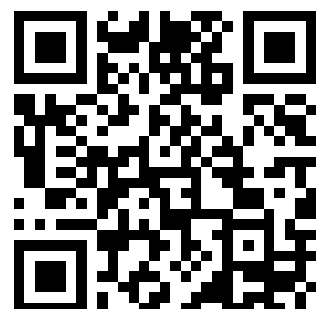
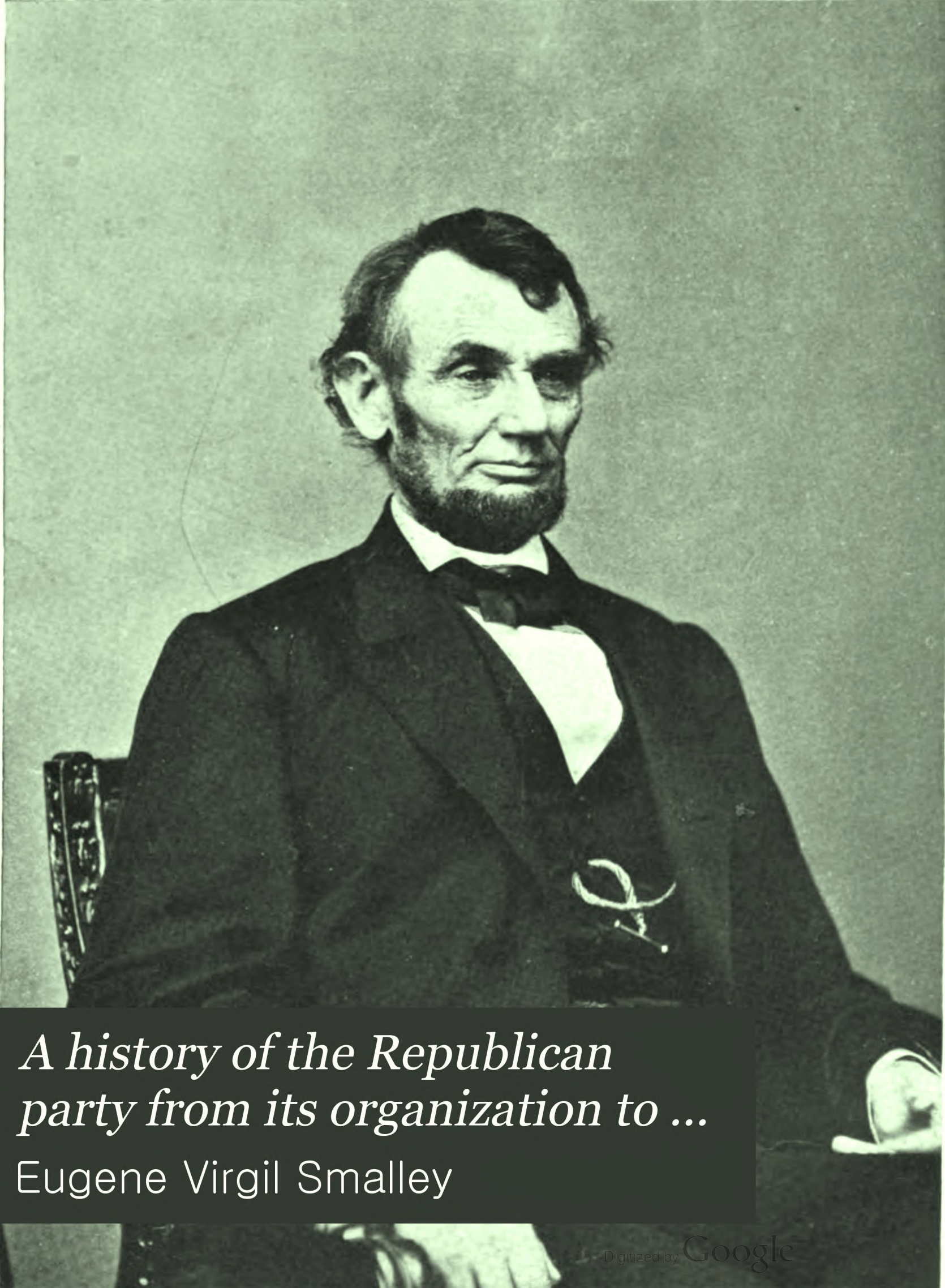

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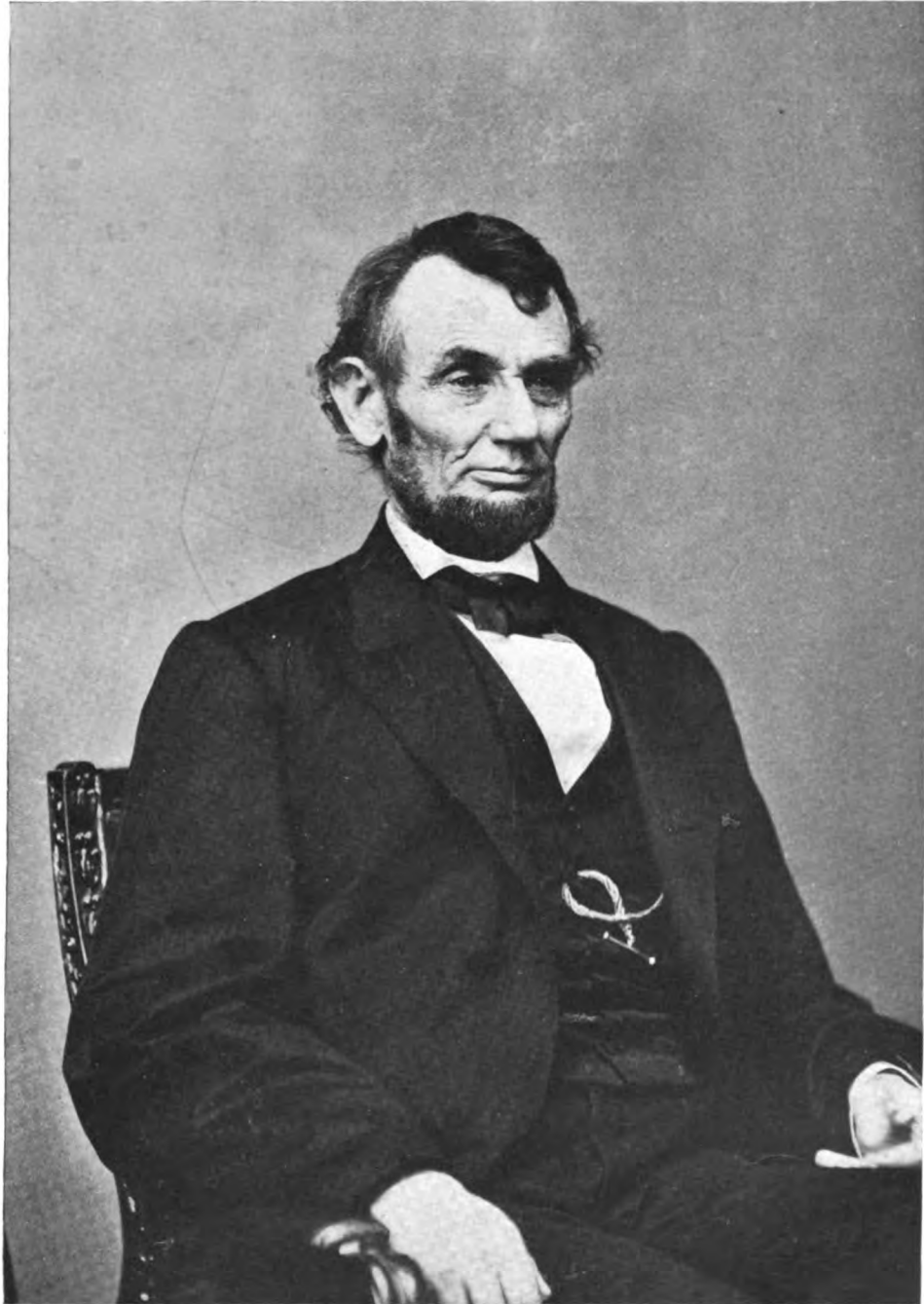
*A history of the Republican
party from its organization to ...*

Eugene Virgil Smalley

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Sixteenth President of the United States

A HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MINNESOTA

FROM A REPUBLICAN POINT OF VIEW

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LEADING MINNESOTA REPUBLICANS.

(Continued on page 2)



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PART I.



A HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

A HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

ALL political parties that have exerted marked influence upon their times have had their beginnings far back of the period of their organization. Parties are somewhat like generations of men. The characteristics of any single generation cannot properly be studied without some knowledge of those that have gone before. It occasionally happens that a party comes up suddenly on some transient wave of popular excitement, growing out of events essentially temporary in their nature, or springs from some fictitious issue, magnified into importance for the time being by the lack of any real fundamental question affecting the government and the interests of the people. The roots of such parties are never worth seeking, because the plant itself bears no seed and soon withers and disappears.

*The Republican party was the child of the conscience of the North, aroused, at length, to assertion by the growth of the institution of slavery. *In its embryonic forms it existed almost from the beginning of the government. It did not gain strength and individuality, however, until more than half a century after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A brief examination of the history of the parties preceding it is essential to an understanding of the changes in public sentiment which at last developed this most important, most powerful, and most moral of all the political organizations that have thus far arisen in the United States.

During the Revolution there were but two parties in the country: the Patriot party, supporting the effort for separate national life, and the Tory

party, which opposed the severing of the colonies from the mother country. After the recognition of American independence parties soon divided on the question of forming a closer union between the states. One, known as the Federalist party, favored the adoption of a constitution creating a strong, enduring national government, and the other, called the Anti-Federalist party, desired to uphold the rights of the states as separate and sovereign, and to continue the mere league between them formed by the Articles of Confederation. The feebleness of the old system became more and more apparent, and a convention, called in 1787, for the purpose of amending and strengthening the Articles of Confederation, adopted a constitution, after a four months' session, and thus created a new government, with independent and sovereign powers within its own prescribed functions. This new government had no model in history. The Swiss republic was, at that time, a league of cantons, closely resembling our own form of government prior to the adoption of the Constitution. No model was found in antiquity for the experiment. It was therefore only natural that the scheme of resting a central authority upon thirteen independent state governments should awake scepticism and resistance. The Anti-Federalist party opposed the ratification of the Constitution, and was successful in several states in delaying, for a time, their assent to it. The position of the Anti-Federalists was that a single executive head was dangerous. They feared, above all things, that the country would lapse back

into a monarchical condition and lose its liberties. The value and necessity of a national government was, however, so clear, that the Federalists were in a large majority in the country and held the administration for twelve years. In 1788 they elected George Washington President and John Adams Vice President. At that time the Constitution required the electors to vote for two candidates for President. The one having the highest number of votes became President, and the one next highest, Vice President. This system continued until 1804, when the present plan was adopted. During Washington's first administration, a fresh cause for a division of parties was found in the French question. The Anti-Federalists, led by Jefferson, were warm sympathizers with France, and desired that the new American Republic should, in some form, give assistance to its recent ally. The Federalists favored a strict neutrality between Republican France and her enemies. Party feeling ran high at the second presidential election in 1792, but Washington again received the unanimous vote of the Electoral College. Adams was again chosen Vice President, receiving 77 votes against 55, of which 50 were cast for George Clinton, the candidate of the Anti-Federalists.

✱About this time the Anti-Federalists began to drop their party name and to take the name of Democrats. ✧ Thomas Jefferson, their great leader, objected, however, to the use of the word Democrat and sought to secure the adoption of the name Republican. Backed by his influence, this name struggled for a time for recognition and was used to some extent in a few states, but was not generally adopted. Most of the old Anti-Federalists preferred the term Democrat as implying more fully hostility to the assumption of governmental powers threatening the individual rights of citizens. In 1796 the Federalists elected John Adams President. He received 71 electoral votes and Jefferson, his opponent, receiving 68, became Vice President. Troubles with France arose, and nearly resulted in war. During these troubles Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition laws; one empowering the President to order aliens who were conspiring against the peace of the United States to

quit the country, and the other providing for the punishment of seditious libels upon the government. These laws created much party feeling and were denounced by the Democrats as tyrannical and unconstitutional. They contributed very largely to the overthrow of the Federal party at the presidential election of 1800, when Mr. Adams was a candidate for reëlection. The Democrats voted for Jefferson and Burr, and gave them 73 votes each in the Electoral College, while Adams received 65, Pinckney 64, and John Jay 1. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives by a tie between Jefferson and Burr. Jefferson was chosen President and Burr Vice President. After Jefferson entered the executive office, his old views about diminishing the powers of the general government were considerably modified. He gave the country a vigorous and successful administration and was re-elected in 1804, by 162 electoral votes. The Federalists voted for Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York, and were able to control only 16 electoral votes. Jefferson declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democrats selected as their nominee his friend, James Madison, whose home near Charlottesville, Va., was almost in sight from Jefferson's house at Monticello. During the last year of Jefferson's administration the Federalists gained considerable fresh vitality through the popular opposition to what was known as the "Embargo," an act of congress prohibiting American vessels from trading with foreign ports. It was adopted out of revenge for the insolent actions of Great Britain and France, which arbitrarily searched American ships on the high seas, and often seized them and confiscated their cargoes. The embargo was fatal for a time to the commercial interests of the United States, and was repealed in 1809. At the election of 1808 the name Democrat was almost universally adopted by the party supporting Madison. Madison received 122 votes and George Clinton 113, while the Federal candidates, C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King, received 47 each. The war of 1812, which practically began in 1811 by British emissaries inciting the Indian tribes of the Northwest to hostile acts, nearly obliterated party lines for a time. Both of the parties sup-

ported the war when it was fairly begun. The Federalists continued their organization, however, and at the election of 1812 gave 89 votes for De Witt Clinton, against 128 for Madison. In 1816 the Democrats nominated for President James Monroe, Mr. Madison's Secretary of State, Madison himself declining a third term. It is difficult at this distance to understand what were the issues of that contest, but it is plain that the old political parties had nearly exhausted their motives of controversy, and that the questions debated were rather the traditions of old struggles than anything fresh and vital.

Monroe received 183 votes, against 24 given to Rufus King by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. Now began what is known in our political history as the "era of good feeling." No one was disposed longer to question the utility of the Federal Government, and on the other hand, no one was disposed to assert for it any dangerous or monarchical powers. Both the Democrats and the Federalists supported Monroe, and he was reelected in 1820, by all of the electoral votes save one.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

Up to 1820 the existence of slavery in the United States had been regarded as a misfortune by the people of all sections of the country. Indeed, among the causes of grievances brought against Great Britain was her action in forcing the slave trade upon the colonies against their will. With scarcely an exception, the early statesmen of the republic looked upon the institution of slavery as an evil which would gradually be gotten rid of by wise emancipation measures. Looking to that end, the slave trade was prohibited and ranked with piracy, as a crime, as early as 1808. Mr. Jefferson, the head of the Democratic party, was one of the most enlightened opponents of slavery, and was far from foreseeing that the party which he had founded would in after-years become its chief defender. The first anti-slavery society in the country was formed by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, but there were, at an early period, organizations of emancipationists in the South who kept up some agitation in behalf of measures for getting rid of the institution by the action of the state governments. One after another of the Northern States where slavery existed provided for its gradual abolition, and the sentiment in the North was so nearly unanimous in opposition to fastening slavery permanently upon the country that it insisted, that for every new Southern state which came in a Northern state

should be admitted. Thus, Vermont, Ohio, and Indiana compensated for Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana; and later, Maine counterbalanced Alabama. Thus far the number of free and slave states was equal. Then the question arose in 1820 about admitting Missouri with a slave constitution. It gave rise to a vehement public discussion, which was rather sectional than political. The people of the Northern States insisted that a clause prohibiting slavery should be inserted in the Missouri constitution as a condition of the admission of that state. The struggle went on in congress for over two years. While it aroused the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, which had been almost dormant, it also had the effect of inciting the South to a united and earnest defense of an institution which had before been regretted, even in that section, as undesirable and temporary in its nature. A compromise, devised by Henry Clay, settled the struggle for the time being. Missouri was admitted with slavery, but an act was passed prohibiting slavery in all the new territory lying north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, which was the southern boundary of Missouri. This settlement became known as the "Missouri Compromise." The North gained nothing that did not belong to it before, and the South secured the admission of a new slave state north of the old line

separating freedom from slavery. This line was known as "Mason and Dixon's Line," from the names of two surveyors who, at an early day, ran the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The name was universally adopted in the political discussions of the time to designate the line between the North and the South—the free states and the slave states. The "Missouri Compromise" laid the foundation of the Republican party, by creating in the mind of the North a distrust of the South, and by developing a political force in the

country which received the significant designation of the "Slave Power." This force, in the course of time, suppressed all opposition to slavery in the South, and asserted the right to convert the whole unoccupied territory of the United States into slave states, and to carry its human chattels into the Northern States under the protection of the Federal Government, in defiance of the laws of those states. Resistance to the slave power and its demands formulated itself in the course of time into the Republican party.

CHAPTER III.

THE WHIG AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

Monroe's administration is chiefly famous in history for its recognition of the Spanish-American republics and its declaration of what is known as the "Monroe Doctrine," an assertion that any attempt on the part of European governments to extend their systems to any portion of the American continent would be considered to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. The destruction of party lines under Monroe's administration went so far that, in the election of 1824, no reorganization on the basis of old ideas was practicable. There were four candidates for the presidency. Andrew Jackson received 99 votes, John Quincy Adams 84, William H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and Mr. Adams was chosen President. The administration of the new President, who was a son of the great Federalist, John Adams, might have been expected to restore the Federal party, but that party had outlived its usefulness. It had witnessed a complete success of its ideas respecting the national government, and there was no occasion for its revival. The supporters of Mr. Adams called themselves National Republicans, but the name did not long survive. Mr. Adams's policy did not differ much from that of Mr. Monroe. The distinguishing event of his administration was the adoption of the protective tariff system, which was favored by the North and opposed by the South.

Parties degenerated into factions, and the personal popularity of the political leaders had more to do with their success than any principles they professed. In 1828 Mr. Adams was a candidate for reelection, but was defeated by Andrew Jackson, who had 178 votes to Adams's 83. Jackson was a narrow-minded man of limited education, strong prejudices, violent temper, and little schooling in statesmanship, whose popularity grew out of his success as a military commander. He introduced personal government at Washington to a far greater extent than any of his predecessors or successors. Fealty to him, personally, was the chief test of merit in his eyes. For a time the country was divided into a Jackson party and an anti-Jackson party, all other names being lost sight of. Jackson brought into American politics the theory that "to the victors belong the spoils;" and was the first President who removed from office all persons not favorable to him politically. John Quincy Adams had made a few removals of officials in high position, but there was a great public clamor against him for these acts. Jackson swept the entire public service of everybody who had not favored his election, and filled the offices with his personal partisans. The corruption of American politics in more recent times is largely due to this high-tempered, bigoted, and egotistical man; but his glaring faults almost merit complete forgiveness in view

of his great service to the country in suppressing the nullification movement in South Carolina.

Up to this time the South, and particularly the Democratic party in the South, had asserted the doctrine, that the Constitution is a federal compact between sovereign states, and that in such compacts between sovereigns who are equal there is no arbiter, each state being the rightful judge, as a party to the compact, of the constitutionality of any measure of the general government. This view was asserted by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky, in what are generally called the resolutions of 1798. The doctrine that each state can judge for itself whether the laws or the action of the government is constitutional or not, became in time a part of the platform of principles of the Democratic party, and was held to with particular zeal by the people of the South. In 1832 South Carolina, under the lead of John C. Calhoun, endeavored to resist the enforcement of the new tariff law, by a process called nullification. Less from statesmanship and patriotism, perhaps, than from motives of personal hostility to Mr. Calhoun, President Jackson threw himself with all the force of his resolute nature upon the other side, and declared his intention to treat nullification as treason, and to hang the men who resisted the authority of the United States. He ordered a large armed force to Charleston, and thus put an end to the incipient movement for dissolving the Union. His vigorous conduct caused the total abandonment of the theory that a state can set aside the laws of the United States at its pleasure. The South shifted its policy, and soon began to rally on a new position, namely, that when a state does not like the conduct of the general government, it has a right to secede from the Union.

The nullification question was not taken up as a party issue; and, indeed, Jackson gave it very little time to ferment in the public mind. He furnished the country with an issue, however, by assailing the Bank of the United States, an institution modeled somewhat after the Bank of England and having close relations to the government. It is said that Jackson's hostility to the bank arose from the re-

fusal of one of its branches in the South to cash his checks when he was carrying on the Florida War. In 1832 the President recommended the removal of the public funds from the bank. Congress refused to authorize the removal. Then Jackson, on his own responsibility, ordered the Secretary to withdraw the deposits and place them in certain state banks. That officer refusing, he was removed, and Mr. Taney appointed to his place. The bank was broken down, a great financial panic followed, and serious commercial distress afflicted the country. The opponents of Jackson's policy toward the bank organized themselves under the name of the Whig party, taking this name because the Whig party in England had resisted the arbitrary measures of the king. Thus, by a curious change of the political situation, the leader of the Democrats, the party formed to resist strong government in this country, became the type and exemplar of the strong government idea, and the Whigs, the successors of the Federalists, became, as they imagined, the defenders of the people against the encroachments of executive power. In 1832, just before the bank question came up, Jackson was re-elected by 219 electoral votes, against a divided opposition, casting 49 votes for Henry Clay, 11 for John Floyd, and 7 for William Wirt. A short-lived popular excitement against secret societies, and especially against the Masons, had sprung up, and Wirt was the candidate of a new party called the Anti-Masonic party. He received the electoral vote of Vermont. Martin Van Buren was chosen Vice President. In 1836 General Jackson put forward Mr. Van Buren as his successor. The bank question, the tariff question, and opposition to the personal government of Jackson were the chief issues. Jackson had made a powerful impression on the rather unorganized public sentiment of the country by his boldness and independence, and his influence was still sufficient to secure the election of Van Buren, who received 170 electoral votes. The Whig vote was divided between William Henry Harrison, 73; Hugh L. White, 26; Daniel Webster, 14; and Willie P. Mangum, 11. Up to 1832 national nominating conventions were unknown. A

party caucus of members of Congress selected the candidates for President and Vice President, and not unfrequently state legislatures put candidates in the field. Van Buren's administration was exceedingly unpopular. The commercial crisis of 1837 and the hard times which followed reacted powerfully against the dominant party. The administration was charged with the dullness of trade, the stagnation of industry, the scarcity of good money, and the alarming number of business failures. More to the hard times than to any other cause was due the overwhelming success of the Whigs in 1840. The Whigs held a national convention at Harrisburg in December, 1839, and nominated Gen. William Henry Harrison for President and John Tyler for Vice President. The Democrats held their convention at Baltimore in May, 1840, and unanimously nominated Van Buren for reëlection. The

campaign was the most exciting, demonstrative, and dramatic that had ever taken place in this country, and the result was that Harrison and Tyler received 234 electoral votes, and Van Buren 60. The Democratic vote for Vice President was divided. Harrison's popular vote was 1,275,011, and that of Van Buren 1,128,702. Although Harrison's majority of the popular vote was a very small one, his electoral majority was enormous, a discrepancy which strikingly illustrates the peculiarity of our electoral system.

Harrison died a month after his inauguration—worried to death by office-seekers, it is said. His successor, John Tyler, proved treacherous to the Whig party, espoused the views of the Democrats, changed his cabinet, and finally went over to the Democratic side.

CHAPTER IV.

REVIVAL OF THE SLAVERY AGITATION—THE LIBERTY PARTY.

In 1844 the Democrats nominated James K. Polk for President, and the Whigs nominated Henry Clay. The question of the extension of slave territory entered largely into the canvass. A treaty had been negotiated for the annexation of Texas, then an independent republic, but still claimed by Mexico as a part of her dominions. The treaty was rejected by the Senate, and the Democratic party throughout the country took it up, and declared in their conventions that it was a great American measure. The Whigs were unanimous in their opposition to the Texan scheme; in the North, because of their unwillingness to give the slave power another state; in the South, on various grounds of expediency. The opposition of the Whigs was not sufficiently clear and earnest, however, to draw to their support all the voters hostile to the annexation project. A party was organized which took broad grounds against the extension of slavery, and assumed for itself the name of the Liberty party. It was, in fact, an offshoot from the anti-slavery organizations throughout the North. A struggle

arose in the American Anti-Slavery Society as to the duty of its members. One faction, headed by William Lloyd Garrison, abstained wholly from voting, on the ground that the constitution was a covenant with the slave power to protect slavery. The other faction insisted that the way to fight slavery was to use the weapon of the ballot. This faction became the Liberty party, and nominated James G. Birney for President. It was a very small party, but an exceedingly earnest one, and although it never had a majority in any state, and probably not in any county, it frequently held the balance of power, and exerted considerable influence on the two great parties. Just before the election of 1844 Mr. Clay wrote a letter which dissatisfied the Liberty party and also the anti-slavery Whigs in the State of New York. About 16,000 votes were cast in New York for Birney, and were mostly withdrawn from the Whig ticket. This defection caused the loss of the state to Clay, defeated him for the Presidency, and changed the whole subsequent history of the country. The result of the election was

174 votes for Polk and Dallas and 105 for Clay and Frelinghuysen, the vote of New York turning the scale. Under Polk's administration Texas was admitted and war was waged with Mexico. The war was opposed by most of the Northern Whigs, who had begun to be considerably tinctured with anti-slavery sentiment, and still more strongly opposed by the Liberty party men and the Garrisonians, now called by the name of Abolitionists, who believed that the purpose of the conflict was to secure more territory to be made into slave states.

The decline of the Whig party dates from this period. As a national organization it was obliged to cater to the South, where a large part of its strength lay, and no positive declaration against

the extension of slavery could be gotten from its conventions. At the same time a feeling of hatred to the slave power had obtained a firm lodgment in the mind of a large portion of its Northern members. The Whig party embraced in its membership a much larger portion of the intelligent and educated classes of the country than its rival, the Democratic party. In the South these classes contented themselves with opposition to extreme pro-slavery measures threatening the perpetuity of the Union; but in the North they began more and more to demand such action as should stop the growth of the slave power and secure to freedom all the unoccupied territory of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

THE WILMOT PROVISIO—THE FREE SOIL PARTY—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848.

It became apparent before the end of the war that the defeat of Mexico would be followed by the cession of a large part of her territory to the United States, and the question began to be agitated in Congress as early as 1847, Of what should be the condition of this territory in reference to slavery? At a consultation of members of the House from the free states, who felt that the extreme limit of justifiable concession to slavery had already been reached, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania presented the following proviso, to be offered to any bill for the organization of new territories: "That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of new territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the executive of any moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." This was the famous Wilmot Proviso, which played a large part in the political history of the succeeding years. It served to bring together many members of both the Whig and Democratic organizations who were opposed to the extension of slavery.

Its advocates were called in the political nomenclature of the day, "Wilmot Proviso Men," although they adhered for a time to their old party connections. The proviso was offered to the bill for negotiating a treaty with Mexico, but was defeated in the House.

In 1848 the Democrats nominated for President Gen. Lewis Cass of Michigan. His principal competitors in the convention were James Buchanan and Levi Woodbury. The nominee for Vice President was Gen. William O. Butler of Kentucky. The New York Democrats divided into two factions; one, called "Barnburners," opposed the extension of slavery, and the other, styled "Hunkers," sympathized fully with the South. The "Barnburners" bolted from the Democratic convention, and sent delegates to a national convention held at Buffalo, which organized a new party, called the Free Soil party. The Free Soil party was the legitimate successor of the Liberty party of 1844. The Buffalo convention nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice President. Van Buren's nomination weakened the moral force of the new movement, for while President he had been a tool of the slave power, and only since

his retirement to private life had he expressed himself against the extension of slavery to the territories. The motive of his nomination was to secure the votes of the "Barnburners" of New York and to defeat Cass.

The Whig national convention met in Philadelphia and nominated Gen. Zachary Taylor of Louisiana for President. His chief competitors for the nomination were Henry Clay, General Scott, and Daniel Webster. Taylor's nomination was exceedingly popular in the country, on account of his brilliant service in the Mexican War and his lack of any political record with which fault could be found. The Democrats, in their convention, refused to indorse the extreme Southern view—that slaves were property and could be carried into the territories under the protection of the government. The Whigs dodged the slavery question altogether. The Free Soilers claimed that the Constitution was hos-

tile to slavery, and intended to limit it to the states where it existed by virtue of local laws; and further, that the Federal Government should relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of the institution. At the election, General Taylor carried fifteen states, with 163 electoral votes; and General Cass fifteen states, with 137 electoral votes. Van Buren carried no state, but had a large vote throughout the North. The entire popular vote stood: Taylor and Fillmore, 1,360,752; Cass and Butler, 1,219,962; Van Buren and Adams, 291,342. The general effect of the canvass was to show that the Democrats were pretty thoroughly committed to the slave power and that the Whigs did not dare to antagonize it. The agitation produced by Van Buren's candidacy served a good purpose in further arousing public sentiment in the North to the encroachments of slavery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 AND THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Soon after the peace with Mexico, which secured to the United States all the territory comprised in the present states of California and Nevada, and the territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, gold was discovered in California, and an immense rush of emigration occurred. In a short time there were people enough there to form a state government. They adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. At that time there were fifteen slave states and fifteen free states, and the admission of California would place the free states in the majority of one. It was therefore vehemently opposed by the representatives of the slave power. Many slave states threatened secession if the new state should be admitted without some concessions to secure the equality of the South in the future. They demanded a recognition of their claim that slavery should not be prohibited in the territories or its existence be made an objection to the admission of a new state. They also demanded a guarantee

against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a stringent fugitive-slave law. The contest in congress lasted nearly two years, and was finally settled by what was known as the "Compromise of 1850."

Zachary Taylor, who though a slaveholder did not sympathize with the extreme Southern view, had died before the controversy culminated, and Millard Fillmore, his successor, openly espoused the side of the pro-slavery leaders. The compromise was advocated by Henry Clay, and received, also, the support of the great Northern Whig leader, Daniel Webster, who abandoned his anti-slavery position, and went over, with his great intellect and influence, to the side of the slaveholders. His action divided the Whig party in the North, and practically gave it a death-blow. Wm. H. Seward became the leader of the anti-slavery Whigs. The compromise of 1850 admitted California with its free constitution, and left for future settlement the status of the rest of the conquered territory in re-



JOHN C. FREMONT

Republican Candidate for President in 1856

spect to slavery; rejected the Wilmot Proviso, and paid Texas \$10,000,000 for a visionary claim to the Territory of New Mexico; prohibited slave auctions in the District of Columbia, and enacted the fugitive-slave law. This law shocked the moral sense of the more intelligent portion of the American people, and exerted a powerful influence in preparing men's minds for the advent of the Republican party. It provided for the return of alleged fugitives without trial by jury, allowing their captors to take them before a United States commissioner, who was empowered to remand them on the *ex parte* depositions of the slave-catchers. The commissioners were paid ten dollars in case they directed the return of the alleged fugitive, and five dollars if, for any cause, they decided against the claimant. In effect, therefore, they were offered a bribe to order the return of the person claimed as a slave. Slave-catchers were authorized to summon bystanders to their aid, and all good citizens were commanded to assist in the arrest of alleged fugitive slaves. The law, in effect, ordered the people of the North to turn slave-catchers themselves, and threatened them with heavy penalties in case they harbored or assisted fugitives. Several cases of extreme brutality arose from the execution of this law. Professional slave-hunters invaded the North, and captured colored persons without much regard to whether they had run away from slavery or not. In some cases there was resistance on the part of the people, and trials occurred which served to increase the irritation in the public mind. The law was vehemently denounced by the anti-slavery Whigs, the anti-slavery Democrats, and the Free Soilers, and the Abolitionists found in it a new text for the crusade they preached with so much earnestness and self-denial against the "sum of all villainies." Some of the Northern States passed what

were known as "Personal Liberty Bills," practically nullifying the fugitive-slave law and punishing as kidnappers persons who sought to carry off alleged slaves without trial by jury. These personal liberty bills furnished a notable illustration of the powerlessness of theories of government when human rights are involved. Hitherto the slave states had alone maintained extreme state rights doctrines, but now the free states practically asserted such doctrines in their legislation hostile to the Federal authority. The personal liberty bills set at naught the authority of the United States so far as it was sought to be exercised in the enforcement of the fugitive-slave law. They asserted the right of the state to protect the people within her borders from arrest and imprisonment without trial and from being carried off as slaves. They fell back upon the clause in the Constitution which says: "In any suits at common law, whereof the value of the controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." Fugitives were claimed to be property exceeding that value, and it was asserted that they could not be deprived of their liberty without a jury trial. Public agitation against the fugitive-slave law increased from year to year, and it finally became impracticable in most parts of the North, save in the great cities, to reclaim fugitives. Not only was this the case, but associations were formed in many parts of the North for the purpose of aiding slaves to escape to Canada. The lines over which the fugitives were forwarded by day and by night, by the anti-slavery people, were known as the "Underground Railroad." Many thousands of negroes escaped from the border states to Canada by the aid of this institution, and became industrious and valuable citizens of the British dominions.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1852—DEFEAT OF THE WHIG PARTY.

The Whig and Democratic parties had been fully committed by the action of their representatives in Congress to the indorsement of the compromise measures of 1850, and it was evident before their national conventions met in 1852 that they would rival each other in professions of fidelity to those measures. Indeed, a public pledge had been signed by Henry Clay, Howell Cobb, and about fifty other members of Congress, of both parties, agreeing to abide by the compromise as a final adjustment of the controversy between the free and slave states. The Democratic convention surprised the country by dropping General Cass, James Buchanan, and Stephen A. Douglas, who were the leading candidates for the nomination, and taking up Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man almost unknown outside of his own state. On the fiftieth ballot Pierce was nominated. Wm. R. King of Alabama was nominated for Vice President on the second ballot. The convention declared that the compromise of 1850 was a finality, and that the Democratic party would resist all attempts at renewing the agitation of the slavery question. The Whig national convention nominated Gen. Winfield Scott for President. The other candidates were Millard Fillmore and Daniel Webster. Scott was nominated on the fifty-second ballot, and Wm. O. Graham of North Carolina was put on the ticket for Vice President. The platform indorsed the compromise of 1850, including the fugitive-slave law, and declared that the system it established was essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union. The Whigs went into the canvass with a good deal of apparent vigor, but before the close it was evident that the poison of slavery had sapped the vitality of the party.

The Free Soilers met at Pittsburg in August, and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President and Geo. W. Julian of Indiana for Vice President. Their platform was opposition to the extension of slavery, and their battle-cry was "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." In some states the supporters of Hale and Julian took

the name of Free Democrats, in others they called themselves Free Soil Democrats, and in still others simply Free Soilers. They did not poll as large a vote as in 1848. Numbers of New York Democrats who then voted for Van Buren returned to their old allegiance. They had, however, a pretty effective organization in all of the Northern States, sustained a number of influential newspapers, and placed in the field many able stump speakers. Most of their vote was drawn from the Whigs. The result of the election was that the Democrats carried all the states in the Union, except Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, choosing 254 electors. General Scott received only 42 electoral votes. The popular vote was, Pierce, 1,601,474; Scott, 1,386,578; Hale, 156,149. The disaster to the Whigs was so overwhelming that it killed their party. They kept up some form of an organization for four years more, but it was merely a shadow. The party had no longer an excuse for living. Its former principles of a protective tariff and a wise system of internal improvements had very little hold upon the public mind. The country was rapidly dividing on the slavery question, and as the Democratic party was generally recognized to be the principal ally of the slave power, there was no room for another organization not definitely opposed to that power. The dead party was sincerely mourned, particularly by a class of its adherents in the North, represented by Wm. H. Seward and Horace Greeley, who had hoped to lead it over to anti-slavery ground. It was also regretted by a considerable element of educated and conservative people in the South, sincerely attached to the Union and apprehensive of great dangers to the peace of the country from the extreme ground taken on the slavery question by the Democrats. The disappearance of the Whigs as an organization from the field of politics opened the way for the formation of the Republican party; a new and formidable agency, which will be described in another chapter, coming in to complete the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND FALL OF THE KNOW-NOTHING OR AMERICAN PARTY.

Between the years 1853 and 1855 there suddenly arose a party of phenomenal growth and extraordinary ideas. It took for itself the name of the American party, but its members were generally known by the popular slang term of "Know-Nothings," which they did not themselves object to. They were organized into secret lodges, with passwords and grips, and were sworn to vote for no one for a public office who was not a native. They proposed that citizenship should not be conferred, so far as the right of voting was concerned, until after twenty-one years' residence. They were peculiarly hostile to the Catholics, and claimed that the priests of that church controlled the votes of their parishioners. The growth of this new organization was marvelous. It spread like wild-fire over the country, and before it was two years old managed to carry many important local and state elections. It must not be supposed, however, that it was absolutely without roots in the past. Native Americanism, as a sentiment, had existed since about the year 1830, and had in several localities in the East assumed at different periods the form of political organizations. It rested on a not unreasonable apprehension of the growing power of the foreign element in the large cities of the country. This element, in great part ignorant of our system of government, frequently banded together to carry municipal elections and placed objectionable persons in office. When the idea of nativism spread to the whole country and became the basis of a national party it was illogical and unpatriotic, because the growth of the United States had been largely the result of foreign immigration, and a

great part of its wealth had been produced by the labors of its foreign-born citizens. Many of these citizens were men of marked intellectual and moral worth, who had studied thoroughly the American system of free government, and had come to this country to escape the despotic limitations of life in the Old World. In seeking to exclude such men from voting and holding office in the land of their adoption, the Know-Nothing movement was evidently unjust.

The rapid spread of the secret Know-Nothing lodges cannot be accounted for by the principles of ordinary political action. A study of the laws of mind which govern the propagation of intellectual delusions, and produce phenomenal movements in the world of religion as well as of politics, would be necessary for a philosophical treatment of the matter. Undoubtedly the decay of the Whig party had much to do with the rise of this new movement. Men were suddenly cut adrift from their old party associations. In this situation they easily became a prey to a movement which had the fascination of secrecy and laid claims to lofty motives of patriotism. The Know-Nothing party culminated in 1855. It nominated Millard Fillmore for President in 1856, but it was already on the wane at that time, and shortly afterwards the slavery question so completely absorbed the public mind that Know-Nothingism subsided as rapidly as it had arisen, and in a single year disappeared from the field of politics. It played a part of some importance in the work of forming the Republican party, by making a sort of bridge upon which many old Whigs crossed over to that organization.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES AND THEIR WORK.

