based upon their voting patterns.

Upon completion of the above, biographical data was collected, when possible, on each legislator so that a statistical profile could be constructed of each political group. This was then used for a comparative survey. A comparison, showing similarities and differences of political groups based upon their action on progressive measures ". . . avoids the necessity of making . . . subjective judgments and provides a clear-cut distinction."¹

¹Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 60.

The criteria used for determining progressive legislation included: attempts to change the tax structure with the objective of producing more equity; regulation of corporations; improvement of the status of the laboring classes, and renovation in the electoral and legislative processes in an attempt to bring a closer relationship between the voter and his representatives.

In this study of the 1907 and 1909 legislatures, 159 roll calls were recorded.² After evaluation of the roll calls, percentages were established showing how the 266 legislators of these sessions voted on these progressive measures.

A legislator was rated as a "progressive" if he voted "aye" on at least 85 per cent of the roll calls on progressive measures or resolutions; a "moderate" if he voted for progressive legislation on 70 per cent to 85 per cent of the roll calls; and a "conservative" if he voted favorably less than 70 per cent of the time on progressive measures.³

²See Appendix I; An additional nineteen roll calls were recorded separately on the liquor question in an attempt to see if progressives, as determined by the above criteria, were also cultural reformers, cf., Chapter IV, pp. 111-115.

³These figures may be interpreted as exceptionally high, but considering the pressures that were applied on legislators because of party platforms, party bosses, public opinion and the tendency for many measures to receive almost unanimous endorsement, these figures seem most appropriate. Thelen, in "Origins of Progressivism," while studying the

If a legislator failed to vote on at least 80 per cent of the roll calls he was not used in this study. Since absence is open to multiple interpretations, legislators absent for more than 20 per cent of the roll calls concerning the aforementioned issues were not included in this study.⁴

Fifty-eight legislators were rated as progressives; 109 were labeled as moderates; forty lawmakers were listed as conservatives, and fifty-nine legislators were "unused" because of absenteeism.⁵ Of the men studied, the progressives equalled 28 per cent, the moderated comprised 53 per cent, and the conservatives totaled 19 per cent of the 207 legislators used in the three categories of research.⁶

Progressive movement in Wisconsin, used the progressive-moderate-conservative method. This approach placed emphasis upon a legislator's actions rather than his spoken ideology or his party affiliation.

Also taken into consideration were the comments made and actions taken by the legislators during the committee hearings on these measures. Almost without exception, the legislators who opposed these bills in committee stage either voted against the measure when it was brought to the floor or was absent at the time of voting.

⁴Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," p. 321.

⁵See Appendix II.

⁶Legislative session breakdown of the progressives, moderates, conservatives and unused showed the following: twenty-eight 1907 legislators and thirty 1909 legislators were progressives; fifty-three 1907 legislators and fifty-six members of the 1909 session were moderates; eighteen members of 1907 legislature and twenty-two lawmakers of the 1909 session were rated as conservatives; and thirty-four

Professor Frederick C. Luebke has stated that "By tabulating information drawn from biographies . . . systematic data may be acquired which reveal relationships between political behavior and a variety of social, economic, and cultural variables."⁷ Assuming the validity of this approach, the second phase of the research for this chapter consisted of developing a collective biography on the legislators of the 1907 and 1909 sessions. This study entailed statistical analysis of more biographical variables than have been used in past studies.⁸ Biographical data

legislators of the 1907 session and twenty-five members of the 1909 legislature were not used for this study because of excessive absenteeism.

Twelve progressives, fourteen moderates, four conservatives and three legislators that were unused were discovered from the 1907 Senate session. The 1909 Senate produced sixteen progressives, sixteen moderates, no conservatives and one unused. The 1907 Nebraska House of Representatives had sixteen progressives, thirty-nine moderates, fourteen conservatives and thirty-one unused legislators in its ranks. The 1909 House had fourteen progressives, forty moderates, twenty-two conservatives and twenty-four legislators that were not used.

Of the 266 legislative positions during the 1907 and 1909 sessions twenty-two per cent were progressives, forty-one per cent were moderates, fifteen per cent were conservatives and twenty-two per cent were unused.

⁷Frederick C. Luebke, Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), p. 53. (Hereinafter cited as Luebke, Immigrants and Politics.)

⁸Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership;" Tholen, "Origins of Progressivism;" Potts, "Progressive Profile in Iowa."

was collected on the age, occupation, education, religion, nativity, years of residence, political experience, political party membership, organization membership and geographical distribution of the legislators.

By an examination and statistical analysis of this empirical data it was felt that an objective measurement could be made and used in an attempt to discover whether social origins of legislators influenced their voting patterns, political programs, or ideology and thus led to the rise of a progressive movement in Nebraska.

AGE

No discernible pattern emerged when comparing the age levels of the Nebraska legislators.⁹ The average age of the progressives and moderates was fifty-one years, while the average conservative was two years younger. It should be noted that the conservatives had a younger legislator in their ranks than the progressives, while the moderates had the youngest lawmaker. Yet, at the other extreme, the conservatives could make claim to having the oldest legislator as a member to their political group (See Table 1).

⁹The 1907 legislators averaged two years younger than the 1909 lawmakers.

The "unused" legislators averaged forty-six years old which indicated that the youngest political group was the most inactive, averaging 35 per cent absence on roll calls.

TABLE I

AGE

STATUS	AVERAGE AGE OF LEGISLATORS	MEDIAN AGE OF LEGISLATORS	AGE OF YOUNGEST LEGISLATOR	AGE OF OLDEST LEGISLATOR
PROGRESSIVES	51	52	30	74
MODERATES	51	52	23	68
CONSERVATIVES	49	49	29	76

Only the moderates and conservatives were represented in the twenty-twenty-nine age bracket. The thirty-thirty-nine age bracket showed no important differences, while the forty-forty-nine age category was highly represented by conservatives at 37 per cent. This was 9 per cent more than the progressives and 13 per cent more than the moderates. The conservatives showed the smallest percentage in the fifty-sixty-seventy age brackets. Only the progressives and the conservatives were represented in the seventy-plus age category (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

AGE

STATUS	TOTAL NO. OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS					
			20/29	30/39	40/49	50/59	60/69	70+
PROGRESSIVES	<u>58</u> 100% X	<u>47</u> 81% 100%	<u>0</u> X 0%	<u>8</u> X 17%	<u>13</u> X 28%	<u>15</u> X 32%	<u>9</u> X 19%	<u>2</u> X 4%
MODERATES	<u>109</u> 100% X	<u>83</u> 76% 100%	<u>2</u> X 2%	<u>13</u> X 16%	<u>20</u> X 24%	<u>30</u> X 36%	<u>18</u> X 22%	<u>0</u> X 0%
CONSERVATIVES	<u>40</u> 100% X	<u>35</u> 88% 100%	<u>1</u> X 3%	<u>6</u> X 17%	<u>13</u> X 37%	<u>10</u> X 29%	<u>4</u> X 11%	<u>1</u> X 3%

As the foregoing revealed, no political group could legitimately make claim to a "youth movement" within its ranks. Even the conservatives, who were slightly younger than their counterparts, had only 20 per cent of their members who were under forty years of age.¹⁰

¹⁰Because of the complexities and length of footnotes that would have been required to document the data collected on 236 different legislators (thirty legislators served in both the 1907 and 1909 sessions), it was imperative that a

OCCUPATION

The occupational status of legislators was researched and categorized as professionals, businessmen, farmers, laborers, and miscellaneous.¹¹

The progressives had a much higher professional representation than did the moderates or the conservatives. The progressives and moderates were represented in six professional groups, whereas the conservatives had representation in four of the eight professions listed.¹²

substitute method of documentation be adopted. A list of sources used were coded and a table was developed.

Included on the left side of each page (pp. 157-188) was an alphabetical listing of legislators, the chamber and the session(s) in which they served. At the top of each page biographical variables were listed. Age, occupation, education, religion, nativity, and years of residence were listed. The next section (pp. 189-221) contains an identical list of legislators but a different set of biographical variables which includes: political party affiliation, political experience prior to respective session served, legislative experience prior to respective session(s) served, and organizational affiliation.

To the right of each legislator under each specific topic coded lettering followed by a number(s) were recorded. The letters represent the source of information and the numbers refer to the pagination where that specific piece of information was obtained.

To ascertain exactly what the lettering means, it is mandatory that the reader use the suggestive coding list (pp. 150-156) to be found prior to the tabulations. See Appendix III.

¹¹The 1907 legislature had more professionals; about the same number of businessmen, laborers, and miscellaneous members and a smaller amount of farmers than did the 1909 legislature.

¹²Professionals included lawyers, physicians, dentists, druggists, editors, engineers, an educator, and a minister.

All political categories were represented in the lawyer, druggist, and editor brackets. The progressives and moderates had physicians in their ranks. Both the progressives and conservatives had an engineer in their ranks. Only the progressives had a minister. The moderates, alone, had a dentist and an educator (See Table 3).¹³

TABLE 3
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

STATUS	PROFES- SIONALS	BUSINESS- MEN	FARMERS	LABORERS	MISC.
PROGRESSIVES	28%	28%	41%	3%	0%
MODERATES	21%	27%	47%	4%	1%
CONSERVATIVES	19%	48%	22%	4%	7%

¹⁴In the area of business the conservatives were dominant with almost one-half of their members making their livelihood as businessmen. Only slightly over one-fourth of the progressives and moderates were businessmen (See Table 3).

¹³The "unused" legislators had a much smaller representation in the area of professionalism. Only 15 per cent of their members were professionals, and only one-half of these legislators were lawyers.

¹⁴Businessmen included bankers, merchants, contractor-builders, implement, grain, lumber, real estate and insurance dealers and a cigar manufacturer.

Bankers, merchants and real estate dealers were the major business interests of the legislators. The only distinction of the progressives in the field of business was the fact that they had the largest percentage of bankers at 17 per cent, whereas the moderates had 8 per cent and the conservatives had 10 per cent of their members as bankers. In the mercantile business the conservatives far out-ranked their counterparts at 14 per cent; the progressives had but 6 per cent of their members who were merchants and the moderates could claim only 9 per cent of their ranks in this field. Real estate was also dominated by the conservatives. This political group showed 17 per cent engaged in this business, while the progressives had 5 per cent and the moderates had 4 per cent in this area.

The moderates and conservatives had the greatest diversity in regard to types of businessmen. In addition to banking, mercantile and real estate, the moderates had a contractor, a lumber dealer, two grain dealers, and two insurance agents; while the conservatives had members who were, respectively, a contractor, an implement dealer, and a cigar manufacturer. The progressives had the least diversity of business with only bankers, merchants, and real estate dealers in their membership.¹⁵

¹⁵ Interestingly, 52 per cent of the "unused" legislators

The progressives had almost twice the percentage of membership employed in agriculture than did the conservatives who had the incredibly low representation of 21 per cent.¹⁶ The moderates, having 47 per cent of their members rated as farmers, surpassed their counterparts (See Table 3).¹⁷

None of the political groups had any large percentages of laborers. The only evidence of what possibly could be rated as a laboring element, with the qualification that these legislators might have been self-employed, in the progressive membership was a general laborer and a miller. The moderates had a printer, a creameryman and a nurseryman. The conservatives had a liveryman and a miller. As can be deduced, numerically, laborers played a small political role during this era.¹⁸

Interestingly, the conservatives had a small percentage of miscellaneous occupations.¹⁹ Yet this was larger than the

were businessmen. This group consisted of bankers, merchants and real estate, implement, and insurance dealers.

¹⁶Farmers included individuals that specialized in stock-feeding, stock-raising and stock-dealing along with general farming activities.

¹⁷Of the "unused" legislators only 29 per cent were agriculturalists.

¹⁸The "unused" legislators had 3 per cent of their ranks as laborers (a painter and lumberman), almost an identical ratio to the political groups studied.

¹⁹Miscellaneous included a fireman, hotelman, salesman,

other groups, with a fireman, a hotelman, and a bookkeeper in the conservative camp. There were no progressives in the miscellaneous category and the moderates had only a salesman.²⁰

EDUCATION

Another factor researched was the educational attainment of the progressives, moderates, and conservatives.²¹ No major differences were recorded.

The categories dealing with those who had no education beyond eleventh grade showed only a slight variation, with the conservatives having 59 per cent of their rank and file not completing high school; this was only 4 per cent higher than progressives. The moderates fell exactly between these percentages. This small disparity was of no major significance. Examination of the politicians with high school or with a limited amount of post-secondary

bookkeeper, and a student.

²⁰The "unused" had only one member who was rated in the miscellaneous category and he was a student.

²¹The educational levels of the 1907 legislators were much higher than that of the lawmakers who followed in 1909. When compared, the educational brackets varying from no education through high school graduation were dominated by the 1909 legislators. The three following and highest educational plateaus were dominated by the 1907 lawmakers. These latter brackets included limited post-secondary education through the completion of graduate school. The elevated academic status of the 1907 legislators can possibly be attributed to its vast majority of Republican members.

education, revealed the moderates in first place with 24 per cent. This was 2 per cent above the progressives and 4 per cent above the conservatives.

The progressives and conservatives had an equal percentage of members with a college or an advanced-professional degree completed. The moderates lagged 4 per cent behind their counterparts with only 19 per cent of their ranks having attained this academic plateau. While there was a significant number of college graduates in each category, the solid majority of legislators in all political groups had not achieved a high school diploma (See Table 4).

TABLE 4
EDUCATION

STATUS	TOTAL LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	0 THROUGH THE 7th GRADE	8th THROUGH THE 11th GRADE	HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	POST-SECONDARY WITHOUT DEGREE	COLLEGE GRADUATE	ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL DEGREE
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{31}{53\%}$ 100%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{13}{X}$ 42%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 16%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 7%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 16%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{47}{43\%}$ 100%	$\frac{10}{X}$ 21%	$\frac{17}{X}$ 36%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 11%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 13%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{22}{55\%}$ 100%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 18%	$\frac{9}{X}$ 41%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 5%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 5%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 18%

RELIGION

Research and analysis of religious loyalty of the progressives, moderates and conservatives revealed that there were eleven church denominations represented.²²The moderates had members in all of these, the progressives had representatives in nine, and the conservatives were to be found in eight different churches (See Table 5 and 6).

TABLE 5
TRADITIONAL AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

STATUS	NO. AND PER CENT CONGREGATIONALISTS (CHRISTIAN)	NO. AND PER CENT EPISCOPALIANS	NO. AND PER CENT METHODIST- EPISCOPAL	NO. AND PER CENT METHODISTS	NO. AND PER CENT PRESBYTERIANS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{5}{X}$ 20%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 20%
MODERATES	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 9%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 17%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 15%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{2}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 7%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 20%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 26%

²²Religious data was more available on the 1907 legislators than the 1909 legislators. The only major differences were that the 1907 session had a considerably higher percentage of Methodists and Christian-Congregationalists than the 1909 session members, while the latter had over twice as many Catholics as the 1907 legislature.

TABLE 6

NON-TRADITIONAL AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

STATUS	NO. AND PER CENT BAPTIST	NO. AND PER CENT CHR. SCIENTISTS	NO. AND PER CENT UNITED BRET-EVAN.	NO. AND PER CENT MENNONITES	NO. AND PER CENT LUTHERANS	NO. AND PER CENT CATHOLICS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%
MODERATES	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 17%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 7%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 7%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 7%

Substantial disparities were evident when comparing the percentages of traditional American denominations and non-traditional church membership.²³ The conservatives were concentrated in the traditional American denominations with 79 per cent of their members being so committed. Sixty-four per cent of the progressives were adherents of different traditional American denominations. The moderates

²³The "traditional American denominations" refer to the religious groups that were deeply rooted in early American history, and came to America via England.

The non-traditional American denominations were basically the religious sects that came to America in large number during the nineteenth century.

showed 59 per cent of their religious affiliations were members of traditional American churches (See Tables 5 and 7).

TABLE 7
RELIGION

STATUS	TOTAL NO. OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	TOTAL NO. AND PER CENT OF MEMBERSHIP TO TRADITIONAL-AMER.	TOTAL AND PER CENT OF MEMBERSHIP TO NON-TRADITIONAL
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{25}{43\%}$ 100%	$\frac{16}{X}$ 64%	$\frac{9}{X}$ 36%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{34}{31\%}$ 100%	$\frac{20}{X}$ 59%	$\frac{14}{X}$ 41%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{15}{38\%}$ 100%	$\frac{12}{X}$ 79%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 21%

As can be deduced, the conservatives had the smallest number of adherents to non-traditional denominations (21 per cent), while the progressives had 36 per cent of their number belonging to a non-traditional church. The moderates had the largest non-traditional affiliation; it constituted 41 per cent of their religious commitment. The most noticeable differences in the area of non-traditional

American church membership was that the progressives had the highest percentage of Lutheran memberships, while the moderates, by comparison, were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic (See Tables 6 and 7).

A comparison between the religious affiliations of the general population in Nebraska to that of the political figures of this study revealed that most of the traditional American denominations were overrepresented in the legislature. While 6 per cent of the religious population was²⁴ Presbyterian, 21 per cent of the legislators on which information was procured professed that faith. The Christian-Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, and the Methodists were also overrepresented in the legislature. The Christian-Congregationalists had 5 per cent, the Episcopalians had 2 per cent and the Methodists had 17 per cent of the religious population in Nebraska as adherents to their churches, while their legislative representation was 14 per cent, 8 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively, of the legislators studied.²⁵ The Presbyterians, Christian-Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Methodists obviously had a far greater

²⁴James C. Olson noted that 34 per cent of Nebraska's population in 1900 claimed church membership and it was this segment that the study referred to as "religious population." James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), p. 349. (See Tables 5, 6, and 7). (Hereinafter cited as Olson, History of Nebraska.)

²⁵ibid.

political representation than their popularity in the state would seem to warrant.

While the traditional American churches were over-represented, the non-traditional American denominations were under-represented. Five per cent of Nebraska's religious population adhered to the Baptist Church, while only 3 per cent of the legislators were members of this faith.²⁶ Eleven per cent of the religious population in Nebraska was Lutheran, yet only 8 per cent of the legislators studied claimed this religious affiliation. This trend was most visible when Nebraska's Catholic population was compared to the percentages of Roman Catholics in the legislature. Thirty-three per cent of Nebraskans were of Catholic faith, but only 11 per cent of the legislators studied were Catholics.²⁷

NATIVITY

In researching the birthplaces of these legislators it was found that only one member from the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions was from New England,²⁸ and this individual was a moderate. All three political groups had small representations from the middle-Atlantic region.^{29A}

²⁶ ibid.

²⁷ ibid.

²⁸ The only New Englander in this study was from Vermont.

²⁹ The middle-Atlantic states represented were New York and Pennsylvania.

noticeable, yet minor, discrepancy existed between political groups. Fifteen per cent of the moderates were natives of the mid-Atlantic states, while the progressives from that area totaled 13 per cent, and the conservatives had only 8 per cent of their members from that region.

Only a single legislator, a progressive, was a native of the south-Atlantic region,³⁰ while all political groups had substantial percentages from the east-north-central section.³¹ One-half of the conservatives were natives of this region, while the progressives and moderates had 42 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively, from this geographical area (See Table 8).

The progressives and moderates had small percentages from the east-south-central area;³² 5 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. The conservatives could not claim any membership from this region. All political groups had similar percentages in the west-north-central area,³³ and these were fairly small. The progressives had 11 per cent of their

³⁰The south-Atlantic state represented was West Virginia.

³¹The east-north-central states represented were Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

³²The east-south-central states represented were Kentucky and Tennessee.

³³The west-north-central states represented were Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska. The state of Nebraska was separately considered.

numbers from this section; the moderates had 12 per cent, and the conservatives claimed 15 per cent nativity from the west-north-central states (See Table 8).

A small portion of the legislators who were in the 1907 and 1909 sessions had been born in Nebraska. Only 5 per cent of the progressives and 4 per cent of the conservatives were native Nebraskans. The moderates held the record with 9 per cent of their adherents being born in Nebraska (See Table 8).³⁴

The disparity in percentages between the progressives, moderates and conservatives of foreign birth was hardly noticeable. Twenty-one per cent of the progressives and 23 per cent of the moderates and conservatives had been born outside the United States. The only significant note was in the fact that all progressives were of northern European origin, whereas 9 per cent of the moderates and 4 per cent of the conservatives were of eastern European extraction.

³⁴The 1907 legislators had more Nebraska natives and almost identical representation in the mid-Atlantic, east-north-central, and west-north-central regions as did the 1909 legislators. The 1907 legislators had a member from the New England and south-Atlantic areas. The 1909 legislature had a small representation from the east-south-central area which could not be claimed by the 1907 session nor could the latter equal the substantial foreign-born percentages of the 1909 legislature.

TABLE 8
NATIVITY

STATUS	TOTAL NO. AND PER CENT OF LEGISLATORS	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	NEW ENGLAND	MIDDLE ATLANTIC	SOUTH ATLANTIC	EAST NORTH CENTRAL
				NORTHERN EUROPEAN	EASTERN EUROPEAN	
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{38}{66\%}$ 100%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{16}{X}$ 42%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{65}{60\%}$ 100%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 2%	$\frac{10}{X}$ 15%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{24}{X}$ 37%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{26}{65\%}$ 100%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{13}{X}$ 50%
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{2}{X}$ 5%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 11%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 5%	$\frac{8}{X}$ 21%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	
MODERATES	$\frac{1}{X}$ 2%	$\frac{8}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 9%	$\frac{9}{X}$ 14%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 9%	
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 15%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%	$\frac{5}{X}$ 19%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%	

A brief investigation of the surname origins of the progressives, moderates, and conservatives seemed necessary. "In many cases, designating the proper nationality has presented difficulties . . ." because ". . . the nationality . . . given after each name merely designates the country from which most of the persons bearing that name came . . ." Yet it should be noted that the national surname origins were suggestive.³⁵ Results showed that 70 per cent of the progressives had British surnames, while the moderates and the conservatives had 62 per cent and 66 per cent, respectively.³⁶

Surprisingly, while 16.6 per cent of the Nebraska population during this period was foreign-born, 20 per cent of the legislators were of foreign birth. In essence, the foreign population in Nebraska as a generalization was over-represented in the state legislature. The Irish were the most apparent example of legislative over-representation. The most obvious example of under-representation was manifest in the German segment who comprised 6.3 per cent of

³⁵Eldson C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names (New York: Harper and Brothers Co., 1956).

³⁶ibid.

the Nebraska population during this period while only holding 3.8 per cent of the legislative seats during the 1907 and 1909 sessions.³⁷

YEARS OF RESIDENCE

The length of time during which the legislators lived in the state of Nebraska was researched and analyzed.³⁸ No major discrepancies were ascertained between political groups. The average number of years of residence was almost identical. The conservatives averaged thirty-two per legislator, and this was a year longer than the progressives and two years longer than the moderates. No major disparities were evident in any of the brackets which categorized the residential period from ten through sixty years at ten year intervals (See Tables 9 and 10).

