

The Rhetoric Of Political Discourse In The Labor Movement: Dr. H. Frank Hixson's Rhetoric Of Reform In Wisconsin In The Nineteenth Century

By D. Ray Heisey¹

I. Biographical Background of H. Frank Hixson, 1858-1894

Hixson's Education at Ashland College

Hixson's Early Life

Hixson was born in southern Ohio on August 8, 1858, the same year as Teddy Roosevelt. In fact, they were similar in personality, in temperament, and in political views. If Hixson had not died so young, he might have aspired to some of the same heights of political office that the young Roosevelt did. Frank Hixson was the second of eight children (the first one and the two immediately following Frank all died in infancy). His parents were Rev. Armanus J. and Martha McClure Hixson of Highland County, Ohio, members of the Dunkard Church. Rev. Armanus Hixson had been one of the early supporters of the new college at Ashland from the beginning which led to Frank's attendance there.

Frank Hixson had attended the National Normal School in Lebanon, Ohio, which awarded him an M.A. degree prior to coming to Ashland in 1879. Hixson was the instructor in mathematics for the first several years. His friend, David Bailey, who was also a teacher of mathematics and who also attended lectures and later elected a trustee, writes in his journal for September 19 of that first year, "carpenters are making a lot of noise."¹ The new building was obviously in the finishing stages as the new students arrived on the new campus. Bailey records that there were 55 students enrolled in the fall of 1879 but the following fall term the number had increased to 75.²

Being the oldest son and the first to go to college, Frank was given special opportunity to go to the new Ashland College sponsored by the Brethren Church. His father, as an early supporter of the college, personally was involved and present at the opening of the college. Hixson was enrolled as one of the first students in 1879 and was a member of the first graduating class in 1881.

Ashland College was chartered in 1878 by the Brethren Church and opened its doors as a new college in September 1879. The new students who

¹ D. Ray Heisey (Ph.D., Northwestern University), is Professor and Director Emeritus, School of Communication Studies, Kent State University. Revision of a paper presented at the Conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Rhetoric, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 29-31, 2003.

² This paper is an elaboration on part of a chapter on Anna Elizabeth Baker Hixson (1861-1945) and Dr. Hiram Frank Hixson (1858-1894) in a biography of Dr. Hixson's father-in-law, Dr. W. O. Baker of Louisville, Ohio. See D. Ray Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul: The Life and Times of Dr. W. O. Baker, 1827-1916*. Grantham, PA: The Brethren In Christ Historical Society, 2004. In preparing Baker's biography, I discovered Hixson as an unknown labor leader, deserving of attention, and falling within the populist reform stream of Robert Schilling, Robert La Follette, and Ralph Nader.

enrolled and who arrived, were looking "forward with eagerness to the opening day." One of the histories describes what they saw. "The college building was at the southern edge of town and stood, as it must have appeared, rather lonely though majestically in a large twenty-eight acre field. There were no trees, no lawns, no artistic landscape to appeal to the eye of the student."³

Ashland College was opened as a coed school with an emphasis on the practical and useful "in the line of a chosen vocation."⁴ It consisted of a "commodious and new" main building and a dormitory that would hold 120 students. The college claimed for itself five "distinguishing features": "1. It is thoroughly Christian, but not sectarian. 2. Its location affords an unusual number of advantages. 3. It combines the most liberal course of instruction at the least expense to the student. 4. It inculcates the spirit of plainness and economy in dress and manner of living and aims to adorn the mind rather than the body. 5. It aims to teach self-government on the principles of love and respect." Tuition for a year, in advance, was \$30.00 and a furnished room with board was \$3.00 per week.⁵

Ashland's Course of Study

A statement by another student who attended Ashland at the same time perhaps gives an insight into the thinking of parents at the time. C. F. Brown writes that his father consented to his going to Ashland in 1879 because it was "Christian from the foundation, and has carried Brethren Ideals from the beginning" where "it was required of every student to attend this Bible study" "in Chappel [sic] where the Bible was read and prayer offered."⁶

The English course was two years, the scientific course three years, and the classical course four years in length. The classic classes included a heavy schedule of mathematics, Latin, Greek, rhetoric, physics, chemistry, U.S., English, French, and Roman history, and Bible.⁷

The Literary Society

Hixson was a very active participant in the Pierian Literary Society that emphasized the development of public performance, oratory, and elocutionary skills in presenting declamations, reading essays, and in debating controversial issues, such as "foreign immigration ought not be encouraged," or "The immortality of the soul cannot be proven without the Bible." Another debate was on whether women should have the right to vote, which was reported in the local newspaper with the comment, "and as it always should be, it was decided that women should not vote."⁸

In the Literary Society, Hixson met a young woman, Anna Baker, with whom he fell in love. There is evidence that Frank was a dashing, colorful young man who knew his way around. As one of the teachers, he held a special place in the life of the college and would have been one of the leaders of the graduating class. Here was a case of one of the highly regarded young ladies, the oldest daughter of a physician and a clergyman, being sought and won by one of the young teachers, himself the son of a clergyman and a highly respected leader in the Brethren Church.

Anna Baker was a very visible young lady at the college. Her reputation for effective public performance was noted in the local newspaper on more than one occasion. In March of 1880, in her first year of college, she was singled out by the

reporter of the Pierian Society, "Miss Baker, with her usual skill, read a fine essay." The next month, in April, Anna was highlighted again for her performance. The reporter wrote: "Last Friday evening the Pierian Society held the first session of this term. The performers acquitted themselves nobly. Among the declamations the choicest and best rendered selection was given by Miss Baker. The piece was a difficult one, consisting of intermingled narrative and descriptive style. The well-controlled voice and beautiful cadence of the declamation held the audience spellbound. The effect was indeed remarkable, for the closet critic could find but few objections to it."⁹

At this same program, Anna was elected secretary of the Society when Miss Wiley, the previous secretary, "declined in favor of Miss Baker." The previous slate of officers had been re-elected. Declining in favor of Anna could have been because of her obvious talent or perhaps because of her relationship with the man who was elected president of the society, H. Frank Hixson.

Hixson, as one of the teachers of the College and also working on his own degree, participated with the students in the activities of the societies. Hixson had previously made an impressive speech in which he "laid before the society its duties, pointing out the faults which demanded correction, and the virtues that should be continually cultivated." On this occasion, the reporter commented on his talents as follows: "Mr. Hixson [sic], one of the founders of the society, is just the right man to occupy the chair at this phase of the society; he will conduct it safely through this critical period. His knowledge of parliamentary rule will lend to the chair a power it has not felt for awhile."¹⁰

Frank Hixson's Graduation

Frank Hixson graduated from Ashland in the spring of 1881. The program for the 1881 commencement exercises lasted five days. Saturday, June 18 was examinations; Sunday, June 19 was the baccalaureate sermon by President R. H. Miller; Monday was the annual address before the Literary Societies; Tuesday was the close of examinations, the closing chapel and class day exercises, concluding with Literary Entertainment; Wednesday, June 22 was the educational anniversary with several addresses, one by Elder A. J. Hixson, Frank's father, and the commencement at 8 P.M.¹¹

To show that the new college was not all too serious, the Entertainment Program on Wednesday evening bears noticing. The flyer announcing the program is headed by the words, "Hear Ye, Hear Ye, Hear Ye. Grand Blow-Off of the New Born Alumni! Spectacular Presentation of Chromos." The selections include prayer, four music presentations of popular songs, humorous orations by the graduates, followed by the presentation of spoof "degrees" by the president. The titles of the orations were, "How to board myself," "How to wait on the wash girl," "What I



Ashland College's First Graduating Class (left to right): F.M. Plank, S.H. Yeater, E. Wigton, H.F. Hixson

know about pulling up trees," and Frank Hixson's *First* was, "The beneficial effects of beans." The description of his oration is, "We have an example of the effects of College fare. This Lilliputan was purchased as at great expense. He has spent the last three months on this oration, and will begin to torture you by saying, "Honor to the memory of our Fathers"(who first planted beans.) On account of his smallness of stature, Stubbs [one of the professors] will hold him in his hand during the performance. After he has finished, Hale and Huber (walking bean poles) will wrap him in his flannels."¹²

The spoof degrees that were presented to the four graduates were N.B.F. to Yeater for "Natural Born Fool," D.C.L. to Plank for Darwin Connecting Link, P.J.B. to Wigton for "St. Croix—1860—X," and C.P.A.B.E. to Hixson for "Champion Pork and Bean Eater."¹³

The serious commencement program the next evening again had orations by the graduates entitled, "Lessons from Life," "The Tendency of the Age," "Worth Makes the Man," and Hixson was the final speaker again of the program with, "The Honor of Nations." The program concluded with the conferring of the degrees by President Miller.

Frank Hixson and Anna Baker Get Married

The relationship between Anna Baker and Frank Hixson developed seriously during the first year and continued into the second. Their relationship, suggested by the connection they had within the Pierian Society leadership, is further noted by the fact that she is listed as the first of four ushers at the commencement exercises in June 1881 at Hixson's graduation.¹⁴ This was at the end of their second year studying together. At the literary societies' combined program of entertainment for the first commencement in 1881, Frances Davidson, friend of the Baker family, presented an essay called, "Silent Forces." She was in the class one year behind Anna Baker.¹⁵ During this same spring session, Frances Davidson had a talk with Frank Hixson "on the difference of our church [Brethren in Christ] and theirs, the Dunkards. He cannot see the difference as I do. The subject is to be continued at some future time."¹⁶ Frances returned to the college one more year but later transferred to Kalamazoo College in Michigan to graduate in 1884, which was near where her parents had moved in 1881.¹⁷

The two-year relationship between Frank Hixson and Anna Baker brought them together in marriage on September 1, 1881. The local newspaper announced in its September 1 issue, "Professor H. F. Hixson left for Louisville, Ohio, yesterday morning. Rumor has it that he will not return alone."¹⁸ The marriage certificate indicates that they were married on September 1, 1881, by Rev. Robert H. Miller, who was the president of Ashland College during the 1880-82 period, which was the final two years of Anna's study there for her degree, signed by the local probate judge, most likely in Anna's hometown, Louisville, Ohio.¹⁹

Anna's Graduation from Ashland in 1882

Thus, Anna returned to Ashland College as Mrs. Frank Hixson for her third and final year in 1881-82 and Hixson returned as a professor of the college. Perhaps their relationship was a factor in her somehow moving from the sophomore class to the senior class.

The first year had been somewhat stormy as the trustees tried to remove President Sharp. He submitted his resignation but later a committee ruled in his favor and the case dragged on for almost a year.

Hixson Elected President of Ashland College

Frank graduated in June 1881. Anna married him in September of the same year and graduated in June 1882 and gave birth to their daughter, Methyl, in the fall of 1882. The next spring Hixson was elected President of Ashland College during a stormy transition period in which the progressive wing of the Brethren church was coming out on top of a conflict with the conservative wing. The turmoil in the college administration had begun before when R. H. Miller was elected the new president after Sharp (the first president), whose election was interpreted by one denominational paper as the "last bid to keep the college conservative."²⁰ But Robert Miller lasted only two years as he resigned in the spring of 1882. After Miller, Rev. Joseph E. Stubbs served only one year as president during 1882-83.²¹ It was during this period that "the last of conservative-minded trustees disappeared from the board."²² The conflict between the conservatives and the so-called Progressives of the Brethren Church caused considerable turmoil at the college, particularly in its administration.

Hixson, one of the Progressives, and who had been an active leader in the debating societies and a popular professor at the college from the beginning, was elected the new president on June 14, 1883.²³ He served for two years, 1883-1885, and then resigned.²⁴ What is known about his presidency comes not from the history of the college but from the local newspaper reports of the college activities for these two years he served. His daughter, Methyl, born in the fall of 1882, would have been one and two years old during this time period of his presidency and would have been the delight of faculty and students alike.