Before proceeding with the chronological order of our narrative, it is time that we should pause for a moment to consider the work of the anti-slavery societies in the North. Their members were few in number, and were usually despised by the masses of the people as impractical theorists and negro-worshippers, who threatened the tranquility of the country and the permanence of the Union; but they were men of earnest convictions and lofty moral purpose, who, by their tireless exertions, gradually wore into the Northern mind a conception of the atrocity of slavery. These societies were strongest in New England, on the Western Reserve of Ohio, and in the Quaker communities of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. They supported a number of eloquent public lecturers, who traversed the country and addressed meetings in schoolhouses, churches, and in the open air. Often these orators were received with opprobrium and insult; sometimes they were brutally treated by angry mobs; but they kept on heroically with their noble task. The condition of public sentiment in the North on the slavery question prior to 1850 can scarcely be understood by the present generation. Even the church organizations were, as a rule, bitterly hostile to all forms of anti-slavery agitation. The Abolitionists, as the anti-slavery men were generally called, were looked upon as no better than criminals. A bigoted, unreasoning, and often brutal devoteism to the slavery system had taken possession of the public mind, and whoever questioned the constitutionality or perpetuity of that system ran the risk of ostracism in his social and business relations, and if he publicly advocated his ideas, actually took his life in his own hands. This sentiment caused the anti-slavery men to draw closely together for mutual encouragement and assistance. They believed in the sacred humanity of their work. Their lecturers were entertained like brethren at the homes of the members of the society wherever they went, and every anti-slavery man regarded every other anti-slavery man in the light of a near personal friend. In some parts of the country they held annual conventions under tents or in

groves. A number of newspapers advocated their ideas, chief among which was the *Liberator*, published in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison, who was generally recognized as the head of the movement. Horace Greeley, in his "American Conflict," divided the opponents of slavery in the period preceding the formation of the Republican party into four classes:

1. The Garrisonians, who regarded the Federal Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." They pledged themselves to wage against slavery an unrelenting war, to regard and proclaim the equal and inalienable rights of every innocent human being as inferior or subordinate to no other, and to repudiate all creeds, rituals, constitutions, governments, and parties that rejected these fundamental truths. They generally declined to vote, believing the government and all political parties so corrupted by slavery that no one could take any part in politics without moral defilement.

2. The members of the Liberty party, who, regarding the Federal Constitution as essentially anti-slavery, swore with good conscience to uphold it and to support only candidates who were distinctly, determinedly, and permanently champions of liberty for all.

3. Various small sects and parties which occupied a middle ground between the above positions, agreeing with the latter in interpreting and revering the Constitution as consistently anti-slavery, while refusing with the former to vote.

4. A large and steadily increasing class who, though decidedly anti-slavery, refused either to withhold their votes or to throw them away on candidates whose election was impossible, but persisted in voting at nearly every election so as to effect good and prevent evil to the extent of their power.

The influence of all the various forms of anti-slavery agitation in opening the way for the advent of the Republican party and laying the foundation for that great organization can scarcely be overstated.

CHAPTER X.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA STRUGGLE.

The result of the election of 1852 was to place the Democrats in complete control of the national government. They had the President and a large majority in both houses of Congress. Their party was now completely dominated by the pro-slavery element. Franklin Pierce had been nominated by Southern votes, and was wholly subservient to the slave power. In spite of the professions of the Democrats in their platform of 1852, in which they declared the compromise measures of 1850 to be a finality, settling forever the contest between the free and the slave states, congress had scarcely met in 1853 before the South began to agitate for the repeal of the prohibition of slavery north of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. The vast plains lying beyond the States of Iowa and Missouri were known to be fertile and adapted for settlement. To remove the Indian tribes occupying them and make out of the region two new slave states, thus flanking the free states on the west and securing for slavery all of the vast region beyond the Missouri river, was the ambitious scheme of the Southern leaders. It mattered not that the faith of the South had been pledged, first by the compromise of 1820 and then by that of 1850, adopted as a final settlement of the slavery agitation. The pro-slavery leaders felt their power and determined to exercise it. After a tremendous struggle in both houses of Congress, they passed a bill repealing the prohibition of 1820, and opening all of the new Northwest to slavery. The extreme pro-slavery Democrats asserted that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, and that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territory of the United States. They further asserted that the people of the new territory had no power themselves, by their own territorial statutes, to interfere with the holding of slave property. A more moderate wing of the party, headed by Stephen A. Douglas, broached what was known as the popular sovereignty doctrine, which was that the people of the territories should themselves decide whether they would have free or slave states, and that Con-

gress had no authority to interfere with them. Abraham Lincoln once characterized this doctrine as, in effect, that one man had the right to enslave another, but a third man had no right to interfere. Mr. Douglas's position prevailed, and the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, passed in 1854, permitted the introduction of slaves into those territories, and left the people free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way.

The passage of this act created intense public excitement in the North. It was regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the South, and as the forerunner of measures designed to extend slavery over the whole country. In every Northern state large numbers of men of influence broke loose from the old political organizations, and were styled "Anti-Nebraska Men." Public meetings were held denouncing the measure, and a great popular movement hostile to the encroachment of slavery arose spontaneously on a wave of excitement which swept over the entire North. The Territory of Nebraska was too far away from the slave states to be occupied to any great extent by emigrants from the South, but a fierce struggle took place for the possession of the Territory of Kansas. Armed men from Missouri moved over the border at once to occupy the region and keep out Northern immigrants. The Indian titles were quickly extinguished by the Democratic administration and the public lands thrown open for settlement. The first party of immigrants from the free states were visited by an armed mob and ordered to leave the territory. The spirit of the North was fully aroused, however, and thousands of brave, intelligent men went to Kansas, determined to make it a free state. A contest ensued, which lasted for several years, and was generally called at the time "the Border Ruffian War." Reckless and lawless men from the Missouri border harassed the Northern settlers. Many free state men were brutally murdered. The town of Lawrence was sacked and burned in part by an armed

force of pro-slavery men. A regiment of wild young men from the South was recruited in Alabama by Colonel Buford, and invaded the territory for the avowed purpose of subjugating the Northern settlers. The North supported her emigrants with fresh reinforcements and with consignments of rifles and ammunition. Numerous encounters occurred with more or less loss of life. At the village of Ossawatimie, a pitched battle was fought, wherein twenty-eight Free State men, led by John Brown, defeated, on the open prairie, fifty-six Border Ruffians led by Captain Pate of Virginia.

In the struggle for Kansas the South fought against the laws of nature. Very little of the territory was adapted for the raising of cotton, and slavery had been found profitable only in the cotton regions. Few emigrants from the South went with their negroes to the new territory, while resolute Northern farmers and mechanics poured in year after year in large numbers. The slave power then undertook to secure possession of Kansas by fraud. At the first election for a territorial legislature, thousands of Missourians crossed the Kansas border and voted. The free state men disregarded this election, held another, and organized a legislature of their own, so that for a time there were two legislatures in session. In the same manner, two state constitutions were formed, one at Lecompton, by a convention composed of members chosen in great part by fraudulent Missouri votes, and one at Law-

rence, by a convention representing the anti-slavery settlers of the territory. The administration at Washington endeavored to force the pro-slavery constitution upon the people. Great efforts were made to this end through the agency of the Federal office-holders in the territory, supported by detachments of Federal troops, and these efforts were abandoned only when it became evident that the free state men were in an overwhelming majority and were determined to have their rights. The Kansas war finally degenerated into a series of plundering raids by parties of Missourians, but these in time became too hazardous to be continued. Some Democrats in Congress opposed the course of the administration toward Kansas, and were called Anti-Lecompton Democrats, but the bulk of the party stood steadily on the side of the South. Kansas, with its free constitution, was refused admission to the Union.

Every incident of the long struggle in Kansas was promptly reported in the Northern papers, and the anti-slavery element followed the conflict with intense interest, and looked upon the men who took their lives in their hands and went to the new territory to secure it for freedom as heroes of a just and patriotic cause. It was the Kansas and Nebraska Bill and the struggle between freedom and slavery beyond the Missouri which finally crystallized the anti-slavery sentiment of the North into the organization known as the Republican party.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OSTEND MANIFESTO, THE DRED SCOTT DECISION, AND THE ATTACK ON CHARLES SUMNER.

Three events occurring in the period we are now describing contributed powerfully towards increasing the alarm in the North at the purposes and spirit of the slave power. In August, 1854, Secretary of State William L. Marcy secretly directed James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soule, our ministers at London, Paris, and Madrid, respectively, to meet in some European city and confer about the best method of getting possession of Cuba. The conference took place at Ostend, and re-

sulted in a dispatch to our government, known as the "Ostend Manifesto," which recommended the immediate purchase of Cuba, and threatened Spain with a forcible seizure of the island in case she should refuse to sell it. The purpose of the Cuban annexation scheme thus developed was to prevent the island from ever becoming a free republic like San Domingo, and to make out of it one or more slave states to reinforce the slave power in Congress. Nothing came of the manifesto, save the

resulting anger of European nations and the increased determination created in the North to oppose the schemes of the pro-slavery leaders.

The supreme court of the United States at this time was thoroughly in sympathy with the projects of the pro-slavery Democracy. The leaders of that party determined by a bold stroke to cut the Gordian knot of controversy as to the power of the government over slavery in the territories, and for this purpose they procured from the court what was known as the Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott was a negro belonging to an army officer, who had taken him into a free state. This act entitled the slave to his liberty, and when he was afterward taken back to Missouri he sued for his freedom. The case was carried up to the supreme court, and a majority of the judges decided that persons of African blood were never thought of or spoken of except as property when the Constitution was formed, and were not referred to by the Declaration of Independence, which says that all men are created free and entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Such persons, the court declared, had no status as citizens, could not sue in any court, and were so far inferior that they had no rights that a white man was bound to respect. Proceeding then to the question of slavery in the territories, the court, through its chief justice, Roger B. Taney, held that the clause of the Constitution which says that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," applied only to territory that belonged to the United States when the Constitution was framed, and that in all other territory the slaveholder had the right to take his slaves, and Congress had no right to prevent him. This partisan decision was practically agreed to in 1855, but was held back until after the campaign of 1856, and made public early in 1857. It

was designed to prohibit Congress from making any laws respecting slavery in the territories, and to exclude all of the inhabitants of the United States of African blood, or mixed blood, from all of the privileges of citizenship, so far as such privileges were guaranteed and protected by the Federal Government. The decision shocked the humanity of the North, but was received in the South with great satisfaction. The slaveholders thought that they had at last secured from an authority that could not be disputed an absolute indorsement of their most extreme theories, and had thus thrown over the institution of slavery the protecting shield of the highest tribunal in the land. They little dreamed of what the future had in store for them.

In May, 1856, a brutal attack was made upon Charles Sumner, a senator from Massachusetts, by Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina. Mr. Sumner had made a speech upon the Kansas question, in which he had sharply criticised the State of South Carolina, and had reflected somewhat severely upon Butler, one of her senators. After the Senate had adjourned he was sitting at his desk engaged in writing, when Brooks approached him from behind, felled him to the floor with a blow from a heavy cane, and continued to beat him about the head till he was unconscious. A South Carolina member named Keitt and a Virginia member named Edmonson stood by at the time to prevent interference with the dastardly outrage. Mr. Sumner was severely injured, and never fully recovered his former health. A disease of the spine ensued, and he was obliged to resort to a painful form of treatment which kept him for two years out of his seat in the Senate. The outrage produced great indignation throughout the North, which was intensified by the ovations paid to the ruffian Brooks when he returned home to South Carolina.

CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—CAMPAIGN OF 1856.

The necessity for the organization of a national party to resist the encroachments of slavery was felt throughout the North immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Events had already shaped the platform for such a party. It was in all men's minds, and might have been formulated in a single sentence, "The freedom of the territories from the curse of slavery." Interference with slavery in the states where it existed by virtue of state law had not been thought of, save by the Abolitionists, who did not count as a political force. The men who were prepared to join a new party organization determined that slavery should be hedged in within the region where it already existed, and that no protection should be given by Federal law to property in slaves in the states whose laws declared that no such property should exist. The elements prepared for crystallization into a new party were the late Free Soilers, the anti-slavery Whigs, and a small number of Democrats calling themselves anti-Nebraska men. The question of when the Republican party first organized and who gave it its name, has been much disputed; but within recent years it has come to be pretty generally acknowledged that the Michigan state convention, held at Jackson early in June, 1854, was the first state representative body to take the name of Republican. The first local gathering to adopt the name was probably one held at Ripon, Wis., in the spring of 1854. The title was suggested in a letter from Horace Greeley to a delegate to the Jackson convention. This letter was shown to the late Senator Howard and several other influential men. The suggestion was deemed a good one, and the name was formally adopted in the resolutions of the convention. A few weeks later it was adopted by state conventions in Maine, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In most of the New England States, in Pennsylvania, and in the entire South, the Whig party still kept alive and ran tickets that year. The success of the Republicans in all the states where they ran straight tickets of their own gave a great impetus to the further exten-

sion of the party. It won its first national triumph in the House of Representatives elected in 1854, which convened in December, 1855, when the Republican candidate for speaker, N. P. Banks of Massachusetts, was elected after a long struggle.

In a single year the Republican party had carried most of the Northern States and had secured a controlling influence in the lower house of Congress. Its leaders were mostly men of anti-slavery convictions from the old Whig party, like Fessenden, Sumner, Greeley, Seward, Chase, Wade, and Chandler, but there were among them several former Democrats. No account was made of old political affiliations, however, and the only test of membership was opposition to the encroachments of the slave power. In 1855 the Republicans strengthened their state organizations, and were successful in most of the Northern States. The Whig party gave some last feeble signs of life in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Ohio. At the South the Whigs almost in a mass merged themselves into the Know-Nothing or American organization. Conservative men in that section, opposed to reopening the slavery controversy, did not venture to ally themselves with the Republicans of the North, but took refuge in the American party, where they were able for a brief time to combat the ultra pro-slavery element.

Thus far the Republicans had no national organization. On the 22d of February, 1856, the first Republican national convention was held in Pittsburg, Pa. Its purpose was to better organize the party, and to prepare the way for the presidential campaign. A second convention, to nominate a President and Vice President, met in Philadelphia on the 17th of June, and was presided over by Henry S. Lane of Indiana. John C. Fremont, the intrepid Western explorer, was nominated for President on the first ballot, receiving 359 votes, to 196 for John McLean. William L. Dayton of New Jersey received 259 votes for Vice President, on an informal ballot, to 110 for Abraham Lincoln, and 180 scattering. Mr. Dayton was then unanimously nominated. The platform

welcomed to the party all who were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery in the territories, and who favored the admission of Kansas as a free state. It demanded the prohibition of slavery in all of the territories of the United States, and denied the authority of Congress or a territorial legislature to give legal existence to slavery in any territory, freedom being the public law of the national domain under the Constitution. It asserted the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in all territories those twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy.

The Democratic convention met in Cincinnati on the 2d of June, and nominated James Buchanan for President on the seventeenth ballot. The voting at first was close between Buchanan and Pierce, Douglas having a small following. Toward the end, all the opposition to Buchanan centered on Douglas. The nominee for Vice President was John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The platform denounced all attempts to prohibit slavery in the territories or the District of Columbia by legislation, and all objection to the admission of a new state on the ground that it established slavery. It revived the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1797 and 1798, which contained an assertion of extreme states rights doctrines. It also recognized the right to maintain slavery in any part of the public domain, and promised the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law.

The Know-Nothings, now calling themselves Americans, met in Philadelphia on the 22d of Feb-

ruary, and nominated for President Millard Fillmore of New York, and for Vice President Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee. Their platform demanded that none but natives should hold office, and that foreigners should not vote until they had lived twenty-one years in the country. On the 17th of September an insignificant remnant of the once powerful Whig party convened in Baltimore and ratified the nomination of Mr. Fillmore. Their meeting attracted very little public attention.

The presidential contest of 1856 was exceedingly animated in all of the Northern States. Colonel Fremont, although without any record as a politician, proved an exceedingly popular candidate. The Republicans carried every Northern state except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California, and gave to their ticket 114 electoral votes. The Americans carried but one state, Maryland. Buchanan's electoral vote was 174. Of the popular vote, Buchanan received 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,341,264; Fillmore, 874,534. Buchanan had therefore a decided plurality, but he lacked 377,629 votes of a majority over both of his competitors.

In connection with the name Republican, as applied to a party, it is worth recalling, that, in the State of New York, as late as 1852, it was used by both Whigs and Democrats, one ticket being headed "Whig Republican Nominations" and the other "Democratic Republican Nominations."

CHAPTER XIII.

JOHN BROWN'S RAID—HELPER'S "IMPENDING CRISIS."

An event that had a powerful effect in exciting the South and in aggravating the growing sectional feeling in the North took place in 1859. John Brown, who had distinguished himself as a brave free state leader in the Kansas war, invaded Harper's Ferry, Va., on the 17th of October, with an armed force, consisting of seventeen white men and five negroes. The invaders tore up the railroad track, cut the telegraph wires, and took possession

of the United States armory; doing this by the authority of God Almighty, they said. Brown issued a proclamation calling upon the slaves of the South to rise and demand their liberty. The frightened inhabitants of the place appealed to the state authorities to come to their aid, and the state called upon the general government. A force of United States marines was promptly despatched to Harper's Ferry, and a large body of Virginia militia

was soon on the ground. Brown and his followers defended themselves in the armory building. A sharp conflict ensued. Hemmed in on all sides, Brown sent out a flag of truce, but the bearer, Stephens, was instantly shot down by the Virginians. One of Brown's men was captured by the Virginia militia, dragged out upon the railroad bridge, and shot in cold blood. Four of Brown's party attempted to escape by crossing the river, but three were mortally wounded. Brown made his last stand in an engine house, where he repulsed his assailants, who lost two killed and six wounded. The fight went on all day; at night Brown's forces were reduced to three unwounded whites besides himself. Eight of his men, including two of his sons, were already dead, another lay dying, and two were captives, mortally wounded. Next morning the marines charged the engine house, battered down the door, and captured Brown with his surviving followers. The purpose of the raid upon Harper's Ferry was to stimulate an insurrectionary movement throughout the South. Brown had drawn up a sketch for a provisional government, and had nominated several of his followers to the principal executive offices. He was held a prisoner for about six weeks, tried at Charlestown, Va., and hanged on the second day of December, exhibiting to the last a heroic fortitude and an exalted frame of mind which won for him the admiration of even his bitter enemies, the Virginians, and excited deep sympathy throughout the North. The South was profoundly stirred by this invasion, insignificant as it was in its dimensions and its results. The Southern people, in their excited frame of mind, undoubtedly believed that the John Brown raid had the indorsement of the Republican party of the North and was the beginning of an effort to destroy slavery by inciting the slaves to a general insurrection. The horrible history of the San Domingo massacre had always been a terror to the Southern people, and a rumor of a negro rising had on several occasion in the past sufficed to throw them into a convulsive state of anger and apprehension. It was not strange, therefore, that an effort to organize an insurrection, led

by courageous white men from the North, should provoke their fiercest animosity.

John Brown had few apologists though a great many sympathizers in the North. His movement was his own secret, and was not abetted by any body of anti-slavery men. Just how great an influence it exercised on the subsequent history of the country it would, of course, be impossible to measure, but the feelings it produced and the memories it left in the South were a principal agency in inclining the Southern people to separate from the North and set up a government of their own.

A book published about this time on the slavery question added to the irritation in the South. It was called "The Impending Crisis," and its author was Hinton R. Helper, a North Carolinian, who had migrated to California. The book was addressed to the slaveholding whites of the South, and was a powerful argument, reinforced by statistics drawn from United States census reports, to prove that slavery cursed the industries of the Southern States. The poverty of those states in respect to accumulated wealth and agricultural products in comparison with the states of the North, was forcibly set forth, and the nonslaveholding Southern whites were urged to throw off the control of the small minority of slaveholders and take the affairs of their states into their own hands. The circulation of this book was everywhere prohibited in the South. It was regarded as an incendiary document, although it contained nothing but calm reasoning and indisputable statistics. Several Republican members of the House signed a letter indorsing the volume, and their conduct was made the subject of an acrimonious discussion. At one time a resolution came near passing, affirming that no man who recommended the book was fit to be speaker of the House. "The Impending Crisis" had an immense sale, and though its effect in the South was only to aggravate the pro-slavery feeling, it opened the eyes of many people in the North to the blighting effect of slavery upon industry, manufactures, and trade.



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Eighteenth President of the United States

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

The Republicans were not discouraged by their defeat in 1856. They saw that if they had carried the States of Pennsylvania and Indiana they would have succeeded, and felt that they had formed what was destined to be the great party of the future, and that their principles would prevail in time. The promulgation of the Dred Scott decision immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan gave new vigor to the Republican cause, showing as it did that the pro-slavery party intended to fully subjugate the whole country and make of it a vast slave empire. The conduct of Buchanan in continuing the efforts of Pierce to force slavery upon the Territory of Kansas kept alive the discussion of the question of the freedom of the territories until the next presidential election. Buchanan was as subservient to the South as Pierce had been. His administration was controlled by ultra pro-slavery men, who directed its energies to carrying out the schemes of the slave power.

In 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas contested the State of Illinois for the United States senatorship, and made a memorable canvass, which attracted great attention throughout the country. Douglas advocated what was known as his squatter sovereignty policy, which was that Congress should abstain from all legislation as to slavery in the territories and allow the people to settle the question for themselves. Mr. Lincoln advocated the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. Although Lincoln had a majority of the popular vote, Douglas had a majority in the legislature and was elected. The South was not satisfied with the Douglas squatter sovereignty plan, the theory of the pro-slavery leaders being that slavery could not be prohibited in the territories by any power whatever. This theory was repugnant to a great majority of the Democrats of the North, and the conflict between it and the Douglas theory led to a disruption of the Democratic party. The Democratic national convention met at Charleston on

the 23d of April, 1860, and immediately got into a heated controversy upon the subject of slavery. Finally, by a close vote, it was resolved, that, as differences had existed in the party as to the nature and extent of the powers of the territorial legislatures and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution over the institution of slavery within the territories, the Democratic party would abide by the decision of the supreme court on the question of constitutional law. This exceedingly guarded and neutral declaration angered the Southern delegates, and most of them withdrew from the convention. An adjournment was carried until the 18th of June, when the convention reassembled in Baltimore. The seceding delegates met and adopted an extreme pro-slavery platform, and adjourned to assemble in Richmond, June 11th. The regular convention reassembled in Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for Vice President. Fitzpatrick subsequently declined, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was substituted by the national committee. The Baltimore convention affirmed Douglas's squatter sovereignty theory. The bolting convention met in Richmond and adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 23d, when it adopted the Charleston platform, and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President.

A new party, composed mainly of former members of the now dead American party in the South and a few stubborn old Whigs in the North, was formed at Baltimore May 9th. It took the name of the Constitutional Union party, and nominated for President John Bell of Tennessee and for Vice President Edward Everett of Massachusetts. This party declared that it recognized no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws. This last phrase was intended to refer to the

fugitive-slave law. The Republican national convention met in Chicago May 16, 1860. It was generally supposed, prior to the meeting of the convention, that William H. Seward would be nominated for President. He was recognized as the chief leader of the new party, and its greatest teacher on the political bearings of slavery. His principal competitor was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The other candidates were Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Edward Bates of Missouri, William L. Dayton of New Jersey, John McLean of Ohio, and Jacob Collamer of Vermont. Mr. Seward led on the first and second ballots, but the argument that he would not be a popular candidate in the States of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois—the states lost by the Republicans in 1856—led to the nomination of Lincoln on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice President. The platform was substantially that adopted in 1856. Its chief planks were those referring to slavery in the territories. It declared freedom to be the normal condition of the territories, and denounced the new dogma that the Constitution, with its own force, carried slavery there.

In the campaign of 1860 the Republicans were united and confident, while the Democrats were divided into two factions, which fought each other about as vigorously as they did their common enemy. These factions were known by the names of

their leaders, one being called Douglas Democrats, and the other Breckinridge Democrats. There were few Douglas men in the South and few Breckinridge men in the North. The strength of the new Constitutional Union party was almost wholly confined to the South. Every free state but New Jersey was carried by the Republicans, and in New Jersey the refusal of a part of the Douglas men to support the fusion ticket allowed four of the Lincoln electors to slip in. The electoral vote was divided as follows: Lincoln, 180, all from the North; Breckinridge, 72, all from the South; Bell, 39, from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and Douglas, 12, from Missouri and New Jersey. The popular vote was: Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckinridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124.

The very large vote given to Mr. Douglas was due, in some part, to his personal popularity. He was the idol of the Democratic party of the North, and had the South chosen to give him its support, instead of seceding from the convention and nominating Breckinridge, he would probably have been elected President. With his comparatively moderate views on the subject of slavery, which were becoming more and more modified in the right direction as he saw the tendency of the pro-slavery leaders, it is not unlikely that he would have averted, or at least postponed, the war.

CHAPTER XV.

SECESSION—REBELLION—WAR.

As soon as the election of Lincoln and Hamlin was known to be beyond dispute, movements for seceding from the Union began in the South. The Southern leaders did not wait to learn what the policy of the new administration would be, but made haste to break the relations of their states with the Union and to form a separate government, under the title of the Confederate States of America. As early as December, 1860, South Carolina seceded; other states followed during the winter, and in February, 1861, a complete Rebel government

was organized at Montgomery and a Rebel army put into the field. A considerable party in the Southern States, composed mostly of old Whigs, opposed secession, but were overpowered by the more active, unscrupulous, and determined supporters of the movement. During the session of Congress, just prior to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, great efforts were made in the way of conciliatory propositions to induce the Southern States not to renounce their allegiance to the Union. The Republicans were willing to go to the farthest extent possible not in-

volving the vital principle of their party that the territories of the United States were free soil by virtue of the Constitution. The plan known as the Crittenden Compromise received a large vote in both houses, although opposed by most Republicans. Its principal provision was that all of the territory north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes should forever be free, and that all of the territory south of that line should be given up to slavery. Senator Anthony, a Republican, was willing to admit New Mexico as a slave state, because slavery already existed there, but this was as far as he or any other Republican proposed to go concerning the disputed question of the condition of the territories. A series of resolutions, accompanied by a constitutional amendment, passed both houses, however, guaranteeing slavery in the states where it existed against any interference on the part of the Federal Government, and recommending the Northern States which had passed laws obstructing the recovery of fugitives to repeal them. A peace conference, invited by the legislature of Virginia, sat in Washington in February. Thirteen Northern States and seven Southern States were represented. Its propositions had no effect in staying the rising tide of rebellion. The Southern leaders had fully made up their minds to dissolve the Union, and although many of them remained in Congress up to the time of Lincoln's inauguration, they did so avowedly for the purpose of resisting legislation which might be hostile to their section.

It is not the purpose of this work to trace the history of the war for the preservation of the Union further than is necessary to show the action of the political parties concerning its prosecution. The Republican party was the war party from the beginning to the end of the struggle, holding the Union to be a perpetual bond, and not a league of states which could be dissolved at the pleasure of any of its members. It also held that the republic was indestructible, and that the duty of the United States Government was to enforce obedience to its authority.

The Democratic party of the North was in an extremely awkward predicament when the storm of war burst upon the country. For a whole genera-

tion it had maintained the theory of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions—that the states were sovereign and were themselves the judges of the constitutionality of the Federal laws and acts. Out of this theory grew logically another, that the government had no right to coerce sovereign states. This was the theory upon which Mr. Buchanan's administration proceeded during the three months in which the Rebellion organized itself throughout the South. It continued to be held by a considerable portion of the Northern Democracy, but the patriotic feeling which followed the attack upon Fort Sumter caused it to be exceedingly unpopular for a while, and it was rarely avowed in public during the first year of the war. For a time there was but one political party in the North, and that was the party of the Union. As the war went on, however, and it became evident that it was going to be a long struggle, and no holiday parade, as many had imagined, the Democrats took courage, and reorganized their party as an anti-administration party. They did not avowedly oppose the prosecution of the war at that time; some of them, indeed, insisted that if they were in power they would push it more vigorously; but the spirit of their movement was one of dissatisfaction with the contest. In 1862, after the disaster to our armies on the Peninsula and at the second battle of Bull Run, a feeling of discontent arose throughout the North, which took the form of hostility to the Republican party in the fall elections of that year. The Democrats carried the great central belt of states, beginning with New York and ending at the Mississippi river. Fortunately, in only one state was there a governor to be elected. This was in the State of New York, where the Democrats chose Horatio Seymour, by the aid of enormous election frauds committed in the City of New York. The Republicans were barely able to secure a majority in the new House, and were for a time greatly discouraged by their reverses, and apprehensive that the Democratic triumphs might lead to the ultimate success of the Rebellion. In 1863, however, the capture of Vicksburg by General Grant and the decisive victory at Gettysburg completely turned the current of public sentiment. The

Republicans recovered that year every state they had lost in 1862. Wherever the contest was the hottest there their victory was the greatest. The great political battle of the year occurred in Ohio, where the Democrats nominated Clement L. Vallandigham for governor. He was an avowed opponent of the war and an open sympathizer with the South. The majority against him was the largest ever given at any election in the state, running up to nearly 100,000.

In 1863 the Democratic party in most of the Northern States threw off all pretension of sympathy with the Union cause. On this account they were given by the Republicans the name of "Copperheads." In some parts of the West they wore pins made of the butternut, to typify their sympathy with the South, the Southern soldiers being frequently clad in homespun dyed with the juice of that nut.

A long and bloody riot occurred in the City of New York in 1863, in which thousands of Democrats resisted the draft and held possession of many

parts of the city for several days, murdering a number of people. The Democratic governor of the state, Horatio Seymour, addressed the mob in front of the city hall, at the height of the riot, and styled the lawless persons composing it "my friends." The riot was finally suppressed by United States troops, after considerable slaughter. In the State of Indiana a formidable conspiracy, under the title of the "Sons of Liberty," was organized by the Democratic sympathizers with the South, but was suppressed by the vigilance and courage of Oliver P. Morton, the Republican governor of the state.

In several of the states the Republicans in 1863 dropped their party name and took that of the Union party, in order to save the feelings of the War Democrats who desired to coöperate with them. The voting force of these War Democrats was comparatively small, but among them were a number of men of undoubted patriotism and high position in the country. Most of them continued to coöperate with the Republican party during and after the war.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

The Republican party did not enter the war with the purpose of abolishing slavery. A few far-sighted men saw that the struggle must end either in the separation of the South or the freedom of the slaves, but the masses of the party did not look beyond the suppression of the Rebellion and the preservation of the Union. President Lincoln said that if he could save the Union with slavery he would save it, and that if he could save it without slavery he would save it. As the war went on the folly of recognizing and protecting an institution which gave the Rebels a large force of laboring men to stay at home and raise food for their armies became plainly apparent, and there was a general demand for the abolition of slavery as a war measure. It was not, however, till April, 1862, that slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, nor till June,

1864, that the fugitive-slave laws were repealed. In the early military operations against the Rebellion great care was taken not to excite insurrections among the slaves, and the negroes who came into our lines were treated as contraband property, so as not to be restored to their masters. On Sept. 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued his first proclamation of emancipation, which was, in effect, a threat to the states then in rebellion that they would lose their slaves unless they returned to the Union. He declared that on January 1st following all persons held as slaves in any state which should be then in rebellion should be then and forever after free. On Jan. 1, 1863, no Rebel state having returned to the Union, he issued his second proclamation, designating the states and parts of states in rebellion, and ordering and declaring that all persons held as slaves in such regions "are and shall be free,"

and pledging the government to maintain their freedom. "On this measure," said Lincoln, "I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of God." This celebrated proclamation professed to be a war measure, adopted by authority of the President as the commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery in the United States, passed the Senate in April, 1864, and the House in January, 1865, but was not ratified by a sufficient number of states to make it valid until nearly a year after the end of the war. It was essentially a Republican measure, all of the Republicans in Congress voting

for it, and nearly all of the Democrats voting against it. It will stand for all time as the noblest of the many monuments which mark the brilliant history of the Republican party. Public sentiment was slow to take shape in favor of the total abolition of the curse of slavery, but its progress was certain, and when the amendment was ratified, it was approved by the entire Republican party. For some time afterward the Democratic party continued to denounce the Thirteenth Amendment, declaring it void and of no effect, but long ago even the most bigoted and stubborn Democrats came to acquiesce, not only in its validity but in its justice and wisdom.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864.

Anxious to secure the coöperation of all men who favored the prosecution of the war, the Republicans, in 1864, called a Union National Convention to meet in Baltimore. The convention renominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and nominated Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice President. The nomination of Lincoln was by acclamation, but there were a number of candidates for the Vice Presidency, prominent among whom were Hannibal Hamlin and Daniel S. Dickinson. Prior to the Baltimore convention a small number of Republicans, dissatisfied with the administration, and especially with its leniency toward Rebels, met at Cleveland and nominated John C. Fremont for President and John Cochrane for Vice President. Their convention demanded the suppression of the Rebellion without compromise, and the confiscation of the lands of the Rebels, and their distribution among soldiers and actual settlers. General Fremont accepted the nomination, but repudiated the confiscation plank of the platform. Subsequently both the candidates withdrew from the field, and the whole movement collapsed. The Democrats held their convention in Chicago, and manifested open hostility to the continuance of the war. Bitter speeches were made, denouncing the administration. A plat-

form was adopted declaring the war a failure, and attacking those who carried it on for disregarding the Constitution, treading upon public liberty, perverting right, and impairing justice, humanity, and material prosperity. The convention nominated for President Gen. George B. McClellan, whose half-hearted, dilatory course while in command of the army of the Potomac was largely responsible for whatever failure had characterized the war up to that time. George H. Pendleton of Ohio was nominated for Vice President. The platform crippled the Democratic party in the canvass, for scarcely had it been published when news came that Sherman had taken Atlanta and that Farragut had carried the defenses of Mobile. In the face of such victories as these the declaration that the war was a failure sounded absurd and treasonable.

In the canvass of 1864 the Democrats attacked the administration for exceeding its constitutional powers in suspending the habeas corpus and imprisoning Rebel sympathizers and agents in the North without trial. They did not openly avow their old theory, that the states could not be coerced; but they had a great deal to say about the "bloody and endless war, brought on by the anti-slavery agitators in the North." They denounced the emancipa-

tion proclamation, and appealed to the prejudice against the negroes, still very strong in the North, by asserting that the war was an Abolition war, carried on not to restore the Union but to free the slaves. The Republicans had practically but one argument to make, and that was, that it was the duty of every patriot to sustain the government in its efforts to crush the Rebellion and save the Union. The result of the election was the success of the Republicans by very large majorities. Mr. Lincoln had the electoral vote of every state not in

rebellion, except Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. He received 212 electoral votes against 21 cast for McClellan. His popular vote was 2,213,665 against 1,802,237. The success of the Republicans in this critical campaign assured the ultimate triumph of the Union arms in the field, confirmed the emancipation of the slaves, and opened the way to the termination of the war. Had the Democrats prevailed, there is little reason to doubt that the war would have ended by a recognition of the independence of the Rebel states.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SECURING THE FRUITS OF THE WAR—THE STRUGGLE WITH ANDREW JOHNSON.

After the Republican party had carried the war through to a successful issue, destroying upon the battle-field the doctrine of secession and forcing the surrender of the Rebel armies, it was called upon to meet a new and very grave issue, involving the security of the results of its past efforts.

Lincoln was assassinated on April 21, 1865, very soon after his second inauguration, by J. Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was inspired to commit the crime by his sympathy with the cause of the Rebellion, which had come to utter ruin only a few days before by the surrender of the army of General Lee. The Vice President, Andrew Johnson, became President. At first he was so radical and violent in his treatment of the conquered Rebels that it was feared that he intended to depart wholly from the policy of kindly firmness followed by Mr. Lincoln. Before many months, however, he changed his attitude completely, and undertook to defeat the will of his party in Congress in respect to the reorganization of the Rebel states. He had been bitterly opposed to the dominant element of the South all his life—coming of ignorant, poor white stock, and representing in his early career the antagonism of the nonslaveholding element in Tennessee towards the slaveholders; but all at once, when in possession of the reins of government, he manifested a stubborn purpose to carry out the wishes of the leading Southern men and to give them control of their local affairs.

The problem of restoring the Southern states to their relations to the Union was a difficult one, and the Republicans were not at first wholly agreed as to its proper solution. After nearly two years of consideration of the question, the party, however, came with substantial unanimity to the ground that the Rebel states had forfeited their rights as states of the Union by the act of rebellion, and had become unorganized communities, held under the Constitution by conquest, and to be dealt with as Congress might see fit. Their reëntry into the Union must, it was maintained, be under such conditions as Congress should prescribe. In the meantime they were kept under military government, and were divided, for the purpose, into military districts. The Democrats held, that, so soon as hostilities ceased, each Rebel state had a right to reorganize its own state government, and to enter into all of the privileges of a member of the national Union, without any interference or dictation on the part of Congress. This was the theory advocated by Andrew Johnson. Its purpose was to reinstate the white men of the South in full control of their local governments, leaving them to deal with the emancipated negro populations as they saw fit, under the solitary restraint of the Thirteenth Amendment.

After having emancipated the slaves, the Democrats held that Congress had nothing more to do with them. The temporary governments organized by the whites in several of the Southern States pro-

ceeded to pass codes of black laws, which reduced the negroes to a condition of serfdom, differing practically but very little from the old condition of slavery. President Johnson did not avowedly go over to the Democratic party. He kept Mr. Seward and several other Republicans in his cabinet, but his policy toward the South was essentially a Democratic policy, and was sustained by very few people in Congress or the country except the Democrats. A small body of officeholders stood by him in order to retain their places, and became popularly known as the "Bread and Butter Brigade." In 1867 the Republicans passed a series of acts, known as the Reconstruction laws, providing for the establishment of new state governments in the South. These laws allowed every man to vote, black or white, except such as had previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had participated in the Rebellion. This limitation disfranchised a very large portion of the active and influential white men. President Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction acts, and they were passed over his veto, the Republicans having at that time and throughout his administration a two-thirds majority in both houses.

The conduct of Johnson created a good deal of irritation and bad feeling. He was regarded as a traitor to the Republican party, and the stubbornness with which he clung to his idea of the rights of the Southern States under the Constitution was generally believed among the Republicans to arise from a settled purpose on his part to betray his party and to destroy the substantial results of its victory over the Rebellion. The intense dislike and strong suspicion of Johnson which animated the greater portion of the Republican party resulted in the passage of articles of impeachment against him, on the 22d of February, 1868. The specifications were based on the President's illegal removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War, his expressions in various speeches of contempt of Congress, and his hindrance of the execution of some of its acts. The trial began in the Senate March 23d, and lasted nearly two months, attracting the closest attention of the whole country. Johnson was acquitted for lack of a two-thirds majority against him, the vote on the several articles

of impeachment standing, guilty 35, and not guilty 19. A few Republicans, led by Mr. Fessenden of Maine, not believing him guilty of an offense warranting his removal from office, voted with the Democrats for his acquittal. The general effect of his obstinate resistance to Congress was to strengthen the Republican party, and the men that deserted its ranks to follow him were so few in number that they were scarcely missed. At one time Johnson appeared to contemplate the formation of a new party, of which he was to be the leader; but he ended, after his term of office closed, in joining the Democratic party, which sent him to the Senate from Tennessee.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in June, 1866, by Republican votes exclusively, in both houses of Congress. The amendment made the freed negroes citizens of the United States and of the states in which they lived, and prohibited any state from abridging or limiting the privileges or immunities of citizens. It left each state to regulate the right of voting, but if a state excluded any of its citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, it lost its representative and electoral strength proportionately. The amendment also provided that no person should hold office in the United States or any state who, not having taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and had joined in the Rebellion; but Congress might remove this disability by a vote of two-thirds of each branch. It provided, further, that neither the United States nor any state should assume or pay any debt contracted in aid of the Rebellion, or for any of the losses from the emancipation of the slaves. The Democratic party vehemently opposed this amendment, and it was not fully ratified by the requisite number of states until July, 1868. Long after its ratification the Democrats were in the habit of condemning it as revolutionary, null, and void. Subsequent experience did not justify all of its provisions. The section creating a class of persons under disabilities in the South was after a time deemed unwise by a large majority of the Republicans, and was greatly modified by successive amnesty measures.

