Curious Links: Unorthodox Ideas From Antediluvian Speculation to New Thought and Utopian Hopes in Early Oklahoma Politics

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> The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. . . . Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back . . . so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But, soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil.
>
> John Maynard Keynes[1]

Lord Keynes's thesis cannot be proven and Oklahoma history might seem the least likely arena for its testing. However, the wide variety of unorthodox ideas held by influential figures in Oklahoma's formative years provide a test case for this conclusion. Many of their ideas were drawn from the areas of pseudoscience, alternative religions, socialist and utopian visions, and comparable expressions and would be abandoned to the ash heaps of history. Others, such as the reforms called for by the Peoples Party of the 1890s, better known as Populists, were clearly influential. These ideas became key elements in the mainstream of American Progressivism a decade later and in the provisions of the Oklahoma Constitution.

Four noteworthy Oklahoma political figures represent the range of Populist thought and ideas in Oklahoma. They were Samuel Crocker, an editor-publisher of the primary newspaper of the Boomer Movement and later a principal organizer of the Oklahoma Populist Party; Ira Nathan (I. N.) Terrill, a Boomer and Populist member of the first Oklahoma Territorial Legislature who is best known for the notoriety and irony associated with his imprisonment for murder and incarceration in accord with the law he had helped to write; Henry S. Johnston, a key figure at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention who was later removed from office as governor on charges that initially included his reliance on Rosicrucian principles in governing; and William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, presiding officer at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, Depression-era governor, and writer of racist and antediluvian books.[2]

The relevance of these men's unorthodox ideas to particular features of the state's history is arguable, but their identification suggests lines for interpreting a wide range of developments in Oklahoma and beyond the borders of the state. At a minimum their ideas help to explain their particular motives, the character of Oklahoma politics, and the Oklahoma Constitution. Related discussion increases understanding of the nature of Populism and perceptions of its decline, the designation of Oklahoma as "the land of the Fair God," the sooner issue, and similar topics. Moreover, recognition of their ideas and influences adds to the understanding of the national Populist movement.

The common denominator for the disparate influences that shaped the emergence of Populism is found in responses to the political, economic, and cultural flux that dominated the last decades of the nineteenth century. Rapid increases in industrialization, the growth of monopolies, urbanization, and immigration troubled the cities while embattled farmers spawned a succession of regional and national movements that challenged the prevailing economic system. In response, unions sought to organize workers to offset the power of the new industrial structures while Grangers, Farmers' Alliances, and similar organizations called for regulation of the railroads and other government actions to protect agrarian interests. Greenbackers, bimetallists, and Free Silver advocates sought inflationary money policies while yet others worked to implement the kind of utopian society Edward Bellamy had envisioned in *Looking Backward*, one of the most influential books of the last two decades of the century.[3]

Their shared concerns for the human conditions they observed, alternative visions for the future, and rhetorical styles they employed were widely perceived as threats to the stability of the nation. Populist speakers used language intended to appeal to the masses, defined villains, and called for radical change. At times, those such as William Jennings Bryan reached oratorical heights, but others were defined by efforts to stir, anger, or shock, as did Mary Ellen Lease who told the farmers of Kansas they needed to "raise less corn and more hell."[4] The result was a general sense of national crisis, a fear that the nation was "standing at Armageddon."[5]

Federal, state, and local governments responded in kind. The national guard and federal troops were regularly employed against protest groups, breaking strikes and planning for an anticipated internal conflict. As early as 1886, Major General George McClellan called for strengthening the national guard as a buttress against "an element, mostly imported from abroad, fraught with danger to order and well-being unless firmly and wisely controlled."[6]

A microcosm of these concerns was found among landless farmers who clustered in southern Kansas during the 1880s to agitate for the opening of Oklahoma. Known as Boomers, they soon moved beyond agitation to acts defying federal land policies and enforcement, disputing the legitimacy of federal regulations, and at times seeking to provoke confrontation with military authorities.[7] They attained their goals with the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889 but then faced a year of political turmoil as settlers sought to gain political and economic advantages in the absence of provisions for territorial government. For many, their problems were compounded by widespread legal disputes affecting legitimate claimants, as well as by sooners who had claimed their land illegally by entering the Unassigned Lands before the area was opened officially. Their acts jeopardized legitimate claims as well as those obtained illegally. Thereafter, an unusually long territorial period continued to disrupt politics in the emerging state.[8]

The political and economic movements of the 1890s have been studied extensively and interpretations of Populism have generated debate among three generations of historians. It has been depicted as an agrarian protest movement flowing from Jeffersonian roots, the seed bed of some of the ugliest forms of popular democracy, and the first political movement to address the issues of the modern age with modern ideas and solutions.[9] However, each of the different historical interpretations tend to agree in focusing on economic issues and downplaying the kinds of theories to which Keynes alluded. Moreover, there has been little systematic attention to the sources for Populist political and economic theory, the "academic scribblers" to which Keynes alludes. This omission is particularly evident in the relative lack of attention to alternative religious or social theories that were integral to and often merged in the thinking of key Populist leaders such as Ignatius Donnelly at the national level as well as Crocker, Terrill, Murray, and Johnston in Oklahoma.[10]

As in economic and political systems, the overlapping worlds of ideas represented by science and religion also were increasingly defined by instability, if not crisis. Evolutionary theories provided the foundation for Social Darwinism, Reform Darwinism, eugenics, and "scientific" racism while disrupting centuries of broad religious synthesis. Form criticism in biblical studies further challenged traditional understanding of scriptural authority. The Social Gospel, as popularized by Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps*, and emerging Fundamentalism represented the polarities of responses to modernism within historic American Protestantism. The rise of new thought, spiritualism, theosophy, and similar religiophilosophical groups offered alternatives to historic Christian understandings. Each of the new frameworks of understanding was represented strongly within Populism.[11] Thus, Populist agitators and union organizers, Free Silver advocates, and their peers vied for the attention of the same audiences sought by antediluvian theorists, utopian schemes, and promoters of varied metaphysical expressions.

At the national level, the individual who came closest to personifying the complexities of the Populist mind was Ignatius Donnelly. He had earlier promoted a planned community in his home state of Minnesota and served as lieutenant governor for the state during the Civil War. He then was elected to three terms in the US House of Representatives where he supported the Radical Republican version of Reconstruction. Thereafter he completed one term in the Minnesota House of Representatives. In 1892 he was in his third term as a state senator and committed to the race for governor. He based that campaign on the foundation he had built promoting the work of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Knights of Labor, leading efforts for female suffrage and the Greenbacker movement in the state, and as a principal organizer, writer, and speaker for the Minnesota Farmers' Alliance.[12]

Donnelly established his claim to national recognition as the father of the Populist Party in 1892 with his authorship of the Peoples Party platform for that year. Much of its content remained in subsequent party declarations of principles. He was also the keynote speaker for the party's national convention that year and could have been a viable candidate for its presidential nomination if not for his gubernatorial ambitions. However, he also lacked the widespread national recognition that had been attained by James B. Weaver, who arrived at the convention as the presumptive presidential nominee.[13]

Weaver was known nationally for his service in the Civil War, from which he had retired as a brevet general. He served three terms in the US House of Representatives from Ohio and had earned wide recognition for his advocacy of an expanding money supply. He was also especially attractive to western interests who were grateful to him for his work toward the opening of Oklahoma. The party then nominated James Field of Virginia for the vice presidency in the hope his candidacy could offset southern concerns about Weaver's military campaigns against the South. Donnelly gained the Populist nomination for vice president in 1900 but by that time the party was in its death throes.[14]

Ironically, Donnelly may have been better known by one measure than Weaver. His authorship of *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (1882); *Ragnarok: The Age of Fire and Gravel* (1883); *The Great Cryptogram: Francis Bacon's Cipher in the So-Called Shakespeare Plays* (1888); and *Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century* (1890) had gained him widespread recognition as a writer and political, economic, and scientific thinker.[15] That repute did not necessarily translate to political influence, and his publications along with his rhetoric caused some to dismiss him as a crank. However, each of his books represented the flux of ideas that shaped both Populism in general and Oklahoma figures such as Crocker, Terrill, Johnston, and Murray. *Atlantis* had even wider cultural impact, spawning hundreds of imitators or alternative antediluvian historical interpretations, including one by Murray. The *Atlantis* phenomenon continues in the present and was a major source for theosophists such as Madame Blavatsky, Annie Besant, and their successors.[16]

At its simplest, the book asserted that an ancient kingdom of Atlantis had existed and all later civilizations were derived from its antediluvian influences. The book was an immediate success, with sales requiring a fifth edition before the end of its first year in print. The book was in its twenty-third edition by the time of the Populist Party convention of 1892. In the meantime, Swedish editions and twenty-six English editions had been printed. A revised edition was published in 1949 and is still in print.[17]

The book's popularity led to Donnelly's election to the American Association for the Advancement of Science although most scientists disputed both his credentials and conclusions. However, it drew upon much of the scientific literature of the day and his conclusions seemed to provide a synthesis of emerging discoveries in many fields. Instead, it is marked by diffusionist arguments that attribute historical links to vaguely defined cultural characteristics across centuries and continents. Donnelly's readership then as now did not always recognize such differences. Many were predisposed to accept his theory after reading popular fictional works such as Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1870), which featured Captain Nemo, who purportedly had discovered Atlantis.[18]

Ragnarok was a logical successor to Atlantis. Donnelly wrote it in seven weeks after receiving the initial reports of his first book's success. This time he expounded on Louis Agassiz's theory that the earth's gravel and sand had been produced by a giant comet. Donnelly then merged those ideas with a tale drawn from Scandinavian mythology to provide an alternative to scientific explanations for an unfolding history. His story concluded with a call for social justice—a concern that had been largely absent from *Atlantis*.[19] *Ragnarok* never gained the audience Donnelly and his publishers had hoped, but its sales still required nineteen American editions by 1900. It also spawned numerous imitations including one by I. N. Terrill. The Velikovsky Encyclopedia discusses the link between Donnelly's work and the subsequent writings of Immanuel Velikovsky.[20]

Caesar's Column was the most overtly political and potentially inflammatory of Donnelly's books. It was a futuristic novel set in 1988 that depicted a society dominated by a Darwinian struggle of the masses against a ruling class. His depiction of Jewish money interests helps to account for subsequent criticism of the book and Populism as anti-Semitic. Donnelly's defenders assert he was merely using the trope afforded by Shakespeare's Shylock and comparable cultural expressions and there is no other consistent evidence of anti-Semitism.[21]

In fact, Donnelly was more critical of Christian churches and clergy than of Jews. A freethinker who had spurned the Roman Catholicism of his youth, he believed neither Christianity nor Marxism offered real hope for the masses and that "there was nothing sacred on earth except man." He foresaw a time when the churches would become agencies for Social Darwinist thought, justifying widespread suffering. As a result, he believed that revolution was the only possible answer to the utter disregard for social concerns because it could lead to establishment of a Utopia based on the principles of the Grangers, Farmers' Alliance, and Knights of Labor.[22]

Donnelly would claim sales approaching one million copies for *Caesar's Column* within the decade. He had written it under a pseudonym because of its controversial content, but its success freed him to claim authorship on the eve of the Populist Party convention of 1892. In many respects it can be seen as a literary depiction of the problems he addressed in the Populist platform: "a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates . . . the people are demoralized." Proposed solutions included abolition of national banks, a graduated income tax, direct election of senators, civil service reform, an eight-hour day for workers, and government control of all railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.[23]

His next books were less successful, with *The Golden Bottle* selling only a few thousand copies and *Dr. Huguet* selling fewer, but those disappointments were slight compared to the dismal results Donnelly received in the Minnesota gubernatorial election, where he was "beaten, whipped, smashed," placing a distant third. The Populist Party did only slightly better in the presidential campaign of 1892, receiving 1,027,329 votes nation wide. Weaver carried four states—Colorado, Kansas, Idaho, and Nevada—on the way to gaining a total of twenty-two electoral votes, including a few from Oregon and North Dakota. As Donnelly's biographer noted, "More enthusiasm was displayed for the People's party platform than for the candidates."[24]

