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Article Summary: Kellie's personal reminiscence reveals the financial difficulties of the Alliance and the factions within the movement. She had worked tirelessly without compensation for the Alliance but had eventually become disillusioned. The Alliance never achieved the reforms for which Kellie and others had struggled.

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Photographs / Images: Luna E Kellie; early photograph of Mrs. Kellie; James Kellie; Populist Convention at Callaway, Custer County, 1892



Luna E. Kellie

LUNA E. KELLIE
AND THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

Edited By DOUGLAS A. BAKKEN

Anyone familiar with the literature associated with the Farmers' Alliance movement is well aware of the difficulties in attempting to write about the organization and its many members. The historian is not only confronted with a lack of satisfactory primary sources, particularly the personal papers of members, but he is also dealing with a complex movement. The issues behind the Alliance and the later Populist Party are as diverse as the people who made up these movements in the several states where the organizations experienced some successes.

This has not meant, however, that the colorful organization and its political successor have been plagued by a lack of scholarly attention or controversy. One only has to point out the research and writing of John D. Hicks and Norman Pollock as examples of the different perspectives that historians have placed on this period of late 19th cen-

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ture life. Populism has been studied on the state level by Stanley Parsons in an imaginative work where he examined several Nebraska counties primarily through newspapers, biographical publications and the census. Martin Ridge's study of Ignatius Donnelly is an example of an admirable biography based mainly on the papers of a prominent individual Populist.¹

In spite of the many books and theses which have been written about the Alliance-Populists, we have been reminded that we need to determine "who were the Populists" in order that we may have a more comprehensive understanding of the many people associated with this diverse movement. These studies are needed not only to illuminate the activities of such Populist leaders as Nebraskans Jay Burrows and John H. Powers, but also to identify and evaluate the many other individuals who played important roles in local and state activities.

While men have rightfully received the most attention from scholars, there were a number of women who played important roles in the Alliance activities. Probably the most famous was the Kansan, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, who was alleged to have uttered the phrase that farmers should "raise less corn and more hell." Nebraska's most vocal and talented lady was undoubtedly Mrs. Luna E. Kellie. Undaunted by the labors and loneliness of raising a large family in a pioneer region of the country, she was deeply involved in trying to make the world a better place in which to live. Her personal reminiscence reveals not only her devotion and participation but also the financial difficulties of the Alliance, the problems of factions within the movement, and her subsequent disillusionment when the Alliance failed to gain the reforms for which she and others had fought.

Mrs. Kellie was born June 9, 1857, the eldest of five children of J. M. Sanford. While still a child, the family moved from Pipestone, Minnesota, to Madison, Wisconsin, and later to Rockford, Illinois. Here she attended the Girls Seminary, more notably known for the attendance of Jane

Addams. In the 1870's, the family moved to Adams County, Nebraska, where Mr. Sanford had taken a homestead. Besides farming, Mr. Sanford, who died December 14, 1910, at the age of 74, was active in the work of the Alliance and several mutual insurance companies. At one time he served as State Lecturer of the Nebraska Alliance.²

On December 31, 1874, Luna Sanford was married to James Thompson Kellie. A native of Toronto, Canada, Kellie was born May 1, 1850, of Scotch parentage. After being employed by the Northern Pacific Railroad, he worked in both Iowa and Illinois. It was during the three year period he worked as a foreman for the Cairo and St. Louis Railroad that he and Mrs. Kellie were married.

In 1876 the young couple moved to their homestead in Adams County, Nebraska, and resided there for eight years before moving to their timber claim in Kearney County. Later they operated a "suburban grocery store" in Minden, before moving to a farm near Heartwell, where they both became active in rural reform movements.³

Burdened with the many duties associated with farming and the responsibility of rearing eleven children, Mrs. Kellie not only found time for her Alliance editorial and secretarial duties but also wrote several Populist songs. She was also active in the temperance movement and a member of the Methodist church. After her involvement with the causes of reform in Nebraska with no apparent sign of success, she became discouraged and devoted the rest of her life to more passive activities. She died in Phoenix, Arizona, on March 4, 1940, and she was buried at Heartwell, the scene of her many reform activities. Mr. Kellie, after several strokes, had died April 29, 1918.⁴

Mrs. Kellie's manuscript is published as it was written at the request of Addison E. Sheldon, former Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society, where it is preserved with the other papers of the Nebraska Alliance.



*Early Photograph
of Mrs. Kellie.*

[April 21, 1926]

Dear Sir:

In turning over to you what I have of the old State Farmers Alliance records I wish to give you a little account of my steward ship.