In 1866 the Civil Rights Act was passed, providing severe penalties against any person who under color of any law or ordinance should attempt to deprive the freedmen of equal rights or subject them to any penalty or prohibition different from those

to which the whites were subjected. This act, as well as Amendment XIV., was vetoed by President Johnson, opposed by the Democrats, and passed by the Republicans over that veto and in spite of that opposition.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.

The presidential campaign of 1868 was fought upon the issues growing out of the reconstruction acts of Congress, the amendments to the Constitution, and the suffrage and citizenship they conferred upon the colored race. The Republican national convention met in Chicago, May 20th, and nominated Gen. Ulysses S. Grant for President by acclamation. A sharp contest took place over the Vice Presidency. The first ballot resulted as follows: Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, 115; Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, 147; Reuben E. Fenton of New York, 126; Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, 119; Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, 51; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, 28; James M. Speed of Kentucky, 22; James Harlan of Iowa, 16; J. A. J. Creswell of Maryland, 14; W. D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, 4; S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas, 6. On the fifth ballot Schuyler Colfax was nominated, receiving 541 votes. The chief features of the platform were the indorsements of the constitutional amendments securing the political and civil equality of the blacks and of the reconstruction acts of Congress.

The Democratic national convention met in New York, July 4th, and nominated Horatio Seymour of New York for President and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice President. An attempt was made to liberalize the party and induce it to cease its opposition to the results of the war by the nomination of Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, who stood a little aloof from the Republican party and held rather a neutral attitude. It was unsuccessful. Moderate ideas prevailed, however, in the platform, which was cautiously worded so as not to offend a considerable number of Democrats who were in favor of what was called "accepting the situation." Among the candidates for the Presidency before the

convention was Gen. W. S. Hancock, who received a large vote from men who desired to make use of his military reputation as an offset to that of General Grant. The majority of the convention were not willing, however, to nominate any man whose record of hostility to all of the Republican measures during the last ten years was in any way doubtful. The Democratic campaign was so bad a failure that before it closed the leading Democratic newspaper organ in New York demanded a change in the ticket as the only way of securing the possibility of success. General Grant was elected by a popular vote of 3,012,833 against 2,703,249. He carried all the states except Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon. Three states—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas—had not gone through with the process of reconstruction, and therefore had no vote. Of the electoral votes Grant received 214, and Seymour 80. After this overwhelming defeat a growing sentiment in favor of accepting the results of the war and ceasing the hopeless contest against the inevitable took possession of the Democratic party. The election was exceedingly important in its influence upon the history of the country. Had the Republicans been defeated the whole policy of equal suffrage and citizenship would probably have been overturned. That policy was completed and firmly secured a year later by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided that neither the United States nor any state should abridge the right of any citizen to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The ratification of this amendment by the requisite number of states was proclaimed March 20, 1870.

CHAPTER XX.

CONDITION OF THE SOUTH—CARPET-BAG GOVERNMENT—THE KU-KLUX KLAN CONSPIRACY.

Encouraged by President Johnson's opposition to the reconstruction acts to believe that those acts would in the end be set aside, the white people of the states which had joined the Rebellion very generally refrained from taking part in the elections under them, and thus the newly enfranchised negroes became suddenly possessed of almost unlimited political power. With them acted a few respectable white natives who had conscientiously opposed the war, a few enterprising Northern emigrants who went South to invest their means and better their fortunes, and a few adventurers attracted by the prospect of office. This was a poor foundation on which to rear a stable structure of local government. The mass of the white population looked upon the negroes as they would upon so many cattle or horses of which they had been robbed by the national government, and regarded them in their quality of voters and citizens with undisguised hatred and contempt. The state governments established under the new order of things were the subjects of constant insult in the Southern papers, and were despised and detested by the great mass of the native tax-paying people. The poor whites were fully as hostile as the better classes. To some extent the new governments merited the condemnation they received. Most of them were ignorant and rapacious, borrowing and wasting large sums of money, raising heavy taxes, and creating numberless scandals. It made no difference, however, what was the character of the men connected with these governments; they were all denounced as thieves. Northern white men who had settled in the South, whether they held office or not, were stigmatized as "carpet-baggers," and every native white man who joined the Republican party was denounced as a "scallawag," and cut off from all social relations with his neighbors. The carpet-bag governments, as they were called, could not have existed for a moment without the support of the national authority. Troops were stationed in

every capital and principal city throughout the South, for the purpose of awing the disaffected people and compelling obedience to the local authorities. Even these means were not wholly effective, however. A secret organization sprang up as if by magic in all parts of the South, whose members were exclusively white men, hostile to the new order of things, and sworn to accomplish the destruction of negro rule. This organization was called the Ku-Klux Klan. Its ostensible purpose at first was to keep the blacks in order, and prevent them from committing small depredations upon the property of the whites, but its real motives were essentially political. The members met in secret conclaves, and rode about the country at night wearing long gowns of black or scarlet cloth, with hideous masks or hoods enveloping their heads. They murdered many of the negro leaders, and in pursuance of their scheme for overawing the colored population took thousands of poor blacks out of their cabins at night and brutally flogged them. In some neighborhoods scarcely a colored man escaped a visitation from these terrible midnight riders. The negroes were invariably required to promise not to vote the Republican ticket, and threatened with death if they broke their promises. In some places the Ku-Klux Klan assaulted Republican officials in their houses or offices or upon the public roads; in others they attacked the meetings of negroes and dispersed them. Their action took almost every form of lawlessness, and was adopted with the single purpose of breaking down the authority of the Republican state and local governments and preparing the way for a Democratic victory at the elections. The Ku-Klux Klan order and its variations extended throughout the entire South. In some localities it was called by other names, such as the "White League," or the "Knights of the White Camelia," and sometimes its members appeared without disguise and made their murderous attacks upon their political opponents in broad daylight. In such cases

it was given out by the Southern newspapers that a riot had occurred, in which the blacks were the aggressors. Wherever the facts were obtained by the investigations of committees of Congress, it was found that this explanation was a false one, and that the whites were always the attacking party.

The Ku-Klux Klan were particularly active in the northern counties of South Carolina, and these counties were selected by President Grant for the enforcement of an act of Congress passed by the Republicans for the purpose of suppressing these treasonable and murderous organizations. The habeas corpus was suspended by executive order in the five counties referred to, a considerable body of troops was stationed there, and large numbers of arrests were made by the soldiers. Nearly three hundred Ku-Klux were imprisoned at one time at Yorkville, S. C., under military guard. Their disguises and other articles were captured, and several of them made full confessions of the atrocities in which they had been engaged. A few were selected for trial and were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in the Albany penitentiary. The rest were released on their pledges of good behavior. The result of these severe measures was to break up the Ku-Klux organizations throughout the South. Hostility to negro suffrage and Republican government subsequently took other forms of violence, but the whipping and killing of defenseless people by masked midnight riders was abandoned.

The Republicans of the North earnestly sustained the measures of the government for the punishment of conspiracy and of crime, and for the defense of the rights of their brethren in the South. The inefficiency and corruption which characterized most of the Southern state governments produced, however, considerable effect upon the Northern mind, and in course of time a large portion of the Northern Republicans grew weary of the effort to support those governments by armed force. Thus there came about a division in the party, one element believing it to be the duty of the administration to continue its policy of interference in Southern affairs, and the other contending that the difficult problem of good government and equal rights in

that section could be best worked out by the Southern people themselves, without any outside pressure. The stories of Southern outrages grew monotonous and wearisome. Many people doubted their authenticity, because from their own experience in the law-abiding communities of the North they could not conceive of a state of things so wholly foreign to anything they had observed at home. It did not seem reasonable that men should be guilty of such barbarous acts as were done in the South for the purpose of gaining political power. All reference to those acts and arguments drawn from them were characterized, in the political parlance of the time, as "waving the bloody shirt," and lost their effect upon the public mind. Nevertheless only a small part of the truth concerning the state of affairs in the South between 1867 and 1876 was ever made known. It is not extravagant to assert that more men lost their lives during that period for the sole crime of being Republicans than fell on any one battle-field of the war.

In the course of eight years of President Grant's administration the white Democrats of the South succeeded in getting possession of all of their states except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—overcoming the Republican majorities by a system of intimidation, violence, and fraud. The three remaining states passed into their hands immediately after the accession of President Hayes. President Grant's policy toward the South was not uniform and consistent. At times he was exceedingly firm in his defense of the so-called carpet-bag governments, but at other times he was yielding or indifferent, and allowed the processes for the destruction of those governments to go on without interference. Toward the close of his official career he came to the conclusion that it was unwise longer to attempt to support by Federal bayonets authority which was obnoxious to the influential and intelligent tax-paying classes of the South. In this conclusion a large portion of the Republicans sympathized, but their opinion did not in the least modify their feelings of condemnation of the methods by which the Southern Democrats had overturned the Republican state governments in that section.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Nineteenth President of the United States

CHAPTER XXI.

DEFENDING THE NATIONAL HONOR AND THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

It is now time to refer to a portion of the career of the Republican party which reflected great honor upon it, and entitled it anew to the respect and gratitude of the country. At the end of the war the United States owed an enormous bonded debt. In addition it had outstanding a large volume of paper currency, issued with the understanding that it should be redeemed in coin as soon as the government was able to do so. In 1867, after the floating obligations remaining from the war had been gathered in and funded, the question of how to deal with the debt and the currency was taken up in earnest by the Republicans in Congress. Their plans met with vehement opposition from a large portion of the Democratic party. A new and preposterous theory was advanced, to the effect that the notes of the government, called greenbacks, were actual money, instead of promises to pay money, and that the bonded debt of the United States could be lawfully and honorably discharged with these notes. This theory started in the West, and was called at first "Pendletonism," from the fact that Pendleton, the Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1864, was among its early and prominent advocates. It was claimed by the supporters of this theory that as greenbacks were real money the country ought to have a large supply of them. They favored an immediate issue of hundreds and even thousands of millions of dollars. All of the bonds that were not specifically made payable in coin they proposed to pay off at once in greenbacks, and thus stop the interest upon them. The paper money idea soon developed into a great popular mania in the West. Many Republicans were carried away by it, but the majority of the party firmly resisted it. Not much headway was made by this dangerous and dishonest heresy east of the Alleghany mountains, but beyond

that line, clear through to the Far West, the excitement raged for several years. It must be said, in credit of the Democrats of the East, that they gave no assistance to the greenback idea. As a party, however, the Democrats may truthfully be said to have advocated it, since the great bulk of the Democratic representation in Congress came from the West and the South, where the mania was widely prevalent. However much praise the few Democrats who opposed the scheme are entitled to, it is certain that it could not have been defeated had not the Republican party as a national organization set its face firmly against it.

Many of the advocates of inflation, having cut loose from the principles of common honesty, soon became repudiationists, and formed a party by themselves, called the Greenback party. They proposed to pay off the whole of the debt in greenbacks, and never redeem the greenbacks, but let them wear out and perish. They even went so far as to pass resolutions in their conventions declaring that all taxation should cease, and that the government should support itself by issuing paper money. A constant struggle against inflation schemes was kept up by the Republicans in Congress for more than a decade, and was only ended by the successful resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879. In all of this time the Republican party was vigilant and firm in defending the national honor, and preventing its credit from suffering by the repeated assaults upon it which came from the Democratic and Greenback parties. The party which saved the Union and abolished slavery was called upon to save the credit and honor of the country, and prevent its currency from becoming worthless, and it nobly responded to the call.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LIBERAL DEFECTION AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

Considerable dissatisfaction was felt in the Republican party at the course of President Grant's administration. A small element of conscientious men, many of whom had aided in forming the party, believed that his policy toward the South was unwise, and that it was time to inaugurate an era of peace, reconciliation, and good feeling. They also wanted to see a policy of civil service reform established, by which merit should be the test for public office, and government officials should stick to their legitimate business, and not devote their time to managing caucuses and conventions in the interest of party leaders who had secured them their appointments.

Grant's project for annexing San Domingo created a good deal of opposition, and many of his appointments to office were of a character not to commend themselves to the public judgment. An open breach occurred between him and several Republican leaders in Congress, chief among whom were Senators Sumner, Schurz, and Trumbull. Long and acrimonious debates over the San Domingo matter and a sale of arms to the French government served to widen the breach. The opponents of General Grant believed that his control over all of the Federal office-holders was so great, and their control over the machinery of the conventions so perfect, that his renomination would be brought about in spite of any amount of antagonistic feeling that might exist in the party, so they determined to make a demonstration which would show to the country that they would not in any event support Grant for a second term. They took the name of "Liberal Republicans," and held a national convention in Cincinnati, in May, 1872. Once assembled they were surprised at their own apparent strength and at the number of old-time Republicans who came to cooperate with them. The plan of the leaders of the movement was to nominate Charles Francis Adams for President. Some of them believed that so excellent and fit a nomination would

so commend itself to the whole Republican party that General Grant would be dropped. Adams failed of a majority on the first ballot, and the convention was stampeded by a movement in behalf of Horace Greeley, who received the nomination on the sixth ballot, having 482 votes to 187 for David Davis of Illinois. Gov. B. Gratz Brown of Missouri was named for Vice President on the second ballot. The regular Republicans paid no attention to these nominations. They stigmatized the movement as one of soreheads and bolters, and in their own convention, held in Philadelphia in June, nominated President Grant for reelection by acclamation. A brisk contest over the Vice Presidency occurred between Schuyler Colfax, the incumbent of the office, and Henry Wilson, a senator from Massachusetts, in which Wilson was successful, receiving 364½ votes to 321½ for Colfax. The platform of the Liberal Republicans demanded that sectional issues should be buried, that good will should be cultivated between sections, that the constitutional amendments in all the settlements of the war should be regarded as finalities, that civil service reform should be undertaken, and that specie payments should be immediately restored. The platform of the regular Republicans rehearsed the glorious history of the Republican party, and reaffirmed its well-known distinctive principles of equal political and civil rights and a firm maintenance of the national credit and honor. The Democrats found themselves in a painful dilemma. If they nominated a ticket of their own there was not the slightest chance of electing it. If they indorsed the Liberal Republican ticket they would have to abandon all of the ideas for which they had been contending since 1860. Their convention met at Baltimore in July, and chose the latter horn of the dilemma. In spite of the bald inconsistency of the proceeding, the party which had defended slavery and opposed the suppression of the Rebellion nominated as its candidate for President a most conspicu-

ous antagonist of slavery, a life-long opponent of the South, and a zealous advocate of all measures which had been adopted for crushing the Rebellion and giving freedom and citizenship to the blacks. This apparent conversion of a great party and this acknowledgment of the error of its ways would have been sublime if it had been sincere, but the object of most of the Democratic leaders was only to obtain office and political patronage. Horace Greeley made no pledges to them, and he avowed not the slightest alteration in his opinions on the issues of the time. They hoped, however, that if they succeeded in electing him a sense of gratitude would induce him to give them place and power. The campaign was a very animated one at first, but after the Republicans had carried North Carolina in August and Pennsylvania in October it became evident that the Greeley coalition could not win, and thenceforward the Democratic and Liberal canvass lost all vitality. A large number of Republicans left their party to follow their old anti-slavery leader, Horace Greeley, but their votes were more than counterbalanced by those of Democrats who refused to support him. This class had a candidate of their own in Charles O'Connor,

who was nominated by a convention held at Louisville. He received but a small vote, however. Most anti-Greeley Democrats contented themselves with staying at home on election day. Some of them voted for Grant, to show in a marked manner their hostility to the course of their party. Grant carried all the states except Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. His popular vote was 3,597,070. The vote for Greeley was 2,834,079. O'Connor received 29,408 votes, and Black, the candidate of the Prohibition Temperance men, 5,608. Horace Greeley died before the electoral college met. The electoral vote as cast by the college was as follows: Grant, 286; Hendricks, 42; Brown, 18; C. J. Jenkins, 2; David Davis, 1; uncounted because cast for Horace Greeley, 17.

The Liberal defection seriously weakened the Republican party in the state campaigns of the three following years, but in 1876 the breach was fully healed, and with the exception of a few leaders who joined the Democrats the whole body of Liberals returned to their old party allegiance in the presidential campaign of that year.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—CAMPAIGN OF 1876.

Republican divisions continued to a considerable extent during the second administration of President Grant. The dissatisfied members of the party did not, however, form any political organization, but contented themselves with holding aloof from the state campaigns. Several painful scandals affecting the appointees and personal friends of President Grant added to the unpopularity of the administration. In 1874 the feeling of distrust and dislike culminated, and resulted in an astonishing series of Democratic victories in the state and congressional elections. A large number of Northern States that had been steadfastly Republican were carried by the Democrats. Even Massachusetts, which had given heavy Republican majorities ever since the party was formed, elected a Democratic

governor. In short, there was a reaction against the Republicans throughout the country of such magnitude and importance that many would-be prophets predicted the speedy death of the party, asserting that its mission was fulfilled, its work done, and its career closed. The Democrats elected a majority of the members of the national House of Representatives, and thus in the following year came into possession of one branch of Congress for the first time since 1860.

It was not long before the Republicans who had deserted their party, and thus helped its enemy to a substantial victory, began to realize that they had made a grave mistake. They saw that to trust the party of slavery and rebellion with the power in the national government was to run the risk of seriously

compromising the results of the war. The state elections of 1875 showed the result of this conviction, for most of the old Republican states which had been lost in 1874 were regained. An exceedingly thorough and brilliant canvass was made in Ohio upon the financial question. The Democrats of that state fully indorsed what was known as the soft-money idea. They opposed the act for the resumption of specie payments, passed by Congress in January of that year, demanded the issue of more irredeemable greenbacks, and asserted that the interest on the public debt should be paid in paper money, and some of their orators and newspapers went so far as to demand the payment of the principal of the debt in the same kind of currency. The Democratic nominee for governor was William Allen, popularly known as "Old Bill Allen," who already held the place by virtue of the election of 1873. This venerable politician personified for a time the soft-money delusion, which got the name of "the Ohio idea," and was commonly ridiculed by its opponents as "the rag baby." The Republican candidate was Rutherford B. Hayes, who had been governor for two terms, from 1868 to 1872. Taking ground in favor of honest money redeemable in coin, and an honest payment of the national debt, the Republicans carried the state by a small majority and turned the tide of inflation. The campaign attracted national attention to Mr. Hayes, and made him the candidate of his state for the presidential nomination in 1876.

The Republicans held their national convention at Cincinnati on June 14, 1876. James G. Blaine of Maine was the leading candidate, and his nomination was regarded as almost a certainty when the balloting began. The other prominent candidates were Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Benjamin F. Bristow of Kentucky, and John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania. Bristow's following came, as a rule, from the element most dissatisfied with President Grant's administration. He had been Secretary of the Treasury, and had differed with the President about the prosecution of certain persons in the West concerned in the frauds on the revenue. A personal quarrel arose, and Bristow resigned his place in the cabinet. The supporters of

Morton, Conkling, and Hartranft were, in the main, warm friends of the administration. Those of Mr. Blaine were drawn from both elements by his great personal popularity and his reputation as a congressional leader. A combination between the forces of Morton, Conkling, Hartranft, and Hayes, and a portion of those of Bristow defeated Blaine and nominated Hayes on the seventh ballot, the vote standing, Hayes, 384; Blaine, 351; Bristow, 31. William A. Wheeler, an old and influential representative in Congress from the State of New York, was nominated for Vice President with little opposition. Mr. Hayes's nomination proved to be a popular and fortunate one. He had an excellent military and civil record and no personal enemies, and he united all of the jarring elements of the Republican organization.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis on the 27th of June, and on the second ballot nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President. His principal competitors were Thos. H. Hendricks of Indiana, Wm. Allen of Ohio, and General Hancock of the army. Tilden had just served a term as governor of New York, and had won considerable reputation as a reformer by his hostility to the canal ring and to the corrupt Tammany organization in the City of New York. The Democrats ran their canvass almost exclusively on what they called the reform line. They claimed that the Republican party had grown corrupt with long lease of power. They vigorously attacked the administration of President Grant, made the most of all the scandals, true or false, which had grown out of it, and presented their candidate as a man who would sweep the public service clean of all abuses as with a new broom.

The Republican canvass consisted mainly of an attack on the bad record of the Democratic party and a cry of alarm at the solidity of the section of the country lately in rebellion. A good deal was made out of the enormous Southern claims presented in Congress for war damages, and an effective attack was kept up against Mr. Tilden on account of his failure to pay a large amount of money due from him to the government as income tax, and also on account of his sharp financial operations

in connection with certain Western railroads. Three insignificant minor organizations placed candidates in the field for the campaign of 1876. The Greenback party, an organization of fantastic theorists and small demagogues, took up the so-called Ohio idea, which the Democrats had refused to indorse in their St. Louis platform, and endeavored to build upon it a great political organization. They nominated for President the venerable New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, and for Vice President Samuel F. Cary of Ohio, a popular orator who had belonged to nearly every political organization which had existed in his lifetime. The Prohibitionists held a convention in Cleveland and nominated for President Green Clay Smith of Kentucky, and for Vice President Gideon T. Stewart of Ohio, on a platform demanding a constitutional amendment prohibiting the liquor traffic. A mass meeting was held in Pittsburg, which

attempted to start a new organization called the American National Party. James B. Walker of Illinois was nominated for President, and Donald Kirkpatrick of New York for Vice President. The platform favored the recognition of God and the Sabbath in the Constitution, demanded prohibitory liquor laws, and denounced all secret societies. The movement proved abortive, and nothing was heard of it during the canvass.

The campaign of 1876 was exceedingly animated, and was closely contested in all parts of the Union, except the Southern States, where the Democrats had already gained control. The popular vote was as follows: Tilden, 4,284,757; Hayes, 4,033,950; Cooper, 81,740; Smith, 9,522. The electoral vote, as finally decided by a commission created to settle the dispute about the returns, was, Hayes, 185; Tilden, 184.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE ELECTORAL COUNT.

Both parties claimed to have carried the Presidential election of 1876, and before the question was decided the country was brought uncomfortably near to the verge of civil war. The result turned upon the votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were certified by the state authorities to have been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. In each of those states Democratic electors claimed to have been elected, and sent contesting returns to Washington. Great excitement prevailed throughout the country. Politicians of both parties hurried to the disputed states to witness the counts of the popular vote and supervise the action of the rival electoral colleges. In South Carolina, which the Republicans had previously carried by majorities averaging 30,000, the Democrats organized rifle clubs during the campaign to systematically intimidate colored voters. These rifle clubs moved about the country fully armed and uniformed in red shirts, broke up Republican meetings, and spread terror among the black popula-

tion. The whole state seemed like an armed camp. The effect produced by this military organization on the minds of the timid colored people was greatly increased by the Ellenton and Hamburg massacres, in which a large number of negroes were killed. An account of these occurrences would be foreign to the purpose of this work. It is enough to say that the white Democrats were the aggressors and the colored Republicans the victims, and that the Republicans were convinced that both of the affairs grew out of the purpose of the Democrats to so terrify the blacks that a large proportion of them would be afraid to vote. As first returned there appeared to be a small majority for Tilden in South Carolina. The board of canvassers threw out the votes of two counties, acting in this matter by the plain authority of the laws of the state, and gave certificates to the Hayes electors. In Florida there was a little violence and a good deal of fraud, with the same result as in the case of South Carolina. In Louisiana the Republicans,

judging from elections of previous years, had a large and certain majority. The Democrats selected five of the heaviest of the Republican parishes for a species of campaigning known as bulldozing. It was practically the South Carolina rifle club system, which, it may be mentioned, originated in Mississippi in the state canvass of 1875, and was currently known in the South as the "Mississippi Plan." In Louisiana, however, it was somewhat modified and combined with features borrowed from the old Ku-Klux Klan. The scheme of the Democrats was well conceived, for if they could by their acts of violence overcome the Republican majorities in those five counties they could carry the state. The only alternative for the Republicans who controlled the state government would, they thought, be to throw out the returns of the five counties entirely, and in that event the Democrats would also win the election. The returning board, composed of Republicans, was authorized by law to count and tabulate the votes and reject those from the precincts where the election had been vitiated by fraud or violence, and by this authority the board threw out the five bulldozed parishes, which left the Democrats a majority; but it also threw out a number of precincts in other parishes, so that the Republicans had a majority on the final count. The action of the board was undoubtedly legal, but it was violently assailed as wicked and corrupt by the Democrats. In a moral point of view the defeat of the Democratic scheme for carrying the state by terrorizing the Republican voters in five of the strongest Republican parishes was certainly justifiable.

When the Democrats saw that they had lost South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and that Hayes would have a majority of one in the electoral count, they attempted to set up a bogus electoral college in Oregon. Five thousand dollars were sent out from New York to pay expenses, and more money was promised if the plot succeeded. Governor Grover, a Democrat, making himself the judge of the qualifications of the Oregon electors, decided that one of them was not competent, and commissioned the defeated Democratic candidate, named Cronin, in his place. Cronin held an elect-

oral college by himself, appointed two other Democrats to fill vacancies, and sent on a pretended return to Washington.

The Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives and the Republicans in the Senate, and there was a deadlock for a time over the question of the powers of the two houses concerning the electoral count. The Democrats held that if one house should reject a return it could not be counted, while the Republicans took the ground that a concurrence of both houses was necessary for the disfranchisement of a state, or the rejection of any part of its vote. It was also maintained by many Republicans, though not by all, that the president of the Senate was empowered by the Constitution to count the returns, and that the two houses were only present in joint convention as official witnesses. This opinion had the support of the authority of many of the framers of the Constitution, and it was beyond dispute that the returns of all the early presidential elections were counted in this way. Fortunately, a compromise was reached and a bill was passed, providing that all returns objected to by either house should be referred to a commission composed of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the supreme court, and that the decisions of the commission should stand unless overturned by the concurrent vote of both houses. With few exceptions the leading men of both parties united in this compromise. It was considered a patriotic thing to allay public excitement and avoid the growing danger of civil war by submitting the whole controversy to a judicial settlement. In the organization of the tribunal the representatives from the two houses of Congress were evenly divided between the two parties. Two of the supreme court justices selected had Republican antecedents and two Democratic, and the choice of the fifth justice was left to these four. The Democrats supposed that their choice would fall upon Justice Davis of Illinois, but Davis was elected to the Senate by the legislature of his state, and having thus stepped down from the bench into party politics, was not available. Justice Bradley of New Jersey was therefore selected. The questions before the tribunal were argued for weeks by

some of the ablest lawyers in the country. On divisions the vote invariably stood eight to seven, the eight Republicans voting together, and the seven Democrats showing equal solidity. The Republicans took the ground that Congress had no right to go back of the regular formal returns of any state, to take up questions concerning frauds in elections or counts. The Democrats abandoned for a time, in their extreme party necessity, their old state rights doctrine, and contended that Congress could set aside the regular returns and investigate the facts on which they were based. The adoption of this theory would have resulted in making presidential elections useless, because no disputed election could ever be settled in the interval between the meetings of the electoral colleges in December and the time for the inauguration of the new President on the 4th of March. Either party could prolong an investigation till after March 4th, and thus enable the Senate to place its presiding officer in the presidential chair.

The decisions of the commission made Rutherford B. Hayes President of the United States, giving him a majority of one electoral vote over Samuel J. Tilden. There was much menacing talk among the Democrats for a time about inaugurating Tilden and supporting him with the militia of the states

having Democratic governors. The House of Representatives passed resolutions declaring Tilden to be the lawfully elected President. An attempt was made by the Democrats of that body to filibuster so as to consume the time till noon on the 4th of March, and thus prevent the completion of the count. This scheme would have been carried out had it not been for the opposition of many of the Southern Democrats, who showed much more moderation and patriotism at this juncture than did their brethren at the North. The count was completed just in time, and Hayes was duly inaugurated without opposition. For years afterward, however, indeed up to the present time, it has been the fashion of the Democrats to denounce the Electoral Commission for which their own party leaders were as much responsible as those of the Republican party, and to stigmatize Mr. Hayes as a fraudulent President. Mr. Hayes's title, legally and morally, was just as clear as that of any President who ever occupied the White House. He had a majority of the electoral votes legally returned and legally counted, and if a fair election had been permitted in the South by the rifle clubs and bulldozing organizations he would have had a large majority of the popular vote.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESIDENT HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SOUTHERN QUESTION—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

President Grant went out of office with a great many opponents in his own party and a great many devoted friends. His administration failed to keep the Republican party united, but perhaps it was too strong and its majorities too large for harmony to prevail. It seems to be a law of parties that when one greatly overtops the other for a series of years it begins to crumble. If it has the binding force of principle, however, the disintegration only throws off some of the surface material, and ceases when it is brought down to about the size of the opposing party. The mistakes President Grant made in regard to persons and policy will hardly

be remembered in history, and need not be dwelt on here. Future generations will think of only two things in connection with his eight years in the White House, and both will be regarded as bright and enduring honors worthily added to his great military fame—that he held the country firmly up to the results of the war, and that he stood like a rock to stem the current of the paper money inflation mania. To the title of victor over the Rebellion which he won at Appomattox may truthfully be added that of defender of the public credit and protector of the principle of equal rights for all citizens.

When Mr. Hayes entered upon the duties of the presidential office, rival state governments existed in South Carolina and Louisiana. The Florida imbroglio had been settled by the action of the state supreme court. In South Carolina the Republicans claimed to have elected Governor Chamberlain by the same vote which chose the presidential electors. The Democrats claimed that Wade Hampton was lawfully elected. Each party had inaugurated its governor, and each had a legislature in session—the Republicans in the state house, protected by a force of United States troops, the Democrats in a building hired for the purpose. After a delay of over a month, which was unfortunate because irritating to the public mind both North and South, the President ordered the troops to withdraw from the state house, and the Chamberlain government instantly ceased to exist. The Hampton government took possession of the state house without opposition, admitted a portion of the members of the Republican legislature, and, professing an intention to forget the past and to treat all citizens fairly, assumed complete control of the state.

In Louisiana the condition of things was more complicated than in South Carolina. The Republicans, under Governor Packard, had a complete state government installed in the state house in New Orleans, but it could not make its authority respected in the state, and was actually a close prisoner in the capitol building. The Democrats, under Governor Nichols, ran a government in Odd Fellows' Hall, and having a large force of well-disciplined white militia at their command, were able to enforce their authority. With their troops and with the police of New Orleans they so overawed the Republican officials, legislators, and guards that they did not venture to cross an imaginary line drawn through the middle of the streets surrounding the state house. In a building adjoining the state house a regiment of United States troops was quartered, and a passage was opened between the two structures so that the soldiers could go to the assistance of Governor Packard in case of an attack. Throughout the state the Democrats had displaced the Republican local officials chosen at the fall election, and thus controlled the judiciary

and the county offices in all the parishes except those in the sugar-planting region, where the blacks were in an overwhelming majority. A few unprincipled colored men went back and forth between the two legislatures, making a quorum in whatever body they appeared. President Hayes sent a commission to New Orleans to effect a compromise if possible. Its members were Judge Lawrence of Illinois, General Hawley of Connecticut, Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania, Judge Harlan of Kentucky, and ex-Governor Brown of Tennessee. It was finally arranged that the Nichols government should be allowed to go on, that a legislature should be made up of the two conflicting organizations, that the troops should be withdrawn from protecting Packard, and that no prosecutions for political reasons should be commenced against Republicans. Governor Packard did not assent to these terms. Seeing that he could not sustain himself, he abandoned the state house, and the Nichols government moved in. The Democrats soon broke faith by beginning criminal suits against members of the returning board, for the purpose, as was generally reported, of forcing the administration to give them control of the New Orleans custom house patronage. The state supreme court finally put a stop to these proceedings. The senate at Washington admitted Kellogg, the senator chosen by the Packard legislature, thus virtually recognizing the legality of the Packard government, but in the case of South Carolina it seated Butler, whom the Democratic legislature had chosen, while still in a fragmentary and illegal condition. This was done as a compromise, but two years later the Democrats sought to unseat Kellogg, and were only prevented by three or four Southern senators breaking away from the party caucus and sustaining Kellogg on the ground that this case was *res adjudicata*.

President Hayes's action in the South Carolina and Louisiana affairs gave rise to severe criticism and active opposition in the Republican party. A portion of the Republicans calling themselves "Stalwarts" insisted that the titles of Chamberlain and Packard were just as good as that of Mr. Hayes, and should have been defended with the whole power of the government, if necessary. Another element be-

lieved that the experiment of sustaining Southern government with Federal bayonets had failed to produce order, prosperity, and security of the civil rights of the negroes, and that the only course left was to let the Southern States alone to manage their own affairs. Whatever might be the legal and moral title of Packard and Chamberlain, this latter class argued, it was impolitic to sustain with armed force authority which could not make itself respected. This class hoped that the policy of noninterference would soon lead to the division of the Southern whites, to the blotting out of the color line in Southern politics, and to the growth of a new Republican organization, composed of both whites and blacks. They were encouraged in this belief by the statements of many prominent Southern men, who said, "Give us home rule, and the feeling of intolerance toward the Republican party will cease." Twenty years have passed since then, and the hope of a division in the "Solid South" has not been verified. No Southern state has been carried against the Democrats since 1876 at any presidential election. Opposition to the Democratic party in that section is still regarded as in some sort treason to the interests of the South, as though the South were not a component part of the United States, but a political entity separate and apart. No opposition is now made to the negroes voting as they please, but the counting and return of the votes are in the hands of the Democratic officials, and public opinion, so far as it is shaped by the respectable white classes, justifies any fraud that is necessary to wipe out Republican majorities.

Besides the Southern question there came up another issue upon which Republicans disagreed. An agitation began during President Grant's administration for a reform in the civil service. Grant yielded to it so far as to create a commission which prescribed rules for the examination of candidates for office. The movement went beyond this, and demanded that appointments should not be made as a reward for party service; that the public offices should not be dispensed by senators and congressmen to their followers and favorites, and that public officials should not employ their time in managing

caucuses and conventions, and in working for the success of candidates. The Cincinnati platform promised this sort of reform, and President Hayes believed in it. He attempted to carry it out by disregarding, when he saw fit, the recommendations of senators and representatives concerning appointments and removals in their states or districts, and by issuing an order commanding office-holders to refrain from taking part in caucuses, conventions, and other forms of party work. On the one side it was held that this policy weakened the party organization and deprived the officials of their rights as citizens to take an active part in politics; on the other it was maintained that the policy was a good one, tending to elevate politics and to release the party from the rule of cliques of office-holders, who organized "machines" to override the will of a large majority of the voters. The ideas of the civil service reformers were afterwards adopted during President Arthur's administration, so far as they were applicable to the departments at Washington and the principal custom-houses and postoffices, and a law was passed by the votes of a majority of both parties in Congress to give them effect.

The dissensions above referred to so weakened the Republican party that in 1877 it lost several of the states it had carried in 1876. Time and good sense soon healed them in a large measure, however. The Republican party recovered its compactness in 1878, in the defense of the Specie Payment Act against the assaults of the Democrats. It was powerfully aided, too, by an exposure made by the *New York Tribune* of a secret correspondence in cipher, carried on during the winter of 1876-77 between Mr. Tilden's nephew Pelton and other confidential friends in New York and certain agents sent out to capture the electoral vote of the States of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. The employment of corrupt means to bribe electors or returning authorities in those states was plainly shown by these dispatches. The disposition of some Republicans to think Mr. Tilden might possibly have been fairly elected and unjustly kept out of the Presidency vanished when the means adopted by his close friends to secure him the office were thus exposed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—THE ELECTION LAWS—DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPT TO COERCE THE EXECUTIVE.

The act of 1875 providing for a return to specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, was a Republican measure, and for four years was defended by the Republicans against the attacks of the Democrats. A few Western Republicans joined in these attacks, and a few Eastern Democrats helped repulse them; but the great mass of one party favored the redemption of the greenback notes in coin, and the great mass of the other wanted the law repealed. Many Democrats embraced the notion of "flat money," asserting that the government by its fiat can make absolute money out of paper or any other valueless material. Gold and silver money was a relic of barbarism, they declared; to use valuable metals for currency when paper, which cost next to nothing, would answer the purpose much better, being wasteful and foolish. These deluded people wanted all the greenbacks and the national bank notes retired and replaced by a new kind of government notes, bearing no promise to pay on their faces, but simply declaring themselves to be money of different denominations. These notes were to be issued in quantities sufficient "to meet the wants of trade," and were never to be redeemed.

As the time fixed for resumption drew near, the clamor against the law increased. Every business failure was ascribed by the Democratic press in the West and South to the effect of the act, and the speedy ruin of the business of the country was predicted. John Sherman, who, as Secretary of the Treasury, made careful preparation for resumption, and opposed any postponement of the date, was a special target for criticism and abuse. Specie payments were resumed on the day appointed by law, without the slightest shock or disturbance to business interests. Industrial and commercial prosperity began to return to the country shortly afterward, and soon the wisdom of the Resumption Act was acknowledged by every one. Even the fanatical paper-money doctrinaires, who formed a party by themselves, because the Democrats did not go far

enough in the direction of repudiation and inflation to satisfy them, ceased to demand in their platforms the repeal of the law. Like the former inflationists in the Democratic party, they came down to a demand for the retirement of bank-notes and the substitution of greenbacks for them.

In the Congress which closed March 4, 1879, the Democrats controlled the House and the Republicans the Senate. The Democrats sought to accomplish the repeal of the Federal election laws in spite of the opposition of both the Senate and the President. These laws were passed in 1870, after an investigation of the gigantic frauds perpetrated in the City of New York at the election of 1868. They were always objectionable to the Democrats, theoretically because they conflicted with their traditional views about state rights, and practically because they prevented the repetition of the frauds of 1868 for the benefit of the Democratic party. The Republicans defended the laws because of their demonstrated utility in securing fair elections, and because they were based on the sound constitutional principle of the right of Congress to regulate elections that are national in their character. The Democrats tacked a section repealing the election laws upon a general appropriation bill. They also placed on the Army Appropriation Bill a section prohibiting the use of troops at elections to keep the peace or suppress riots. Rather than abandon these "riders" they let the bills fail, and forced an extra session of Congress.