In one of the newspaper accounts of the college activities in May 1882 mention is made of the vice president of the college, Professor Burgess, getting married to Julia Leonard of Ashland. With a clear reference to the Hixsons who had gotten married the previous fall, the reporter writes, "Our College is famed for such surprises, comprising cases both of professors and students, so that the future is clouded in uncertainty; hence we can only say: Who's next?"²⁵

An Honorary Ph.D. for Hixson

There is strong reason to believe that Ashland College bestowed on Hixson a Ph.D. or an honorary Ph.D. degree in 1883 after two more years of study there following his graduation in 1881, or when he was elected president and began his presidency. There are five reasons for this conclusion. (1) Hixson claims on his application for admission to Johns Hopkins University for graduate study dated October 1,



1885, in his handwriting, that he had received a Ph.D. from Ashland College in 1883 and “can present” the diploma to prove it.²⁶

(2) The Johns Hopkins University Directory published in 1926 lists Hixson as a former graduate student in philosophy during 1885-86 and as holding a Ph.B. degree in 1881 and a Ph.D. degree in 1883, both from Ashland College. He is also listed as President of Ashland College from 1883-85, which has been established independently of his own claim.²⁷ (3) Many colleges during this time awarded honorary Ph.D. degrees to faculty members, to alumni, to clergymen, and especially to college presidents “after they had taken office” or “were conferred the same year or the year following the inauguration.”²⁸ (4) While all the Midwest newspapers who reported on Hixson used the title, Dr. Hixson, two of them specifically claim in their biographical sketches of him at his death that he “received the degree of doctor of philosophy.”²⁹ These two do not mention the institution that awarded him the degree.

(5) A check with the Ashland University Archives resulted in the finding that the above fact cannot be proven one way or the other, first, because “Ashland College did not keep good records on its early students,” and second, “in 1952 the fire in Founders Hall destroyed all of the alumni information.”³⁰ The Archives does reveal that “an employee card” for Hixson says he “Received his Ph.D. at J.H.” Perhaps in the reconstructing of the records after the fire, someone remembered that he had a Ph.D. but assumed it was from Johns Hopkins since he had gone there, instead of from Ashland. The Archivist reported that “Ashland did not offer honorary Ph.D.’s until 1932.”³¹ One of the histories of the College claims, however that Ashland College during the 1880s “conferred upon [John H. Worst, one of the first students at the college, but did not graduate] the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws” for his work in North Dakota in education, including being President of North Dakota Agricultural College.³² Maybe Hixson’s honorary Ph.D. for becoming president, or an awarded Ph.D. for “advanced study and research” while teaching, was a casualty of the fire in 1952.³³

Getting the College Back on Track

During the first year of his presidency, Hixson made a strong effort to get the college back on its original track of offering a solid college course. In the years 1881 and 1882 when the Brethren Church was breaking into the Progressive and the traditional branches, the division also affected the college administration. It was reported that some people viewed the college as offering “simply a normal course,” and that “this was the design of certain members of the Board of Trustees, when two years ago the old course, against the unanimous protest of the faculty and the entire community, was abolished.”³⁴

Hixson wanted “to retain the advanced students” and thus promised to restore the old course of instruction, which was “a full college course,” as well as extend it.³⁵ Through the course of his two years he apparently was able to achieve this, for the report in the local newspaper commended him for his excellent work in saying, “Professor Hixson deserves great credit for his Herculean though silent efforts to place the College on a firm basis. For the past two years he has borne up bravely under the universal calumny heaped upon all connected with the school, determined to let the work show for itself.”³⁶

Hixson apparently placed a number of departments "on a firm foundation," including the Commercial Department, the Normal and the Musical Departments, the latter two "of which were [never] before on a firm basis." His efforts continued to be opposed by the Board of Trustees, even in the public columns of the Board's organ, the *College Record*. This no doubt was one of the reasons Hixson resigned from his office at the end of the two years.³⁷

At the graduating exercises in June of 1885, Hixson's final year as president, he presented to the graduates their diplomas and then addressed the class by "instructing them to place their mark high in whatever calling they chose to make their life work, and to ever press onward and upward, striving to gain and maintain higher heights."³⁸

That Hixson was successful as far as the students were concerned is seen in several ways. The graduating class in 1885 was reported as the largest in its history, with six in the Collegiate department and six in the Normal department. President and Mrs. Hixson entertained the graduating classes in their home on Monday evening of commencement week. The local newspaper editorialized that "in all cases the President has sustained the good will of the students and especially the present class on whom was always insisted the necessity of thoroughness of work."³⁹

Finally, on the Thursday evening following the commencement ceremonies that had taken place Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, as the students were about to leave for home at the train depot, Professor Brumbaugh stepped forward and gave to the president a "thank you" speech, and presented to him on behalf of the students a handsome cane. The paper commented, "And nothing could speak in louder tones of praise for the excellent work done in the school by President Hixson, than the presentation to him by the class and students of a gold-headed ebony cane."⁴⁰

Hixson served only two years at Ashland College as president before taking up other endeavors. Following Hixson, Rev. W. C. Perry, a graduate in the class of 1885 who had been Principal of the Normal Department that Hixson had reestablished under his presidency, served for two years, 1885-87. He was followed by William W. Felger, also in the class of 1885, who served for 1887-88.⁴¹ During this time the college debt increased annually. Because of the mounting debt, in June 1888 the college had to be sold and put into a receivership.⁴² It seems that the conservative ex-trustees who had received the property sold it back to the progressives who obtained a new charter and started a campaign to obtain a financial footing for the college.⁴³

Hixson apparently had trouble with the trustees from time to time. He decided in April not to have a summer term for 1885 but the trustees a month later decided "to go ahead with summer term." A month after that the executive committee decided to take off \$400 from Hixson's salary.⁴⁴ In the fall, after Hixson left, approximately 25 students were enrolled at the college.⁴⁵

Hixson to Johns Hopkins for Graduate Study

In October 1885 Hixson went to Baltimore to enroll in graduate work at Johns Hopkins University. There is some controversy about what this involved

because his obituary says that he took “a post graduate course” at Johns Hopkins⁴⁶ while another source claims that he went to Johns Hopkins as “dean of mathematics for a year.”⁴⁷ One of the subjects Hixson had taught at Ashland was mathematics, but the archival records at Johns Hopkins indicate only that he was a graduate student in psychology in 1885-86 and is listed in the following classes: History of Philosophy, Psychology, Education, Introductory to Psychology, and Elocution.⁴⁸

The Hixsons to Parsons, Kansas to set up a Normal School

Following his year at Johns Hopkins, in the fall of 1886, Hixson and a Prof. Crowle “organized a normal school at Parsons, Kansas,”⁴⁹ his former residence, which was a fast-growing railroad town in the southeastern part of the state. The town had received some notoriety a few years earlier (in 1879 while Hixson was in his first year at Ashland) when President Rutherford B. Hayes and General W. T. Sherman stopped at the town on their way to Neosha Falls District Fair where the President took time to address the gathered crowd.⁵⁰

The Hixson school, though well attended, apparently lasted only a few years. From 1870 to 1897 numerous normal institutes were established in Parsons with anywhere from 100 to 150 students in each, some of which had a lengthy existence and some short-lived.⁵¹ Hixson’s “Business school at Parsons closed about 1887,” but the exact date is not known, and he “became identified with the Baptist church in 1887 and was ordained a minister of that church,”⁵² thus severing his ties with the Dunkard church with which he and his family had been associated.⁵³ Hixson’s name is not listed with the pastors who served the Baptist church in Parsons, but he is mentioned as being the president of the Young People’s Society of Christian Workers in that church.⁵⁴

The 1886, 1887, and 1888 Ashland College catalogs, listing college alumni, show Anna and Frank as living in Parsons, Kansas where he is said to be conducting a normal school, so apparently he was directing the school for three years. Their second child, Raymond, was born June 6, 1887, in Parsons while Frank was running the normal school there.

Hixson to the Midwest for the Labor Movement

Frank Hixson gave up his calling in formal education about 1888, at the time of the formation of the “National Farmers’ Alliance and Co-operative Union of America” in the south and north⁵⁵ and began studying “the industrial problem with direct reference to the labor movement, and devoted himself to a championship of organized labor principally as editor of labor publications and lecturer and organizer of unions and trade councils.”⁵⁶ His motivation for getting involved in the labor movement can be speculated by his living in southeastern Kansas for three years, working in an educational endeavor that may have been dwindling and by the raising of the consciousness of the farmers in that area for what was happening to them. His hometown of Parsons was a railroad town. He had seen the consequences of what happened to the farmers when exploited by the railroad tycoons and lobbyists supporting them.⁵⁷

In the late 1880s “the hard times” enabled the Farmers’ Alliance to increase its membership “enormously,” making it “a power to be reckoned with in

the whole Northwest.”⁵⁸ Hixson, ever the opportunist, seized on the chance to use his leadership ability and his speaking talent to help organize the farmers to change their lot by supporting a new party. The next year he became involved in local politics farther west when he “spent four months in the state of Iowa lecturing to farmers and in 1889 organized the Farmers Alliance which soon became a flourishing organization in that state.”⁵⁹ General James B. Weaver, a member of the Iowa Farmers Alliance, later became the nominee for president of the People’s Party.⁶⁰ Hixson reportedly worked for the People’s Party in Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas before going to Wisconsin.⁶¹

When Hixson moved to Wisconsin he continued his leadership of the labor movement and the People’s Party. As “a persistent, constant advocate of the principles of that party and in order to propound them in a manner which would make itself felt in 1890, he purchased the Racine Advance,” giving that paper a larger stature throughout Wisconsin.⁶² His paper was one of “perhaps two hundred or more, that championed the movement,” including the *Advocate* that Stephen McLallin launched in 1889 in Meriden, Kansas before he moved it to Topeka in 1890, which became “easily the most important Populist newspaper in America,” along with William Peffer’s *Kansas Farmer*.⁶³

Death of the Hixson Son

While Anna and her two children were visiting friends in Ashland in 1891, Raymond became ill with measles and then suffered further complications with a more serious illness. Hixson was summoned to be with him but Raymond soon rallied, so he shortly returned to his work in Wisconsin. However, the boy suddenly grew worse on a Tuesday night and died the next morning, on February 12, just under four years of age. The body was shipped to Louisville, Ohio, not back to Kansas, and the funeral was held in the home of the Bakers and the body buried in the Baker Family lot in the Valley Chapel cemetery.⁶⁴

Hixson “was one of the original organizers of the people’s party, having taken a prominent part in their Omaha convention,” which was held on July 4, 1892.⁶⁵ He edited labor papers in Kansas, Indiana, and Ohio, where he edited a paper in Canton called the *Forum*, and finally went to Milwaukee where he was associate editor of the *Advance*.⁶⁶ In 1893 he went to Oshkosh, Wisconsin where he became editor of the *Labor Advocate* in that city and developed into a very prominent labor leader in that state.

After leaving the field of education, in all of his political activities as reported in the newspapers, he is always referred to as “Dr. Hixson.” He was perceived in the Midwest as “The Doctor.” His Ph.D. degree from Ashland, his serving for two years as a college president, his doing post graduate work in psychology at a famous eastern university, his establishing a normal school in Kansas, all contributed to his reputation for being educated and learned, giving him a proper ethos to assume editorial control of labor papers and political leadership in the People’s Party. He apparently was a powerful speaker and debater and was well-informed on labor issues. His speeches were well supported with facts and had tightly developed arguments. He was an agitator, an organizer, and a tireless speaker throughout the state and the region.

II. Hixson's Leadership in the Populist Party in Wisconsin

To illustrate the degree to which he was involved in Populist Party politics, a list of his speaking engagements during the political campaign of 1894 is provided. It shows the intensity and variety of his efforts at improving the condition of the working people of his time. It is interesting to observe that during the time Hixson is writing and speaking on behalf of labor in the upper Midwest, his father-in-law is preaching in the pulpit in Ohio on Christian life issues and writing on church doctrine, resulting in his book that his church asked him to publish. They both liked to write.

Hixson's Speaking in the 1894 Political Campaign

The Hixson list is taken from the Oshkosh, Wisconsin, *Daily Northwestern*.

January 10, 1894—Dr. H. F. Hixson will address the Carpenters union No. 634 at the Trades and Labor Council hall on January 18, open to the public.