Although I had been writing for various papers on Alliance and Populist topics for several years I had never been able to attend a State Alliance meeting until Jan 1894.⁵ As Hastings was so close and my husband, J.T. Kellie was a delegate he insisted that I go with him which I did as I was very anxious to meet some of those whom I felt I knew by their writings. Some one had requested me to prepare an article to read and as the republicans were just then accusing us of slandering the state and insisting that we "Stand up for Nebraska," I took that for my subject.

I was greatly interested in all the proceedings & to meet so many hither to unknown friends and read my article at the evening open meeting and was quite surprised on going to our hotel to find four or five reporters from Hastings, Lincoln and Omaha papers wanting a copy.

Not being prepared for any thing like that I had only the one copy I had read from but they took it and divided it up so all could write at once.

The next day nearly everyone I met congratulated me on my address which seemed to have made a hit.

After a report of committee on Jurisprudence was adopted an address was made by J. E. Thompson⁶ representing the State Labor Congress and eleven delegates were appointed to that congress.

The resolutions committee of which J. T. Kellie was one reported & report adopted & committee discharged with the thanks of the order.

Election of officers followed resulting in election of Senator W. F. Dale of Harlan County for President,⁷ Prof. W. A. Jones of Adams County for Vice President.⁸ Mr. Kellie was acting door keeper when the balloting began for Secretary. The Kearney County delegation was on the opposite side of the hall from where I sat as an interested spectator only, and caring for baby Lewis. Nothing had ever entered my thoughts of personal interest in the election of officers until the roll of counties were being called for Secretary. Some member of the Kearney County delegation I have forgotten whom came to me and asked if they might vote for me for Secretary. I replied I did not know, what did Mr. Kellie think? He had said do as I pleased they said. Well I said of course I did not stand any show of election and did not like to oppose Miss Buckman but he said Kearney County felt they ought to give me a complimentary vote. So he went back in time to cast Kearney County vote for me and then several counties voted the same so their was no election the first ballot but the second was almost unanimously for me.⁹

I was fairly dazed as I did not know whether I was capable of conducting the office or not.

I had for some time been Secretary of my Alliance & later of the County Alliance but neither of them in-

volved much labor. I was sure the State organization would and my hands were very full with our large & growing family & if I had extra time when others were asleep I would rather devote it to writing for the papers as I had been doing.

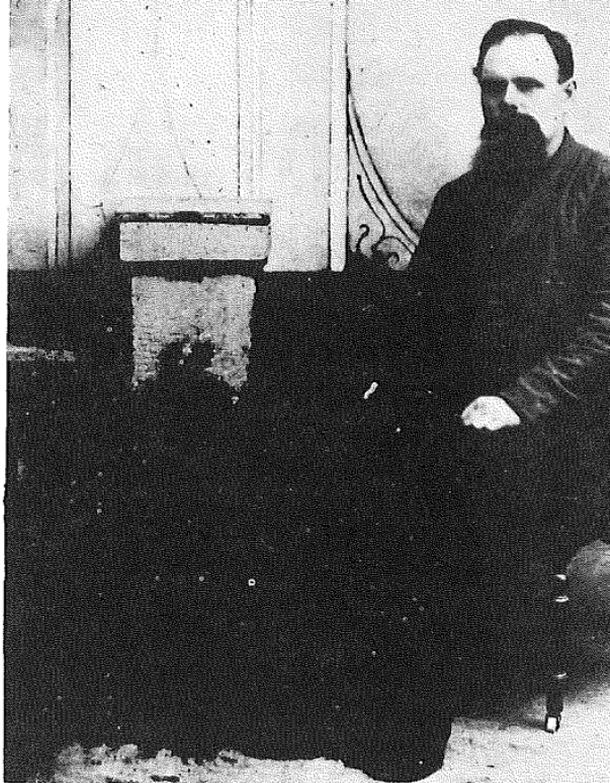
Bookkeeping of which I knew little did not appeal to me tho I had not the remotest idea of the amount of it required.

James Cameron¹⁰ of Furnas County was elected Treasurer; John H. Powers¹¹ of Hitchcock, Lecturer; & I. N. Leonard¹² of Lancaster, C. M. Lemar¹³ of Saunders, E. E. Soderman¹⁴ of Phelps, L. W. Young¹⁵ of Furnas, and J. N. Dimmick¹⁶ of Franklin, were elected to the Executive Committee; Rev. J. M. Snyder¹⁷ of Sherman was elected Chaplain by acclamation; I. N. Thompson of Furnas, Doorkeeper, A. E. Farris, Greeley, Asst. Doorkeeper, and W. O. Dugan of Kearney, Steward, in the same way. W. F. Wright¹⁸ of Lancaster was elected as delegate to the National F.A. & I.U.