The disconnect between Donnelly's standing as the author of *Atlantis*, *Ragnarok*, and especially *Caesar's Column*, and his political appeal could be seen as an indicator of the public's disdain for political solutions found in Utopian fictions or their authors. Otherwise, it could be argued, such books may have not yet had their maximum impact. That argument becomes more plausible when Donnelly's writings are placed alongside the phenomenal number of Utopian and dystopian novels published in the twelve years following the publication of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. Bellamy's book was one of the few books from the era that rivaled the enduring impact of *Atlantis*. At least two hundred Utopian flavored books followed, with many becoming best sellers by the standards of that era. These included works by figures as diverse as the industrialist King Gillette and business leaders such as John Jacob Astor, along with major literary figures such as Mark Twain, Joaquin Miller, Edward Everett Hale, William Dean Howells, and General Lew Wallace.[25]

Most utopian novels of the era featured a future shaped by either amazing developments in science, the application of socialist principles, or a combination of the two. An important exception to this rule was found in Wallace's *The Fair God Or, the Last of the 'Tzins: A Tale* *of the Conquest of Mexico.*[26] It was not referenced in the compilation cited above as it was published in 1873, eleven years prior to *Looking Backward,* but it clearly belonged in the genre of utopian fiction. More important, it provided the source for the phrase that summarized the magical thinking of the landless farmers and others who promoted the opening of the Unassigned Lands in Oklahoma, expecting the "rain would follow the plow," ensuring bountiful crops and prosperity with the arrival of farmers.[27]

The book mythologizes aspects of the history of Mexico. The first chapters introduce Quetzal (Quetzalcoatl), a wonderfully kind god who dwelt among his people and taught them skills leading to abundant harvests, wisdom in government, and universal happiness. Eventually he was driven away, but left with a promise to return bringing a restoration of all that they had lost. Milton W. Reynolds, a newspaperman who wrote under the sobriquet Kicking Bird, linked that utopian vision to his hopes for Oklahoma. Boomers regarded him as the "prophet of Oklahoma" for his promotion of that promise in regional newspapers during the 1880s.[28]

A number of Populists besides Donnelly wrote utopian novels, the best known being Kansas orator Mary Ellen Lease. L. Frank Baum, another Kansan, produced one of the more popular books of the genre, *The Wizard of Oz.* Baum was not otherwise identified with the Populist movement but his book has been widely interpreted as a Populist parable. As with most fads, however, successful utopian books were far fewer than the many that never reached more than a few readers. That was certainly the case with both Samuel Crocker and I. N. Terrill, who each attempted novels depicting utopian societies.[29] Their respective careers and beliefs offer close parallels with Donnelly's as well.

Crocker published *That Island* in 1892. It was intended primarily for an Oklahoma audience, but illustrated the larger set of convictions that contributed to his standing as the father of Oklahoma Populism. He depicted an unnamed island nation that struggled against an oppressive capitalist system. The islanders were able to transform their world overnight after reading a book by a wealthy English genius who headed a secret reform group. The reforms he encouraged paralleled those depicted in Bellamy's *Looking Backward.* While Crocker shared Bellamy's socialist vision, he was also typical of many of the Utopians and other radical thinkers of the era who believed his theories were rooted in modern science. He wrote of "eternal truths, linked to the science of life" and therefore expected that science would "resolve itself into paternal government, commonality and cooperation . . . absolute justice, associated with equal rights and equal opportunities to all."[30]

Samuel Crocker, photograph taken by North Losey in Oklahoma City, O. T., 1903 (Virginia Sutton Collection, OHS).

As with Donnelly, there is no evidence to suggest that Crocker's novel had any impact of any kind on his political campaigns. Neither would his sustained work for the opening of Oklahoma. Crocker and other Populists were key supporters of a decade-long struggle to open the Unassigned Lands in Oklahoma to white settlement. The Boomers had been clustered in Cowley County, Kansas, a hot bed of Populism, and their newspaper had endorsed a wide range of Populist issues, particularly under Samuel Crocker's editorship. Every Oklahoma settler had gained from such efforts. Yet Crocker would never be able to translate those assets into votes.

Crocker had earned the sobriquet of "Iowa's Political Agitator" in the twenty years after the Civil War. He gained both regional and national recognition for his efforts on behalf of varied monetary and labor reforms—the Greenback-Labor party, the Knights of Labor, and the Anti-Monopoly Party—and for proposing a woman suffrage plank for the latter party's platform in 1884. He was noted for his oratorical skills and often published tracts in support of the causes he advocated. Among his publications were *The Triple Great Powers: The Power of*

Labor, the Power of Money, and the Power of Government (1882), *The Political Separation of Capital and Labor* (1883), and *Our Next Republic* (1884).[31]

Crocker first became interested in David Payne's Oklahoma Colony in 1884 and immediately began working for the Boomers' cause among Iowans. He moved to Arkansas City, Kansas, in 1885, shortly after Payne's death. He brought twelve other hopeful Iowans to join the Oklahoma Colony and immediately began working directly with Payne's successor, William Couch, to agitate for the Boomer cause.[32]

In 1885 he purchased the *Oklahoma Chief*, the official publication of the Oklahoma Colony, renaming it the *Oklahoma War Chief* to emphasize the militant stand he advocated. The paper had been published by a series of editors in different locations, but had achieved only limited notice and less financial success in the preceding two years. Crocker moved the paper to Caldwell, Kansas, with the support of local merchants. With his tenure, the paper now featured populist and socialist ideas alongside those of the Boomers. The masthead now read, "The Settlement of Oklahoma, Restoration of the Public Domain, Lands for the Landless and Homes for the Homeless, Universal Suffrage, A National Currency Issued and Controlled by the Federal Government." He attacked "monster monopolies," frequently and portrayed the US Senate as a "purloined syndicate subverting popular sovereignty."[33]

He was particularly vociferous in attacks on cattle ranchers, whom he argued were occupying the Unassigned Lands illegally and with federal collusion. As he wrote, "The *Oklahoma War Chief* was on the war path with paint and feathers and scalping knife in pursuit of cattlemen and for the immediate opening of settlement." He also offered promotions for the Knights of Labor and articles on his religious thinking such as "Reverend Crocker's Philosophical Sermon." Therein he depicted a hierarchy of three beings proceeding from brutes, to humankind, to the deity. According to this view, humans had some understanding but were unable to comprehend everything and "cannot affirm or deny the existence of God."[34]

He later claimed that his editorials spurred growth among the Boomers, swelling their ranks daily. In the meantime, tensions grew within the Boomer camps. They had been optimistic that the election of President Grover Cleveland in 1884 would lead to the opening of the Unassigned Lands in Oklahoma. Their disappointment with his announced decision in the spring of 1885 to continue a ban on Oklahoma settlement led to an increase in illegal "invasions" with hopeful settlers moving into the disputed lands. Some Boomers called for provoking a clash with federal troops who prevented their occupation of the land.[35]

Evidently, federal officials agreed that the revitalized paper was contributing to Boomer tensions and the illegal invasions. Within a month of his purchase of the paper, he was arrested for "seditious conspiracy and inciting insurrection and rebellion against the United States government." He was then imprisoned but able to continue editing his paper from his cell. Caldwell citizens and businessmen offered support for his defense, as did the Boomers.[36]

General Benjamin Butler, who Crocker knew from his work with the Anti-Monopoly Party, then offered to take his case without a fee but this proved unnecessary. Although military authorities purportedly perjured themselves in a federal grand jury action, Crocker soon was released and returned to Caldwell. He later quoted one cattleman to opine that his arrest had ultimately benefited the Boomer cause because it had been so blatantly illegal. He suspended publication of the *Oklahoma War Chief* in 1886 but continued his work for the opening of Oklahoma as editor-publisher of the Caldwell *Industrial Age*.[37]

His newspaper work, speaking, and arrest undoubtedly increased attention to the Boomer cause but his lobbying efforts may have had greater effect. He worked personally with Kansas congressional representatives and national figures. He played a key role in securing James B. Weaver's commitment to campaigning for the opening of the Unassigned Lands. He also promoted conventions to rally Boomer support throughout Kansas, was part of regular delegations to Congress, and met frequently with the president during the period from 1887 to 1889. He then played a key role in the last hours of Congressional debate on the Springer Amendment to the Indian Appropriations Bill that led to opening the Unassigned Lands. His actions securing the printing of the final draft and circulating it among congressmen in the final hours were crucial to its success.[38]

The bill was passed in the waning hours of the Congressional session and omitted any attention to a procedure for settlement or provisions for government of the new territory. President Benjamin Harrison quickly called for a land run to be held on April 22, six weeks after promulgation of the law. Both the employment of a land run method and its timing created severe problems for the settlers. At its best, the method seemed designed for chaos. The timing compounded that problem, giving both anxious land and federal officials too little time to prepare for the event. Once completed, successful settlers faced tremendous pressures trying to complete the planting they would need to feed themselves and their families for the next year.[39]

In the meantime, their efforts to govern themselves and the sooner question added political tumult to their problems. Sooners were those individuals who attempted to secure claims by occupying the land before the official opening. The Springer Amendment denied claims to sooners in an effort to ensure a fair process in the settlement of the territory, but it created three related problems: there were more sooners than anticipated; it left legitimate claimants at the mercy of unscrupulous people who might charge legitimate claimants with being sooners, hoping to acquire their claims or other compensation; and many Boomers believed the provision should not apply to them.[40]

Boomers had hoped that the rights of squatter sovereignty would be affirmed as had been the practice on earlier frontiers, thereby upholding their claims from their raids into the territory. Even with Congressional rejection of that principle, many sooners believed they had been cheated or that their claims would eventually be upheld. Related problems multiplied because many claim disputes were handled by common consent governments that were unprepared to deal with the issue. Their weaknesses were especially evident in the towns where they faced a staggering demand to arbitrate disputed claims arising from claim jumping and charges against sooners. For instance, by May 1889 James B. Weaver and the other two members of an Oklahoma City commission designated to address the issue resigned, citing more cases than they could possibly handle.[41]

Weaver never should have been appointed to the commission, as he would soon find himself designated a sooner. He had been with William Couch, Samuel Crocker, and other veteran Boomers who were supposedly employed on a "railroad grading team" at Oklahoma City. At noon, they left the railroad right-of-way to stake claims in the new city in what would prove to be an ill-fated attempt to secure the most desirable locations. They were able to stake their claims but were eventually judged to be sooners and lost their claims in accord with the definitions given in the Springer Amendment.[42]

They lost respect as well. Weaver's reputation in Oklahoma never recovered from his involvement in that scheme. The regard he had earned for supporting the Boomer cause in Congress deteriorated still more because of his work with the "Seminole" faction in Oklahoma City government that competed with another group to protect their property interests. Similar political struggles in other towns, especially in Guthrie, exacerbated tensions surrounding the legitimacy of land claims and added to widespread convictions among many settlers that their claims were at risk to questionable decisions.[43]

Crocker managed to avoid the worst fallout from Oklahoma City politics, but the sooner issue would burden his political campaigns. Worse for his goals for creating a viable Populist Party in Oklahoma, the resultant political turmoil and the competing commercial interests of the towns of the new territory ensured that parties and voters tended to focus on local concerns rather than the larger national issues that the Populists advocated. That characteristic of territorial politics framed the hopes for the People's Party of the new territory that Crocker led into existence in the summer of 1890.