January 25—Dr. H. F. Hixson offered the free use of 500 choice books in his own library for the benefit of the workingmen at the Trades and Labor Council meeting last evening.

January 27—Dr. Hixson endorsed the speech at city hall by Rev. G. H. Trever on the duty of clergy to speak against the social ills of society caused by capitalism. He got into "a lively tilt" with Mr. Houghton in arguing that corporations not saloons caused pauperism.

February 3—Following an address by Mr. Houghton on the needs of the workingman, "loud calls" were made for Dr. Hixson to address the packed city hall. He spoke against child labor in the factories and "taunted" Mr. Houghton to give his views on the causes of the current national depression.

February 17—Dr. Hixson addressed the Workingman's Club at the "completely filled" city hall Friday night on the subject, "How to Prevent Panics." His remedy for panics was for national banks to be established instead of state banks so that the banking system could be run like the postal system where no capitalists were made from the profits.

February 23—Dr. Hixson followed up an address on the role of wages in social development by Prof. White by disagreeing with his assumptions, because "men had not been honest, competition had not been free, opportunities had not remained equal and law had defeated natural development."

March 9—Dr. Hixson spoke at the Workingman's Club last evening following an address by Prof. Reilly on the municipal ownership of the electric light plant. He believes in the municipal ownership of every public utility and the government ownership of railroads.

March 23—Dr. Hixson spoke following an address by C. Hanson at the Workingman's Club that in union there is strength and that the consumers of products are the real employers.

March 30—Dr. H. F. Hixson spoke following an address on the good results of unions at the Workingman's Club by endorsing the view that "the union of

- laboring men is a matter of necessity for their own protection." A resolution was passed at the meeting that all Oshkosh clergymen should preach a sermon during April on "The Abolition of Child Labor in Factories" as part of their obligation to preach the gospel.
- April 5—Dr. H.F. Hixson will speak before the Workingman's Club this evening on "Government Ownership of Railroads." He is strongly in favor of government ownership, because "Either the people must own the railroads or the railroads will own the people."
- April 19—Dr. H. F. Hixson spoke at length against the private ownership of railroads and quoted many authorities to prove his theory.
- April 20—Dr. Hixson of Oshkosh will speak at the city hall [in Menasha] tomorrow night on the labor question.
- April 23—Dr. Hixson was appointed to a committee of leading citizens by Mayor Oelierich to establish a free public library for the city of Oshkosh.
- May 18—Dr. Hixson will lecture at Green Bay on May 31, on "The Future of Labor."
- June 7—Mayor Oelierich announced committees for the July Fourth celebration with the Printing and Advertising Committee consisting of five persons, including Dr. Hixson.
- June 8—Hixson was elected president of the new Federal Union organization and will represent the union at the Wisconsin Federation of Labor annual convention on July 4.
- June 12—Hixson gave the welcome address at the 2nd annual convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor.
- June 12—The president of the Farmer's Alliance announced that the Law Committee consists of three persons, including H. F. Hixson and Dr. H. F. Hixson is announced as the state lecturer for the Farmer's Alliance.
- June 20—editorial in the paper published against Hixson's *The Labor Advocate*.
- July 9—Hixson is quoted as saying, "There will be no trouble here [by the American Railway Union]" for "the men have received no orders from President Debs to strike," when asked by reporters whether there will be a strike in Oshkosh in support of the famous Pullman railway strike in Chicago that had begun on May 11. Two days earlier than Hixson's statement Eugene Debs had been arrested.
- July 31—Hixson addressed the County Convention of the Populist Party by urging a strong ticket. He was elected chairman of the county committee and was placed on the executive board. Nominations had to be submitted to Hixson for confirmation.
- August 15—The Populists have organized a club at Marinette and claim to have 100 members. Many of them are ex-Democrats.
- August 21—Hixson addressed the Populist meeting at city hall on the "present conditions based in legislation." He urged the passing of new legislation to help the workingman which means that people should support the People's Party which follows principles, not men. He urged people to subscribe in support of *The Daily Advocate*.
- August 22—The paper reported the story, "Populists on the Gain."

September 3 —Dr. H. F. Hixson was the orator of the day at Eau Claire today.

September 20—Dr. Hixson speaks at Fond du Lac Friday in the interests of the People's Party.

October 3—The People's Party at Madison has decided to put Dr. Hixson, editor of *The Labor Advocate* of this city, against Gov. McKinley of Ohio in joint debate on the political issues of the day, October 9, at Madison.

October 4—Dr. Hixson has gone to Kansas, called there by the serious illness of his mother.

October 6—Prof. H. F. Hixson, of Oshkosh, Wis., is in the city, called here by the probably fatal illness of his mother. (*The Parsons Daily Sun*, Kansas) This is the day that his mother died in Parsons, Kansas.

October 9—Gov. McKinley is in Madison in "A Blaze of Glory," but there is no debate with Hixson who is in Kansas where his mother has died.

October 16—Dr. H. F. Hixson has returned from Kansas, where he attended the funeral of his mother.

November 1—Hixson was obliged to give up speaking while at Chippewa Falls and had to go to bed from which he never left.

November 3—Dr. Powell, mayor of La Crosse and twice the People's Party candidate for governor, addressed the crowd, giving a great tribute to Hixson who "had worked earnestly and untiringly for the success of the People's Party and now at the last moment before the battle, the incessant campaigning of the past three or four weeks about the state had finally exhausted him" and was now too ill to be present.

November 6—Election Day. The People's Party did not win. The Republican Party won in a landslide nationally, in Wisconsin, and in Oshkosh.

November 7—An editorial stated that the Republican win was "a wonderful victory and land-slide without precedent in American history...."

November 8—In Hixson's hometown of Parsons, Kansas, the headlines said, "A Great Victory. Republicans and Good Citizens Rejoice. Populism Wiped Out Forever in Labette County." (*The Parsons Daily Sun*)

November 9—The official vote results indicated the expected success of the People's Party wasn't even close in Wisconsin (for governor in Winnebago County):

Upham, Republican	6,538
Peck, Democrat	3,964 (the incumbent was defeated)
Powell, People's	1,056
Cleghorn, Prohibitionist	374

It should be noted here that the source below indicates that Hixson was candidate for Lieutenant Governor of the People's Party, but the newspaper reports that Smock was the candidate and received about the same number of votes as did Powell for Governor.

Hixson's Illness and Death

November 16—A letter was received today [at the newspaper] from Dr. Hixson, who is lying ill at Chippewa Falls, in which he stated that the sensational accounts of his condition are erroneous and that in a short time he hopes to be in this city.

November 23—Hixson succumbed to his illness and his body was accompanied by his father, A. J. Hixson, back to Parsons, Kansas, where the funeral was held in the Baptist church and he was buried in the Oakwood cemetery where his mother had been buried six weeks earlier. Sausaman (1977) provides a final paragraph that is instructive of how intense he was as a politician.

At the time of his last illness, Dr. Hixson was a candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin, and was stumping the state in the interest of this office. Following the death of his mother, which occurred at Parsons only six weeks before that of the noted labor leader, Dr. Hixson returned from her bedside to his arduous duties during the heat of the fall campaign. Soon afterward he developed a severe cold. Instead of remaining indoors, the Doctor headed an immense procession marching through the streets in the sleet and mud, later delivering a ringing speech over two hours in length when he was scarcely able to stand. In all probability he would have been elected to office as he was carrying the platform of the state. On the train en route to the next place he became violently ill and was removed to St. Joseph's hospital at Chippewa Falls where he died ten days later. His fine library and handsome little yacht were willed to the trade and labor council of Oshkosh. His estate of \$10,000 was bequeathed to his wife and daughter.⁶⁷

November 26—Funeral services were held for Dr. H. F. Hixson at the Hibernia hall in Oshkosh where the Trades and Labor Council adopted a resolution mourning the loss of "an able, true and earnest worker in the cause of humanity and reform, and whom we have learned to love and esteem for his kind and cheering words and for his earnest work among the toiling masses of our city and state."

Anna and Frank Hixson's Separation

There is reason to believe that Anna and Methyl may very well not have been living with Frank during his political endeavors in rallying labor groups together and organizing for his campaigns. There are five pieces of evidence that suggest this.

First, during all of the time that Hixson is reported speaking to labor groups, being elected to offices in labor organizations, and being mentioned as a leader of thought and action in the state of Wisconsin, there is never even a mention of Mrs. Hixson in either the "Short Notes," the "Social" columns, or the "Personalities" columns, when it was common practice for the paper to mention the wife of this notable or that leading person as having visited somewhere or entertained some guests. These columns were full of social items about the town's citizens, such as "Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Spink of Milwaukee are visiting at the residence of City treasurer Spink,"⁶⁸ or "Mrs. Florence Smith is visiting with relatives in Waupaca" and "Mrs. M. Carney and daughter, Miss Mamie Carney, of Stockbridge have been the guests of Miss A. M. Gibson for the past few days."⁶⁹

Mrs. Hixson is never mentioned. Her daughter, Methyl, was twelve years old. Did they never go to Ohio to visit her parents? Did her father, Dr. Baker, never visit her, yet he traveled to Canada, Colorado, Kansas, Illinois and other places? Did

none of their mutual friends from Ashland days ever visit them, especially since Hixson was becoming a well-known politician?

Second, in the Oshkosh *Daily Northwestern*, which had reported so well on all of his activities as a politician and labor leader, the account of Hixson's death as one of the leading news stories with a large headline on page one, right-hand column, does not mention Mrs. Hixson or his daughter. Hixson's own *Labor Advocate* does not mention his wife or daughter in its extensive coverage of Hixson's death or funeral.

Third, the Resolution, passed by the Trades and Labor Council in memory of Hixson at their next formal meeting, in Oshkosh, does not mention Mrs. Hixson, his wife, or Methyl, his daughter, while it does extend "sincere sympathy to the relatives of the deceased."⁷⁰ If they had been living with him in Oshkosh and had been part of his daily life and of all his activities, it seems strange that the organized group which he had led for years would not have at least mentioned them in a way other than merely being his "relatives."

In similar fashion, the People's party club in Madison passed unanimous resolutions on his passing in which it praised Hixson's accomplishments and abilities as "the people's peerless champion"⁷¹ and ordered that the resolutions "be published in Madison daily papers, the Oshkosh Labor Advocate, and the Milwaukee Advance" and that "a copy be sent to Dr. Hixson's father in Parsons, Kas [sic]." Nothing is mentioned about his wife and daughter.⁷²

Fourth, the obituary of Hixson that appears in the Louisville, Ohio, local paper, upon his death, reports. "He leaves a wife, Mrs. Anna Baker Hixson, and a daughter, Methyl, who reside at Louisville."⁷³ It would hardly report their residence as Louisville, if they had been living with him during those years in Wisconsin.

Fifth, the account of his death, funeral, and burial in the Oshkosh paper reports that his father, A. J. Hixson, not his wife and daughter, accompanied the body back to Kansas for burial.⁷⁴ It is understandable that burial would be in Parsons, his original home. But why would the paper not report that his body was being accompanied by his wife and daughter if they had been living with him? Also, at the time of his serious illness in Chippewa Falls, where he lay in bed for several weeks, his father was sent for and arrived in Chippewa Falls to be at his bedside.⁷⁵ Why does it not mention that his wife and daughter were sent for or were at his side in his illness?⁷⁶

III. Hixson's Rhetoric in the Populist Party

Hixson's rhetoric was a Populist message. He advocated the Populist Party arguments that both major political parties were guilty of supporting the monopolies, big business, and big government and that they were doing nothing to change legislation to stop the corruption. He argued for the government ownership of railroads and public utilities, the establishment of national banks, instead of state banks, that would control the making of money, and he pressed his listeners to get involved in politics because it was "their business" to do so in light of "the discontent of laboring people throughout the land."⁷⁷

Hixson's Message in His Speeches

Hixson was a true Populist. Nugent's characterization of the Populists as those who "were determined to see that these changes [from industrialization] should benefit all the people and not just a few"⁷⁸ fits Hixson precisely. Nugent continues, "The majority of them therefore accepted industrialization but condemned monopoly, accepted bank and finance but condemned usury and financial sleight of hand, welcomed accumulation but condemned economic feudalism, welcomed enterprise but condemned speculation. It was not industry and urbanism that oppressed them, they thought, but their abuse."⁷⁹ In short, the Populists attacked "landlordism, transportation monopoly, and money shortages."⁸⁰

The message was one of identification with the interests of the people. The owners, the corporations, the banks, and the political parties indebted to them, were exploiting the common people. Hixson wanted to expose these evils on behalf of the people, to wake them up, and persuade them to do something about it. "Burke contends," argues Mader, "that identification is possible because all of us have the same motives, or inherent needs, and that the terms for these motives name 'relationships and developments that, *mutatis mutandis*, are likely to figure in all human association."⁸¹ Hixson became a voice for the people in his message of identifying the claims of the Populist party with their interests. "You persuade a [person]," says Burke, "only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his [sic]."⁸² This form of persuasion Burk calls identification.