The elected officers were installed by A. Wardell¹⁹ of Kansas, an officer of the National Alliance & the meeting adjourned and the new officers and Executive Committee were called at once to meeting in Ex. session. Miss Buckman retiring Secretary and A. Wardell met with us and the first thing the President of the Executive Comm. said was, "Well, Sister Kellie you will have to move to Lincoln." Several others expressed the same idea. I was frightened I did not know what the salary would likely be but was sure it was not enough to support our family in Lincoln.

On the farm we always had a large garden with great quantities of fruit & poultry as well as other stock for meat, etc., & the town life besides rent would require many more clothes than we had or could easily obtain. So I said quite firmly "No. I can not move to Lincoln." The Pres. of the Ex. Comm. insisted that it would be necessary as I could not conduct the trips of the Lecturers and keep track of things any place else as we would have to have

James Kellie, husband of Luna E. Kellie, provided inspiration for his wife's career.



at least daily mail & we lived five miles from town and a post office.

Every thing had been done so quickly I had not had time to talk to Mr. Kellie about any thing and was glad when he spoke up and said, "They all knew where she lived when they elected her, but if the Ex. Comm. think she can not fulfill the duties of the office there she would best not qualify by putting up bonds which had been signed by most of the Kearney County delegates but let them appoint some one else."

Well that did not suit some of them at all so we adjourned to think & talk over ways & means and find out what was best to do.

Incidentally I found out that Miss Buckman had received \$8.00 per week and the Alliance had paid office rent, fuel, light, etc. in addition. A. Wardell now offered her a better position in the National office of the Aid Degree at Topeka and she accepted so I did not have to feel bad about taking her place & we corresponded for some years.

At the next meeting no one was willing to have me resign and we had talked over what we could do as we

realized that if [I] accepted the business must be done so as not to delay the work of the order. Our house was small being only a wing of the original design & contained three bedrooms on the first floor with a bedroom of one-half story over one room & a basement underneath of two rooms, kitchen & dining room. One of the bedrooms about 7 x 12 ft. had an inside and outside entrance with 2 windows.

I told them I would clear everything out of it and make it the office and it could be kept locked when not in use. We would not charge any rent or anything for fuel or light as it was part of our dwelling and J. T. agreed to make two mail sacks of hemp denim with ring straps and locks like the government sacks only smaller & we could keep one key and the post mistress one & the boys would carry the mail daily to meet the morning flier & bring back the filled sack.

This was done & the ten mile trip taken daily for several years but no cent ever charged or received for it, tho no storm ever delayed our daily mail. As we had a fast pony the boys were never long on the road but often the morning mail brought urgent letters from lecturer or some one so another trip was taken to get mail out on afternoon train.

The chairman of the Ex. Comm. and probably some one else were appointed to go to Lincoln & pack such things as they saw fit and ship to Heartwell. They left many things they thought were not worth shipping as freight was high. But they must have left most of the old records as no account was found only a couple of State Alliance meetings and none of any Ex. Comm. meetings. All furniture was left except a case of open pigeon holes which they called a cabinet and a typewriter. I would gladly have paid freight on table chairs etc. as we were sadly in need of such things but they did not send them.

When I saw the Number of large blank books I was indeed dismayed. I was certain I could keep track of all money coming in & going out correctly especially as I

turned it all over to the treasurer at once but what to do with all those books I did not know. To make it worse the Chairman [Ex. Com.] wrote "now you see what you are in for." I soon found many of them filled & not in use so packed them away but all with recent dates I kept out. Finally I took the record of My Alliance & followed it through the books & then Kearney County & so got an insight of what was to be recorded. I did not use any red ink as they had but thought black would do all right so did not buy any.

I soon found that the Alliance had been going down much faster than I had supposed for Kearney Co. was still active. In fact it was the banner Co. having sent in more dues than any other. The abandonment of Alliance interest seemed to be caused by thinking the Populist party would carry out all the farmers demands. Mr. Kellie and myself were as strong Populists as any but we felt that some had already been elected more interested in their own welfare than in that of the farmers and that if the farmers organization was to go on it [Populist Party] would soon cease to heed our demands.

We found that prior to Jan 1889 there were 230 Alliances formed. In Dec 1890 there were over 2000 Alliances with membership of over 65,000 reported and with 900 delegates.

In Jan 1892 there were 647 delegates and in Jan. '94 when I was elected the number of members were not reported but there were only 76 delegates & practically all in good standing were represented.