In the new Congress the Democrats controlled both houses, and had only the President to grapple with. Mr. Hayes resolved to defend the election laws with his veto power. As for the matter of troops at the polls, he exposed the issue as a factitious one, showing that there were already ample provisions of law forbidding the use of troops for political purposes. He refused to abandon for the executive the right to enforce obedience to law, with the military arm if necessary, at places where elections were held, as well as elsewhere. So the issue was joined. The



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Democrats threatened to break down the government by leaving it without means to exist if the President did not yield. Mr. Hayes stood firm, and answered them by a series of vetoes directed against their measures, which maintained, by arguments of remarkable force and clearness, the supremacy of the nation in all matters of national concern, and the independence of the executive from congressional dictation. Baffled at every point in the long struggle, the Democrats finally yielded and passed all the

appropriations except the one providing for the payment of the United States marshals. They declared, however, that they would renew the contest at the next session, but the fall elections were against them, and they did not resume hostilities in the session which began December, 1879. Only a remnant of the controversy was preserved in a proviso, which they put upon an appropriation bill at the close of the session, prohibiting the payment of deputy marshals for services at elections.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1880—NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

The idea of electing General Grant in 1880 for a third term was in the minds of many prominent Republicans from the day he left the White House. Most of these men had favored his nomination in 1876, but considerable feeling arose in the country against a third term, and to assure the people that the party did not meditate conferring upon Grant greater honors than Washington had received, several Republican state conventions passed resolutions in 1875, declaring that they were opposed to the election of any President for more than two terms. General Grant went abroad in 1877 and spent two years in foreign travel, making the circuit of the globe and visiting nearly all the great nations of the earth. He was received, wherever he went, with honors such as are only accorded to reigning monarchs. Regarded as the representative of the great American republic and the most distinguished of military chieftains, rulers and people everywhere made his journey a succession of brilliant official and popular demonstrations. These remarkable honors were almost as flattering to his countrymen as to himself, and served to keep his name and fame fresh in their minds. Before he returned to the United States, in the fall of 1879, it was plain that a strong movement would be made to secure his nomination. With characteristic reticence he neither assented nor objected to this movement, but remained perfectly passive. Most of the politicians who had held positions under his administration naturally desired his return to

power, and there was besides a considerable body of Republicans who had not been office-holders and did not expect to be, who believed he would be the most popular candidate the party could nominate, and urged his candidacy on the ground of expediency. His most prominent supporters were the three influential senators from New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois—Conkling, Cameron, and Logan. The Southern Republicans were almost unanimous in his favor. A considerable majority of the Northern Republicans opposed his nomination, however, because they believed it would be a violation of the tradition of two terms only, and a step toward personal government. Besides, they thought it would furnish the Democrats with a popular issue—opposition to a third term—on which the Republicans would be placed in the position of defending an innovation upon a safe, conservative, long-established custom. The discussion of the question of nominating Grant began in earnest in December, 1879, and lasted without intermission until the national convention met at Chicago on the 10th of June following. Most of the anti-third-term men supported Senator James G. Blaine of Maine, the most popular of the Republican leaders. A considerable number favored the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman of Ohio, making his excellent record as a Republican and his brilliant success in the resumption of specie payments the ground for their choice. Senator Geo. F. Edmunds of Vermont had the backing of his own state and of Massa-

chusetts; Elihu B. Washburne, ex-minister to Paris, had a small Western following, and Senator William Windom of Minnesota was supported by that state. Neither candidate had votes enough to nominate him. The first ballot in the convention stood: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburn, 30; Windom, 10. On the second ballot one vote was given to General Garfield of Ohio, and on most of the subsequent ballots during the first day's voting he had two. The above figures were pretty closely preserved for thirty-three ballots. The Grant men could have controlled the nomination if they had been willing to drop their candidate and take up a new man, but they stuck to the ex-President with absolute fidelity. Both the Blaine men and the Sherman men were equally devoted to their leaders. The deadlock was finally brought to an end by the Wisconsin delegation voting for Garfield on the thirty-fourth ballot, against his protest. As the leader of the Ohio delegation, Garfield was a supporter of Sherman, and he objected to being put in an apparent attitude of willingness to abandon the Ohio candidate. On the next ballot, however, Indiana followed Ohio, and on the thirty-sixth ballot nearly the whole body of anti-third term men swung into line for Garfield, giving him the nomination by the following vote: Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Blaine, 42; Sherman, 3; Washburne, 5. The result was a fortunate one. General Garfield was acceptable to all the elements in the convention, and the whole party dropped at once all former causes of difference and rallied to his support. Chester A. Arthur of New York, an earnest Grant man, was nominated for the Vice Presidency, with a view of making the ticket represent both wings of the party lately engaged in a contest over the question of Grant's candidacy. The vote was: Arthur, 468; Washburne, 193; Jewell, 44; Maynard, 30; Bruce, 8. General Arthur's experience as chairman of the New York Republican state committee made him peculiarly available, and his prominence as a Grant man rendered him specially acceptable to the element which had before controlled Republican politics in New York. The ticket was instantly indorsed by the entire Republican press and by men of all shades of Republican opinion.

By a happy inspiration the convention selected, instead of the obscure man of only local fame who usually comes out of such close contests with the nomination, one of the best known, most trusted, and ablest of the national leaders of the Republican party. At the same time it secured a man with extraordinary elements of personal popularity in his career—a man who rose from the ranks of toil, who gained the means for his education at the carpenter's bench and on the tow-path of a canal, who served with distinguished bravery in the war, and who had won his way, by pure merit and honest effort, to the highest walks of statesmanship and scholarly culture.

The Democratic national convention met at Cincinnati on the 22d of June. The party had been suffering from the standing candidacy of Samuel J. Tilden, who had a claim upon the nomination based on the assertion of the Democratic leaders and newspapers that he was elected in 1876 and defrauded of the office. He personified the "fraud issue," and it was manifestly impossible for the party to make that issue prominent without making him its candidate. Mr. Tilden wrote a letter just before the convention assembled, declining in terms the nomination. The letter presented, however, in a masterly manner, the arguments in favor of his candidacy, and was generally regarded as intended to strengthen his chances for the nomination. On the first ballot the delegates scattered their votes as follows: Hancock, 171; Bayard, 153½; Field, 65; Morrison, 62; Hendricks, 49½; Thurman, 68½; Payne, 31; Tilden, 38; Ewing, 10; Seymour, 8; scattering, 28.

After this ballot the convention adjourned until the next day, and during the night the opponents of Tilden managed to combine upon General Hancock, who was nominated next morning. The second ballot stood: Hancock, 319; Randall, 129½; Bayard, 113; Field, 65½; Thurman, 30; Hendricks, 31; English, 19; Tilden, 6; scattering, 3. Changes were made before the vote was announced which nominated Hancock, he having 705 votes to Hendricks 30, Bayard 2, and Tilden 1.

Hancock had been the standing candidate, since 1868, of those Democrats who wanted to repeat the McClellan experiment with a better soldier than McClellan.

A national Greenback convention met in Chicago, June 11th, and nominated J. B. Weaver of Iowa for President and E. J. Chambers of Texas for Vice President.

The early part of the campaign was rather quiet. The Republicans talked most of the continued solidity of the states which had engaged in the Rebellion as a standing menace to the results of the war and also to the principles of free government, since in those states no opposition to the rule of the Democratic party could get a foothold by reason of the intense hostility of the property-holding classes to all other forms of political organization. Much less impression was made on the public mind, however, by the Southern issue than by the tariff question, which did not get fairly into the canvass until after the Democrats, in alliance with the Greenbackers, carried Maine at the state election in August. Certain letters of General Hancock, published about this time, showing a curious lack of knowledge of the tariff question, aided the Republicans to bring the issue of free trade or protection to American industries prominently before the country. In the Democratic platform an explicit declaration in favor of a tariff for revenue only had been inserted to please the South. The Republicans boldly took up the question, and made effective use of it by showing just what the result of the abandonment of the protective policy would be to the manufacturing interests of the country. They did not rest content with a general discussion of the matter, but brought the issue straight home to the mechanics and operatives in every town, showing them by figures that could not be controverted what the effect of the Democratic policy would be on their own earnings. The Democrats had supposed that their tariff-for-revenue-only plank would strengthen them in the critical State of Indiana, which with Ohio voted for state officers in October, but the contrary proved to be the case, for the Republicans were enabled to organize a strong uniformed corps, called the Knights of Labor, with detachments in every town, which made manifest its protest against the proposed blow to American industry by torchlight parades and military exercises, and did excellent campaign work.

The supporters of General Grant had felt a good deal chagrined at the defeat of their candidate at Chicago, and at one time it was feared they would

not enter heartily into the work of the campaign, but their candidate set them an example which brought them out of their lethargy. In August General Grant appeared on the stump in Ohio in support of General Garfield, and he afterwards delivered a number of short speeches at different places in both the East and the West. At the same time Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, Grant's most conspicuous supporter, took the field. The canvass at once became active, and the Republicans rapidly gained ground. They carried Indiana and Ohio at the October election, though not without a strenuous effort, and by so doing practically settled the result in November. Just before the November election an unscrupulous effort to defeat General Garfield was made through the agency of a small daily newspaper in New York called *Truth*. This paper published a forged letter, engraved in imitation of Garfield's handwriting, in which he was made to take ground in favor of importation of Chinese cheap labor. The Democratic committee sent out electrotype plates of this false letter to large numbers of newspapers of their party, so as to secure its publication in all parts of the country. The rascality of the whole affair was promptly exposed by the Republicans, but the Democratic press professed to believe the letter genuine until after the election, and it undoubtedly took thousands of votes away from the Republicans. California and Nevada were lost to them by reason of it, there not being time enough before the election to give effect to the denials of the authenticity of the document at such a distance. The success of the Republicans on the national field was, however, decisive. General Garfield had a majority of 59 electoral votes, the result being, Garfield, 214; Hancock, 155. The popular vote was very close, owing to the want of organization of the Republican party in the South, where proscription combined with election frauds made the canvass a one-sided affair. Garfield had a plurality over Hancock of only 7,018. The vote stood, Garfield, 4,449,053; Hancock, 4,442,035; Weaver, 307,306; scattering, 12,576, of which Neal Dow, the candidate of the Prohibitionists, received 10,305. To a considerable extent the result of the election was sectional in its character, since all the Southern States voted for Hancock and all the Northern States for Garfield except New Jersey, California, and Nevada.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD—HIS ASSASSINATION—VICE PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

General Garfield was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1881. He followed to some extent, in the formation of his cabinet, the example of Abraham Lincoln, inviting to it several prominent Republican leaders who had been defeated by him as candidates for the presidential nomination. Mr. Blaine, the leading candidate in the Chicago convention, as opposed to General Grant, was made Secretary of State, and the Treasury Department was assigned to William Windom of Minnesota, who had received a respectable vote in the convention. For the Interior Department, the new President selected Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, who had been governor of his state, and was, like Mr. Windom, a member of the Senate at the time of his appointment. For Postmaster General, Thomas L. James, who had managed with notable success the postoffice of the City of New York, was selected, and for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, son of the great President of that name, but himself a new man in national politics. The Attorney General was Wayne MacVeagh of Pennsylvania, an ardent advocate of civil service reform, and the Secretary of the Navy was an eminent Louisiana Republican, Wm. H. Hunt. The cabinet worked together harmoniously, but the feud between the two elements in the party, which had healed during the canvass by the efforts of General Grant, broke out afresh over the question of the Federal appointments in the State of New York. The Republicans of that state had long been divided into two factions known as "Stalwarts" and "Half-breeds," the former led by Senator Conkling, and the other without any definite leadership, but with a very strong array of voters. The Stalwarts believed in what was known as machine politics, which meant the close organization and strict discipline of the party, and the use of the public offices as patronage to reward party services and increase party efficiency. This faction had supported General Grant for the presidential nomination the year before, while the opposing faction had

rallied upon Mr. Blaine. President Garfield early provoked the antagonism of Mr. Conkling and his followers, by refusing to accede to the doctrine that the principal Federal offices in a state should be disposed of according to the pleasure of the senators representing that state without regard to the President's own views and preferences. The desire of the new President was to heal the dissensions in the State of New York, but he was not willing that Senator Conkling should practically exercise the appointing power, and exclude from office all those who belonged to the element which succeeded in the Chicago convention. In other words, President Garfield was naturally averse to a course of action which would ostracise the Republicans who had preferred him to General Grant for that nomination.

An open rupture was caused by the appointment of W. H. Robertson, one of the principal leaders of the anti-machine, or Half-breed, element in New York, to the collectorship of the port of New York. Prior to making this appointment, President Garfield had appointed to important positions in the state a number of Senator Conkling's friends. Mr. Conkling conceived that the appointment of Robertson was an act of hostility towards himself. He resigned his seat in the Senate, and was imitated by Mr. Platt, the other senator from New York. Both proceeded to Albany, where the legislature was in session, and sought a reelection, in order to obtain a vindication from their constituency as a new weapon to use in their fight with the President. The legislature, however, refused to send them back to Washington, and filled their places with other men.

Another cause of trouble to the Garfield administration came from the discovery of enormous frauds in carrying the mails in the new regions of the far West, on what were known as the "Star Routes." This designation is applied to mail routes where the service is performed on horseback or in stage-

coaches. By connivance between the contractors and certain officials in the Postoffice Department in Washington, large sums of money were unlawfully drawn from the treasury in payment for services not rendered. Contracts let for mail service once a week were expedited by the department and made daily contracts, and the rate of pay greatly increased. On some of these expedited routes the old weekly service was continued, while the contractors drew pay for pretended daily service. A few politicians who had been prominent in national affairs were interested in these contracts, and a great outcry was made against President Garfield by these men and their friends because of his determination to uncover the whole fraudulent business and bring to trial the guilty parties. Newspapers in Washington, owned by Star Route contractors and by a Postoffice Department official who had served their interest, were violent in their denunciations of the President and his cabinet. These two elements of opposition, namely, the Stalwart faction in New York, represented by Senator Conkling, and the Star Route contractors and their friends, made common cause against the President and his cabinet. President Garfield pursued the straightforward course he had marked out for himself with great determination, and without regard to the excitement and antagonism which raged around him.

Thus the first four months of the new administration passed away. The feeling of the politicians who had been disappointed in their expectations of controlling the patronage of the government grew more and more bitter, and their cause was zealously espoused by the Star Route ring, which had been cut off by the new Postmaster General from its most profitable relations with the treasury, and was threatened by legal proceedings, already begun, with serious penalties. Into the whirlpool of partisan strife and hatred at Washington there came a weak-minded, egotistical trifle, named Guiteau, who had led an adventurous and somewhat disreputable career, being by turns a small politician and a religious enthusiast. This conceited semi-lunatic applied for office, and being disappointed in his absurd ambition, conceived a violent hatred for Presi-

dent Garfield, which was fed to a flame by the articles he read in a Washington newspaper and by the talk of the Stalwart opponents of the administration. He bought a pistol, laid in wait in a railway depot, and when President Garfield was passing through to take the train for his summer resting-place, at Elberon, N. J., he fired at him and inflicted a deadly wound.

The stricken President languished for weeks in the White House at Washington, the victim of the doctors as well as of his cruel wound. The assassin's shot stilled at once the angry storm of partisan controversy, and the suffering President became the object of a sympathy which was world-wide; indeed, the history of mankind never before afforded the spectacle of a single individual attracting day by day the close and sympathetic attention of the entire civilized globe. Week after week the bulletins of his condition were read in every part of the world reached by telegraph. His recovery was from the first extremely doubtful, but his strong constitution long resisted the deadly effects of the wound. In September he was removed to Elberon, near Long Branch, in the desperate hope that the sea air might give him strength. There he died, on the 19th of September, 1881.

Vice President Arthur, who was called to the executive chair by this lamentable event, had been identified in his political career with the faction of New York Republicans led by Mr. Conkling. He was naturally an object of distrust and dislike to the element represented by General Garfield, and serious apprehensions were entertained that his administration of the government would widen the breach among Republicans, and ultimately lead to the destruction of the party. Mr. Arthur appreciated the delicacy of his situation, however, and cautiously avoided any action which would further identify him with the enemies of the dead President. He made very few changes at first in the public offices, but, after a few months, the members of the Garfield cabinet dropped out one by one, from the feeling that they were out of place, until but one remained, the Secretary of War. The state elections of 1881 were carried by the Republicans without much difficulty, on the strength of

the feeling of sorrow over the death of Garfield. In 1882, however, the party suffered severe reverses, losing most of the close states in the North. The most significant result of the contest of that year was in the State of New York. Here President Arthur had influenced the nomination of a personal friend, Judge Folger, for governor. The feeling got abroad that the administration had interfered to control the nominating convention, and that the friends of the late President had, in consequence, been pushed to the wall. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the Republican ticket; Judge Folger being beaten by 192,854 majority.

After this rude experience President Arthur ceased to concern himself actively with state politics, and by quiet, dignified, and conservative management of the duties of his office, succeeded little by little in winning the respect of both parties and the regard of his own. He adopted as a rule of practice the views of the Civil Service Reformers, that public offices should be held during the good behavior of the incumbent, and should not be dispensed by senators and representatives in Congress as political patronage. A Civil Service Commission was created by act of Congress, to recommend, after competitive

examination, candidates for positions in the departments at Washington and in the principal post-offices and custom houses of the country. This system worked well, and quietly and with little agitation effected a revolution in the public service. President Arthur's appointments to the higher offices which became vacant during his administration were, as a rule, notably sagacious, and his administration was characterized by an administrative and businesslike tendency. The old factional feuds which distracted the party largely disappeared under the wholesome influence of time. The rather colorless and inactive administration of Mr. Arthur proved to be wise and salutary for the good of the country, producing an unusual degree of harmony and good feeling.

President Arthur retired from office with the respect of his political opponents and the good will of all members of his own party. His administration happily disappointed those Republicans who feared that it would favor factional politics and a return to the spoils system of apportioning public offices among personal adherents and in payment of partisan service.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884—NOMINATION OF BLAINE AND LOGAN.

The Republican national convention for 1884 assembled on June 3d, in Chicago—a city where the party had already chosen three successful candidates for the Presidency, Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield. Public opinion in the party was unusually slow in manifesting decided preferences for candidates prior to the meeting of the convention. It was not until March and April that the question began to be actively canvassed throughout the country. Then it was evident that James G. Blaine had lost nothing of the great popularity which in 1876 and again in 1880 had given him a strength among the Republican voters greater than that of any other candidate, and lacking but a few votes in the conventions of those years of the number necessary for a

nomination. Mr. Blaine had been wholly out of public life since he retired from the cabinet a few weeks after the death of President Garfield, and had been devoting his time to writing a history of Congress during the eventful twenty years of his service at the capital. His retirement had prevented him from taking part in the discussion of public measures, and from appearing in his old position of a party leader, and was therefore a crucial test of the strength and endurance of his hold on the respect and affection of the Republican masses. No man who had not deeply impressed himself upon the current of his times, and upon the hearts of the people, could go through an ordeal of three years' seclusion without a loss of prestige and popularity that

would be fatal to any chances he might have of a presidential nomination. The event proved that Mr. Blaine had gained instead of lost political strength since he laid down the portfolio of the State Department. Without any effort in his own behalf he obtained the support of a very large majority of the delegates to the national convention from the Republican states, and he received 334½ votes on the first ballot.

Mr. Blaine's chief competitor for the nomination was President Arthur, who obtained the almost solid support of the Southern States, to which was added a considerable part of the vote of his own State of New York. The weakness of Mr. Arthur's candidacy lay in the fact, that, outside of New York and of a few scattering votes from other Northern States, his delegates represented states which could render no aid in the election of the Republican nominee. The Southern States were still under the political domination of the leaders of the late Rebellion, and with the exception of Virginia, where the Democrats had divided into two factions, not one of them could be placed in the list of probable Republican states. Furthermore, Mr. Arthur's candidacy assumed an official rather than a popular phase, his conspicuous supporters being for the most part Federal officeholders, save in the City of New York, where his prudent administration had won for him the indorsement of many prominent business men. Mr. Arthur's first and highest vote was 278.

The third candidate in relative strength in the balloting was Senator Edmunds of Vermont, who at the start was supported by 93 delegates, chiefly from Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York. Senator John A. Logan of Illinois was the candidate of his own state, receiving with some outside help 63½ votes on the first ballot. Senator Hawley of Connecticut had 13 votes; Senator Sherman of Ohio, 30; Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War, a son of Abraham Lincoln, who was much talked of by the press a few months before as a possible strong candidate, received 4, and the retired general of the army, W. T. Sherman, was given 2 votes, in spite of his repeated refusals to allow his name to be used. It is an interesting fact that of the eight candidates voted for, only one, Mr. Blaine, held no official position at

the time. One was President, four were United States senators, one was a cabinet minister, and one a general on the retired list. The result of the balloting is shown in the following table:

CANDIDATES.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.	Fourth Ballot.
Blaine.....	334½	349	375	539
Arthur.....	278	276	274	207
Edmunds.....	93	85	53	33
Logan.....	63½	61	69	.....
Hawley.....	13	13	13	7
John Sherman.....	30	28	25	15
Lincoln.....	4	4	8	15
W. T. Sherman.....	2	2	2	2

In the convention of 1876 Mr. Blaine was defeated by a combination of all the other candidates. In 1880 General Grant's solid forces stood in the way of his nomination, and he threw his own support to General Garfield, and thus won a victory in the person of his friend. In the convention of 1884 he was too strong to be beaten by any combination or to be compelled to retire in favor of any weaker candidate. His nomination was a triumph of positive, practical statesmanship in domestic affairs, and of a courageous, intelligent Americanism in the relations of the United States with other nations.

The supporters of General Logan went over in a body to Mr. Blaine on the fourth ballot. After this it was only natural that the friendly feelings always entertained by the Blaine men for the Illinois senator should take the direction of a determination to place him on the ticket for Vice President. The convention took a recess until evening, after the nomination for President had been consummated, and when it reassembled the enthusiasm for Logan swept away all opposition. He was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 779 votes to 6 for Gresham of Indiana, 3 for Fairchild of Wisconsin, and 1 for Foraker of Ohio. General Logan's gallant war record, his strong hold on the affections of the former soldiers of the Union armies, and his long, conspicuous, and honorable career in both houses of Congress made his nomination a peculiarly fortunate one.

The platform upon which the Republican party undertook its eighth national canvass was not made up of glittering generalities, but dealt explicitly with the living questions of the times. It reaffirmed the consistent policy of the party in regard to pro-

tection for American industry. It favored the regulation of railway corporations. It opposed Chinese immigration, and indorsed the eight-hour system for labor. It pledged the party to sustain and extend the civil service reform principles which it introduced. It demanded the reservation of the public lands for small holdings of actual settlers, and the forfeiture of lapsed land grants where there had been no attempt in good faith to comply with their conditions. It pledged the party to place all pensioners on an equal footing by repealing the limitation of the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all pensions might date back to the time of the disability or discharge. It demanded the restoration of the navy to its old strength and efficiency. It asserted that appointments to offices in the territories should be

made from *bona fide* citizens and residents. It demanded the suppression of polygamy in Utah. It reaffirmed the cardinal Republican doctrine that the United States constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of states, and that it is the duty of the nation to secure to all its citizens the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The convention met on Tuesday, June 3d, and adjourned late on the evening of Friday, June 6th. It was harmonious and enthusiastic. Its ticket was probably the first choice of a larger number of Republican voters than any that had been put in the field since the first nomination of General Grant in 1868.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884—NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF CLEVELAND AND HENDRICKS BY THE DEMOCRATS.

Prior to the Republican convention the minor political parties of the country put their tickets in the field. On May 14th the Anti-Monopoly party held a convention at Chicago, and nominated Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts for President. On May 27th and 28th the National Greenback party met at Indianapolis, and nominated General Butler for President and Absalom M. West of Mississippi for Vice President. General Butler had been for several years prior to these nominations acting with the Democratic party, and he continued to do so until after the national Democratic convention, which assembled at Chicago on July 8th. In that body he was a conspicuous delegate. A national convention of the Prohibition party, an organization with the single aim of stopping the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages by State and Federal legislation, was held at Pittsburg on July 23d and 24th, and nominated ex-Gov. John P. St. John of Kansas for President and William Daniel of Maryland for Vice President. An element of humor was given to the campaign by the nomination of a lady lawyer of Washington, Mrs. Belva Lock-

wood, for President by a convention of Woman Suffragists.

On the 8th of July the Democratic national convention assembled at Chicago. It was in session four days. A strong sentiment existed in the party in favor of the nomination of the old ticket of 1876—Tilden and Hendricks; but Mr. Tilden was already at an advanced age and in precarious health, and the active workers of the party were not disposed to take the risks of his early death in case of his election. In the convention all preferences and prejudices finally gave way to the conviction that success at the election would not be possible without the vote of New York, and that the presidential nominee must be selected with the sole view to his chances of carrying that state. Grover Cleveland was at that time in the gubernatorial chair of New York, where he had exhibited considerable independence of character and some disposition to favor civil service reform. It was believed that he could command the votes of a small Republican faction that had already begun to show dissatisfaction with the nominations of Blaine and Logan. Only two bal-

lots were had in the convention. The first resulted as follows: Grover Cleveland, 392; Thomas F. Bayard, 170; Joseph McDonald, 56; Samuel J. Randall, 78; Allen G. Thurman, 88; John G. Carlisle, 27; George Hoadly, 3; Thomas A. Hendricks, 1; Samuel J. Tilden, 1; Roswell P. Flower, 4. On the second ballot Cleveland was nominated by the following vote: Cleveland, 683; Bayard, 81½; Hendricks, 45½; Thurman, 4; Randall, 4; McDonald, 2. Thomas A. Hendricks was at once nominated for Vice President by acclamation.

A peculiar movement gathered force in the State of New York, always the hot-bed of factional politics, the purpose of which was to defeat Blaine and Logan, and elect Cleveland and Hendricks by the aid of Republican votes. The persons concerned in this movement were men of intelligence, good social standing, and unquestionable sincerity, who did not like the Republican ticket, and claimed that it did not come up to the standard they wished their party to set up. They called themselves Independent Republicans, but the public soon invented another name for them, and they speedily became known as Mugwumps. They held a conference in New York on June 16th, at which a resolution drawn by Carl Schurz was adopted opposing Blaine and Logan on the ground that those candidates "had been named in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the nation, and that they represented political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed." On July 22d, a second conference of the Mugwumps was held in New York, which resulted in their pledging themselves to the support of the Democratic ticket. The Mugwumps were few in number, but they were a thorn in the side of the great Republican party during the campaign, and unquestionably brought about its defeat at the election by diverting from its ticket several thousand votes in the State of New York. Three influential papers in New York City aided this movement, the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, and *Harper's Weekly*.

The campaign opened rather tamely, and ran along at first on a very low plane. The Democrats raised no issue of principle with their opponents. Their platform was largely made up of sonorous but nonexplicit charges of extravagance and corruption,

and of a demand for a change in the national administration. When it came to the assertion of anything positive in relation to national policy, it only reiterated ideas that the Republican party had been insisting on for many years, such as a "free ballot and a fair count," the reduction of taxation and government expenditures, the building up of American commerce, an American continental policy and a vigorous foreign policy, the latter two declarations being audaciously appropriated from Mr. Blaine himself, having especially characterized his management of the State Department under President Garfield. The Democratic press and platform speakers devoted most of their efforts to assaults upon Mr. Blaine personally, reviving charges made and met in 1876, that he had in the early part of his career in Congress received certain railroad bonds in return for services rendered by him to the road issuing them. On the other hand, the Republican newspapers and orators attacked Mr. Cleveland's private character, producing evidence to show that he was the father of an illegitimate child, and that he had treated the mother harshly.

In September Mr. Blaine himself lifted the canvass out of the mire of personal abuse by taking the stump in Ohio, Indiana, New York, Michigan, and West Virginia, and discussing the old Whig and Republican principle of protection to American labor by tariff laws. General Butler and Governor St. John also went upon the stump. The first of the state elections was that in Vermont, where the vote was light and the Republican victory not significant. Maine, a close state, was hotly contested and was handsomely won by the Republicans. Later in October, Ohio became the national battle-ground, and here, too, the Republicans were victorious. There was no trace in the election returns of any Mugwump defection in that state. Both parties now concentrated their efforts on New York. It was evident that the vote of that state would decide the presidential contest. The election was close and the result was in doubt for some days afterward, until the returns from the country districts were all in. On the official canvass of the vote it turned out that Cleveland had a plurality over Blaine of 1,047. The vote stood, Cleveland, 563,048; Blaine, 562,001; St.

John, 25,001; Butler, 17,002. The St. John Prohibition vote was nearly all drawn from the Republican party; the Butler vote was probably taken in about equal proportion from the Republicans and Democrats. It was estimated that about 10,000 Republicans were influenced by the Mugwump newspapers to vote for Cleveland. A considerable Irish Catholic vote appeared at one time to be ready to detach itself from the Democratic party and go for Blaine on the ground of personal liking, but in the last days of the canvass the Democrats were enabled to hold this vote by making the most of an unfortunate utterance by Rev. Dr. Burchard, at a reception of a delegation of Protestant ministers by Mr. Blaine. Mr. Burchard, the spokesman of the delegation, in a speech referred to the Democracy as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," which greatly angered the Catholics.

The result of the election in the country at large was to give Cleveland and Hendricks 219 electoral votes and Blaine and Logan 182; a majority for the Democratic ticket of 37 in the electoral college. The vote in detail was as follows:

For Cleveland and Hendricks—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 7; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 16; New Jersey, 9; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 13; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6.

For Blaine and Logan—California, 8; Colorado, 3; Illinois, 22; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 9; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 7; Nebraska, 5; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; Wisconsin, 11.

The popular vote was as close in proportion to its magnitude as was the vote in the State of New York. It stood:

Cleveland and Hendricks.....	4,911,017
Blaine and Logan.....	4,848,334
Democratic plurality.....	62,683

The vote for the Butler ticket was 133,825, and for the St. John ticket, 151,809.

The Mugwump movement was hardly felt outside of the State of New York and adjacent districts in Connecticut and New Jersey. In New York it was mainly confined to the city, to Brooklyn, and to the Hudson river counties. An examination of the electoral vote will show that the whole strength of Cleveland and Hendricks came from the former slave states with the addition of four Northern States, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. All the states which engaged in the Rebellion voted for the Democratic candidates, and also all the other slave states which did not by official action secede from the Union. All the states which voted for Blaine and Logan were Northern States, and among the Northern States were those which were most devoted to the Union cause.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION — THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER.

The term of President Cleveland's administration was not an eventful period in American politics. The Democrats had a fair working majority in the House of Representatives, but the Republicans controlled the Senate. No new policy was announced at the outset by the new President. His party was restive at first under his lead, because he declined to make a clean sweep of the Republican office-holders. As governor of the State of New York he had been an advocate of civil service reform, and was fully

committed by his messages and other public utterances to the principle that experienced and meritorious officials should not be removed to make places for politicians of the successful party. This principle was not accepted by the masses of the Democratic party, or by any great number of its leaders, and Mr. Cleveland was persuaded gradually to abandon his civil service ground. Finding he could not bring his party up to his position, he partially fell back to that of his party. He made one



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Twenty-first President of the United States

notable advance, however, on the practice of all previous Democratic administrations, in allowing most of the holders of presidential appointments to serve out their four years' term before supplanting them with Democrats. If he had insisted on this rule for the officers under the control of the heads of the executive departments, a much greater progress would have been made towards the establishment of a good civil service system; but while he was refusing to remove officials without cause prior to the expiration of their terms, the members of his cabinet, and notably the Postmaster General, were engaged in making sweeping removals without check or reproof. Changes in the higher offices went steadily forward with the evident purpose of leaving no Republicans in place at the close of the President's term. By the 1st of May, 1888, after the administration had been a little more than three years in power, out of 2,359 presidential postmasters in office March 4, 1885, over 2,000 had been replaced by Democrats, while the Postmaster General had changed more than 40,000 of the 52,000 employees of his department. At this rate another year of administration would complete the work. The essence of the civil service idea, as advocated by President Cleveland while governor of New York, was, that experienced and efficient men should be retained in the public service, without regard to their political opinions or to the desire of the active adherents of a successful party to secure such places for themselves or their followers. This idea was persistently violated during the whole course of the Cleveland administration, and the public service suffered accordingly. In the Postoffice Department, especially, which comes in direct contact with all the people, there was a marked falling off in the standard of efficiency developed during the long period of Republican management. Growing dissatisfaction was expressed all over the country at the increasing inefficiency of this important branch of the public service, which became more and more noticeable as experienced men were forced to give way to new appointees, often of very limited intelligence.

In the Western States and Territories much antagonism toward the administration was aroused by the action of the General Land Office at Washing-

ton, in harassing settlers on homestead and preëmption claims, by withholding patents, cancelling claims for trivial reasons in an arbitrary manner, and sending special agents throughout the country to spy out alleged or real delinquencies on the part of *bona fide* settlers to comply with all the exacting rules of the Land Office. After two years of maladministration of this branch of the government the commissioner was forced to resign, and his successor adopted a more reasonable policy.

In its foreign negotiations the administration was not successful. It made a treaty with Great Britain for the settlement of the Canadian Fisheries question, which was denounced as a surrender of the rights of American fishermen under the treaty of 1818, the maritime legislation of 1830, and the settled principles of the comity of nations, and which the Senate refused to confirm. Another cause of unpopularity was the attitude of the administration towards the ex-soldiers who fought to save the Union. During the first year of his term President Cleveland vetoed, often in rather flippant and contemptuous language, a large number of special pension bills. The old soldiers were impressed with the idea that the President and his party had no particular sympathy for them. This idea was strengthened when an order was issued from the War Department that all the flags in possession of the department captured from Rebel troops during the Rebellion by the Union armies should be presented to the states to which the regiments belonged which lost them. This order caused such an outcry of indignation from the posts of the powerful and nonpartisan order called the Grand Army of the Republic, composed exclusively of former Union soldiers, that it was speedily disowned by the administration, and the responsibility for it sought to be fixed upon a subordinate officer of the War Department. The feeling aroused by this blundering order was kept alive to some extent by the continual displacement of old soldiers in the civil service by men who had opposed the cause of the Union during the war.

Up to December, 1887, the administration had not settled upon any definite line of policy for the Democratic party to form upon for the next national contest. Civil service principles had been abandoned.

An effort to forfeit the land grants to Western railroads had come to nothing. There was a large surplus in the treasury, but nothing had been done towards stimulating American commerce, furnishing the country with an efficient navy, or defending the seaboard cities with modern fortifications. The government drifted along comfortably in a time of general business prosperity, without much activity or any originality. Midway of his term, President Cleveland, who had been a bachelor, married a young and attractive girl, and made a tour of the South and West with his wife. His marriage seemed for a time to make him personally popular, or, at all events, to cause the public to feel some interest in his personality. When Congress met in December, 1887, he surprised it and the country with a message that was an abrupt departure from all precedents. Instead of discussing the general work of the administration and recommending legislation on various subjects, Mr. Cleveland devoted the whole document to an argument for an immediate and sweeping reduction of the tariff on foreign goods. This message was plainly designed to throw the question of a revenue tariff as against a protective tariff into the approaching presidential campaign, as the dominant issue between the two great parties, and to commit the Democratic party to an attack on the long-established protective policy inherited by the Republicans from the old Whig party and never successfully assailed in Congress since 1861. It had precisely this effect. A bill was prepared by the Ways and Means Committee of the House, known as the Mills bill, from the name of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Mills of Texas, which made heavy reductions in the existing duties on wool, iron, lumber, and many other staples of American manufacture protected by the old tariff rates. In spite of the protests of the Democratic members from Pennsylvania, and other manufacturing states of the East, this bill was made

a party measure. It was actively opposed by the Republicans, and the discussions over it occupied much of the long session of Congress during the following winter, spring, and early summer. The Republicans took the ground that the treasury surplus should be reduced by the abolition of the internal revenue tax on tobacco and the reduction of tariff dues on foreign articles, not luxuries and not made in the United States; but that any considerable reduction in the tariff on the chief products of American labor would strike a severe blow at the wages of such labor, and tend to bring them down to the low European rates. The old question of a tariff for revenue or a tariff for protecting American labor, which divided the Democratic and Whig parties before the Civil War, was thus raised afresh, and became, as President Cleveland wished to make it, the absorbing issue of the campaign of 1888. In the course of the long debates on the Mills bill, the Democrats argued that the tariff increased the cost of clothing, blankets, and other necessities of life, to the great detriment of the farmers and other working classes, and the Republicans exhibited such articles, with the prices attached, comparing the prices with those prevailing in the period of low tariffs before the war and with prices now prevailing in Europe, to prove that the prices of protected manufactures are lower than ever before in this country, and as a rule, as low as goods of equal merit can be bought in Europe. The Democrats maintained that protective tariffs increase prices for the sole benefit of manufacturers and other capitalists, and do not affect wages, while the Republicans insisted that such tariffs do not increase prices of common necessities, but do greatly benefit the working classes by increasing the compensation of labor. Thus the issue clearly joined in Congress before the presidential campaign opened.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1888.

There was no organized or open opposition in the Democratic party to the renomination of President Cleveland in 1888. Suggestions of other candidates by a few newspapers not friendly to him met with no favorable response from the masses of the party, and although he could not be said to be personally well liked by the leading politicians, who regarded him as too conservative, too stubborn, and not enough of a partisan, they were afraid to try the experiment of another candidate. Success seemed better assured, they thought, with him than with any other prominent Democrat who might have a chance for the nomination if he should be set aside. The Democratic national convention was held at St. Louis June 5th, 6th, and 7th, and its delegates were elected with the universal understanding that no name would be presented to the convention to head the ticket but that of Cleveland. The convention was an uninteresting affair. Cleveland was nominated by acclamation. For the Vice Presidency a number of prominent men had been favorably mentioned in the newspapers. The current Democratic opinion was that this place should be filled by a candidate who could do something to help carry the election in the doubtful State of Indiana. With this view the Indiana delegation presented the name of Governor Gray; but a movement for ex-Senator Thurman of Ohio gained ground with great rapidity, and carried the convention by storm. Thurman was nominated on the first ballot by an overwhelming majority. He represented the traditions, ideas, and prejudices of the Democratic masses as Cleveland did not. Long a member of the United States Senate, during the years when the amendments to the Constitution to secure the fruits of the war were adopted, and the legislation enacted which reconstructed the rebellious states, gave to the colored people suffrage and civil rights, and restored the finances of the country to a sound, specie-paying basis, Judge Thurman had been a consistent reactionist and a typical Bourbon. A man of vigorous intellect, of remarkable powers

as a debater, and of strong and attractive personality, he had been while in the Senate the recognized leader of his party. Retired for some years to private life, and advanced in age, he was summoned by the St. Louis convention to take the vice presidential nomination because he was beloved by his party, and his party thought it could afford to gratify its predilections in his nomination for the inferior place on its ticket, if it dared not do so for the Presidency. No doubt four-fifths, at least, of the delegates would have preferred Thurman to Cleveland for President if they had believed him equally available.

The St. Louis platform was significant only in one of its planks—the anti-tariff resolution. The South and West shaped this plank to accord with President Cleveland's free trade message, overriding the wishes of Eastern delegates representing constituencies having interests closely identified with the system of protection. Absolute free trade was not demanded, but the heavy reduction of duties advocated would amount practically to the same thing, for American manufactures in many important lines would be driven by such a reduction from American markets and cheaper European goods imported to take their place. Indeed, the avowed object of the lower duties proposed by Cleveland in his message, and by the Democratic convention in its platform, was to force down the prices of goods made in the United States by encouraging importations from abroad of like goods. The raw material being as cheap in this country as in any other, it follows that a reduction in prices must be made by reducing the wages of labor.