The Evil of Landlordism

Hixson attacked all three of these evils that the Populist party had identified. "Of all the exploitation," he said, "landlordism is perhaps the worst and most excessive. The earth equally belongs to all the people of all generations.... Society, the community, creates nearly all the value of land and to the community it belongs." Hixson complained that "the rents are out of all proportion to profits in business and, to say the very least, the rents ought to come down, and come down a good deal." "It is unfair," he wrote, "that the masses bear all the burdens for the benefit of landlords, usurers, and monopolists. The system is rotten and wrong and must be destroyed but in the mean time adjustments of this nature are in order."⁸³

The Evil of Monopolies

The second evil attacked by the Populists and by Hixson was monopolies. Regarding the railroad monopoly issue, Hixson argued the same line of reasoning, that owners were making all the money at the expense of the laborers. Transportation serves all the people and should therefore be owned by the people. Since the "railroad by fraudulent capitalization is a heavy tax upon the public," and the "railroads control congress, state legislature and courts," and "possess power antagonistic to republican principles of government," the solution must be government ownership. Hixson said, "The railroads should be taken possession of by the government in the interests of the whole people at their true cash value," so that the government would own and operate the railroads "at cost like the postal

system, but under civil service regulation to prevent the evils of the patronage system.”⁸⁴

The Evil of Controlling Money

On the third issue, the money problem, in Hixson’s speech on “How to Prevent Panics,” given at the city hall in Oshkosh, on February 16, 1894, he acknowledged that the cause of panics “was hard to determine” but “one thing was certain, that there had never been a panic that was not caused by the manipulation of the volume of money.” When wages decline, he said, the volume of money declines and then the capitalists hoard up their money. This has happened under both the Democratic and Republican parties. Hixson said that the panic of 1873 was caused when “the demonetization of silver was attempted by the capitalists” “under cover and by fraud” which caused unemployment and “thousands of tramps roamed around the country.” Capitalists, he said, like to make the volume of money less so that they can be “made rich by the workingmen’s labor.”⁸⁵

The remedy, according to Hixson, was to let the government “make all the money and there would be no liability of depositors losing money.” Instead of allowing the creditors to make the financial laws, which means the “bankers were the only ones who derived any benefit from them,” “the government should establish a system of national banks, in fact and not in name, backed by the people.” “The interest on the money,” claimed Hixson, “would pay the running expenses of the government, and would not make a few men rich. In this way all society would be bettered.”⁸⁶

Getting Workers Involved in Politics

The other issue that Hixson pushed hard in the political campaign was to encourage the workingmen to get involved in politics by joining the unions and the Populist party. At a meeting again at the city hall on August 20, 1894, Hixson addressed the Populist party audience by saying, “politics was a matter of business with laboring men, they were in politics for business, and this fall they would show the ‘other fellows,’ that they had been in business.” Speaking of the labor discontent throughout the country, Hixson said he thought it “the duty of every true American citizen to investigate the cause of discontent. Politics ought to be a question not of men, but of the principles they represent instead.”⁸⁷

Hixson went on to discuss his belief that the cause of the discontent was in legislation and the remedy must “be found in the same place.” “If you are supporting a party which you know brings ‘present conditions,’” he said, “you are a criminal if you continue it. You are supporting a party which brings the most heinous crime of all—anarchy.”⁸⁸

Wherever Hixson spoke, and it was many times in many places, he kept the Populist message before the people and identified his party as the party of the people.

Hixson’s Message in His Editorials

As the editor of the *Labor Advocate*, Hixson had access to a weekly audience in addition to the audiences of his platform speeches. The themes of his

editorials, his columns, and his comments on state and national events every week hammered home the same message—the people are suffering from the exploitation of the plutocrats and no one is speaking out for them but the People's party.

Mass Starvation

His editorials took the form of a major article at one time and the form of smaller pieces at other times. For example, in January 1894, the first month that he was in office, he wrote three small essays. One was on the issue of starvation in which he said that the “public school question, the tariff question, the temperance question and all grave questions of the day are relegated to insignificance in the face of starving men, women and children.” He said the conditions that have resulted in this mass starvation are due to “the legislation of the last thirty years.” The problem is not in production of food, he continued, but in an improper “system of distribution and exchange.”⁸⁹

The Cut-Throat System

In a second one, Hixson blasted the “cut-throat system” where, it is not the fittest that survives, but “the strongest and most unscrupulous.” He said, “The manufacturer who desires to pay fair wages and provide sanitary conditions for his employes [sic] comes into competition with the unscrupulous man who grinds his employes [sic] down to starvation wages in cheap and unhealthy shops.”⁹⁰ The third essay called attention to the “cheap goods, cheap labor” of those who come to town selling “a stock of old shopworn refuse or bankrupt goods purchased for a song and sold under the name of ‘sacrifice.’” This bringing of “cheap pauper labor to compete with [legitimate labor] and reduce their wages to a starvation level” has rightly been objected to and should be taxed as “a means of protection.”⁹¹

The Failure of the Major Parties

An example of the longer article by Hixson is one appearing in Jan. 27, 1894. The title, “Republicans—Democrats,” discloses Hixson's major theme, that both major parties are guilty of the same abuse. When one party replaces the other, the policies remain the same. Hixson said, “The present conditions are the result of a system that has been directed by the republicans and abetted by the democrats since early in the days of the war.”⁹² He followed this with the publication of a list of business failures over a 14-year period from 1880-1893 and the huge liabilities resulting from these failures.

Hixson's editorial concluded that these figures “show the result of concentration of wealth in the hands of the few and the ruin of business to increase the value of cash....The man must either be an ignoramus or a knave that can ask the masses to continue to support the gang of miserable traitors that have produced such results.”⁹³

Obstacles in the Labor Movement

The next month, February, Hixson published a major editorial on page one, “The Labor Movement.” In this article he described the “obstacles” that the labor movement must encounter and the “plain facts” that must be kept in mind “to ensure the success of the Labor Movement.” He based his argument on one fundamental

truth: “the Universal Brotherhood of Man [sic], and the natural and logical deduction, the equal heir ship of all mankind [sic] of all generations to the earth and all its resources.” Hixson then argued that two equally important conclusions must be accepted from this one fundamental truth. They are, one, that it “is inconsistent with natural or divine law that one man should be able to live upon the labor of another without rendering an equivalent, for, in the sweat of his own face shall man [sic] eat bread,” which means that “monopoly” “is inconsistent with public welfare,” and two, that since “the present system” is “entrenched in law,” it “must be destroyed by the enactment of new laws in accordance with natural rights.”⁹⁴

Hixson phrased the object of the labor movement as “the restoration of their natural rights to the people so that they may have the opportunity to work, to live and enjoy an equal share of the results of the progress of the ages past.” This object, he continued, must not be diverted by the pursuit of other reforms, which can still be legitimate, but which must “keep straight in line for the goal of human freedom and natural rights.”⁹⁵ Only the People’s party could be trusted to protect that freedom and preserve those natural rights.

The Populist Party the Answer

Further examples of Hixson’s shorter pieces in his editorial columns are “The Labor Agitator,” and “Where Do You Stand?” In the former, he used the analogy of Christ who had little opposition so long as he healed the sick and fed the hungry, but as soon as he denounced “their rotten system of usury, extortions and oppression, those ancient prototypes of the modern republicans and democrats raised the cry of ‘crucify him,’ ‘crucify him.’” “The history of every movement against tyranny and crime against the natural rights of the weak and unfortunate of the human race,” he continued, “has been written in the abuse...and blood of the agitator, the fanatic and the crank.”⁹⁶

In the latter column, Hixson again referenced historical figures from Christ’s time, the Revolutionary War period, and the Civil War period, to compare with “the advocates of justice today.” He attacked the “present plutocratic system [as] nothing but confiscation. Confiscation of the life, virtue and happiness of the masses to feed the licentious pomp of the apes of foreign aristocracy.”⁹⁷ Hixson’s editorials were hard-hitting and direct in their attacks on the men of wealth, privilege, and corruption—in both parties. Thus he always came around to the conclusion that the Populist party was the answer because only it could advance new legislation to change the present system.

Government Ownership of Communications

Hixson’s editorials in the March 1894 issues covered such topics as the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone, which “should be managed in the interests of the people instead of being used to enrich corporations,”⁹⁸ and restoring confidence by wresting “the affairs of government” “from the hands of the political and financial free booters who seem to have formed an alliance for the purpose of plunder” and putting them back in the hands of the people so that “hereafter they will have to conduct their own affairs in their own way if they secure protection for their own interests.”⁹⁹

The Interests of the People

In other columns Hixson reported on the “Wages in Oshkosh” which were lower “than is paid in any other city in the United States,” causing employers to “have amassed millions in a few years out of the earnings of others.”¹⁰⁰ In the column on “The Banking System” Hixson claimed that it was “destroying our prosperity” due to “the monopoly of money” [that] reduces the masses to poverty and makes the producers of wealth pay tribute to the rich.”¹⁰¹ Related to this was the column that summarized the losses during the year that he said were equal to “the expenses of the entire civil war.” “Is it not time,” asked Hixson, “that the plutocracy be overthrown by the ballot and a policy in the interests of the people instituted?”¹⁰²

In April one of Hixson’s editorials covered the issue of “Municipal Ownership” of the utilities. He favored this, of course, and used it to attack the other newspaper in town by claiming that it had curried “favor with the wealthy corporations and combines that secure special advantages by law to tax and dominate the public to their own enrichment. These combinations are especially generous in contributions to campaign funds to secure the election of their parasites to make the law through which such special privileges are secured.”¹⁰³ Hixson’s editorials were replete with accusations against the establishment of the main political parties and of the government. Only a fresh new party could be trusted to put the affairs of the people back into their own hands.

Hixson’s Rhetorical Strategies¹⁰⁴

Hixson, an experienced persuader in constructing messages, used a variety of strategies to present the Populist party message of identification with the people of Wisconsin. His rhetoric may be seen at a number of levels—as an organizer, a speaker, as an editor, and as a leader of a rhetorical movement. Skillful in discerning what was needed to rally the workers and to motivate them to get involved in the political process, he attacked the problem of lethargy and ignorance from a number of fronts. As an educator, he realized the importance of informing people before he could change them.

He wanted them to see their reality in the way that he saw it, so he constructed what Burke called a dramatic view. Life is a drama with actors, motives, and consequences of choices. When a rhetor uses identification with an audience, the human drama is presented in ways that make sense to the people and that explain to them what is happening in their lives. The rhetor gives motives to them for believing and acting.

As an Organizer

Hixson was a very active organizer in encouraging the workers to form clubs for meeting together to discuss their common concerns and to join in their union activities. As a teacher he wanted the workers to learn information and be knowledgeable. One of the most successful efforts was Hixson’s formation of the Workingmen’s Club in Oshkosh which he proposed and started “for the discussion of economic subjects.” It brought to the city important speakers to address the issues of the day.¹⁰⁵ He proposed this Club at the regular meeting of the Trades and Labor Council which the delegates “heartily” supported and requested the executive board

to follow through with the matter. It became a very successful means of keeping the issues before the working people and of allowing them to hear articulate speakers define the evils of their day and propose solutions.

