

The Apprenticeship Years

The life of the clerk who “read law” in
the late nineteenth century.

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Preface.

Charles Dickens, who was merciless in his description of the legal profession, categorized law clerks in *The Pickwick Papers*:

SCATTERED ABOUT, in various holes and corners of the Temple are certain dark and dirty chambers, in and out of which, all the morning in Vacation, and half the evening too in Term time, there may be seen constantly hurrying with bundles of papers under their arms, and protruding from their pockets, an almost uninterrupted succession of Lawyers' Clerks. There are several grades of Lawyers' Clerks. There is the Articled Clerk, who has paid a premium, and is an attorney in perspective, who runs a tailor's bill, receives invitations to parties, knows a family in Gower Street, and another in Tavistock Square: who goes out of town every Long Vacation to see his father, who keeps live horses innumerable; and who is, in short, the very aristocrat of clerks. There is the salaried clerk—out of door, or in door, as the case may be—who devotes the major part of his thirty shillings a week to his personal pleasure and adornment, repairs half-price to the Adelphi Theatre at least three times a week, dissipates majestically at the cider cellars afterwards, and is a dirty caricature of the fashion which expired six months ago. There is the middle-aged copying clerk, with a large family, who is always shabby, and often drunk. And there are the office lads in their first surtouts, who feel a befitting contempt for boys at day-

schools: club as they go home at night, for saveloys and porter and think there's nothing like "life." There are varieties of the genus, too numerous to recapitulate, but however numerous they may be, they are all to be seen, at certain regulated business hours, hurrying to and from the places we have just mentioned.¹

Chapter One.

Reading Blackstone . . .

There is a myth that law clerks who prepared for the bar by "reading law" in an established lawyer's office did only that—read, reread and memorized Blackstone and a few other treatises and digests that were available. In fact they did much more.

In *The Growth of American Law: The Law Makers* James Willard Hurst summed up the apprenticeship system of legal education in the last half of the nineteenth century:

Well past 1850, the chief method of legal education was the apprenticeship: The student read law in an older lawyer's office; he did much of the hand copying of legal instruments that had to be done before the day of the typewriter; and he did many small services in and about the office, including service of process. Sometimes the older man might make these incidental services as his pay for his preceptorship. But stiff fees were paid for the privilege of reading in the offices of many a leader of the bar. Legal biography amply witnesses that such training was of widely varying thoroughness and quality; that it was typically not of great length of time; and that much of it, as in the

¹ Charles Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* Ch. 31 (1836).

interminable copying of documents, was of rote character.

Many men, Abraham Lincoln among them, prepared for the profession almost entirely by self-directed reading. The example of the leading conveyancer, Charles F. Southmayd, showed that this was by no means only a recourse of the rude frontier. In the early nineteenth century the appearance of influential treatises gave greater impetus to apprenticeship and self-imposed reading, at the expense of any expansion of training in formal law schools. Most important was the edition of Blackstone, annotated with the American authorities by St. George Tucker, successor to Wythe as professor of law at William and Mary College. Tucker's Blackstone was published in 1803. Blackstone was already a classic tradition of the bar in the United States. Tucker's Americanization of a work which purported to put all legal knowledge in a single treatise seemed to offer the ready instrument for the apprentice or self-trained lawyer.²

² James Willard Hurst, *The Growth of American Law: The Law Makers* 256-257 (1950).

Lawyers took varying views of their responsibilities as a proctor. Millard Fillmore, the future president, relished giving lessons to apprentices in his firm in Buffalo, New York, then known as Fillmore, Hall & Haven, in the late 1830s and early 1840s:

When Fillmore became a lawyer, no matter how busy he was he budgeted his time so that he could teach his law clerk, frequently at night. The after-hours sessions usually began just after seven o'clock. Fillmore would lean back in his swivel chair, with the light from the sperm-oil lamps behind him, and the four or five law clerks sitting in front of him.

He would start things off by asking each clerk what he had been reading and whether his reading prompted any questions. Seizing on a question, Fillmore would be off and running in a lecture that was studded with lively anecdotes that were intended not to entertain but to illustrate a point. The sessions would go on for three and a half hours. One newcomer, after his first session, found that he had "a most agreeable evening," and said "I learned more law than I had acquired during all the time I had been reading."