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION

In an attempt to decide which political party(s) was responsible for the progressive legislative accomplishments, and which party(s) spearheaded the movement, data was collected and analyzed with regard to the political

³⁷Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, p. 191. See Table 8.

³⁸The 1909 legislators had been Nebraskans for a longer period of time than their 1907 counterparts. The 1907 senators averaged 29 years of residency while the 1909 senators averaged 32 years. The 1907 House members averaged 29 years while the 1909 representatives averaged 31 years of residency.

TABLE 9
YEARS OF RESIDENCE - A

STATUS	AVERAGE NUMBER YEARS	MEDIAN NUMBER YEARS	SHORTEST RESIDENCY	LONGEST RESIDENCY
PROGRESSIVES	31	31	13	49
MODERATES	30	30	13	54
CONSERVATIVES	32	32	14	54

TABLE 10
YEARS OF RESIDENCE

STATUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS 10-19 YEARS		NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS 20-29 YEARS		NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS 30-39 YEARS		NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS 40-49 YEARS		NO. AND PER CENT LEGISLATORS 50-59 YEARS	
			NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{34}{58\%}$ 100%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{11}{X}$ 32%	$\frac{16}{X}$ 47%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 9%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%					
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{62}{57\%}$ 100%	$\frac{8}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{21}{X}$ 34%	$\frac{26}{X}$ 42%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 5%					
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{30}{75\%}$ 100%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{7}{X}$ 23%	$\frac{15}{X}$ 50%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 7%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 7%					

party membership of the progressives, moderates, and the conservatives. It was felt that by this approach both the advocates and the antagonists could be discovered.

Fifty-seven per cent of the progressives were members of the Democrat-Populist coalition. The remaining 43 per cent of the progressive figures consisted of Republican party members. The moderates had percentages similar to the progressives, with a three per cent addition of Republicans, while forfeiting a similar per cent of Democrat-Populist adherents. The conservatives were heavily dominated by Republican party membership. Seventy per cent of the conservatives were members of that party; the other 30 per cent were Democrats and Populists (See Table II).

It was interesting to note that 49 per cent of the legislators studied were Republicans, 36 per cent were Democrats, 10 per cent were Populists, and 5 per cent were Fusionists (See Table II). The proportion of Republicans within the progressive contingent was notably smaller than was their general proportion of legislators, but Republicans were over-represented in the conservative wing.

With regard to the Democrat-Populist coalition this situation was reversed. Their membership percentages in the progressive fold outweighed their general legislative representation by over 20 per cent. Proportionally,

conservatism had a stronger hold on the Republicans, while the Democrat-Populist factions of the legislature more widely endorsed progressivism.³⁹

TABLE II
PARTY AFFILIATION

STATUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	NO. AND PER CENT OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATORS	NO. AND PER CENT OF DEMOCRAT LEGISLATORS	NO. AND PER CENT OF POPULIST (P.I.) LEGISLATORS	NO. AND PER CENT OF FUSIONIST LEGISLATORS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{56}{97\%}$ 100%	$\frac{24}{X}$ 43%	$\frac{19}{X}$ 34%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 11%	$\frac{7}{X}$ 12%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{102}{94\%}$ 100%	$\frac{46}{X}$ 45%	$\frac{42}{X}$ 41%	$\frac{12}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 2%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ 100%	$\frac{28}{X}$ 70%	$\frac{11}{X}$ 27%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%
OVERALL MAKE-UP OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	207	198	49%	36%	10%	5%

³⁹When the fifty-nine "unused" legislators were added to the progressive, moderate, and conservative list the Republican membership percentages increased to 52 per cent. This not only indicated that a larger per cent of Republicans were "unused" because of absenteeism but also produced a larger disparity between the number of Republican legislators and the amount labeled as progressive figures.

The 1907 legislature was numerically dominated by

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE (EXCLUDING LEGISLATIVE)

In an attempt to deduce whether past political experience had a direct effect upon a legislator's voting pattern, such previous activity related to the political groups of this study was collected.⁴⁰ Included were elective

Republican party members with twenty-eight in the Senate (Democrats, People's Independents and Fusionists totaled five) and sixty-nine in the Nebraska House of Representatives (there were four Democrats and twenty-seven People's Independent members.) The 1909 legislative membership picture was reversed with the Democrats having seventeen Senators (Republicans, fourteen; People's Independents, one; Fusionist, one) and sixty-one representatives in the House (Republicans, thirty; Fusionist, nine). The two sessions thus showed that fifty-three per cent of the legislators were affiliated with the Republican Party; thirty-three per cent were Democrats; ten per cent held membership in the People's Independent Party, and four per cent of the legislators were Fusionists; Addison Erwin Sheldon, ed., Nebraska: The Land and the People, Vol. I (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1931), pp. 822-838. (Hereinafter cited as Sheldon, Land and People.); House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Thirtieth Regular Session, compiled by Clyde Barnard, Chief Clerk (Lincoln, Nebraska: Jacob North and Co., 1907), pp. 8-13. (Hereinafter cited as House Journal, 1907.) House Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the State of Nebraska, Thirty-first Biennial Session, compiled by Trenmor Cone, Chief Clerk (University Place, Nebraska: Clafin Printing Co., 1909), pp. 4-10. (Hereinafter cited as House Journal, 1909.)

⁴⁰An identical amount of legislators from the 1907 and 1909 sessions had had political experience (excluding legislative experience) prior to their respective sessions. The length of political experience was quite similar with the 1907 experienced legislators averaging 1.7 terms of political office and the 1909 legislature averaging 1.6 terms.

office holders, partisan organizers, and appointees.⁴¹ The results suggested that as a legislator acquired political experience he was prone to become either a progressive or conservative as opposed to a moderate (See Table 12).

TABLE 12
POLITICAL EXPERIENCE
(EXCLUDING LEGISLATIVE)

STATUS	TOTAL NO. OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	NO. AND PER CENT WITH POLITICAL EXPERIENCE	NO. AND PER CENT HAVING 1 PREVIOUS POLITICAL POST	NO. AND PER CENT HAVING 2 PREVIOUS POLITICAL POSTS	NO. AND PER CENT HAVING 3 PREVIOUS POLITICAL POSTS	NO. AND PER CENT HAVING 4 PREVIOUS POLITICAL POSTS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{24}{41\%}$ 100%	$\frac{15}{X}$ 63%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 25%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{22}{20\%}$ 100%	$\frac{12}{X}$ 55%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 27%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 18%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{13}{33\%}$ 100%	$\frac{6}{X}$ 46%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 23%	$\frac{3}{X}$ 23%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 8%

⁴¹ Political experience was diversified and included the following positions: Board of Trade; Chairman of the Douglas County Central Committee; City Attorney; City Clerk; City Council; Conventions; County Assessor; County Attorney; County Clerk; County Commissioner; County Judge; County Supervisor; County Treasurer; Gubernatorial nominee; Justice of the Peace; Library Board; Lieutenant Governor; Mayor; Police Judge; Postmaster; Precinct Tax Assessor; Sheriff; School Board; Superintendent of Schools; Secretary of Republican Central Committee; Territorial Council; Town

A slightly larger percentage of progressives possessed political experience than did the conservatives; while the moderates trailed with less than one-half as much political experience as the progressives. The progressives had a greater portion of individuals who had held one or two previous political positions than did the conservatives. Nevertheless, the conservatives had a larger share of their members with three and four types of past political experience.

LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE

Information on legislative experience was obtained on all Senators and Representatives of the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions in Nebraska.⁴² The conservative membership had the largest percentage of legislative experience with 43 per cent. This outran the progressives by 9 per cent and the moderates by 14 per cent (See Table 13). The legislative experience of these lawmakers ranged from one through five sessions, but no discernible pattern emerged. An averaging of past legislative sessions served by the

Board; Town Council; Township Supervisor; Township Treasurer; Village Board; Village Clerk; Village Council. Legislative experience was not included; this specific type of political experience will be considered separately.

⁴²The 1909 legislators had more legislative experience than their 1907 counterparts; the former had 34 per cent of their ranks with experience while the latter had 28 per cent of their members with legislative experience.

progressives, moderates, and conservatives produced almost identical averages; 1.4, 1.5, 1.5 sessions of experience, respectively. No particular group had a substantial element with lengthy legislative experience.⁴³

TABLE 13
LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE

STATUS	NO. AND PER CENT OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	NO. AND PER CENT OF LEGISLATORS WITH LEGISLATIVE EXP.	ONE LEGISLATIVE SESSION	TWO LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS	THREE LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS	FOUR LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS	FIVE LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{20}{34\%}$ 100%	$\frac{14}{X}$ 70%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 20%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 10%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{32}{29\%}$ 100%	$\frac{24}{X}$ 75%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 13%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{17}{43\%}$ 100%	$\frac{13}{X}$ 76%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 12%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 6%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%

⁴³The "unused" element had the smallest amount of legislative experience. Twenty-seven per cent had legislative experience, and these legislators averaged 1.1 sessions.

ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

Membership in fraternal, insurance, business, professional, and academic organizations was analyzed.⁴⁴ The information suggested that a greater proportion of progressives (43 per cent) had organizational memberships than did the moderates (28 per cent) or the conservatives (28 per cent) (See Table 14).

When placed into brackets showing membership of one through nine different organizations no discernible differences or pattern emerged. Of the legislators on which information could be obtained the progressives had memberships averaging 2.9 organizations per legislator. The moderates had memberships averaging 2.6 organizations

⁴⁴The following organizations were recorded: Adams [County] Medical Society; American Banking Association; American College of Surgeons; Ancient Order of Hibernians; Ancient Order of Shepherds; Ancient Order of United Workingmen; Beatrice Kiwanis Club; Benevolent Protective Order of Elks; Catholic Knights of America; Catholic Order of Foresters; Chamber of Commerce; Commercial Club; Consistory; Farmers Union Member; Fellow of the American College of Surgeons; Fraternal Order of Eagles; Grand Army of the Republic; Interior Lodge; International Order of Odd Fellows; Izaak Walton League; Knife and Fork; Knights and Ladies of Security; Knights of Columbus; Knights of Pythias; Knights Templar; Macabees; Masons; Modern Woodmen of America; Modern Woodmen of World; Naptholi Lodge; Nebraska Banking Association; Nebraska State Historical Society; Order of Ancient Foresters; Order of Eastern Star; Pawnee Lodge; Rebekahs; Red Cross Community Chest; Red Polled Cattle Club of America; Royal Arch Mason; Royal Highlanders; Shrine; Sons of the American Revolution; Sons of Herman; Surgeons Club; Tangier Temple; University Club. A considerably higher percentage of the members of the 1907 session were affiliated with organizations than was the case with the 1909 session.

per legislator, and the conservatives had memberships averaging 2.5 organizations per legislator (See Table 14).

TABLE 14
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

STATUS	TOTAL NO. OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	LEGISLATORS WITH ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP (S)	MEMBERSHIP IN ONE OR TWO ORGANIZATION(S)	MEMBERSHIP IN THREE OR FOUR ORGANIZATIONS	MEMBERSHIP IN FIVE OR SIX ORGANIZATIONS	MEMBERSHIP IN SEVEN OR EIGHT ORGANIZATIONS	MEMBERSHIP IN NINE OR TEN ORGANIZATIONS
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{25}{43\%}$ 100%	$\frac{17}{X}$ 68%	$\frac{4}{X}$ 16%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 8%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 4%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{31}{28\%}$ 100%	$\frac{16}{X}$ 52%	$\frac{13}{X}$ 42%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{1}{X}$ 3%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$ X	$\frac{11}{28\%}$ 100%	$\frac{7}{X}$ 64%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 18%	$\frac{2}{X}$ 18%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%	$\frac{0}{X}$ 0%

An organization known to have played a role in the history of Western civilization was the Masonic Lodge; "Perhaps the most important lodge in terms of impact on the assimilation process . . ." ⁴⁵Accordingly, the Masonic Order was singled-out for examination. Research showed that there was a positive correlation between memberships

⁴⁵Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, p. 56.

in the Masonic Order and increase in the progressive voting pattern of a political group. Over 24 per cent of the progressives were Masons; 18 per cent of the moderates belonged to this organization; and only 15 per cent of the conservatives could claim membership in the Masonic Order.⁴⁶

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Information was obtained on the geographical distribution of all Senators and Representatives of the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions.⁴⁷ Over 85 per cent of the progressive members came from towns, villages and farm communities of less than 2500, while 75 per cent of the moderates and 68 per cent of the conservatives came from this region. Only 15 per cent of the progressives lived in towns or cities of over 2500 in population, while 25 per cent of the moderates lived in urban areas. The conservatives showed over twice the percentages of city and urban-based legislators (32 per cent) as did the progressives.⁴⁸ Interestingly, 26 per cent of the general population of Nebraska lived in incorporated urban areas of over 2500, just one per cent more

⁴⁶It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the "unused" legislators on which information could be procured were members of the Masonic Order.

⁴⁷Addison E. Sheldon, ed., Nebraska Blue Book and Historical Register 1915 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, State Journal Co., 1915), pp. 607-615.

⁴⁸ibid.

than the moderates, far above the progressive level, and a substantially lower percentage than that of the conservative legislators (See Table 15).

TABLE 15
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

STATUS	10,000+	2,500-10,000	1,000-2,500	LESS THAN 1,000	RURAL AREAS UNLISTED
PROGRESSIVES	3%	12%	40%	36%	9%
MODERATES	14%	11%	23%	45%	7%
CONSERVATIVES	25%	7%	20%	43%	5%

As Table 15 indicates, 25 per cent of the conservatives lived in cities of over 10,000 in population. This was over eight times the percentage of progressives that lived in urban areas of this size.

Nebraska had two cities of major importance during this period: Lincoln and Omaha. The former had eight legislators and the latter had twenty-four lawmakers during the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions. An analysis of these thirty-four legislators showed that 31 per cent were rated as conservatives, 38 per cent were moderates, 25 per cent were labeled as "unused" because of absenteeism, and only 6 per cent were progressives.

The two urban members who endorsed progressivism served in the 1909 House of Representatives. One legislator, a thirty-two year old Democratic real estate dealer without previous legislative experience, came from Lincoln. The other city-progressive was a fifty-two year old Democratic Catholic laborer from Omaha. These two isolated cases were the only progressive legislators from the two largest cities, an almost negligible representation.

CONCLUSIONS

If a "typical progressive" were to be described, the statistical profile would suggest that this man was a fifty-year old farmer of Protestant faith with less than a high school education. Having been born in the east-north-central portion of the United States, he would have migrated to Nebraska at the age of twenty. This "typical progressive" would have been active in the Democrat-Populist coalition and would have had the experience of serving during a previous legislative session. He would be affiliated with three organizations and would live in a rural community, probably on a farm.

The "typical conservative" would be a fifty-year old businessman, either a real estate dealer or merchant, who would be affiliated with a Protestant church. He would be a native of the east-north-central section of the United

States and he would have lived in Nebraska for just over thirty years. The "typical conservative" would be a member of the Republican party, and he would have had limited political experience. In all likelihood he would not be a member of any organizations. He would reside in either a large city or a small, incorporated town.

Though different in many respects, the progressives, moderates and conservatives possessed some common denominators. These resemblances were in their age, educational level, religious affiliation, their nativity, and their years of Nebraska residency.

There was no significant age difference between the progressives and the conservatives. The ages of these opposing factions ranged widely and no generation gap was evident.

The progressive movement in Nebraska did not possess an educational elite. Although the average educational attainment of the progressives was slightly above that of the general populace, it was quite similar to that of the other political groups studied.

Professor Luebke's statement that ". . . membership in a particular . . . religious group was the decisive factor in party affiliation . . ." is not borne out in this study. No major disparities existed; all political

groups were overwhelmingly Protestant, and of similar denominational affiliation. To suggest that an elite religious group was responsible for this movement would be misleading.

It was difficult to suggest the significance of a legislator's nativity because of the impossibility of discovering whether he was the son of a dairyman in Wisconsin, an industrial worker's son in Pennsylvania, a farmer's son in southern Illinois, or a shopkeeper's son in a small town in Michigan. Nativity simply adds to the probability that most native Americans who settled in Nebraska came from the north-eastern and north-central sections of the United States. The small number of southerners sitting in the legislatures of 1907 and 1909 suggests that only a small portion of Nebraska's settlers were from the southern states.

The length of time that a legislator had lived in Nebraska was irrelevant. The Nebraska natives and those lawmakers who had settled in Nebraska at an early age did not show a unique political behavior. Possibly their years of residence and their familiarity with the problems of Nebraska were of assistance to them at election time, but the length of residence did not direct a legislator toward specific political activities.

The moderates had substantially less political experience than did the progressives and conservatives. This suggested that political experience strengthened a legislator's attitudes and oriented him toward a certain political ideology. Ostensibly, political maturity had the tendency to polarize legislators.

The most distinct characteristic of the progressive legislators were their occupational statuses, political party affiliations, organizational memberships and geographical distribution. These four areas reflected much disparity when compared to the conservatives.

The most obvious distinction between the progressives and the conservatives was their occupational differences. Progressives were almost twice as apt to be farmers than were the conservatives. On the other hand, the progressives could claim only one-half as many businessmen as the conservatives. The progressives were more often professional people than were the other groups.

A significant dissimilarity between the progressives and the conservatives could be found in their political party affiliation. The progressive movement received the majority of its support and momentum from the Democratic-Populist coalition, aided by a small but substantial group of Republican reformers. Most conservatives and a large

proportion of the moderates were rank and file members of the Republican party. These results differed somewhat from Professor Luebke's notion that the Nebraska Democrats were conservative, individualistic defenders of personal freedom, who did not seek change, while the Republican party in Nebraska was aggressive and progressive.⁴⁹

An important disparity can be seen between the progressives and the conservatives in regard to their affiliations with organizations. The progressives were much more inclined to hold organizational memberships than were the conservatives. Interestingly enough, there was a positive correlation between membership in the Masonic Order and increase in the progressive voting pattern of a political group.

The last major difference in social origins was the fact that the "progressive push" came basically, and almost exclusively, from the towns, villages and rural communities with less than 2500 population. Only a few legislators came from the urban areas and large cities. In contrast, many of the individuals who were the strongest adherents to the "conservative creed;" who voted against many progressive measures, and who were obstacles to the reform movement came from the cities. Almost one in three of the conservatives came from communities of over 2500 population.

⁴⁹Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, pp. 61-62.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE PROGRESSIVES AND CONSERVATIVES, AND HOW THESE LEADERS WERE SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT FROM THEIR RANK AND FILE MEMBERSHIP

The statistical profile of political groups revealed many similarities and, at the same time, major differences. These disparities were the stimuli for the progressive movement; they produced the needed momentum and direction for the success of reform. This specific class of people was responsible for the reforms that were enacted in Nebraska between the years 1907 and 1910.

It is sometimes possible to see a difference between the men who lead a movement and the movement's rank and file membership.¹ The individuals who spearheaded this movement,

¹Initially, as would be expected, the individual legislator had to fit the voting pattern as a progressive or as a conservative. Secondly, a leader was one who was capable of influencing, persuading, or coercing a fellow legislator into voting a certain way on a specific piece of legislation. He was a man who could directly affect a colleague's political behavior at any stage of the

one group in the direction of progressive reform, and the other group who were trying to prevent these changes, make an interesting comparison. A resumé of the social background of the leaders of both the progressive and conservative wings seemed most important. This not only provided the opportunity to decide whether disparities existed between the leaders of both extreme political factions, but also to demonstrate the differences between the leaders and their supporters. First, the social backgrounds of progressive and conservative leaders must be compared.

PROGRESSIVE LEADERS

Chester Aldrich

Chester Aldrich, the oldest son of a farmer and abolitionist of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in Ohio on November 10, 1862. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Ohio State University in August of 1888 and he moved to Ulysses, Nebraska, where he became a principal of the local high school. Three years later he started practicing law in David City, Nebraska and rapidly gained

legislative process. Thirdly, another qualification for leadership was the acquisition of significant committee assignments (Railroad, Judiciary, Privileges and Elections) so that the success or failure of a measure could be achieved. And, lastly, a leader would be one who had the ability and the popularity to gain the speakership of the House or presidency of the Senate.

fame as a criminal attorney. A Republican, Aldrich served eight years on the town board and was mayor for two terms. He also served on the local school board.

In 1906, he was elected to the State Senate and became a leading progressive Republican. As Senator he chaired the Constitutional Amendments and Federal Relations Committee and, more importantly, held memberships on the Privileges and Elections, Railroad, and Judiciary Committees. The latter two committees approved seventeen significant progressive measures which then went to floor votes. Aldrich gave assistance and impetus to almost all reform measures.

Building upon his local activity, and his success in the legislature of 1907, Aldrich advanced to the governorship of Nebraska in 1910, and to the position of associate judge of the State Supreme Court in 1918. During these years he was affiliated with the Methodist Church, the Masonic Order, the International Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of United Workingmen and the Knights of Pythias.²

Harry F. Sackett

Harry F. Sackett was from a family with roots in colonial New England. He was born on an Ohio farm in 1874

²See Appendix III. Also, for committee assignment refer to House Journal, 1907, pp. 19-20.

and later moved to Grant City, Missouri, where he attended high school. Sackett came to Nebraska, received some post-secondary education and a Bachelors of Law Degree from the State University in 1898. He first gained political stature as Gage County Attorney where he achieved the reputation as one of the ablest lawyers in the state. Then came his entry into legislative politics with his election to the Nebraska State Senate of 1907.

Sackett became a major force within the Senate. He was a member of the Judiciary, Revenue, and Insurance Committees, all of which reported many progressive measures to the floor for final passage. Sackett also played a significant role as author of several progressive measures and advocate of many other bills.

Sackett continued his political career following the 1907 senatorial session. In 1912 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention and four years thereafter to the Progressive National Convention. Between these years he ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of Nebraska.

Sackett was an active member of the First Christian Church of Beatrice, the Kiwanis Club and the Knights Templar Order of Masons. Following his political career most of his efforts were devoted to a law practice and directorship

of the Beatrice Building and Loan Association, and the Store Kraft Manufacturing Company.³

Charles W. Pool

Charles W. Pool, Democratic leader, Speaker of the 1909 Nebraska House of Representatives, and advocate of progressive legislation, was born in Illinois on November 20, 1856. He came to Nebraska as a small boy and received a limited education at the county school level. At the age of eighteen, he became a printer's apprentice which led him into employment as a printer, editor and, eventually, as publisher of the Johnson County Journal in Tecumseh, Nebraska.