The first meeting of the Club was January 19, 1894, at the Danish Brotherhood hall where Professor Hewitt of the State Normal School spoke on "The Teaching of the Present Industrial Depression."¹⁰⁶ His main point was that though there were many causes of the depression, the most important lesson is that the workingman must organize because only "organized labor" can obtain an increase in wages and in improving conditions for work.

The next month, on February 9, the Club met to hear F. W. Houghton talk on "The Essential Needs of the Laboring Man." The Club proved to be a popular idea as "Every seat in the city hall was occupied and many stood up in the rear of the room" to hear the speaker say that if "rich men are wrong, rebuke them with the ballot." He further advocated that the working man should follow the cardinal principles of being "skilled in his work, faithful to his employer, honest and moral in his conduct, ambitious and aggressive in his ideas, and economical in his habits." He also "gave great praise to Dr. Hixson for organizing the club for the discussion of the important questions of the day."¹⁰⁷

Hixson went to other cities to organize, as well. In Fond du Lac, in the fall of 1893, he had organized a Populist Club that met every two weeks on Monday evening where they had "very interesting discussions at the club regarding the present hard times and the people are being educated to understand what is the matter and what must be done."¹⁰⁸ This club was formed in addition to the fact that the city already had two Knights of Labor assemblies, one English and one German, and a cigar makers union. Hixson's emphasis was on providing opportunities for the working man to hear discussions, debates, and speakers so that they would become informed in making decisions about political affairs.

As a Speaker

Hixson's second strategy in building a dramatic movement was to use his speaking ability, which was recognized as powerful. This rhetorical ability had several characteristics that he himself designed for specific ends. First, he employed an extensive and full speaking schedule for himself. He was relentless in appearing before the public. He was in great demand as a speaker throughout the state. We have already seen the heavy speaking schedule that he had during the campaign. He was designated as the official state lecturer of the Wisconsin State Farmers' Alliance.¹⁰⁹ Further, he was one of the most popular speakers and debaters for the Populist party throughout the state. The *Labor Advocate* fully reported whenever Hixson was to speak and usually claimed after the event that the hall was filled. An example is after he spoke at the Woodworkers union at the end of January 1894. "A large number of woodworkers were present," reported the paper, "filling the hall to overflowing. Dr. Hixson delivered an address advocating the union of the workers of the trade to unite for their mutual advantages, showing the advantages of organization for the advancement of the interests of the members socially, educationally and for mutual protection."¹¹⁰

The second strategy of Hixson's rhetoric was using a highly visible format in arranging the speaking events. He often set up what amounted to a debate, or a

sequenced discussion in which both sides would be presented, or at least the giving of an opportunity for other speakers to respond after a main speaker had made his presentation. On one occasion the Workingmen's Club committee decided that the principal speaker should be limited to 45 minutes and then subsequent speakers following would have ten minutes each. The intent was to give opportunity for other points of view.¹¹¹ This most certainly was a rule that Hixson initiated. Very frequently the paper reported that Dr. Hixson also addressed the meeting if the featured speaker had been someone else, as was true when the Club was addressed by F. W. Houghton on "The Essential Needs of the Laboring Man." Hixson responded when the main speaker was finished.¹¹²

On a later occasion of the Club's meeting, when there was "standing room only" to hear Hixson address the group on the cause of panics and how to prevent them, a Prof. Hewitt and two other gentlemen "took part in the discussion and brought out new points but no one antagonized the speaker with arguments."¹¹³

Hixson eagerly accepted opportunities to debate the issues during the 1894 political campaign. One of the most important ones was his acceptance of a debate with Gov. William McKinley of Ohio that the People's party organized for the capital city, Madison. Unfortunately, the death of Hixson's mother in Kansas prevented him from following through with the debate, but its scheduling shows the visibility of Hixson's stature in the state and the level of his competence in debating the issues.¹¹⁴

A third characteristic of Hixson's speaking was his use of an appeal to the thinking process of his listeners. He was not primarily a rabble rouser or an emotional speaker, though he could rise to the occasion if the situation demanded, such as the time at the end when he gave that "ringing speech over two hours in length" even though he was ill and should have been in bed. For the most part, Hixson's method was to bring to the attention of the laboring class facts, statistics, and information that were in their interests to know and to have at hand in order to think through the issues. He wanted them to be informed first, and then be able to act. He gave "some five hundred choice books" from his own library to the Trades and Labor Council Library where the working men would have access to books, magazines, and periodicals of the day free of charge.¹¹⁵

In his speech on preventing panics given in the city hall on February 16, 1894, Hixson emphasized that these meetings were to be taken seriously and were "no place to indulge in personalities or to have petty squabbles." He also wanted to be criticized and claimed that the answer to the cause of panics "could only be determined after hard study."¹¹⁶

As a consequence of his stress on thinking about the issues, the fourth characteristic of Hixson's speaking was his substantial use of quotations, facts, figures, statistics, and information to advance his arguments and his self-designated rational conclusions. In his speech on preventing panics, Hixson quoted David Hume, Senator John P. Jones, and W. H. Crawford, one of the assistant secretaries of the treasury.¹¹⁷ The speech on government ownership of railroads included lengthy quotations from the New York Board of Trade and Transportation and a report from 1874, twenty years earlier, that the Senate had produced on the monopoly of the railroad tycoons. He named the eight senators names who wrote the report and included detailed statistics of the number of miles of railroads, the

dollar amount of the capitalization, and the amount of rebates that the railroads gave to the oil company for shipping, thus ruining the competitors.¹¹⁸

A fifth characteristic of Hixson's speaking, showing that he was a moderate, was that he favored the changing of legislation as a solution, not the use of marches or any form of violence. He advocated the use of the ballot to change the legislation that was needed to protect the working people. This is why he was so active in organizing political rallies and speaking at so many forums and meetings. He wanted to get people involved in the political process and persuade them to vote for the People's party as thinking people. He believed that he had a better chance of persuasion if he approached the issues as a moderate. Thus when the railway strike was on he reassured his town that his unions would not be part of it. And when Coxey's Army marched on Washington, he criticized that approach as not the best solution.

As an Editor

Hixson followed similar strategies in his editorial work as he did on the speaking circuit. In his major piece on the Republicans-Democrats, he offered what he called "some plain facts for the people to carefully consider before they decide upon their future political action," and then gave a thirteen-year statistical summary he obtained from R. G. Dunn & Co. in New York on how many thousands of business failures there had been each year and how many millions of dollars in liabilities resulted.¹¹⁹

The Hixson editorial on the cause of the panic includes the reprinting of "three brief chapters in the history of the financial policy of the two old monopoly-ridden parties to destroy America," which explain his thesis that the "history of the development of present conditions is a long one, and embraces many phases, but each phase is intimately associated with legislation, special legislation, by which rights and powers belong to the whole have been devoted to the interests of the speculators, the financial pirates, that have possessed themselves of the legislative power in states and nation."¹²⁰

In addition to using facts and historical quotations to support his claims, Hixson made it a standard policy to expose what he called lies and falsehoods published by other papers. One of the classic cases was his editorial, "Some Lies Nailed," in which he wrote: "Among the monopoly papers there are liars and liars. Some lie guardedly, and in such a way as to make their statements look plausible. Others lie boldly and with perfect disregard of the truth. Among the latter class is the *Globe-Democrat*, a republican paper of St. Louis, with a democratic editor. After the recent elections it came out in an article which as a sample of falsehood is monumental." He then printed the article from that paper and concluded, "There are exactly twenty-two sentences in that article and they contain thirty-three distinct lies—more lies to the square inch of newspaper, perhaps, than was ever before printed." This is followed by giving six of the "lies" and answering them one by one. To give one example, "Lie No.1. 'The Collapse of the Populists.' The returns show that the populists gained in every state holding elections, unless, perhaps, it is Kansas."¹²¹

In another editorial, titled, "The Lying Press," Hixson denounces "the old party press" for its labeling of the working men who were out of jobs as "tramps

and vagabonds.” Referring to Coxey’s Army of workers who were marching on Washington to call attention to their plight of being jobless, Hixson quotes one railroad manager who refuted the press’s description with the claim that they are “made up of sober, intelligent, determined men. They are nine-tenths American born. They are respectable, honest, and remarkably well organized. There are no rums among them.” Hixson concludes with the call to have the workers all boycott the press of “the old parties” and “have nothing to do with their issues of lies and vilification.”¹²²

This approach in identifying the lies of his opponents suggests a third strategy Hixson used as an editor. He often published the literal words, arguments, or article of his opponents in order to refute them point by point. In an editorial on whether the Cleveland administration was Republican or Democrat, Hixson quotes at length from the *Daily Northwestern* in Oshkosh to show that it is in sharp contrast to the *Chicago Daily Times* on this issue of the financial policy that Hixson believed was ruining the country. Hixson concluded the editorial by suggesting with tongue in cheek that the Republicans ought to nominate Grover Cleveland at their next convention because he “has ruined the democratic party and it has no more use for him.”¹²³

In another case, Hixson printed an entire article from the *Kansas City Journal* about the how the “financial reformers” will cast their support with the Republican party in order to write one concluding paragraph in which he said that the article was “ludicrous comicality” because the facts demonstrate otherwise when the voting in the House and Senate is examined for free coinage votes. Hixson then reported that vote in each case to disprove the conclusion of the *Journal*.¹²⁴

In a further editorial, Hixson quoted at length from the Democratic party convention platform of 1892 in Chicago and then used it to show how the party had pledged certain things to do but which “it will not do.” After quoting the Democratic party pledge to follow the principles formulated by Jefferson, Hixson wrote, “That is enough to make a cow laugh.”

Hixson then quoted from the historical record from Jefferson and from previous convention platforms to show how the party had deviated from those Jeffersonian principles. One example was the pledge to “practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs.” Hixson then wrote, “When the platform of 1840 was adopted the democratic party administered the affairs of this government at a cost of about 75 cents a head. But the last democratic congress considered the average cost of \$7 a head was not enough and therefore voted to increase the salary of its members.”¹²⁵

A fourth strategy as editor was to keep his readers informed about other labor news, other union activities, and the writings of others on labor issues. He brought to their attention those items that would enhance the status of the labor organizations and encourage confidence in the labor leadership. For example, Hixson published in regular columns each week what he called “Labor Notes” in which he reported such pieces of information as “Four unions of cigarmakers were formed in December,” “J. J. Ingalls is said to be getting a good ready to join the Populists,” “Father McGlynn is speaking in the eastern cities on the labor problem and donating the receipts to the unemployed,” and “The labor organizations of Chicago propose taking a hand in politics hereafter and have formed an

organization, called the Union Labor League, to that end."¹²⁶ He placed these Notes on page one of his paper to give them more prominence.