The Republican Party dominated most elections throughout the territorial period, but their relative success was mostly attributable to their control of the presidency and related political patronage rather than the issues they promoted or party loyalty. In the first territorial elections, voters elected six Republicans, five Democrats, and one Populist to the council (senate) and fourteen Republicans, eight Democrats, and four Populists to the house. Four of the five Populists were from Payne County, where a combination of factors allowed them to dominate local elections. Payne County was relatively isolated from transportation linkages that encouraged the location of the kind of entrepreneurs who dominated politics elsewhere in the territory. More related to their success, the county was a Boomer stronghold.[44]

The Boomers had settled around Stillwater Creek in 1884 and began improvements on the land they claimed before federal troops forced them out. Among those evicted were Samuel Crocker, I. N. Terrill, and at least one other member of the Terrill family, probably his brother David. I. N. may have spent as much as a year in jail in conjunction with this raid or another. With the land run, many of the veterans from the 1884 venture, including I. N., merely returned to the land they had occupied five years earlier.[45]

Terrill was born in Illinois in 1843 but moved to join an extended Terrill clan in and around Wichita, Kansas, in 1874. There are no records of his education or political activities in Illinois, but he clearly had some education and may have had some training in geology. He supported himself and his family farming, selling patent medicines, and dealing in real estate. Related activities included promoting development of fire clay resources near Ninnescah, Kansas, and lobbying in the Cherokee Nation on behalf of investors seeking coal leases there. By 1880 he was actively speaking on behalf of the Boomer Movement and varied other Populist causes. He worked on Sockless Jerry Simpson's first campaigns for office in 1886 and 1888 and joined with George Gardenhire in promoting the Farmers' Alliance movement in Kansas, as he would later in Oklahoma.[46]

The exact circumstances attending his participation in the land run are not clear. He claimed he and a party of five accidentally strayed into the Unassigned Lands three days prior to the opening, but does not account for his actions during the race itself.[47] Moreover, his excuse would not have exempted him from being deemed a sooner and the claim he established was certainly in the area of, if not the same land, he originally occupied in 1884. As a result, most of his arguments about the sooner issue sought to justify his actions rather than dispute allegations about his status.

Terrill expanded on the Boomer conviction that federal restraints on the settlement of the Unassigned Lands had violated historic land policies. He asserted that "Uncle Sam had no legal or moral right" to either make treaties with American Indian tribes or to patent land in the first place. He cited a purported original agreement between God and Abraham and the corresponding action of Manito, the Great Spirit, in provision of a life interest in land and no more to the American Indians as the basis for that conclusion. He expanded on those claims to portray the land run itself as little more than a scheme to deprive honest settlers of their rightful claims.[48]

The sooner issue would eventually trouble Terrill as it had other prominent Boomers, but did not affect his political aspirations in Payne County in the territorial elections of 1890. Many of his neighbors were also sooners or supported his goals because of his work for Boomer or Populist causes in Kansas. He had earned further respect from his neighbors and within the Territorial People's Party in the year after settlement. He played a prominent role in local responses to a perceived Indian threat that followed reports of Ghost Dancing in the Payne County area. Perkins and four other townships in Payne County responded with home guard defense organizations while Terrill attempted to obtain military support.[49]

In the meantime, George Gardenhire began the organization of local chapters of the Farmers' Alliance in the territory, probably with some assistance from Terrill. A chapter of the Agricultural Wheel organized separately in Payne County but soon merged with the alliance as "The Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union." That body then merged with the territorial Populist Party that Crocker had called into being. About the same time, that group or another sent delegates to the "Deep Water Convention" that was held at Topeka, Kansas, in August 1889. Terrill was one of ten delegates to that meeting, along with other notables such as Milton Reynolds and Dick Morgan.[50]

Despite their limited numbers, the Payne County Populists played key roles in the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature. George Gardenhire was elected to the council and went on to chair that body while Terrill, Samuel W. Clark, and James L. Mathews were elected to the house. Their clear minority status should have relegated the Populists to minimal influence in both houses, but Republican divisions kept that party's delegates from acting effectively and the Democrats needed allies to muster a majority. Gardenhire used this situation to wrangle a coalition with the Democrats and Oklahoma City partisans. He then received the promise of those groups to support locating the agricultural college in Stillwater. In return, he agreed to pledge the Populist votes to locate the capital in Oklahoma City. He went on to gain election as president of the council with similar tactics.[51]

The capital location question, the race issue, the vote for women, criminal codes, and tax issues were only the more prominent of the issues the new legislators faced. Their inexperience, compounded by organizational problems and the volatility and the variety of questions they faced, kept the legislature in tumult. The public responded in kind; charges and some evidence of bribery abounded and conspiracy theories proliferated without end. On one occasion a Guthrie mob attacked a legislator because they believed he carried documents that provided for removal of the capital. These conditions ensured the legislature would accomplish little of substance. The last week of the session saw near-comic opera conditions with delegates passing whole sections of statutes from the laws of other states. Among these were provisions regulating the rights and duties of people involved in commercial navigation.[52]

I. N. Terrill alone was the cause of enough pandemonium to give the house a bad reputation, However, he also can be seen as a relatively effective legislator. Some sources credited him with the introduction of legislation in the house to locate the agricultural college at Stillwater, and he certainly supported those efforts. He played a major role in the passage of Council Bill Number One, which called for contracting with Kansas for the incarceration of Oklahoma convicts, and related measures. He introduced a bill to provide compensation for improvements to settlers forced off the land after they had been judged sooners, was noted for work to minimize legislative costs, and played a significant role in the passage of a territorial relief bill.[53]

Those achievements would ordinarily seem to define the elements of a creditable term, especially in light of the legislature's general failures. Instead his achievements largely were overshadowed by his antics during the legislative session and the weeks that followed. He regularly disrupted house procedures and threatened the speaker with a pistol on one occasion. A vociferous opponent of bonds, he attempted to rename one funding proposal as the "Rob the Many at the Expense of the Few Bill." He and Gardenhire then broke their pledge to their Oklahoma City allies, adding to the chaos in their respective legisla-

I. N. Terrill (940, Virginia Sutton Collection, OHS).

tive bodies and political alliances. The legislature's failures and Terrill's shenanigans ensured most of the first legislators and Populists were thoroughly discredited. Samuel Crocker was the first victim of that general disdain for his party.[54]

While the legislature was still in session, territorial voters had the opportunity to elect individuals to two Congressional terms. One was to serve for the remainder of the term then in session and the second delegate for the next. The Republicans nominated David A. Harvey for both terms while the Democrats nominated James L. Mathews for the short term and Joseph G. McCoy for the longer. Mathews was one of the Payne County Populists then serving in the territorial house. His nomination is puzzling at best considering the repute that body and the Populists had earned in the preceding months, but it may have represented an appeal to Payne County voters who had not rejected the Populists or their leaders. More likely, the Mathews nomination was an initial effort toward merging the two parties.[55]

Whatever the explanation, People's Party members felt Mathews had betrayed them and nominated Hiram C. Diehl and Samuel Crocker for the long and short terms respectively. Harvey won the general election with a landslide victory for both seats, carrying every county except Cleveland. Crocker gained only 17 percent of the vote. The defeat marked a decisive blow to Crocker's personal ambitions and his hopes for his party. Terrill's antics from then until his death would help to ensure further discrediting of the Populists as incoherent radicals.[56]

Terrill had played a leading role in the territorial legislature's comedy opera. Thereafter he would star in a one-man farce, drawing the scorn of newspapers nationwide and particularly in Oklahoma and Kansas.[57] Between 1891 and 1906, he was the focus of two sensational trials for murder, a jail escape, varied legal actions pertaining to his imprisonment in Kansas, and other sensational reports from the prison. Most articles highlighted his work on behalf of Council Bill Number One and the territorial criminal code, and the irony that attended his imprisonment in Kansas in accord with the provisions for which he had worked.

Political biases and the journalistic standards of the day virtually guaranteed exaggerated and frequently erroneous depiction of the man. He had become the "brilliant lawyer" who committed "one of the most dastardly and cold-blooded murders ever committed in any country," a ringleader among twenty sooners who had sworn to "stand and protect each other even to the taking of human life."[58]

Kansas editors in particular were inclined to conflate his escapades with their views of the Populists-Boomers as lawmakers. For instance, the *Wichita Daily Eagle*, a leading anti-Populist newspaper, asserted that Terrill had kept two loaded revolvers on his desk during the session and threatened to shoot his opponents, then leaving the legislature to "straightway" go out and shoot someone. Such assertions often were carried by newspapers outside the region, as seen in a report in the *Crawford Avalanche* from Michigan, that reported the first Oklahoma Territorial Legislature had been composed largely of men who had not bathed for years and could not spell their own names. That editor then added a new version to the pistol incident in the house, portraying Terrill with two big guns and firing one of them into the ceiling.[59]

The facts are only slightly less dramatic. The legislature adjourned on Christmas Eve 1890. On January 3, 1891, Terrill went to the land office in Guthrie, Oklahoma, to fulfill requirements to prove up on his claim. He was accompanied by his brother David Bliss "Dave" Terrill, who supported I. N.'s claim. George Embry, who was known as a "professional witness," joined the proceedings to protest I. N.'s right to file, identifying him as a sooner. The dispute continued after the men left the land office with an exchange of words between Dave and Embry, even after I. N. had asked his brother to "hush" and started to leave. Dave and Embry then began to struggle at which point I. N. returned and shot and killed Embry.[60]

The shooting triggered a near riot from Guthrie residents, and Terrill had to be removed by law enforcement officials to avert a possible hanging by the mob. Continuing tensions in Guthrie allowed attorneys Frank Dale, who would go on to head the Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court, and T. J. Lowe to get a change of venue for a trial in October 1891. That trial produced a hung jury, but they were less successful in a second trial eleven months later.

The Terrill brothers, their witnesses, and those for the prosecution largely agreed on the basic story of the shooting. Terrill's defense centered upon claims that Embry had been armed and was much larger than Dave, who was unarmed. I. N. also swore that he had met Embry previously and that the latter had conspired to work against him. He went on to claim that Embry and the land agent had each sought $200 bribes to drop their sooner allegations.[61]

Prosecution witnesses cast doubt on Embry possessing or firing a pistol and that issue does not seem to have been settled definitely. On the other hand, a physician dismissed I. N.'s claim that he had been wounded by a shot fired by Embry. At the second trial, the jury evidently believed the case against Terrill, voting first ten to two and then unanimously for conviction in less than three hours. The judge then sentenced him to prison in Kansas, where he was expected to face hard labor in the coal mines.

Terrill probably never spent a day in the coal mines. He remained free on appeal, during which time the appeal papers were lost. He used the interim to complete a geological study of an area near Stillwater and advertised his expertise to assist potential claimants seeking desirable land in the Cherokee Outlet. In September 1893 the Kansas Supreme Court ruled Terrill was wrongly held in response to a writ of habeas corpus. He was then tried in Noble County amidst confusion following the illness of the prosecuting attorney. This time Terrill was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to twelve years. He then escaped, aided by either the jailer's connivance or carelessness.[62]

He seems to have lived in Payne County during the following two years without any threat from law enforcement. A business trip to Fort Dodge, Kansas, ultimately led to his capture and imprisonment. Once he was finally imprisoned, he refused to work and otherwise made life miserable for a succession of wardens. He wrote congressmen, newspapers, and others arguing that he had been wrongly imprisoned and mistreated. He became a jailhouse lawyer, writing appeals for himself and his fellow prisoners. In one of his appeals that made it to the courts he acted as his own attorney, moving back and forth from the witness stand to the floor as he asked and answered questions.[63]

Warden J. B. Tomlinson used various means to restrain him. He placed him in a cell for lunatics for months. Another time he punished him with a bread and water diet that left Terrill emaciated but still defiant. The warden also tried evangelism, urging Terrill to consider Christian conversion. Terrill was an admirer of Jesus and believed in the resurrection but was a freethinker who rejected most Christian teaching. He studied the Bible consistently but interpreted it in a framework formed from antediluvian ideas and a combination of Norse and American Indian myths. He believed that Jesus had been sent to restore Israel to the original Abrahamic covenant that intended all people to have land. However, he wrote to the warden agreeing to go "to the mourner's bench" but queried which mode of baptism he required; would sprinkling suffice or would he require immersion?[64]

Ultimately the warden seems to have accommodated his unruly prisoner, leaving him to study and writing. Perhaps surprisingly, the prison had a library with a fairly large selection of contemporary works, including Donnelly's *Ragnarok*. He also was able to obtain copies of newspapers including the socialist *Appeal to Reason*. That source was the inspiration for a set of rhymes he wrote called *Poems of Sam You Well*.[65] Terrill drew upon other sources extensively, expanding his knowledge of varied topics and writing his own versions of myths and history throughout his time in prison.