Aside from his profession, Pool had many activities: membership in the Episcopal Church, the Masons, and the Elks and Royal Highlanders. Pool was a member of the town council and the library board. He lost a legislative race in 1906 by a single vote. Two years later he was elected, became Speaker, and helped to rush many progressive measures to the floor for a favorable vote. Almost without exception, he voted for progressive measures.

Charles Pool continued in the political arena and was elected four times to the position of Nebraska's Secretary

³ ibid.

of State. Throughout his career he was one of the figures responsible for the advancement of progressivism.⁴

George W. Tibbets

George W. Tibbets was born on a farm in New York. His grandfather was a native of Connecticut and a veteran of the War of 1812. Tibbets received substantial education as a child, and during his adolescence he attended Genese Valley Seminary, after which he moved to Iowa where he attended the State University. He taught school, became a principal, read law, and was finally admitted to the bar.

Tibbets settled in Hastings, Nebraska in 1886, where he established a law practice. He became a member of the Masonic Order, the Blue Lodge, the Scottish Rite, the Mystic Shrine and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He attended the Episcopal Church.

Excluding service on the school board, Tibbets had no political experience when, as a sixty-year old lawyer, he decided to run in 1907 for the Nebraska State Senate. He was elected and became the president pro tem of that body and a most prominent leader in the Democratic Party. Senator Tibbets also held membership on the Judiciary

⁴See Appendix III. Charles W. Pool was a member of the Banks and Banking Committee and was instrumental in the passage of the bank deposit guaranty law. House Journal, 1909, pp. 29-30.

Committee and was an active member of the Committee on Insurance. He used these positions as he helped the progressive wing of the legislature toward the enactment of many reforms.

Paradoxically, although he was one of the most vocal supporters of the progressive creed, he was also frequently retained as legal counsel for some of the great business corporations of Nebraska. After occupying his Senate seat in 1907, Tibbets continued in the capacity as a progressive Democratic leader during the next session. He then re-entered law practice and eventually became a member of the Nebraska Supreme Court Commission.⁵

J. A. Ollis

J. A. Ollis, Jr., a native of Illinois, and the son of a stock farmer, came to Valley County, Nebraska in 1882 at the age of twenty-three. He had previously received a high school education and had taken "a stiff post graduate

⁵Telephone conversation with Nebraska Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Spencer on April 13, 1973. He stated that the Nebraska Supreme Court Commission was established as a temporary legal body, periodically in the history of Nebraska, to assist the Supreme Court Justices when the latter were overstocked with cases. Justice Harry A. Spencer indicated that the decisions made by the Nebraska Supreme Court Commission were subject to review by the Supreme Court Justices. See Appendix III. Senate Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Thirty-first Session (York, Nebraska: York Blank Book Co., 1909), pp. 157-159. (Hereinafter cited as Senate Journal, 1909.)

course in the larger school of hard knocks."⁶ Ollis homesteaded 160 acres and eventually expanded this tract to 1280 acres of improved land. He became owner of three irrigated farms in Colorado. A contemporary of Ollis stated: "[He] has always taken a leading and active part in the improvement of live stock and has been a heavy feeder of sheep and cattle for a number of years."⁷ Ollis' interests and activities included membership on the State Board of Agriculture and in the Improved Live Stock Breeders' Association. He was a Presbyterian and until 1890 was affiliated with the Republican Party. However, he found himself in agreement with the principles of the newly-formed Populist Party and became an enthusiastic party member. Ollis' concern for his community directed him into political life. He served four terms as County Commissioner, sixteen years on the local school board, and also served during the 1901 session of the Nebraska House of Representatives before being elected to the State Senate in 1908.

⁶Nebraska Blue Book for 1901 and 1902 (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co.), p. 561. (Hereinafter cited as Blue Book, 1901-1902.)

⁷A. R. Harvey, ed., Nebraska Legislative Year Book for the thirty-second session, 1911 (Omaha, Nebraska: A. R. Harvey, 1911), p. 21. (Hereinafter cited as Harvey, Nebraska Year Book.)

During the 1909 session Ollis gained the chairmanship of the Senate Railroad Committee. This was probably the most important committee in terms of bringing significant progressive measures before the upper house. He was also a member of the Banking and Currency Committee. Ollis authored many progressive measures and never voted against a progressive bill during the 1909 Senate session.

He continued in politics for one more term as State Senator. He then retired to his agricultural interests and continued with his activities as member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of United Workingmen, and the Modern Woodmen of America.⁸

CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

Charles Saunders

Charles Saunders, the son of Alvin Saunders, Governor of the Nebraska Territory, moved with his parents to Omaha in 1861 at the age of four. Receiving his primary and secondary education in Omaha, he continued at Cornell University and received a law degree from Columbia University. He worked for his father, who was a United States Senator, for a period of time and then entered the real estate and investment fields.

⁸See Appendix III. Senate Journal, 1909, pp. 157-159.

Saunders was a major figure and leader in the Republican Party, actively involved in Omaha, Douglas County and state politics. His first elective office was as a Senator in the 1903 legislative session. He was re-elected in 1905 and 1907, and he was chosen president pro tem of the Senate during the latter session. Saunders was an influential conservative. He opposed legislation that was aimed at curbing the influence that lobbyists so often applied on the lawmakers. He fought against legislation memorializing Congress to extend voting rights to women, and voted against forcing railroads to pay for "misplaced" or confiscated articles that were shipped on their lines. Saunders was a thorn in the side of progressivism, and was unpopular with the majority of Democratic leaders, and with many colleagues who were members of the reform faction in the Republican Party.

He continued to be a major force in legislative politics after the 1907 session and served a total of eight terms in the Nebraska State Senate. Saunders was a member of the Knights Templar, the Scottish Rite Masonic Order, the Omaha Lodge of Elks, and the Commercial Club. An active businessman, he was president of Saunders Investment Company, president of Omaha Real Estate Company and president of the Saunders-Kennedy Building Company. Charles Saunders was

appointed to the Board of Governors of the Knights of Ak-Sar-Ben, an Omaha civic group, in 1915 and eight years later received an appointment from President Coolidge as Collector of Customs for the port of Omaha.⁹

Joseph Burns

Joseph Burns, born in 1845, immigrated from Ireland to Connecticut as a boy. He received no formal education, yet by the use of his innate abilities he became the inventor of an auger which was used for drilling wells and of many other innovations in the field of construction. Burns came to Nebraska in 1884 where he became a self-employed contractor and hydraulic engineer.

His entrance into politics came in 1890 when he won a seat on the Lincoln City Council. Holding this office for two terms, he was then elected to the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1893, and re-elected in 1895, 1899 and 1905. The following session he ran successfully for the State Senate and helped to lead the conservative forces against the tide of progressivism. Joseph Burns was considered by his colleagues as ". . . an uncompromising republican, . . ." ¹⁰

⁹See Appendix III. Also, for committee assignment refer to House Journal, 1907, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰Nebraska Blue Book for 1899-1900 (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co.), p. 548.

Burns' anti-progressive stand could easily be seen when he voted against a measure regulating legislative lobbyists and a bill to have annual apportionments of insurance surpluses. He showed strong opposition to a measure that would require railroad companies to pay for "misplaced" or confiscated items and voted against the placement of a maximum rate on passenger travel of two cents a mile. The latter bill was one of the most significant measures during this session in the eyes of the general populace. After the 1907 session Burns quit politics and went into retirement.¹¹

Elmer W. Brown

Elmer W. Brown, son of a German immigrant and native of Ohio, was born in 1865. After receiving a high school education in his home state, he went to a business college, then attended the University of Nebraska where he received his LL.B. degree in 1895.

Brown became a member of the Burkett, Wilson and Brown Law Firm in Lincoln. His first bid for public office came in 1907 when he won a seat in the legislature. Brown was one of the few legislators who could claim the distinction of joining the conservative forces for two consecutive

¹¹ See Appendix III. Also, for committee assignment refer to House Journal, 1907, pp. 19-20.

sessions. His unalterable dislike for progressivism could easily be seen in his votes in the 1907 session against establishing maximum freight rates and against regulation of freight cars, stocks, bonds, and securities of railroads. He also opposed the prohibition of certain types of youth employment, and voted against a joint resolution asking Congress that a vote should not be denied because of sex. In the 1909 session Brown opposed the "Oregon Pledge Law," a measure which ". . . required candidates for the legislature to pledge that if elected they would vote for the candidate for United States senator receiving the highest preferential vote."¹² He also voted against the prohibition of voter intimidation by employers, the establishment of a poor man's car on each passenger train, the publication of campaign contributors, and other reform measures.¹³

After completing these two sessions with a solid anti-progressive record, Brown, a Methodist by faith, a prominent member of the Masonic Order, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Modern Woodmen of America, gained a distinct reputation in the areas of law, finance and public

¹²Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 254.

¹³E. W. Brown served as member of the Judiciary and Insurance Committees during the 1907 session and continued as member of the Judiciary and also gained a seat on the Privileges and Elections Committee during the 1909 House session.

affairs. E. W. Brown's future career led him to the presidency of the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association and the directorship of many other loan, savings, and security companies.¹³

Berton K. Bushee

Berton K. Bushee came from Dartford, Wisconsin to western Nebraska in 1888 at the age of seventeen and farmed with his parents for a short period of time. Having achieved a high school diploma, he taught school and went on to serve three terms as Superintendent of Schools in Kimball County.

During this period Bushee opened a retail store in Kimball. He also became a director and vice-president of the Bank of Kimball and held substantial stock in the Kimball Lumber and Supply Company. Along with his widespread business interests and his lodge activities, Bushee became involved in state politics.

A Republican, Bushee was elected to the 1909 Nebraska House of Representatives. As a member of the Railroad Committee, the Livestock and Grain Committee, and the Banking Committee, Bushee helped to implement the conservative strategy in halting progressive legislation. He strongly

¹³See Appendix III.

opposed the "Oregon Pledge" bill and voted against the Bank Guaranty Act, a measure to insure the security of bank deposits. Bushee opposed a measure which increased corporation fees and a bill which established a poor man's car on railway trains.

The 1909 session was just the starting point for the political career of this Methodist banker, merchant and land owner. Bushee was re-elected to the 1911 House and then entered the Nebraska Senate where he remained until 1921.¹⁴

A. B. Taylor

In 1873, at the age of seventeen, A. B. Taylor left his parents' homestead in Iowa and moved to Saline County, Nebraska. There he taught school for ten years, and though having received only a public school education, he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1885. His legal activities and Republican party affiliation gained him the position of City Attorney of York, Nebraska and then York County Attorney. He also served on the local school board and in 1908 was elected to the Nebraska House.

He held important assignments during the 1909 session as a member of the Judiciary Committee and the Privileges

¹⁴ibid.

and Elections Committee. Taylor had a highly negative voting record and he did not hide under the veil of absenteeism when a progressive measure came to the floor for a roll call. His negative stand included votes against forcing public office seekers to publish a list of their campaign contributors and sanitation for hotels. He opposed the "Oregon Pledge Law" and the prohibition of contracts based upon election success. He voted negatively on measures advocating the regulation of railroads and steadily opposed any bill that advocated guaranty bonds to insure and protect bank depositors. A. B. Taylor, brother Mason and member of the Ancient Order of United Workingmen, would never again seek public office after this session.¹⁵

COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF PROGRESSIVE
AND CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP

The social backgrounds of the progressive and conservative leadership showed many similarities. No major differences arose with reference to the age, education, religion, years of residence, and organizational memberships. Yet significant differences appeared when comparing the occupational status, the political experience, the political party affiliation, and the geographical distribution of these legislative factions.

¹⁵ ibid.

The average age of the progressive leaders was almost identical to their opposition; forty-eight and forty-nine years, respectively. The progressives ranged from thirty-three to sixty years old, whereas the conservative's ages varied from thirty-eight to sixty-two. No discernible differences emerged. Another similarity was evident in comparing the educational levels of the legislative leaders. The progressive leaders had only slightly higher levels than their political counterparts, with their educational attainment ranging from common school through professional-degrees. The educational level of the conservative leaders was generally similar.

Another likeness between political groups was their religious affiliation; all were Protestants. It should be stressed that information was collected on all progressives while data was obtained on only two conservatives, a rather poor sampling.

Also, similarities were manifest in respect to the years of residence in Nebraska of the legislative leaders, with the conservatives averaging twenty-eight years, which was three more years than the progressives. Likenesses were discovered when comparing organizational membership. The majority of leaders were affiliated with numerous social or fraternal lodges. Four leaders of each faction claimed membership in the Masonic Order.

While the ages, religious affiliations, educational levels, years of residence in Nebraska and organizational memberships of the progressives and conservatives were similar, a minor divergence occurred in comparing the nativity of the political leaders. The conservatives were much more diversified in this regard. Two of their members were from the east-north-central region and two were from the west-north-central section of the country, the latter two being natives of Iowa. Also, one leader had been born in Ireland. On the other hand, all but one of the progressives came from the east-north-central area. This exception was a New Yorker by birth.

The most obvious difference between the progressives and the conservatives was in relation to their occupational statuses. Four progressives were professional men; this was twice as many as was true of the conservatives. The latter had three businessmen within their ranks; the progressives had none. The only farmer in a leadership role was a progressive. Of more importance was the fact that all progressive leaders studied had come from farm backgrounds, while only a portion of the conservative leaders could make this claim.

A discrepancy was noticed when comparing the political experience of the legislative leaders. All, excluding

one,¹⁶ had held an elective office, but as a general rule the conservatives had longer periods of experience than their counterparts.

Party affiliation was another disparity between the progressive and conservative leadership. While all conservatives were Republicans, two of the progressives were Republicans, two were Democrats, and one was a Populist.

A substantial difference was observed when comparing the geographical distribution of the legislative leaders. The progressives had two members who lived in towns of between 2500 and 10,000 population, two leaders that resided in communities of less than 2500, and one legislator who lived on a farm. The conservatives had one member living in a town of less than 1000, another living in a town of 2500 to 10,000, and three leaders who resided in cities of over 10,000 population. The leadership of the conservative wing came from the cities.

Significantly, the future careers of the political leaders showed major disparities. Only two of the five conservative leaders continued in politics after completing their respective sessions, and this was in the legislature.

¹⁶E. W. Brown had not held an elective office prior to his election to the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1907.

All the progressive leaders continued in politics with most moving on to higher public offices. Two continued as State Senators and of these one eventually gained membership on the Nebraska Supreme Court Commission; another was elected Secretary of State for four terms; a fourth served as a delegate to national political conventions and ran unsuccessfully for the governorship, and the fifth progressive leader was elected Governor of Nebraska in 1910. Obviously, the progressive leaders, in contrast to the conservatives, remained politically active.

LEADERSHIP VS. RANK AND FILE

A comparison of leaders with the rank and file members of each group produced some interesting, albeit not startling, results. Leaders of the progressive and conservative groups were slightly younger than their general membership. The occupational status of the progressive leaders was overrepresented with professionals in general, lawyers in particular, while the farmer element lacked proportionate representation within the leadership of this group. The conservative leaders were similar to the regular membership, with a slightly heavier orientation toward business and overrepresentation in the professions.

The religious affiliation of the legislative leaders showed that all were Protestants which was similar to their

rank and file adherents. The educational levels of the progressive leaders was slightly higher than their general membership, while both elements of the conservative wing were similar. The nativity of progressive leaders was almost totally from the east-north-central region, a point similar, but not identical, to the rank and file. The conservative leaders were more diversified in nativity and were representative of their regular membership. No foreigners were found in a progressive leadership capacity, while one conservative leader was of foreign birth. Notable was the fact that the general members of the progressive and conservative wings averaged five years more residence in Nebraska than did their leaders. The political party affiliations of the progressive leaders was similar to the rank and file membership. All conservative leaders were Republicans, which was unreflective of the affiliations of the total group. Oddly, the progressive's leaders had more political experience in general, and less legislative experience in particular, than did their general membership, while the conservative leaders had more political maturity in all areas than did their regular members. Both the progressive and the conservative leadership belonged to more organizations than did their rank and file members.

Although the progressive leaders were not from urban areas, these men came from slightly more heavily populated areas than most of the general membership. Interestingly, while the conservative rank and file members showed a substantial urban base, the leaders of this faction were even more obviously city-dwellers.

In general, the personal similarities and differences of the progressive and the conservative leadership groups resembled the likenesses and dissimilarities of the rank and file profiles of their respective factions. The only major discrepancies were to be found in the comparable organizational memberships and the divergent political experience of the leaders.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRESSIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS: ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL

Whereas, It has been the custom in the past for lobbyists in the employ of the railroads and other corporations of this state to have access to the floor at all times, and as each member of this body can vote intelligently on each and every measure that may be introduced without being buttonholed or bulldozed by any person on earth, therefore,

Be it Resolved, That if any lobbyist shows up on the floor of the House while this body is in session, the sergeant-at-arms be instructed to eject him, forcibly if necessary.¹

This resolution, passed by the Nebraska House of Representatives, was indicative of the general tone of the 1907 legislative session. It resulted in the enactment of a bill which prohibited any individual from placing unreasonable amounts of influence on a legislator. Violators could be punished ". . . by imprisonment in the penitentiary or county jail for not more than a year or a fine of \$1000, or both."²

¹House Journal, 1907, p. 85.

²Ibid., cf., House Roll 18, pp. 1403-1404.

The objective of most legislators was to stop harassment, curtail encroachment, and root out corruption in state government. Many measures were enacted to regulate and control public service corporations. The railroads were the main target of the 1907 legislature.

These legislators, responding to public demands, sought the passage of a 2-cent passenger fare law.³ The objectives of this measure was to eliminate excessive passenger rates. Most people felt that if the railroads were capable of granting a charge of two cents a mile to the special interests who traveled extensively without financial difficulty, they should be able to grant this rate to regular passengers. This legislative measure sought to insure rate equity and fair play.⁴ After the arguments on this bill were concluded, a vote was taken. Even the opposition ". . . had seen over the brow of the eminence and marshalled forces of an impregnable public opinion and decided to retreat gracefully and do their duty like men."⁵ The bill, which carried an emergency clause, passed and

³Evening World-Herald, April 8, 1907, p. 5; House Journal, 1907, cf., House Roll 267, pp. 1473-1474.

⁴Evening World-Herald, February 20, 1907, p. 5.

⁵Ibid., February 19, 1907, p. 4.

went into effect immediately. This bill was labeled by the Evening World-Herald as a "regular Rooseveltian performance."⁶

"The abolition of the free pass constitute[d] another of the long strides toward reform. . . ." This measure attempted to eliminate some of the corruption in state politics and to abolish discrimination between railroad travelers in Nebraska.⁷ The anti-pass measure was similar to the recently-enacted national Act. Any railroad or individual who violated the provisions of this statute was subject to a \$1,000 fine.⁸ The passage of this bill was the ". . . second positive step in the direction of shaking loose from the politics of the state the tentacles of the railroad octopus."⁹

The third measure restricting the railroad corporations was a law that established local taxation of railroad property for municipal purposes.¹⁰ The major objective of this bill was to permit cities and towns to tax all fixed

⁶ Ibid., ed., February 22, 1907, p. 6.

⁷ Ibid., April 8, 1907, p. 5.

⁸ Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate File 2, p. 1415.

⁹ Evening World-Herald, March 2, 1907, p. 10.

¹⁰ Ibid., April 8, 1907, p. 5; Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate File 261, pp. 1480-1481.

tangible railroad property.¹¹ Previously, the railroads had avoided reasonable taxation by distributing the value of their holdings throughout the state. This Act produced an additional twenty million dollars in property on which the railroads had to pay taxes.¹² Another blow had been struck against the railroad interests in Nebraska.

The fourth measure regulating public service corporations was the Railway Commission Bill. This statute prohibited Railway Commission members from having a personal interest in a railroad company or in an allied business. These commissioners regulated railroad, express, freight, telegraph, street railway, and other common carrier companies and fixed rates for all classes of freight. Rebates and discrimination were prohibited and violators could be fined as much as \$25,000.¹³ The supervision of railroad

¹¹ Evening World-Herald, ed., January 31, 1907, p. 4; January 4, 1907, p. 4.

¹² Ibid., February 16, 1907, p. 2.

¹³ House Journal, 1907, cf., House Roll 305, pp. 1483-1484; Evening World-Herald, January 8, 1907, p. 8. The State Constitution of 1875 permitted the establishment of a Railway Commission, yet because of political controversy a measure to implement a Commission was not acted upon for a decade. In 1885, a Railway Commission was established and was redefined at periodic intervals. Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, pp. 610, 615-616, 630.

affairs was an important step toward solving a problem that affected most Nebraskans.¹⁴

Many other important bills pertaining to railroad control and regulation were passed. One was the Employers' Liability Act, which allowed railroad workers injured on the job to collect benefits from their employer even if the workers were negligent and contributed to the accident.¹⁵ Other acts passed included a shippers' equal rights measure,¹⁶ a maximum rate charge on certain freight transported intrastate,¹⁷ an Act requiring railroad companies to weigh commodities transported on their lines¹⁸ and a measure ". . . to prevent railroads and other tax debtors from interfering by injunction in the federal courts with the collection of . . . taxes."¹⁹

Although railroad regulation held the top priority on the list of progressive legislative goals, many other reforms were passed by the 1907 lawmakers. The passage of the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act inspired state legislators

¹⁴Evening World-Herald, January 31, 1907, p. 3.

¹⁵Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate File 5, p. 1416.

¹⁶House Journal, 1907, p. 1503.

¹⁷Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate File 325, p. 1498.

¹⁸Ibid., cf., Senate File 297, p. 1490.

¹⁹Ibid., cf., Senate File 87, p. 1438.

to work toward the enactment of a measure regulating intrastate commerce. The inspection of locally-made products, it was felt, would stop the manufacture of adulterated, mislabeled, impure, and poisonous foods. Some business interests believed that the lack of a state pure food law placed the local manufacturers at a competitive disadvantage because their products lacked a guarantee of purity. Because of widespread support, this measure passed.²⁰ The Act established standards and provided for inspection of drugs, food, and dairy products. Violation would lead to confiscation of objectionable products and a maximum fine of \$100.²¹

Nebraska, because of its agricultural base and limited industry, had few complaints of child labor abuse. Nevertheless, concern for the protecting of children prompted the legislature to enact a Child Labor Law. Some felt that a measure was necessary to protect children ". . . from being dwarfed or stunted in body and mind by overwork and harmful conditions of work. . . ." ²² Many legislators felt that anticipatory actions aimed at regulating child labor

²⁰Lincoln State Journal, ed., January 1, 1907, p. 6.

²¹Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate File 64, pp. 1431-1432.