Within a few days Hon. J. H. Powers came to see us and urged immediate printing of 1000 manuals for use of the Alliance. He claimed that discussion of the topics outlined therein was the only way to hold the order together. He wished to take the field as Lecturer immediately while the farmers had leisure time and said President Dale favored the action. So I gave an order to Kock & Montgomery of Hastings for 1000 cloth covered manuals for \$35.00 rush order at least some to be completed for the

Lecturer as soon as possible. I thought the Pres., Sec. and Lecturer (& I believe the Treasurer was willing [as I] think he & Dale both wrote or sent word by Powers to that effect) would have that much authority as the need seemed urgent.

For this action I got called down promptly & hard by President of Ex Com. so I told him [Pres. Dale] that I would pay for it out of my salary.

He replied they did not like to do that but I must spend no more money without consent of the Ex Com. which was pretty well scattered over the state. As it happened there was never enough came in to pay my salary so I really paid it any way.²⁰ I then began to see that there were factions in the Alliance but did not know where I belonged. Had it not been for Mr. Kellies experienced advice & his knowledge from getting around more among members I would [have] soon gotten into a great deal of trouble.

W. F. Wright & H. P. Sayles took the field to re-organize Alliances and got their pay from the Aid Degree Lodges they established in connection but I had to arrange for their route, meetings, etc. Hon. J. H. Powers also took the field & expected the Secretary to keep in daily touch with him arranging plan for route dates of meetings finding friends to meet & entertain him & urging all members in the vicinity to turn out etc. He agreed not to ask a salary but to make out with what the various Sub Alliances and friends donated. His report for year showed over 200 days put in and after all expenses \$1.19 average per day for salary. The Alliances seemed to think that as they were taxed to pay for expenses they did not need to pay dues and very few did so.

The field he [Powers] lectured in tho [was] supposed to have more members than any other [though] paid very few dues. While where Sayles and Wright sent they had them pay at least one quater dues so they could organize Aid Degree Lodges but those Lodges once organized

they seemed to take the place of the old Alliance meeting and [they] did not pay dues long.

It was agreed finally by all after considerable correspondence that we must have new constitutions printed & the Secretary was authorized to have them *if* she could procure advertising enough to pay for them. This was done after a great deal of soliciting we agreeing to at once place 5000 copies in members hands. So as soon as they arrived they were mailed out to Secretaries all over the state.

Dec 19 & 20, 1895 we had a good annual meeting at Kearney. Welcomed by Mayor responded to by address by W. F. Porter.²¹ Secretaries report showed \$96.75 collected by assessment for D. Allemand²² on old debt. This collection was unpopular and cost us many members.

Fees and dues received 329.58. Paid National Dues 18.00. Express Money Orders and Office supplies postage 47.60 left 287.80 for Secretary salary for 50 weeks at \$8.00 per week or \$117.20 less than allowed. This was never asked for.



Populist Convention held at Callaway, Custer County, Nebraska in 1892.

Election of officers resulted [following on newspaper clipping]:

National Officers: J. F. Willits,²³ President, Kansas; R. C. Snavely, Vice-President, Pennsylvania; D. P. Duncan, Sec.-Treas. South Carolina.

State Officers: W. F. Dale, President, Atlanta; W. F. Porter, Vice-President, Clarks; Luna E. Kellie, Secretary, Heartwell; James Cameron, Treasurer, Beaver City; W. F. Wright, Lecturer, Bethany; J. M. Snyder, Chaplain, Verdette; W. O. Dungan, Steward, Newark.

Executive Committee: J. M. Dimmick, Macon; F. G. Wilke, Wilcox; T. A. Donahue,²⁴ Saritoria.

Immediately on adjournment the new Ex. Com. issued an appeal to be sent to all State Alliances & other labor organizations by the Secretary soliciting relief for the drouth stricken sufferers of the state. With appropriate editorials this was printed in over 100 leading agricultural & labor papers & was the first appeal from any organized body from this state. A great mass of correspondence resulted but most of those who spoke of sending said in order to get free transportation the railroad made them bill all goods to the relief commission. Which organization [state relief] as near as we could find out gave out mostly to those in town so the farmers were left out. Full account will be found in Sec. report in Neb. F. A. & I. U. of Jan 1896.