All of his books were written in doggerel, as were dozens of shorter works and more than one hundred acrostics. Some of his writings demonstrate some capacity in German, and he seemed proficient in Spanish. These skills may have facilitated some of his research, and he did some studies in Native languages as well. Four of his books described his visions of Utopia and were largely typical of the genre.[66] *Travels of Venus, Law of Life and Love on Venus, A Journey on Jupiter*, and *The Airship* each portrayed societies where socialism prevailed and eliminated poverty, crime, and other social woes. Such happy conditions created such a strong moral foundation that lust and adultery vanished as well, even while the people traveled naked. Preachers were no longer needed and had discredited themselves as unwilling to work without pay. The resultant quality of life was such that Venusians equated life on earth with that for hogs.[67]

He attempted at least eleven other books or extended narratives with three based on Scandinavian and Native American mythologies. His version of *Ragnarok* may have been little more than an attempt to put Donnelly's book into rhyme, but other books were more original. *Wars of Valhal* and *From Manito to Mammon* covered the history of the world using frameworks drawn from Norse and Native American mythology, respectively. He was especially taken with Norse mythology and often used the pen name Iranathan, "the true son of Brage."[68]

Four books contain his view of Oklahoma history: *The Land of the Fair God*, *Oklahoma*, *Staking a Claim in Oklahoma* (a drama), and *A Purgatory Made of Paradise*.[69] These present a Boomer's view of history and extended and varied arguments showing how he had been personally wronged by assorted forces beginning with the Boomer expulsion from Stillwater Creek and their mistreatment by Colonel Hatch and his forces. He went on to criticize the land run as the product of an "evil design," intended to skin legitimate settlers and the basis for the "wrong done me by Little Ben Harrison." He argued that forces in Guthrie had conspired against him because of his work against the "silk gown commission," which had settled land disputes in that community, and for his work against Guthrie interests in the legislature. Ultimately the same forces that conspired against him had triumphed across the territory and destroyed a potential paradise. *A Purgatory Made of Paradise* was his only book to be published, but there are some indications that a few of his acrostics or other efforts may have been published in newspapers or temperance publications.[70]

Four romances, *The Census Taker*, *Ignis Fatuus*, *The Stuart Stock*, and *Oro de Dios,* offer tales showing how evil destroys virtuous people and true love. The forces of evil included bankers and the liquor monopoly as well as government agents and the gold standard. He believed that licensing the sale of liquor was equivalent to the sale of indulgences, but scorned prosecution of bootlegging as governmental assistance to a monopoly. He linked the evident evils associated with alcohol to his own problems, asserting that Embry had been drunk when he attacked his brother.[71]

Selected titles from the acrostics and a few miscellaneous poems offer a catalog of Populist issues and socialist solutions. They include three different acrostics for "James B. Weaver"; another three opposing the gold standard and an alliance with England, "Uncle Sam's Bull Fight," "Uncle Sam's Concubine," and "American Eagle"; and others for "Lemuria," "Arguments for One Language," "Abiogenesis," "Charles Sheldon," and "Herbert Spencer." Another set of acrostics dealt with his views on the Bible and related teachings. He wrote on God's glory and argued for the resurrection of Jesus, but believed the Book of Esther was not reliable and that Vashti was right in her conduct. A few acrostics are written in dialect, but he was sympathetic to African Americans as victims of economic and political repression.[72]

Warden Jewett, who replaced Tomlinson, and the State of Kansas finally grew tired of Terrill and released him after declaring him insane in 1906. Oklahoma Territorial Governor Frank Frantz followed with a full pardon despite fears one newspaper reported that Terrill "would kill all the people of Oklahoma and half of Kansas." Terrill had no such intentions, but he was still anxious to establish that he had been punished wrongly.[73]

During the next few years, he regularly sued Jewett and threatened lawsuits against any newspaper that referred to him as felon. He argued he had been held illegally in peonage in the "Kansas slave pen" and toured Kansas and Oklahoma speaking wherever and whenever he could gain an audience. His agitation led to his arrest for abusive speech on one occasion, but also may have contributed to an Oklahoma decision to abandon its arrangement with Kansas prisons. Terrill also continued to speak on varied political issues and circulated petitions calling for a statewide vote on the capital location question during 1909.[74]

Thereafter, he gave up on legal appeals and decided to devote himself to completing *A Purgatory Made of a Paradise*. He wrote a few other plays and books in subsequent years, but drew much less newspaper attention during this period as he concentrated on business pursuits based on his purported skills in geology. He was active as an oil scout and promoter for the last ten years of his life. [75]

Terrill had done much to discredit the Populists, but the party had been destroyed decades earlier by forces far beyond his influence. The key to that development took place at the Democratic National Convention in 1896. William Jennings Bryan delivered his electrifying "Cross of Gold" speech promoting free silver, the coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one to gold, in order to create the kind of inflationary money policy the Populists and their predecessors had been advocating for decades. The loss of that key issue, the Democratic platform's call for regulation of trusts, and Bryan's known sympathy to other Populist ideas left the Populist Party with little real choice other than to make him their candidate as well.[76]

Bryan's nomination also produced what most historians consider the first class election in American history. The Panic of 1893 had left the nation in financial crisis. Strikes proliferated and fears of anarchy grew accordingly. In 1894 the US Army responded to those fears by abandoning nine posts, including Fort Supply, Oklahoma, for the expressed purpose of augmenting "force available near the large cities . . . to prevent disorder."[77] The sense of crisis that had shaped the Populist Movement had reached its zenith. For many the kinds of Darwinian struggles Donnelly had depicted in *Caesar's Column* seemed to be at hand.

Bryan's call for reform addressed those concerns, but the Republicans saw him only as a dangerous fanatic. Theodore Roosevelt considered him an incipient Robespierre. William Allen White's "What's the Matter with Kansas," the editorial that Republican leadership credited with the party's ultimate victory, captured that fear. Bryan had advocated legislation to make the masses prosperous rather than relying upon prosperity to leak downward. White responded: "That's the stuff. Give the prosperous man the dickens. Legislate the thriftless man into ease . . . Whoop it up for the ragged trousers; put the lazy greasy fizzle who can't pay his debts on the altar, and bow down and worship him."[78]

Bryan went on to capture almost 47 percent of the popular vote while winning the electoral votes of twenty-two of the forty-five states. Despite being significantly outspent, the Democrats swept the Midwest along with their traditional strongholds in the South. Perhaps more significant, they made inroads in many Republican strongholds. Bryan gained the Democratic nomination again in 1900 and 1908, but fell short of those percentages in his later efforts.[79]

In the meantime, the People's Party struggled to maintain its identity as more and more of its key issues and proposals were preempted by major parties after the Alaskan gold strike of 1898 produced a return of general prosperity and the Spanish-American War that same year added to a general sense of national unity. Accordingly, Populists met the fate of other third-party movements throughout American history with one very important exception. Prior and subsequent third-party movements tended to leave one principal issue as their legacy rather than the wide variety embraced by the Populists. Their concerns and programs became the foundation for the Progressive Era, a period of sustained reform that lasted through the presidential administrations of Republicans Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft and Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

As William Allen White opined, the Progressives "caught the Populists in swimming and stole all of the clothing except the frayed under drawers of free silver."[80] Before that process was complete, the Republicans of Oklahoma Territory also had managed to preempt the one local issue that might have allowed the Populist Party to claim a share of political power in Oklahoma. That transpired when Dennis Flynn and the Republicans were able to use the "free homes" issue to secure their hold on the territorial congressional delegation, although the idea was advocated first by Samuel Crocker. In 1892 Crocker's work in conducting a territorial census, which was then to be used as the basis for redistricting, took him to Cloud Chief, where he founded the first club to promote free homes, the reduction of costs for fulfilling land claim requirements. Free Homes Clubs would soon dot the territory, but neither Crocker nor the Populists were able to capitalize on his idea.[81]

Crocker returned to national politics to lead a successful effort reorganizing an Anti-Monopoly Party convention in 1893 that was set to endorse the presidential hopes of John Sherman, who had authored the Sherman Anti-Trust Act three years prior. However, Crocker, Donnelly, and a large number of their allies opposed Sherman because of his continued support of the gold standard. Crocker formed a dissident group that bolted the meeting to create an organization opposing Sherman.[82]

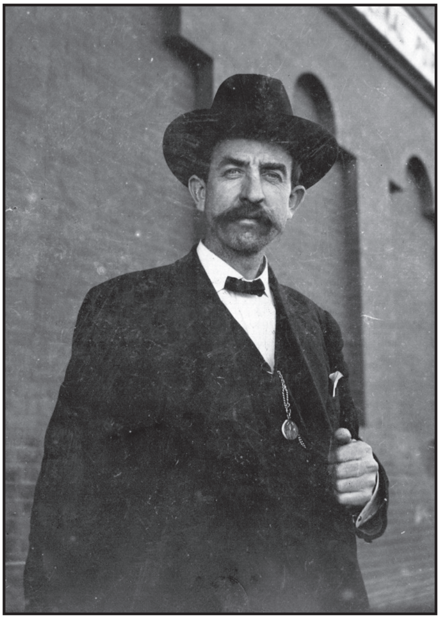
Crocker advocated an inflationary money policy throughout his career and never completely abandoned the Greenbackers solution. Nevertheless, he endorsed the free silver movement in 1896, even promoting its concepts with a cribbage board he patented.[83] He and many of his Populist cohorts in Oklahoma soon joined the Democratic Party, but others were still trying to maintain a party structure as late as 1908 while a remnant had joined forces with an emerging socialist party.[84]

Crocker never abandoned his earlier socialist convictions. The last of his known writings affirmed his continuing hope for the creation of expanded federal powers to create a more equitable distribution of wealth in accord with socialist ideas. Such ideas did not always find a welcome in the Democratic Party in Oklahoma Territory and may account for his continuing political failures. The sooner issue seems to have died by the time of his last campaign in 1912, but his opponents continued to exploit the agitator label.[85]

In the meantime a new generation of leaders had come to dominate Democratic politics in Oklahoma. In 1905 William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Charles N. Haskell, Robert L. Owen, and others used the organization of the Sequoyah Convention to foster their own political ambitions. Each would go on to play a major role at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and in early state politics.

Murray had moved from Texas to the Chickasaw Nation in 1898 after a checkered career in teaching, newspapers, and politics. By 1905 he had built a prosperous legal practice linked to his marriage to the niece of the Chickasaw governor and his knowledge of treaties and laws pertaining to the Indians. He played a major role in Chickasaw politics and was soon well known in Indian Territory for his fiery calls for political reform. His advocacy of agricultural diversification, particularly alfalfa cultivation, earned him his sobriquet.[86]

Murray was a lifelong Democrat, but had adopted some Populist ideas while still a small-town newspaperman in Texas. The particular



William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, 1906 (5899, Frederick S. Barde Collection, OHS).

ideas he supported were those that coincided with his agrarian beliefs. By 1891 that meant support for alien land laws, agricultural education, graduated income taxes, and federal land loans. On the other hand, he opposed the subtreasury plan, government ownership of the railroads, and the socialist-flavored ideas advocated by Populists such as Crocker and Terrill.

The Sequoyah Convention was ostensibly intended to create the framework for an American Indian state separate from Oklahoma Territory, but Murray and others knew that was a futile hope. They focused instead on creating a reform-oriented constitution that they could use to promote their personal goals if and when a genuine opportunity for statehood arrived. They each achieved their goals after the Sequoyah Convention spurred Congress to accede to statehood for Oklahoma. On June 6, 1906, Congress passed an enabling act permitting the formation of a single state from the Twin Territories.[87]

Five months later territorial voters elected ninety-nine Democrats, twelve Republicans, and one Independent to write a governing document for the new state. Henry S. Johnston chaired an organizational meeting for the convention that elected Murray as presiding officer and the labor leader Peter Hanraty as vice president. The Democrats elected Charles Haskell, another strong Murray supporter, as majority floor leader. Henry Asp of Guthrie led the Republican minority. Robert

Owen was not a member of the convention but worked prominently as a lobbyist for prohibition and woman suffrage.[88]

The composition of the convention and its leadership clearly indicated an orientation for reform consistent with the national Progressive agenda promoted by President Theodore Roosevelt. Additionally, a series of scandals in Oklahoma and Indian Territories made political leaders responsive to the need for reform. By this time, even William Allen White and others who had scorned the Populists were admitting they had identified some important issues.[89] Stated differently, the people and their leaders were now ready to implement the ideas the Populists had called for in prior decades.