After Hixson had been installed as editor for a couple months he inaugurated a new feature to keep his readers informed about news in general. He began a large section on page two called "Pith of the Week's News," consisting of "Important Events Reduced to Their Lowest Terms." He used six categories with the titles, "Congressional, Religious, Political, Foreign, Miscellaneous News, and Market Reports," with each topic having about a dozen different sentence news items in it. Examples of the first item in each of these from March 10, 1894, are: Congressional—"President Cleveland returned after a nine days' trip through Carolina...feeling greatly improved," Religious—"Members of Diversey Avenue German Evangelical society, Chicago, laid the corner stone of their new church," Political—"Gov. Altgeld returned to Springfield from Hot Springs, Ark. He denied intending to snub Lieut.-Gov. Gill," Foreign—"In the treaty with Morocco Spain insists that the Riff tribes must go further into the interior," Miscellaneous News—"Publishers and printers of St. Paul are in the midst of an animated dispute over the scale of wages," Market Reports—"Chicago-Common to prime...\$1.50 @5 10."¹²⁷

As a way of raising the consciousness level of union members in their everyday interactions, Hixson printed an article from the *Eight-Hour Herald* that advocated union members informing merchants when they purchase goods that they are union members. Following the article, Hixson wrote that this article "is right to the point. In this city, the union men are largely the patrons of the merchants, druggists, butchers, bakers, dentists, doctors, milliners, etc., but those people do not know it, simply because the union men and their families fail to make known the fact."¹²⁸

Hixson published the addresses of leading men in the Populist party, writers that were sympathetic to the Populist platform, and letters from person such as H. H. Livingston, described as "one of the brightest young democrats in Missouri" who had decided to leave the Democratic party he had longed hoped would bring democracy back to the people. Instead he wrote, "I propose to vote for and support the Populist party with all my vigor. The appalling wrongs inflicted upon the common people is [sic] enough to drive any conscientious man to this course."¹²⁹

Finally, Hixson used ridicule, sarcasm, humor, and political cartoons as an appeal to gain supporters for his cause. In reporting of one the labor leaders in Oshkosh, F. J. Weber, he said of the man, "What he lacks in grammar he makes up in sincerity and earnestness. He deals in facts and logic and convinces the people and rouses them to act in the proper manner. This is what is wanted, not dudes with highly polished collars and cuffs and hands itching for corporate lucre."¹³⁰

One of Hixson's attempts at ridicule was his publishing of W. S. Morgan's "Democratic Prayer" that became so popular that the *National Reformer* had to reissue it. Hixson wrote that the seven prayers were so valuable that he decided to publish all seven of them in his paper, one a week. He hoped that doing this would help to increase his subscriptions at the same time. The first part of one of the prayers and its ending are as follows:

Oh, thou great and mighty Cleveland! Thou art great beyond all others. Thou are wiser than two serpents. Thou art all powerful,

for in the hollow of thy hand thou holdest the offices. Oh, almighty master, thou art great beyond comprehension. Before thee there was none other, neither shall there be any after thee, for thou shalt have a third term. Aye, thou shalt be our king, and John Sherman shall be our priest at the gold altar....Lead us not into temptation of the Populists, but deliver us from the evils of more money, better prices and less debts. Give us bonds; give us gold; give us debts; give us state banks; give us Chinamen; give us more Greshams; give us low prices; give us hard times; give us our political creed; give us office; and we will ever sing thy praises and thine shall be the power as long as we have a 'chance' to vote for thee. Amen."

One of the poems Hixson published was called "Grover's Hymn."
My country, 'tis of me,
Land of monopoly,
Of me I sing:
Land of the goldbug rule,
Land of the tariff fool,
The daily press my tool—
Great God! I'm king!—Ex.¹³¹

As a Rhetorical Movement Leader

In being an organizer, a rhetorical advocate, and an editor, Hixson became a rhetorical movement leader. The political movement he engaged in was reformist. He wanted change in the political leadership by throwing out the two main political parties and installing the People's party. In this attempt he used his voice and his pen. In this sense he was what Eric Hoffer calls a "Man of Words,"¹³² and what Golden et al call a rhetor of "social protest" who uses "a demanding and urgent rhetoric aimed at (a) unifying and molding an organized effort from the powerless disciples and (b) concerned with symbolically destroying the establishment in an effort to initiate the desired change."¹³³

A rhetorical movement is a pattern of verbal behavior by an organized collective of individuals using a variety of means of agitation and mobilization that employs a sequence of phases of activity toward a common end—the use of language for social change. The antislavery movement and the civil rights movement were rhetorical movements. The nineteenth century reformist movement represented by the People's party was a rhetorical movement. As previously suggested, one of the methods of studying rhetorical movements is the dramatic perspective of Kenneth Burke. This includes the concept of the speaker's message as an identification with the interests of the audience and the use of universal motives of establishing hierarchy, guilt, victimage and redemption through verbal behavior.¹³⁴

Humans are symbol-using animals who use language and covenants to establish a hierarchy of order. This hierarchy can result in oppression that in turn can cause some to become disenchanting with it and want to say No to it. The denial eventually produces a feeling of guilt in bringing about an alienation, so there must

be a process of mortification, which is the symbolic killing of oneself, or scapegoating, the process of symbolically killing some one else. Following the sacrifice comes the redemption process of building a new order, which brings new life.

In Hixson's rhetorical movement of reform, and in particular the People's party, can be seen his disenchantment with and attack on the political establishment for its corruption, its support of monopolies and business corporations, and its making of policies that suppress the working class people. His symbolic saying of No to monied interests and major political parties created the guilt for rejecting the establishment. The sacrifice had to be the killing politically of the two parties which in turn made them into the scapegoat in Hixson's eyes. If this were to occur, this would enable the process of redemption to bring into the political arena new life and a new order. Hixson's insistent call for protecting the human freedom and natural rights of the common people by removing the monopolies that the two political parties supported and that the government legislated into being was the vision for the new order.

The Impact of Hixson's Rhetoric of Reform

Losing the 1894 Campaign

The election of 1894 in which Hixson worked hard for the success of the People's party did not come out the way he had hoped. The official figures published for Wisconsin were as follows:

Governor	
Upham, Republican	6,538
Peck, Democrat	3,964
Powell, Populist	1,056
Cleghorn, Prohibition	374

The results for the other state offices were at the same ratio.¹³⁵ The news headline in the *Daily Northwestern* was that the "Republicans Sweep the State."¹³⁶ Hixson's own paper featured the Democratic viewpoint on the election when it published the headline, "The New York World's Opinion of the People's Party Says That in the West and South the People are Dissatisfied With Both Old Parties – Calls Populism a Serious Factor in American Politics."¹³⁷ A month later it published a political cartoon showing the gains the People's Party had made compared to 1892. It showed a figure similar to the Statue of Liberty holding a banner with the following numbers:

	People's	Republican	Democrat
1892	1,000,000	6,000,000	6,125,000
1894	3,000,000	5,850,000	4,950,000 ¹³⁸

The People's party was putting the best light that they could on their overall defeat.

Winning the People

Hixson's personal impact may be seen in the eulogies that came his way following his death, just a couple weeks after the election. Taking eulogies for what they are, it is still instructive to examine them for the points of emphasis that they make about the man. The editorial in the *Labor Advocate* said that Hixson was a

man “with master mind and noble heart, with unusual talent and a bright future.” It called “the doctor one of the brightest minds and most capable workers in the movement for reform” and “a ripe scholar, a progressive thinker and an aggressive worker for the cause of humanity.” Claiming him “a martyr to principle” because he “hastened his death by lecturing night after night when the beginning of the disease which caused his death had entirely unfitted him for the platform,” the new editor concluded that “he loved humanity more than himself.”

“In the death of Dr. Hixson,” he continued, “the people’s [sic] party loses one of its brightest orators and most skilled debators [sic]. His ability was known not only in Wisconsin but in a dozen states where he had championed the cause of the weak against the strong and taken sides with labor in its effort to secure better conditions.”¹³⁹

Hixson’s successor at the *Labor Advocate* gave him great praise also in terms of the status of the paper. He claimed that the past year, which was the year of Hixson’s editorship, “has been a very successful one” and “its standing among its subscribers and advertisers has never been so good as at present time.” Further he boasted, “It is considered the leading populist and labor paper in the state, and its attitude on affairs of the industrial world has given it a welcome in the homes of the masses.”¹⁴⁰

In Madison, the state capital, the People’s party club passed resolutions on behalf of their friend and advocate, Dr. Hixson, on Sunday, December 1, saying that he was one of “the champions of the people’s party principles” and “one of the most eloquent and potent advocates of humanity’s cause in the state of Wisconsin.” The resolution described him in Madison on one occasion as one “who created a great sensation in the capital city last August, by the logical, convincing and powerful arguments he gave from the east steps of the capitol at that time.” The resolution further stated that the club “deeply and sincerely deplore[d] the sudden departure” of “the people’s peerless champion who so cheerfully sacrificed himself for the cause of humanity at all times by his impassioned tongue and trenchant pen.”¹⁴¹

Winning the Issues

Though Hixson and the People’s party were not successful in the campaign of 1894, he was part of a movement in Wisconsin that eventually emerged into a significant political force. Hixson had urged his party followers to change the conditions that were causing the depression, namely, to vote for the People’s party, not the Republican or Democrat candidates who were cut out of the same cloth. He argued that both of those party officials simply wanted to have and maintain power, not change legislation that would help the workingman.

Democratic political leaders “capitalized on Republican corruption,” but they, too, “appeared willing to utilize questionable means to maintain power,” and were seen as “deeply involved in their association with big business tycoons to become a reform party.”¹⁴² Except for the election of 1892 when Grover Cleveland won the White House, Wisconsin had voted Republican.¹⁴³ The Republican win of 1894 which swept the Democratic Governor Peck out of office was part of the movement to discredit the Democratic national administration. But the Republicans didn’t have all the answers either.

Hixson was a regional reformer who assisted in the work while Robert Schilling “crafted the Wisconsin People’s party” in the mid-1880s where he had been arrested and jailed for leading peaceful boycotts that ended up in violence when state troops fired on and killed five demonstrators on May 5, 1886, at Milwaukee’s eight-hour-day strikes.¹⁴⁴ Schilling was the leader of the Knights of Labor in Wisconsin before forming the People’s party where he had “spearheaded the eight-hour-day movement” in 1886.¹⁴⁵ He was elected national secretary of the People’s party in 1891.¹⁴⁶

The Rise of the Progressive Movement

The year that Hixson campaigned so vigorously throughout Wisconsin, 1894, was the “peak year” for the People’s party in Wisconsin, even though it “had little impact,” for the labor movement “was to find its political outlet in a new socialist movement, built by Victor Berger, and in the support of Robert La Follette’s progressive movement, which was to capture control of the Republican party.”¹⁴⁷ Perlman, in *Commons* (1966), says that this was the year that “was exceptional for labour disturbances” and the year that “the trade unions were active participants in politics,” as Hixson’s story demonstrates.¹⁴⁸

The new circumstances and changing conditions helped to set the stage for the rise of the Progressive Movement that made Wisconsin come to the national attention of political observers. Robert La Follette is given the credit for being the Progressive leader as the twentieth century began,¹⁴⁹ but the efforts of populist leaders like Schilling and Hixson must be taken into consideration in assessing the forming influences in that labor state.

Wisconsin produced another leader of thought in the person of Frederick Jackson Turner of the University of Wisconsin who, in the months before Hixson, was ardently campaigning for the workingman, and presented his now famous paper to the American Historical Association in Chicago. In this paper he advocated his “Frontier Thesis” that argued the westward expansion was the heart of the American character. “Behind institutions,” he said, “behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life, and shape them to meet changing conditions.”¹⁵⁰

Hixson was one of these “vital forces” who helped call new life into the established forms by his pen in *The Labor Advocate* and by his voice on behalf of the People’s party. He helped to bring to light the unacceptable working conditions of the laboring class and to make popular the rights of the workers and ordinary people in the face of the dominating big business and corporate greed. As Nesbit says of Schilling, it could be said of his colleague Hixson that though he had a “most persuasive voice arguing for a community of purpose and action,” his career in the Wisconsin labor movement “may well stand as a metaphor for the trials of industrial labor in those tumultuous years.”¹⁵¹ In this way, Hixson was an identification with both the positive and the negative of the movement.



Hixson on the Cutting Edge

Though the People's party that Hixson helped lead in Wisconsin did not win in the 1894 election, Fink concludes that at the end of the Gilded Age "the workingmen's political movement had at least raised a critique of corporate power and an affirmation of popular rights that would play an abiding role in the political culture."¹⁵² Wages, working hours, unionization, and child labor laws were among the issues Hixson fought for, helping to make Wisconsin one of the leaders among the states. Non-union wages (15 cents an hour) were less than half that of union wages (33 cents) in manufacturing occupations¹⁵³ and the minimum age for children to work was 14 in only nine states, including Wisconsin.¹⁵⁴

Reformers wanted laws covering more occupations, raising the minimum age for working, and decreasing the number of hours they could work. Brandeis says that "prior to 1900 the typical child labor law remained limited in scope to children employed in manufacturing; set a minimum of 12 years; fixed maximum hours at 19 per day; contained some sketchy requirements as to school attendance and literacy...."¹⁵⁵ Hixson was on the cutting edge in a state that became well-known for its reform movements.