Fillmore's firm paid the law clerks \$2 a week. Fillmore, Hall & Haven existed between 1836 and 1842, when it was transformed into Hall & Bowen. Bob Watson, *A Law Firm and*

In the spring of 1844, William Lyon began an apprenticeship with George Gale, a lawyer in Elkhorn, Wisconsin. He was there only a few months when he returned home to work through the harvest. Then, unfortunately, he developed an acute “inflammation of the eyes” which incapacitated him from reading law for almost a year. Instead he worked in a mill earning \$12 a month.³ In the fall of 1845, he resumed his studies, this time in the law offices of Charles M. Baker in Geneva, Wisconsin. Baker served in the state legislature that winter, leaving Lyon to read and study by himself, essentially without supervision. Lyon wrote his sister, “I am very pleasantly situated, having plenty of books, a pleasant office, good opportunities for studying, and a first rate boarding place.”⁴ His biographer described this period:

During the whole winter while Mr. Baker was absent from Geneva, William was in the office and had access to the library, which, though small, was well selected; in these books he reveled day and night, finding there the deep satisfaction that his active mind craved. At the spring term of the district court in Walworth County, held in May, 1846, he applied for admission to the bar to practice law. He was examined by a committee, pronounced competent, and admitted to practice. At the same time, he was chosen one of the justices of the peace at Lyons, and in a small way with his half-dozen law books and a copy of the revised Statutes of the Territory of Wisconsin, he commenced his career as attorney and jurist.⁵

a City: Hodgson, Russ, Andrews, Woods, Goodyear and Its Predecessor Firms, 1817-1981 34-5 (n.p., n.d).

³ Clara Lyon Hayes, *William Penn Lyon* 21 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1926).

⁴ *Id.* at 22 (quoting letter dated January 20, 1846, from Lyon to his sister Mary)

⁵ *Id.*

Lyon's apprenticeship lasted less than a year, and it would appear that most of that time he was on his own, his preceptor was in Madison.⁶

Chapter Two.

Copying Briefs.

Most apprentices were assigned the task of copying briefs, correspondence or other documents. This was scrivener work, which placed a premium on penmanship, and it was tedious.⁷

⁶ Lloyd Barber was another self-taught lawyer:

Not just satisfied with the opportunities presented [in the Territory of Minnesota in 1852], Mr. Barber again returned to the East. This time he remained at home six years, taught school and studied law. He took his law books to his rooms at night, and the little oil lamp burned far into the hours of the morning as he read Blackstone. In 1857 he was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Bath, N. Y.

"Lloyd Barber" in Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, editor, 1 *The History of Winona County* 289 (1913) (MLHP, 2010-2013). In 1858 Barber returned to Minnesota and later served as judge of the Third Judicial District from 1864 to 1871. He died in 1915. Douglas A. Hedin, "Judge Lloyd Barber (1826-1915)" (MLHP, 2020).

The reference to "the little oil lamp" brings to mind Frank G. O'Brien's memoir where he describes the hardships of future lawyers "reading" law books at night:

In those days, or rather evenings, we did not have the beautiful, mellow, electric lights; instead, we were satisfied with a few candles and whale-oil lamps. This was before the advent of kerosene.

Frank G. O'Brien, *Minnesota Pioneer Sketches* 258 (Minneapolis: H. H. S. Rowell Publisher, 1904). He was writing about of the period 1857-1858.

⁷ In his memoir of his trials in Justice Court, Nelson W. Wheeler recounts being asked to copy a document during his apprenticeship:

After I had been there a few days he handed me a legal document, with a request to copy the same immediately, which I did, and then handed the copy to him; he looked at it, and then looked at me, and then in rather a gruff voice said that he should not bother me with any more copying for the present, and I don't think he ever did. I thought at the time, and still incline to the opinion, that my penmanship did not tickle him much, which opinion, found corroboration in the fact that I discovered my identical copy in his waste basket the next morning, which made me feel homesick.

Alexander Hadden had read law in the offices of Spaulding and Dickey in Cleveland, Ohio, from 1872 to 1875, when he was admitted to the bar. His biographer alludes to the hardships he experienced.