The broad agreement on a reform agenda complemented Murray's forceful leadership and allowed him to dominate the drafting of the constitution through appointments and as presiding officer. He also wrote some sections, while his close ally Johnston wrote those for the initiative and referendum. Other features included strict regulation of corporations, protections for the rights of labor, and penal reform. Political leaders and pundits of the era recognized it as the fulfillment of the Progressive vision; one enthusiast proclaimed the creation of a new kind of state.[90]

President Theodore Roosevelt was less enthusiastic and his concerns reveal important distinctions between the ways Populism and Progressivism have been understood. He forced modification of some of the initial Jim Crow proposals by threatening to withhold his signature, but continued to view the document as "unfit for publication." Some of Roosevelt's reluctance was attributable to Oklahoma Republicans' opposition and widespread party concerns about the loss of territorial patronage appointments. He certainly did not want to facilitate the organization of a new Democratic state and finally signed the document only when he could find no legal basis for rejecting it.[91]

A deeper concern may explain both Roosevelt's concern and Murray's enduring reputation as a Populist rather than a Progressive. Roosevelt regarded the convention delegates as a "zoological garden of cranks."[92] In contrast William Jennings Bryan asserted that the constitution was one of "the great documents of modern times" and the "best constitution today of any state in the union."[93] In effect, Roosevelt's assessment focused on the perceived qualities of the delegates while Bryan addressed his sense of the content of the document the delegates had written. The leader of the Progressive Movement was troubled about credentials, appearances, educational attainment, and styles. He and the Progressives had adopted the Populists' issues but not their personalities, and certainly not their tendency toward bombastic appeals to the lowest common denominator in their search for votes.

Roosevelt also found abundant evidence to support his fears within the Oklahoma Constitution. It was filled with an incredible variety of details making it the longest state constitution ever written. The oft-cited example of its prescription for the flash point of kerosene is only one of many such examples. For Roosevelt, such excesses of zeal made the Oklahoma Constitution Populist rather than Progressive. In sharp contrast, some Populists remnants and a number of socialist newspapers condemned the document for ignoring much of the Shawnee Demands and other more substantive reforms.[94]

The judgement of historians, political scientists, and economists have tended to agree with Roosevelt's evaluation of the inherent flaws in Oklahoma's founding document.[95] His dismissal of the authors as dangerous cranks is arguable. That was little more than an echo of his earlier perception of Bryan as the potential leader for a reign of terror. Each of the convention's leaders would carry their reform agenda from the Constitutional Convention and beyond and were rarely if ever depicted as radicals. Owen would go on to earn distinction as a Progressive leader in the US Senate, a cosponsor of legislation creating the Federal Reserve.[96]

Murray was the only one of the group who would be identified as a Populist and demagogue throughout his career. He was elected to the first state legislature in 1908 where he served as speaker of the house and, together with Johnston in the senate, led in creating Jim Crow policies that had been left out of the constitution to make it acceptable to Roosevelt. Defeated for governor in 1910, he then won successive terms to the US House of Representatives in 1912 and 1914. He was defeated for reelection in 1916, largely for his championing of President Woodrow Wilson's preparedness policy in response to the First World War in Europe. Following another failed gubernatorial campaign in 1918, he returned to farming and then tried to develop an agricultural colony in Bolivia.[97]

Murray's temporary departure from Oklahoma coincided with a turbulent era in the state's politics. In 1914 the Socialist Party candidate for governor received more than 20 percent of the vote statewide and more than 175 socialists were elected to local and county offices that year, including six to the state legislature. The First World War triggered both economic prosperity and heightened nativism that effectively destroyed the party, but individual members would play major roles in the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League that formed in

Henry S. Johnston, 1907 (4527, Sturms *Magazine Collection, OHS).*

1921. Struggles between that organization and the Ku Klux Klan for influence within the Democratic Party and other issues produced the impeachment and removal of Governor Jack Walton in 1923 and dominated the rest of the decade. The storm continued when Henry Johnston returned to politics, winning the governorship in 1926.[98]

Before his role at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, Johnston had graduated from Baker University in Baldwin City, Kansas. Shortly after graduation, he moved to Colorado where he read law and became a member of the Colorado bar in 1891. He probably developed his Populist flavored political beliefs as a youth in Kansas, but little is known about those details of his life. In 1893 he participated in the Cherokee Outlet opening and opened a law office in Perry. He was elected to the Oklahoma Territorial Council in 1896. He was serving as Noble County attorney when elected to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and played a key role there while forming a lasting bond with Murray. He was then elected to the first Oklahoma Senate, serving as president pro tempore. Thereafter, he failed in two attempts to win election to Congress, which seemed to end his political career. The tumult of the next decade, however, encouraged voters to look to familiar candidates from the past.[99]

Johnston won the gubernatorial election in 1926 after a tumultuous campaign featuring charges that he supported the Ku Klux Klan.

He claimed he had never joined the organization but had endorsed its purposes. The issue followed him into office and he was soon embroiled with the legislature over his support for education and a hospital for crippled children. He survived an impeachment attempt in his first year in office but faced new pressures after Democratic Party candidates suffered widespread losses in conjunction with the 1928 presidential election.[100]

Johnston worked arduously for the Democratic nominee, Al Smith of New York, but Oklahoma voters swung Republican for the first time in the state's history largely because of Smith's Roman Catholicism. Democratic Party leaders blamed Johnston for the party's losses, and his work for the Smith campaign also destroyed the strong support he had enjoyed from Oklahoma churchmen who had believed he shared their Fundamentalist orientation. He had been a spokesman for dry forces, taught Bible classes, and lectured on related topics such as the second coming of Jesus, who he projected would arrive in 1936. He was the first Oklahoma governor to precede his inauguration with a prayer.[101]

The 1929 session of the senate succeeded with its second try at impeachment, filing eleven charges against the governor; they went on to sustain only a single charge of general incompetence. Johnston had not been particularly adept as governor, but was removed only after he had been personally discredited. That result followed widespread publicity about two related concerns: his purported over-reliance on his secretary, Mayme Hammonds, and his links to Rosicrucianism. Johnston had first met Hammonds when she was an organizer for the Klan's women's auxiliary. That orientation alone ensured some opposition. She soon alienated yet other legislators in her secretarial role of screening access to Johnston, which led to accusations that she had an improper influence on him. Johnston's famous defense of Hammonds as an "innocent ewe lamb" did little to offset the skepticism about her influence and was widely ridiculed.[102]

Concerns multiplied when Hammonds's uncle, James Armstrong, was introduced into the equation. Armstrong headed an "asphalt trust" and was both a Rosicrucian and a promoter of Yogi Wassan, a noted yoga teacher. The Rosicrucian issue drew the most attention partly because of widespread misunderstanding of its teachings. There have been different Rosicrucian bodies, and some variations in teachings over the centuries, but also a core of beliefs. Among the more important of these are a claim to ancient wisdom derived from Atlantis and Lemuria, and esoteric interpretations of the Bible and other historic religious writings. Particular teachings included belief in the evolution of spirit. The particular branch with which Johnston was associated had adapted the words of Jesus to "preach the gospel and heal the sick" as a foundation for their focus on spiritual healing while awaiting the Age of Aquarius.[103]

One of the early charges against Johnston was that he had urged the legislature to pass a bill speedily so that his signing would align with the right astrological signs in accord with Rosicrucian teachings. He responded that he had only spoken in jest about the legislation and was not a member of the Rosicrucians, but his denials were overshadowed by the attention given Hammonds and her uncle. Even *The Nation* joined the discussion declaring "Oklahoma Goes Rosicrucian" and identifying Armstrong as Johnston's "mystic pope," asserting that Oklahoma was at risk of "being gagged by a swarm of spirits, and compelled once more to battle with the Great Unseen."[104]

This was, of course, the stuff of character assassination rather than a worthwhile contribution to a political debate, but no one questioned the purported relationship between the Rosicrucian issue and Johnston's performance as governor. Johnston denied membership in the Rosicrucian order, which was technically true, but he supported the organization, was enrolled in the order's correspondence courses while seated as governor, and privately admitted a strong preference for its teachings. He also wrote one of the directors during and immediately following his impeachment trial, reporting on his struggles.[105]

The pursuit of higher wisdom that defines Rosicrucianism provides the key to understanding Henry Johnston and to characteristics of many Populist thinkers. He was an uncritical student and promoter of the ideas of Christian Science, theosophy, spiritualism, the Brotherhood of Light, and the Advanced Thought. He was also a joiner, particularly of organizations featuring ornate rituals. At different times he was active in the Masons, the Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows, and other lodges. Some of his interest in the Klan likely was in response to its ritual as well as its claim to support law and order.[106]

He served as grand chancellor for the Knights of Pythias in Oklahoma Territory and then in the first year of statehood. He was worshipful master for the Perry Masonic Lodge and grand master for the Scottish Rite Grand Lodge of Oklahoma in 1916 and 1924 respectively. He concluded his report as grand master in 1925 with a speech drawing extensively from the Rosicrucian teachings of Max Heindel and related writings of Manly P. Hall, a promoter of Atlantis-related histories. The next year he joined the American Theosophical Society and wrote that organization about his plans as governor.[107]

As Johnston went into temporary political retirement, Oklahoma faced new challenges with the onset of the Great Depression. The resultant economic devastation created conditions favoring Alfalfa Bill Murray, who had only recently returned from Bolivia. The old Populist evils of bankers, corporations, and cash shortages now confronted a new generation. Murray's campaign addressed those issues while offering a textbook case of the association between Populism and racism. His "dirty drawers" speeches, exploiting his reputation for personal uncleanness, remain a model for demagoguery.[108]

His performance in office furthered the image. At his worst, he seemed to cultivate disapprobation. At his best, he revealed his polish and cultivation, gaining the respect of people as diverse as those who had joined him at the Sequoyah and Constitutional Conventions. In his gubernatorial campaign, Murray had portrayed himself as the people's candidate and acted consistently upon taking office. His efforts helped to stem drainage of taxable wealth from the state and he achieved reforms in property assessment practices that reduced small homeowners tax burdens by $141 million. He slashed government costs in almost every area but promoted free textbooks for Oklahoma's schoolchildren. He used his own funds, and those he milked from state employees, to feed the destitute.[109]

The combination of his gubernatorial success and flamboyant actions in "bridge wars" with Texas, efforts to stabilize markets for petroleum, and otherwise respond to the impact of the Great Depression in Oklahoma generated recognition far beyond the state. That convinced him to try for the presidency in 1932. On February 20, *Time* magazine featured him on its cover, devoting a full spread to his career and campaign. His campaign for "Bread, Bacon, Butter, and Beans" drew other favorable responses in the early months of his candidacy, but often more attention was given to his colorfulness than his proposals. One reporter avowed that he had put on the "best show Chicago had seen in months."[110]

His opponents portrayed him as a dangerous man who threatened the very foundations of economic life in the United States and his campaign had effectively collapsed by the time of the Democratic National Convention. Nevertheless, he was elected a member of the resolutions committee for the convention and was able to use that position to author a minority plank with strong echoes of his Populist beliefs. The plank mirrored the reforms he had advocated in his campaign: abolition of trusts, a banking system with state currency issued against cotton and wheat, "coinage of enough gold and silver to meet normal demands," full payment of soldiers' bonuses, ending injunctions against strikes, maximized income taxes on "excess salaries of corporation managers," and an interstate oil compact commission.[111]

He was the only signer of the plank and delegates defeated it by a voice vote. Some consolation came when Henry Johnston placed his name in nomination as a "sun-crowned, God-gifted, gigantic man." The last two years of his gubernatorial term were less rewarding and marred by disputes with federal programs over the administration of patronage. He ran again for governor in 1938 and for the US Senate four years later, but was defeated each time. His last major political act was chairing the Dixiecrat Convention in Oklahoma in 1948.[112]

Murray's prejudices increased and manners deteriorated as he aged. He may have been a victim of something equivalent to Alzheimer's disease in his last years while political and economic defeats undoubtedly added to his bitterness. Those developments could account for some of the more bizarre characteristics of his books, but none of the tactics he employed or views he advocated in those years contradicted his words and actions from the decades when he enjoyed prosperity and success. His views on race had always placed him with those representing the worst racial attitudes and practices. He had long believed he was an authority on that issue as well as manners and history.