The Republican national convention assembled at Chicago on Tuesday, June 19th. A few months before it met the nomination of James G. Blaine to be again the standard-bearer of the party appeared certain. As in 1884, he was evidently the hearty choice of a large majority of the party, and the antagonism of a comparatively small minority seemed

to have diminished. Actuated by a belief that some other candidate less conspicuous and of less positive character would be more available, Mr. Blaine, who was traveling in Europe, wrote a letter from Florence declining to be a candidate before the convention. Many of his ardent supporters refused to regard this letter as conclusive, and continued to advocate his nomination, asserting that if he should be nominated with a marked degree of unanimity he would not feel at liberty to disobey the behest of his party. On May 17th Mr. Blaine wrote a second letter, dated at Paris, in which he insisted that his former letter should be taken as an unconditional withdrawal of his name from the national convention, and said that if he should then, by speech or silence, by commission or omission, permit his name, in any event, to come before the convention, he would incur the reproach of being uncandid with men who had always been candid with him, referring to the friends of other candidates who had brought them forward in the belief that he was entirely out of the field. Even after this explicit and manly letter the delegation from California insisted on presenting Mr. Blaine's name to the convention. News of this action reached Mr. Blaine in Scotland, and he sent two telegrams earnestly requesting his friends to respect his wishes and to refrain from voting for him.

A number of eminent and excellent candidates were brought forward as soon as Mr. Blaine's Florence letter was published, but there was no strong drift of preference in favor of any one of them, and the action of the convention could not possibly be forecast. The nominations formally made to the convention were as follows:

Senator John Sherman of Ohio, one of the most eminent survivors of the "old guard" that first formed the Republican party, who was supported unanimously by his own state and very largely by the delegates from the South; Gen. Russell A. Alger of Michigan, a former soldier and a conspicuous man in the business and public life of his state; Senator Wm. B. Allison of Iowa, long prominent, first as a representative and later as a senator from that state; Chauncey M. Depew, president of the New York Central Railroad, and a brilliant popular orator and able lawyer; Gen. Benjamin Harrison of

Indiana, a United States Senator, whose grandfather, Wm. Henry Harrison, was elected President of the United States by the Whigs in the remarkable contest of 1840, and whose great grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, a judge of the Federal Circuit Court, and formerly a member of President Arthur's cabinet; Jeremiah M. Rusk, governor of Wisconsin; Edward H. Fitler, mayor of Philadelphia; and James G. Blaine of Maine, by the California delegation, in the face of his repeated refusal to be a candidate. During the balloting several other names were voted for. The only one which seemed to have possible significance was that of William McKinley, a veteran congressman from Ohio. Mr. McKinley, who was supporting Sherman with the Ohio delegation, declined to assent to the use of his name. The balloting began on Friday and did not reach a conclusion until Monday, when General Harrison of Indiana was nominated by a large majority. The following was the result of the several ballots:

CANDIDATES.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.	Fourth Ballot.	Fifth Ballot.	Sixth Ballot.	Seventh Ballot.	Eighth Ballot.
Sherman.....	229	249	244	235	224	244	231	111
Harrison.....	84	91	95	217	213	231	278	544
Alger.....	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
Allison.....	72	75	87	88	99	73	76	.....
Gresham.....	109	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
Depew.....	99	99	91	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Blaine.....	35	38	33	42	48	40	15	5
McKinley.....	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
Fitler.....	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Foraker.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	1	.....
Haymond.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Ingalls.....	28	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Phelps.....	26	18	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rusk.....	25	20	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hawley.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lincoln.....	3	2	2	1	.....	.....	1	1
Miller.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Frederick D. Grant.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....

The nomination of General Harrison was immediately made unanimous with much enthusiasm, and the convention proceeded to vote for Vice President. The nominations were William Walter Phelps of New Jersey, long an active member of Congress; Levi P. Morton of New York, late minister to France and an eminent banker; William O. Bradley of Kentucky, who in 1887 made a brilliant canvass for the governorship of that state; and ex-Senator Bruce of Mississippi. Only one ballot was taken, resulting: Morton, 591; Phelps, 119; Bradley, 103; Bruce, 2; Walter J. Thomas, 1.

The convention adjourned well satisfied with its work. It was singularly free from combinations prepared in advance, and from intrigues and bargains arranged during its proceedings. Its choice for both the places on its ticket was a matter of judgment, after sessions prolonged from Tuesday to the following Monday, which gave the delegates ample time for discussing the comparative strength and weakness of the numerous candidates presented for their votes. The strength of the ticket was at once recognized. Harrison's historic name, his gallant record in the Civil War, where he rose from a lieutenant to a brigadier-general, his abilities as a lawyer, and his successful career in the Senate, gave him the best qualifications for a successful presidential candidate. Mr. Morton's popularity in New York, and his reputation as a diplomat and a financier, made his nomination a peculiarly wise one.

The convention made a platform that was outspoken and explicit on all important national questions. It condemned the suppression of the ballot in the South; declared in favor of the American

system of protection, and protested against its proposed destruction in the interest of Europe by the President and his party; opposed the introduction of alien contract labor and Chinese labor; declared in favor of reserving the public lands for homesteads; demanded the immediate admission of South Dakota and the passage of acts enabling the people of North Dakota, Washington, and Montana to form state governments; favored the use of both gold and silver as money and the reduction of letter-postage to one cent; recommended action by Congress to rehabilitate the American merchant marine, to build a navy, and construct coast defenses; condemned the administration for its weak and unpatriotic foreign policy; demanded the continuance of civil service reform; favored liberal pension laws, and denounced President Cleveland for his numerous vetoes of pension bills; and finally invited the coöperation of all workingmen, whose prosperity was seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the administration.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ELECTION OF HARRISON AND MORTON—THE HARRISON ADMINISTRATION.

The Republicans had the advantage in 1888 of making an aggressive campaign. They were the attacking party, and their opponents were put on the defensive throughout the canvass. The errors of the Democrats in administration and in legislation and attempts at legislation furnished them with abundant ammunition for their assault. They made the tariff question a dominant issue, and here they were fortunate in the open antagonism of President Cleveland to the protective policy under which the country had grown great and prosperous. Cleveland showed a degree of courage unusual with men in high public position, in taking positive grounds on a question upon which his party was by no means united. The Democrats of the West and South had always been for a revenue tariff looking to ultimate free trade, but the Democrats of the New England States, of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and of the nu-

merous manufacturing towns and villages in the great pivotal State of New York were almost as unqualified protectionists as the Republicans themselves. No doubt Cleveland carried the great bulk of his party with him in his frank expressions of hostility to the protective system, but he gravely alarmed many thousands of faithful Democrats in localities directly benefited by the old tariff duties. While the Republicans argued that protection was a great national issue, these Democrats did not need convincing that it was at least a local issue touching their own pockets, and their votes helped to lose the fight for the national ticket of their party.

A second cause of the defeat of the Democrats in 1888 was the accumulated disappointments and dislikes which form a load which every candidate for reelection to the Presidency must carry. In Mr. Cleveland's case this was not lightened by per-

sonal magnetism. He did not attach men to him by traits of good fellowship. He was a dignified chief executive, giving careful attention to public business, but the working politicians of his party found him cold and distant and not disposed to yield his own opinions as to appointments to their wishes. The result of the campaign was a rather easy victory for Harrison and Morton. All the states which went into the Rebellion and all others that formerly held slaves, voted for Cleveland and Thurman; in fact, there was nowhere in those states a healthful, free political contest, except in the old border states, whose proximity to the North has caused them to be somewhat permeated by Northern ideas. In the rest of the so-called "Solid South" a free ballot and a fair count were nowhere expected or obtained by the Republicans. In that region the Republican party was, as always since the enfranchisement of the negroes, made up of colored men, with a sprinkling of whites; and the consolidated power of the wealth, intelligence, and political experience of the white population made it impossible for these elements, no matter how numerous, to make themselves felt in affecting the result of elections. All Presidential campaigns since the Civil War have been conducted by the Democrats on the calculation that the entire electoral vote of the South is assured them in advance, no matter what ticket may be nominated, and that the contest must be so shaped as to add to this enormous mass of assured strength just sufficient Northern States to make a majority in the electoral college. These campaigns resemble a game of billiards in which forty-five points out of a hundred are set off in advance for one of the players, leaving him only six more to make to win the game. Such is still the condition of the great national game of the Presidential election, and such it will probably continue to be until the generation which took part in the Rebellion for the maintenance of slavery shall have passed off the stage of action.

The only Northern States carried by Cleveland and Thurman were Connecticut and New Jersey. They received 168 electoral votes and Harrison and Morton received 233. The 36 electoral votes of New York turned the scale against the Democrats, as

they had turned it in their favor in 1884. Of the popular vote, Cleveland had 5,538,560, and Harrison 5,441,902, so that Cleveland was 96,658 ahead. A free expression of preference at the polls throughout the South would have produced a very different result. Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received 249,937 votes, and Streeter, the Labor Union candidate, 147,521 votes. Cowdry, United Labor candidate, got 2,808 votes, and 1,591 were cast for Curtis, the American candidate. An interesting comparison of percentages might be made. Thus Cleveland received in 1884 48.48 per cent of the total popular vote, and in 1888 48.63 per cent. In 1884 Blaine received 48.22 per cent of the popular vote, and in 1888 Harrison received 48.83 per cent.

President Harrison's administration was in many respects an eventful one. It was vigorous, pure, and patriotic. James G. Blaine, the most popular statesman in the Republican party, was placed at the head of the State Department, and given an opportunity to carry out the plans for the extension of the influence and trade of the United States on the American continent which he formulated during the short time he occupied the same post under President Garfield. At his invitation a congress of representatives of all the American republics met at Washington, and out of this notable gathering grew treaties and legislation which opened the markets of nearly all our sister republics to the chief products of our export trade under conditions of fair reciprocity. Similar reciprocity arrangements were made with the Spanish dependency of Cuba, and negotiations were opened with a commission created by the Canadian parliament. Through the efforts of our ministers to France and Germany, restrictions on the sale in those countries of American pork and lard were removed. Our foreign trade greatly increased as the result of these measures. A civil war broke out in Chili, and the rebel or congressional party was victorious over the government or presidential party. The diplomatic relations of our minister, Mr. Egan, had necessarily been with the established government, until it was overthrown by arms, and this circumstance led to a feeling of popular hostility toward the United States in the seaport City of Valparaiso, which

showed itself in a murderous and wholly unprovoked attack by a mob on a party of sailors who had landed from our man-of-war, the *Baltimore*. Several men were killed and others were wounded by the mob. Our government promptly demanded apologies and proper money indemnification for this outrage from the newly triumphant government at Santiago. Finally, after evasions and delays, when the Chileans saw we were in earnest and all preparations had been made for the dispatch of a strong naval force to Chilean waters, the required reparation was amply made. In this affair the administration had the patriotic support of Democrats as well as Republicans in Congress. A dispute about the seal fisheries in Behring sea arose as a result of the fitting out in British Columbia of numerous small vessels to fish for seals in the open sea, intercepting the animals on their way to their breeding grounds on islands owned by the United States. The claim of the right of the United States to protect the seals from extermination was strongly insisted upon by Secretary Blaine and was disputed by Great Britain. Our government dispatched war vessels to Behring Sea to protect the seals by arresting the Canadian crafts, and the British ordered war vessels to the same locality, apparently to take sides with their poaching fishermen. At one time hostilities were apprehended, but the good sense of both governments led to the reference of the dispute to arbitration.

President Harrison's first Secretary of the Treasury was William Windom of Minnesota, an eminent financier, who had held the same post in the Garfield administration. On his death in 1890 he was succeeded by ex-Gov. Charles Foster of Ohio. The financial measures of the administration were of great importance. First, was a vigorous opposition to the cheap silver movement in Congress, which originated with the Democrats, but swept into its vortex many Republicans from the far Western States where silver mines are worked. Silver had become so lowered in value in comparison with gold, and consequently in its purchasing power in the markets of the world, that the standard bullion contained in the standard silver dollar was worth less than seventy cents. A clamor arose for free

coinage; that is to say, for a law to compel the government to take silver bullion to any amount offered, and deliver coined dollars in return on the basis of the weight of the present dollar. For seventy cents worth of silver the government was to give a coin with an enforced legal tender value of one dollar. The so-called free coinage movement, outside of the silver-producing states, was strongest in the debtor communities of the South and West, where crops had been bad, times were hard, and mortgages oppressive. The people of those communities imagined that if the currency was inflated with cheap silver times would improve, and they could pay off their debts with money of less value than that current when they were contracted. The same arguments were advanced for depreciated silver that were advanced for irredeemable greenbacks in the years following the war, and by the same kinds of people. An organization known as the Farmers' Alliance grew to formidable proportions both in the Southern and Western States, advocating free silver, and the establishment of sub-treasuries throughout the country, to loan government money to farmers at a low rate of interest on the collateral of wheat, corn, and other products deposited in bonded warehouses, or on real estate mortgages. This fantastic scheme was very attractive to men of limited intelligence, and much use was made of it by demagogues. President Harrison's administration took positive grounds against the free silver movement, and was supported by the great bulk of the Republicans in Congress. Steps were taken to secure an international conference on the silver question, with a view to the adoption of measures by the great commercial countries of the world to establish a new ratio between gold and silver coinage, in accordance with the present relative value of the two metals, and thus bring silver into general use as a standard of value and a basis for paper currency.

The most important financial measure of the Harrison administration was the codifying and simplifying of the whole body of tariff legislation by a single statute. This was undertaken by William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, a veteran member of Congress and a leading protectionist. This bill became

a law in October, 1890. It brought method and logic into the tariff system. Its guiding principles were, first, the admission free of articles not produced in the United States which are not luxuries, but are needed as raw material for our manufactures; and second, a duty on every article manufactured in the United States equivalent to the advantage the foreign manufacturer has by reason of cheap labor. It sought to put the American manufacturer on an equality with the foreigner without obliging him to cut down the earnings of his working people. One feature of the new law was vehemently assailed by the Democrats—the increased duty on tin plate. This was adopted for the purpose of developing a tin industry in this country on the basis of the tin ore discoveries in California and South Dakota, and it has since had that effect.

Unfortunately for the Republicans they were in the midst of the campaign of 1890 for the election of members of Congress at the time the McKinley bill was passed, and there was no time to see what its effects would be on the business of the country. Its provisions were much misrepresented and much misunderstood. The Farmers' Alliance assailed the

new law as well as the Democrats. In some districts the two parties combined to defeat the Republicans, and in others the defection of Republican farmers to the Alliance was large enough to give the Democrats the victory. The general result was that the Republicans lost the control of the House, the Democrats returning a very large majority of the members. Old and strong Republican states like Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas broke away from their Republican moorings and drifted into the new current of cheap money and free trade agitation. A reaction set in, however, before the new Congress convened in December, 1891. Good crops in the West weakened the influence of the Alliance, and in some localities there was a split between the Alliance itself and a new organization called the People's party, which held a convention at Cincinnati early in 1892. The unwieldy Democratic majority in the House of Representatives did not venture to pass a bill repealing the McKinley law, the benefits of which had by this time begun to be apparent, and blundered along with numerous propositions but no positive achievements in the direction of so-called tariff reform.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1892—NOMINATION OF HARRISON AND REID.

As the presidential campaign of 1892 drew near the thoughts of a large majority of the Republicans turned instinctively toward James G. Blaine as the candidate they most desired to put in the lead of their party in the approaching contest. His able administration of the State Department, his stalwart and wise Americanism and the success of the reciprocity provision which had been engrafted on the new tariff bill at his instance, had greatly strengthened him with the people generally, while his old admirers still held him in that affectionate and enthusiastic esteem which his original and magnetic personality had created in the earlier days of his career. In the winter of 1891-92 his health became somewhat impaired and he felt unwilling to undertake the task of leadership. In February he wrote

an explicit letter to Mr. Clarkson of Iowa, the chairman of the Republican national committee, declining to be a candidate for the nomination. The general thought of the party then turned to President Harrison, and for several weeks nobody else was talked of in connection with the nomination. Some of Mr. Blaine's most ardent friends refused to accept his refusal as final, and insisted that the wise policy was to go ahead and nominate him, trusting that his sense of public duty would compel him to accept a nomination tendered him in the face of his letter. Many of the prominent party leaders, however, did not approve of this course, and took ground in favor of conducting the campaign on the basis of an appeal to the nation for an indorsement of the wise and patriotic administration of President Harrison by

reelection to a second term of office. Against this course it was argued that it is always more difficult to reelect a President, no matter how successful his administration may have been, than to elect a new man, for the reason that every President necessarily disappoints at least ten men for every one that he appoints to office, and the ten, having nothing more to expect from him, become lukewarm and cannot be persuaded to work hard for his reelection. In other words, the offices being already filled with friends of the administration, those who have not been benefited by the former success of the incumbent of the White House have nothing to hope for. On the other side, it was urged that the prudent, dignified, and conservative course of Harrison had made him a host of new friends, especially among the business classes, whose support would more than offset any defection from disappointed office-seekers. No new candidate ventured to take the field against Harrison, except General Alger of Michigan, whose state instructed its delegation to vote for him. A number of states instructed for Harrison, and he had a strong support in nearly all the important uninstructed delegations.

The convention met at Minneapolis on the 7th of June. As soon as the delegates began to arrive it was manifest that there was going to be a formidable movement to nominate Mr. Blaine without any authority from him to place his name before the convention. The old Blaine enthusiasm, manifested at former conventions ever since 1876, broke out afresh, and for a time appeared strong enough to sweep away all opposition. Three days before the convention assembled Mr. Blaine resigned his position as Secretary of State and left Washington for his summer home at Bar Harbor, Me. His friends for the most part believed that their course in insisting on making him a candidate had strained the relations between him and the President so that he could no longer remain with comfort in the cabinet. His brief letter gave no ground for his unexpected course, nor did the President's curt acceptance of his resignation throw any light on the situation. His supporters at Minneapolis took his action as a tacit consent for them to push his candidacy in opposition to that of Mr. Harrison.

The convention met on Tuesday, but did not reach a ballot until Friday. On Wednesday the Harrison men held a caucus, and ascertained, that, in spite of the popular enthusiasm for Blaine, their candidate had a clear and undoubted majority of the delegates. They counted their forces carefully, and disciplined them so they felt sure of holding them firmly in hand for the final struggle. The Blaine leaders saw they were beaten, and when the momentous roll call of the states began late on Friday, they attempted a diversion in favor of Gov. William McKinley of Ohio, the president of the convention, whose ability and dignity in the chair and whose popularity as the foremost champion of a protective tariff made him exceedingly popular. The result was to divide the original Blaine strength pretty evenly between him and McKinley, without making any inroads on the forces of Harrison. A single ballot settled the contest. The Michigan delegation retired for consultation and abandoned their candidate. The vote stood as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	904	1-3
Necessary for a choice.....	453	
Benjamin Harrison.....	536	1-6
James G. Blaine.....	182	5-6
William McKinley, Jr.....	182	
Thomas B. Reed.....	4	
Robert T. Lincoln.....	3	

During the whole struggle no word was received from Mr. Blaine, either in approval or in disapproval of the course of his friends. The first message from him came the day after the nomination, in the form of a letter given to the public press, in which he urged all Republicans to give a hearty support to the nominees of the convention.

The Vice President was conceded to New York by universal consent, and the Harrison men on the delegation from that state selected Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune* and recently minister to France. He was nominated on Friday evening without opposition.

The platform, adopted without a division, as it came from the Committee on Resolutions, was long and comprehensive. It followed most Republican precedents in seeking to cover explicitly all important leading questions agitating the public mind. It was, in fact, too frank and too positive to meet the requirements of political expediency which formerly

controlled the utterances of national conventions. The Minneapolis platform evaded nothing and contained no ambiguous declarations. Its chief new feature was a positive indorsement of bimetallism, demanding "the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal." This was followed by an indorsement of the "steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world."

The tariff plank reaffirmed the American doctrine of protection, pointed to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, and declared that "all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

On the important question of a free ballot and a fair count the declaration was in these words:

"We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, his sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state."

The platform contained declarations in favor of the restoration of our mercantile marine, and the creation of a navy for the protection of national interests; more stringent laws to restrict pauper, crim-

inal, and contract immigration; legislation by Congress to better protect the lives of employes on railroads and in mines and factories; the extension of the free delivery branch of the postal system; the construction of the Nicaragua canal; civil service reform; the admission as states of the remaining territories; the cession to the states of the arid lands; the support of the World's Columbian Exposition; efforts to lessen the evils of intemperance; and the watchful care and recognition of the soldiers of the Union who saved the life of the nation. Other planks opposed any union between church and state, and censured the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The administration of President Harrison was heartily indorsed.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago on the 21st of June. Ex-President Grover Cleveland had long been the evident favorite of a large majority of the party, and was especially strong among the anti-protection Democrats of the West and South. He had many determined enemies in his party, however, among the active politicians who had not obtained satisfactory recognition and reward during his term in the White House. In the fall of 1891 Governor Hill of New York, then a United States senator-elect, began an active campaign against Cleveland, in which he was supported by the Tammany organization in that state. In the following winter Mr. Hill left the Senate, and made a tour of the South to forward his own candidacy for the presidential nomination. Having control of the party machinery in New York, he called the state convention in February, an unusually early date, and before the Cleveland men could make an effective resistance he had secured a solid delegation of his friends to Chicago. Another convention, popularly called the anti-snap convention, was subsequently held, in which only Cleveland's friends participated, and a full contesting delegation was appointed. In the meantime the controversy between the Cleveland and the anti-Cleveland elements spread over the entire country. In the West a new candidate appeared—Governor Boies of Iowa, who had been elected governor of that strong Republican state through a breaking down of old party lines, caused by the Prohibition and Farmers' Alli-



JAMES G. BLAINE

Republican Candidate for President in 1884

ance movements. Other candidates with some show of popularity were Governor Gray of Indiana and Senator Gorman of Maryland.

The long-established rule of the Democratic party is that a two-thirds vote shall be required to nominate in national conventions. Before the delegates assembled at Chicago there was no question as to Cleveland having a strong majority. The tactics of the Tammany chiefs, who led the fight against him, were, consequently, to scatter as many votes as possible on local favorites and thus hold more than a third of the body in opposition. If this could be accomplished they hoped to tire out the Cleveland forces and compel a compromise on Boies or some other candidate. They could not muster strength enough to carry out this scheme, and Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot. The vote stood:

Cleveland of New York.....	616½
Hill of New York.....	114
Boies of Iowa.....	103
Gorman of Maryland.....	30½
Stevenson of Illinois.....	16½
Carlisle of Kentucky.....	14
Morrison of Illinois.....	3
Campbell of Ohio.....	2
Whitney of New York.....	1
Pattison of Pennsylvania.....	1
Russell of Massachusetts.....	1

The opposition to Cleveland, in so far as it came from the East, grew wholly out of reminiscences of his partial adherence to civil service theories when he was President. He left many Republicans to serve out their terms in the postoffices instead of turning them all out at once to make places for Democrats, but as fast as official terms expired he filled all positions with men of his own party. The political spoilsmen did not like his methods. In the West and the South his opponents were the cheap silver men, who favored unlimited free coinage of the standard silver dollar.

An animated contest took place in the Chicago convention between the free traders and the qualified protectionists. The latter, led by Vilas and Dickinson, who were members of President Cleveland's cabinet, carried the committee on resolutions, and secured the reporting of a plank in the platform straddling the issue by denouncing the present tariff, declaring that all taxation should be for the needs of the government, and at the same time talking vaguely about recognizing the difference be-

tween the wages of labor here and abroad, disclaiming any purpose to injure domestic industries and saying, finally, that "many industries have come to rely on legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardless of the labor and capital thus involved." Upon this resolution the free traders, led by Neal of Ohio and Watterson of Kentucky, made a sharp attack as soon as the platform was presented to the convention, and they succeeded on a roll call, by a vote of 564 to 342, in knocking out the objectionable plank and inserting in its place the Democratic tariff plank of 1876, which read as follows:

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of a great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government honestly and economically administered."

This aggressive anti-protection resolution was followed in the platform by one antagonizing reciprocity, which is worth quoting in full as showing the difference on this important question between the position of the two parties. It read:

"Trade interchanges on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus products and to exchange them for commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people."

In other words, the Democratic national convention declared itself opposed to reciprocity with sugar-producing Cuba and coffee-producing Brazil unless accompanied with a like measure of free

trade with England and Germany, where all kinds of articles are manufactured by cheap labor in competition with our own industries.

The free silver men were almost as badly beaten at Chicago as at Minneapolis, the Chicago platform declaring in favor of the use as money of both gold and silver, and adding that "the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts."

This unqualified condemnation of the cheap silver craze, accompanied by a declaration that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in coin, if it stood alone, would be acceptable to every Republican and would be a square indorsement of old Republican doctrine on the money question; but unfortunately the Southern state rights men were allowed to insert a plank recommending the repeal of the prohibitory ten per cent tax on state bank issue. If carried into legislation this would flood the country with depreciated state bank bills and throw the business community back into the chaos of a paper circulation of varying and uncertain value in which it floundered before the adoption of the national banking system.

On other questions the Chicago platform was in the main a series of echoes of the Republican platform adopted at Minneapolis. In fact, the two documents were practically interchangeable on the admission of the territories, on pensions, on protection to employes, on the World's Fair, on the Nicaragua canal, on civil service reform, and on foreign pauper and criminal immigration. The concluding plank, however, was an exception. It read: "We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen." The meaning of this language must be taken to be that the Democracy opposed all laws restricting the liquor traffic.

For Vice President the convention nominated Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, formerly a member of Congress for one term and the first Assistant

Postmaster-General under Cleveland. In the latter position Stevenson threw discredit on Cleveland's civil service reform policy by removing without cause about 40,000 Republican country postmasters and appointing Democrats to their places. The ballot for Vice President resulted as follows: Stevenson of Illinois, 910; Gray of Indiana, 343; Mitchell of Wisconsin, 45; Morse of Massachusetts, 86; Watterson of Kentucky, 26; Cockran of New York, 5; Lambert Tree, 1; and Boies, 1. Gray was the candidate of the Cleveland managers.

The Prohibitionists held a national convention at Cincinnati on June 20th, and nominated for President, John Bidwell of California, and for Vice President, J. B. Cranfill of Texas. They made a miscellaneous platform, seeking to cover pretty much every question agitating the public mind, instead of sticking to the text of their single distinctive issue. Their prohibition plank demanded an entire suppression by both State and Federal legislation of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage. The convention was inharmonious, by reason of the attempt of its platform makers to cover the silver question, the tariff question, the railroad question, the labor question, and other issues on which Prohibitionists disagree.

A national convention, arranged for by previous assemblies at Cincinnati and St. Louis, met at Omaha on July 4th, and took the name of the People's party. It was the outgrowth of Farmers' Alliance movements in the West and South, and of various independent movements in different localities, all of which were more or less tinged with socialistic ideas. This convention was an enormous affair, being made up of nearly three thousand delegates. It nominated for President, James B. Weaver of Iowa, and for Vice President, J. G. Field of Virginia. Its platform began with an attack on the public debt, because it is payable in gold, on the bondholders, on capitalists, corporations, national banks and railroads, and was in essence a complaint of the debtor and moneyless classes against the thrifty, saving, property-holding class. Its specific demands were for the free coinage of silver at the

rate of sixteen to one of gold; for an abundant currency to be loaned to the people by the government through a multitude of sub-treasuries, and at a rate of not exceeding two per cent per annum; for government railroads and telegraphs; for a graduated

income tax; for postal savings banks; for the confiscation of all lands held by railroads and by aliens; for shorter hours of labor; for one term only for the President of the United States; and for the Australian ballot system.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ELECTION OF CLEVELAND AND STEVENSON—CAUSES OF THE REPUBLICAN DEFEAT IN 1892—CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

The most experienced and sagacious politicians in the Republican party felt that the renomination of Harrison was a mistake, just as the renomination of Cleveland had proven a Democratic mistake four years before. Unless a President is a man of exceptionally commanding personality, and possesses a peculiarly strong hold on the patriotic sentiment of the people on account of great services rendered the country,—a man, in a word, like Washington, Lincoln, or Grant,—he is always a weak candidate for reëlection. There are numerous reasons for this feature of our national politics. One is that a President, in his appointments to office, must of necessity disappoint about ten men on an average for every one whom he satisfies, and that, in consequence, while gaining one devoted adherent he converts ten former friends into unfriendly critics, if not into open opponents. Another is, that among the prominent leaders in his own party, and especially among those who by reason of holding seats in Congress claim the right to be consulted in matters of appointments and of party policy, there are sure to be a number who feel that they have not received the consideration their importance merits. Still another may be found in the disposition of many unthinking people to blame the head of the government for the depressions and disasters which periodically afflict the world of business. The period of hard times, which followed the great era of national development, of speculation, and of inflated values that characterized the decade of the eighties, and which culminated in the panic of 1893, had already begun in 1892 and produced widespread apprehension and discontent. The Democrats in their campaign efforts made the best use they could

of the condition of dullness and stringency prevailing in business circles. They especially directed their attacks at the McKinley tariff law, which they argued had built up a wall around the country, keeping out foreign goods, and thus restricting the market for our own agricultural products. The new duty on tin came in for their particular assault and derision. In many states their local committees equipped marching clubs with tin cups and workingmen's dinner pails, which were borne aloft on the ends of poles, while a rub-a-dub was kept up at the head of the line on big tin milk pans. The purpose was to make the ignorant believe that the Republicans had placed an oppressive and odious tax on these articles of common use among the poorer classes. The good effects of the tin plate tariff, in building up great manufactories and employing thousands of workingmen, had not yet been demonstrated as they were in after years.

President Harrison was not a man of much personal popularity. He had shown excellent qualities in the White House. He was conscientious, fair-minded, industrious, and patriotic. His appointments were good, and were not much controlled by his own personal preferences. He lacked what is called personal magnetism, however,—that subtle element of character which makes fast friends and draws adherents to a public man as the magnet does the flakes of steel. Impulsive men said that they felt as if they were in an icehouse when they called upon him. He was commonly spoken of as an icicle. Yet he was accessible to everybody who had any business to bring before him, and was simple and unostentatious in his tastes and habits. His "running mate," Whitelaw

Reid, gave no strength to the ticket, but was rather a load to carry. The trade union element made war upon him, because he had for many years employed nonunion labor in the printing office of the *New York Tribune*. He made peace with the typographical union in his district during the campaign, but this action was too evidently for political effect to cause the great organized labor element to relax its hostility.

The campaign lacked spirit and force on both sides. Both the presidential candidates were thoroughly known by the people; each had served a term in the White House; there was nothing new to be said about the personality or antecedents of either. Cleveland had made a prudent and conservative administration, and had convinced even the most apprehensive Republicans that the government could be in Democratic hands without the country going to ruin. Harrison's administration had been open to no attacks save those of ordinary partisanship. It had been businesslike, serious, and thoroughly patriotic. No mud-slinging was in order at either candidate. The usual forms of campaign activity were followed by both parties, but the contest was from the first a lethargic one. The Republicans were forced to take the defensive, because the question at issue was whether they should be continued in power. They defended the protective tariff system and the general high character of the Harrison administration, and attacked Cleveland with some effect among the old soldier element on account of his hostility to pensions during his former term in the Presidency. One result of the campaign was to convince the Republicans of the unwisdom of nominating a candidate by the votes of delegates in convention from states which can contribute no electoral votes. Harrison was nominated by the votes of the Southern delegations. All the Southern States went for Cleveland at the election. The South was just as solidly Democratic as it had been at every election since 1876, when the returning boards gave Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida to Hayes. Harrison received in the electoral college 145 votes, Cleveland 277, and Weaver, the Populist, who was adopted by the free silver element as its leader, 22. Harrison carried

the States of Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming. He received one of the three electoral votes of North Dakota, one of the nine votes of California, and under a new law in Michigan which provided that electors should be chosen by congressional districts, he lost five votes in that state to Cleveland. Cleveland carried all the Southern States and in the North the States of California, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois. He received one vote from North Dakota and five from Michigan, and lost one of the California votes. Weaver's 22 electoral votes came from Colorado, Kansas, Idaho, Nevada, and North Dakota, and were purely the result of the free silver craze in those states. The veteran Greenbacker, who used to preach unlimited issues of irredeemable paper money, was in a grotesque attitude as the leader of the white metal movement, but his followers were as crazy as he was, and did not see the absurdity of his position. Of the total popular vote Cleveland had 5,554,226, Harrison 5,175,202, Weaver 1,041,577, and Bidwell, Prohibitionist, 262,904. Cleveland's plurality was 379,025. The percentage of the popular vote received by the several candidates was as follows: Cleveland, 45.98; Harrison, 42.84; Weaver, 8.79; Bidwell, 2.19.

The Democrats now came into full possession of the national government. The Senate, after March 4, 1893, was Democratic, and in the new House the Democrats had a large majority. Mr. Cleveland entered the White House for the second time, however, under gloomy conditions. The causes which produced the defeat of Harrison made his administration unpopular. The gathering clouds of business depressions which had obscured the horizon in 1892, broke into a storm of disaster in 1893. Banks failed, factories closed, and thousands of business houses became insolvent. "You wanted a change," said the Republicans to the men who had voted for Cleveland the previous November; "now you've got it, and how do you like it?" Tens of thousands of working people were thrown out of employment by the closing of shops and factories, and the wages

of those who were so fortunate as to be kept at work were considerably reduced. Values of all sorts of property declined, money was locked up in Eastern banks, credits were curtailed, mortgages foreclosed and hard times settled down upon the land. Public opinion blamed the Democrats for this great and general calamity. That some degree of business depression and shrinkage was inevitable was admitted by all thoughtful Republicans, but they held that the crisis was greatly aggravated by the threat of the destruction of the protective tariff system involved in the success of the Democratic party.

In spite of the gloomy condition of the business world the Democrats in the House began their promised undertaking of destroying the Republican protective tariff as soon as the session which opened in December, 1893, was fairly in shape for work. The task was chiefly in the hands of Mr. Wilson of West Virginia, the new chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who undertook with zeal and sincerity to carry out the declaration of the national platform of his party that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only." In this effort Wilson was heartily backed up by the influence of President Cleveland. The so-called Wilson bill was pushed through the House against the vigorous opposition of the Republican minority led by ex-Speaker Reed of Maine. It was the most radical measure of tariff reduction ever passed through either house. It abolished about thirty-eight per cent of the duties previously paid, placed many important articles on the free list, and reduced the duties on large classes of manufactures and farm products from fifty to sixty per cent. The bill went to the Senate on February 1st and was held in that body until July 4th. A combination of three Democratic senators, Gorman of Maryland, Brice of Ohio, and Hill of New York was formed to defeat the central purpose of the Wilson bill and to preserve the essential principle of protection in the tariff schedules. This was denounced by the Democratic free traders as the "unholy triumvirate." Repeated conferences were held without avail. Cleveland wrote a letter to Wilson on July 2d de-

nouncing the Senate bill as "an abandonment of Democratic pledges," and as meaning "party perfidy and party dishonor." Nevertheless the Senate adhered to its bill, and forced the House to back down. Rather than see all tariff legislation defeated Mr. Wilson himself finally moved a concurrence in the amendments of the Senate. For the first time in thirty-four years the Democratic party succeeded in giving the country a tariff measure. The long agitation alarmed capital and added grievously to the unsettled condition of industry and the distress of labor. As finally enacted into law, and known as the Gorman-Wilson tariff, this measure was an abandonment of the Democratic platform principle of a tariff for revenue only and was essentially a measure of protection, although to a much less extent than the McKinley law.

An essential feature of the Democratic financial scheme was a tax on incomes to make up for the deficiency in revenue sure to be caused by the reduced tariff duties established by the Gorman-Wilson bill, and an income tax bill was accordingly passed against the solid opposition of the Republicans and in face of the general unpopularity of the measure in the country at large. The Cleveland administration set in motion the machinery for collecting this tax, but before much progress had been made the supreme court decided that the law was unconstitutional. It was then necessary to return all the money that had been paid into the collectors of internal revenue and to face the certainty of a considerable deficit in the treasury. The income tax scheme was perhaps the most notable fiasco of Cleveland's second term.

President Cleveland's treatment of the new republic of Hawaii caused a great deal of dissatisfaction in both parties. During the closing year of Harrison's administration a revolution occurred in that archipelago, led by the American element in the population, which deposed without bloodshed the corrupt and semi-barbarous native dynasty. During the brief period of disturbed condition in Honolulu marines were landed from a United States man-of-war to protect American residents. The provisional government hoisted an American flag, and announced a desire for annexation to the United

States. Cleveland recalled Minister Stevens at once, and dispatched a special commissioner, Mr. Blount, who ordered the American flag hauled down as soon as he reached Honolulu, and sent the American marines back to their ship. All the influence of the Washington government was exercised in favor of a restoration of Queen Liliuokalani, but the Hawaiian republicans elected a president, Mr. Dole, who proved to be a capable and resolute man, and who held his ground so that Mr. Cleveland was reduced at last to the alternative of breaking up a new and friendly republic by force or recognizing its rights as a nation. The deposed queen sent her daughter to Washington to put forth her persuasive powers at the White House. Public sentiment had by this time, however, disturbed the stolidity of Mr. Cleveland, and he did not venture to use force to undo the work of the Hawaiian republicans. The general view was that Cleveland's course in this important matter was the outcome of a hasty and ill-considered wish to antagonize what his predecessor had done in giving encouragement to the new government of the islands.

A notable incident of the Cleveland administration was the triumphant return to power of the Republicans in the House of Representatives as the result of the elections in 1894. Those elections expressed the general dissatisfaction felt by the country with the policy, or lack of policy, of the former Democratic majority in Congress in its treatment of the tariff issue and with the course of the administration. The Republican majority in the House which assembled in December, 1895, was greater than it had been at any time during their forty years of existence as a national party. Thomas B. Reed of Maine was reelected to the speakership which he had vacated in 1891. His reelection was a striking indorsement of the principle of parliamentary government by majorities, which he had vindicated against great opposition during his former term. In the Congress which began in December, 1889, the Republicans had a small majority in the House. The Democrats attempted to defeat important legislation proposed by the Republicans by resorting to filibustering—a term long used to designate the practice of preventing a vote being taken by making

repeated dilatory motions, and also by breaking up a quorum by refusing to answer to their names when a call of House was in progress. Filibustering had long been regarded as a legitimate weapon of a minority to secure a fair amount of time to discuss a measure which they opposed, but never before had a minority in any legislative body claimed it as their right to defeat the will of the majority by this method. Speaker Reed refused to put motions which were evidently made to obstruct legislation, and when members refused to vote whom he saw in the hall he directed that they should be counted to make a quorum. For this action he was denounced as a tyrant, and given the nickname of "The Czar." All the Democratic newspapers assailed him violently, and some of the professedly independent organs joined in the clamor. The position of the Democrats at the time was in substance the revolutionary one that the minority and not the majority should control the legislation of the House. In no single instance was there even an accusation that Speaker Reed refused to put any motion made in good faith. Every motion which he refused to put was one avowedly made merely for dilatory purposes. Every man whom he refused to recognize was a man who avowedly desired to speak simply for the purpose of creating delay and obstructing the action of the House. Those whom he counted as present actually were present. Indeed the last point of absurdity was reached when many men, including, for instance, Congressman (afterwards Governor) Flower, were loudly denouncing the speaker for counting them present at the very moment when they were addressing him at the tops of their voices and declaring themselves constructively absent. Later the supreme court of the United States decided that Mr. Reed was right in his position of counting a quorum, and the Democratic Fifty-third Congress adopted, in their substance, the rules which he had first promulgated to prevent the employment of dilatory tactics and improper delay and obstruction generally.