We had felt the need of direct communications with members so keenly that the Ex. Com. at regular meeting May 7, 95 appointed the Chairman & Sec. to see what could be done about starting a state paper and to "start one if it can be done without debt to the Alliance," also "That authority be given to use 1/2 the fees & dues for the support of the paper each member paying dues to be a subscriber and have the paper free."²⁵

We had in mind a paper such as was run by the Colorado Alliance & published by State Secr'y Southworth²⁶ in Denver. We corresponded with him & others about it

and got encouragement and many good ideas. Also the Ex Com. authorized the secretary to write to [U. S.] Senator [William V.] Allen, Gov. [Silas] Holcomb and other politicians who owed their election to the Alliance members and solicit aid from them in the papers behalf. This was done and Senator Allen sent \$25. Governor Holcomb \$10, some one else \$5 which ended that. However it helped get out the 1st 2 numbers.

Finally having secured some advertising the Secretary assured the Ex Com. she would assume all indebtedness for 6 months trial or until the annual meeting & a monthly paper started in July 95. J. G. Richmond of Minden did the printing & used some of his editorials. I drove one horse down to Minden once a month on press day taking baby Helen, 5 months old at start of paper with me—she stayed in the waste basket most of the day but while asleep laid on a pile of exchanges while I folded & directed papers for mailing. We paid \$10 per 1000 papers for 2000 or more each issue till annual meeting.

Sec report showed receipts . . . 202.62; expenditures [including] secretary salary 55.08, for year \$202.62. Officers elected [newspaper clipping] O. Craveth,²⁷ President, Fullerton; Ole Nielsen, Vice-President, Nysted; Luna E. Kellie, Sec.-Treas, Heartwell; J. M. Sanford, Lecturer, Fairfield; J. A. Van Hausen, Chaplain, Osceola; Thos. Dolan, Steward, Osceola; J. W. Carpenter, Doorkeeper, Austin; J. Christiansen, Assistant, Nysted. Executive Committee: A. G. Bloomfield, Minden; J. H. Powers, Lincoln; J. F. Kimberling, Franklin.

As it was quite inconvenient to drive 12 miles to Minden on a set day each month regardless of weather having secured a contract for considerable advertising we bought an old Washington Hand Press & some second hand type and moved the paper out to Orchard Farm, 5 miles S. E. of Heartwell. To do this we had to give up our dining room and put the press in it in the basement. We hired a printer Fred C. Ayers now deputy in one of the State Offices at Lincoln and kept him until we thought

we could manage to set & print the paper ourselves which we would have to do if the paper was issued for except what advertising we received money was very scarce.

Most of the advertising was derived from the Alliance Aid and Mutual Insurance Companies but for which we could not have gotten out an issue. We were all green at the printing business & of course made lots of mistakes. My father the Manager of two Mutual Companies paid me for a years advertising in such terms that it paid for the press and old type so all I had to do was to work for nothing & board myself which I was used to. But we had great hopes that the farmers would awake to the facts that to get results they must keep their organization. So we went thro the winter and till the next Sept. when owing to rush of Orchard work and little interest being shown we suspended the paper as Ex Com thought best and when starting up in the spring did so under the name of The Prairie Home.

We were not able to pay National Dues and so few Alliances were in good order owing partly to the drouth & removal of members the name F. A. & I. U. seemed a mockery. However we thought we might work for the Prairie Homes of the State. About this time we got a contract on lowest bid for a large amount of job printing for a Mutual Company which helped greatly.

The next meeting of the State Alliance was called to order in Hastings Dec 31-1896. Report of Sec & Treas showed a total expenditures of \$131 with no allowance of salary for Secretary.

Election of officers resulted [newspaper clipping]; State Officers: O. Craveth, Fullerton; Ole Nielsen, Vice-President, Nysted; Luna E. Kellie, Sec.-Treas. Heartwell.

Executive Committee: J. J. Whittier,²⁸ Fairfield; A. G. Bloomfield, Minden; Austin Riley, Lawrence; J. H. Powers, Purchasing & Selling Agent; J. H. Powers, Lecturer, Lincoln; J. A. Van Hausen, Chaplain, Osceola; Thos. Dolan, Steward, Osceola; J. W. Carpenter, Door-

keeper, Austin; J. Christensen, Assistant Doorkeeper, Nysted.

Motion made to change the name of the order to the Farmers Co-operative Alliance²⁹ resulted in deciding to submit the question to vote of all Alliances in good standing and the meeting adjourned till Jan 12, 1897 to await the decision. This made several changes necessary in the constitution and such changes were duly presented to each Sub Alliance in circular from the Sec.

At meeting of Jan 12, 1897 the Sub-Alliances being in favor of proposal changes they were adopted. A large amount of literature was sent out by the office on organizing cooperative companies and many were started from time to time most of which on acco't of discrimination in rates and inexperience did not live many years but a number still live and are doing good work.