²²Lincoln State Journal, February 9, 1907, p. 6; House Journal, 1907, cf., House Roll 9, p. 1401.

would alleviate many future difficulties then occurring in the eastern states. This would also allow industries that were considering the establishment of businesses in Nebraska the opportunity to prepare for an adequate supply of labor without relying on individuals under fourteen years of age.²³ The canning industries, the large department stores, and the messenger companies opposed this measure, but they were unsuccessful in halting its passage.²⁴ This bill went into effect at once. The statute, liberal for its day, prohibited children under fourteen years of age from working over eight hours per day or over forty-eight hours per week. With the enactment of this bill, Nebraska became part of the general progressive movement that was sweeping the country.²⁵

One very important measure passed by the 1907 legislature was the direct primary.²⁶ A contemporary stated that

. . . the reason of the demand for the direct primary is because the people have found that something has intervened between them and the legislatures and that the men whom they have

²³Lincoln State Journal, ed., January 19, 1907, p. 4; February 9, 1907, p. 6.

²⁴Evening World-Herald, January 31, 1907, p. 5.

²⁵Ibid., ed., p. 4; House Journal, 1907, p. 1401.

²⁶Olson, History of Nebraska, pp. 252-253; House Journal, cf., House Roll 405, p. 1509.

chosen by the old method to represent them have not proven true.²⁷

The major objective of this bill was to overcome ". . . the pernicious influence in politics of corporations and corrupt politicians."²⁸

This bill raised much havoc. Some legislators felt that the implementation of the direct primary would allow newspapers to dictate the selection of candidates, would force candidates to spend large amounts of money to advertise, would limit the farmer's political power, and would disrupt party organization. The old line politicians opposed this measure vehemently, but to no avail.²⁹ Thus, it would appear that another successful step was made toward returning the decision-making power to the farm element who constituted the majority of Nebraskans.

When the 1907 legislature concluded its session most of the major newspapers in the state applauded the impressive contributions to reform made by these statutes. The Lincoln State Journal commented:

Nebraska has to thank its late legislature for justifying renewed confidence in the principle of representative government . . .

²⁷Evening World-Herald, January 29, 1907, p. 2.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Evening World-Herald, March 19, 1907, p. 7; March 9, 1907, p. 7.

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 The destruction of the pass, of the nominating machine, of unbridled railroad power, even the restrictive liquor legislation involves the removal of obstructions to securing representatives who will represent the voters.³⁰

The Omaha Bee, a staunch Republican newspaper stated:

The Thirtieth Nebraska legislature, just closed, has left a great record. The record of this legislature will stand out by contrast with the records of preceding legislative bodies in the state, irrespective of the political party in control, . . .

.
 It will enjoy the unique distinction of having redeemed in substantial manner every pledge of reforms upon which its members were elected by the people, to say nothing of other important reform measures enacted without specific pre-election promise. . . .

.
 From this point of view, the legislature just closed, . . . will go down into history as the great emancipator, freeing our people from political bondage to the railroad corporations by striking off fetters more destructive of liberty than any by which human slaves were ever shackled.³¹

The very favorable response of the Democratic World-Herald as noted by Sheldon was:

. . . that the best Legislature that Nebraska has ever had, judging from results, has passed into history. A good working majority of its members in both houses have shown an earnest desire to carry out platform pledges and have striven zealously for what they believed to

³⁰ Lincoln State Journal, April 6, 1907, p. 6.

³¹ The Omaha Sunday Bee, April 7, 1907, p. 4.

be the best interests of the state. To accomplish this end the Republicans voted, not once, but several times, to enact into law policies long advocated by the fusion parties and long opposed and frustrated by the Republican party. The result has been to lift Nebraska, in a single winter, from almost the bottom of the list of states that were under the corporation thumb to a place high in rank among the states that are reasonably free from undue corporation influence.³²

The 1907 legislature had instituted many reforms with the support of the radical wing of the Republican Party and the Democratic-Populist coalition. The next legislature would continue as the peoples' advocate, and would also make a substantial mark in the annals of Nebraska legislative history.

The Nebraska Legislature of 1909 was controlled by the Democratic Party which had not previously enjoyed preeminence in state politics. The radical faction of the Democrats, which comprised the majority of party members, rivaled the Republican legislature of 1907 in progressive accomplishments. In this they were assisted by an extremely small element of dissident Republicans. These political groups instituted some of the most outstanding progressive enactments in Nebraska's history.³³

³²Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 826.

³³Ibid., pp. 838-839.

Not only was the composition of the legislature unique, but so, too, was the internal change that occurred in this session. The House of Representatives had historically permitted the Speaker to appoint committee members, but this practice was altered. "A group of aggressive and progressive fusionists resolved to take the appointments out of the speaker's hands . . . thereby securing for future Legislatures the choice of their own committees through caucus selections."³⁴ The Evening World-Herald, assessing the significance and impact of this procedural change, said that this legislative change was a great service to the people, and would undoubtedly be adopted by other parts of the country.³⁵

One of the most important laws passed by the 1909 session was the Bank Guaranty Act.³⁶ Most of the leading bankers strongly opposed this bill, although it was vigorously supported by the common people of the state. The Act revolutionized banking in Nebraska,³⁷ for it required state banks to place one per cent of their bank deposits in a

³⁴ Ibid., p. 839.

³⁵ Evening World-Herald, ed., January 11, 1909, p. 4.

³⁶ House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 423, p. 1088.

³⁷ Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 839.

guaranty fund which was supervised by the state banking department. This fund would be used as a guarantee to the depositor if a bank should fail. The Bank Guaranty Act also instituted stricter regulation of banking businesses and built safeguards into Nebraska's financial institutions.³⁸

Another significant statute, the "Oregon Pledge" law, gave each person seeking election to the legislature the opportunity to make a pledge on the ballot to vote for the senatorial candidate chosen by the people of Nebraska in a preferential vote.³⁹ This measure indirectly permitted the people to elect United States Senators. It was a vital step toward the election of National Senators by the direct vote of the people.⁴⁰

The preceding session had passed a direct primary law. Now, moving further in the same direction, the open primary was enacted. An individual, without regard to his party membership, could vote for the candidate of his choice. Another feature of this measure was that it rotated the names of candidates in different order in

³⁸Evening World-Herald, March 5, 1909, p. 12.

³⁹House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 1, p. 1010.

⁴⁰Evening World-Herald, February 1, 1909, p. 4.

each precinct.⁴¹ Many opponents of this measure presented arguments preceding the passage of this Act. Some people did not want members of one political party to nominate candidates of the opposition party. Some individuals felt that a political party might conspire to have its supporters endorse the weakest candidates from the opposing party so as to get their candidates elected without difficulty in the general election. The arguments against this bill proved useless.⁴²

Another attempt to improve the electoral process was the enactment of a measure that required the campaign election committees of the individual candidates to file a list of people who contributed over twenty-five dollars to the candidate's campaign. This information was required fifteen days prior to an election.⁴³ The publication of this list represented an attempt to show the public who it was that had a vital interest in the election of certain candidates.

Still another method used to cleanse the electoral process, and to take it out of corporate domination, was a statute "making it unlawful for any employer to threaten

⁴¹Senate Journal, 1909, cf., Senate File 109, pp. 1608-1609.

⁴²Evening World-Herald, March 9, 1909, p. 4.

⁴³House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 242, p. 1054.

to discharge an employe [sic] in an effort to influence his vote." Violators risked being fined up to \$100.00 and/or receiving a thirty day jail sentence.⁴⁴

A major area of reform accomplished by the 1909 legislature was the enactment of additional railroad legislation. One bill required railroads to load and transport bulk grain within a reasonable time and without discrimination.⁴⁵ Others established a minimum number of crew members that must be employed on different types of trains.⁴⁶ A most significant measure passed by the 1909 legislature, which had failed during the previous session, was the reciprocal demurrage bill.⁴⁷ This law forced railroads to ship livestock and products a minimum number of miles per day, and, if this were unmet, the shipper received compensation from the railroads. Also, the railroads were required to contact the consignee of freight within twenty-four hours after its arrival.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid., cf., House Roll 131, p. 1034.

⁴⁵ Ibid., cf., House Roll 4, p. 1010.

⁴⁶ Ibid., cf., House Roll 374, p. 1074.

⁴⁷ Senate Journal, 1909, cf., Senate File 71, p. 1598.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Another statute which placed additional controls on the railroads was a lost or damaged property Act.⁴⁹ It required railroads to pay for lost or damaged articles within a limited number of days, and if these provisions were violated, the customer could institute a lawsuit against the railroad and receive seven per cent interest on his claim during this period of litigation. He could also be reimbursed for attorney fees involved.⁵⁰ Another measure permitted the Railway Commission to place a value on all actual properties owned by common carriers, telegraph, telephone, and express companies. These figures supplied the data that was used for equitable taxation of these corporations.⁵¹ Along with the aforementioned, several other bills of minor significance were enacted to control and regulate public service corporations.⁵²

Nebraskans enacted a corporation tax in an attempt to produce equity in the state's tax system. All corporations doing business in Nebraska were required to pay "an annual occupation tax based on capital stock." The

⁴⁹ibid., cf., Senate File 95, p. 1604.

⁵⁰ibid.

⁵¹ibid., cf., Senate File 133, pp. 1616-1617.

⁵²ibid., cf., Senate Files 143 and 255, pp. 1620, 1652-1653, respectively; House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 578, p. 1118.

people of Nebraska felt that the corporation that profitted from the average consumer had an obligation to support the state government.⁵³

The topic of pure food legislation was also scrutinized, and this led to the passage of two significant measures. One method required net weights of certain products to be stamped on the outside labels.⁵⁴ The other bill placed food businesses previously ignored by regulatory Acts such as cheese factories, creameries, packing and slaughter houses, bakeries and canneries and ". . . other apartments used for the preparation, sale or distribution of any food under the jurisdiction of the Pure Food Commission."⁵⁵

The accomplishments of the 1909 legislature became a partisan issue. The ultra-Republican Omaha Bee proclaimed that

. . . we doubt if it [the legislature] has ever had an assemblage of lawmakers including so many disreputables as this, so cut up into cross-working factions, so helpless to solve the problem before them requiring constructive work, so completely in control of the corporation lobby in and outside of the legislative halls.

Just how much damage has been done by

⁵³Senate Journal, 1909, cf., Senate File 10, pp. 1579-1580.

⁵⁴House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 486, p. 1100.

⁵⁵Senate Journal, 1909, cf., Senate File 140, p. 1619.

this aggregation of statute tinkers and spoils-mongers cannot yet be estimated, . . .

.
 . . . the legislature will have something to point to, and that is the huge quantity of half-baked laws on which it has put its label.

We feel perfectly safe in saying that had the legislature enacted appropriation bills and gone home without doing another thing Nebraska would have been far better off and our people would have had real cause for rejoicing.⁵⁶

At the other extreme was the Democratic Evening World-Herald. It stated that the 1909 legislature ". . . will be pronounced by the impartial judgment of Nebraska as the best legislature in the history of the state."⁵⁷

Partisan harangues notwithstanding, the 1909 legislature had to its credit some of the most remarkable progressive achievements of any legislature since Nebraska statehood. The majority of the measures passed grew out of public demand--a demand that no sincere public servant could ignore.⁵⁸

The 1907 and 1909 legislative achievements were unprecedented. The top priority of the lawmakers was the regulation of public service corporations. Passenger and freight rates were established. Measures were instituted

⁵⁶The Omaha Sunday Bee, April 4, 1909, p. 4.

⁵⁷Evening World-Herald, February 27, 1909, p. 4.

⁵⁸Ibid., April 6, 1909, p. 4.

to produce equitable taxation of railroads. Statutes against discrimination and rebates, and reimbursement for damaged freights were enacted. The Railway Commission's power was expanded so that it would oversee the operations of not only railroads, but also express, freight, telegraph and other common carrier companies. Pure Food and Drug Acts were passed. A corporation tax and a child labor law were enacted. A bank guaranty measure became law.

Significant, but of secondary importance, was the expansion of political democracy. Among the innovations in electoral reform was the direct primary, which was later revised and became the open primary. A bill permitting people to elect legislators that were pledged to a specific United States senatorial candidate, and a statute requiring the publication of a list of campaign contributors were passed. A measure prohibiting an employer from influencing a worker's vote was enacted, and an internal legislative renovation came with the passage of a new method of selecting committee members.

In addition to the specific progressive political and economic measures just mentioned, the progressives attempted to bring about change in personal morality. These attempts did not hold the same priority as did the political and economic reforms.

Within the broad concept of progressivism some general questions arise: How did the topic of prohibition of liquor fit into this reform pattern? Was the regulation and control of liquor interests in the mainstream of Nebraska progressivism? What, if any, anti-liquor legislation was enacted?

During the decade of 1880 to 1890 prohibition was the major topic for reform, yet this changed during the 1890s when economic difficulties became widespread, and the concern of most Nebraskans turned toward legislation that would limit the large corporate interests which were hindering the economic improvement of the agriculture. This change of priorities occurred during the last decade of the nineteenth century and continued into the first decade of the twentieth century. Yet by 1907 the prohibitionists began to emerge from their dormant state and began, again, to support laws that would ultimately prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor in Nebraska, and in the United States.⁵⁹

By the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions the anti-liquor drive had started to gain momentum with the

⁵⁹ Joe A. Fisher, "The Liquor Question In Nebraska, 1880-1890" (M. A. Thesis, Municipal University of Omaha, 1952), pp. 2-4; Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, pp. 842-844.

introduction of numerous regulatory and control measures. The legislators of this period sifted through many liquor prohibition measures, most of which were discarded in committee. Still, some of these bills reached the floor and a few were passed.

A roll call analysis of liquor legislation was made in an attempt to see if the mainline of progressivism, which consisted of corporation control and extension of the political process, had an effect on this specific type of cultural reform. This involved making an evaluation to determine whether the advocates of progressivism, as described by their previously-listed accomplishments, were the same legislators who were responsible for the enactment of liquor regulation.

The analysis of the roll calls pertaining to liquor legislation during the 1907 and through 1909 sessions strongly suggested that supporters of a more equitable tax system, advocates of corporate regulation, adherents to the advancement of the status of the farming and laboring classes, and proponents of electoral and legislative renovation were also the individuals who supported the cultural and moral reforms embodied in the liquor prohibition crusade. From the voting patterns established, it can be concluded that the progressive legislators considered the

use of liquor a most negative and appalling fact of their contemporary society. Only two of the fifty-eight progressives (3 per cent) voted against control measures the majority of the time.

The conservative voting pattern on liquor control bills was in sharp contrast to that of the progressives. Eighteen of the forty conservatives (45 per cent) voted the majority of the time against control measures and prohibition of intoxicating liquors. Not only was this group opposed to political and economic reform, but it also showed a definite tendency to oppose cultural and moral changes.⁶⁰

The dry elements within the 1907 and 1909 legislatures, the vast majority of whom were progressives and moderates, were capable of getting numerous measures passed. Legislation to regulate the transportation, delivery, and inspection of intoxicating liquors became law. Laws to provide for tighter licensing procedures, and increased revenue on liquor were enacted. Furthermore, a bill prohibiting intoxicated persons from riding on railways and street cars was passed⁶¹ and a penalty for selling intoxicating

⁶⁰See Appendix IV.

⁶¹Senate Journal, 1907, cf., Senate Files: 6, p. 294; 62, p. 427; 76, p. 934; 101, p. 452; 7, p. 294; and 329, p. 988.

spirits to minors was enacted.⁶² Other legislative measures aimed at controlling the liquor businesses were introduced, but did not pass. These included several county option bills, raising liquor licenses to \$5,000, and a constitutional amendment for total prohibition of liquor.⁶³

The reform efforts of Nebraska legislators during this period were directed at placing restraints on corporate interests, at cleansing the legislative and electoral processes, at protecting the consumer, at making the state government more responsive to the needs of the public, and at affording the people of Nebraska a greater voice in the decision-making process. Prohibition, as demonstrated, was of only minor significance within this general context of Nebraska progressive reform. All these legislative reforms owe their success to the progressive and moderate members of the 1907 and 1909 sessions. Only with the sporadic support of the moderate lawmakers could the progressive legislators have been successful with their reform goals.

⁶²House Journal, 1909, cf., House Roll 260, p. 739.

⁶³Many measures were introduced, particularly in the 1907 Senate and the 1909 House, though most met with failure; cf., 1907 Senate Files 128, 399, 436 and 1909 House Rolls 166, 230, 249, 485.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Events in America from the year 1890 onward indicate that "a great political revolution was taking place in the minds of the American people." This trend was caused by reduced availability of free land, control of natural resources and production by corporate interests, and the feeling of workers and farmers that they had lost their economic independence.¹ From this feeling of despair came the desire for change.

A drive to purge corruption from the government and to rid it of the special vested interests took place during this period.² Another characteristic of this era was the desire to expand political democracy by allowing more of the people to be involved in the electoral process.³

¹ Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 869.

² Ibid; Mann, Progressive Era, p. 2; Wiebe, Search For Order, p. 167; Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 268; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, p. 149; Mowry, California Progressives, pp. 101-102.

³ Mann, Progressive Era, p. 2; Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 869.

Similarly, there was a popular demand for a government responsible to the people, one that would give its citizens needed social and economic relief.⁴ The prevalence of these principles gave progressivism, which was a broad and diverse reform movement, its major impetus⁵ as this reformation strived ". . . to accomodate American social, political and economic institutions to advancing industrialism."⁶ All the above culminated in a drive for reform by people who ". . . thought they could make the world a better place in which to live."⁷ The objective of the progressives was the improvement of American institutions, not their destruction, and this, they felt, could be accomplished by responsible leadership.⁸

Many studies have researched the social background of legislators in an attempt to decide whether these characteristics affected a lawmaker's voting pattern and led him to become a progressive. Professor Frederick C.

⁴Mann, Progressive Era, p. 2; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, p. 257; Mowry, California Progressives, pp. 101-102.

⁵Mann, Progressive Era, p. 2; Davis and Woodman, Conflict or Consensus, p. 151.

⁶John Morton Blum, The Republican Roosevelt (New York: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. XI. (Hereinafter cited as Blum, Republican Roosevelt.)

⁷Davis and Woodman, Conflict or Consensus, p. 152.

⁸Blum, Republican Roosevelt, p. XI.

Luebke noted the significance of biographical data when he stated that: "By tabulating information drawn from biographies . . . systematic data may be acquired which reveal relationships between political behavior and a variety of social, economic, and cultural variables."⁹ This approach was used by Mowry, Chandler, Hofstadter, Thelen, Janick, Sherman, Potts, and Tager in their studies of progressive leadership, some of which were of a comparative nature.¹⁰

The Mowry-Hofstadter progressive was a young man, often less than forty years of age.¹¹ Janick, who studied the Connecticut Progressive leaders, indicated that their ages ranged from the mid-thirties through the mid-fifties.¹² Thelen's Wisconsin progressives showed no age difference from their political antagonists.¹³ The Nebraska progressives were a decade older than the Mowry-Hofstadter model, and their ages covered a greater range than did the Janick Progressives. Nebraska's progressives were similar to

⁹Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, p. 53.

¹⁰See Chapter 1, pp. 10-21.

¹¹Mowry, California Progressives, p. 87; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 144-145.

¹²Janick, "Connecticut Progressive," p. 85.

¹³Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333.

the Wisconsin's progressives in that they were, on the average, the same age as their political opposition.

This suggested that no generation gap existed. No youth movement was evident within the Nebraska progressive surge.¹⁴

Most literature on the progressive movement has suggested that the vast majority of progressive leaders were of middle-class status. Generally they were engaged in either a profession or a small business. Mowry, Chandler and Hofstadter indicated that the progressives were usually lawyers, editors or small businessmen.¹⁵ Hofstadter's study also showed a sampling of clergymen and professors.¹⁶ The conclusions made by Janick, Sherman, Potts, and Tager showed that these men were very similar to the progressive profile of the Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter model.¹⁷ The progressives studied by Glaab were, in general, much the same as the aforementioned. They were attorneys, editors, teachers and small town businessmen.¹⁸ Wiebe noted that the progressive

¹⁴See Chapter II, pp. 37-39.

¹⁵Mowry, California Progressives, pp. 87-88; Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1464; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 135, 137, 140.

¹⁶Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 135, 137, 140.

¹⁷Janick, "Connecticut Progressive," p. 84; Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 65; Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," pp. 263-264, 267-268; Tager, "Theory of the Status Revolution," pp. 162-175.

¹⁸Glaab, "North Dakota Progressivism," pp. 200-202.

leaders were usually merchants, bankers, lawyers and commercial farmers.¹⁹ Thelen concluded that occupation was not a determining factor in relation to who became a progressive.²⁰ The leadership of the Nebraska progressives included a small element of professional people. A minority of the Nebraska progressives were small businessmen. However, the majority of support for this movement came from the farmers, and it was this occupational group that played a most significant role in the development of progressivism in Nebraska.²¹

The Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter Progressive was a highly educated politician. This academic background gave him an awareness of the problems of society and increased

¹⁹Wiebe, Search For Order, pp. 129, 130, 177.

²⁰Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333.

²¹See Chapter II, pp. 40-43; Telephone interview with Douglas Murfield, Director of State and Federal Agricultural Statistics, Lincoln, Nebraska, April 13, 1973. Murfield stated that in 1910, 61.1% of the farms in Nebraska were operated by their owners, 0.8% were operated by farm managers, and 38.1% of the farms were run by tenant farmers. He said that corporation farming in Nebraska was almost non-existent and that almost three-fourths of the farms in Nebraska were between 100 and 500 acres in 1910.

From the information gathered on the geographical study of the legislators it can be suggested that this group of farmers were landowners and the sizes of their farms ranged slightly larger than that of the average farm holding during this period.

his desire to eradicate these ills.²²The Iowa progressives, according to Potts, were also highly educated individuals, by comparison with the other political groups.²³In contrast, the Nebraska progressive was similar to Thelen's Wisconsin reformer and Sherman's Massachusetts progressive who were unable to claim a higher educational level than their political counterparts.²⁴The Nebraska progressives had a limited education and the majority had not completed high school. Yet they were capable of perceiving their problems and setting out to alleviate their difficulties.²⁵

The Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter model received his major impetus to become a progressive from his religious background, his Anglo-Saxon heritage and his New England puritan ethic.²⁶The Iowa progressives, according to Potts, were all Protestant.²⁷The Nebraska progressives were also

²²Mowry, California Progressives, p. 87; Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1462; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 144-145.

²³Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 265.

²⁴Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333; Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 63.

²⁵See Chapter II, pp. 44-45.

²⁶Mowry, California Progressives, p. 87; Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1462; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 139, 167, 182-185.