His small inheritance from his father was gone and eking out an existence while studying law was difficult. There were no stenographers, in fact no typewriters, and one source of revenue to the law student was the copying of pleadings, briefs and other legal documents—at very low rates.⁸

In his posthumously published memoir, Loren W. Collins, who served on the Minnesota Supreme Court from 1887 to 1904, described one of his duties during his year as an apprentice in the offices of Seagrave, Smith & Crosby of Hastings:

In the fall of 1860 my school money was gone, but I had in the meantime earned enough to live on by doing odd jobs of writing for people in Hastings. In those days the records and briefs for the supreme court were written, not printed, and there had to be three copies for the judges, one for the respondent's counsel, one for the clerk and one for the appellant's counsel. It thus became necessary to make six copies, all written out by hand. My first experience in this line was in the case of North & Carll vs. Lowell, subsequently reported in Volume IV of the Minnesota Reports, page 32. It was very tedious work, but by hard work I finished it in almost four weeks,

Nels Wheeler, *Old Thunderbolt in Justice Court* 26 (David Atwood Printers, 1883). It is posted in the Rare Law Book category in the archives of the Minnesota Legal History Project.

⁸ John A. Hadden, *Alexander Hadden* 45 (Cleveland: The Gates Publishing Co., n.d.). He became a probate judge in Ohio in the 1920s.

and received \$35 as my compensation. It was easier money than teaching school for \$15 a month.⁹

The briefs law clerks copied were usually short, with few citations, because copying a brief by hand was expensive and time consuming.

Chapter Three.

Watching and listening in the county courthouse.

Law clerks found the courtroom was irresistible. There he could watch trials unfold and listen to the lawyers. F. Lyman Windolph has shared recollections of his clerkship in Pennsylvania:

A student in a law office has no rights that anyone is bound to respect. In times long past he was expected to sweep out the office and to attend to the stove in the winter, but I had no such tasks to perform. I searched titles, wrote deeds and mortgages, copied wills and other legal papers, and spent much time in court listening to the leaders of the bar of that day, the most famous of whom was an ex-attorney-general of Pennsylvania, whose former partner, then a member of the state Supreme Court, was afterwards its Chief Justice. In addition I learned to know a number of local

⁹ Loren Warren Collins, *The Story of a Minnesotan* 36-37 (n.d.). Collins' autobiography was published by his sons. It is posted on the Minnesota Legal History Project website.

In the case of Charles L. Lowell, Appellant, v. North & Carll, Respondents, 4 Minn. 32 (July 1860), Charles Lowell appeared pro se, while North & Carll, was represented by "L. & S. Smith." The North & Carll had been awarded \$633 77/100 upon a promissory note by the trial judge. The Supreme Court, per Justice Atwater, reversed and ordered a new trial.

characters directly or indirectly connected with the administration of justice.¹⁰

Earlier in his memoir the author wrote, “It has been said that the trial of cases is the culmination of the lawyer’s art.”¹¹ For the apprentice this adage perfectly summed his experience watching and listening in the courtroom of the county courthouse.

Chapter Four.

Justice Court.

There are many apocryphal stories about courts presided over by Justices of the Peace—commonly called Justice Courts. Justice Courts provided most of the first experiences of some apprentices. Representation by a lawyer was not required in Justice Court. The usual calendar consisted of disputes over notes, debts and petty offenses such as assault and battery. George A. Palmer, who studied lawyers in the postbellum era, described “justice court” as follows:

Justices’ of the Peace courts were not only advantageous to the pioneer farmer and business men, but also to the pioneer lawyers. To practice before them did not require admission to the bar, although the farmers probably preferred that their counsel should be lawyers who could continue their cases in district courts if necessary. The rules of pleading were very simple. The cases were petty ones, and required a small, knowledge of law. Nevertheless, the Justices’ courts furnished a large proportion of the legal practice of the frontier

¹⁰ F. Lyman Windolph, *The Country Lawyer: Essays in Democracy* 15-16 (Books for Libraries Press, 1938).

¹¹ *Id.* at 5.

community. The practice before them influenced some young men to take up the legal profession as it did L. W. Collins, later a judge, who became interested in the practice of law. The Justices' of the peace courts were the training schools for beginning frontier lawyers."¹²

Loren W. Collins's clerkship with the Smith, Smith & Crosby firm in Hastings gave him what today is called clinical experience. He recalled his first case after more than a half-century:

My relations with Smith, Smith & Crosby were exceedingly pleasant, and gave me an opportunity to do more or less work in justice court. My first case was tried before a justice named Lillie, who lived upon a farm, now part of the village of Farmington. Three young fellows had stolen some turkeys on the night of July 4th, and I was sent out from Hastings to defend them. It was very easy work for the county attorney to secure a conviction, and I felt a little depressed over my first defeat after becoming a law student, for I had been very successful prior to that time in my justice court practice.