One act of Cleveland's second administration which gave rise to a great deal of hostile criticism among Democrats as well as among Republicans was the contract made by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, for the sale of bonds to protect the gold

reserve. In January, 1895, gold was steadily drawn from the treasury at the rate of two, three, and even four millions a day for the redemption of greenbacks, and a large part of the withdrawals were shipped to Europe. It became evident, that, if this process went on much longer, the government would be placed in the position of a bank that cannot redeem its notes. Congress failed to provide any way to meet the crisis, and President Cleveland, acting under authority of a former statute, authorized a contract to be made with two New York banking firms, August Belmont & Co., representing the Rothschilds of London, and J. P. Morgan & Co., representing J. S. Morgan & Co. of London, by which those firms agreed to purchase \$62,315,000 of four per cent bonds and pay for them at the rate of 104½ in gold. These bankers at once put the bonds on the market in both New York and London at 112½, thus making an immediate profit of eight cents on the dollar. The subscriptions for the bonds aggregated \$590,000,000 and the price ran up in the market to 120. It was very naturally held by the critics of the administration that the government should have placed the bonds upon the market and realized the enormous profits that were made by bankers and brokers.

By the time Congress met in December, 1895, the gold reserve had again been seriously reduced below its required minimum of \$100,000,000. The Republicans took the position, that, so long as the revenues of the government were not sufficient to meet its cur-

rent expenses, as had been the case since the enactment of the Wilson tariff law, the treasury would at all times be liable to be raided for gold, and that the main feature of any true remedy for this dangerous situation was to increase the income of the government. This they proposed to do by an emergency tariff bill, to remain in force three years. The silver men, who controlled a number of votes in the Senate and held a balance of power in that body, seriously proposed that the greenbacks should be redeemed in silver, a proceeding which would at once have brought down the whole volume of the currency to a silver basis. Futile debates on various propositions to supply the deficiency in revenue and protect the gold reserve occupied many weeks of the session. The emergency tariff bill was passed by the House, but the Senate substituted for it a bill for the free coinage of silver. The administration refused to make a second contract with the Morgan-Belmont syndicate to furnish gold to sustain the gold reserve, and advertised for a popular loan of \$100,000,000, which was promptly taken by the banks at a figure very much more favorable to the government than that paid by the syndicate for the previous issue. The net result of the whole financial muddle brought about by the reduction of tariff duties, the income tax fiasco, and the drain of gold from the treasury was to create a new debt of \$262,000,000 to pay the difference between the receipts and expenses of the government during Cleveland's second term.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896 — NOMINATION OF MCKINLEY AND HOBART.

The canvass for the Republican presidential nomination opened unusually early, and by the time Congress met in December, 1895, a number of candidates were placed in the field and their merits were much discussed by the newspapers of the country. It looked at first as if the leading candidate would be Thomas B. Reed of Maine, the speaker of the House of Representatives. His strong and original personality, his long eminence as a party leader, his

courage and good sense in putting down the old and vicious practice of filibustering in the House to defeat the will of the majority and thus prevent legislation, and the prominent position he occupied, which kept him constantly in the public view, gave him great advantages over other candidates. The Eastern and Southern States promised to be nearly solid for him, and he expected a strong reinforcement from the West. His chief competitor at the

beginning of the pre-convention canvass was William McKinley of Ohio, for fourteen years a member of Congress and four years governor of his state. Like Reed, Governor McKinley was a man of exceptional national prominence. He had been the most consistent, eloquent, and determined advocate in Congress of the principle of protection by tariff laws of American labor and business, and the McKinley bill had made his name a household word throughout the country. He had borne for a time the transient unpopularity of his tariff measure, confident of a reaction in public sentiment, and after the Republican defeat of 1892 he was the chief of a small group of Republican leaders who refused steadfastly to abandon the principle of ample tariff protection and to realign the party on other issues. He saw clearly that the Wilson tariff law would bring disaster to the business interests of the country. In the state and congressional campaigns of 1894 he developed immense power and popularity as a stump speaker, making the most remarkable canvass ever made by any public speaker in American political history. During that campaign he made speeches in eighteen states. On some days he delivered a dozen short addresses from the platform of a car or from improvised stands at railroad stations, besides delivering two or three formal addresses. In all his speeches his theme was the necessity of a protective tariff for the welfare of American workingmen and the prosperity of American business enterprise. He was everywhere accepted as the great apostle of the protective idea, and vast numbers of people flocked to hear him. That canvass made him a prominent presidential candidate, and gave him a large following in every part of the country. As the winter advanced it became evident that a popular wave was running for McKinley. He was not a favorite with the managing politicians of the Republican party, and it was currently believed that a project was formed at Washington to bring out a number of candidates, each of whom could at least control the delegation to the national convention from his own state, and then to unite these elements of opposition to McKinley at the convention. Whether such a combination was formed or not, a number of so-

called "favorite sons" were announced as candidates, and each appealed for support to his own state. The most formidable of these state candidates was Levi P. Morton of New York, on account of the heavy vote of that state, and also because of his eminence as Vice President in the Harrison administration and his enormous majority when elected governor of New York in 1894. Mr. Morton, however, was not able to develop any considerable strength in other states as the canvass went on. Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, a political leader and organizer of great ability, secured the devoted following of his own state, but made a very small figure in the general canvass for delegates. Senator William B. Allison of Iowa appeared at one time to have the elements of popularity and availability that would secure for him a large following in all the Western States, but the event demonstrated that against McKinley he was powerless outside of his own state. Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois announced himself as a candidate, and counted on the indorsement of his state, but at the Illinois state convention the McKinley men were in large majority, and Mr. Cullom disappeared from the list of competitors for the nomination. The same result happened in Minnesota, where Senator Cushman K. Davis was announced as a candidate. Senator Manderson of Nebraska withdrew before bringing the question to a test in the convention of that state. Each of these state candidates was of sufficient eminence as an experienced, able, and popular Republican leader to have secured, under ordinary conditions, not only his own state delegation but a considerable following from other states. The McKinley tidal wave swept them away. The force behind his wave was the determination of the masses of Republican voters to emphasize their desire for a return to thorough scientific protective tariff legislation by nominating for President the most faithful, intelligent, and conspicuous champion of the protection idea. Against this determination the personal popularity of other candidates and the ordinary methods of securing delegations were to a great degree futile.

During the winter and early spring the political signs of the times pointed to an easy victory for the

Republicans on the dominant issue of restoring a protective tariff, but before the assembling of the Republican convention at St. Louis, on June 16th, it became evident that the free silver movement had gained a great and unlooked-for strength among the Democratic masses in the West and South. State after state declared in its Democratic convention for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. This singular currency delusion had its original seat in the Rocky Mountain States which produce silver, and whose people have a direct interest in the scheme for giving them a coined legal tender dollar for an amount of silver bullion now worth about fifty cents in the markets of the world, but it spread widely throughout the Western and Southern States as a hard-times idea, looking to the payment of debts in a cheaper kind of money than the standard money of the country, which since the resumption of specie payments, in 1879, has been based on gold. In fact, the silver movement had assumed the dangerous phase of fanaticism, and the free coinage advocates everywhere asserted that all that was necessary to increase wages and bring about general business prosperity was for the government to start the mints at work coining the bullion of the silver mine owners into dollars as rapidly as possible. All the arguments used by the advocates of the greenback, or irredeemable paper money delusion, which raged in the seventies, were repeated by the free coinage speakers and writers. They made their appeals to the debtor classes, to mortgaged farmers, to embarrassed business men and to poorly paid wage-earners, seeking to inflame their prejudices against banks and all money-lenders and against the creditor communities of the East which furnish the capital for the development of the West.

The Republican party now realized that it would be forced in the coming campaign to contend with a new cheap money craze of serious proportions, and that the issue of a sound currency would have to go hand in hand with that of protection. As the party that had defended national solvency and honor against the fiat money movement of a quarter of a century ago, that had resumed specie payments and steadily maintained all the money of the coun-

try on a par in value with gold, there was no question as to what its attitude would be in this emergency. There were free silver men in its ranks still, but they were in a very small minority. The great mass of the party stood solid for sound money. The Democrats were divided on the question. President Cleveland stood as immovable as a rock for the existing gold standard. So did his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, and a large number of other national party leaders; but in spite of the appeals of these leaders to stand by the ancient Democratic doctrine, that all money should have the intrinsic value stamped upon it or be redeemable in coin of such value, it was evident that the cheap silver idea had undermined the party in the West and South, and was gaining ground in the East, and that it would dominate the Democratic national convention.

The grand council of the Republican party assembled in St. Louis on June 16th, in a vast auditorium constructed for the occasion, in which 15,000 people were comfortably seated. The convention was composed of 916 delegates. It closed its sessions on the evening of the 19th. A contest over the financial plank of the platform was led by Senator Teller of Colorado, and resulted in the tabling of his substitute for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one and the adoption of the committee's plank by a vote of yeas 812½, nays 110½. Thereupon Mr. Teller, who had spoken for half an hour in favor of his substitute, withdrew from the convention with twenty-two other delegates, all from silver-producing states. The names of the bolters were as follows: From Colorado—Henry M. Teller, F. C. Goudy, J. W. Rockafellow, J. M. Downing, A. M. Stevenson, J. F. Vivan, C. J. Hart, and C. H. Brickenstein. From Idaho—F. T. Dubois, W. S. Sweet, Price Haley, A. M. Campbell, B. E. Rich, and Alexander Robinson. From Nevada—A. C. Cleveland, Enoch Strothers, J. B. Overton, and W. D. Phillips. From Utah—C. F. Cannon, A. B. Campbell, and Thomas Kerens. From Montana—Charles S. Hartman only. From South Dakota—R. F. Pettigrew.

The platform was unusually long and explicit for the utterance of a national convention, and covered

frankly all leading topics of national interest. It will be found in full in another department of this work, and may be summarized as follows:

1. Tariff, not only to furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but to protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. 2. Reciprocal agreements for open markets and discriminating duties in favor of the American merchant marine. 3. Maintenance of the existing gold standard, and opposition to free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world. 4. Pensions and preferences for veterans of the Union army. 5. A firm, vigorous, and dignified foreign policy, "and all our interests in the Western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded." 6. The Hawaiian islands to be controlled by the United States; the Nicaraguan canal to be built; a naval station in the West Indies. 7. Protection of American citizens and property in Turkey. 8. Reassertion of the Monroe doctrine; eventual withdrawal of European powers from this hemisphere, and union of all English-speaking peoples on this continent. 9. The United States actively to use influence to restore peace and give independence to Cuba. 10. Enlargement of the navy; defense of harbors and sea coasts. 11. Exclusion of illiterate and immoral immigrants. 12. Reapproval of the civil service law. 13. A free ballot and an honest count. 14. Condemnation of lynching. 15. Approval of national arbitration. 16. Approval of a free homestead law. 17. Admission of the remaining territories, representation for Alaska, and abolition of carpet-bag Federal officers. 18. Sympathy with legitimate efforts to lessen intemperance. 19. An inconclusive but sympathetic reference to "the rights and interests of woman."

A single ballot settled the contest for the presidential nomination. The McKinley men, under the lead of Marcus A. Hanna of Cleveland, had claimed two or three weeks in advance of the convention that their candidate would have 650 votes, and the ballot showed that they knew their strength and were a little within the mark. The result of the ballot was: McKinley, 661½; Reed, 84½; Morton, 59;

Allison, 35½; Quay, 60½. Four delegates from Montana cast blank ballots and there was one vote for J. Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania. The vote in full by states and territories was as follows:

STATES.	McKinley.	Reed.	Morton.	Allison.	Quay.
Alabama.....	19	2	1		
Arkansas.....	16				
California.....	18				
Colorado.....					
Connecticut.....	7	5			
Delaware.....	6				
Florida.....	6		2		
Georgia.....	22	2			2
Idaho.....					
Illinois.....	46	2			
Indiana.....	30				
Iowa.....				26	
Kansas.....	20				
Kentucky.....	26				
Louisiana.....	11	4		½	½
Maine.....		12			
Maryland.....	15	1			
Massachusetts.....	1	29			
Michigan.....	28				
Minnesota.....	18				
Mississippi.....	17		1		
Missouri.....	34				
Montana.....	1				
Nebraska.....	16				
Nevada.....	3				
New Hampshire.....		8			
New Jersey.....	19	1			
New York.....	17		55		
North Carolina.....	19½	2½			
North Dakota.....	6				
Ohio.....	46				
Oregon.....	8				
Pennsylvania.....	6				58
Rhode Island.....		8			
South Carolina.....	18				
South Dakota.....	8				
Tennessee.....	24				
Texas.....	21	5		3	
Utah.....	3			3	
Vermont.....	8				
Virginia.....	23	1			
Washington.....	8				
West Virginia.....	12				
Wisconsin.....	24				
Wyoming.....	6				
District of Columbia.....		1		1	
Arizona.....	6				
New Mexico.....	5			1	
Oklahoma.....	4	1		1	
Alaska.....	4				
Indian Territory.....	6				
Totals.....	661½	84½	59	35½	60½

It was the evident desire of the convention to nominate Thomas B. Reed for Vice President, and if he had consented to accept the nomination would unquestionably have been given him by an unanimous vote, but he repeatedly telegraphed his refusal to accept. Governor Morton of New York also declined to take the nomination. This left as the only conspicuous Eastern candidate Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey, a manufacturer of Paterson and a prominent politician, long a member of the National Republican Committee, and at one time the unsuccessful candidate of his party for governor. The only



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Twenty-third President of the United States

other candidate of more than local strength was Henry Clay Evans of Tennessee, who had a large Southern and Western following. One ballot settled the matter, the vote resulting as follows: Hobart of New Jersey, 533½; Evans of Tennessee, 280½; Bulkeley of Connecticut, 39; Walker of Virginia, 24; Lippitt of Rhode Island, 8; Grant of California, 2; Depew of New York, 3; Morton of New York, 1; Thurston of Nebraska, 2.

The temporary chairman of the convention was N. W. Fairbanks of Indiana, and its president was John M. Thurston of Nebraska. The twenty-three silver bolters proceeded to caucus in a hotel, and determined to nominate Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, their leader, as an independent free silver candidate for President of the United States.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago on July 7th. Early in May the old party leaders began to take alarm at the rapid spread of the free silver movement in the Western and Southern States. President Cleveland published a letter in which he besought his party associates to remain true to the old Democratic traditions of sound money. W. C. Whitney of New York, secretary of war in Cleveland's first administration, made a vigorous argument in the newspapers against the scheme to lower the monetary standard of the country and to thus repudiate in part all public and private debts. The Eastern Democratic press, reinforced by many of the strongest newspapers of the party in the West and South, thundered against the cheap silver craze. It was all in vain. State after state instructed its delegates to Chicago to vote for the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Southern States went off in a body, and in the West only Wisconsin, with a portion of Minnesota and Michigan and a few scattering delegates here and there, resisted the tidal wave.

It now became evident that underlying the powerful drift of Democratic opinion for silver there was another motive than the hard times sentiment which sought relief from debts and dull business conditions in a cheap form of money. There was also the motive of political expediency. It was plain that the Republicans would triumphantly sweep the country on the issue of a protective tariff,

and a great many Democrats of the practical politician type became suddenly willing to change their view on the money question for the chance of success on another line of battle. A fusion with the Populists, they argued, and a free silver campaign appealing to all the discontent and distress caused by the prevalent lethargy in business and the burden of debts would give fair promise of uniting with the solid South nearly all the states of the Mississippi valley and all the silver-producing states of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast. The Eastern States could be abandoned to the Republicans and the fight concentrated in the West with fair promise of securing a majority in the electoral college. The rapid progress of the free silver delusion among the Democrats of the West can only be accounted for in this way.

By the time the Chicago convention assembled there was no doubt possible as to its complexion. The silver men were in a large majority. Their leader was Governor Altgeld of Illinois, who won national fame in 1894 by his protest against the use of Federal troops to suppress the Chicago railroad riots. The anti-silver forces rallied to the leadership of Senator Hill and W. C. Whitney of New York and Governor Russell of Massachusetts. The silverites could not count on a two-thirds vote, and consequently could not see their way to nominating a candidate for President under the old rules of the party without unseating some of the gold delegates. This they determined to do. The fight began over the selection of a temporary chairman. The established custom of national conventions of all parties is that the national committee shall name the chairman. Senator Hill was chosen by the committee, but the silver men put up Senator Daniels of Virginia against the gold leader and beat him by a heavy majority. Their next move was to unseat, without any decent pretext, a sufficient number of Michigan delegates to make the delegation from that state solid for silver under the unit rule. In vain did the Eastern Democrats protest against this outrage.

When the platform was reported it proved to be a Populistic affair from beginning to end, with hardly a trace in it of old Democratic doctrine. It declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver

at the ratio of 16 to 1, without the coöperation of any nation; for a tariff for revenue only sufficient to pay the expenses of the government economically administered; for a constitutional amendment authorizing an income tax; against Federal interference in local affairs; against national bank currency and in favor of the issue of all paper money by the government, redeemable in coin; against the issue of bonds in time of peace; against a third presidential term; against a Pacific railroad funding bill; it mildly indorsed the civil service law, and favored freedom for Cuba and pensions for soldiers. An effort to pass a resolution indorsing the administration of President Cleveland was howled down with indignation and derision. The convention was frantic for free silver and cared for nothing else.

The delegations from the East met to consider the question of leaving the convention in a body on the ground that it was a Populistic gathering. It was determined to follow the lead of New York, and New York decided to remain in the convention, but to refrain from voting.

Apparently the nomination lay between ex-Governor Boies of Iowa and Richard T. Bland of Missouri, the original free silver champion in Congress, but an eloquent speech made on the resolutions by ex-Congressman Wm. J. Bryan of Nebraska so won the fancy of the extreme silverites that an entirely new face was put upon the contest, and Bryan, who had hardly been thought of as a candidate before the meeting of the convention, rose at once to formidable prominence. The bolting silver Republicans from the St. Louis convention hung upon the skirts of the convention urging the nomination of Teller, but they made hardly any visible impression on the sentiment of the body.

The first ballot for President resulted as follows: Bland of Missouri, 235; Bryan of Nebraska, 137; Boies of Iowa, 67; Matthews of Indiana, 38; McLean of Ohio, 54; Blackburn of Kentucky, 82; Pattison of Pennsylvania, 96; Stevenson of Illinois, 6; Teller of Colorado, 8; Pennoyer of Oregon, 8; Tillman of South Carolina, 17; Hill of New York, 1; Russell of Massachusetts, 2; Campbell of Ohio, 1. The delegates who refused to vote numbered 176.

On the second ballot Bland's vote ran up to 281,

and Bryan's to 197. On the third ballot Bland had 291 and Bryan 219. On the fourth ballot, Bland fell off to 241 and Bryan ran up to 276. Then a telegram was read from Bland withdrawing from the contest, and there was a wild rush to Bryan, who was nominated by a large majority. On the fifth and last ballot 162 delegates declined to vote. The president held that two-thirds of those voting were sufficient to nominate. Most of the Eastern delegates left for their homes without waiting for the nomination for Vice President, to be made next day.

There was a general scramble of local favorites for the Vice Presidential nomination, and after a number of ballots the convention nominated Arthur J. Sewall of Maine, over Bland of Missouri, who was the leading candidate in the first balloting. William Jennings Bryan is a Nebraska lawyer and politician, who served two terms in Congress as a Democrat and distinguished himself by his gift of fluent oratory and by his strong opposition to a protective tariff, his ultra free silver views, and his advocacy of government ownership of all the railways in the country. He was defeated in an effort to get into the Senate by a combination of the Democrats of his state with the Populists. Mr. Sewall is a wealthy bank president and railroad manager. This singularly incongruous ticket and the radical Populistic platform upon which it was placed gave instant promise of disrupting the Democratic party. Many of the oldest and most influential Democratic newspapers at once repudiated it. Among these papers were the *Chicago Chronicle*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *New York Sun, Times*, and *World*, the *Philadelphia Times*, the strong German papers in Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and other cities, and a large list of other papers of positive influence that had steadily combated the new drift of the party towards cheap money. An urgent demand arose from all these old party organs for a new convention and a genuine Democratic ticket and platform. They declared that Bryan was in reality no Democrat, but only a Populist in thin disguise, and that as a young man of thirty-six whose only reputation had been gained as a Western stump agitator against sound money, banks, and railroads, imbued with raw ideas of a socialistic

tendency, he had no fitness for the great office of President.

The national convention of the People's party, commonly known as the Populists, met in St. Louis on July 21st, and on the same day there assembled in the same city a national convention of silver men, mainly made up of delegates from the silver-producing states. The latter body was small and of no particular importance. It indorsed the nominations of Bryan and Sewall and passed the usual free silver resolutions. The Populist convention was large, inharmonious, and talkative. Two factions showed themselves at the outset. The fusionists wanted to nominate Bryan and Sewall and make a full union with the silver Democracy on electoral tickets, so as to combine the two parties in a single organization for the sake of possible success at the election. The chairman of the National Democratic Committee, Senator Jones of Arkansas, was on hand to give aid to this fusion project. The other faction received the popular designation of "Middle-of-the-Road" men, because they wanted to steer clear of all other party organizations and make a separate ticket and platform. Most of these men did not object to Bryan, whom they regarded as more of a Populist than a Democrat, but they were very hostile to Sewall, because he represented to their mind almost everything obnoxious to Populist opinion, being a national banker, a corporation man, a railroad director, and a man of large wealth acquired by the very means denounced by Populist platforms. On a struggle over the chairmanship the Middle-of-the-Road men were beaten, but they rallied and carried a motion to proceed with the nomination of Vice President before nominating the candidate for President. By a vote of nearly two to one they defeated Sewall and nominated Thos. E. Watson of Georgia. Candidate Bryan wired that he would not accept a nomination from the convention unless Sewall was also nominated. Most of the Middle-of-the-Road delegates came from the Southern States, where the Populist party had been for years actively antagonizing the Democratic party in state and local campaigns. The fusionists were nearly all from the Northern States.

Before proceeding to nominate a candidate for President the convention adopted the usual Populist platform, a little modified in some regards from what is known to the party as the Omaha platform. It declared for national money, against all banks of issue save the United States treasury, for free silver at 16 to 1, for a greater volume of the circulating medium; denounced bonds and demanded that no more bonds be issued except by Congress; demanded that the government shall use its option of paying gold or silver to holders of its obligations; denounced this and previous administrations for paying out gold; declared for an income tax; denounced the supreme court for declaring the late law unconstitutional; demanded postal savings banks, government ownership of railways and telegraphs; confiscation under form of law of lands held by land-grant railways; direct legislation by means of the initiative and referendum; election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators by direct vote of the people; sympathized with Cuba and declared the time has come for recognition of the independence of the island by this government; denounced "government by injunction" and punishment for indirect contempt; denounced wrongs upon the suffrage without naming the party that has been guilty of them, and finally declared the financial question to be paramount to all others and welcomed the co-operation of other parties and of all citizens in settling this question according to the teachings of the People's party.

On the fifth and last day's session of the convention Wm. J. Bryan was nominated for President, receiving about four times as many votes as were cast for Norton, his only opponent, who was supported by the radical Middle-of-the-Road men.

During the last week in July representatives from seven states attended a conference in Chicago and issued a call for a regular Democratic convention to meet in Indianapolis on September 2d, for the purpose of nominating a straight-out sound money Democratic ticket against Bryan and Sewall.

Our national record closes on August 1st.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE SILVER QUESTION—TWENTY YEARS OF AGITATION AND LEGISLATION.

The silver question has played a conspicuous part in American politics for the past twenty years, and a brief statement of the main facts concerning it can appropriately be made the theme of a separate chapter of this work.

The silver dollar of the United States consists of 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver. The gold dollar consists of 23.22 grains of pure gold. These two numbers stand in the ratio to each other of about sixteen to one—more exactly 15.98 to one. For convenience sake the ratio is expressed in round numbers—sixteen to one.

This ratio at no time corresponded exactly to the commercial ratio. As a matter of fact, silver at this ratio was coined by the United States. Over in Europe the Latin Union was coining it at a ratio of fifteen and a half to one. Silver would buy more gold in Europe than it would buy here, and our silver dollars were, therefore, at a small premium over gold dollars—say two per cent.

During the decade immediately preceding the Civil War very little silver of American coinage was in circulation in this country, except dimes and five-cent pieces. Most of the small change was old, worn Spanish quarters, which contained a less value of silver than their face value, owing to their abrasion. Silver dollars were practically unknown in the circulating medium. All metallic money disappeared from circulation shortly after the war broke out, and was seen no more until shortly before the specie resumption act went into effect in 1879. For the purposes of small change the government issued what was known as fractional currency, consisting of paper notes of the denomination of five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents.

The opening of very productive silver mines in Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, and other regions caused a steady decline in the commercial value of silver, so that the old ratio between the two metals was seriously disturbed.

In 1871 Germany adopted the single gold standard. In 1873 the United States formally followed, dropping the silver dollar from the list of coins named in the new general coinage law. In 1874 France and the Latin Union ceased the free coinage of silver, and in 1893 the Indian mints were closed to silver.

Very soon after the coinage act of 1873 was passed, which made no provision for the further coinage of silver dollars, an agitation began in the West, without reference to party lines, for resuming the coinage of the old dollar. At that time the commercial value of the metal composing it had declined to about eighty-five cents. The coin was popularly called the "dollar of our daddies," and the movement against resumption and in favor of the issue of more greenbacks gradually changed to a demand for the coinage of more silver.

Five years after the dropping of the silver dollar by the United States, that is to say in 1878, the Bland-Allison act was passed, authorizing the purchase of not less than two million dollars' worth of silver bullion per month, nor more than four millions, and the coinage of said bullion into silver dollars. Under this law of 1878 the government purchased in twelve years \$308,279,260.71 worth of silver.

In 1890 the so-called Sherman act was passed, as a substitute for the Bland-Allison act. It directed the purchase of an aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, at the ruling market price, and the issue of a form of treasury note known as silver certificates in payment for the metal. The cost of the silver purchased under this act was \$155,931,902.25. The Sherman act was repealed in 1893. At that time the popular idea was that its existence aggravated the financial crisis of that year by creating an apprehension in the financial world that the United States was likely eventually to abandon the gold standard and debase its

paper money and other obligations to the basis of silver. At that time the value of the silver in a dollar was about fifty cents. It thus appears, that, while the rest of the world was doing nothing to prevent the constant decline in the value of silver, the United States, from 1878 to 1893, spent the enormous sum of \$464,210,262.96 in efforts to restore the old price.

In 1878, when the purchases of the United States began, the commercial ratio was 17.94 to one. The ratio fell off year after year, every year save 1884, when a slight advance was made, till 1889, when it stood at 22.10 to one. The next year the Sherman law was in force and the ratio again advanced, this year to 19.76 to one. But after the first effects of the law had been felt, the ratio again dropped, till at last it reached the figures of 32.56 to one. That was in 1894, and the bullion value of the silver dollar was 49.1 cents, and at its lowest point about 45 cents. It started in 1878 at 89.1 cents. We had experimented fifteen years, and the bullion value of our silver dollar had fallen forty cents exactly, and the bullion value of the dollar was less than half that of the gold dollar. We had spent nearly \$500,000,000 to accomplish this! The present commercial ratio of silver to gold is about thirty-two to one.

The ultra silver men were at no time satisfied with either the Bland-Allison act or the Sherman act. They kept up an agitation for what they called the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one," which meant that the United States should coin into full legal tender dollars all the silver offered at its mints and deliver such dollars to the owners of the bullion. This agitation was naturally most active in the states producing silver, but it gradually spread to the entire Mississippi Valley, where it assumed the phase of a hard-times movement, the purpose of which was to secure currency for the payment of debts that would have a less intrinsic value than gold, and that would in effect scale down the principal of all obligations and reduce the burden of interest. The silver men came to attribute a magic quality to silver, maintaining that its coinage in vast quantities would make business active, and raise the prices of labor

and commodities by giving the country a cheap and redundant currency.

Silver, instead of being demonetized, as charged by the free silver agitators, is actually used as money in this country to a greater extent than ever before in our history, and has the same purchasing power as gold because it is maintained at par by the government as prescribed by two acts of Congress. The silver certificates pass current at their face value the same as the greenbacks.

In 1879 the total of silver, including dollars and fractional silver coin, in circulation in the United States was \$75,000,233. In 1889 the total had risen to \$110,814,980. In 1890 the total was \$113,508,777. Last year the total amount of silver in circulation was \$116,556,070. This, however, does not represent what the country has done for silver. In 1886 the total coinage of silver dollars was \$244,433,386, but because the dollars were not wanted on account of the inconvenience caused by their weight, the total number in circulation was \$61,502,155. In 1888 the coinage of silver dollars amounted to \$309,750,890, but the circulation declined to \$59,771,450. In 1890 the total coinage had arisen to \$380,988,466, but there were in circulation only \$65,709,564. In 1892 the total coinage of silver dollars was \$416,412,835, but the circulation declined to \$61,672,455. In 1894 the total coinage of silver dollars rose to \$421,776,408, but the dollars in circulation were only \$56,443,670. To-day the total in circulation is little more than \$50,000,000.

The attitude of the Republican party has been one of great friendliness towards silver. It has held tenaciously to the bimetallic theory—that it should be the object of legislation to secure the circulation of both silver and gold as money and as a basis for the paper currency of the country. It was responsible for the Bland-Allison act and the Sherman act. In its national platform of 1884 it urged "that an effort to be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage." The Republican platform of 1888 favored "the use of both gold and silver as money," and "condemned the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver."

The platform of 1892 declared that "the American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal."

The platform of 1896 shows that the progress of events and the development of opinion in the party has brought the great mass of the Republican vot-

ers of the country to the conclusion that nothing can be done by legislation in this country alone that will make a quantity of silver which the commercial world buys and sells at fifty cents equal in value to a gold dollar. The platform condemns the free coinage of silver, and demands the maintenance of the existing gold standard. It, however, pledges the party to promote an international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth for the restoration of silver to its old place as a full money metal. It is not, therefore, a gold platform, but it holds to the old bimetallic traditions of the party.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EARLY LEADERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT AND OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The following chapter was contributed to the first edition of a little work entitled "A History of the Republican Party," written by the author of this work and first published in 1880. The writer was the late Chas. T. Congdon, long one of the editors of the New York *Tribune*. It has a peculiar value from the fact that Mr. Congdon was the personal friend of Garrison, Phillips, Greeley, and many other men of prominence in the early anti-slavery movement:

There is abundant evidence that slavery in America was never germane to the sentiment and conscience of the American people. The plea sometimes adduced during the anti-slavery discussion, that the slaves were forced upon the colonies by the commercial cupidity of the mother country, was not without a modicum of truth. It is historically true that both Virginia and South Carolina, in the eighteenth century, sought to restrict the importation of slaves. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania pressed the adoption of similar measures, but in each instance the veto of the colonial governor was interposed. It must be understood, that, notwithstanding slave labor was in many of the colonies found profitable, there was always sturdy protest against it. The constant testimony of the Quakers against it is of record. John Wesley had denounced it as the sum of

all villainies; Whitefield had spoken to the planters of "the miseries of the poor negroes;" Dr. Hopkins, the eminent theologian, had fitly characterized the traffic in its very center, and to the faces of the Newport merchants engaged in it. The Continental Congress in 1774 had pledged the United Colonies to discontinue altogether the slave trade. Several of the slave colonies themselves joined in the declaration against the trade. These facts are worth remembering, because they show that even at that time there was a strong and conscientious feeling against slavery and in favor of justice and humanity. The defense of slavery upon moral, theological, and political grounds came afterward. It is nearly a hundred years since the establishment of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Benjamin Franklin was made its president. There were other and similar societies in different states. The first anti-slavery convention was held in 1795.

Perhaps the earliest Abolitionist intimately connected with the anti-slavery agitation which culminated in such great results was Benjamin Lundy, a member of the Society of Friends, who, born in New Jersey in 1789, in 1815 had established an anti-slavery association called "The Union Humane Society," at St. Clairsville, Va. Lundy wrote, trav-

eled, lectured, and everywhere maintained his crusade against the institution. In 1821 he started the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the office of which he removed to Baltimore in 1824. Having made the acquaintance of William Lloyd Garrison, he engaged the assistance of that gentleman in the editorial management of the newspaper. Lundy was the first to establish anti-slavery periodicals and deliver anti-slavery lectures. It is stated that from 1820 to 1830 Lundy traveled 25,000 miles, 5,000 on foot, visited nineteen states, made two voyages to Hayti, and delivered more than 200 addresses.

The first number of Mr. Garrison's *Liberator* was published in Boston in January, 1831. The history of the agitation which was then begun has already been partially written and is familiar to many still living. From this time forth to the bloody issue, and the final triumph of right and justice, slavery began to be felt in the politics of the country. Undoubtedly a vast majority of both the Whig and Democratic parties were upon its side. Upon the other there were two classes. There was that which would keep no terms with slavery, but at all times and seasons yielded not one jot or tittle, but demanded its immediate abolition. There were others who took more moderate ground; who doubted the policy of instant abolition; who adhered to the parties with which they found themselves allied; but who nevertheless insisted upon the right of free discussion and the right of petition. The great champion of this right in the House of Representatives was John Quincy Adams. He had gone from the White House to the House of Representatives with no special feelings of kindness for the Southern States or for their political leaders. But he was always careful to declare that personally he was not in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District, while he deemed the right of petition "sacred and to be vindicated at all hazards." His position must not be misunderstood. Asserting energetically the right of the petitioners to be heard, he had no sympathy with their opinions. He did not regard the question of slavery in the District as of much consequence. He took no humanitarian ground. He fought the battle, and fought it nobly, but it was as a constitutional

lawyer, and not as an Abolitionist. He argued the matter as he argued the famous *Amistad* case, upon strictly legal principles. Fortunately, they happened to be upon the right side, and Mr. Adams's services at this time were unquestionably of great value to the cause of freedom.

Among the few who took an entirely different ground, and who avowed their sympathy with the prayer of the petitioners, was William Slade of Vermont, who was in the House from 1831 to 1843, and afterward governor of Vermont. He said, with manly precision and courage: "The petitioners wish the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; so do I. They wish to abolish the slave-trade in the District; so do I." But protest at such a time was in vain, and the petitions were laid upon the table by a great majority. Agitation must at any cost be arrested. Tranquility must by any expedient be secured. In the Senate at the same time a similar controversy was going on. Singularly enough, the champion of the right of petition here was James Buchanan, who spoke and voted for the reception of the petitions, though he also advocated the instant rejection of their prayer; and he actually succeeded, to the great indignation of Mr. Calhoun, in carrying his point. Mr. Morris of Ohio vindicated the right, and declared that "no denial of it by Congress could prevent them from expressing it." Similar ground was taken by Mr. Prentiss of Vermont. Mr. Webster, not then so regardless of the popular opinion as he afterward became, advocated the reference of the petitions to the proper committees.

Among those who in those dark days of Northern subserviency nobly stood up for free speech and a free press, was Gov. Joseph Ritner of Pennsylvania, who in one of his messages said: "Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land, or any part of it." Thaddeus Stevens, then chairman of the judiciary committee of the Pennsylvania house, took ground equally brave and independent. The Southern legislatures had asked of the Northern States the enactment of laws for the suppression of free discussion. "No state," said Mr. Stevens, "can claim from us such legislation. It would reduce us to a vassalage

but little less degrading than that of the slaves." But in no state can the progress of this great controversy be more satisfactorily observed than in Massachusetts. There the Abolitionists were most uncompromising and determined, and so respectable were they in numbers and character that those who were opposed to their opinions and proceedings were not long afterward glad enough to get their votes in seasons of particular emergency. But the Massachusetts respectability, taking its tone from Boston, as the tone of Boston was governed by its commercial interests, was then ready for almost unconditional surrender to the slave power of all which it should have held most dear. Edward Everett was governor of the state, and went so far as to suggest that anti-slavery discussion "might be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law." This part of Governor Everett's message was referred to a committee of which Mr. George Lunt was chairman. Before this committee appeared in their own defense such Abolitionists as Ellis Gray Loring, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Charles Follen, Samuel J. May, and William Goodell. It is almost impossible now to conceive of the indignities as possible to which these gentlemen were subjected by the chairman, Mr. Lunt. Dr. Follen, one of the mildest and most amiable of men, was peremptorily silenced. "You are here," said Mr. Lunt to Mr. May, "to exculpate yourselves if you can"—as if the remonstrants had been criminals at the bar of public justice. Such treatment excited great indignation among those who were present merely as spectators. Dr. William Ellery Channing—the story is still related in Boston—walked across the room to offer Mr. Garrison his hand, and to speak to him words of sympathy and encouragement. From that day the progress of anti-slavery opinions in Massachusetts went on almost without cessation. They colored and affected the action of political parties; they broke up and scattered an organization which had held the state in fee for more than a generation; they proved themselves superior to all the reports and resolutions which such men as Mr. Lunt could bring forward; they won for their supporters all the distinction which place and popular confidence could confer,

and reduced those who rejected them to the leanest of minorities. All things worked together for good. The murder of Lovejoy at Alton in 1837 was a triumph of slavery which proved in the end one of the most fatal of its misfortunes. It sent Dr. Channing to Faneuil Hall to protest against such an outrage upon law and justice. It sent there Wendell Phillips to make his first speech, which rendered him at once famous. It created a public sympathy in Boston and throughout the state which was never lost, which the immense influence of Mr. Webster was unable to overcome, and which prepared the way, first for the Free Soil and then for the Republican party. Boston conservatism occasionally made a good deal of noise afterward, but it never carried another election. "Politics," said Mr. Franklin Pierce about that time in the Senate, "are beginning to mingle with that question." And "he profoundly regretted that individuals of both parties were submitting to the catechism of the Abolitionists." Mr. Pierce was right; but there was a good deal more to come.

The intense hostility of a portion of the Northern people to the measures and methods of the early Abolitionists did not and could not prevent a gradual change in the temper and the opinions of vast numbers of reflecting and conscientious men, who saw the sole remedy only in political action. The audacity of the slave power, never for a moment satisfied, gave its friends at the North no opportunity of appealing successfully to Northern interests. The most imprudent of mankind were always doing something which fanned the slumbering embers again into a blaze. They would not let well enough alone. They would not temporize even when to do so would have been greatly to their advantage. South Carolina, for instance, had been for years in the habit of imprisoning colored seamen during their detention at Charleston. Massachusetts appointed Sammel Hoar of Concord the agent of the state to prosecute suits to test the legality of these imprisonments. Mr. Hoar was not only a gentleman of great personal worth, but he belonged to one of the oldest families in the state, and for many years had been respected as a jurist of great ability and integrity.