²⁷Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 267.

basically Protestants,²⁸ as were Janick's Connecticut progressives, and they were generally of Anglo-Saxon background.²⁹ Yet this set of characteristics was not unique to the Nebraska progressives. The moderates and conservatives studied could make this identical claim. Religious background was not a significant motivating factor within the Nebraska progressive movement.³⁰

Almost without exception the studies completed on the progressive period have indicated that the supporters of this movement were native Americans. The Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter model reinforced this concept as did Thelen, Janick, Sherman, and Potts.³¹ Thelen noted that all groups of his study were similar in reference to nativity.³² Potts made an identical conclusion.³³ The Nebraska progressives,

²⁸Chapter II, pp. 46-48.

²⁹Janick, "Connecticut Progressive," pp. 89-90.

³⁰See Chapter II, pp. 46-48.

³¹Mowry, California Progressives, p. 87; Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1462; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 170, 174; Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333; Janick, "Connecticut Progressive," p. 84; Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 65; Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 267.

³²Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333.

³³Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 267.

like those of Thelen and Potts, showed no major disparities in nativity from that of their opponents.³⁴

Hofstadter noted that the Progressives were hostile toward the recent immigrants because the latter, they felt, were opposed to their values of political participation, responsibility, and morality.³⁵ Hays reinforced the concept by stating that the progressives detested the immigrants.³⁶ Huthmacher stated that the status of the immigrants during the progressive period was unique. He commented that these newcomers were opposed to utopian concepts of reform advocated by the Anglo-Saxon reformers.³⁷ Interestingly, all political groups studied in Nebraska had comparable numbers of foreign-born legislators within their ranks. Paradoxically, the general foreign-born population in Nebraska was overrepresented by the number of foreign-born lawmakers in the legislature during the 1907 and 1909 sessions.³⁸

Many studies have automatically accepted the generalization that progressivism sprang from the Republican

³⁴See Chapter II, pp. 50-54.

³⁵Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 182-185.

³⁶Hays, "Politics of Reform," pp. 252-254.

³⁷Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism," pp. 237-239.

³⁸See Chapter II, pp. 52-54.

Party, while other studies have not been concerned with the political party membership of the progressive leaders. Chandler noted that almost without exception the Progressives had been Republican Party members.³⁹ Thelen and Potts studied only the voting patterns of Republican Party members without evaluating the role of the Democrats.⁴⁰ Wiebe noted that party politics were not as important during this reform movement as they had been in the past.⁴¹ Nye concluded that progressivism came from Republican statehouses in the midwest.⁴²

The California progressives, as Mowry succinctly put it, were ". . . drawn from a different class than were those of the Grangers and the Populists." According to him ". . . Progressivism was not just a reformulation of our older radicalism."⁴³ Chandler, in agreement, commented that the leaders of progressivism "had little

³⁹Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1462.

⁴⁰Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," p. 331, contended that the Democratic Party was inconsequential because they did not contribute any major progressive programs, nor did this group comprise more than about ten per cent of the legislature; Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," pp. 259-268.

⁴¹Wiebe, Search For Order, p. 129.

⁴²Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, pp. 189, 222-223.

⁴³Mowry, California Progressives, p. 89.

sympathy with the Democratic heirs of Populism."⁴⁴ Hofstadter indicated that these early twentieth-century reformers were not "the silver-haired veterans of old monetary reform crusades."⁴⁵ Wiebe contended that "Very few of these progressives had looked kindly upon populism or its near relations."⁴⁶ Ironically, the very people that Mowry, Chandler, and Hofstadter singled out as not being in positions of leadership in the progressive movement were generally the very individuals who were the spearheads of the reform movement in Nebraska. There, the "Demo-Pop" coalition was the major force toward reform, although some Republicans joined their crusade.⁴⁷

Sherman's Massachusetts Progressives and Potts' Iowa progressives had a lesser amount of political experience than their adversaries.⁴⁸ Thelen concluded that the Wisconsin progressive was not the least experienced in the area of political activity.⁴⁹ The Nebraska progressive was similar

⁴⁴Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1464.

⁴⁵Hofstadter, Age of Reform, p. 167.

⁴⁶Wiebe, Search For Order, p. 178.

⁴⁷See Chapter II, pp. 57-58; cf., Chapter V, footnotes 75-85.

⁴⁸Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 65; Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," pp. 260-265, 267-269.

⁴⁹Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 331-333.

to Thelen's model in that these Nebraska legislators possessed political experience comparable to their strongest opponents. Noteworthy was the fact that the moderate politicians had significantly less political experience than either the progressives or conservatives in Nebraska.⁵⁰

Mowry commented that the California progressives were generally Free Masons.⁵¹ Potts concluded that a substantial portion of all groups studied in Iowa were members of some organizations.⁵² In Nebraska, the progressives held more organizational memberships than their political foes, yet only one in four held membership in the Masonic Order. Politicians in Nebraska were not especially active in fraternal or social organizations.⁵³

The majority of the studies on the progressive period have suggested that the leaders of this reform came from urban areas. This fact has been noted by the Mowry-Chandler-Hofstadter studies,⁵⁴ as well as by Wiebe in

⁵⁰See Chapter II, pp. 59-62.

⁵¹Mowry, California Progressives, p. 88.

⁵²Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 267.

⁵³See Chapter II, pp. 62-64.

⁵⁴Mowry, California Progressives, pp. 89-91; Chandler, "Origins of Progressive Leadership," p. 1462; Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 170-174, 131-173.

The Search For Order.⁵⁵ Oddly, two neighbor states of Nebraska had urban-based progressive movements. Potts' Iowa progressives⁵⁶ and Glaab's North Dakota progressives lived in urban centers.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the Nebraska progressives generally lived in small towns or in rural communities. It was the opponents of the progressives who came from Nebraska's urban areas.⁵⁸

Several studies indicated that social background was not relevant to the rise of progressivism. Thelen concluded that the progressive period in Wisconsin was not directed by individuals of a special type of social background. He noted that men from widely differing backgrounds and occupations saw the problems of their day and determined that these problems must be solved.⁵⁹ Sherman stated that all political groups in Massachusetts were overwhelmingly similar in relation to biographical characteristics. He wondered why one segment revolted while some people of identical backgrounds did not.⁶⁰ Janick

⁵⁵Wiebe, Search For Order, p. 128.

⁵⁶Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 262.

⁵⁷Glaab, "North Dakota Progressivism," p.196.

⁵⁸See Chapter II, pp. 65-67.

⁵⁹Thelen, "Origins of Progressivism," pp. 334-339.

⁶⁰Sherman, "Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," p. 65.

ended his study on the Connecticut Progressive with the statement that: ". . . middle class identification as the motive force behind reform activity has been diminished by the realization that conservative individuals often shared the same class background and values."⁶¹ Potts said that because of similarity of biographical data relating to political groups in Iowa the thesis that a special class of people revolted during the progressive period does not seem valid.⁶²

The Nebraska progressives, although similar to their conservative opponents in age, educational level, religious affiliation, national origin, years of residence and political experience, possessed certain variables of social background that were of great importance in determining why a special segment of the population revolted. Some notable disparities in reference to social backgrounds were evident. Nebraska progressives were somewhat more inclined to be members of social, fraternal and business-professional organizations than were conservative legislators. The most obvious distinction between the progressives and their foes was manifest in their occupational statuses. Another

⁶¹ Janick, "Connecticut Progressive," pp. 83-84.

⁶² Potts, "Progressive Profile In Iowa," p. 267.

significant disparity existed in reference to the political party affiliation of the progressives when compared to the conservatives. The last major discrepancy in biographical data was found in the geographical distribution of the progressives. The progressives could not make any claim to having an urban base, while the conservatives had a substantial representation from the cities.⁶³

Without a doubt, certain biographical characteristics had an effect upon the political behavior of many Nebraska legislators. It can be suggested that specific social variables caused tensions to arise, and that these tensions played a most important role in molding political actions and contributed greatly to the growth and development of progressivism in Nebraska.

Each study of progressivism introduced a unique type of reform that moved toward a certain goal. The "status revolution," which supposedly caused the urban-gentry to feel that the corporate magnates had stripped them of their political power, was not apparent in Nebraska.⁶⁴ The Nebraska progressives showed no signs, and made no comments, to suggest that they "were victims of an upheaval in

⁶³See Chapter II.

⁶⁴Hofstadter, Age of Reform, pp. 131-173.

status."⁶⁵ Nor were the reformers attempting to return to the past. The Nebraska progressives were not "looking backward to an older America" as Mowry suggested with reference to the progressives in California.⁶⁶ Rather, the Nebraska progressives were looking forward to a time when they would be capable of making the economic, political, and social decisions that affected their lives.

Mowry's California progressive was economically secure.⁶⁷ The Hofstadter model was "... rich enough to be free from the motives of 'crass materialism'."⁶⁸ Wiebe stated that "Progressivism generally emanated from an influential group of citizens who were just then appreciating the advantages of modernization as an aid to their expanding interests."⁶⁹ The average Nebraska progressive was not wealthy, but was economically secure.

The majority of Nebraska progressives were not the slum-dwellers, the laborers, and the immigrants spoken of by Huthmacher. Yet, noteworthy was the fact that both groups had the goal of improving their financial status.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

⁶⁶ Mowry, California Progressives, p. 89.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 87, 88, 92.

⁶⁸ Hofstadter, Age of Reform, p. 140.

⁶⁹ Wiebe, Search For Order, p. 177.

Although facing many different problems, both reform movements were realistic and pragmatic. Each movement desired environmental changes to improve their status. While Huthmacher suggested his working-class reformer might have felt an insecurity of status, it should be stressed that while the Nebraska progressives felt secure, they strived toward reform. Furthermore, the reformer studied by Huthmacher had a singular objective, that of economic improvement, and he supported legislation directly related to this goal. Huthmacher's reformers detested cultural reform measures such as prohibition of liquor and Sunday "blue laws".⁷⁰

The Nebraska progressive, like the progressive of Huthmacher, had economic improvement as his prime interest. He approached it by direct legislation, and used political democracy as a step toward this goal. The Nebraska progressives also endorsed some cultural reform measures, but they regarded these as being of secondary importance.

Gabriel Kolko, in The Triumph of Conservatism, described the progressive movement as being sparked by those top echelons of big business who had the philosophy that ". . . the general welfare of the community could be

⁷⁰Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism," pp. 238-239.

best served by satisfying the concrete needs of business."⁷¹ Hays in "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," also contended that major business elements played a vital role as leaders of the progressive movement.⁷² Both studies indicated that the business leaders wanted to implement what they considered improvements for the general welfare. The Nebraska progressives would agree with Kolko and Hays up to a point, but they felt that it was the majority, not a select elite of businessmen, who could best determine what was good for the public welfare.⁷³

The progressive leaders of whom Hays spoke were enraged at the thought that the control of political opportunities was definitely in the hands of the lower classes and that it was impossible for them to achieve their desire for power. This attempt to gain political power was the major point of agreement between the Hays' progressives and the Nebraska progressives. The point of difference was that the groups that Hays suggested were attempting to take power in Des Moines and Pittsburgh, the business elements, were the same type of people that the Nebraska

⁷¹Kolko, Triumph of Conservatism, pp. 2-3.

⁷²Hays, "Politics of Reform," pp. 238-258.

⁷³Kolko, Triumph of Conservatism, pp. 52-53; Hays, "Politics of Reform," pp. 238-258.

progressives were trying to oust from power.⁷⁴ Thus, the objective of both of these groups was to change these political conditions, but each political group, it can be suggested, sought that goal for its own selfish purposes rather than for idealistic reasons.

The Nebraska progressives fit into the pattern spoken of by John Hicks in the Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmer's Alliance and the People's Party and into that of Russel Nye's Midwestern Progressive Politics. The progressive movement in Nebraska was basically part of a continuum within the Populist revolt in reference to philosophy, principle and practice.⁷⁵ Populist ideology and doctrine was a basic part of the progressive surge.⁷⁶ Populists in Nebraska sought control of government institutions so as to render justice to the farmer, a government responsible and responsive to the people, and a government that was efficient. These aims were shared, almost in toto, by the Nebraska progressives.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Hays, "Politics of Reform," pp. 238-258.

⁷⁵Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, pp. 13, 86, 204, 254, 255.

⁷⁶Hicks, Populist Revolt, pp. 404-422.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 405-408, 412-413, 416; Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, pp. 35, 188.

The legislative goals of the Populists, as Hicks and Nye explained, were very similar to the goals of the progressives. The Populists desired government ownership of public service corporations, while the progressives wanted stringent regulation of the transportation and communication lines. Both wanted rate control and destruction of the rebate system. Both sought renovation of the tax structure so that corporate interests would pay additional taxes. Both desired regulatory measures that would limit the power of banking and insurance companies. Both wanted an expansion of political democracy through the implementation of primary elections and direct election of officials. Without question, the influence of Bryan shaped the progressive Democratic Party platforms and the progressive era from 1907 through 1910.⁷⁸

Nye's contention that midwestern progressive politics was spearheaded by the Republican Party was an overstatement of the role that this party played. Also, his statement that the leaders of the Progressive movement were

⁷⁸Hicks, Populist Revolt, pp. 407-408, 415-416; Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, pp. 121, 186, 188, 197-199; John G. W. Lewis, ed., Nebraska Party Platforms, 1858-1938 ([Lincoln, Nebraska]: University of Nebraska, United States Work Projects Administration, 1940), pp. 298-334; cf., Paolo Coletta, William Jennings Bryan: I, Political Evangelist: 1860-1908; II, Progressive Politician and Moral Statesman, 1909-1915 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).

". . . smart young Republican lawyers, district attorneys, and young career politicians . . ." was partially correct at best.⁷⁹ Nye failed to give due credit to the Democratic leaders such as Charles W. Pool and George W. Tibbets, or to the Fusionist leader, J. A. Ollis, who practiced Populist principles since that party's very beginning.⁸⁰ He failed to realize that the leadership was two-fold, old settled "Demo-Pops", on the one hand, and young Republicans on the other. He correctly assessed the inner force of the progressive movement when he noted that, "For this protest the agricultural class, its roots deep in nineteenth century agrarian radicalism, provided the impetus." Yet, his latter statement that "insurgent Republicans provided the means of expression" did not accurately point out the real leaders of this movement.⁸¹ There is no doubt that a radical Republican wing played a substantial role during this reform period, but it was secondary to that of the Democratic-Populist coalition who were the real leaders of the progressive movement in Nebraska.

Nye's contention that the progressive reforms in the Midwest were practical and geared to regional problems

⁷⁹Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, p. 183.

⁸⁰Chapter III, pp. 76-80.

⁸¹Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics, p. 222.

seemed most applicable to the Nebraska reform movement.⁸²

Undisputably, this reform was "common sense, agrarian, frontier radicalism."⁸³ The progressive movement in Nebraska was a grassroots reform that was directed by the farmer and other Nebraskans concerned with the further advancement of agricultural interests. Many specific reasons can be suggested as causes for this sweeping reform that engulfed Nebraska at this time. The prevailing national trend of reform and the inspiration of its leadership swept the state legislature toward enactment of progressive measures. Nebraska with its agrarian base, railroad problems, and Populist heritage was an excellent matrix from which such reform could spring. An important element in the growth of this reform spirit was the economic prosperity then prevalent in Nebraska which, paradoxically, stimulated the people to desire progressive change.

In part, the success of the Nebraska progressives may be attributed to the fact that they were part of the trend of reform that was sweeping the country. Acts of Congress included regulation of transportation lines, legislation against corporate monopolies, passage of food

⁸² ibid., pp. 14, 184, 223.

⁸³ ibid., p. 14.

purity measures, and packing house reforms.⁸⁴The Nebraska Legislature passed many similar measures.⁸⁵As the Omaha Bee said,

Those [laws] relating to the regulation of railroads and other common carriers, the stopping of railroad tax shirking, the abolition of free passes and the nomination of public officers by direct popular vote, taken all together, were well calculated to supplement the work of congress under the direction of President Roosevelt to the end of relieving the people of Nebraska of railroad domination in politics.⁸⁶

Probably the single most important irritant that goaded the Nebraska progressive movement on toward success was the role played by the railroad interests. As the Lincoln State Journal put it,

The railroads of Nebraska, some of which for thirty years have influenced citizens with free passes and other discriminatory methods, who have collected "all the tariff would bear," who have dominated and packed political conventions and nominated public [sic] officers and owned such officers, body and soul, who have by the crook of a finger controlled the policies of the state from a back room, who have set aside in the courts the board of transportation law and the maximum rate law, who have refused to pay their taxes under

⁸⁴Evening World-Herald, January 1, 1907, Section E, p. 2; Henry Parkes and Vincent Carosso, Recent America: A History, Book One: 1900-1933 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1963), pp. 141-144.

⁸⁵See Chapter IV.

⁸⁶Omaha Sunday Bee, April 17, 1907, p. 4.

the revenue law, and who have obeyed state laws only when it suited their convenience, . . . who have controlled the politics of the state from the precinct to the state conventions, . . . [were detested by most Nebraskans].⁸⁷

Railroads were the major topic of political controversy.⁸⁸

A scholar of Nebraska history has remarked that "the railroads epitomized all that was wrong with politics and the economic system . . ." in Nebraska.⁸⁹

Another major cause of this progressive surge may be found in the fact that Nebraska had been primed for reform for several years. The success of the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions ". . . registered the high point of the revolution in public thought which began in 1890."⁹⁰ William Jennings Bryan, who had been responsible for changing the Democratic Party from a group of conservatives into an agrarian reform-minded political body, was another stimulus for this progressive movement. Bryan made the Democratic Party into "the voice of agrarian discontent."⁹¹

⁸⁷ Lincoln State Journal, February 14, 1907, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 811.

⁸⁹ Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 223.

⁹⁰ Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 824.

⁹¹ Olson, History of Nebraska, p. 243.

The economic status of the farmer was improving. This taste of success caused him to crave more power. Hopefully, the use of this power would lead to a still better economy. For many years prior to this period "Nebraska had been blessed with good crops and prices."⁹² This period saw a considerable expansion in the actual number of farms, the increase in acres being farmed, a rising average of cultivated acres per farm, and an increasing usage of improved land. The first decade of the twentieth century saw property values of Nebraska farms increasing almost three-fold. The average farm in 1900 was valued at \$6,000. Ten years later this same farm was valued at \$16,000. Crop production and crop values increased markedly in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Also evident was an increase in the number of manufacturing establishments and the value of their products. Of significance was the fact that these manufacturers had a deep concern for agriculture because two-thirds of Nebraska manufactures were derived from raw agricultural goods. These people were dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood.

⁹²Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. 1, p. 838.

Widespread prosperity was also evident in banking. Between 1900 and 1910 there was an increase of fifty per cent in the number of banking establishments and a tripling of deposits and loans.⁹³ Interestingly, only one in four of the progressives was a businessman, but three out of five of those who were businessmen were bankers. The progressives far outran the other political groups in reference to the number of bankers within their political ranks.⁹⁴ Why would some bankers become progressive?

An answer to this was suggested by Earl Hald in his M. A. thesis, "State Bank Failures in Nebraska Since 1920": "We have seen that the banks . . . inescapably were so deeply involved with the fortunes of the farmer that when his fortunes were reversed theirs were reversed also."⁹⁵ Although referring to a later period of time, the theme Hald presented was appropriate for this period. It was a prosperous era, economic conditions were stable, and banking interests understood that the economic advancement of the farmer was a guarantee of the survival and economic security of their financial institutions. Therefore,

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 862-863, 865, 867.

⁹⁴ Chapter II, pp. 40-42.

⁹⁵ Earl C. Hald, "State Bank Failures in Nebraska Since 1920" (M. A. Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1932), p. 116.

they were willing to adjust to, and endorse, public policies suited to the desires and needs of farmers.⁹⁶

The prosperity or the failure of the farmers was governed by their degree of success in growing, harvesting, marketing, and selling their produce, and by their ability to purchase the wares they needed to stay in business. The farmer realized that all other stages, apart from the actual growing of the crop, could be regulated for his own benefit. The farm element knew who their adversaries were, and they struck out against them. This represented an attempt to improve their economic status.

Railroad regulation was the crux of the Nebraska progressive movement's attempt to use the government on behalf of the people. The reformer sought to limit the profits of railroads, to force the carriers to pay their fair share of taxes, and to make them serve the people first and foremost.

A secondary progressive goal was the expansion of political democracy. The control of the political apparatus would permit the people, the majority of whom were farmers or in allied occupations, to implement favorable legislation for their own welfare and raise their economic status. The concept of political democracy was a means

⁹⁶ Ibid; Sheldon, Land and People, Vol. I, pp. 862-867.

to an economic end. Thirdly, and of the least significance to this reform element, were the limited cultural reforms enacted by the Nebraska reformers.

The progressive was neither economically depressed nor was he insecure because of a loss of status. His only insecurity was his frustration in not being capable of making what he considered to be favorable changes more rapidly. His objectives were not idealistic, but extremely pragmatic. Once established in a position of economic prosperity he sought political power in order to attain still greater economic security.