Hixson an Intellectual Turned Agitator

Though Hixson's reform efforts may have lived on in the emerging Progressive Movement in Wisconsin following his death, and in the larger labor reform movement, it is also true that at the heart of this labor "agitator," as he was called, and as he called himself, was the soul of an educator. He was a teacher, whether in a college, in a normal school, in the pulpit, in a labor hall, or in the columns of a labor paper. There are two of his books in the possession of the author from his voluminous library.¹⁵⁶ It was estimated to have held anywhere from 250 to 500 volumes, which he loaned to the free library of the city of Oshkosh and later established for the Trades and Labor Council. The Hixson name plates are on the inside covers.

One book shows his interest in the gospel and the humanities as a book to be used among his union members.¹⁵⁷ It is the 670-page, *The Life and Words of Christ*, by Cunningham Geikie, 1880. The nameplate indicates that it is Number 246 in "The Dr. H. F. Hixson [sic] Library. Trades and Labor Council Property." The other book is *A Natural Philosophy* by G. P. Quackenbos, 1872. It is No. 157 A in the "Private Library of H. F. Hixson." The preface of the philosophy book says, "It is in the hope of investing this subject with a lively interest and bringing it home to the student by exhibiting the application of scientific principles in every-day life, that the Natural Philosophy here presented to the public has been prepared."¹⁵⁸ Such a book underscores Hixson's career of bringing ideas down to earth for practical application. He was an intellectual turned activist.

Inside the front cover and the back cover are a number of handwritten notes, quotations, and poems that help to disclose the mind of Hixson himself. In the back, he has inscribed from Horace Mann, "Education is to inspire truth as the supreme good and to clarify the vision of the intellect to discern it." This may well have been his motto for life as a teacher and reformer.

Another verse on the inside front is, "It is not just as we take it, This mystical life of ours, Life's field will yield as we make it, A harvest of thorns or

flowers.” It is not just the intellect that he wants to clarify and change, but he wants to stir the emotions to take action to make life into the good and the beautiful. Another verse he has written that reveals his penchant for action is, “To have ideas is to gather flowers; to think is to weave them into garlands.” His life’s commitment to think, to inquire and to investigate is seen in this verse as well as his statement from the speech on how to prevent financial panics: “It was then through the efforts of labor agitators, (such men as myself) who want to know the why and wherefore of things” that legislation was passed to change the conditions that had enabled the “capitalists” to be “made rich by the workingmen’s labor.”¹⁵⁹

Others perceived Hixson as being “a profound thinker always studying to elevate the condition of his fellowman, and though sometimes erratic in his manner, it must be said of him that everything he undertook was begun with a sense of its righteousness and justice.”¹⁶⁰ His intensity and sincerity were highlighted in an editorial at the time of his death.

With the death of Dr. Hiram F. Hixson, the people’s [sic] party loses one of its hardest workers in the state of Wisconsin. He was really one of the originators of the movement having inculcated many of its principles while addressing Farmers Alliance gatherings in Ohio and other states.... He implicitly believed in the principles for which he fought, and he worked arduously for those principles regardless of wealth, honor or position, when he might have attained all three by simply training the batteries of his ability to their direction. The intense fanaticism of the man is readily seen, when, almost overcome by the disease that snuffed out his life, he persisted in walking at the head of a procession, through several inches of slush, and afterwards holding the attention of audience for two hours in a room where heavy clothing failed to keep the audience from being chilled.¹⁶¹

It is interesting that Hixson had established his own credibility as a leader in the Wisconsin labor movement, when he had never been a laborer himself and had not come up through the workingmen’s ranks, nor had he grown up in Wisconsin. He came into the state as a “doctor,” as an intellectual, an editor of labor papers and as a reformer from here and there. His own power of writing and of speech must have been persuasive and effective, for he was always looked to for a response in those Workingmen’s Club meetings that he attended regularly and at which he often had something controversial to say following the main address.

He was recognized as a speaker who was well-informed and who had the facts on his side and used them. In this way he was similar to his father-in-law who was well known for his well-supported sermons and writings, with “facts,” and “evidence,” with scripture, with observations from life, and with sequential arguments. Hixson’s passing from the scene left a hole in Wisconsin politics and in the political rhetoric of reform but most certainly also in the life of his wife and daughter who met tragic ends, as well.

For his wife, forty years in a state hospital was a sad end to a promising young woman who married a promising young man, both with many talents.¹⁶² In addition to all his educational and political accomplishments, Hixson was also a

talented flute player.¹⁶³ If Anna's voice lessons at Ashland and at Berea had made her into a singer, perhaps for a few years they sang and played together before the tragedies struck.

For his daughter, who became a graduate of Boston Latin School and Radcliffe College, forty-five years in a state hospital in Kentucky was another sad end to a young woman with great promise.¹⁶⁴ Anna brought into the Baker family a man of great ambition, considerable talent, and uncommon promise. But with it all came tragedy and untimely deaths of body and mind.

In a final sense, Hixson became a rhetorical sacrifice in Burke's concept of the death of the old order for bringing in the redemptive process of the new order. The rhetoric of reform in political discourse arises in every generation. Hixson was an interesting and colorful representative of his—an educator turned agitator.

¹ John M. Bailey, "Notes on The Diaries of David Bailey," August 1999. Typed notes in the Ashland University Archives. Chapter 2, p. 2 (9-19-79).

² *Ibid.*, (9-16-79) and p. 3 (9-9-80).

³ Clara Worst Miller & Edward Glenn Mason, *The History of Ashland College, 1878-1953*. Ashland, OH: Brethren Publishing Co., 1953, p. 20.

⁴ Annual Catalogue, Ashland College, 1884-85, p. 5. Available: <http://archives.ashland.edu/catalogs/1884>.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1879 catalogue.

⁶ Handwritten article [1919] by C. F. Brown, about his days at Ashland College, beginning in 1879, in the Ashland University Archives.

⁷ Annual Catalogue, Ashland College, *ibid.*, 1884-85, p. 6.

⁸ "College Items," *Ashland Press*, March, 18, 1880, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1880, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1880, p. 3, and Apr. 8, 1880, p. 3.

¹¹ Program of the "Commencement Exercises, Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio, for 1881," copy in the Ashland University Archives.

¹² Program of the 1881 class titled, "Hear Ye! Hear Ye!! Hear Ye!!! Grand Blow-Off of the New Born Alumni!," copy in the Ashland University Archives.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Program for the "Graduating Exercises, Class of '81, Ashland College, June 22, 1881," copy in the Ashland University Archives.

¹⁵ For a biographical sketch of Frances Davidson, see E. Morris Sider, *Nine Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978, pp. 157-212.

¹⁶ Frances Davidson Diaries, *op. cit.*, Apr. 18 and May 6, 1881.

¹⁷ Sider, *op. cit.*, p. 161. Sider notes that in 1884 she "appears to have been the first person in the denomination, man or woman, to have obtained a formal academic degree," p. 161.

¹⁸ *The Ashland Times*, Sept. 1, 1881, p. 5.

¹⁹ Copy in the Stark County Courthouse, Marriage Records, Canton, Ohio.

²⁰ Ashland College Bulletin, 1886. Available: <http://archives.ashland.edu/achistory>.

²¹ Professor Stubbs was vice president under Miller and taught Greek, Bible, and English. According to Frances Davidson, he was "the best and most respected Prof. in the college," but told Frances he was not going to stay at the college past that year. This was "the greatest blow" to her and caused her to reconsider whether she wanted to stay. See her Diaries, *op. cit.*, for Dec. 18, 1881. As it happened, he must have changed his mind, because he stayed on as president the next year, 1882-83, but she did not stay.

²² Miller & Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²³ John M. Bailey, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, pages 4 and 13, for June 14, 1883 and March 13, 1883.

²⁴ Miller & Mason mention Hixson as one of the men who “directed the affairs of the college” from 1882 until 1888, more as “principals” than as “presidents,” p. 29. The Ashland College Bulletin, p. 19, lists Rev. Elijah Burgess as acting president for 1883-84 but indicates that he was “not resident.” “Frank Hixon” [sic] is listed as principal from 1884-85. Available: <http://archives.ashland.edu/achistory/page17.html>. The newspaper accounts for this period make very clear, however, that Frank Hixson was serving as president of the college from 1883-85, in terms of the language used to describe him and in terms of the activities associated with his name. The Diary Notes by John M. Bailey of David Bailey’s Diaries also makes it definite that Hixson was elected on June 14, 1883, as president of the college. He writes, “Trustees elect Hixson president.” The Ashland University Archives holds an employee card that says he was “president.”

²⁵ *Ashland Press*, May 4, 1882, p. 3.

²⁶ Johns Hopkins University Special Collections and Archives, Record Group 13.010, Office of Registrar, series 1, “Hixson, Hiram Franklin.” Copy made available by James Stimpert, Archivist.

²⁷ W. Norman Brown, “Hixson, Hiram Franklin,” *Johns Hopkins Half-Century Directory, 1876-1926*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1926, p. 165. Copy made available by James Stimpert, Archivist.

²⁸ Stephen E. Epler, *Honorary Degrees: A Survey of Their Use and Abuse*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, p. 17. See chapter III on the opposition to the honorary Ph.D. The U.S. Bureau of Education reported that in 1881 49 honorary Ph.D. degrees were awarded, 30 in 1882, and 36 in 1883 (p. 62). It was noted that some of the big eastern universities engaged in the practice and that “the practice of conferring honorary Ph.D. degrees was spreading to the small colleges all over the country” (p. 64). Opposition to the practice began growing in the 1880s and 1890s when Michigan, Princeton, and Dartmouth stopped giving the honorary Ph.D. (p. 60). But as late as 1897 honorary Ph.D. degrees were still awarded by Hamilton College, St. John’s College, Dartmouth College, and Union College (p. 67). In some cases the degree was conferred “for advanced study and research carried on in residence” (p. 65). There could have been two motivations for Ashland College to award such a degree to Hixson. He may have carried on advanced study while he continued teaching there for two years following his graduation in 1881 or to lend status to him as the new president as he began office and thereby to the college itself which was going through a difficult transition period following the church’s division into the Progressives and conservatives.

²⁹ “Gone to His Last Rest,” *The Chippewa Herald*, Nov. 23, 1894, p. 3. Copy made available through the kindness of Trent L. Nichols, Director, Wisconsin Historical Foundation. “To His Everlasting Rest,” *The Labor Advocate*, Nov. 30, 1894, p. 1.

³⁰ David Roepke, Ashland University Archivist, personal communication to the author, April 23, 2002

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Miller & Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³³ The present article on Hixson was completed in 2003. During the summer of 2006, Dale Stoffer, Academic Dean of Ashland Theological Seminary, discovered in his research a source that does positively claim Hixson was awarded a Ph.D. by Ashland College Board of Trustees at its board meeting on June 26, 1883, just days after he was elected the new president on June 14. The source is *The Progressive Christian*, V, p. 3 (June 20, 1883 and June 27, 1883). Communication to the author, August 30, 2006.

³⁴ *The Ashland Times*, May 21, 1885, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Ibid. The following week the same newspaper reported, "On Tuesday evening were the graduating exercises of the Normal Class. The College had never before in its history sent out a single graduate from the Normal Department. But, when two years ago Professor Hixson was elected President this department was immediately set on a firm basis and the Normal Class organized. Six of those who entered have completed the course laid out, which is equal to the course of the best normal schools." *The Ashland Times*, June 4, 1885, p. 1.

³⁸ *The Ashland Press*, June 4, 1885, p. 3.

³⁹ *Ashland Times*, May 21, 1885, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid., June 4, 1885, p. 1.