To what indignities he was subjected, and how he was expelled from the state, the history of those times will never fail to tell. One result of this was to make Abolitionists of a great number of highly respectable people who otherwise might never have been moved from the path of the strictist conservatism. The admission of Texas as a slave state brought into the anti-slavery ranks, ill-defined as they were, great numbers of persons who otherwise might have kept silence forever. It caused a meeting of protest at Faneuil Hall, over which Charles Francis Adams presided. The resolutions were drawn up by Charles Sumner. They were presented by John G. Palfrey. Garrison and Phillips were there, and for once the anti-slavery men of the non-political and the political schools worked together. The matter was discussed in the colleges and the law schools, in the factories and workshops; it was then that the great political revolution in so many states began. Above all, it sharply defined the line between those Whigs and Democrats who, after a political wrong had been accomplished, were willing quietly to submit, and those who thought that the wrong would be a fair warning against others of a similar character. If the motive of annexation was the preservation of slavery, then there was all the more reason for watching slavery closely.

The case of Mr. Giddings is an excellent illustration of the folly by which the Whig party alienated many of its best friends. If he was anything, Mr. Giddings was every inch a Whig. He clung to his political organization when many another man would have left it in disgust. He was, while Mr. John Quincy Adams survived, the steady and able ally of that statesman in the House of Representatives. But neither this nor his strong anti-slavery sentiments prevented him from being a warm friend and supporter of Henry Clay. He clung to his party until his party nominated General Taylor. This was a supposed submission to the slave power (though it did not turn out to be afterward) which sent Mr. Giddings into the Free Soil ranks in 1848. What men went with him, and what came of that movement, even after it had to all appearance utterly failed, is well enough known. No wonder Mr. Giddings felt that the North should have different

men in the public councils, when with a large majority it could not shield him from outrages in the House to which the lowest of men would hardly have submitted outside of it.

The Democratic party often exhibited as little wisdom. It had not, for instance, a stronger and more able soldier than Mr. John P. Hale of New Hampshire. Personally very popular, he was an excellent debater, never found wanting in an emergency, and one who was alike equal to attack or defense. He was, however, foremost in his denunciation of the plan for the annexation of Texas—a measure which he characterized as “eminently calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of heaven.” He had already been nominated for the next Congress by the Democrats of his district, but another convention was called, and the name of Mr. Hale was taken from the ticket. It is to tell the whole historical story to say that this day’s absurd action made Mr. Hale a Senator of the United States. This is the story everywhere. The Whig national convention which treated with such utter contempt the protests of anti-slavery Whigs was the last which met with any prospect of good fortune before it. The day was pregnant with great events, and great political changes were at hand. The Barnburner revolt in New York assisted in forwarding the great reform. There were yet to be defeats, and men’s minds were not entirely fixed; but both great parties in 1848 sealed their political doom with suicidal hands. Mr. Allen of Massachusetts had said in the Whig national convention: “It is evident the terms of union between the Whigs of the North and the Whigs of the South are the perpetual surrender by the former of the high offices and powers of the government to their Southern confederates. To these terms, I think, sir, the free states will no longer submit.” Mr. Wilson declared that he would “not be bound by the proceedings of the convention;” and Mr. Stanley of North Carolina, with far-seeing sagacity, retorted that he was “injuring no one but himself”—a declaration which in the light of subsequent events seems sufficiently amusing.

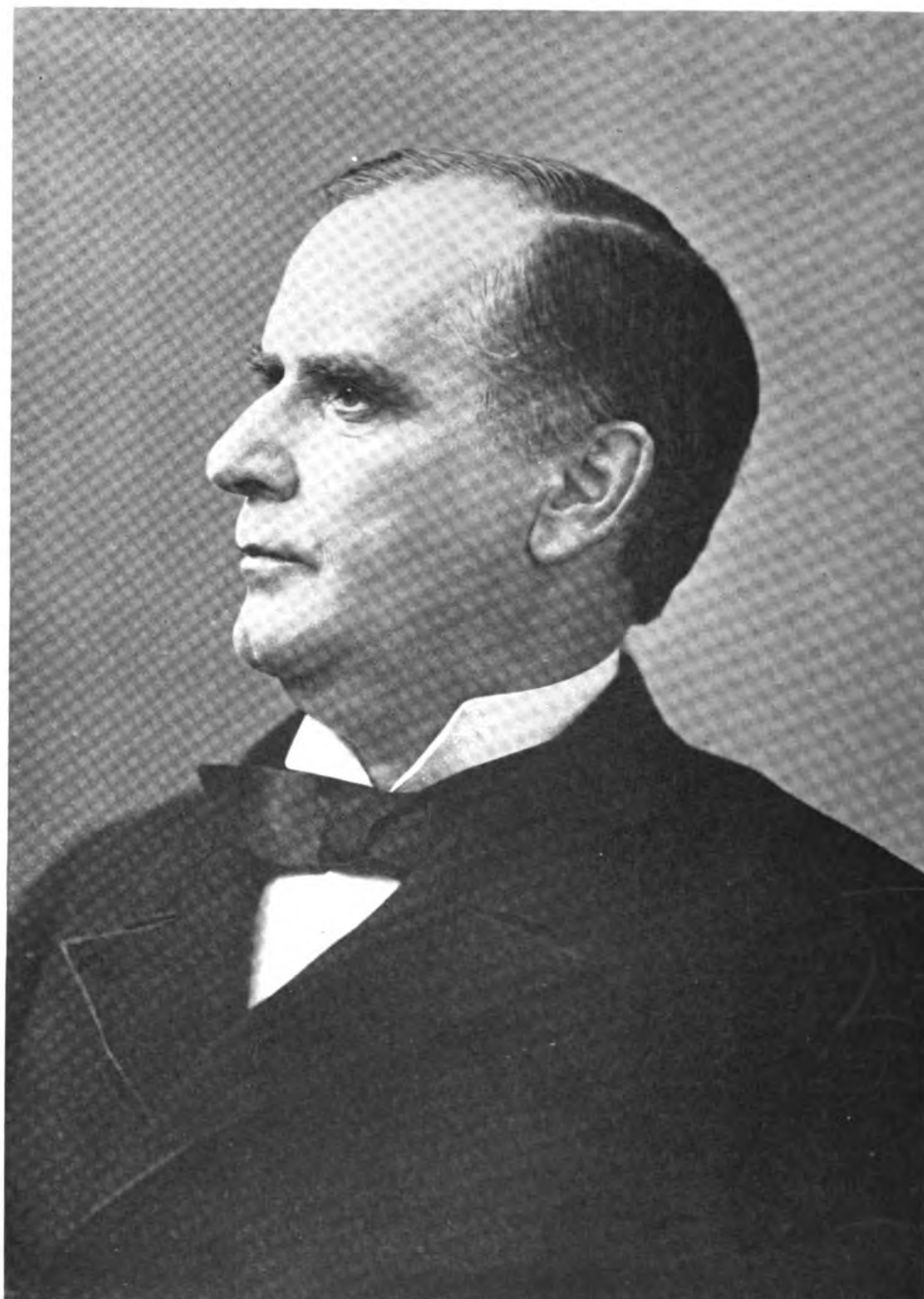
Before the dissatisfied delegates went home the Buffalo convention was decided upon. The first

state convention of the new party in Massachusetts was held in Worcester, and was attended by men who have since been often enough heard of—by Henry Wilson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, E. Rockwood Hoar, to mention no others. The action of the Buffalo convention in nominating Mr. Van Buren for President brought a great portion of the Democratic party to the new organization, especially in Massachusetts, and in that state the party has never fairly recovered from the events of that campaign. The nomination of Charles Francis Adams for Vice President was deemed a sufficient concession to the bolting Whigs. It was a ticket for an honest man to support, although no prospect of success was before it. The campaign started with great spirit in Ohio, being led by Chase, Giddings, Root, and other distinguished men. The new party went through a campaign which resulted in entire defeat and—in victory! But it had cast 249,000 votes for freedom; it had defeated a candidate the avowed supporter of slavery; and it had secured the election of another who, although a slaveholder, was at least not a trimmer or a doughface.

Here as well as anywhere may be considered the distinctive character of those who early engaged in this war against slavery extension. It need not be said that coalition was necessary, and coalition always implies the coöperation of those who find each other useful, but who may be governed by widely different motives. Those who had conscientiously entertained a hatred of slavery found an opportunity of alliance with others, whose hostility was at least recent, and who had managed to get along with the South so long as that section conceded to them a fair share in the government. The Democratic wing of the Free Soil party made great pretensions to anti-slavery sentiment. Among those who were loudest was John Van Buren of New York. He went so far as to say at Utica, in the Barnburners' convention: "We expect to make the Democratic party of this state the great anti-slavery party of this state, and through it to make the Democratic party of the United States the great anti-slavery party of the United States." Subsequent events showed that this meant very little

save the desire for revenge on the part of a son who was irritated by what he regarded as the personal wrongs of a father. Not many years elapsed before John Van Buren was again in the Democratic party, when it was even more thoroughly than before the servant of slavery, with the immoral aspects of the institution more fully developed. With him returned to their allegiance many thousands of Democrats. He was supple, clever, and adroit. As a platform speaker he had few equals; but that he was altogether sincere perhaps it would be too much to say.

No man has a closer historical identification with the Republican party than Henry Wilson. He had great virtues and great faults of character. His natural impulses were warm and generous. He had absolute physical courage, and when his passions were aroused he was a formidable enemy. He could put a personal injury in abeyance if he thought it for his advantage to do so; but he had a long memory, and although he might forgive he never forgot. He had great skill in party maneuver, and a perfect faith in party management. It was perhaps his real misfortune that his first political successes of any importance were secured by coalitions. It is true that many of these were originated by himself, but he was not, it must be said in his defense, the originator of the opportunity. He was perfectly frank in his avowal of what he thought to be not only the expediency but the virtue of joining in any political movement which would advance his own political opinions, without much regard for appearances. Others acquiesced in such bargains; Mr. Wilson went further, for he believed in them. There was no nicety, no moral scrupulosity in his constitution. This made it easy for him to act with anybody or everybody; and to this easy political virtue he owed his first election to the United States Senate. He joined the Know-Nothing party without in the least accepting its particular tenets. He did not hesitate to receive Democratic votes. In Massachusetts the Whig party was in his way, and in the way of the anti-slavery views which he undoubtedly entertained, and he determined upon its destruction. He never apologized for alliances which others thought to be



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Republican Candidate for President in 1896

immoral. He was a leader of those who regarded slavery as sinful and impolitic; he himself undoubtedly shared in their opinions; but he did not hesitate in an emergency to act with those whose views were widely different. After his success was definitely assured he became more independent, and, it must be added, more consistent. His capacity for public affairs was of a first-rate order, and he had entirely risen above the defects of his early education. He was a born political soldier, and did quite as much as any man to bring the Republican party to compactness and coherence.

Mr. Charles Sumner was of a character widely different from that of his colleague. The latter, with all his merits, was in grain a politician; Mr. Sumner was perhaps the worst politician in the United States. While the struggle which resulted in making him a Senator of the United States was going on in the Massachusetts legislature, he kept resolutely aloof from the contest, and neither by word nor by deed indicated his approval or disapproval of the coalition. Even when the prolonged contest resulted in his election, he left the city of Boston that he might avoid the congratulations of his supporters of either sort. He followed what he called "a line of reserve." In a letter to Mr. Wilson he thanked that gentleman for "the energy, determination, and fidelity" with which he had fought the battle, and said, "For weal or woe, you must take the responsibility of having placed me in the Senate of the United States." It is doubtful whether Mr. Sumner did entirely approve the means which were used to make him in the first instance a Senator; but, like other anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, he acquiesced. So sturdy a man as Robert Rantoul, Jr., accepted a seat in the Senate under precisely the same conditions, and he was elected to the House of Representatives in the same way. Even Horace Mann defended the coalition. Mr. Sumner's career in the Senate was never in the least influenced by the necessity of conciliating Democrats at home; and long before his reelection anything like coalition had, by the march of events, been made unnecessary. Ultimately Mr. Sumner's hold upon the hearts of the people of Massachusetts became so strong that the efforts of a petty

clique to unseat him could not under any circumstances probably have been successful. He was regarded, especially after the felonious assault upon him in the Senate chamber, as a martyr to the cause. He was a great man for great occasions, and by long familiarity with the business of the Senate he became much more practically useful than he was at first; but he could not be considered a popular member, and there were those who thought him somewhat arrogant. He never worked well in the traces of party, and there was something of the virtuoso in his character which his less refined associates did not relish. His speeches were very carefully prepared, but they were often loaded with learning, and the more elaborate portions of them smelt of the lamp. His name, however, is inseparably and most honorably connected with the greatest of events, and he will doubtless be remembered long after he ceases to be read.

Charles Francis Adams had been among the earliest of the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts. His distrust of the South and of the slaveholder was natural, for he had received a large inheritance of family grievances, real or supposed. None of them, however, prevented him from permitting his name to be used with that of Mr. Van Buren, and he accepted the nomination for the Vice Presidency from the Buffalo convention with perfect complacency. But if his passions were strong, his political tastes were occasionally fastidious, and probably he never thoroughly relished the Massachusetts coalition. He exhibited on many occasions the same remarkable mixture of ardor and conservatism which characterized his illustrious father. He could lead sometimes with special ability, but he could not be easily or often led. Party harness sat very easily upon his shoulders, and he could throw it off whenever he pleased. But of the new party he was an invaluable member, for his training for public affairs had been first-rate; the historical associations of his name were interesting and attractive; he was very wealthy; and he was a master of political science. Opposed as he was to the coalition which elected Mr. Sumner, he shared that opposition with Richard H. Dana, Jr., Samuel Hoar, John G. Palfrey, and some other eminent

Free Soilers. Ultimately, of course, these differences of opinion subsided; but Mr. Adams has shown, with other members of the party, that the same freedom of judgment which had led to its formation still guided many of its choicest spirits. Of the brilliant career of Mr. Adams subsequent to these events, it is unnecessary here to speak. The present time finds him a member of that Democratic party which he has so often and so bitterly denounced. The fact is to be most pleasantly regarded as evidence of the perfect independence of his character.

All the temptations which led several prominent Whigs to repudiate the nomination of General Taylor in 1848 had no effect upon Mr. William H. Seward. His time had not yet come, but it was well known that his political opinions were of an anti-slavery color, and that he was particularly sensitive upon the point of surrendering fugitives from slavery. These views began to develop more definitely after his election to the United States Senate in 1849. In the debate upon the admission of California into the Union in 1850 he used the phrase "*higher law than the Constitution*," a part of which has become proverbial. He fought the compromises to the last. In his speech at Rochester in 1858 he had alluded to the "irrepressible conflict," and this phrase also has become famous, as well as the declaration that "the United States must and will become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation." In 1860 in the Senate he avowed that his vote should never be given to sanction slavery in the common territories of the United States, "or anywhere else in the world." His services as Secretary of State during the Rebellion were of the first order, and especially his management of our foreign relations. Undoubtedly his wisdom and forethought saved us upon more than one occasion from a foreign war. His adherence to office under President Johnson did much to injure his popularity, and perhaps he was not sorry definitely to retire from public life in 1869, and to find a new and rational pleasure in prolonged foreign travel. Mr. Seward was a man of fine literary tastes and of no mean literary skill; he had the faculty

of acquiring and of keeping friends; and in the social circle he was devoted and affectionate. The disappointment of his public life, which considered altogether was eminently successful, was his failure to secure the Presidency; but it must have been an alleviation to know that he shared this with so many eminent men. His public career was peculiarly consistent, and perhaps of all public characters of his time he was oftenest found upon the side of the oppressed and the unfortunate, even in cases which had no political significance.

The man who even before 1846, and in that year, argued that slavery was local and dependent upon state law, was Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and nothing could be more astonishing than the changes which ultimately placed such a lawyer upon the bench of the supreme court, and in the place just before occupied by Chief Justice Taney. He was one of the few remarkable men to whom the old Liberty party was indebted for an existence and to whom the Republican party also owes something. He was the first or among the first to propose the Free Soil movement and the Buffalo convention in 1848, and over this body he presided. He, too, was sent to the United States Senate by a coalition of Free Soil members and Democrats of the Ohio legislature in 1849; but the Ohio Democrats in their state convention had already declared slavery to be a national evil, which rendered the coalition at least not absurd and contradictory. Mr. Chase made haste to disavow all connection with the Democrats after the nomination of Mr. Pierce in 1852, upon a pro-slavery platform. With his record and strong opinions upon the subject of slavery he came naturally into the Republican party, and into the cabinet of President Lincoln as Secretary of the Treasury in 1861. As Chief Justice of the United States, his great learning, his sense of equity, and his liberal views of important public questions won him a permanent reputation as a lawyer. He did not always agree with the policy of the Republican party, and he was even talked of as a candidate of the Democrats for the Presidency—a nomination which was not accorded him, but which it was understood that he was willing to accept under certain condi-

tions. He is an excellent instance of what the reader of this chapter must have observed—the tendency, during stormy political seasons, of really able men to cut loose the bonds of party and to seek in new affiliations the accomplishment of cherished purposes and the vindication of profound convictions. Judge Chase, in his own state, was a man of unbounded popularity. This was never shaken by any course which he thought fit to pursue; and to the last no man ever doubted his integrity.

Not as President, but as one of the leaders who made the Republican party possible, the career of Abraham Lincoln before he was elected to the office in which he died a martyr to his principles, ought here to be alluded to. In Congress, which he entered in 1848, he doubted the constitutionality of slavery in the District of Columbia; he suggested the expediency of abolishing the slave trade there; and he warmly advocated the Wilmot Proviso. When the project for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was brought forward, he found his place in the great contest at once. His platform duels with Douglas in Illinois will never be forgotten, and his speech at Springfield utterly demolished the sophistry of the “great principle” which asserted that a man in Nebraska might not only govern himself but also govern other persons without their consent. He, too, declared that no government could endure permanently which was “half slave and half free.” How well he demeaned himself in his high office it is unnecessary to say. He grew larger and larger under the pressure of the terrible situation; he was as tender as a woman, and as stern as a Roman; he thought, planned, acted, always with perfect caution,

with native sagacity, with a perfect appreciation of the situation. It was no accident, it was the impulse of character and the prompting of the heart which led Abraham Lincoln into the Republican party, of which he was a defender and ornament. In the most doubtful days, if there be a party which is on the side of justice and humanity, a man with a heart is sure to find it; and if there be another, its exact opposite, pledged to oppression, to selfishness, and to corruption, the man without a heart is sure to drift into it.

In this chapter many honored names have been necessarily omitted. The object has been to refer to only a few of the most prominent as examples of fidelity to great principles and to ideas worthy of the support of the American people. After all, more have been omitted than mentioned. We might have spoken of Horace Mann, the uncompromising philanthropist, the profound scholar, and the life-long advocate of popular education; of John G. Palfrey, who was among the first of Massachusetts Whigs to risk all save the reward of a good conscience for the sake of the slave; of the young and eloquent Burlingame, first known as a popular speaker, but who afterward developed into a most able diplomatist; and we might have added something of the magnetic influence which drew the young men of the North about the banner of freedom, and awakened an enthusiasm which made the strict lines and the self-seeking policy of the old parties distasteful to their generous natures. Happy will the nation be should any such great emergency again arise if once more the old honesty shall be awakened and the old enthusiasm stimulated!



PLATFORMS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FROM
ITS ORGANIZATION IN 1856.



PLATFORMS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION IN 1856.

FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17, 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or prop-

erty without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, or of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set

over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;—that all of these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetra-

tors of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

SECOND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 17, 1860.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their na-

ture, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just pow-

ers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the rights of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of congress and of the Federal courts, and of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people,

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all of the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the house of representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the house.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, to any state leg-

islation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the coöperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

THIRD REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 7, 1864.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to com-

promise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, thus rewarding the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this Rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and

the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

Resolved, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and a just system of taxation; and it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

FOURTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 21, 1868.

The National Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago, on the twenty-first day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all of the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed

and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly denounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all of their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave

defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and

honestly coöperate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

FIFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 6, 1872.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the City of Philadelphia, on the fifth and sixth days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraor-

dinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at low rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained

throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all of our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned,

and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the right of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued, careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities, and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves and the powers delegated by them to the state and to the

Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended

him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

SIXTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 15, 1876.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in national convention assembled, make the following declarations of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just pow-

ers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if need be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all of its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a congress and a chief executive whose courage and fidelity to those duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all

just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies,

and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all of the territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation, and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would re-

open sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country

against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

Upon the reading of the resolutions, Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts moved to strike out the eleventh resolution; which, after debate, was disagreed to—yeas 215, nays 532.

Edmund J. Davis moved to strike out the fourth resolution and substitute for it the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed. Which, after a brief debate, was disagreed to on a *viva voce* vote.

SEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 5, 1880.

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration: It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the states, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent to the par value of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extensive country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold

at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 80,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time; and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at a lower rate, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon

this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace so gained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already so great should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation, while others are denied the states. But the boundary between powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not the state tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate intelligence of the several states, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition on the legislature of each state, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railroad or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory, and their perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority for regulating immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of R. B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government and state governments, and the control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have

labored to unseat lawfully-elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the majority of the seats in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriations, upon whose passage the very movements of the government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimably good results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, is the first duty of the nation. The dangers of a Solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must per-

form, and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the states. The Solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all states of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible. And we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the coöperation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

EIGHTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 5, 1884.

The Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality

of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection given to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of

the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of nonresident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of noncompliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks peace and can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea

unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of states. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union be kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in the Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

NINTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 20, 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people,—Abraham Lincoln,—and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall, with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the republic, the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of Victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home-rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the states; to the autonomy reserved to the states under the Constitution, to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the states and territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which

are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor; and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at

the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor, and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the states.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land-grants to the public domain, for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 28,000,000 of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may

become states in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted—as a right inherent in them—the right to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the territory wherein they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a state in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana territories to form constitutions and establish state governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as states; such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions—a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore, we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute-books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defense, for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and

for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports, under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations; and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries, as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry, and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time, that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-wit:

"The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury, it would be a public scandal

to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the coöperation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the present administration.

The following resolution, under a suspension of the rules, was adopted as an addition to the platform, immediately before final adjournment:

"The first concern of good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality."

TENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ADOPTED AT MINNEAPOLIS, JUNE 9, 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of its history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming in competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such pro-

visions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interest of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper, or coin, issued by the government shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our merchant marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of the fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to pro-

tect the life and limb of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on an inter-state commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective states that will protect employes engaged in state commerce, in mining, and in manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty we are opposed to any union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition declared in the Republican platform of 1888 to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantage of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the postoffice department and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, but as a measure of national defense, and to build up and maintain American commerce, it should be controlled by the United States government.

ELEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, JUNE 18, 1896.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$260,000,000 in a time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and that it shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity. And in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism, and the success of the administration of Benjamin Harrison.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true Ameri-

can policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry. It puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods. It secures the American market for the American producer. It upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and prices; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation and the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedule. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the times and of production. The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure and enlarge markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished. Protection for what we produce, free admission for the necessities of life which we

do not produce, reciprocal agreements of mutual interest which gain open markets for us in return for our open markets to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves. Reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

To all of our products, and those of the mine and the field, as well as to those of the shop and the factory, to hemp and wool, the product of the great industry, the sheep husbandry, as well as to the foundry, as well as to the mill, we promise the most ample protection.

We favor the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine, to the protection of our shipping in the foreign-carrying trade, so that American ships, the product of American labor employed in American ship yards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans, may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by an international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable, they should be given the preference in the matter of employment. And they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril.

We denounce the practice in the pension bureau so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the the Western hemisphere should be carefully watched and guarded.

The Hawaiian islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them. The Nicaraguan canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States, and by the purchase of the Danish island we should secure a much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to grievous dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere else American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American state for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all the

English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battles of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibilities. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and sea coast defenses.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and heartily and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and preposterous practice well known as

lynching, and the killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in inter-state commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and the United States.

All the Federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from the *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe that the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize fully with all legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women, and believe that they should be accorded equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness and welcome their coöperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. We rely on the faithful and considerate judgment of the American people, confident alike of the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, and we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that their selection will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.



THE POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE AT EACH
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SINCE THE FORM-
ATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.



POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1856.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.						ELECTORAL VOTE.				
	James Buchanan, Democrat.		John C. Fremont, Republican.		M. Fillmore, American.		Total Vote.	Buchanan.	Fremont.	Fillmore.	Total.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.					
Alabama	46,739	18,187	.....	.....	28,552	.....	75,291	9	.....	.....	9
Arkansas	21,910	11,123	.....	.....	10,787	.....	32,697	4	.....	.....	4
California	53,365	*17,200	20,601	.....	36,165	.....	110,221	4	.....	.....	4
Connecticut	34,995	.....	42,715	5,105	2,615	.....	80,325	.....	6	.....	6
Delaware	8,004	1,521	308	.....	6,175	.....	14,487	3	.....	.....	3
Florida	6,358	1,525	.....	.....	4,833	.....	11,191	3	.....	.....	3
Georgia	56,578	14,350	.....	.....	42,228	.....	98,806	10	.....	.....	10
Illinois	105,348	†9,159	96,189	.....	37,444	.....	238,981	11	.....	.....	11
Indiana	118,670	1,909	94,375	.....	22,386	.....	235,431	13	.....	.....	13
Iowa	36,170	.....	43,954	‡7,784	9,180	.....	89,304	.....	4	.....	4
Kentucky	74,642	6,912	314	.....	67,416	.....	142,372	12	.....	.....	12
Louisiana	22,164	1,455	.....	.....	20,709	.....	42,873	6	.....	.....	6
Maine	39,080	.....	67,379	24,974	3,325	.....	109,784	.....	8	.....	8
Maryland	39,115	.....	281	.....	47,460	8,064	86,856	.....	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	39,240	.....	108,190	49,324	19,626	.....	167,056	.....	13	.....	13
Michigan	52,136	.....	71,762	17,966	1,660	.....	125,558	.....	6	.....	6
Mississippi	35,446	11,251	.....	.....	24,195	.....	59,641	7	.....	.....	7
Missouri	58,164	9,640	.....	.....	48,524	.....	106,688	9	.....	.....	9
New Hampshire	32,789	.....	38,345	5,134	422	.....	71,556	.....	5	.....	5
New Jersey	46,943	*18,605	28,338	.....	24,115	.....	99,396	7	.....	.....	7
New York	195,878	.....	276,007	‡80,129	124,604	.....	596,487	.....	35	.....	35
North Carolina	48,246	11,360	.....	.....	36,886	.....	85,132	10	.....	.....	10
Ohio	170,874	.....	187,497	‡16,623	28,126	.....	386,497	.....	23	.....	23
Pennsylvania	230,710	1,025	147,510	.....	82,175	.....	360,395	27	.....	.....	27
Rhode Island	6,680	.....	11,467	3,112	1,675	.....	19,822	.....	4	.....	4
South Carolina	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis-	lature.	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	8
Tennessee	73,638	7,460	.....	.....	66,178	.....	139,816	12	.....	.....	12
Texas	31,169	15,530	.....	.....	15,639	.....	46,808	4	.....	.....	4
Vermont	10,569	.....	39,561	28,447	545	.....	50,675	.....	5	.....	5
Virginia	89,706	29,105	291	.....	60,310	.....	150,307	15	.....	.....	15
Wisconsin	52,843	.....	66,090	12,668	579	.....	119,512	.....	5	.....	5
Total	1,838,169	142,353	1,341,264	146,730	874,534	8,064	4,053,967	174	114	8	296
Buchanan's plurality	‡496,905	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Plurality over Fillmore. †Plurality over Fremont. ‡Plurality over Buchanan.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.								ELECTORAL VOTE.					
	A. Lincoln, Republican.		S. A. Douglas. Ind. Dem.		J. C. Breckinridge. Democrat.		John Bell. Const. Union.		Total Vote.	A. Lincoln, of Illinois.	J. C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.	John Bell, of Tennessee.	S. A. Douglas, of Illinois.	Total.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.						
Alabama.....			13,651		48,831	7,355	27,825		90,307		9			9
Arkansas.....			5,227		28,732	3,411	20,094		54,053		4			4
California....	39,173	*657	38,516		34,334		6,817		118,340	4				4
Connecticut...	43,692	10,238	15,522		14,641		3,291		77,146	6				6
Delaware.....	3,815		1,023		7,347	†3,483	3,864		16,049		3			3
Florida.....			367		8,543	2,739	5,437		14,347		3			3
Georgia.....			11,590		51,889	†9,003	42,886		106,365		10			10
Illinois.....	172,161	5,629	160,215		2,404		3,913		338,693	11				11
Indiana.....	139,033	5,923	115,509		12,295		5,306		272,143	13				13
Iowa.....	70,409	12,487	55,111		1,048		1,763		128,331	4				4
Kentucky.....	1,364		25,651		53,143		66,058	†12,915	146,216			12		12
Louisiana.....			7,625		22,681	†2,477	20,204		50,510		6			6
Maine.....	62,811	27,704	26,693		6,368		2,046		97,918	8				8
Maryland.....	2,294		5,966		42,482	†722	41,760		92,502		8			8
Massachusetts	106,533	43,891	34,372		5,939		22,331		169,175	13				13
Michigan.....	88,480	22,213	65,057		865		405		154,747	6				6
Minnesota....	22,069	9,339	11,920		748		62		34,799	4				4
Mississippi...			3,283		40,797	12,474	25,040		69,120		7			7
Missouri.....	17,028		58,801	†429	31,317		58,372		165,518				9	9
N. Hampshire.	37,519	9,085	25,881		2,112		441		65,953	5				5
New Jersey...	58,324		62,801	‡477					121,125	4			3	7
New York.....	362,646	50,136	312,510						675,156	35				35
N. Carolina...			2,701		48,339	648	44,990		96,030		10			10
Ohio.....	231,610	20,779	187,232		11,405		12,194		442,441	23				23
Oregon.....	5,270	*1,319	3,951		3,006		183		12,410	3				3
Pennsylvania.	268,030	59,618	16,765		178,871		12,776		476,442	27				27
Rhode Island.	12,244	4,537	7,707						19,951	4				4
S. Carolina...	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis	lature.						8			8
Tennessee.....			11,350		64,709		69,274	‡4,565	145,333			12		12
Texas.....					47,548	32,110	15,438		62,986		4			4
Vermont.....	33,808	24,772	6,849		1,969		218		42,844	5				5
Virginia.....	1,929		16,290		74,323		74,681	‡358	167,223			15		15
Wisconsin....	86,110	20,040	65,021		888		161		152,180	5				5
Total.....	1,866,352	326,391	1,375,157	4,477	847,514	58,737	587,830	.....	4,676,853	180	72	39	12	303
Lincoln's plurality.....		*491,195												

*Plurality over Douglas. †Plurality over Bell. ‡Plurality over Breckinridge.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1864.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.					ELECTORAL VOTE.			
	Abraham Lincoln, Republican.		Geo. B. McClellan, Democrat.		Total Vote.	A. Lincoln, of Illinois.	G. B. McClellan, of New Jersey.	Vacancies.	Total.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Majority.					
Alabama*								8	8
Arkansas*								5	5
California	62,134	18,293	43,841		105,975	5			5
Connecticut	44,691	2,406	42,285		86,976	6			6
Delaware	8,155		8,767	612	16,922		3		3
Florida*								3	3
Georgia*								9	9
Illinois	189,496	30,766	158,730		348,226	16			16
Indiana	150,422	20,189	130,233		280,655	13			13
Iowa	89,075	39,479	49,596		138,671	8			8
Kansas	16,441	12,750	3,691		20,132	3			3
Kentucky	27,786		64,301	36,515	92,087		11		11
Louisiana*								7	7
Maine	61,803	17,592	44,211		106,014	7			7
Maryland	40,153	7,414	32,739		72,892	7			7
Massachusetts	126,742	77,997	48,745		175,487	12			12
Michigan	91,521	16,917	74,604		166,125	8			8
Minnesota	25,060	7,685	17,375		42,435	4			4
Mississippi*								7	7
Missouri	72,750	41,072	31,678		104,428	11			11
Nevada	9,826	3,232	6,594		16,420	2		1	3
New Hampshire	36,400	3,529	32,871		69,271	5			5
New Jersey	60,723		68,024	7,301	128,747		7		7
New York	368,735	6,749	361,986		730,721	33			33
North Carolina*								9	9
Ohio	265,154	59,586	205,568		470,722	21			21
Oregon	9,888	1,431	8,457		18,345	3			3
Pennsylvania	296,391	20,075	276,316		572,707	26			26
Rhode Island	13,692	5,222	8,470		22,162	4			4
South Carolina*								6	6
Tennessee*								10	10
Texas*								6	6
Vermont	42,419	29,098	13,321		55,740	5			5
Virginia*								10	10
West Virginia	23,152	12,714	10,438		33,590	5			5
Wisconsin	83,458	17,574	65,884		149,342	8			8
Total	2,216,067	451,770	1,808,725	44,428	4,024,792	212	21	81	314
Lincoln's majority		407,342							