APPENDIX I

ROLL CALLS: 1907 NEBRASKA SENATE

S.F. No. 2	S.F. No. 297
S.F. No. 5	S.F. No. 308
S.F. No. 11	S.F. No. 311
S.F. No. 34	S.F. No. 312
S.F. No. 41	S.F. No. 313
S.F. No. 46	S.F. No. 325
S.F. No. 49	S.F. No. 355
S.F. No. 64	S.F. No. 362
S.F. No. 87	S.F. No. 384
S.F. No. 93	S.F. No. 391
S.F. No. 104	S.F. No. 397
S.F. No. 137	S.F. No. 437
S.F. No. 191	H.R. No. 9
S.F. No. 202	H.R. No. 18 (third reading)
S.F. No. 205	H.R. No. 18 (with emergency)
S.F. No. 207	H.R. No. 18 (without emer.)
S.F. No. 208	H.R. No. 61
S.F. No. 210	H.R. No. 73
S.F. No. 212	H.R. No. 75
S.F. No. 213	H.R. No. 125
S.F. No. 218	H.R. No. 305
S.F. No. 256 (with emergency)	H.R. No. 386
S.F. No. 256 (without emer.)	H.R. No. 405
S.F. No. 261	

ROLL CALLS: 1907 NEBRASKA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

H.R. No. 9	H.R. No. 104
H.R. No. 14	H.R. No. 125
H.R. No. 18 (with emergency)	H.R. No. 141
H.R. No. 18 (without emer.)	H.R. No. 163
H.R. No. 55	H.R. No. 220
H.R. No. 61	H.R. No. 267
H.R. No. 73	H.R. No. 283
H.R. No. 75	H.R. No. 305

H.R. No. 349	S.F. No. 41
H.R. No. 386	S.F. No. 46
H.R. No. 397	S.F. No. 49
H.R. No. 405	S.F. No. 64
H.R. No. 465	S.F. No. 87
H.R. No. 473	S.F. No. 137
H.R. No. 479	S.F. No. 261
H.R. No. 489	S.F. No. 297
H.R. No. 495	S.F. No. 308
H.R. No. 496	S.F. No. 311
H.R. No. 509	S.F. No. 313
S.F. No. 2	S.F. No. 325
S.F. No. 5	S.F. No. 355
S.F. No. 34	

ROLL CALLS: 1909 NEBRASKA SENATE

S.F. No. 4	S.F. No. 339
S.F. No. 10	S.F. No. 354
S.F. No. 35	S.F. No. 388
S.F. No. 71	S.F. No. 405
S.F. No. 95	H.R. No. 1
S.F. No. 109	H.R. No. 4
S.F. No. 117	H.R. No. 26
S.F. No. 122	H.R. No. 34
S.F. No. 133	H.R. No. 120
S.F. No. 140	H.R. No. 131
S.F. No. 143	H.R. No. 242
S.F. No. 210	H.R. No. 358
S.F. No. 240	H.R. No. 374
S.F. No. 254	H.R. No. 423
S.F. No. 255	H.R. No. 486
S.F. No. 266	H.R. No. 512
S.F. No. 291	H.R. No. 578
S.F. No. 317	

ROLL CALLS: 1909 NEBRASKA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

H.R. No. 1	H.R. No. 120
H.R. No. 4	H.R. No. 131
H.R. No. 26	H.R. No. 135
H.R. No. 34	H.R. No. 145
H.R. No. 77	H.R. No. 180

H.R. No. 242
H.R. No. 267
H.R. No. 358
H.R. No. 374
H.R. No. 414
H.R. No. 421
H.R. No. 423
H.R. No. 486
H.R. No. 498
H.R. No. 512
H.R. No. 513
H.R. No. 578

S.F. No. 4
S.F. No. 10
S.F. No. 71
S.F. No. 95
S.F. No. 109
S.F. No. 117
S.F. No. 122
S.F. No. 133
S.F. No. 140
S.F. No. 143
S.F. No. 255
S.F. No. 339

APPENDIX II

PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATORS: 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS

Aldrich, C. H.	Kelley, J. W.
Barrett, G.	Ketchum, S.
Besse, C. R.	King, E. L.
Bodinson, C. F.	Klein, J.
Botts, S. J.	McVicker, W. J.
Buck, S. H.	Nettleson, D. W.
Bygland, I. S.	Noyes, C. E.
Cain, J. R., Jr.	Ollis, J. A., Jr.
Cox, J. N.	Patrick, W. R.
Diers, H.	Phillips, F. W.
Dodson, P. F.	Pool, C. W.
Donohoe, J. A.	*Randall, C. A.
Eller, I. C.	Raper, W. B.
Epperson, C. H.	Sackett, H. E.
Evans, J. L.	Schoettger, H. D.
Fries, S. M.	Stolz, J. P.
Fuller, G. W.	Taylor, W. Z.
Funk, P. C.	Tibbets, G. W.
Gammill, J. G.	Warren, A. G.
*Greig, J.	Weems, J. A.
Hagemeister, W.	White, E. O.
Hart, J. E.	Whitham, J. W.
Hatfield, J. D.	Wilcox, F.
*Henry, H. R.	Wilson, V. E.
Holbrook, W. D.	*Wiltse, G. W.
Howard, J.	*Worthing, H. T.
Humphrey, F. B.	

MODERATE LEGISLATORS: 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS

Alderson, T. E.	Banning, W. B.
Armstrong, F.	Barrett, G. W.
Ashton, F. W.	Bartos, F. W.
Baird, J. P.	Bates, M. A.
Baker, D. W.	Besse, C. R.

*Blystone, W. J.
 Boelts, J. G.
 Bolen, J. M.
 Broderick, J. E.
 Brown, E. A.
 *Brown, E. P.
 Buck, S. H.
 Buckley, J. B.
 Buhrman, J. H.
 Butt, W.
 Byrnes, J. C.
 Carlin, J. J.
 Case, E. S.
 Clarke, A. L.
 Cone, T.
 Dolezal, F.
 Doran, T. H.
 Dostal, J.
 Farley, W. I.
 Fogarty, J. L.
 France, C. L.
 Fries, S. M.
 Gerdes, H.
 Gilman, L. S.
 Glover, H. B.
 Goodrich, L.
 Graff, C.
 Green, S. W.
 Hanna, D.
 Hansen, I. E.
 Harrington, B. S.
 Hector, F.
 Heffernan, D. C.
 Henry, F. J.
 Hospodsky, J. A.
 Howell, E. E.
 Jennison, A. J.
 Keifer, J. W., Jr.
 King, E. L.
 Koutouc, O.
 Lahners, T.
 Laverty, A.
 Lawrence, F. P.
 Lee, M.
 Leidigh, G. W.
 Line, W. C.
 Logsdon, S.
 Luce, C. A.
 Lux, J.
 Majors, T. J.
 Marlatt, J. W.
 Marsh, F. A.
 Masters, F. A.
 McMullen, A.
 *Miller, J. A.
 Moore, F.
 *Murphy, P. A.
 Myers, E. L.
 Neff, W.
 Pickens, W.
 Ransom, F. T.
 Raymond, L. L.
 Redmond, W. D.
 Rejcha, F.
 Ritchie, C. A.
 Roberts, E. W.
 Rohrer, J. J.
 Root, J. R.
 Saberson, S.
 Scheele, H.
 Schoettger, H. D.
 Scudder, A. L.
 Shoemaker, W. S.
 Sibley, C. A.
 Skeen, B. T.
 Snyder, J.
 Stedman, E. J.
 Stoecker, W. F.
 Swan, H. N.
 Talbot, J. W.
 Talcott, J. M.
 Tanner, J. M.
 *Theissen, J. P.
 Thomas, B. F.
 Thompson, O. R.
 Thompson, R. M.
 Thorne, W. E.
 Van Housen, J. C.
 Weems, J. A.
 West, F. S.
 Wilsey, A.
 Wilson, F. C.
 Wilson, W. H.
 Young, L. J.

CONSERVATIVE LEGISLATORS: 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS

Adams, G. M.	Johnson, N.
Baker, D. W.	Killen, D. J.
Barclay, A.	Kraus, J. P.
Best, F. C.	Kuhl, J.
Black, C.	Latta, J. P.
Boland, P. G.	Leeder, E.
*Brown, E. W.	McCullough, C. W.
Burns, J.	McKesson, J. C. F.
Bushee, B. K.	Milligan, J. O.
Chab, J.	Nettleton, D. M.
Eastman, L. H.	O'Connell, J. G.
Ellis, F. O.	Raper, W. B.
Gliem, P.	Saunders, C. L.
Graff, C.	Saunders, G. W.
Greuber, W.	Sink, J. W.
Hamer, T. F.	Smith, D.
Heffernan, D. C.	Steinauer, N. A.
Hill, J. C.	Taylor, A. B.
Holmes, R. H.	Tucker, F. C.
Johnson, E.	

UNUSED LEGISLATORS: 1907 AND 1909 SESSIONS

Allen, H. A.	Fletcher, W. G.
Armstrong, J. W.	Gates, J. M.
Barnes, S. E.	Gibson, L. C.
Begole, B. H.	Gould, E. D.
Bowman, A. H.	Griffin, B. F.
Boyd, R. W.	Groves, C. E.
Brown, E. A.	Hadsell, F. L.
Byram, H. D.	Harrison, M. T.
Carr, J. F.	Harvey, A. R.
Chase, C. H.	Howard, A. S.
Clark, R. A.	Howe, F. A.
Clarke, H. T., Jr.	Johnson, F. G.
Connolley, J. P.	Jones, C.
Cooperrider, I. J.	Killen, D. J.
Culdice, C. H.	Knowles, J. H.
Davis, F. J.	Kuhl, J.
Dodge, N. P., Jr.	Mackey, C.
Duncan, M. W.	Marlatt, J.
Fannon, G. W.	McColl, C. J.

Metzger, A. H.	Smith, A. A.
Noyes, C. E.	Snyder, J.
O'Connell, J. G.	Springer, E. F.
*Pilger, A.	Stalder, A. E.
Quackenbush, E. B.	Taylor, W. J.
Raines, R. F.	Thomas, W. P.
Rathsack, W. A.	Volpp, F.
Renkel, W. F.	Vopalensky, F.
Richardson, L. O.	Walsh, J.
Shubert, J. F.	Whitney, H.

* Legislator held the status as a progressive, moderate, conservative or unused for two consecutive sessions.

APPENDIX III

FOOTNOTE CODING

- AC= Judge William R. Burton, ed., Past and Present of Adams County (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916).
- BB1= Nebraska Blue Book for 1901 and 1902 (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co., 1902).
- BB15= Addison E. Sheldon, ed., Nebraska Blue Book and Historical Register 1915 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, State Journal Co., 1915).
- BB20= Addison E. Sheldon, ed., Nebraska Blue Book and Historical Register 1920 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, State Journal Co., 1920).
- BB22= The Nebraska Blue Book 1922 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, 1922).
- BB24= The Nebraska Blue Book 1924 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, 1924).
- BB26= The Nebraska Blue Book 1926 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, 1926).
- BB28= The Nebraska Blue Book 1928 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, 1928).
- BB30= The Nebraska Blue Book 1930 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, 1930).
- BCN= Samuel Clay Bassett, Buffalo County Nebraska and its People (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916).
- BKP= Biographical Souvenir of the Counties of Buffalo, Kearney and Phelps Nebraska (Chicago: F. A. Battey and Co., 1890).

- BT= Burwell Tribune, July 17, 1902.
- CC= W. L. Gaston and A. R. Humphrey, History of Custer County (Lincoln, Nebraska: Western Publishing and Engraving Co., 1919).
- CZN= Ulademir Kucera, ed., Czechs and Nebraska (Ord, Nebraska: Quiz Graphic Arts, Inc., 1967).
- DC= William Huse, History of Dixon County (Ponca, Nebraska: Press of the Daily News, 1896).
- DWC= William H. Buss and Thomas T. Asterman, ed., History of Dodge and Washington Counties, Nebraska (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921).
- FC= Wilber G. Gaffney, ed., The Fillmore County Story (Geneva, Nebraska: Geneva Community Grange No. 43, 1968).
- GC= Portrait and Biographical Album of Gage County, Nebraska (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1888).
- HBC= Douglas C. Sutherland, History of Burt County: From 1803 to 1929 (Wahoo, Nebraska: Ladi Printing Co., n.d.).
- HCC= O. O. Buck and George L. Burr, ed., Hamilton and Clay Counties Nebraska, Vol. II (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1921).
- HCZ= Rose Rosicky, ed., History of Czechs (Bohemians) in Nebraska (Omaha, Nebraska: Czech Historical Society of Omaha, Nebraska, 1929).
- HDC= M. W. Warner, Warner's History of Dakota County, Nebraska (Dakota City, Nebraska: Lyons Mirror Job Office, 1893).
- HEV= C. M. Scoville, ed., History of the Elkhorn Valley, Nebraska (Omaha, Nebraska: National Publishing Co., 1892).
- HGC= Hugh J. Dobbs, History of Gage County, Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: Western Publishing and Engraving Co., 1918).

- HJ7= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Thirtieth Regular Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: Jacob North and Co., 1907).
- HJ9= House Journal Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the State of Nebraska, Thirty-first Biennial Session (University Place, Nebraska: Clafin Printing Co., 1909).
- HJ85= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Nineteenth Regular Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co., 1885).
- HJ87= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska Twentieth Regular Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co., 1887).
- HJ93= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Twenty-third Session (York, Nebraska: Nebraska Newspaper Union, 1893).
- HJ95= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Twenty-fourth Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: Jacob North and Co., 1895).
- HJ97= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Twenty-fifth Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co., 1897).
- HJ99= House Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Twenty-sixth Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: Jacob North and Co., 1900).
- HOM= Historical and Descriptive Review of Omaha (n.p., n.p., n.d.).
- HPC= Margaret Curry, The History of Platte County, Nebraska (Culver City, California: Murry and Gee Co., 1950).
- HRC= Lewis C. Edwards, History of Richardson County, Nebraska (Indianapolis, Indiana: B. F. Bower and Co., n.d.).
- HSC= W. W. Cox, History of Seward County (University Place, Nebraska: Jason L. Clafin, 1905).

- HSN= A Biographical and Geneological History of Southeastern Nebraska, Vol. I, II (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1904).
- HWN= Grant L. Shumway, History of Western Nebraska and its people, Vol. III (Lincoln, Nebraska: Western Publishing and Engraving Co., 1921).
- HY= Illustrated History of York (York, Nebraska: C. H. Page and H. M. Crawford, 1903).
- IEF= Edward Foster, private interview held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 4, 1972.
- JPC= Portrait and Biographical Album of Johnson and Pawnee Counties, Nebraska (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1889).
- LAS= Al Schmahl, Grand Island, Nebraska, letter to author, March 16, 1972.
- LCA= Chester Aldrich, Jr., Ulysses, Nebraska, letter to author, April 7, 1972.
- LCS= Mrs. Clarence Steffen, Diller, Nebraska, letter to author, March 14, 1972.
- LEB= Ethel R. Benjamin, Frostproof, Florida, letter to author, April 4, 1972.
- LEH= Mrs. Esther Hart Humphrey, Denver, Colorado, letter to author, March 16, 1972.
- LEM= E. E. McKee, Alma, Nebraska, letter to author, March 4, 1972.
- LFC= Faith M. Carr, Springview, Nebraska, letter to author, March 23, 1972.
- LGC= Gerald Chab, Crete, Nebraska, letter to author, April 20, 1972.
- LHT= Dr. H. E. Tracey, Falls City, Nebraska, letter to author, March 13, 1972.
- LJA= J. Wray Armstrong, Elm Creek, Nebraska, letter to author, April 5, 1972.

- LJC= John Willis Clark, Falls City, Nebraska, letter to author, March 7, 1972.
- LJF= Mrs. John A. Frieson, Fairbury, Nebraska, letter to author, March 5, 1972.
- LJH= Jay D. Hatfield, Neligh, Nebraska, letter to author, March 3, 1972.
- LKL= Karl Lux, Shelby, Nebraska, letter to author, April 10, 1972.
- LLC= Andrew J. Sawyer, ed., Lincoln: The Capitol City and Lancaster County Nebraska (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916).
- LLT= Laura Turnbull, Pawnee City, Nebraska, letter to author, March 10, 1972.
- LMV= Mrs. Merle Culdice Venrick, Roswell, New Mexico, letter to author, March 13, 1972.
- LPG= Phillip R. Gardner, Grand Island, Nebraska, letter to author, March 7, 1972.
- LS= Lincoln Daily Star (date, page, column of each entry listed).
- LUS1= Unsigned, Ansley, Nebraska, letter to author, March 2, 1972.
- LUS2= Unsigned, U. S. Postal Service NE 686, letter to author, March 5, 1972.
- LWD= W. H. Diers, Gresham, Nebraska, letter to author, March 4, 1972.
- LWE= Mrs. Waldorf Engel, Harvard, Nebraska, letter to author, March 8, 1972.
- MBR= Memorial and Biographical Record and Illustrated Compendium of Biography (Chicago: George A. Ogle and Co., 1899).
- MPG= Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Nebraska 1854-1941, Vol. III, 1909-1929 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Report of Work Projects Administration; sponsored by The Nebraska State Historical Society, 1942).

- MWN= Daniel M. Carr, Men and Women of Nebraska (Fremont, Nebraska: Progress Publishing Co., 1903).
- N4= Nebraskans: 1854-1904 (Omaha, Nebraska: Bee Publishing Co., 1904).
- N14= Nebraskans: 1904-14 (Omaha, Nebraska: Bee Publishing Co., 1915).
- NEB= Robert and Sara Baldwin, ed., Nebraskans (Hebron, Nebraska: The Baldwin Co., 1932).
- NEBR= Nebraska (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1931).
- NEN= Biographical Album of Northeastern Nebraska (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1893).
- NLB= A. R. Harvey, ed., Nebraska Legislative Year Book for the thirty-second session, 1911 (Omaha, Nebraska: A. R. Harvey, 1911).
- NLP= A. E. Sheldon, Nebraska, the Land and the People, Vol. I, II, III (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1931).
- OCC= Portrait and Biographical Album of Otoe and Cass Counties, Nebraska (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1889).
- OCD= Raymond Date, Otoe County Pioneers: A Biographical Dictionary (Lincoln, Nebraska: n.p., 1964).
- ODC= A. C. Wakely, Omaha: The Gate City and Douglas County, Nebraska (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1917).
- OMN= Edward F. Morearty, Omaha, Memories: Recollections of Events, Men and Affairs in Omaha, Nebraska, from 1879 to 1917 (Omaha, Nebraska: Swartz Printing Co., 1917).
- OMS= Alfred Sorensen, The Story of Omaha from the Pioneer Days to the Present Time (Omaha, Nebraska: National Printing Co., 1923).
- ONL= Daniel M. Carr, ed., Album of the State Officers and the Twenty-eighth Session 1903-1904 (Fremont, Nebraska: Progress Publishing Co., 1903).

- PC= G. W. Phillips, ed., Past and Present of Platte County, Nebraska (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915).
- PMN= Daniel Carr, ed., Progressive Men of Nebraska (Fremont, Nebraska: Progress Publishing Co., 1902).
- SC= Past and Present of Saunders County, Nebraska (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915).
- SJ7= Senate Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Thirtieth-Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: Jacob North and Co., 1907).
- SJ9= Senate Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Thirty-first Session (York, Nebraska: York Blank Book Co., 1909).
- SJ97= Senate Journal of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska, Twenty-fifth Regular Session (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co., 1897).
- TDP= Donald Patrick, telephone conversation held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 24, 1972.
- TOL= H. W. Foght, The Trail of the Loup (Ord, Nebraska: H. W. Foght and W. W. Haskell, 1906).
- TSS= Seymour Smith, telephone conversation held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 20, 1972.
- WH= World-Herald (date, page, column of each entry listed).
- WHF= World-Herald File, (obtained in the private library of World-Herald newspapers, Omaha, Nebraska).
- WWL= Sara Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Lincoln, 1928 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Baldwin Publishing Co., 1928).
- WWN= John Faris, ed., Who's Who in Nebraska (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska Press Association, 1940).
- WWO= Sara Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in Omaha, 1928 (Omaha, Nebraska: Robert M. Baldwin Co., 1928).

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Adams, G. M. House 1907	HWN:495	HWN:495 HJ7:12	HWN:495	HWN:495 BB18:265	HWN:495	HWN:495
Alderson, T. E. House 1907	WVN:569	WVN:569 HJ7:11	WVN:569		WVN:569	WVN:569
Aldrich, C. H. Senate 1907	MPG:73 LCA	MPG:73 LCA	MPG:73 LCA	LCA	MPG:73 LCA	MPG:73 LCA
Allen, H. A. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:81	HJ9:6 NLB:81			NLB:81	NLB:81
Armstrong, F. House 1909	HJ9:7 LJA	HJ9:7 LJA	LJA	LJA	LJA	LJA
Armstrong, J. W. House 1907		HJ7:10		BB22:214	BB1	BB1
Ashton, F. W. Senate 1907		LAS				
Baird, J. P. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Baker, D. W. House 1907/09	HJ9:6	HJ7:11 HJ9:6	YDN:6-30-27 PICIE&P8C4-5	YDN:6-30-27 PICIE&P8C4-5	YDN:6-30-27 PICIE&P8C4-5	YDN:6-30-27 PICIE&P8C4-5

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Banning, W. B. Senate 1909	NLB:25 WVN:126 NEB:73	NLB:25 WVN:126 SJ9:9	NLB:25 WVN:126 NEB:73	WVN:126	NLB:25 WVN:126 NEB:73	NLB:25 WVN:126
Barclay, A. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:69	HJ9:4 NLB:69 HSN:904	NLB:69 HSN:904		NLB:69 HSN:904	NLB:69 HSN:904
Barnes, S. E. House 1907/09		HJ7:10				
Barrett, G. House 1907/09	HJ9:7 BCN:22-25	HJ7:12 HJ9:7 BCN:22-25	BCN:22-25	BCN:22-25	BCN:22-25	BCN:22-25
Bartos, F. Senate 1909	NLB:20 NEB:86	NLB:20 NEB:86 SJ9:9	NLB:20 NEB:86		NLB:20	NLB:20
Bates, M. A. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Begole, B. H. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Besse, C. R. House 1907 Senate 1909		HJ7:12 SJ9:10				
Best, F. C. House 1907	ODC:911 OMN:218 WHF	ODC:911 OMN:218 WHF HJ7:10	ODC:911 WHF	ODC:911	OCD:911 OMN:218 WHF	OMN:218
Black, Cyrus House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 LLC:319-21	LLC:319-21	LLC:319-21 LDS:3-15-24 PIC6 BB20:335	LLC:319-21	LLC:319-21
Blystone, W. J. House 1907/09	HJ9:5	HJ7:10 HJ9:5				
Bodinson, C. F. Senate 1909	NLB:16 BCN:417-18	NLB:16 BCN:417-18 SJ9:9	NLB:16 BCN:417-18		NLB:16	NLB:16 BCN:417-18
Boelts, J. G. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Boland, P. G. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Bolen, J. M. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Botts, S. J. House 1909	HJ9:7	HJ9:7				
Bowman, A. H. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
Boyd, R. W. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
Broderick, J. E. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
Brown, E. A. House 1907/09	HJ9:7	HJ7:12 HJ9:7				
Brown, E. P. House 1907 Senate 1909	NLB:32	NLB:32 HJ7:11	NLB:32		NLB:32	NLB:32

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Brown, E. W. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 WWL:46 NLP111:223	HJ9:5 WWL:46 NLP111: 223-24	WWL:46 NLP111:223	WWL:46 NEBR:83 NLP111:223	WWL:46 NLP111:223	WWL:46
Buck, S. H. Senate 1907/09		SJ9:9				
Buckley, J. B. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Buhrman, J. H. Senate 1909	NLB:15	NLB:15			NLB:15	NLB:15
Burns, J. Senate 1907	LS:11-4-31 PIC4	NEB:193	NEB:193		LS:11-4-31 PIC4 NEB:193	LS:11-4-31 NEB:193
Bushee, B. K. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:153 HWN:5 WWN:671	HJ9:6 NLB:153 HWN:5 WWN:671	NLB:153 HWN:5 WWN:671	WWN:671 WWN:671 BB20:329	NLB:153 HWN:5 WWN:671	NLB:153 HWN:5 WWN:671