Most of these in organizing took in members who did not belong to the order and naturally their business meetings and so [no] dues were paid the State Alliance.

A meeting was called at Kearney May 24 98. There had been a meeting of the National Alliance Aid at Hastings December 14 97. This had formerly been the Alliance Aid Degree but owing to the stagnation of the Alliance they had changed the name took in member[s] not belonging to that order. I took a commission as organizer tho I could not go far from home owing to the family of small children and Mr. Kellie was laid up all winter with Sciatic Rheumatism. However the drouth had left us in such shape that we were glad of the little I could earn as an organizer & I put in 2 good lodges one at Heartwell and Kenesaw.

At the meeting at Kearney May 24-98 & very few were present except those living in Buffalo Co. Report of Secretary showed total receipts of 58.38: Expenditures Prairie Home $\frac{1}{2}$ fees and dues 22.17, New constitutions necessary on acct of change of name etc 10.00, postage 18.00, stationery 6.00, circulars 12.00, total of \$68.17, or 12.89 more than receipts with no salary for secretary.



Jessie Kellie, daughter of Mrs. Kellie, helped her mother print their Populist newspaper.

S. S. Bears of Buffalo Co was elected President no other business being done except to call a meeting in Omaha July 18-98. This meeting did not materialize not enough [people] being present.

The Populist National Committee met the 14 & 15 at which I was present and the National Reform Press of which I was a member met June 13 & 14. Accounts of both affairs in Prairie Home of July-98.

Another state Alliance meeting was called for Kearney first part of July 1899.

Being sick in bed I sent books and reports either to George Bischel or S. S. Bears I think. No report was ever made to me as to what was done and the books were not returned. I never asked for them & do not think any meeting was held. At least I was not notified of any election of officers. My report showed receipts and expenditures of about \$40 since meeting in Dec 96. So ended the State Alliance but quite a number of Alliances over the state kept up meetings at times for quite a while.

In 1900 Mr. Kellie and myself were delegates to the Cincinnati Middle of the Road Populist Convention & again met the members of the National Reform Press which is one of the pleasant memories of life.³⁰

Coming home we worked with all our might for

Barker and Donnelly whose acquaintance we had made. At the Middle of the road convention at Grand Island I was nominated for Supt. of Public Instruction. This was an unexpected honor but [I] accepted on urgent request of the Labor Unions of Omaha as they said they could get out a larger vote for some one so well known.

When Asa Taylor the head & in fact nearly all the Union Reform movement died the next spring from over work both daughter Jessie and myself felt our last chance was gone to do any good. Hardly a reform paper was left alive and the constant abuse of the fusionists was very hard for us to bear. Jessie now 19 years of age had given the largest part of five years of hard work to the paper with hardly a cent of pay & no time for pleasure.

Mid night found us working 3 or 4 times a week either in the office or catching up with our homework. Now we both felt that it had all been for nothing and no hope ahead.

In order to keep the paper alive we had changed in 1900 to a local full of local news. We got many subscribers from all parties who wanted local news also local advertising came in enough so we could at least make a living from the paper.

But that did not appeal to us. We had hoped to bring better conditions for the coming generation & now knew that disorganized and discouraged as the old workers were it would have to be a new generation to take up the work. So we gave up and went back to the farm & I hired a local editor till such time as we could dispose of our plant. I was supposed to send in editorials but to save my life I could not think of any thing to say that I had not said many times before and had not done any good.

So in a few weeks heartsick & discouraged I asked the local editor what he would give for the outfit. He was a young printer with ambitions. He offered me less than ½ it had cost but said he could not pay much down but would give a secured note. I gladly took him up and have

not written another word for publication to this day. In fact, I find myself a physical wreck and it was over ten years before I regained my health.

During this time I dared not even think of the hopes we used to have and their bitter ending.

Mr. Kellie who had always urged me to work for the cause saw my condition more fully than I did & seldom allowed the subject to be mentioned.

On the contrary he started to build the addition to the house which helped occupied our minds some years in building and in fact we were never able to finish it it occupied our mind some years. As he and the boys did all the work it was not very expensive. And so I never vote. For years hardly looked [at] a political paper. I feel that nothing will be done to benefit the farmers in my life time and not likely in my childrens. So I busy myself with my garden and chickens and have given up all hope of making the world better. s/s Luna E. Kellie

NOTES

¹ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Lincoln, 1961); Norman Pollock, *The Populist Response to Industrial America* (Cambridge, 1962); Stanley Parsons, "Who Were the Nebraska Populists," *Nebraska History* (July 1963), 83-99; Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly* (Chicago, 1962).