⁴¹ Miller & Mason, op. cit., p. 30; Annual Catalogue, Ashland College, 1884-85, op. cit., p. 19. Page 19 states that Elijah Burgess was acting president for 1883-84 ("not resident") and that A. E. Winters was for 1885, but "never assumed office." Miller & Mason state that Hixson, Winters, Mykrantz, Perry and Felger "should be designated as principals" from 1882, when Robert Miller resigned, until 1888, p. 29. They do not mention Stubbs or Burgess. The 1884-85 catalogue does not include Mykrantz, p. 19. The Miller & Mason history acknowledges that many of their facts about these leaders of the college "have been provided from manuscripts left by Dr. J. Allen Miller," p. 29, who was president of Ashland from 1899-1906, p. 20 of the 1884-85 catalogue, op. cit. In light of these inconsistent dates and names, the information from the two local newspapers during 1883-85, at the very time of Hixson's presidency, as they used the title, would lend credence to their claim since it was contemporary.

⁴² Ashland College Bulletin, 1886, p. 9. Available: <http://archives.Ashland.edu/achistory/page07.html>

⁴³ John M. Bailey, op. cit., 1888, Chapter 2, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid., June 6, 1885, Chapter 2, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Oct. 30, 1885, Chapter 2, p. 4.

⁴⁶ "Dr. H. F. Hixson Dead," *The Daily Northwestern* (Oshkosh, WI), Nov. 23, 1894, p. 1.

⁴⁷ William A. Sausaman, "Ten Generations of Hixsons in America (1686-1976)." Springfield, IL, 1977, p. 78. Typed manuscript in Special Collections, Wright State University.

⁴⁸ Johns Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. 5, No. 44 (November 1885), pp. 16, 17, 26; James Stimpert, Archivist, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, personal communication to the author, March 28, 2002. Mr. Stimpert writes that there were no deans or other such administrative posts at Hopkins until the 20th century.

⁴⁹ Sausaman, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Nelson Case (Ed.), *History of Labette County, Kansas and Its Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing, 1901, "Religious Organizations," pp. 321-334. Available: <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/labette/1901/321-334>.

⁵¹ Ibid., "Educational," pp. 195-201.

⁵² "Faculty Record of H. T. [sic] Hixson," an employee card in the Ashland University Archives.

⁵³ "Biographical [of 'Hiram F. Hixson']," *The Labor Advocate*, Nov. 30, 1894, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Case, "Religious Organizations," op. cit.

⁵⁵ John R. Commons, David J. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, E. B. Mittelman, H. E. Hoagland, John B. Andrews & Selig Perlman. *History of Labour in the United States*, Vol. II. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1966, p. 489.

⁵⁶ "Dr. H. F. Hixson Dead," op. cit.

⁵⁷ It should be noted, however, that Hixson was thinking about the labor problem much earlier than this, even while he was teaching at Ashland College. *The Progressive Christian* reports that his topic in the Free Lecture Course at the College on May 7, 1883, was "The Status of America." In this address he "he dwelt to some extent on the conflict between labor and

capital." See *The Progressive Christian*, V, p. 3 (May 16, 1883). Supplied by Dale Stoffer in a communication to the author, August 30, 2006.

⁵⁸ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961, pp. 102, 103.

⁵⁹ "Gone to His Last Rest," *The Chippewa Herald* (WI), Nov. 23, 1894, p. 3. Copy made available through the courtesy of Trent L. Nichols, Director, Wisconsin Historical Foundation, Madison, WI. "To His Everlasting Rest" also indicates that he "organized the Farmers' Alliance in the state of Ohio," op. cit.

⁶⁰ William A. Pfeffer, *Populism, Its Rise and Fall*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992, p. 44.

⁶¹ Sausaman, op. cit.

⁶² "Gone to His Last Rest," op. cit.

⁶³ Pfeffer, op. cit., pp. 60, 61.

⁶⁴ *The Ashland Press*, Feb. 19, 1891, p. 1; "Local Matters," *The Ashland Times*, Feb. 19, 1891, p. 5.

⁶⁵ "Gone to His Last Rest," op. cit.

⁶⁶ "Dr. H. F. Hixson Dead," op. cit.; "To His Everlasting Rest," op. cit.

⁶⁷ Sausaman, op. cit.

⁶⁸ *The Daily Northwestern*, Jan. 25, 1894, p. 4.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1894, p. 4.

⁷⁰ "To His Everlasting Rest," *The Labor Advocate*, Nov. 30, 1894, p. 1.

⁷¹ "Madison Notes," *The Labor Advocate*, Dec. 14, 1894, p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ "Death of Dr. H. E.[sic] Hixson," *The Louisville Herald*, Dec. 7, 1894, p. 5.

⁷⁴ "Dr. Hixson's Funeral," *The Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 26, 1894, p. 4; "Gone to His Last Rest," op. cit.

⁷⁵ *The Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 15, 1894, p. 4. *The Labor Advocate* reports that his father had been telegraphed for and arrived in Chippewa Falls ten days prior to the death of his son, and during that time remained by his bedside," Nov. 30, 1894, p. 1.

⁷⁶ There is also no mention of his wife accompanying him to Parsons, Kansas, when he went for the funeral of his mother six weeks earlier. In fact, in all of ten different accounts of Hixson's illness, death and funeral arrangements in four different newspapers, there is not one mention of his wife or daughter being at his side or attending the funeral. *The Chippewa Herald* reports, "At his bedside when he expired was his father A. J. Hixson [sic], of Parsons, Kansas, M. P. Larrabee, of this city and other gentlemen of local prominence. His final moments were peaceful as a child's, and he retained consciousness to the last. He recognized the faces congregated around him and from time to time before the end came addressed a few remarks to his father mainly in the nature of an instruction regarding matters which he wished accomplished after he had gone," "Gone to His Last Rest," Nov. 23, 1894, p. 3. Copy made available through the kindness of Trent L. Nichols, Director, The Wisconsin Historical Foundation, Madison, WI.

⁷⁷ "Populists Meet," *The Daily Northwestern*, Aug. 21, 1894, p. 4. See also "To Prevent Panics," *The Daily Northwestern*, Feb. 17, 1894, p. 5 and "Dr. Hixson Speaks," *The Daily Northwestern*, Apr. 6, 1894, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists: Kansas Populism and Nativism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 238.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁸¹ Thomas F. Mader, "Burkean Rites and the Gettysburg Address." In David Zarefsky (Ed.), *Rhetorical Movement: Essays in Honor of Leland M. Griffin*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993, p. 133.

- ⁸² Quoted in Marie Hochmuth Nichols, "Kenneth Burke and the 'New Rhetoric.'" In James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist & William E. Coleman, *The Rhetoric of Western Thought*, Fifth Edition. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1992, p. 218.
- ⁸³ "Reduce the Rents," *The Labor Advocate*, Feb. 10, 1894, p. 1.
- ⁸⁴ "Dr. Hixson Speaks: Government and Railroads," *The Daily Advocate*, Apr. 6, 1894, p.5.
- ⁸⁵ "How to Prevent Panics," *The Daily Northwestern*, Feb. 17, 1894, p. 5.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ "Populists Meet," *The Daily Northwestern*, Aug. 21, 1894, p. 4.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ "Problem for the Intelligent," *The Labor Advocate*, Jan. 20, 1894, p. 4.
- ⁹⁰ "A Cut Throat System," *ibid.*
- ⁹¹ "Cheap Goods, Cheap Labor," *ibid.*
- ⁹² "Republicans-Democrats," *The Labor Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1894, p. 1.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ "The Labor Movement," *The Labor Advocate*, Feb. 3, 1894, p. 1.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ "The Labor Agitator," *The Labor Advocate*, Feb. 3, p. 4.
- ⁹⁷ "Where Do You Stand?," *The Labor Advocate*, Feb. 24, 1894, p. 4.
- ⁹⁸ "Government Ownership," *The Labor Advocate*, Mar. 10, 1894, p. 1.
- ⁹⁹ "Confidence," *The Labor Advocate*, Mar. 10, 1894, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Wages in Oshkosh," *The Labor Advocate*, Mar. 17, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹⁰¹ "The Banking System," *The Labor Advocate*, Mar. 17, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹⁰² "Summary of Losses," *The Labor Advocate*, Mar. 31, p. 1.
- ¹⁰³ "Municipal Ownership," *The Labor Advocate*, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁴ Most of this section on Hixson's Rhetorical Strategies and half of the following section on The Impact of Hixson's Rhetoric of Reform have been published as an article under the title, "Wisconsin's Populist Leader: Dr. H. Frank Hixson's Rhetorical Strategies and Impact in the 1894 Campaign," *Journal of the Wisconsin Communication Association*, XXV, 2005-2006 [March 2006], [14-24].
- ¹⁰⁵ *The Labor Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Jan. 27, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., Feb. 10, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Mar. 10, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² Ibid., Feb. 10, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., Feb. 24, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁴ *The Daily Northwestern*, Oct. 3, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁵ *The Labor Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., Feb. 17, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁷ *The Daily Northwestern*, Feb. 17, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., Apr. 6, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁹ *The Labor Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹²¹ Ibid., Feb. 10, 1894, p. 3.
- ¹²² Ibid., May 5, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹²³ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 8.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., Feb. 10, 1894, p. 3.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., Jan. 13, p. 1 and Jan. 20, p. 1.

- ¹²⁷ Ibid., Mar. 10, 1894, p. 2.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., Mar. 24, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid., Mar. 31, 1894, p. 3.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., Mar. 10, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., Feb. 3, p. 4.
- ¹³² James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist & William E. Coleman, *The Rhetoric of Western Thought*, 5th Edition. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1992, p. 423.
- ¹³³ Ibid., p. 424.
- ¹³⁴ Thomas F. Mader, op. cit., pp. 132, 134-137.
- ¹³⁵ *The Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 9, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., Nov. 7, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹³⁷ *The Labor Advocate*, Dec. 7, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid., Jan. 4, 1895, p. 2.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., Nov. 30, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Dec. 7, 1894, p. 4.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., Dec. 14, 1894, p. 1.
- ¹⁴² Larry Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin*. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962, p. 173.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 171
- ¹⁴⁴ Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983, pp. 194, 196.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 161.
- ¹⁴⁶ Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin: A History*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973, p. 394.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁸ John R. Commons, et al, op. cit., pp. 501, 511.
- ¹⁴⁹ See Gara, op. cit., chapter six.
- ¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Gara, op. cit., pp. 176, 177.
- ¹⁵¹ Nesbit, op. cit., p. 384.
- ¹⁵² Leon Fink, op. cit., p. 227.
- ¹⁵³ Don D. Lescohier, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*, Vol. III. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935, p. 56.
- ¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth Brandeis, "Labor Legislation," in Lescohier, op. cit., p. 405.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁶ These were among the books from Dr. Baker and his daughters that were given to the author's parents at the time of the daughters' deaths in the 1940s: Cunningham Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1880 and G. P. Quackenbos, *A Natural Philosophy: Embracing the Most Recent Discoveries in the Various Branches of Physics, and Exhibiting the Application of Scientific Principles in Every-Day Life*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1872. 450 pp.
- ¹⁵⁷ Though he was an ordained Baptist minister, he apparently never had a charge.
- ¹⁵⁸ Quackenbos, op. cit, p. 3.
- ¹⁵⁹ "To Prevent Panics," *The Daily Northwestern*, Feb. 17, 1894, p. 5.
- ¹⁶⁰ "Gone to His Last Rest," op. cit.
- ¹⁶¹ "[Editorial]," *The Chippewa Herald*, Nov. 23, 1894, p. 2. Copy made available through the courtesy of Trent L. Nichols, Director, Wisconsin Historical Foundation, Madison, WI.
- ¹⁶² Ten years following the death of Hixson, Anna suffered mental illness in the form of schizophrenia and was institutionalized in the Massillon (Ohio) State Hospital where she remained until her death in 1945.
- ¹⁶³ Sausaman, op. cit.

¹⁶⁴ His daughter, Methyl Hixson Bradbury, likewise suffered from schizophrenia and was institutionalized in a state hospital in Louisville, Kentucky, about ten years following her mother's commitment, and remained there until her death in 1963. She left her three small boys for her husband, William F. Bradbury, a Harvard graduate and a successful high school teacher, to bring up with the help of a German housekeeper. For the full account of these stories of Hixson's wife and daughter and family, see D. Ray Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul: The Life and Times of Dr. W. O. Baker, 1827-1916*. Grantham, PA: The Brethren in Christ Historical Society, 2004.