LEGISLATOR (S) CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Butt, W. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Bygland, I. S. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Byram, H. D. House 1907	HJ97:5	HJ97:5 HJ7:10			HJ97:5	
Byrnes, J. C. Senate 1907	PC:85 HPC:633- 34	PC:85 HPC:633- 34	PC:85 HPC:633 34	PC:85 HPC:633- 34	PC:85 HPC:633- 34	PC:85 HPC:633- 34
Cain, J. R., Jr. Senate 1909	WVN:312 NEB:204	WVN:312 NEB:204 SJ9:9	WVN:312 NEB:204	WVN:312	WVN:312 NEB:204	WVN:312
Carlin, J. J. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Carr, J. F. House 1909	HJ9:6 LFC	HJ9:6 LFC	LFC	LFC	LFC	LFC
Case, E. S. House 1909	HJ9:7	HJ9:7				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Chab, J. House 1909	HJ9:5 LGC	HJ9:5 LGC	LGC	LGC	LGC	LGC
Chase, C. H. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
Clark, R. A. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4 LJC	LJC	LJC	LJC	LJC
Clarke, A. L. Senate 1907	AC:225-26	AC:225-26 N04:269 N14:142	AC:225-26		AC:225-26	AC:225-26
Clarke, H. T., Jr House 1907	WWN:316	HJ7:10 WWN:316	WWN:316	WHF	WWN:316	WWN:316
Cone, T. House 1907	LS 4-23-35 PIC1&8 PI11&2 PI1C 1&2	HJ7:11 NEB:259	NEB:259		NEB:259 LS 4-23-35 PIC1&8 PI1C 1&2	NEB:259
Connolly, J. P. House 1909	HJ9:4 NEB:261	HJ9:4	NEB:261		NEB:261	
Copperrider, I. J. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Cox, J. N. (J. M.) Senate 1909	NLB:39	SJ9:10 NLB:39	NLB:39		NLB:39	NLB:39
Culdice, C. H. House 1907	LMV	HJ7:11 LMV	LMV	LMV	LMV	LMV
Davis, F. J. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Diers, H. Senate 1909	BBI:548 LWD	SJ9:9 BBI:548 LWD	BBI:548	LWD	BBI:548 LWD	BBI:548 LWD
Dodge, N. P., Jr. House 1907	NLP11:495 ODC:859 WVO:55 WHF	NLP11:495 ODC:859 WVO:55 HJ7:10	NLP11:495 ODC:859 WVO:55	WVO:55 WHF	NLP11:495 ODC:859 WVO:55	NLP11:495 ODC:859 WVO:55
Dodson, P. F. Senate 1907	NLP11:97	NLP11:97	NLP11:97	NLP11:97	NLP11:97	NLP11:97
Dolezal, F. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLP11:451 SC:568	HJ9:5 NLP11:451 SC:568	NLP11:451 SC:568	NLP11:451 SC:568 BB26:241	NLP11:451 SC:568	NLP11:451 SC:568

LEGISLATOR (S) CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Donohoe, J. A. Senate 1909	NLP11:229	SJ9:9 NLP11:229	NLP11:229	NLP11:229	NLP11:229	NLP11:229
Doran, T. H. House 1907	BT 7-17-02 PIC5 TOL:283	BT 7-17-02 PIC5 TOL:283 HJ7:12 HJ9:5	BT 7-17-02 PIC5		BT 7-17-02 PIC5 TOL:283	TOL:283
Dostal, J. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Duncan, M. W. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Eastman, L. House 1909	HJ9:7 NEB:361	HJ9:7 NEB:361	NEB:361		NEB:361	NEB:361
Eller, I. C. House 1907	DWC:888-90 WVN:1107 NEB:376 MWN:146	DWC:888-90 WVN:1107 HJ7:10 MWN:146	DWC:888-90 WVN:1107 NEB:376	DWC:888-90 WVN:1107 NEB:376	DWC:888-90 WVN:1107 NEB:376 MWN:146	MWN:146
Ellis, F. O. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5			GC:573	GC:573

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Epperson, C. H. Senate 1907	NLP111:428	NLP111:428	NLP111:428		NLP111:428	NLP:428
Evans, J. L. House 1909	HJ9:6 HCC:47-48	HJ9:6 HCC:47-48	HCC:47-48		HCC:47-48	HCC:47-48
Fannon, G. W. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Farley, W. I. House 1907	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355 HJ7:11	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355	HCC:5-7 NLP111:355
Fletcher, W. G. House 1907	WWN:26 LS 11-19-61 3B, P6C2 NMJ; V.47, I, 1-62 P46C2	WWN:26 HJ7:11	WWN:26		WWN:26	
Fogarty, J. L. House 1909	HJ9:6 IMF	HJ9:6 IMF	IMF	IMF	IMF	IMF
France, C. L. House 1907	NER:425 OCC:469-70	NER:425 OCC:469-70 HJ7:10	NER:425 OCC:469-70	NER:425	NER:425 OCC:469-70	NER:425 OCC:469-70

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Fries, S. M. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 ONL:95	HJ9:6 HJ7:12 ONL:95		BB20:337-38 BBI5:397	ONL:95	ONL:95
Fuller, G. A. Senate 1909	BBI:549-50	SJ9:9			BBI:549-50	BBI:549-50
Funk, P. C. House 1907	BKP:640	BKP:640 HJ7:13	BKP:640		BKP:640	BKP:640
Gammill, J. G. Senate 1909		SJ9:10				
Gates, J. M. House 1909	HJ9:4 NEB:450	HJ9:4 NEB:450	NEB:450	NEB:450 BBI8:266	NEB:450	NEB:450
Gerdes, H. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:86	HJ9:4 NLB:86	NLB:86		NLB:86	NLB:86
Gibson, L. C. Senate 1907	WVO:78 WHF	WVO:78 WHF	WVO:78 WHF		WVO:78 WHF	WVO:78 WHF
Gilman, L. S. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Gliem, P. House 1907		HJ7:13				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Glover, M. B. Senate 1907	CC:985-86	CC:985-86	CC:985-86		CC:985-86	CC:985-86
Goodrich, L. Senate 1907						
Gould, E. D. Senate 1907						
Graff, C. House 1907/09	WVN:199 HJ9:4 NEB:473	WVN:199 HJ9:4 NEB:473	WVN:199	WVN:199 NEB:473	WVN:199 NEB:473	NEB:473
Green, S. W. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Greig, J. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 PC:429-30	HJ7:11 HJ9:5 PC:429-30	PC:429-30	PC:429-30	PC:429-30	PC:429-30
Greuber, W. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 BB15:402		BB15:402	BB15:402	BB15:402
Griffin, B. F. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Groves, C. E. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Hadsell, F. L. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Hagemeister, W. House 1907	WVN:167	WVN:167 HJ7:12	WVN:167	WVN:167	WVN:167	
Hamer, T. F. House 1907	NLP111:284	NLP111:284 HJ7:12 LS 3-24-50 PIC4	NLP111:284 LS 3-24-50 PIC4		NLP111:284 LS 3-24-50 PIC4	NLP111:284
Hanna, D. Senate 1907	ONL:101	ONL:101	ONL:101		ONL:101	ONL:101
Hansen, I. E. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Harrington, B. S. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:163	HJ9:6 NLB:163			NLB:163	NLB:163
Harrison, M. T. House 1907		HJ7:10				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Hart, J. E. House 1907	LEH	LEH HJ7:11	LEH	LEH	LEH	LEH
Harvey, A. R. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Hatfield, J. D. Senate 1909	NEN:333-34 LJH	SJ9:9 NEN:333-34 LJH	LJH		NEN:333-34 LJH	NEN:333-34 LJH
Hector, F. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Heffernan, D. C. House 1907/09	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 HJ7:10			HDC:237	HDC:237
Henry, F. J. Senate 1909		SJ9:9				
Henry, H. R. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HJ93:NP	HJ9:6 HJ7:12 HJ93:NP			HJ93:NP	
Hill, J. C. House 1907		HJ7:13				

NOTE: NP= no page

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Holbrook, W. D. Senate 1907	DWC11: 575-76	DWC11: 575-76 PMN:154	DWC11: 575-76	DWC11: 575-76 BB26:242	DWC11: 575-76	DWC11: 575-76
Holmes, R. H. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4 NLB:140			NLB:140	NLB:140
Hospodsky, J. A. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLB:124 HCZ:400	HJ9:5 NLB:124	NLB:124		NLB:124 HCZ:400	NLB:124 HCZ:400
Howard, A. C. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Howard, J. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4		BB18:274		
Howe, F. A. House 1907		HJ7:10 PMN:67				
Howell, E. E. Senate 1909	ODC:321 OMS:578 WHF	ODC:321 OMS:578 SJ9:9	ODC:321 WHF	ODC:321 BB18:266 WHF	ODC:321 OMS:578 WHF	ODC:321 OMS:578 WHF

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Humphrey, F. B. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Jennison, A. J. House 1907		HJ7:12 LEW		BB20:340 LEW		
Johnson, E. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLP11:382	HJ9:6 NLP11:382	NLP11:382	NLP11:382 BB18:275	NLP11:382	NLP11:382 HJ9:6
Johnson, F. G. House 1907	NEB:617	NEB:617 HJ7:11	NEB:617	BB18:275 NEB:617 BB20:331	NEB:617	
Johnson, V. House 1909	HJ9:4 WVN:112 HBC:163-64	HJ9:4 WVN:112 HBC:163-64	WVN:112	WVN:112 HBC:163-64	WVN:112 HBC:163-64	HBC:163-64
Jones, C. House 1907	ONL:112 HRC:1185-89	ONL:112 HJ7:10	ONL:112 HRC:1185-89		ONL:112 HRC:1185-89	ONL:112 HRC:1185-89
Keifer, J. W., Jr. House 1907	NEB:636 NLP111:292	NEB:636 NLP111:292 HJ7:12	NEB:636 NLP111:292	NEB:636 NLP111:292	NEB:636 NLP111:292	NEB:636 NLP111:292

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Kelley, J. W. House 1909	HJ9:7	HJ9:7				
Ketchum, S. Senate 1909		SJ9:9				
Killen, D. J. House 1907/09	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 HJ7:11 LHT	LHT	LHT	LHT	LHT
King, E. L. Senate 1907/09	MBR:250-51	MBR:250-51 SJ9:9 HJ85:5	MBR:250-51		MBR:250-51 HJ85:5	MBR:250-51
Klein, J. Senate 1909	GC:445	GC:445 SJ9:9	GC:445		GC:445	GC:445
Knowles, J. H. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Kotouc, O. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:85 HCZ:404 NER:680 NLP111:363	HJ9:4 NLB:85 HCZ:404 NEB:680	NLB:85 HCZ:404 NEB:680 NLP111:363	NEB:680 NLP111:363	NLB:85 HCZ:404 NEB:680 NLP111:363	NLB:85 NLP111:363

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Kreus, J. P. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Kuhl, J. House 1907/09	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 NLB:54 LS 1-23-53 PI5C4			NLB:54	NLB:54
Lahnert, T. House 1907	NEB:690	HJ7:11	NEB:690	NEB:690	NEB:690	NEB:690
Letta, J. P. Senate 1907	HBC:173 LS 9-12-11; P8C3 HJ87:NP	HBC:173 HJ87:NP			HBC:173 LS 9-12-11; P8C3 HJ87:NP	HBC:173 LS 9-12-11; P8C3
Laverty, A. Senate 1909	SC11:468- 69	SJ9:9 SC11:468- 69	SC11:468- 69	SC11:468- 69	SC11:468- 69	SC11:468- 69
Lawrence, F. P. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:148	HJ9:4	NLB:148		NLB:148	NLB:148
Lee, M. House 1907		HJ7:10		BB15:423		

LEGISLATOR (S) CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Leeder, E. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Leidigh, G. W. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:149 NLP11:490 OCD:1507	HJ9:4 NLB:149 NLP11:490 OCD:1507	NLB:149 NLP11:490	NLP11:490 BB18:276	NLB:149 NLP11:490 OCD:1507	NLB:149 OCD:1507
Line, W. C. House 1907	NEB:725 LCS	NEB:725 HJ7:11 LCS	LCS	NEB:725 LCS	NEB:725 LCS	LCS
Logsdon, S. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Luce, C. A. Senate 1907	LEM	LEM	LEM	LEM	LEM	LEM
Lux, J. House 1909	HJ9:5 LKL	HJ9:5 LKL	LKL	LKL	LKL	LKL
Mackey, C. House 1907	WWN:217 CC:457-58 LUSI	HJ7:12 WWN:217 CC:457-58 LUSI	WWN:217 CC:457-58 LUSI	LUSI	WWN:217 CC:457-58 LUSI	WWN:217 CC:457-58 LUSI

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Majors, T. J. Senate 1909	HSN:204 NEB:757	SJ9:9 HSN:204	HSN:204 NEB:757	NEB:757	HSN:204 NEB:757	HSN:204
Marlett, J. W. House 1907/09	HJ9:7	HJ9:7 HJ7:12				
Marsh, F. A. House 1907	HSC:107 MBR:539	HJ7:11 HSC:107 MBR:539	HSC:107 MBR:539	HSC:107	HSC:107 MBR:539	HSC:107
Masters, F. W. House 1907		HJ7:13				
McColl, C. J. House 1909	HJ9:5 HGC:506-7	HJ9:5 HGC:506-7	HGC:506-7	HGC:506-7	HGC:506-7	HGC:506-7
McCullough, C. W. House 1907	GC:428	HJ7:11	GC:428	GC:428	GC:428	GC:428
McKesson, J. C. Senate 1907	BBI:573 LS 9-20-37; P2C3	LS 9-20-37; P2C3	BBI:573 LS 9-20-37; P2C3	LS 9-20-37; P2C3	BBI:573 LS 9-20-37; P2C3	BBI:573
McMullen, A. House 1907	MPG:611	HJ7:11 MPG:611 WWL:11	HSN11:869 WWN:466 MPG:611	WWN:466 BB26:238	WWN:466 WWL:11 HSN11:869 MPG:611	MPG:611

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
McVicker, W. House 1909	HJ9:4 HJ95:9	HJ9:4 HJ95:9			HJ95:9	
Metzger, A. H. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Miller E. House 1909	HJ9:7	HJ9:7				
Miller, J. A. Senate 1909		SJ9:9				
Milligan, J. O. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Moore, F. House 1909	HJ9:7 NLB:76	HJ9:7 NLB:76			NLB:76	NLB:76
Murphy, P. A. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HJ7:11	HJ9:6 HJ7:11 FC:319			FC:319	FC:319
Myers, E. L. Senate 1909	HJ95:11	SJ9:9 HJ95:11			HJ95:11	
Yeff, W. House 1907		HJ7:13				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Nettleson, D. M. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HCC:548 WH 1-1-07; PI	HJ9:6 HJ7:12 HCC:548 WH 1-1-07; PI	HCC:548	HCC:548	HCC:548	HCC:548 WH 1-1-07; PI
Noyes, C. E. House 1907/09	HJ9:4 NEB:892	HJ9:4 HJ7:10	NEB:892	NEB:892	NEB:892	NEB:892
O'Connell, J. G. Senate 1907 House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Ollis, J. A., Jr. Senate 1909	NLB:21	NLB:21 SJ9:9	NLB:21	BB18:278	NLB:21	NLB:21
Patrick, W. R. Senate 1907	WVN:980 WVO:148 TSS TDP	WVN:980 WVO:148 TSS TDP	WVO:148 TSS TDP	WVO:148 TSS TDP	WVN:980 WVO:148 TSS TDP	TSS TDP
Phillips, F. W. Senate 1907						

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Pickens, W. House 1909	HJ9: 5 NLB: 28	HJ9: 5 NLB: 28	NLB: 28		NLB: 28	NLB: 28
Pilger, A. House 1907/09	HEV: 573 HJ9: 5 NEN: 305	HJ9: 5 HJ7: 11 HEV: 573 NEN: 305	HEV: 573 NEN: 305	BB15: 441	HEV: 573 NEN: 305	HEV: 573 NEN: 305
Pool, C. W. House 1909	HJ9: 4 JPC: 318-19 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	HJ9: 4 JPC: 318-19 WVL: 175 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	JPC: 318-19 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	WVL: 175 WH 7-6-30; PIC2 BB26: 238	JPC: 318-19 WVL: 175 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	JPC: 318-19
Quackenbush, E. B. House 1907	NLB: 125	NLB: 125 HJ7: 10	NLB: 125		NLB: 125	NLB: 125
Raines, R. F. House 1909	HJ9: 6	HJ9: 6				
Randall, C. A. Senate 1907/09	WVL: 181 LS 1-12-38; PIC3	SJ9: 9 WVL: 181 LS 1-12-38; PIC3	WVL: 181 LS 1-12-38; PIC3	WVL: 181 LS 1-12-38; PIC3 RB26: 239	WVL: 181	LS 1-12-38; PIC3

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Ransom, F. T. Senate 1909		NI4:29 SJ9:9 BBI:563 SJ97:VI			BBI:563 SJ97:VI	BBI:563
Raper, W. B. House 1907/09	HJ9:4 NEB:982 LLT JPC:588-89	HJ9:4 HJ7:10 JPC:588-89	JPC:588-89		NEB:982 JPC:588-89 LLT	LLT
Rathsack, W. A. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Raymond, L. L. Senate 1909		SJ9:10				
Redmond, W. D. House 1907	WWN:220 NEB:989	WWN:220 NEB:989 HJ7:10	WWN:220 NEB:989	WWN:220 NEB:989	WWN:220 NEB:989	WWN:220
Rejcha, F. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Renkel, W. F. House 1907		HJ7:12				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Richardson, L. O. House 1907		HJ7:13				
Ritchie, C. A. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 MBR:345			MBR:345	MBR:345
Roberts, E. W. House 1909	HJ9:7 NLB:145 BKP:687	HJ9:7 NLB:145 BKP:687			NLB:145 BKP:687	NLB:145 BKP:687
Rohrer, J. J. House 1907	LEB	HJ7:11 LEB	LEB	LEB	LEB	LEB
Root, J. R. Senate 1907						
Saberson, S. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				
Sackett, H. E. Senate 1907	WWN:471 NLP111:510 HGC:958-60 NEB:1040 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5	WWN:471 NLP111:510 HGC:958-60 NEB:1040 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5	WWN:471 NLP111:510 HGC:958-60 NEB:1040 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5	WWN:471 NLP111:510 HGC:958-60 NEB:1040 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5	WWN:471 NLP111:510 HGC:958-60 NEB:1040 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5	HGC:958-60 NEB:1040

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Saunders, C. L. Senate 1907	NLP111:87 ONL:54	NLP111:87 ODC:40	NLP111:87 ODC:40		NLP111:87 ONL:54 ODC:40	NLP111:87 ODC:40
Saunders, G. W. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Scheele, H. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLB:113	HJ9:5 NLB:113			NLB:113	NLB:113
Schoettger, H. D. House 1907/09	MWN:121 HJ9:4	HJ9:4 HJ7:10 MWN:121			MWN:121	MWN:121
Scudder, A. L. House 1907		HJ7:12		BB18:280		
Shoemaker, W. S. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:138 HOM:105	HJ9:4 NLB:138 HOM:105	NLB:138		NLB:138 HOM:105	NLB:138 HOM:105
Shubert, J. F. House 1907	WWN:950 NEB:1090	WWN:950 NEB:1090 HJ7:10	WWN:950 NEB:1090	WWN:950 NEB:1090	WWN:950 NEB:1090	NEB:1090
Sibley, C. A. Senate 1907						

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Sink, J. W. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:134	HJ9:6 NLB:134			NLB:134	NLB:134
Skeen, B. T. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:87 HSN:135 LS 3-5-11; PIOC 1&2	HJ9:4 NLB:87 HSN:135 PIOC 1&2	NLB:87 HSN:135 LS 3-5-11; PIOC 1&2	HSN:135 BB26:255 BB28:281	NLB:87 HSN:135	NLB:87 HSN:135 LS 3-5-11; PIOC 1&2
Smith, A. A. House 1907	NLB:19 WVN:15	HJ7:11 WVN:15	WVN:15	WVN:15	WVN:15	WVN:15
Smith D. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Snyder, J. House 1907/09	HJ9:7	HJ9:7 HJ7:13				
Springer, E. F. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Stalder, A. E. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Stedman, E. J. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Steinauer, N. A. House 1907	WVN:877	WVN:877 HJ7:10	WVN:877	WVN:877	WVN:877	WVN:877
Stoecker, W. F. House 1909	HJ9:4	HJ9:4				
Stolz, J. P. House 1907		HSC:158 HJ7:11		HSC:158	HSC:158	HSC:158
Swan, H. N. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:93 LUS2	HJ9:6 NLB:93	NLB:93		NLB:93	NLB:93
Talbot, J. W. House 1907		HJ7:11 LUS2	LUS2	LUS2	LUS2	LUS2
Talcott, J. M. House 1909	HJ9:4 BB15	HJ9:4 BB15	BB15		BB15	BB15
Tanner, J. M. Senate 1909	NLB:41 ODC:751 WHF	NLB:41 ODC:751 SJ9:9 OMS:458 WHF	NLR:41 ODC:751	WHF	NLB:41 ODC:751	NLB:41

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Taylor, A. B. House 1909	HJ9:6 HY:66 MBR:533	HJ9:6 HY:66	MBR:533		HY:66 MBR:533	HY:66
Taylor, W. J. House 1909	HJ9:7 HJ99:8	HJ9:7 HJ99:8		BB20:332-33	HJ99:8	
Taylor, W. Z. House 1909	HJ9:7 NLB:167	HJ9:7 NLB:167	NLB:167		NLB:167	NLB:167
Thiessen, J. P. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 WHF	HJ9:6 WHF	WHF	WHF	WHF	WHF
Thomas, B. F. Senate 1907	OMN:197 NEB:1184 WVO:193 WHF	OMN:197 NEB:1184 WVO:193 WHF	WVO:193 NEB:1184	WVO:193 NEB:1184	OMN:197 NEB:1184 WVO:193	OMN:197 NEB:1184
Thomas, W. P. House 1909	HJ9:4 WHF	HJ9:4 WHF		WHF		
Thompson, O. R. Senate 1909	HEV:627 WVN:204 VEN:359	WVN:204 HEV:627 SJ9:9	WVN:204 HEV:627		HEV:627 WVN:204 NEN:359	HEV:627 WVN:204

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Thomson, R. M. Senate 1907						
Thorne, W. E. Senate 1907		NI4:97				
Tibbetts, G. W. Senate 1909	NLB:27 NLP11:290 AC:255-56	NLB:27 NLP11:290 SJ9:10	NLP11:290 AC:255-56	NLP11:290	NLB:27 AC:255-56	NLP11:290 NLB:27
Tucker, F. C. House 1907	ODC:537	ODC:537 HJ7:10	ODC:537		ODC:537	ODC:537
Van Housen, J. C. House 1907	HJ93:NP	HJ93:NP HJ7:11			HJ93:NP	
Volpp, F. Senate 1909	NLB:18 DWC11:490	NLB:18 DWC11:490 SJ9:9			NLB:18 DWC11:490	NLB:18 DWC11:490
Vopalensky, F. House 1907		HJ7:11				
Walsh, J. House 1907	OMN:218	OMN:218 HJ7:10 NO4:216			OMN:218	NO4:216 OMN:218