² *Adams County Democrat (Hastings)*, December 16, 23, 1910.

³ *Minden Courier*, May 9, 1918 and March 14, 1940; *U.S. Census, 1880*. Nebraska. Adams County, 17; Luna E. Kellie, "J. T. Kellie," Alliance Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives.

⁴ *Hastings Tribune*, March 8, 9, 1940; *Minden Courier*, March 7, 1940.

⁵ In her manuscript, Mrs. Kellie mistakenly gives this date as 1899.

⁶ This is probably J. M. Thompson, who served as Treasurer of the State Alliance, 1889-1893. J. M. Thompson, "The Farmers' Alliance in Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. V (Lincoln, 1902), 199-206.

⁷ Walter Fremont Dale (1856-1930), a native of Wisconsin, homesteaded near Atlanta, Harlan County, in 1885. He served three terms on the county Board of Commissioners before being elected

Senator from the 28th District on the ticket of the People's Party in 1892 and 1894. He later founded the Farmers Co-Operative Association at Denton, before moving to Lincoln in 1919. *Biographical Sketches of the Nebraska Legislature and National and State Officers of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1895, 35; *Nebraska State Journal*, November 18, 1930.

⁸ William Albert Jones (1830-1905), a native of Connecticut, was an Illinois school teacher from 1856 until 1870, when he became president of the Indiana State Normal School. Because of poor health, he moved to Adams County, Nebraska, in 1880, where he spent the rest of his life. *Wealth Makers* (Lincoln), September 27, 1894; *Hastings Democrat*, August 31, 1906.

⁹ After her defeat, Elsie Buckman was offered a better paying position by Alonzo Wardell with the National Alliance Aid Association.

¹⁰ James Cameron (1844-1915), a native of Glasgow, Scotland, came to this country in 1859. After living in New York and Illinois, he moved to Pawnee County, Nebraska, in 1873, where he lived until 1882, when he moved to a farm near Beaver City, Furnas County. Active in farm organizations, he was managing the local Farmers' Equity Union cream station and serving as secretary of the Farmers' Business Association at the time of his death. *Times Tribune* (Beaver City), July 15, 1915.

¹¹ John Holbrook Powers (1831-1918), a native of Illinois, was sometimes referred to as the "father of populism". After serving in the Civil War, Powers moved to near Doniphan, Hall County, and when Milton George was forming the National Alliance in 1884, "he became a strong advocate of it (Alliance) in the interest of the farmers." Moving near Trenton, Hitchcock County, in 1887, Powers was elected president of the State Alliance and in 1890 was narrowly defeated for the governorship of the state, being the candidate of the People's Party. He served as Deputy Labor Commissioner under Governor Silas Holcomb and later superintendent of the Grand Island Soldiers and Sailors Home. *Trenton Register*, May 17, 1918; *Nebraska State Journal*, May 16, 1918; *Omaha World Herald*, May 17, 1918.

¹² Leonard, a native of Ohio, born 1838, served in the Civil War before moving to Nebraska in 1870. He settled in Lancaster County, where he took an active part in farm organizations. In 1896, he was serving as president of the Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company. A biographical sketch of that date says, "In politics he is a Prohibitionist, and he is also a strong Woman Suffragist." *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lancaster County, Nebraska* (Chicago, 1898), 622-624; *Wealth Makers*, February 6, 1896.

¹³ Curtis M. Lemar, born 1846, a native of Indiana, moved to Illinois as a child. Previously a Republican, Lemar joined the Alliance shortly after moving to Saunders County, Nebraska, in 1886. He served three terms as president of the county organization

and helped to found the People's Party in 1890. He served three terms in the Nebraska House of Representatives, being elected in 1896, 1898 and 1917. *Nebraska Legislative Year Book for 1897* (Lincoln, 1897), 129-130. *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1966), 179.

¹⁴ Eric Soderman, born 1850, a native of Sweden, migrated to Iowa about 1868, where he lived until 1879, when he homesteaded in Phelps County, Nebraska. He was elected county surveyor in 1883; he early joined the Alliance and served in the Nebraska House of Representatives from 1891 to 1898. *Biographical Sketches of the Nebraska Legislature. . . 1895* (Lincoln, 1895), 192; *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1966), 197.