His most extreme published views on race are found in *The Negro's Place in Call of Race*, which he self-published in 1945. He asserted therein that black people never sought equality, had never made any progress except under tutelage of whites, and white blood could improve the Negro but not vice versa. There was a place for Negroes and Jews but not in policy formation. He extended his racist views toward other groups as well, arguing that only Christian and blue-and-grey-eyed races were capable of governing themselves. Almost half of the book consisted of appendices, among which were "The Protocols of Zion." Other appendices claimed Communists were systematically poisoning American leaders and were joined with the United Nations in promoting civil rights, which represented greater dangers to the United States than war. He even managed to argue that Hitler had his science right but not his policies.[113]

Comparable ideas pervade *Adam and Cain: A Symposium of Old Bible History, Sumerian Empire, Importance of Blood of Race, Juggling Juggernaut of the Jews, The Gothic Civilization of Adam and the Ten Commandments of His Church*. The preface asserts that the biblical Adam, who would be known as Thor, Zeus, and other names in mythology, was a historic "king who founded the city of Troy, established the Gothic civilization in the mental twilight of all the dark races."

Elsewhere, he claimed that descendants of Adam went to Mexico from Greece before the time of Christ and the evidence for that connection can be seen in the Chickasaws' use of the swastika symbol originally designed by Adam.[114]

As was true of Donnelly's *Atlantis* and many of its imitators, most of Murray's conclusions were based on diffusionist arguments. Murray regarded Donnelly as the best of the utopian/dystopian writers, especially for *Caesar's Column,* but he asserted that *Atlantis* should be treated as fiction while *Adam and Cain* was history. He based those conclusions on his reading of two major sources: the writings of Laurence Austine Waddell and John H. Harvey. He offered no further evidence for his beliefs nor evidence in support of his scholarship or other credentials.[115]

Angie Debo addressed the gap between Murray's qualifications and the expertise he claimed in a surprisingly sympathetic assessment. She praised Murray for his self-taught knowledge of constitutions and agriculture and compared his thirst for knowledge to that of Abraham Lincoln. She concluded: "Small wonder he thinks that by reading a few books he became a classical scholar, an economist, and an authority on international affairs. Many of his contemporaries, never having read any book, have accepted his evaluation."[116]

Debo's understanding of Murray's thinking also contributes to any evaluation of Donnelly, Crocker, Terrill, and comparable figures in the Populist movement. It does not seem to fit Henry Johnston, but he shared the conviction that the problems faced by American society were rooted in the structure of the prevailing order as well as particular policies and sought urgent and fundamental changes in both. Further, he mirrored their pursuit of alternative sources of wisdom and understanding.

Each was defined by efforts to respond to a chaotic era that they believed resulted from inherent failures in religious, scientific, economic, and political systems. Their demands included particular proposals rooted in the expectation that the national government could solve the problems they perceived. They saw knowledge through diffusionist and syncretistic lenses that they believed enabled them to see connections that others had missed in the history of the ancient world or in varied religions. Quite often, they believed themselves interpreters of the latest developments in science. They expressed respect for many of the precepts of Christianity but rejected institutional religion, even as they saw its teachings primarily as a foundation for the justice and equality they sought.

Their beliefs about the ancient world, along with their utopian ideas, placed them among a large contingent often regarded as cranks. Most of those beliefs remain in the realm of the curious, despite continuing fascination with Atlantis and other antediluvian myths in some circles. In contrast, many of the religious ideas propagated by these thinkers became near normative a century after the first widespread challenges to orthodoxy. In this instance, however, their books and thoughts mirrored the spirit of the age much more than they influenced it.

The Populists' political and economic ideas were another matter entirely. According to Charles Postel, they represented a "particular constellation of ideas, circulating within a particular coalition of reform and set in motion within a distinct historical context."[117] Those ideas then spawned a wave of reform that shaped the first decades of the twentieth century. In the meantime, the Populist Party in Oklahoma and the nation died as its principal ideas were adopted by the major parties.

Historians currently share a widespread consensus about these facts and interpretations concerning the Populists, but a number of overlapping problems remain. First, it does not resolve the historic and contemporary association of Populism with demagoguery and racism, or the problematic legacy of Populist oratory. Michael Kazin resolved part of that difficulty by writing about populism with a small "p" to describe individuals and movements which employed Populist tactics to address issues that emerged after the 1890s. That is a useful distinction, but Populist issues, racism, and demagoguery were inseparable in Murray's career.

Second, even if Kazin's distinction could be employed consistently, historians and other writers face the challenge of distinguishing among the issues and reforms that spawned a movement, the movement itself, and the political party that first carried those ideas to the electorate. That issue is compounded when trying to deal with Populist issues that appear after the 1890s.[118] In contrast, a focus on Populist ideas and habits of mind fosters the recognition of links and continuities between diverse eras and individuals. That perspective is seen in the persistence of Populist themes and characteristics in the careers of Crocker, Terrill, Murray, and Johnston. Their lives also provide a foundation for understanding the complex mix of influences, ideas, and personalities that shaped Oklahoma in its formative years.

There were, however, important differences that separated the four.[119] The most important of these were seen in their differing views on race and socialism. Crocker and Terrill never focused on race—that fact alone separated them from Murray. They also advocated socialist solutions, which Murray and Johnston found abhorrent. These differences represented a new Democratic Party synthesis that emerged with statehood. However, the racial views reflected in the Oklahoma Constitution and subsequent imposition of Jim Crow laws also mirrored ongoing changes in the nation at large.

In 1907 some Republicans such as Theodore Roosevelt and notable examples in Oklahoma maintained some aspects of their identity as the party of Lincoln, but the Progressive Era ultimately solidified institutionalized racism. The final step in this process came with Woodrow Wilson's actions introducing discrimination in the civil service. The implementation of Jim Crow in Oklahoma then could almost be seen as a part of its embrace of the national trend except for one key difference. In Oklahoma and other states with a Populist heritage, a new generation of political leaders adapted Populist rhetorical forms to exploit the race issue. Murray demonstrated his mastery of those techniques when he added the race issue to the usual Populist villains when railing against those who opposed the constitution he had helped to write.[120]

The new political synthesis in Oklahoma also soon turned away from sympathy toward socialism characteristic of Crocker and Terrill. Thus, by the time of their deaths they might very well have considered searching for alternatives to the Democratic Party, as did many of their cohorts. Yet they just as surely would have supported Murray's presidential platform, if not his campaign for and conduct of the governor's office.

The key to reconciliation of this set of seemingly contradictory arguments is found in the Populists' characteristics, their responses to economic conditions, and the ideas they shared. Terrill and Crocker would have seen Murray as a fellow agitator and heard echoes of the rhetoric and issues they had worked against during their lives. Like Johnston, they would have found Murray's attacks on the trusts and calls for inflationary actions in his presidential campaign an updated version of the Populist ideas they had pursued. They would have seen parallels between the crisis of their era and that of the Great Depression. And, they would have seen the New Deal adoption of inflationary money policy as the last of the Populist movement's big ideas to reach fulfillment.

That goal had first unified Greenbackers, then assorted bimetallists in the decades before Democrats adopted free silver and other Populist proposals. The Progressives proceeded with their borrowed agenda without the "frayed under drawers of free silver," but their creation of the Federal Reserve System in 1913 had established a mechanism that could be used for federal manipulation of the money supply. Murray supported that measure at the time once he and his agrarian allies had modified it to protect agricultural interests. His presidential platform brought that issue to the forefront again. His updated plan used different means than those of earlier Populist proposals, but the principle remained. So did the arguments of those who defended the gold standard.[121]

Murray's opponents depicted him as an ignorant Populist—a radical whose ideas would destroy the very foundations of US economic life. Accordingly, the Democratic Party endorsed deflationary actions and "an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance to accomplish a saving of not less than twenty-five per cent in the cost of the Federal Government."[122] Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the presidency with that platform, but soon adopted varied means to create an expanded money supply that led to expansion of federal reserve notes, another means of achieving the goals Murray had advocated.[123] Once again, yesterdays radicalism had become the instrument of those in power.

This time, however, the immediate cause for the reversal came with the adoption of the ideas presented in John Maynard Keynes's *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, the source for the quote at the beginning of this article. He was not a Populist and he had been arguing against the "barbarism of the gold standard" for decades by the time his ideas were implemented in public policy. He went on to praise "the brave army of heretics" among world economists who had been able to focus on facts rather than perpetuating erroneous economic policies. Nevertheless, any fair reading of American economic history could conclude that Populists had prepared the ground for the acceptance of Keynes's proposals in the United States.[124]

Keynes's understanding of the influence of ideas also can be applied to the Populists with two exceptions. First, Keynes's "heretics" came from within the establishment; the Populist challenge was directed at prevailing economic, political, and cultural institutions by outsiders. Second, the scope of change spawned by the Populists' ideas was far greater than those Keynes credited. Rather than "academic scribblers," it was the cranks who shaped the future.[125]

Any student of the American promise depicted in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, the rise of the Jacksonians, and varied reform movements in the nation's history can find encouragement in that achievement.[126] At the same time, that understanding must not detract from Keynes's caution about the nature of ideas and their transmission;

they can be forces for "good or evil." That is true whether they are presented by academics, the defenders of orthodoxy, or cranks.

Some of the Populists' curious ideas became normative while others were set aside where they may be discovered or ridiculed anew by the future. Some reforms triggered major improvements while others created new problems and the best of those outcomes may yet present problems to another era. Thus the Populists called for an expanded federal government to reach their goals, while those groups many regard as their successors see big government as the source of the concerns they define. Oklahomans created a government embodying reforms to correct the problems of their era, but created an unwieldy constitution.

Finally, however understood, the lives and ideas of Terrill, Crocker, Johnston, and Murray as depicted herein each offer some basis for an understanding of Populist ideas and influences in the United States and especially Oklahoma. Terrill had little real individual importance, but attention to his career and writing would add to any study of Populism, utopian expressions, or the sooner problem. Crocker was more significant, and his role in varied national reform movements and his work among the Boomers and in political party formation in Oklahoma seems to demand a thorough study of his life and influence.

Johnston also merits more attention. His role in the first state legislature, enduring relationship to the Klan, bond with Murray, and his impeachment each call for additional study. Likewise, any study of lodges during his lifetime, and especially those he led in Oklahoma would profit from an assessment of his commitments. Murray, of course always has been known as a key to understanding the state's past. Writing in 1947, Angie Debo could justifiably add, "one who understands his mind and character can understand Oklahoma politics."[127]

Endnotes

[*] Alvin O. Turner is emeritus professor of history and dean of social sciences and humanities at East Central University. He discussed this topic with Duane Anderson, Bob Blackburn, Mary Jane Warde, Clyde Ellis, Davis Joyce, David Levy, and Worth Robert Miller who also shared his research notes on I. N. Terrill. Their contributions were augmented by David Peters and Sarah Coates at the Oklahoma State University archives; Kelly Houston at the Pioneer Woman Museum; and Nathan Turner, Erin Brown, and especially Michael Williams of the Oklahoma Territorial Museum. The photograph on page 296 is the county jail at Winfield, Kansas, in the summer 1885, with Samuel J. Crocker behind bars for Boomer activities (5587, Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS).

[1] John Maynard Keynes, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (London, Macmillan, 1936), 372, as found at www.hetwebsite.net/het/texts/keynes/gt/gtcont.htm.

[2] Worth Robert Miller, "Crocker, Samuel," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CR013; Donald E. Green,

"Settlement Patterns," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entryname=SETTLEMENT%20PATTERNS; Bob Burke, "Johnston, Henry Simpson," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=JO015; Keith L. Bryant Jr., "Murray, William Henry David," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=MU014. The Rosicrucians are a mystic order first documented in the seventeenth century that claims esoteric knowledge derived from a previously unknown world civilization. Antediluvian texts offer purported histories of civilization prior to the great flood described in Genesis 7–9 of the Bible.

[3] Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (New York: The Modern Library, 1941). Different sources count as many as five hundred organizations active during the decade following its publication, but the real importance of Bellamy's ideas are seen in the degree to which his ideas are addressed in the writings of Populists and other contemporaries. Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 72–73.

[4] Postel, *The Populist Vision,* 72–73; Frederic Cople Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters: Cataclysmic Thought in America, 1885–1918* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 5–7 and passim; William Allen White, *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), 218–19.

[5] Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).

[6] George B. McClellan, "The Militia and the Army," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* 72, January 1886, 297.