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Warren, A. G. Senate 1909		SJ9:10 NI4:139				
Wcems, J. A. House 1907/09	HJ9:5	HJ9:5 HJ7:11				
West, F. S. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
White, E. O. House 1907		HJ7:12				
Whitham, J. W. House 1907	NEB:1276 JPC:369-70	HJ7:10 JPC:369-70	JPC:369-70	NEB:1276 JPC:369-70	NEB:1276	NEB:1276 JPC:369-70
Whitney, H. House 1907		HJ7:10				
Wilcox, F. Senate 1907						
Wilsey, A. Senate 1907	ONL:196				ONL:196	ONL:196
Wilson, F. C. House 1907		HJ7:12 LPG	LPG	LPG	LPG	LPG

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RELIGION	NATIVITY	YEARS OF RESIDENCY
Wilson, V. E. House 1909	HJ9:6	HJ9:6				
Wilson, W. H. Senate 1909	NEB:1297	NEB:1297	NEB:1297		NEB:1297	
Wiltse, G. W. Senate 1907/09		SJ9:9				
Worthing, H. T. House 1907/09	HJ9:7	HJ9:7 HJ7:12				
Young, L. W. House 1909	HJ9:5	HJ9:5				

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LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Adams, G. M. House 1907	HVN:495 HJ7:12	HVN:495	BB20:43	HVN:495 BB18:265
Alderson, T. E. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:43	WVN:569
Aldrich, C. H. Senate 1907	MPG:73 LCA	MPG:73 LCA	BB20:43 LCA	LCA
Allen, H. A. House 1909	HJ9:6	NLB:81	NLB:81 BB20:43	
Armstrong, F. House 1909	HJ9:7 LJA	LJA	LJA BB20:43	LJA
Armstrong, J. W. House 1907	BB20:43		BB20:43	
Ashton, F. W. Senate 1907			BB20:43	
Baird, J. P. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:44	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Banning, W. B. Senate 1909	NLB:25 WWN:126 NEB:73	NLB:25 NEB:73	BB20:44	BB24:192 WWN:126 NEB:73
Barclay, A. House 1909	HJ9:4 HSN:904	NLB:69	BB20:44	
Barnes, S. E. House 1907	BB20:44		BB20:44	
Barrett, G. House 1907/09	HJ7:12 HJ9:7	BCN:22-25	BB20:44	BCN:22-25
Bartos, F. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NEB:86	BB20:45	
Bates, M. A. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:45	
Begole, B. H. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:45	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Besse, C. R. House 1907 Senate 1909	HJ7:12 SJ9:10		BB20:45	
Best, F. C. House 1907	ODC:911 HJ7:10 WHF	ODC:911 WHF	BB20:45 WHF	
Black, C. House 1909	HJ9:5	LLC:319-21	BB20:46	LLC:319-21 BB20:335
Blystone, W. J. House 1907/09	HJ7:10 HJ9:5		BB20:46	LS 3-15-24 PIC6
Bodinson, C. F. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NLB:16 BCN:417-18	BB20:46 NLB:16	BCN:417-18
Boelts, J. G. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:46	
Boland, P. G. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:46	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Bolen, J. M. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:46	
Botts, S. J. House 1909	HJ9:7		BB20:46	
Bowman, A. H. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:46	
Boyd, R. W. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:46	
Broderick, J. E. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:47	
Brown, E. A. House 1907/09	HJ7:12 HJ9:7		BB20:47	
Brown, E. P. House 1907 Senate 1909	HJ7:11 SJ9:9		NLB:32 BB20:47	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS:	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Brown, E. W. House 1907/09	HJ9:5		WVL:46 NEBR:83 BB20:47 BB20:47	NEBR:83 NLP III:223
Buck, S. H. Senate 1907/09	SJ9:9			
Buckley, J. B. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:47	
Buhrman, J. H. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NLB:15	BB20:47	
Burns, J. Senate 1907	NEB:193	LS: 11-4-31; PIC4 NEB:193	BB20:47 LS: 11-4-31; PIC4 NEB:193	
Bushee, B. K. House 1909	HJ9:6 HWN:5	NLB:153 HWN:5	WVN:671 BB20:48	HVN:5 BB20:329 WVN:671 BB15:338

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Butt, W. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:48	
Bygland, I. S. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:48	
Byram, H. D. House 1907	HJ97:5 HJ7:10		BB20:48	
Byrnes, J. C. Senate 1907	PC:85 HPC:633-34	PC:85 HPC:633-34	PC:85 HPC:633-34 BB20:48	HPC:633-34 PC:85
Cain, J. R., Jr. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	WVN:312 NEB:204	WVN:312 NEB:204 BB20:48	NEB:204 WVN:312
Carlin, J. J. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:48	
Carr, J. F. House 1909	HJ9:6	LFC	LFC	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Case, E. S. House 1909	HJ9:7		BB20:49	
Chab, J. House 1909	HJ9:5 LGC	LGC	BB20:49 LGC	
Chose, C. H. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:49	
Clark, R. A. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:49	LJC
Clarke, A. L. Senate 1907	AC:225-26	AC:225-26	BB20:49	AC:225-26
Clarke, H. T., Jr. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:49	WVN:316
Cone, T. House 1907	HJ7:11	NEB:259	BB20:50	
Connolly, J. P. House 1909	HJ9:4 NEB:261		BB20:50	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Copperrider, I. J. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:50	
Cox, J. N. Senate 1909	SJ9:10 NLB:40	NLB:39-40	BB20:50	
Culdice, C. H. House 1907	HJ7:11 LMV	LMV	BB20:51	LMV
Davis, F. J. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:51	
Diers, H. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 BBI:548	BB01:548 LWD	BB20:52	LWD
Dodge, N. P., Jr. House 1907	NLP 11:495 ODC:859 HJ7:10	VHF	BB20:52 WHO:55 ODC:859	NLP 11:495 ODC:859 WHO:55
Dodson, P. F. Senate 1907			NLP 11:97 BB20:52	NLP 11:97

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Dolezal, F. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLP 11:451 SC:568		BB20:52 SC:568	
Donohoe, J. A. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NLP 11:229	NLP 11:229	NLP 11:229
Doran, T. H. House 1907	HJ7:12 TOL:283	BT: 7-17-02; PIC5 TOL:283	BB20:52 BB20:52	
Dostal, J. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:52	
Duncan, M. W. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:53	
Eastman, L. House 1909	HJ9:7 NEB:361		BB20:53 NEB:361	
Eller, I. C. House 1907	HJ7:10 DWC:888-90 NEB:376	DWC:888-90 NEB:376 M/WN:146	BB20:53 NEB:376	NEB:376 DWC:888-90 M/WN:1107

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Ellis, F. O. House 1909	HJ9:5 GC:573		BB20:53	
Epperson, C. H. Senate 1907	NLP III:428		NLP III:428 BB20:52	
Evans, J. L. House 1909	HJ9:6	HCC:47-48	BB20:53	HCC:47-48
Fannon, G. W. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:54	
Farley, W. I. House 1907	HJ7:11 NLP III:355		BB20:54 HCC:5-7	HCC:5-7 NLP III:355
Fletcher, W. G. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:54	WWN:26
Fogarty, J. L. House 1909	HJ9:6	IMF	BB20:54 IMF	
France, C. L. House 1907	HJ7:10 OCC:469-70	NEB:425	BB20:55	NEB:425

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Fries, S. M. House 1907/09	HJ9:6	ONL:95	BB20:55	BB15:397 BB20:337-38
Fuller, G. A. Senate 1909	HJ7:12 SJ9:9	BB1:549-50	BB20:55	BB20:338
Funk, P. C. House 1907	HJ7:13 BKP:640	BKP:640	BB20:55	BB15:399
Gammill, J. G. Senate 1909	SJ9:10		BB20:55	
Gates, J. M. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:55	NEB:450 BB18:266
Gerdes, H. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:55 NLB:86	
Gibson, L. C. Senate 1907	WV0:78 WHF		BB20:56 WV0:78	WV0:78 WHF
Gilman, L. A. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:56	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Gliem, P. House 1907	HJ7:13		BB20:56	
Glover, H. B. Senate 1907	CC:985-86		CC985-86 BB20:56	
Goodrich, L. Senate 1907			BB20:56	
Gould, E. D. Senate 1907			BB20:56	
Graff, C. House 1907/09	HJ9:4 NEB:473	WVN:199 NEB:473	BB20:56	NEB:473 WVN:199
Green, S. W. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:57	
Greig, J. House 1907/09	HJ7:11 HJ9:5 PC:429-30		BB20:57	PC:429-30

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSION	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Greuber, W. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:57	
Griffin, B. F. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:57	
Groves, C. E. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:57	
Hadsell, F. L. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:57	
Hagemeister, W. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:57	WVN:167
Hamer, T. F. House 1907	HJ7:12	NLP 111:284	BB20:57	NLP 111:284
Hanna, D. Senate 1907		ONL:101	BB20:58 ONL:101	
Hansen, I. E. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:58	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Harrington, B. S. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:163	NLB:163	BB20:58	
Harrison, M. T. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:58	
Hart, J. E. House 1907	LEH HJ7:11	LEH	LEH BB20:58	LEH
Harvey, A. R. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:58	
Hatfield, J. D. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NEN:333-34 LJH	BB20:58	NEN:333-34
Hector, F. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:59	
Heffernan, D. C. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 HJ7:10	HDC:81, 137	BB20:59	
Henry, F. J. Senate 1909	SJ9:9		BB20:59	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Henry, H. R. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HJ7:12		BB20:59 HJ93:NP	
Hill, J. C. House 1907	HJ7:13		BB20:59	
Holbrook, W. D. Senate 1907	DWC 11:575- 76	DWC 11:575 76	BB20:60 DWC 11:575- 76	
Holmes, R. H. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:140	NLB:140	PMN:154 BB20:60	
Hospodsky, J. A. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLB:124	HCZ:400	BB20:60	
Howard, A. S. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:60	
Howard, J. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:60	BB20:339

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Howe, F. A. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:60	
Howell, E. E. Senate 1909	ODC:321 SJ9:9	ODC:321 OMS:578 WHF	BB20:60 ODC:321 OMS:578	ODC:321
Humphrey, F. B. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:61	
Jennison, A. J. House 1907	HJ7:12 LEW	LEW	BB20:61 LEW	LEW BB20:340
Johnson, E. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:61 NLP 11:382	
Johnson, F. G. House 1907	HJ7:11 NEB:617		BB20:61 NEB:617	
Johnson, N. House 1909	HJ9:4	HBC:163-64 WVN:112	BB20:62	WVN:112

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Jones, C. House 1907	ONL:112 HJ7:10		BB20:62 ONL:112	HRC:1185-89
Keifer, J. W., Jr. House 1907	NEB:636 NLP III:292		BB20:62 NLP III:292	NLP III:292
Kelley, J. W. House 1909	HJ9:7		BB20:62	
Ketchum, S. Senate 1909	SJ9:9		BB20:63	
Killen, D. J. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 HJ7:11		BB20:63	LHT
King, E. L. Senate 1907/09	SJ9:9 MBR:250-51 HJ85:5	MBR:250-51	BB20:63 MBR:250-51 HJ85:5	MBR:250-51
Klein, J. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 GC:445	GC:445	BB20:63	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Knowles, J. H. House 1907	HJ7:10	PMN:99	BB20:63	
Kotouc, Otto House 1909	NLB:85 NLP 111:363 NEB:680 HJ9:4	NEB:680 HCZ:404 NLP 111:363	BB20:63	NEB:680 NLP 111:364
Kraus, J. P. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:63	
Kuhl, J. House 1907/09	NLB:54 HJ9:5		BB20:63	
Lahnars, T. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:63 NEB:690	
Latta, J. P. Senate 1907	HJ87:NP LS 9-12-11; P8C3	HBC:173 HJ87:NP	BB20:64	LS 9-12-11; P8C3

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Laverty, A. Senate 1909	SC 11:468- 69		BB20:64 SC 11:468- 69	SC 11:468- 69
Lawrence, F. P. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:148		BB20:64	
Lee, M. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:64	BB15:423
Leeder, E. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:64	
Leidigh, G. W. House 1909	NLB:149 HJ9:4	NLP 11:490	BB20:64 OCD: 1507 NLB: 149 NLP 11:490	BB18:276
Line, W. C. House 1907	HJ7:11 LCS	LCS	BB20:64 NEB:725 LCS	LCS

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Logsdon, S. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:64	
Luce, C. A. Senate 1907		LEM	BB20:65	LEM
Lux, J. House 1909	HJ9:5	LKL	BB20:65	
Mackey, C. House 1907	HJ7:12 CC:457-58	WVN:217	BB20:66	CC:457-58 LUSI WVN:217
Majors, T. J. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	HSN:204 NEB:757	BB20:66 HSN:204 NEB:757	HSN:204 NEB:757
Marlett, J. W. House 1907/09	HJ9:7 HJ7:12		BB20:66	
Marsh, F. A. House 1907	HJ7:11 HSC:107 MBR:539	MBR:539	BB20:66	HSC:107 MBR:539

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Masters, F. W. House 1907	HJ7:13		BB20:66	
McColl, C. J. House 1909	HJ9:5	HGC:506-7	BB20:65 HGC:506-7	HGC:506-7
McCullough, C. W. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:65	GC:428
McKesson, J. C. Senate 1907	BB1:573 LS 9-20-37; PIC3	BB1:573 LS 9-20-37; P2C3	BB20:66	LS 9-20-37; PIC3
McMullen, A. House 1907	HJ7:11 MPG:611		BB20:66 WWN:466 MPG:611	WWN:466 HSN 11:869 BB26:238 BB18:267
McVicker, W. House 1909	HJ9:4 HJ95:9	HJ95:9	BB20:66	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Metzger, A. H. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:67	
Miller, E. House 1909	HJ9:7		BB20:67	
Miller, J. A. Senate 1909	SJ9:9		BB20:67 HJ95:11	
Milligan, J. O. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:67	
Moore, F. House 1909	HJ9:7 NLB:76	NLB:76	BB20:67	
Murphy, P. A. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HJ7:11		BB20:68	
Myers, E. L. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 HJ95:11		BB20:68	
Neff, W. House 1907	HJ7:13		BB20:68	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Nettleson, D. M. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 HJ7:12		BB20:68 HCC:548 WH 1-1-07; PI	
Noyes, C. E. House 1907/09	HJ9:4 HJ7:10		BB20:69 NEB:892	
O'Connell, J. G. Senate 1907 House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:69	
Ollis, J. A., Jr. Senate 1909	SJ9:9	NLB:21	BB20:69 NLB:21	BB18:278
Patrick, W. R. Senate 1907	TSS TDP	WVN:980 WMO:148 TSS TDP	BB20:70	WVO:148 TSS TDP WVN:980
Phillips, F. W. Senate 1907			BB20:70	

LEGISLATOR (S) CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Pickens, W. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:70	
Pilger, A. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 HJ7:11 HEV:573 NEN:305	HEV:573 NEN:305	BB20:70	BB15:441
Pool, C. W. House 1909	HJ9:4 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	WWL:175 WH 7-6-30; PIC2	BB20:70	WH 7-6-30; PIC2 BB26:238
Quackenbush, E. B. House 1907	NLB:125 HJ7:10	NLB:125	BB20:71	
Raines, R. F. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:71	
Randall, C. A. Senate 1907/09	SJ9:9 WWL:181	LS 1-12-38; PIC3	BB20:71 LS 1-12-38; PIC3	WWL:181 LS 1-12-38; PIC3 BB26:239

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Ransom, T. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 BBI:563 SJ97:VI		BB20:71 BBI:563 SJ97:VI	
Reper, W. B. House 1907/09	HJ9:4 JPC:588-89 LLT	NEB:982 JPC:588-89	BB20:71 JPC:588-89	JPC:588-89
Rathsack, W. A. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:71	
Raymond, L. L. Senate 1909	SJ9:10		BB20:71	
Redmond, W. D. House 1907	HJ7:10 WWN:220		BB20:71 WWN:220 NEB:989	WWN:220
Rejcha, F. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:71	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Renkel, W. F. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:72	
Richardson, L. O. House 1907	HJ7:13		BB20:72	
Ritchie, C. A. House 1909	HJ9:5 MBR:345	MBR:345	BB20:72	
Roberts, E. W. House 1909	BKP:687 HJ9:7 NLB:145	NLB:145 BKP:687	BB20:72	
Rohrer, J. J. House 1907	HJ7:11 LEB	LEB	BB20:73	
Root, J. R. Senate 1907			BB20:73	
Saberson, S. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:73	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Sackett, H. E. Senate 1907	NLP 111:510	NLP 111:510 NEB:1040 HGC:958-60	BB20:73	HGC:958-60 NLP 111:510 LS 4-3-63; PI9C5 MWN:471
Saunders, C. L. Senate 1907	NLP 111:87 ODC:40	NLP 111:87 ODC:40	BB20:73 NLP 111:87 ODC:40	ODC:40 NLP 111:87 BB15:361
Saunders, G. W. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:73	
Scheele, H. House 1909	HJ9:5 NLB:113		BB20:73	
Schoettger, H. D. House 1907/09	HJ7:10 HJ9:4	MWN:121	BB20:74	
Scudder, A. L. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:74	BB18:280

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Shoemaker, W. S. House 1909	NLB:138 HJ9:4	NLB:138 HOM:105	BB20:75	
Shubert, J. F. House 1907	NEB:1090 HJ7:10	WVN:950 NEB:1090	BB20:75	NEB:1090 WVN:950
Sibley, C. A. Senate 1907			BB20:75	
Sink, J. W. House 1909	HJ9:6 NLB:134		BB20:75	
Skeen, B. T. House 1909	HJ9:4 NLB:87		BB20:75	HSN:135
Smith, A. A. House 1907	HJ7:11	WVN:15	BB20:75	WVN:15
Smith D. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:75	
Snyder, J. House 1907/09	HJ9:7 HJ7:13		BB20:76	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Springer, E. F. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:76	
Stalder, A. E. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:76	
Stedman, E. J. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:76	
Steinauer, N. A. House 1907	HJ7:10	WWN:877	BB20:77	WWN:877
Stoecker, W. F. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:77	
Stolz, J. P. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:77	
Swan, H. N. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:77	
Talbot, J. W. House 1907	HJ7:11	LUS2	BB20:78	LUS2

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Talcott, J. M. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:78	BB15:365
Tenner, J. M. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 ODC:751 WHF		BB20:78 ODC:751 OMS:458	NLB:41 ODC:751 BB20:332
Taylor, A. B. House 1909	HJ9:6 HY:66 MBR:533	HY:66 MBR:533	BB20:78	MBR:533
Taylor, W. J. House 1909	HJ9:7		BB20:78 HJ99:8	
Taylor, W. Z. House 1909	HJ9:7	NLB:167	BB20:78 NLB:167	
Thiessen, J. P. House 1907/09	HJ9:6 WHF	WHF	BB20:78 WHF	
Thomas, B. F. Senate 1907	NEB:1184 WHF	NEB:1184 OMN:197	BB20:78	WVO:193 OMN:193

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Thomas, W. P. House 1909	HJ9:4		BB20:78	
Thompson, O. R. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 HEV:627 NEN:359	WWN:204	BB20:78	WWN:204 NEN:359
Thomson, R. M. Senate 1907			BB20:78	
Thorne, W. E. Senate 1907			BB20:78	
Tibbetts, G. W. Senate 1909	SJ9:10 AC:255-56	NLB:27 NLP 11:290 AC:255-56	BB20:78	NLP 11:290 AC:255-56
Tucker, F. C. House 1907	HJ7:10	ODC:537	BB20:79	
Van Housen, J. C. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:79 HJ93:NP	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Volpp, F. Senate 1909	SJ9:9 DWC 11:490	NLB:18 DWC 11:490	BB20:79	DWC 11:490
Vopalensky, F. House 1907	HJ7:11		BB20:79	
Walsh, J. House 1907	HJ7:10 OMN:218	OMN:218	BB20:79 OMN:218	
Warren, A. G. Senate 1909	SJ9:10		BB20:80	
Weems, J. A. House 1907/09	HJ9:5 HJ7:11		BB20:80	
West, F. S. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:81	
White, E. O. House 1907	HJ7:12		BB20:81	
Whitham, J. W. House 1907	NEB:1276 JPC:369-70 HJ7:10	JPC:369-70	BB20:81 NEB:1276	

LEGISLATOR CHAMBER (S) SESSION (S)	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	POLITICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS: EX. LEG.	LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO 1907/09 SESSIONS	ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION
Whitney, H. House 1907	HJ7:10		BB20:81	
Wilcox, F. Senate 1907			BB20:81	
Wilsey, A. Senate 1907	ONL:196		BB20:81 ONL:196	
Wilson, F. C. House 1907	HJ7:12	LPG	BB20:82	
Wilson, V. E. House 1909	HJ9:6		BB20:82	
Wilson, W. H. Senate 1909	NEB:1297		BB20:82	NEB:1297
Wiltse, G. W. Senate 1907/09	SJ9:9		BB20:82	
Worthing, H. T. House 1907/09	HJ9:7 HJ7:12		BB20:82	
Young, L. J. House 1909	HJ9:5		BB20:82	

APPENDIX IV
LIQUOR CONTROL

STATUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF LEGISLATORS STUDIED	INFORMATION OBTAINED ON:	NUMBER OPPOSED TO LIQUOR CONTROL	PER CENT OPPOSED TO LIQUOR CONTROL
PROGRESSIVES	$\frac{58}{100\%}$	$\frac{58}{100\%}$	2	3%
MODERATES	$\frac{109}{100\%}$	$\frac{109}{100\%}$	11	10%
CONSERVATIVES	$\frac{40}{100\%}$	$\frac{40}{100\%}$	18	45%

ROLL CALLS: LIQUOR CONTROL

1907 Senate

S.F. No. 6
S.F. No. 7
S.F. No. 62
S.F. No. 76
S.F. No. 101
S.F. No. 128
S.F. No. 188
S.F. No. 329

1907 House

S.F. No. 6
S.F. No. 7
S.F. No. 76

1909 Senate

S.F. No. 81
S.F. No. 230

1909 House

H.R. No. 104
H.R. No. 167
H.R. No. 260
H.R. No. 430
H.R. No. 506
S.F. No. 81

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