¹⁵ Lewis W. Young filed on land in Sherman Precinct (T1N R25W) in April 1879. According to the 1880 census he was 44 years old and a native of New York. His 19 year old daughter and 16 year old son were also natives of that state, while the 7 year old son was born in Illinois. He was elected to the state Senate in 1892. *U.S. Land Office Records. Nebraska V.77* (Nebraska State Historical Society Archives); *U.S. Census, 1880. Nebraska. Furnas County, Sherman Precinct, 14*; *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1966), 207.

¹⁶ James M. Dimmick, born 1843, a native of Illinois, served in the Civil War. In August 1873, he homesteaded in Logan Township, Franklin County, Nebraska. It was written in 1890 that he "belongs to the Grange and the Alliance and in politics is a republican." He was elected to the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1892, on the People's Party ticket. *Biographical Souvenir of Buffalo, Kearney, Phelps, Harlan and Franklin Counties.* (Chicago, 1890), 831-832; *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1966), 161.

¹⁷ Rev. Snyder, born 1825, a native of Virginia, moved as an infant with his family to Ohio. During the Civil War, he served in the 83rd Illinois Infantry. During the legislative session of 1893, he served as chaplain of the House; he was elected as a Populist to this same body in 1896. He served several Methodist churches in Sherman County, though mainly at his home at Verdurette. *Nebraska Legislative Year Book* (Lincoln, 1897), 162; Meroe J. Owens, *A Brief History of Sherman County* (Norfolk, 1952), 118, 130.

¹⁸ Wright, the son of E. B. Wright, who farmed two miles west of Lincoln, was listed as an organizer for the National Alliance Aid Association in March 1896. *Nebraska State Journal*, February 18, 1892; *Nebraska Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union*, March 15, 1896.

¹⁹ Alonzo Wardell, a Civil War veteran from Ohio, settled in Dakota Territory, where in 1887 he was president of the Farmers Alliance Hail Association. Moving to Kansas in 1888, he founded and served as president of the National Alliance Aid Association until 1899. His last years were spent in the Pacific Northwest. *Mellette* (Dakota Territory) *Tribune*, June 2, 1887; Richard C. Berner, Archivist, University of Washington, letter to Cedric M. Wardell, August 19, 1960, courtesy of Archives, University of Wash-

ington; Annie L. Diggs, "The Farmers Alliance and Some of Its Leaders," *Arena* (April 1892), 594-596.

²⁰ Mrs. Kellie commented on the Alliance's financial difficulties in *Wealth Makers*, July 26, 1894.

²¹ William F. Porter, a native of Massachusetts, moved to Clarks, Nebraska, in 1879. He was elected to the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1890 and 1892. He was elected Secretary of State in 1896, serving until 1901. Albert Watkins, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1913), V. III, 528; *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1966), 128, 189.

²² Adolphe d'Allemand, born 1836, a native of France and former language professor, Kilkenny College, Ireland, settled in Plattsmouth in 1870 and Furnas County in 1873. He was active in various farm organizations and in 1890, he had been the People's Party candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. In 1909 he was president of the Arapahoe Farmers' Co-operative Grain Association. *Compendium of . . . Biography of Western Nebraska* (Chicago, 1909), 362, 363.

²³ John F. Willits was the 1890 People's Party candidate for governor of Kansas. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 156.

²⁴ At this time, Donahue, secretary of the Buffalo County Alliance, stated he had "never been favorably impressed with the farmers going outside their immediate sphere in their operation." *Wealth Makers*, December 6, 1894.

²⁵ At this meeting, emphasis was also placed on reorganization of the Alliance. "They (Executive) desire to have sub and county Alliances confer with all labor organizations in their vicinity with a view of more thoroughly organizing to protect labor from the power of capital." *Wealth Makers*, May 16, 1895.

²⁶ Royal A. Southworth was listed as a farmer in the Denver City Directory of 1893; during the next two years he served as Deputy State Engineer, later serving as an officer of the Farmers' Alliance Mutual Fire Insurance Company and as National Secretary of the Alliance. Mrs. Laura A. Ekstrom, State Historical Society of Colorado, letter to editor, February 9, 1968.

²⁷ Obed Craveth (b. 1835) of Michigan moved to Nance County, Nebraska, about 1880. He served as county clerk in 1895 as well as being president of the county and state Alliance. He died about 1936. *Fullerton Post*, March 29, 1895; *Nance County Populist*, February 28, April 17, 1896; *Belgrade Herald*, April 25, 1935.

²⁸ Whittier was secretary of the Nebraska State Insurance Association. *Nebraska Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union*, March 1, 1896.

²⁹ Cooperative activities had been of interest to the Alliance for some time. For Mrs. Kellie's opinions on this, see: *Wealth Makers*, May 17, 1894.

³⁰ This meeting is described in Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 397-400.