Sometime in the fall of 1860 I went to Lewiston to try a case before a justice. Upon arriving there I found that a dispute had arisen between an old acquaintance Walter Hunter, and a tenant named Jones over the possession of certain wheat which had been recently raised and threshed on Hunter's farm. To prevent the tenant from carrying it off Hunter and a few friends, armed with shot-guns maintained for one night, and until they were arrested, a patrol about the granary. The charge, as I found it set forth in the complaint, was that Hunter and his, associates did willfully and

¹² George A. Palmer, "The Frontier Lawyer in Minnesota After the Civil War" 12 (n.p., 1931) (citations omitted.). It is posted in the "Lawyers" category in the archives of the Minnesota Legal Project.

maliciously stand around for twenty-four hours, “the last half of which was the night time, and had thus prevented Jones from pursuing his daily avocation and labor.” That the accused were armed and did “stand around” was easily shown, and I had some difficulty in convincing the Justice that this was not a misdemeanor under the laws of the State.¹³

Chapter Five.

Stoking the stove, sweeping the floor and other
feats of physical endurance.

Why did pioneer lawyers train apprentices who would eventually compete with them? Many had taught school before they were admitted to the bar and the personal satisfaction they got from teaching may have been an incentive to become a proctor of a law clerk. There is another very practical reason. Physical endurance was once considered a law clerk’s most important qualities. This was the advice of John Prentiss Bishop in *The First Book of Law*, published in 1868:

As the reader goes on through these pages, he will get a glimpse the nature of legal studies, and something of the nature of legal practice. And he must judge for himself, with such help as he can command, whether he is physically adequate to the work. But if he is quite frail, or is determined to lead a life of repose, he will not enter upon the law, which, properly pursued, draws heavier upon both body and mind than any other calling known among us.¹⁴

¹³ Id. at 37-38.

¹⁴ John Prentiss Bishop, *The First Book of Law* Section 1, 6 (1st edition, 1868). Bishop cited barrister Charles Warren’s *Popular and Practical Introduction to Law Studies* (1835). In the first edition Warren writes:

There is an example of the physical demands on the apprentice in a memorial service for Edward P. Sanborn by the Ramsey County Bar Association on April 20, 1935:

During the 55 years of his practice in St. Paul Mr. Sanborn saw and experienced many and great changes. He has seen the sprawling frontier village of 1878 grow into the magnificent city of which we are all now so proud. He has seen the wooden sidewalks and muddy, dusty streets replaced with our stone walks and paved streets. He has seen the old-fashioned law offices up flights of wooden stairways to quarters over business establishments, lighted with kerosene lamps, heated in the winter by wood-burning stoves, *swept and dusted by students and law clerks*, replaced with the splendid suites of office now in vogue, electrically lighted, steam-heated, janitor-served, and approached by modern elevator service.¹⁵

Here is one more reason why established lawyers took in law students: to perform janitorial duties.

Chapter Six.

The legal education of Roujet D. Marshall.

Roujet D. Marshall, a future Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, apprenticed with a lawyer in Wisconsin in the early 1870s and performed every duty of an ambitious clerk: He read famous treatises, researched briefs, argued cases in Justice Court and

And this personal fitness, moreover, is inexorably exacted by a profession full of peculiar and extraordinary difficulty in the acquisition and use of its learning.

¹⁵ Memorial for Edward Peyson Sanborn, Ramsey County Bar Association, April 20, 1935. (MLHP, 2010).

stoked the office stove. In 1923 he published a two volume *Autobiography* in which he remembered his apprenticeship with Nelson W. Wheeler, “an old school lawyer” who was “well-read lawyer but rather indolent.”¹⁶ During his four years as a clerk, he learned from Wheeler a curious lesson—when he could not find a precedent in law books he should turn to “the unwritten law”:

By this time I had completed reading and review with considerable thoroughness the four volumes Kent's Commentaries and was probably better grounded in the principles of the law than many of the practitioners are of the present who started with law school course, using the case method. I purpose, on every occasion afforded for it, to warn the law student against relying on such method to acquire a thorough, practical knowledge of the law and to warn the young practitioner not to rely on precedents to win his client's cause and, by all means, not to conclude that what his judgment suggests is right is not so in fact because he is unable to find “a case in point.” The great mass of our law is grounded on principles found in the unwritten law. Those principles are the embodiment of the experience of the ages and so are older than precedents and much, more reliable. Where a plainly established principle and a precedent are clearly antagonistic, the former is to prevail.