[7] Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 281–89; Arrell Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 173–76.

[8] Green, "Settlement Patterns,"; Mary Ann Blochowiak, "Sooner," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=SO010.

[9] Worth Robert Miller, "The Populist Vision: A Roundtable Discussion," *Kansas History* 32 (Spring 2009): 20–21: Everett Walters, "Populism: Its Significance in American History," in Donald Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett, eds., *Essays in American Historiography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 217–30; Robert C. McMath Jr., *American Populism* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 9–18; Norman Pollock, *The Populist Mind* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xxi–xxvi.

[10] This omission is characteristic of all of the sources cited above and is especially noteworthy in Pollock's study of the Populist mind. Postel's study provides a notable exception to this rule.

[11] Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 19, 97, 248, 284, and passim; Winthrop Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 289–95; Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9, 10, 106, 265, and passim; Kenneth M. Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity: America in Utopian Writings, 1888–1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1976), 70, 80, and passim.

[12] Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: Portrait of a Politician* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1962); Charles P. Pierce, *Idiot America* (New York: Anchor Books, 2010), 19–20, 20–26; Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 5–7; Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 11, 20, and passim; McMath, *American Populism*, 161; Pollock, *The Populist Mind*, 470–72.

[13] "The Omaha Platform, July 1892," in George B. Tindall, *A Populist Reader* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 90–96; Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 279, 300–01; Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 57; Pollack, *The Populist Mind*, 59–65.

[14] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 58–61; Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 389–90.

[15] Pollock, *The Populist Mind*, 470; Pierce, *Idiot America*, 18; Ignatius Donnelly, *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882); Ignatius Donnelly,

Ragnarok: The Age of Fire and Gravel (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883); Ignatius Donnelly, *The Great Cryptogram: Francis Bacon's Cipher in the So-Called Shakespeare Plays* (Chicago: R. S. Peale and Co., 1887); Ignatius Donnelly, *Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: F. J. Schulte and Company, 1890).

[16] A. G. Galanopoulos and Edward Bacon, *Atlantis: The Truth Behind the Legend* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), 11, 47, 51, and passim; Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 96–103; Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 101–09; Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit*, 331–47. Helena Blavatsky was a leading contemporary proponent of theosophy, the first in a line of popular writers such as Annie Besant and Manly P. Hall. A Google search produced a list of more than 280 titles dealing with aspects of the Atlantis legend.

[17] Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 104–05; Donald H. DeMeules, "Ignatius Donnelly: A Don Quixote in the World of Science," *Minnesota History Magazine*, June 1961, collections.mnhs.org/MNHistoryMagazine/articles/37/v37i06p229-234.pdf.

[18] Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 200–04 and passim; Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 101–04.

[19] Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 204–10; Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 11; Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 260–63.

[20] "Ignatius Donnelly," The Velikovsky Encyclopedia, www.velikovsky.info/Ignatius_Donnelly; Immanuel Velikovsky, Worlds in Collision (New York: Macmillan, 1950.). The Terrill book is discussed within this study. Velikovsky is among the better known twentieth-century popularizers of antediluvian explanations for the history of the world.

[21] Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 26–27, 262–65; Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 108–09; Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 17, 58–59; Pollock, who wrote *The Populist Mind*, established that *Caesar's Column* was the only one of 112 sources he reviewed that contained any possible basis for a charge of anti-Semitism (p. xxvi).

[22] Pollock, *The Populist Mind*, xxvi, 472–86.

[23] "The Omaha Platform, July 1892," in Tindall, *A Populist Reader*, 90–96.

[24] Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly*, 309.

[25] Jaher, *Doubters and Dissenters*, 2–5, 9, and passim: Christine McHugh, "Midwestern Populist Leadership and Edward Bellamy," *American Studies* 19, no. 2 (1979): 57–74; Worth Robert Miller, *Oklahoma Populism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 59. Baum was also a member of one of the theosophy societies of the time. John Algeo, "Oz—A Notable Theosophist: L. Frank Baum," The Theosophical Society, www.theosophical.org/publications/1583. There are also interesting parallels between utopian developments in the larger culture and diverse movements among African American and American Indian groups. These included a Back-to-Africa movement in Oklahoma as depicted in William Elmer Bittle, *The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back-to-Africa Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964). Clyde Ellis also recognized some common features in the better known Ghost Dance movement in response to the author's email on September 26, 2016. Further study will be required to establish a link between these movements and the spirit of the times or as an illustration of diffusionism.

[26] Lew Wallace, *The Fair God Or, the Last of the 'Tzins* (Boston: James Osgood, 1873).

[27] M. Jean Ferrill, "Rainfall Follows the Plow," Encyclopedia of the Great Plains, plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.ii.049.

[28] Wallace, *The Fair God*; D. E. Newsom, *Kicking Bird and the Birth of Oklahoma* (Perkins: Evans Publications, 1983), 112–13, 117, and passim; Dan W. Peery, "Hon. Milton W. Reynolds," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13, no. 1 (March 1935): 56–62.

[29] Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 199; Gretchen Ritter, "Silver Slippers and a Golden Cap," *Journal of American Studies* 31, no. 2 (1992): 171–203.

[30] Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity*, 192: Dan W. Peery, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13, no. 3 (September 1935): 273–96; Samuel Crocker, "The Science of Life and Triple Selfish System," unpublished manuscript, May

15, 1915, Samuel Crocker Collection: 1845–1935, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[31] Miller, "Crocker, Samuel."

[32] Miller, "Crocker, Samuel"; Dora Ann Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publshing, 1933), 31–32; Danney Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 6–8; *Autobiography of Samuel Crocker*, unpublished manuscript, 31–32, Samuel Crocker Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK (hereafter cited as *Crocker Autobiography*).

[33] *Crocker Autobiography*, 181–88; *Oklahoma War-Chief* (Caldwell, KS), June 18 and July 9, 1885; Peery, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," 276.

[34] *Oklahoma War-Chief*, September 24, 1885; *Crocker Autobiography*, 281 and 1/2.

[35] *Crocker Autobiography*, 281 and 1/2; Carl Coke Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 42–47.

[36] Rister, *Land Hunger*, 189–92; Miller, *Oklahoma Populism,* 15–16; *Oklahoma War-Chief,* July 16, 1885; *Crocker Autobiography*, 219–22;

[37] *Crocker Autobiography*, 222–29; Rister, *Land Hunger*, 189–92.

[38] Peery, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," 278–82; Thomas P. Colbert, "James B. Weaver and the Oklahoma Lands," *Kansas History* 31 (Spring 2008): 190–91.

[39] Blochowiak, "Sooner"; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 176–77.

[40] Blochowiak, "Sooner"; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, 50–51; Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 19–20; *Crocker Autobiography*, 318 and passim.

[41] *Crocker Autobiography*, 318 and passim; Peery, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," 289–92; Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years, Part II," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 7, no. 4 (December 1929): 433 and passim; Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 30; Berlin B. Chapman, "Oklahoma City from Public Land to Private Property, Part II" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 37, no. 3 (Fall 1959): 338 and passim; *Oklahoma Times* (Oklahoma City, OK)*,* May 9, 1889.

[42] Peery, "The First Two Years," 289–90; Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 19–20; Colbert, "James B. Weaver," 191–92.

[43] Berlin B. Chapman, "Oklahoma City from Public Land to Private Property, Part I," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 37, no. 2 (Summer 1959): 219–26; Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 19–24.

[44] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 29–40, Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 27–32.

[45] Full disclosure: the author is the great-great-grandson of David Terrill, I. N.'s brother. *Crocker Autobiography*, 1–2; Orben Casey, "Representative Ira N. Terrill, Lawmaker-Lawbreaker," 1–2, box 7, Orben Casey Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK; Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (Topeka, KS: C. B. Hamilton and son, 1890), 256; *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903.

[46] *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903.

[47] *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903; Casey, "Representative Ira N. Terrill," 3.

[48] "From Manito to Mammon" and "Boomer History," unpublished holographic manuscripts, temporary file number 32, Ira N. Terrill Collection, Oklahoma Territorial Museum Files, Guthrie, OK (hereafter cited as OTMTF). I created the temporary file system in the initial survey of the collection, preliminary to planned organization and further description. I produced a written assessment of the collection at the same time that is now included with the collection.

[49] E. Bee Guthrey, "Early Days in Payne County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 3 (March 1925): 74–80; *Cushing (OK) Herald,* June 18, 1897; *Stillwater (OK) Daily Gazette*, February 20, 1901; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, August 25, 1889; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, June 1, 1898; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, October 1, 1898; *Perkins (OK) Bee*, August 18, 1893.

[50] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 36–40; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, August 25, 1889.

[51] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 45; Dan W. Peery, "Life of George W. Steele," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 12 (December 1934): 385; Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years, Part III," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 8, no. 1 (March 1930): 104–07.

[52] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 44–52; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 178; Peery, "The First Two Years, Part II," 435

[53] *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 3, 1890; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 10, 1890; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 12, 1890; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, October 3, 1890; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, October 4, 1890; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, December 13, 1890.

[54] Peery, "The First Two Years II," 447; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903; Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 49, 52–53.

[55] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 49, 52–53; W. H. Merton, "Oklahoma Territory's First Legislature," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, January 1908.

[56] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 49, 52–53; W. H. Merton, "Oklahoma Territory's First Legislature," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, January 1908.

[57] *Daily East Oregonian* (Pendleton, OR), June 15, 1906. The following reconstruction of events is based on numerous fragmentary accounts found in more than twenty newspapers, of which many were clearly biased and prone toward yellow journalism. These issues, plus editors' limited access to facts, may have created a proliferation of errors that are not always subject to fact checking.

[58] *Stillwater Gazette*, October 7, 1892; *Cushing Herald*, March 18, 1898.

[59] *Daily Ardmoreite* (Ardmore, OK), April 6, 1895; *Crawford Avalanche* (Grayling, MI), April 25, 1909; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903.

[60] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 67–69; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, January 4, 1891; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 11, 1897; *Stillwater (OK) News Gazette*, September 30, 1892; *Stillwater News Gazette*, October 1, 1892; *Stillwater News Gazette*, October 7, 1892.

[61] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 67–69; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, January 4, 1891; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 11, 1897; *Stillwater News Gazette*, September 30, 1892; *Stillwater News Gazette*, October 1, 1892; *Stillwater News Gazette*, October 7, 1892.

[62] *Stillwater News Gazette,* October 20, 1893; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 4, 1893; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 22, 1896; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 1, 1896; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, August 9, 1903; *Topeka (KS) State Journal*, July 2, 1902; *Pacific Reporter,* July term, 1893.

[63] *Cushing Herald*, January 1, 1896; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 8, 1903; *Topeka State Journal*, April 18, 1907; handwritten copy of Terrill's appeal to the Eighth US Court of Appeals, undated, number 132, OTMTF; I. N. Terrill to Senator W. A. Harrison, April 15, 1900, number 158, OTMTF.

[64] I. N. Terrill to Warden J. B. Tomlinson, April 6, 1900, number 160, OTMTF; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 18, 1894.

[65] *The Appeal to Reason* ran selections from the *Ye Songs Uv Sam Yewel* during 1895 and 1896, compare with September 28 and November 2 and 9, 1895; I. N. Terrill, "Sam You Well," number 107, OTMTF.

[66] Many of the following titles by Terrill appear to be fragments of larger works. Those that are intact may run to one hundred pages or more, but most seem to be not more than sixty pages. Assorted pages from *Travels of Venus*, *Law of Life, Love on Venus, A Journey on Jupiter,* and *The Airship*, OTMTF numbers 1, 33–34, 101–03, 106, and 110–31, Ira N. Terrill Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[67] Assorted pages from *Travels of Venus*, *Law of Life, Love on Venus, A Journey on Jupiter,* and *The Airship*, numbers 101, 106, OTMTF and box 1, Ira N. Terrill Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[68] Miscellaneous *Ragnarok* and other materials OTMTF numbers 10, 32, 50, 55, 168-185, 239.

[69] Assorted pages from *Travels of Venus*, *Law of Life, Love on Venus, A Journey on Jupiter,* and *The Airship*, OTMTF numbers 12, 23, 28–30, 402, box 1, Ira N. Terrill Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[70] *The Census Taker*, *Staking a Claim in Oklahoma*, "Oklahoma City," *Oklahoma* manuscript, *The Marshall Milk Maids*, *Great Guthrie*, OTMTF numbers 30–31, 28–30, 35, 105, 252, 258, including a holographic copy of *A Purgatory Made of Paradise* in number 402; I. N. Terrill, *A Purgatory Made of Paradise* (Perkins, OK: self-published, 1907).