....

Mr. Wheeler was a lawyer of the old school. It was his way, in case of a controversy solvable by reference to the written law, to direct me to endeavor to square the facts thereby in the light of the decisions dealing with the particular statute, while he did the same, and to give him the result, I having later the result of his consideration. In that way the particular situation and all

¹⁶ Nelson W. Wheeler, note 7.

similar thereto became efficiently impressed on my mind. In case of a controversy, solvable by reference to the unwritten law, I was directed to settle upon the ruling principles and then to look for confirmation of the result they pointed to in decided cases, keeping in mind that the former were primary and the latter were secondary and illustrative.

....

In addition to the work I have suggested, I was put at familiarizing myself with Greenleaf on Evidence, Roscoe's Criminal Evidence, Russell on Crimes, and standard works on contracts and commercial law, which fields I covered as far as possible before I returned to the farm in the spring of 1871.¹⁷

After "another hard season's work" on the family farm, he found that in addition to resuming his studies he was also required to keep the offices of County Attorney Wheeler warm:

I returned with [his wife] Mary to Baraboo after the farming season of 1871 where we set up house keeping and I resumed my law studies, the same as the season before. The law office was in the courthouse, as Mr. Wheeler was the prosecuting attorney of the county. There was no janitor provided by the public in those days so one of my duties was to bring in the wood and keep the fires going. I recall that the county clerk was a very economical German who regarded with considerable disfavor the amount of firewood it took to supply Mr. Wheeler's office. That can hardly be wondered at when one considers the very economical manner in which public affairs were conducted in those days. The later generation know but little about it. I

¹⁷ 1 *Autobiography of Roujet D. Marshall, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, 1895-1918* 223-225 (Democrat Printing Co., 1923).

started the fire Mr. Wheeler's office, commonly, about seven o'clock in the morning and kept it going at pretty high pressure in the cold weather until ten or twelve at night, putting in fourteen to fifteen hours at my studies and such work as I could do to help Mr. Wheeler, which was not inconsiderable, after the first year. . . .

I did not wonder that the clerk, whose duty it was to keep up a supply of wood for the courthouse, did some grumbling at the rapidity with which the wood disappeared; but Mr. Wheeler knew it was my purpose to put in a full year's office work in five or six months and encouraged me to go right along, regardless of the amount of wood consumed, which of course I did, and the five or six hours out of the ordinary were much more useful for me than an equal time during the regular business part of the day.

During the second winter I was able to do considerable practical work. I did much of the labor in preparing three appeals to the Supreme Court, two of them being Warner vs. Hunt and Timp vs. Dockum. The latter will be recognized by lawyers as having settled an important question of pleadings. My name does not appear in connection with the report of the case because I was only a student in the office, but all of the clerical work on the part of the defendant and much of the labor of illustrating the principles involved, fell to my lot to do.¹⁸

After working at the farm in the spring of 1872, Marshall returned to Baraboo to his "finish up period" with Mr. Wheeler, who was no longer county attorney. During that winter, he had to dig logs out of the snow and carry them through a yard, then upstairs to the office. He confessed that he had "reached an age and position"

¹⁸ Id. at 232-233.

where he would have been embarrassed to be seen doing this type of labor, and so he carried out this chore “between ten o’clock and eleven o’clock p.m.” His work was more varied during this period:

This was my finish-up period, so the kind of work I did in the office was varied somewhat from that of the winter before. I did more practice work, drew papers, to a considerable extent, and tried cases in justice court, besides reviewing, in a general way, all I had gone over before, particularly, all relating to criminal law, contracts, commercial law and real estate.¹⁹

He was twenty-four years old, had spent four years studying law and was ready to take the bar examination. After a two-and-a-half hour oral exam he was admitted by the Circuit Court to the bar of Wisconsin in 1872.

Chapter Seven.

Tales of two law clerks.

We shall conclude by taking a close look at two young men in markedly different circumstances who embarked on their legal education in the early 1870s. One resided in London, the other in New Ulm.

Francis Bell initially worked in the chambers of a solicitor, Mr. Ellis, and later in the offices of two others, who had large common law practices. Bell wrote his father about his experience:

I remained in [Ellis’] office seeing cases prepared, attending Judges’ Chambers, bankruptcy meetings, and

¹⁹ Id. at 235.

so on. I also did some work while in the office in drafting deeds and agreements, but of the simplest kind. I then went into Mr. Gorst's chambers and have since worked on his cases and those also of Mr. Holker, Q.C., M.P., the leader of the Northern Circuit, who being in the same chambers is kind enough to let me do so.²⁰

Bell was not content with the assignments in Gorst's chambers. On the advice of several barristers, he hired a tutor in the Inns of Court in London. Bell described this chapter of his education:

Houston charges one hundred guineas a year. He devotes all of his time to us, so that I am beginning to have a much clearer knowledge of law than I had when there was no one of whom to ask questions and I feel that I am really making progress fast. I shall have read common law till December and shall then know about six books each of about one thousand pages and shall begin equity immediately after. Besides this I shall have seen quite a lot of practical work in chambers.²¹

In June 1874 Bell was admitted to the Bar of the Middle Temple. He then traveled the Northern Summer Circuit with Mr. Holker, his mentor, who became Disraeli's Solicitor General later that year and Attorney General.

Bell emigrated to New Zealand in late 1874. For the next sixty years, he practiced law and was engaged in public service in one capacity or another. He served two terms as Mayor of Wellington,

²⁰ William Downie Stewart, *Sir Francis H. D. Bell, His Life and Times* 44 (Wellington, N. Z.: Butterworth & Co., 1937). Bell died on March 13, 1936, two weeks shy of his 87th year.

²¹ *Id.* at 45.

was a member of Parliament, Attorney General and acting Prime Minister twice.

That same year, 1874, John Lind began two years of an apprenticeship with Judas Newhart, a lawyer in New Ulm, Minnesota.²² Lind's biographer describes his education:

In 1874, Lind entered the employ of J. Newhart, a lawyer in New Ulm. 'Mr. Newhart was not much of a lawyer,' according to Lind. 'He did not have many cases in court, most of his work was collecting notes and loaning money on mortgages, but he had some law books and he needed help.' Lind slept in a little room in the rear of the office and boarded with the family. For the first two years his remuneration was fifteen dollars a month and twenty-five dollars thereafter. Newhart worked in the office until ten o'clock every night, and Lind worked with him. After Newhart left, Lind read law until one o'clock. During the winter he taught school in the Klossner District, near New Ulm, for which he received fifty dollars a month and board. Saturdays and Sundays he worked in Newhart's office. This extra work paid him four dollars a week.²³

Lind was admitted to the bar in 1877. He set up shop in New Ulm and went into politics. As a Republican he represented the Second Congressional District from 1887 to 1893, and as a Democrat represented the Fifth from 1903-1905; he was governor of

²² Judas Newhart (1846-1901) moved to Minnesota with his family in 1857, served in the Civil War, admitted to the bar in 1868 and settled in New Ulm in 1871.

²³ George M. Stephenson, *John Lind of Minnesota* 17 (University of Minnesota Press, 1935) (citation omitted).

Minnesota from 1897 to 1899, and later developed a successful private law practice in Minneapolis. He died in 1930.²⁴

In 1934 the Wellington Bar gave a dinner for Sir Francis Bell celebrating his sixty years of practice. In a speech at this gathering, Bell reminisced about reading law in London, noting that “my days in the Temple were the happiest I ever spent.”

I was in the last batch called to the Bar in England without examination. Of course, Sir Frederick Chapman was never examined (*laughter*), but I escaped by the skin of my teeth. If a man had a degree from one of the universities, and for a year had read in the chambers of a practicing barrister (a privilege for which I paid a hundred guineas) and ate a series of eighteen dinners at one of the Inns of Court, it was considered that he was qualified for the profession of the law.²⁵

If John Lind ever expressed fond memories of his two years reading law with Judas Newhart in New Ulm, they were not recorded by his biographer.

Chapter Eight.

Conclusion.

One conclusion may be drawn from this brief study of law clerks who “read law” in preparation for the bar in the second half of the 19th century. Aside from the clerk’s willingness to work hard to achieve his ambition to become a lawyer, the failure or success of any apprenticeship was due to the established lawyer who had agreed to educate that clerk.

²⁴ For his memorial for the Minneapolis Bar Association, see “John Lind (1854-1930).” (MLHP, 2018) (delivered first, April 10, 1931).

²⁵ William Downie Stewart, note 20, at 50.