[71] *Ignis Fatuus*, *dispensing dispensations*, I. N. Terrill to W. S. Sandler (undated letter), letter to Temperance Union, *The Stuart Stock*, *Rescue the Perishing*, *Oro de Dios*, OTMTF numbers 100, 139, 151, 159, 173, 200, 302–05.

[72] "James B. Weaver" (four versions), "American Bull Fight," "American Eagle," "Lemuria," fragment of a poem about Herbert Spencer, "Bull Fight of '96," "Uncle Sam's Concubine," "Polly Poser," "Abiogenesis," "Our Government in Washington," poem about a black child trying to remove blackness, "De ca ads," "A Man Who Wants a Hoe," "Sermon on the Mount," "Esther," "The Book of Job," "Christ has Risen from the Grave," numbers 6, 84, 85, 17, 18, 39a, 39b, 156, 222, and 228 deal with political topics; abiogenesis at 269 and 291; race is discussed in 171, 182, 212, 213; the Bible is discussed in 49, 78, 108–09, 310, OTMTF. Vashti was deposed from her position as queen because she refused to appear naked before the king's court in the Book of Esther, chapter 1, verses 10–13.

[73] *Cushing Herald*, December 8, 1899; *Tulsa Daily World,* June 15, 1906; Casey, "Representative Ira N. Terrill," 7.

[74] *Daily Ardmoreite*, March 23, 1906; *Topeka Daily Journal,* August 31, 1906: *Topeka Daily Journal*, September 1, 1906; *Topeka Daily Journal*, September 13, 1906; *Chickasha (OK) Daily Express*, June 28, 1908; *Vinita (OK) Daily Chieftain*, June 5, 1909; *Anadarko (OK) Daily Democrat*, September 24, 1907.

[75] *Perkins (OK) Peoples Press*, November 22, 1906; assorted business materials, OTMTF numbers 150–54.

[76] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 135, 153–54; Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 21–22, 164, 241, 269, and passim.

[77] *New York Times,* September 29, 1894; see also related discussions in issues for September 18, 25, and 26, 1894.

[78] White, *The Autobiography of William Allen White*, 269, 280–83.

[79] Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 138–40.

[80] Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Twentieth Century Populism: Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900–1939* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1951), 54.

[81] Miller, *Oklahoma Populism*, 65–66; Terry Paul Wilson, "The Demise of Populism in Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 43, no. 3 (Fall 1965): 265–75.

[82] *Crocker Autobiography*, 348–50.

[83] S. Crocker, Game Apparatus, patent no. 592,081, patentimages.storage.googleapis.com/42/9c/3e/7fd5536b45ac72/US592081.pdf.

[84] *Chandler (OK) News*, July 28, 1904; *Quay (OK) Transcript*, July 29, 1904; *People's Voice* (Norman, OK), November 25, 1904; *Guthrie (OK) Daily Leader*, July 26, 1904; Samuel Crocker, "The Science of Life and Triple Selfish System," Samuel Crocker Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK; Miller, "Samuel Crocker."

[85] *Chandler News*, July 28, 1904; *Quay Transcript*, July 29, 1904; *People's Voice*, November 25, 1904; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, July 26, 1904; Samuel Crocker, "The Science of Life and Triple Selfish System": Miller, "Samuel Crocker."

[86] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 192–96; Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 12–13; William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma: Together with His Biography, Philosophy,*

Statesmanship, and Oklahoma History, Interwoven (Boston: Meador Publishing Company,1945), 308; Francis W. Schruben, "The Return of Alfalfa Bill Murray," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 38–40; Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention, Part I," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1950): 161–92; Keith L. Bryant Jr., "Murray, William Henry David," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entryname=WILLIAM%20 HENRY%20DAVID%20MURRAY.

[87] Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 42–44; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 196.

[88] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 210–15; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 197–99; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 50–57.

[89] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capitol* (Guthrie, OK), July 27, 1906. Kenny Brown has defined these leaders by their opposition to trusts rather than the Progressive label. Kenny L. Brown, "Progressivism in Oklahoma: A Reinterpretation," in Davis D. Joyce, ed, *An Oklahoma I Had Never Seen Before* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998), 27 et seq. That interpretation fits Goble's discussion of the importance of anticorporate sentiment at the convention. Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 216–19

[90] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 202.

[91] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 219–25; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 197–99; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 50–57.

[92] Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 70.

[93] Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 197–99. Danny Adkison, "The Oklahoma Constitution," in David R. Morgan, Robert E. England, and George G. Humphreys, *Oklahoma Politics and Policies: Governing the Sooner State* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 73–78; Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 219–25.

[94] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 218; *The Appeal To Reason*, August 24, 1907; *The Appeal to Reason*, August 31, 1907; *The Appeal to Reason*, September 7, 1907; *The Appeal to Reason*, September 28, 1907. The Shawnee demands called for a wide range of reform—twenty-four measures advocated by a coalition of labor and farm groups who sought an elected commissioner of agriculture; a liberal homestead exemption law; the prohibition of speculation in farm products; an eight-hour workday for miners and public employees; elective offices of labor commissioner and chief mine inspector; health and safety measures for laborers; and protection for employees injured on the job. Other demands included the initiative, referendum, and recall; direct primary elections; compulsory education and free textbooks; prohibitions on most types of child labor and on the contracting of convict labor outside prison walls; and other measures.

[95] Adkison, "The Oklahoma Constitution"; Alvin O. Turner, "Oklahoma Poverty, Religion, and Politics: Lessons from Economic History," in Davis D. Joyce, *Alternative Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 153–56.

[96] Kenny L. Brown, "Owen, Robert Latham," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OW003.

[97] Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 108–11; Bryant, "Murray, William Henry David."

[98] Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 214–18; H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 120–22.

[99] Bob Burke, "Johnston, Henry Simpson," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture,* www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=JO015; Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 214–20; McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State*, 355–56; unidentified clipping, vertical files, Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry, OK; Otis Sullivan, untitled, unpaged manuscript, April 1958, folder 19, box 3, Otis Sullivan Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[100] Otis Sullivan, untitled, unpaged manuscript, April 1958, folder 19, box 3, Otis Sullivan Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK; David C. Boles, "The Effects of the Ku Klux Klan on the Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election of 1926," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 55, no. 4 (Winter 1977–78): 424–32.

[101] Boles, "The Effects of the Ku Klux Klan"; Otis Sullivan, untitled, unpaged manuscript, April 1958, Otis Sullivan Files, folder 19, box 3, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK; Aldrich Blake, "Oklahoma Goes Rosicrucian," *The Nation*, September 14, 1927, 247–48.

[102] Blake, "Oklahoma Goes Rosicrucian," 247–48.

[103] Blake, "Oklahoma Goes Rosicrucian," 247–48; Egon Larsen, *Strange Sects and Cults* (New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1972), 97–109; Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit*, 37–48 and passim; Philip Deslippe, "The American Yoga Scare of 1927: How Traveling Yogis Toppled the Oklahoma State Government," *South Asian American Digital Archive*, September 10, 1925, www.saada.org/tides/article/20150910-4457; Effa Danelson, "Oklahoma's Rosicrucian Crisis," *Occult Digest*, November 1927, 3–4; T. S. Akers, "Henry S. Johnston: Grand Master, Governor, Yogi," okmasonichistory.blogspot.com/2017/03/; Joe Howell, "Governor Henry Johnston Overcame Impeachment," *Tulsa World*, September 27, 1993.

[104] Blake, "Oklahoma Goes Rosicrucian," 248; Otis Sullivan, untitled, unpaged manuscript, April 1958, folder 19, box 3, Otis Sullivan Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

[105] Henry S. Johnston to Rosicrucian Fellowship, April 14 1925 and July 5, 1928, folder 1, box 161, Henry S. Johnston Collection, Oklahoma State University Archives, Stillwater, OK (hereafter cited as Johnston Collection); Johnston to H. Spencer Lewis, August 18, 1927, folder 10, box 161, Johnston Collection.

[106] Johnston to H. Spencer Lewis, August 18, 1927, folder 10, box 161, Johnston Collection; T. S. Akers, "Henry S. Johnston"; Boles, "The Effects of the Ku Klux Klan."

[107] Boles, "The Effects of the Ku Klux Klan"; box 161, Johnston Collection.

[108] Johnston returned to the state senate for two terms beginning in 1932. Morgan and Morgan, *Oklahoma: A History* 123–29: Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, 218–19; Schruben, "The Return of Alfalfa Bill Murray," 44, 55; Robert Henry, "Alfalfa Bill Murray: Our Most Flamboyant Founding Father," *Oklahoma Today*, July–August 1985.

[109] Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, 250–55; Reinhard H. Luthin, *American Demagogues* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941), 110–17.

[110] Luthin, *American Demagogues*, 117–21: "Campaign: Bread, Butter, Bacon, Beans," *Time*, February 29, 1932, content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601320229,00.html.

[111] "Campaign: Bread, Butter, Bacon, Beans," *Time*, February 29, 1932, content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601320229,00.html.

[112] "Campaign: Bread, Butter, Bacon, Beans," *Time*, February 29, 1932, content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601320229,00.html; Luthin, *American Demagogues*, 121–25.

[113] William H. Murray, *The Negro's Place in Call of Race* (Boston: Meadors Press, 1945), forematter, 10–15, 20, 22, 41, and passim.

[114] William H. Murray, *Adam and Cain: A Symposium of Old Bible History, Sumerian Empire, Importance of Blood of Race, Juggling Juggernaut of the Jews, the Gothic Civilization of Adam and the Ten Commandments of His Church* (Tishomingo, OK: self-published, 1951), preface, 17–23, 556–57, and passim.

[115] Murray, *Adam and Cain*, 110.

[116] Angie Debo, *Oklahoma, Foot-Loose and Fancy-Free* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1949), 41.

[117] Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 22.

[118] Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 2–7; Postel almost completely ignores Oklahoma topics and individuals.

[119] The continuity of ideas between these men is most evident in the parallels drawn between Donnelly and Crocker, Terrill and Murray. Johnston was not marked by lower

common denominator appeals as much as the others and could probably be considered a Progressive along with Owen. I included him among the Populists because of his lifelong admiration of Murray, work toward establishing Jim Crow in Oklahoma, close links to the Ku Klux Klan, unorthodox religious beliefs, and his leadership of the Oklahoma delegation supporting Murray's presidential nomination in 1932.

[120] Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma*, 203; In contrast, Wilson and the Progressives sounded more moderate, appealing to principles, defining their racist policies in terms of white efficiency versus black corruption. Eric S. Yellin, *Racism in the Nation's Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 7.

[121] "Campaign: Bread, Butter, Bacon, Beans," *Time*, February 29, 1932; Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill*, 108–11, 235; Postel, *The Populist Vision*, 279–81.

[122] "1932 Democratic Party platform," The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29595.

[123] David Woolner, "FDR and the Fed," Roosevelt Institute, August 28, 2009, rooseveltinstitute.org/fdr-and-fed; "FDR: From Budget Balancer to Keynesian," Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, fdrlibrary.org/budget; Tim Price, "How FDR Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Keynesian Economics," Roosevelt Institute, April 26, 2012, rooseveltinstitute.org/how-fdr-learned-stop-worrying-and-love-keynesian-economics.

[124] Keynes, "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money," 370.

[125] Editor, *The Farmers' Alliance*, February 15, 1890, as cited in John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 404.

[126] The spread of Populist influences also challenged the model of change described in Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), which focused on dynamics within movements rather than their potential for influencing those outside of the body of believers as occurred with the Populist impact on Progressives. In turn, that experience at least challenges Hoffer's conclusion that such movements are prone to bring about social orders worse than the ones they opposed. "Summary of Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer*," Reason and Meaning: Philosophical Reflections on Life, Death, and the Meaning of Life, reasonandmeaning.com/2017/09/04/summary-of-eric-hoffers-the-true-believer/.

[127] Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-Loose and Fancy-Free*, 41. Debo wrote this in 1947. Her conclusions are more debatable for the seventy years that have followed.