The eleven states marked thus () did not vote.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE					ELECTORAL VOTE.			
	Ulysses S. Grant, Republican.		Horatio Seymour, Democrat.		Total Vote.	U. S. Grant, of Illinois.	H. Seymour, of New York.	Vacancies.	Total.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Majority.					
Alabama	76,306	4,278	72,088	.....	148,454	8	.....	.....	8
Arkansas	22,112	3,034	19,078	.....	41,190	5	.....	.....	5
California	54,583	506	54,077	.....	108,660	5	.....	.....	5
Connecticut	50,995	3,043	47,952	.....	98,947	6	.....	.....	6
Delaware	7,623	.....	10,980	3,357	18,603	.....	3	.....	3
Florida	Electors	chosen	by the	Legisla	ture.	3	.....	.....	3
Georgia	57,134	.....	102,722	45,588	159,856	.....	9	.....	9
Illinois	250,303	51,160	199,143	.....	449,446	16	.....	.....	16
Indiana	176,548	9,568	166,980	.....	343,528	13	.....	.....	13
Iowa	120,399	46,359	74,040	.....	194,439	8	.....	.....	8
Kansas	31,048	17,058	13,990	.....	45,038	3	.....	.....	3
Kentucky	39,566	.....	115,890	76,324	155,456	.....	11	.....	11
Louisiana	33,263	.....	80,225	46,962	113,488	.....	7	.....	7
Maine	70,493	28,033	42,460	.....	112,953	7	.....	.....	7
Maryland	30,438	.....	62,357	31,919	92,795	.....	7	.....	7
Massachusetts	136,477	77,069	59,408	.....	195,885	12	.....	.....	12
Michigan	128,550	31,481	97,069	.....	225,619	8	.....	.....	8
Minnesota	43,545	15,470	28,075	.....	71,620	4	.....	.....	4
Mississippi .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	7
Missouri	86,860	21,232	65,628	.....	152,488	11	.....	.....	11
Nebraska	9,729	4,290	5,430	.....	15,168	3	.....	.....	3
Nevada	6,480	1,262	5,218	.....	11,698	3	.....	.....	3
New Hampshire	38,191	6,967	31,224	.....	69,415	5	.....	.....	5
New Jersey	80,131	.....	83,001	2,870	163,132	.....	7	.....	7
New York	419,883	.....	429,883	10,000	849,766	.....	33	.....	33
North Carolina	96,769	12,168	84,601	.....	181,370	9	.....	.....	9
Ohio	280,223	41,617	238,606	.....	518,829	21	.....	.....	21
Oregon	10,961	.....	11,125	164	22,086	.....	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	342,280	28,898	313,382	.....	655,652	26	.....	.....	26
Rhode Island	12,993	6,445	6,548	.....	19,541	4	.....	.....	4
South Carolina	62,301	17,064	45,237	.....	107,538	6	.....	.....	6
Tennessee	56,628	30,499	26,129	.....	82,757	10	.....	.....	10
Texas .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6
Vermont	44,167	32,122	12,045	.....	56,212	5	.....	.....	5
Virginia .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	10
West Virginia	29,175	8,869	20,306	.....	49,481	5	.....	.....	5
Wisconsin	108,857	24,150	84,707	.....	193,564	8	.....	.....	8
Total	3,015,071	522,642	2,709,613	217,184	5,724,684	214	80	23	317
Grant's majority .....	.....	305,458	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1872.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.						ELECTORAL VOTE.							
	U. S. Grant, Republican.		H. Greeley, Dem. and Lib. Rep.		O'Connor, Dem.	Black, Temp.	Total Vote.	Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois.	T. A. Hendricks, of Indiana.	B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri.	C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia.	D. Davis, of Illinois.	Not Counted.	Total.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Vote.								
Alabama.....	90,272	10,828	79,444	.....	.....	.....	169,716	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Arkansas.....	41,373	3,446	37,927	.....	.....	.....	79,300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6
California.....	54,020	12,234	40,718	.....	1,068	.....	95,806	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Connecticut...	50,638	4,348	45,880	.....	204	206	96,928	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Delaware.....	11,115	422	10,206	.....	487	.....	21,808	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Florida.....	17,763	2,336	15,427	.....	.....	.....	33,190	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Georgia.....	62,550	.....	76,356	9,806	4,000	.....	142,906	.....	.....	6	2	.....	3	11
Illinois.....	241,944	53,948	184,938	.....	3,058	.....	429,940	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21
Indiana.....	186,147	21,098	163,632	.....	1,417	.....	351,196	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15
Iowa.....	131,566	58,149	71,196	.....	2,221	.....	204,983	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Kansas.....	67,048	33,482	32,970	.....	596	.....	100,614	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Kentucky.....	88,766	.....	99,995	8,855	2,374	.....	191,135	.....	8	4	.....	.....	.....	12
Louisiana.....	71,663	14,634	57,029	.....	.....	.....	128,692	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8
Maine.....	61,422	32,335	29,087	.....	.....	.....	90,509	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Maryland.....	66,760	.....	67,687	908	19	.....	134,466	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Massachusetts	133,472	74,212	59,260	.....	.....	.....	192,732	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13
Michigan.....	138,455	55,968	78,355	.....	2,861	.....	220,942	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Minnesota.....	55,117	20,694	34,423	.....	.....	1,271	89,540	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Mississippi....	82,175	34,887	47,288	.....	.....	.....	129,463	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Nebraska.....	119,196	.....	151,434	29,809	2,429	.....	273,059	.....	6	8	.....	1	.....	15
Missouri.....	18,329	10,517	7,812	.....	.....	.....	26,141	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Nevada.....	8,413	2,177	6,236	.....	.....	.....	14,649	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
N. Hampshire..	37,168	5,444	31,424	.....	100	.....	68,892	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
New Jersey....	91,656	14,570	76,456	.....	630	200	168,742	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
New York....	440,736	51,800	387,281	.....	1,454	.....	829,672	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35
North Carolina	94,769	24,675	70,094	.....	.....	201	164,863	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Ohio.....	281,852	34,268	244,321	.....	1,163	.....	529,436	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
Oregon.....	11,819	3,517	7,730	.....	572	2,100	20,121	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Pennsylvania..	349,589	135,918	212,041	.....	.....	.....	563,260	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29
Rhode Island..	13,665	8,336	5,329	.....	.....	1,630	18,994	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
South Carolina	72,290	49,400	22,703	.....	187	.....	95,180	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Tennessee.....	85,655	.....	94,391	8,736	.....	.....	180,046	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
Texas.....	47,406	.....	66,500	16,595	2,499	.....	116,405	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Vermont.....	41,481	29,961	10,927	.....	593	.....	53,001	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Virginia.....	93,468	1,772	91,654	.....	42	.....	185,164	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
West Virginia..	32,315	2,264	29,451	.....	600	.....	62,366	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Wisconsin.....	104,997	17,686	86,477	.....	834	.....	192,308	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Total.....	3,597,070	825,326	2,834,079	74,709	29,408	5,608	6,466,165	286	42	18	2	1	17	366
Grant's maj..	.....	727,975	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1876.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.							ELECTORAL VOTE.			
	S. J. Tilden, Democrat.		R. B. Hayes, Republican.		Peter Cooper, Greenback.	G. C. Smith, Temperance.	Scattering.	Total.	R. B. Hayes, of Ohio.	S. J. Tilden, of New York.	Total.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Majority.							
Alabama	102,002	33,772	68,230	.....	.....	.....	.....	170,332	.....	10	10
Arkansas	58,071	19,113	38,669	.....	289	.....	.....	97,029	.....	6	6
California	76,465	.....	79,269	2,738	47	.....	19	155,800	6	.....	6
Colorado	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis	lature.	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Connecticut	61,934	1,712	59,034	.....	774	378	36	122,156	.....	6	6
Delaware	13,381	2,629	10,752	.....	.....	.....	.....	24,133	.....	3	3
Florida*	22,923	.....	23,849	926	.....	.....	.....	46,772	4	.....	4
Georgia	130,088	79,642	50,446	.....	.....	.....	.....	180,534	.....	11	11
Illinois	258,601	.....	278,232	1,971	17,233	141	286	554,493	21	.....	21
Indiana	213,526	5,515	208,011	.....	9,533	.....	.....	431,070	.....	15	15
Iowa	112,099	.....	171,327	50,191	9,001	36	.....	292,463	11	.....	11
Kansas	37,902	.....	78,322	32,511	7,776	110	23	124,133	5	.....	5
Kentucky	150,690	59,772	97,156	.....	1,944	818	.....	259,608	.....	12	12
Louisiana*	70,508	.....	75,135	4,627	.....	.....	.....	145,643	8	.....	8
Maine	49,823	.....	66,300	15,814	663	.....	.....	116,786	7	.....	7
Maryland	91,780	19,756	71,981	.....	33	10	.....	163,804	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	108,777	.....	150,063	40,423	779	84	.....	259,703	13	.....	13
Michigan	141,095	.....	106,534	15,542	9,060	766	71	317,526	11	.....	11
Minnesota	48,799	.....	72,962	21,780	2,311	72	.....	124,144	5	.....	5
Mississippi	112,173	59,568	52,605	.....	.....	.....	.....	164,778	.....	8	8
Missouri	203,077	54,389	145,029	.....	3,498	64	97	351,765	.....	15	15
Nebraska	17,554	.....	31,916	10,326	2,320	1,599	117	53,506	3	.....	3
Nevada	9,308	.....	10,383	1,075	.....	.....	.....	19,691	3	.....	3
New Hampshire	38,509	.....	41,539	2,954	76	.....	.....	80,124	5	.....	5
New Jersey	115,962	11,690	103,517	.....	712	43	.....	220,231	.....	9	9
New York	521,949	26,568	489,207	.....	1,987	2,359	1,828	1,017,330	.....	35	35
North Carolina	125,427	17,010	108,417	.....	.....	.....	.....	233,844	.....	10	10
Ohio	323,182	.....	330,698	2,747	3,057	1,636	76	658,649	22	.....	22
Oregon*	14,149	.....	5,206	547	510	.....	.....	29,865	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	366,158	.....	384,122	9,375	7,187	1,319	83	758,869	29	.....	29
Rhode Island	10,712	.....	15,787	4,947	68	60	.....	26,627	4	.....	4
South Carolina*	90,906	.....	91,870	964	.....	.....	.....	182,776	7	.....	7
Tennessee	133,166	43,600	89,566	.....	.....	.....	.....	222,732	.....	12	12
Texas	104,755	59,955	44,800	.....	.....	.....	.....	149,555	.....	8	8
Vermont	20,254	.....	44,092	23,838	.....	.....	.....	64,346	5	.....	5
Virginia	139,670	44,112	95,558	.....	.....	.....	.....	235,228	.....	11	11
West Virginia	56,455	12,384	42,698	.....	1,373	.....	.....	100,526	.....	5	5
Wisconsin	123,927	.....	130,668	5,205	1,509	27	.....	256,131	10	.....	10
Total	4,284,757	545,672	4,033,950	248,501	81,740	9,522	2,636	8,412,605	185	184	369
Tilden's majority .....	.....	156,909	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*From Florida two sets of certificates were received; from Louisiana, three; from Oregon, two; and from South Carolina, two. They were referred to an electoral commission, formed under the provisions of the Compromise Bill, approved Jan. 29, 1877. The commission decided in favor of counting the electoral vote as returned in the table.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1880.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.							ELECTORAL VOTE.		
	Garfield, Republican.	Hancock, Democrat.	Weaver, Greenback.	Scattering.	Garfield's Plurality.	Hancock's Plurality.	Total Vote.	Garfield.	Hancock.	Total.
Alabama	56,178	90,687	4,642	.....	.....	34,509	151,507	.....	10	10
Arkansas	41,661	60,489	4,079	.....	.....	18,828	106,229	.....	6	6
California	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....	.....	78	164,166	1	5	6
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435	.....	2,803	.....	53,532	3	.....	3
Connecticut	67,073	64,417	868	412	2,656	.....	132,770	6	.....	6
Delaware	14,150	15,183	.....	.....	.....	1,033	29,333	.....	3	3
Florida	23,654	27,964	.....	.....	.....	4,310	51,618	.....	4	4
Georgia	52,648	102,522	481	.....	.....	49,874	155,651	.....	11	11
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,358	596	40,716	.....	622,312	21	.....	21
Indiana	223,164	225,528	12,986	.....	6,636	.....	470,678	15	.....	15
Iowa	183,904	105,845	32,327	630	79,059	.....	322,706	11	.....	11
Kansas	121,520	59,789	19,710	.....	61,731	.....	201,019	5	.....	5
Kentucky	104,550	147,999	11,498	257	.....	43,449	264,304	.....	12	12
Louisiana	37,994	65,310	439	.....	.....	27,316	97,201	.....	8	8
Maine	74,039	65,171	4,408	235	8,868	.....	143,853	7	.....	7
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818	.....	.....	15,191	173,039	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	165,205	111,960	4,548	799	53,245	.....	282,512	13	.....	13
Michigan	185,190	131,300	34,795	1,156	53,890	.....	352,441	11	.....	11
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,267	286	40,588	.....	150,771	5	.....	5
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797	677	.....	40,896	117,078	.....	8	8
Missouri	153,567	208,609	35,045	.....	.....	55,042	397,221	.....	15	15
Nebraska	54,979	28,523	3,853	.....	26,456	.....	87,355	3	.....	3
Nevada	8,732	9,611	.....	.....	.....	879	18,343	.....	3	3
New Hampshire	44,852	40,794	528	189	4,058	.....	86,363	5	.....	5
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617	191	.....	2,010	245,928	.....	9	9
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	2,177	21,033	.....	1,104,605	35	.....	35
North Carolina	115,878	124,204	1,136	.....	.....	8,326	241,218	.....	10	10
Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,642	34,227	.....	724,967	22	.....	22
Oregon	20,619	19,948	249	.....	671	.....	40,816	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,983	37,276	.....	874,783	29	.....	29
Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236	25	7,416	.....	29,235	4	.....	4
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566	7	.....	54,241	170,956	.....	7	7
Tennessee	107,677	128,191	5,916	43	.....	20,514	241,827	.....	12	12
Texas	57,815	156,228	27,405	.....	.....	98,383	241,478	.....	8	8
Vermont	45,090	18,181	1,212	110	26,909	.....	64,593	5	.....	5
Virginia	84,020	127,976	139	.....	.....	43,956	212,135	.....	11	11
West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....	.....	11,148	112,713	.....	5	5
Wisconsin	144,397	114,634	7,080	161	29,763	.....	267,172	10	.....	10
Total	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	*12,576	537,001	529,983	9,204,428	214	155	369
Plurality	7,018	.....	.....	.....	7,018	.....	.....	59	.....	.....
Per cent.	48.26	48.25	3.33	.13	.....	.....	.....	58.00	42.00	.....

*Of the scattering votes, 10,305 were cast for Neal Dow, "Prohibition" candidate for President, and 707 votes for John W. Phelps, "American" or Anti-Secret-Society candidate.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1884.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.							ELECTORAL VOTE.		
	Blaine, Republican.	Cleveland, Democrat.	Butler, Greenback.	St. John, Prohibition.	Blaine's Plurality.	Cleveland's Plurality.	Total.	Blaine.	Cleveland.	Total.
Alabama	59,144	92,973	762	610	.....	33,829	153,489	.....	10	10
Arkansas	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....	.....	22,033	125,580	.....	7	7
California	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,910	13,128	.....	193,738	8	.....	8
Colorado	36,166	27,603	1,961	762	8,563	.....	66,492	3	.....	3
Connecticut	65,898	67,182	1,685	2,494	.....	1,284	137,233	.....	6	6
Delaware	13,053	16,976	10	64	.....	3,923	30,103	.....	3	3
Florida	28,031	31,769	.....	72	.....	3,738	59,872	.....	4	4
Georgia	47,692	94,053	135	168	.....	46,961	143,543	.....	12	12
Illinois	337,411	312,584	10,849	12,005	24,827	.....	672,849	22	.....	22
Indiana	238,480	244,992	8,293	3,028	.....	6,512	494,793	.....	15	15
Iowa	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472	19,773	.....	375,969	13	.....	13
Kansas	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,954	64,274	.....	265,843	9	.....	9
Kentucky	118,122	152,961	1,693	3,139	.....	34,839	275,915	12	.....	13
Louisiana	46,347	62,546	120	338	.....	16,199	109,234	8	.....	8
Maine	71,716	51,656	3,994	2,143	20,060	.....	129,509	6	.....	6
Maryland	85,748	96,866	578	2,827	.....	11,118	186,019	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	146,724	122,352	24,382	9,925	24,372	.....	303,383	14	.....	14
Michigan	102,669	189,361	753	18,403	3,308	.....	401,186	13	.....	13
Minnesota	111,685	70,065	3,583	4,684	41,620	.....	190,017	7	.....	7
Mississippi	43,509	76,510	.....	.....	.....	33,001	120,019	.....	9	9
Missouri	202,929	235,988	.....	2,153	.....	33,059	441,070	.....	16	16
Nebraska	76,903	54,391	.....	2,899	22,512	.....	134,204	5	.....	5
Nevada	7,193	5,578	26	.....	1,615	.....	12,797	3	.....	3
New Hampshire.....	43,250	39,187	552	1,571	4,063	.....	84,566	4	.....	4
New Jersey.....	123,366	127,778	3,456	6,153	.....	4,412	261,537	.....	9	9
New York.....	562,001	563,048	17,002	25,001	.....	1,047	1,171,312	.....	36	36
North Carolina.....	125,068	142,952	.....	454	.....	17,884	268,474	.....	11	11
Ohio	400,082	368,286	5,170	11,269	31,796	.....	784,807	23	.....	23
Oregon	26,860	24,604	726	492	2,256	.....	52,682	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	473,804	392,785	17,002	15,737	81,019	.....	890,328	30	.....	30
Rhode Island.....	19,030	12,391	422	928	6,639	.....	32,771	4	.....	4
South Carolina.....	21,733	69,764	.....	.....	.....	48,031	91,578	.....	9	9
Tennessee	124,090	133,270	957	1,151	.....	9,180	259,468	.....	12	12
Texas	91,701	223,679	3,321	3,508	.....	131,978	322,209	.....	13	13
Vermont	39,514	17,331	785	1,752	22,183	.....	59,382	4	.....	4
Virginia	139,356	145,497	.....	138	.....	6,141	284,991	.....	12	12
West Virginia.....	63,096	67,317	805	939	.....	4,221	132,157	.....	6	6
Wisconsin	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656	14,698	.....	319,942	11	.....	11
Total	4,848,334	4,911,017	133,825	151,809	406,706	469,389	10,048,061	182	219	401
Plurality .....	.....	62,683	.....	.....	.....	62,683	.....	.....	37	.....
Per cent.....	48.25	48.87	1.33	1.51	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1888.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.							ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Cleveland, Democrat.	Harrison, Republican.	Fisk, Prohibition.	Streeter, Union Labor.	Cleveland's Plurality.	Harrison's Plurality.	Total Vote.	Cleveland, Democrat.	Harrison, Republican.
Alabama	117,320	56,197	583	.....	61,123	.....	174,100	10	.....
Arkansas	85,962	58,752	641	10,613	27,210	.....	155,968	7	.....
California	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....	.....	7,087	251,339	.....	8
Colorado	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,266	.....	13,207	91,798	.....	3
Connecticut	74,920	74,584	4,234	240	336	.....	153,978	6	.....
Delaware	16,414	12,973	400	.....	3,441	.....	29,787	3	.....
Florida	39,561	26,657	423	.....	12,904	.....	66,641	4	.....
Georgia	100,499	40,496	1,808	136	60,003	.....	142,939	12	.....
Illinois	348,278	370,473	21,695	7,090	.....	22,195	747,686	.....	22
Indiana	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694	.....	2,348	536,949	.....	15
Iowa	179,877	211,598	3,550	9,105	.....	31,721	404,130	.....	13
Kansas	102,745	182,904	6,779	37,778	.....	80,159	334,035	.....	9
Kentucky	183,800	155,134	5,225	622	28,666	.....	344,781	13	.....
Louisiana	85,032	30,484	160	39	54,548	.....	115,744	8	.....
Maine	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344	.....	23,253	128,250	.....	6
Maryland	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....	6,182	.....	210,921	8	.....
Massachusetts	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....	.....	32,037	344,448	.....	14
Michigan	213,469	236,387	20,942	4,555	.....	22,918	470,273	.....	13
Minnesota	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,094	.....	38,107	263,306	.....	7
Mississippi	85,471	30,096	218	22	55,375	.....	115,807	9	.....
Missouri	261,974	236,257	4,539	18,632	25,717	.....	523,198	16	.....
Nebraska	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226	.....	27,873	202,653	.....	5
Nevada	5,326	7,229	41	.....	.....	1,903	12,596	.....	3
New Hampshire	43,382	45,724	1,566	13	.....	2,342	90,730	.....	4
New Jersey	151,493	144,344	7,904	.....	7,149	.....	303,741	9	.....
New York	635,757	648,759	30,231	626	.....	13,002	1,320,109	.....	36
North Carolina	147,902	134,784	2,789	47	13,118	.....	285,512	11	.....
Ohio	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496	.....	19,599	841,941	.....	23
Oregon	26,522	33,291	1,677	363	.....	6,769	61,911	.....	3
Pennsylvania	446,633	526,091	20,947	3,873	.....	79,458	997,568	.....	30
Rhode Island	17,530	21,968	1,250	18	.....	4,438	40,766	.....	4
South Carolina	65,825	13,736	.....	.....	52,089	.....	79,941	9	.....
Tennessee	158,779	138,988	5,969	48	19,791	.....	303,736	12	.....
Texas	234,883	88,422	4,749	29,459	146,461	.....	357,513	13	.....
Vermont	16,788	46,192	1,460	.....	.....	28,404	63,440	.....	4
Virginia	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....	1,539	.....	304,093	12	.....
West Virginia	78,677	78,171	1,084	1,508	506	.....	159,440	6	.....
Wisconsin	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552	.....	21,321	354,614	.....	11
*Total	5,538,233	5,440,216	249,807	148,105	576,158	478,141	11,392,382	168	233
Pluralities	98,017	.....	.....	.....	98,017	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Cowdry, United Labor, received 2,808; and Curtis, American, received 1,591 votes.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1892.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.						Total Vote	ELECTORAL VOTE.			Total.
	Cleveland, Democrat.	Harrison, Republican.	Weaver, Populist.	Bidwell, Prohibition.	Wing, Soc. Labor.	Pluralities.		Cleveland, Democrat.	Harrison, Republican.	Weaver, Populist.	
Alabama	138,138	9,197	85,181	239	.....	52,957 C	232,755	11	.....	.....	11
Arkansas	87,834	46,884	11,831	113	.....	40,950 C	146,662	8	.....	.....	8
California	118,293	118,149	25,352	8,129	.....	144 C	269,923	8	1	.....	9
Colorado .....	.....	38,620	53,584	1,638	.....	14,964 W	93,842	.....	.....	4	4
Connecticut	82,395	77,025	806	4,025	329	5,370 C	164,580	6	.....	.....	6
Delaware	18,581	18,083	13	565	.....	498 C	37,242	3	.....	.....	3
Florida	30,143	.....	4,843	475	.....	25,300 C	35,461	4	.....	.....	4
Georgia	129,361	48,305	42,937	988	.....	81,056 C	221,531	13	.....	.....	13
Idaho .....	.....	8,599	10,520	288	.....	1,921 W	19,407	.....	.....	3	3
Illinois	426,281	399,288	22,207	25,870	.....	26,993 C	873,646	24	.....	.....	24
Indiana	262,740	255,615	22,208	13,050	.....	7,125 C	533,613	15	.....	.....	15
Iowa	196,367	219,795	20,595	6,402	.....	22,965 H	443,159	.....	13	.....	13
Kansas .....	.....	157,237	163,111	4,539	.....	5,874 W	324,887	.....	.....	10	10
Kentucky	175,461	135,441	23,500	6,442	.....	40,020 C	340,844	13	.....	.....	13
Louisiana	87,922	13,282	13,281	.....	.....	61,359 C	114,485	8	.....	.....	8
Maine	48,044	62,923	2,381	3,062	.....	14,979 H	116,410	.....	6	.....	6
Maryland	113,866	92,736	796	5,877	.....	21,130 C	213,275	8	.....	.....	8
Massachusetts ..	176,813	202,814	3,210	7,539	649	26,001 H	391,025	.....	15	.....	15
Michigan	202,296	222,708	19,892	14,069	.....	20,412 H	458,965	5	9	.....	14
Minnesota	100,920	122,823	29,313	12,182	.....	21,903 H*	265,238	.....	9	.....	9
Mississippi	40,237	1,406	10,256	910	.....	29,981 C	52,809	9	.....	.....	9
Missouri	268,398	226,918	41,213	4,331	.....	41,480 C	540,860	17	.....	.....	17
Montana	17,581	18,851	7,334	549	.....	1,270 H	44,315	.....	3	.....	3
Nebraska	24,943	87,227	83,134	4,902	.....	4,093 H	200,206	.....	8	.....	8
Nevada	714	2,811	7,264	89	.....	4,453 W	10,878	.....	.....	.....	3
New Hampshire..	42,081	45,658	292	1,297	.....	3,547 H	89,328	.....	4	.....	4
New Jersey.....	171,042	156,068	969	8,131	1,337	14,974 C	337,547	10	.....	.....	19
New York.....	654,868	609,350	16,429	38,190	17,956	45,518 C	1,336,793	36	.....	.....	36
North Carolina..	132,951	100,342	44,736	2,636	.....	32,009 C	280,665	11	.....	.....	11
North Dakota....	.....	17,519	17,700	899	.....	181 W	36,118	1	1	1	3
Ohio	404,115	405,187	14,850	26,012	.....	1,072 H	850,164	1	22	.....	23
Oregon	14,243	35,002	†26,965	2,281	.....	811 F†	78,491	.....	3	1	4
Pennsylvania ..	452,264	516,011	8,714	25,123	898	63,767 H	1,003,010	.....	32	.....	32
Rhode Island....	24,335	26,972	228	1,654	.....	2,637 H	53,189	.....	4	.....	4
South Carolina..	54,692	13,345	2,407	.....	.....	41,347 C	70,444	9	.....	.....	9
South Dakota....	9,081	34,888	26,544	.....	.....	8,344 H	70,513	.....	4	.....	4
Tennessee	138,874	100,331	23,447	4,851	.....	38,543 C	267,503	12	.....	.....	12
Texas	239,148	81,444	99,688	2,165	.....	139,460 C	422,445	15	.....	.....	15
Vermont	16,325	37,992	43	1,415	.....	21,667 H	55,775	.....	4	.....	4
Virginia	163,977	113,262	12,275	2,738	.....	50,715 C	292,252	12	.....	.....	12
Washington	29,802	36,460	19,165	2,542	.....	6,658 H	87,969	.....	4	.....	4
West Virginia....	84,467	80,293	4,166	2,145	.....	4,174 C	171,071	6	.....	.....	6
Wisconsin	177,335	170,791	9,909	13,132	.....	6,544 C	371,167	12	.....	.....	12
Wyoming .....	.....	8,454	7,722	530	.....	732 H	16,706	.....	3	.....	3
Total	5,556,918	5,176,108	1,041,028	264,133	21,169	.....	12,059,356	277	145	22	444

Cleveland's plurality, 380,810.

*Harrison over Fusion vote, 14,182.

†In Oregon the highest vote for an elector was that cast for the one candidate who was on both the Democratic and Populist tickets. He received 35,813 votes. The next highest vote was for a Republican candidate for elector, 35,002. This gave the Fusion candidate (who afterward voted for Weaver) a plurality of 811, and it so appears in the column of pluralities above.

PART II.



A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MINNESOTA FROM
A REPUBLICAN POINT OF VIEW.



ALEXANDER RAMSEY

First Territorial and Second State Governor of Minnesota—United States Senator.

[From an engraving made soon after his arrival in the Territory.]

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MINNESOTA

FROM

A REPUBLICAN POINT OF VIEW.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY POLITICS IN MINNESOTA.

THE political history of Minnesota begins with the admission of the State of Wisconsin to the Union in 1848. Wisconsin Territory embraced all of the country between Lake Michigan and the Missouri river, but when the state was admitted its western boundary line was fixed on the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. This left a little strip of country between the St. Croix and Mississippi, in which there were at that time a few settlers, without any form of government. There was a small sawmill at Stillwater in 1848, and a few lumbermen worked for the mill, cutting logs, near the Dalles of St. Croix. About a dozen farmers had established themselves on the fine plateau which forms a peninsula between the St. Croix and the Mississippi. St. Paul was a frontier village of about two hundred people, and at St. Anthony a sawmill had been built and there were perhaps a hundred and fifty inhabitants. All of the country west of the Mississippi belonged to the Indians — the Sioux and the Chippewas. These two tribes were usually at war with each other. The foremost men in what is now Minnesota were Henry H. Sibley, who carried on a trading post at Mendota for the American Fur Company, and Henry M. Rice, who lived at St. Paul and traded with the Chippewas in the upper country. They were both men of strong character, of unusual intellectual force, and of very attractive personality. General Sibley was over six feet high, of muscular build, and of commanding presence. He had strongly marked features, an aquiline nose, and piercing dark eyes. Nature evidently modeled him

for a leader of men, and he exercised a dominating influence over the traders, trappers, missionaries, and half-breed Indians with whom he came in contact. Mr. Rice was a man of a milder type of character, exceedingly courteous and amiable and very sagacious in his business dealings. He accomplished his ends more by persuasion than by evident forcible efforts. He was of medium stature and rather slender build, but in hardships on the frontier he equaled in endurance his muscular contemporary, General Sibley. Both Sibley and Rice were Democrats, and they were personal friends, but each was a man of too strong character to willingly serve under the leadership of the other, and the consequence was that each was the head of a faction in the Democratic party. Most of the drifting adventurous class which formed the only white population on the upper Mississippi and the St. Croix at that time belonged to the Democratic party. That party was very strong all along the western frontier and in the new states of the Mississippi valley. It was made up of the ruder elements in country life and the foreign elements in the Western States. The Whig party prided itself on being the party of gentlemen. Its strength was chiefly with the educated classes—the mercantile and professional men of the towns, and many of the well-to-do farmers of the North and the large planters of the South, were as a rule Whigs.

When news reached the little settlements at Stillwater, St. Paul, and St. Anthony that Wisconsin had been made a state, and that the country west of

the St. Croix was practically left out in the cold, they took counsel together in a meeting held at Stillwater. There were one or two lawyers present who maintained that the Territory of Wisconsin was still in existence, and embraced all the country not included in the State of Wisconsin. Sibley and Rice were both present at the meeting. It was agreed that Sibley should then and there be elected delegate to Congress for what was left of the Territory of Wisconsin, and should proceed to Washington, obtain a seat in the House if possible, and urge upon Congress the formation of a new territory to be called Minnesota, and to embrace all that part of the former Territory of Wisconsin not included in the new state. Among the men who took a prominent part in the Stillwater convention, besides Sibley and Rice, were Franklin Steele and W. R. Marshall, who then lived at St. Anthony, and W. D. Fields, A. Larpenteur and J. W. Bass of St. Paul. A letter was read from John Catlin, Secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin. Governor Dodge had been elected one of the United States Senators from the new state. Mr. Catlin encouraged the view that the Territory of Wisconsin was still in existence and included all the country which was not embraced in the new State of Wisconsin. In October of the same year, Mr. Catlin came to Stillwater, and, assuming to be acting governor because of the vacancy caused by Governor Dodge's election to the Senate, issued a proclamation for an election on October 30th to choose a delegate to Congress. The only polling place was Stillwater, and Sibley was chosen without opposition. Sibley agreed to pay his own expenses to Washington, and reached the capital the following December at the opening of the session of Congress.

Stephen A. Douglas was at that time chairman of the Committee on Territories in the Senate. Fortunately, he knew a good deal about Minnesota. A few years before he had come up the Mississippi in a steamboat on a visit to Fort Snelling, and had been the guest of Sibley at Mendota. He took an interest in the project for establishing the Territory of Minnesota, but he insisted that the proper place for the capital was Mendota, at the junction of the Mis-

issippi and Minnesota rivers. During his stay there he had gone upon the hill, then called Pilot Knob, just west of the present village of Mendota, and viewing the glorious prospect from that elevation, he had predicted that the capitol of a new State would some day rise upon that particular spot. Now there had been an agreement entered into at the Stillwater meeting that the capitol of the Territory should be at St. Paul, the penitentiary at Stillwater, and the future university at St. Anthony. Sibley finally succeeded in convincing Douglas that inasmuch as all the population was on the east bank of the Mississippi and all the country west of that river belonged to the Indians, it would not be wise to establish the capital at Mendota, where there was nothing but the fur company's trading store and the stone house which Sibley had built for his own occupancy. The bill establishing the Territory of Minnesota passed both houses without much opposition. It covered all the country between the western boundary of Wisconsin and the Missouri river, and it provided that the capital should be temporarily at St. Paul, until such time as the legislature might determine upon its permanent location. Sibley was admitted to the House as delegate from the new territory. The news of the action of Congress was received with great joy in the little frontier hamlets on the St. Croix and Mississippi.

The presidential election of 1848 had resulted in the triumph of the Whigs. Gen. Zachary Taylor was elected President, and was inaugurated March 4, 1849, and one of his first duties was to appoint a governor and judicial officers for Minnesota. For governor he selected an active and successful young Whig politician of Pennsylvania, who had managed the Whig campaign in that state the preceding year, as chairman of the state central committee. He lived at Harrisburg, and had served two terms in Congress, although he was only thirty-four years old. He was a man of fine presence and address, of good oratorical powers, and was in all respects an ideal sort of a man to go out into a new community in the West, to make friends with all sorts of people and to wisely lay the foundation of a new state. His name was Alexander Ramsey, and he was des-

tinged to exercise a very great influence in Minnesota for an entire generation. Governor Ramsey, accompanied by his wife, reached St. Paul in May, 1849, after a journey from Harrisburg which occupied nearly a month. He found a straggling little village, consisting of small structures built of logs and boards and inhabited by about two hundred and fifty people. Not finding any house where he could comfortably settle his wife and himself, he accepted an invitation from General Sibley to go over to Mendota and stay for awhile in the big stone house which is still standing in that village. An anecdote is related of Ramsey, that, while visiting Fort Snelling soon after his arrival, he was told by the commanding officer that he was entitled as governor to a salute of seventeen guns. Ramsey replied that he hoped no such demonstration would be made on his account. "Very well," said the commandant; "shall I call out the guard in your honor?" "Don't do it," replied Ramsey. "I don't want any fuss made about my being here." The commandant was evidently disappointed, and said: "As you wish, governor, but I want to do something to show proper respect to the chief executive of this territory. Is there anything that you would suggest or desire?" "Yes," said Ramsey; "if you have a little good whisky in the house, I'll take a glass."

The existence of the Whig party in Minnesota dated from Ramsey's arrival. When it came to the election of a delegate the popularity of Sibley was so great that the new Whig governor decided that it was not worth while to organize a movement against him, and the great fur trader was unanimously returned to Congress.

In spite of the fact that the Federal appointments in the territory were now in possession of the Whigs, including the governor, secretary, chief justice, two associate justices of the supreme court, the marshal, the attorney, and the Indian agents, that party made very little headway in combating the Democracy under the able leadership of Sibley and Rice. In fact, the name Whig does not appear on any of the tickets for members of the territorial legislature or for state or county elections until 1853. In the earlier elections the tickets

against the regular Democratic nominations were labeled "Opposition Ticket," or "People's Ticket." In 1853 the Democrats nominated Henry M. Rice for reelection as delegate to Congress, and the Whigs put up against him Capt. Alexander Wilkin, who had served with credit in the Mexican War and was an active and popular man in the affairs of the new territory. He lived in St. Paul, and was a brother of the late Judge Wilkin. The relative strength of the two parties in Minnesota at that time is shown by the election returns. Rice received 2,149 votes, and Wilkin only 696. The Whigs of that day commonly spoke of the Democrats as the "Moccasin Democracy of Indian Traders," from the fact that all the prominent traders and frontiersmen were ardent supporters of either Sibley or Rice.

The Whigs remained in possession of the Federal offices in Minnesota for four years, but never, as we have seen, succeeded in making a really effective party organization. In 1853 Franklin Pierce was inaugurated President, and he proceeded at once to make a clean sweep of the Whig office-holders throughout the country. He appointed as governor of Minnesota an Indiana politician and ex-member of Congress, Willis A. Gorman—a man of positive and peculiar character, a thorough partisan, and an active and adroit politician. Gorman was a proslavery Democrat. Born in Kentucky, he felt all the prejudice common to people of that section towards every one who sought to interfere with the institution of slavery or to prevent its extension into the new territories of the West. He had fought through the Mexican War, coming out with the rank of colonel, and had served two terms in Congress from Indiana. Governor Gorman is described in Major Newson's "Pen Pictures" as "a very decided, emphatic man of undaunted courage, a good lawyer, an excellent stump speaker, and an honest executive officer." He was impulsive, and was fond of display and noise. His stump oratory is remembered as of the old-fashioned Western school, abounding in flights of extravagant rhetoric. It is said that when he warmed up with his subject he would first take off his necktie and collar and then

his coat. He was a well proportioned man, straight and commanding, of good appearance, and a natural leader. He soon antagonized the two great local Democratic chiefs, Sibley and Rice, and in the convention of 1855 he laid aside his old pro-slavery sentiments and joined the faction known as the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, who were opposing Henry M. Rice for delegate to Congress. Gorman was principally instrumental in bringing out David Olmsted as an independent candidate.

Among the new men who came into Minnesota with Governor Gorman and held Federal offices, and who subsequently became conspicuous in the politics of the state, was Robert A. Smith of Indiana, a brother-in-law of Gorman, who held the position of private secretary and territorial librarian in the new administration, and who soon became a leader of the St. Paul Democracy; Moses Sherburne, one of the associate justices, after whom Sherburne county was named; Wm. H. Welsh, chief justice, who settled in Red Wing, and died there; and A. G. Chatfield, who made his home in Belle Plaine after his term on the bench expired. Governor Gorman secured a large interest in the town site of St. Peter,

and instigated a movement to remove the capital to that town. He entered the volunteer service as a colonel when the Civil War broke out, attained the rank of brigadier general, returned to St. Paul after the close of the war, and practiced law, and died in this city. His son, Richard L. Gorman, has for many years been one of the most prominent leaders of the local Democracy.

The election of James Buchanan to the Presidency in 1856 made another change in the Federal offices in Minnesota. In 1857 Samuel Medary of Ohio arrived in St. Paul with a commission as governor. His term of office was short, however, for Congress passed an enabling act that year, providing for the organization of the state, and in 1858 all the territorial officers were supplanted by the new state officials. Medary returned to Ohio as soon as he was out of office, and left no durable impress upon the affairs of Minnesota. The new secretary of state was Col. Wm. F. Wheeler, who was afterwards appointed United States Marshal of Montana, and was one of the most conspicuous men in that territory and state until his death about two years ago.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS, STATE AND NATIONAL.

The sentiment in favor of organizing a new party to oppose the extension of slavery into the territories did not make quite as rapid progress in Minnesota as in the older states of the North. The territory was rapidly filling up with new settlers, who came up the river by steamboat to occupy the fertile prairie lands, and who were too busy establishing their new homes to give much time to politics. It was estimated in 1855 that as many as one thousand new settlers reached Minnesota every day of the summer season. An examination of the files of the newspapers published in the territory in 1854 and 1855 does not give much indication that any new political movement was in progress. The papers had but little space for reading matter, and

this was mainly filled with local news, accounts of the arrival of steamboat loads of immigrants, the agitation for railroads, and movements to push the Indians still further westward. Most of the new settlers were, however, diligent readers of newspapers published in their old homes, and the *New York Weekly Tribune* had a very large circulation among them. The *Tribune*, under Horace Greeley, was at that time the foremost antagonist of slavery in the field of journalism.

The first considerable gathering in Minnesota that took the name of Republican was a mass convention held at St. Anthony, now the eastern part of Minneapolis, on March 29 and 30, 1855. The call for this convention seems to have originated with a number

of active anti-slavery men near St. Anthony, foremost among whom were William R. Marshall and John W. North. A newspaper called the *Republican* had just been established. The name *Republican* had been used the previous year, at conventions held in Michigan, Illinois, and other states, to designate the rapidly forming political movement which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had called into being throughout the North. About two hundred persons attended the St. Anthony gathering. It was called to order by J. W. North, and Asa Keith was made chairman. The praying, which was then customary in all public meetings, was done by the Rev. Mr. Secombe and the Rev. C. G. Ames, and the enthusiasm of the audience was stimulated by the singing of the "Marsellaise" by B. E. Messer. In forming a permanent organization, William R. Marshall was made president, and the vice presidents were Nathaniel McLean, Asa Keith, A. P. Lane, Porter Nutting, Eli Pettijohn, and R. P. Upton, and the secretaries were H. P. Pratt and J. F. Bradley. A long list of resolutions were reported by a committee consisting of B. F. Hoyt, H. P. Pratt, J. W. North, Eli Pettijohn, G. A. Nourse, W. B. Babbitt, and Mr. Bigelow. The resolutions demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories, and the repeal of the fugitive slave law, as unconstitutional, oppressive, unjust, and dangerous to domestic tranquillity. They declared it to be the right and duty of Congress to prohibit forever slavery in all new states in their acts of admission to the Union. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was condemned as a violation of the plighted faith of the South, for the sole purpose of extending slavery over the fertile regions of the Northwest and strengthening the power of slaveholders in the government. The resolutions strongly favored a prohibitory liquor law, demanded free lands for settlers, and favored a reduction of postage rates. They closed with the following commendable sentiment: "In administering the government, man and morals first; interests of property afterwards."

The convention deputed Rev. C. G. Ames to prepare an address to the people of Minnesota. This

address was published on April 11, 1855, and was headed "Circular Address of the Territorial Republican Convention to the People of Minnesota." It set forth in a column and a half, in small type, the political situation of the day. It spoke of the Kansas-Nebraska Act as throwing open to slavery the immense region long consecrated to freedom by the solemn act of the government. It dwelt upon the corruption of state and national politics; declared that elections were carried by shrewd practices, and that all departments of the government were perverted and made the mere machinery of selfish partisan and greedy office-seekers. It favored coöperation between the anti-slavery sentiment and the temperance sentiment, and said there was a natural affinity between the friends of prohibitory law, the friends of civil liberty, and the friends of political reform. The address went on to speak of making freedom and temperance the most prominent living issues of the times, and wound up as follows: "Prompted by these convictions, and appealing to heaven for the rectitude of our intentions, we this day organize the Republican party of Minnesota. In every town and county from the parallel of forty-nine degrees to the Iowa boundary, let the banner of Republicanism be unfurled to the free breezes of heaven, and let the people rally around it with manly hands and bear it onward to victory—the victory of liberty and temperance."

Immediately after the adjournment of the St. Anthony convention the *Daily Minnesotian*, the Whig organ published at St. Paul, printed in full the great speech of William H. Seward, delivered in the Senate Feb. 23, 1855, against the extension of slavery and the execution of the fugitive slave law. This speech was accepted as the political gospel of the new Republican party in Minnesota. News of the struggle for the possession of Kansas between the Free State settlers and the "Border Ruffians" from Missouri reached the people of Minnesota from time to time during the early summer of 1855, and fanned into constant heat the growing sentiment that it was the duty of every lover of freedom to rally to the new party and to vigorously oppose the efforts of the slave power. The active movers in the St. Anthony meeting determined to call a dele-

gate convention, in which the whole territory could be represented, and on May 22d the call was issued, signed by W. R. Marshall, Richard Chute, A. P. Lane, M. McLean, Warren Bristol, and John S. Mann. The day fixed was July 28th, and the place of meeting was the Hall of Representatives in St. Paul. The purpose of the convention was announced to be the nomination of a candidate for delegate to Congress, and to perfect the organization of the Republican party in Minnesota. There were then thirty-five counties in Minnesota. Each was entitled to one delegate and one additional delegate for every three hundred of its population, as shown by the census to be taken on the 1st of July.

Gov. Alexander Ramsey was at that time beyond question the most influential man in Minnesota, but he was slow in declaring himself in favor of the new party movement. He was sincerely attached to the old Whig party, and he reached the conclusion very slowly and hesitatingly that the political organization with which he had been identified all his life, which he had represented in Congress from Pennsylvania, and which through President Zachary Taylor had made him the first territorial governor of Minnesota, was actually in the throes of dissolution. He still hoped that it might be revived, and might regain its old prestige. His newspaper organ was the *Minnesotian*, edited by John P. Owens. Major Newson says in his "Pen Pictures," that, after the Whig party was dead and buried, "Owens held on to the corpse." Governor Ramsey's friends were eager to nominate him for delegate to Congress, but he published a letter on the day the convention met positively declining to accept such a nomination. In spite of this letter he received 36 votes, W. R. Marshall received 52, David Olmsted 4, and G. A. Nourse 1.

The roll of the convention contained names of a number of men who were very prominent in Republican politics in Minnesota in after years. H. L. Moss of St. Paul called the meeting to order, Warren Bristol of Goodhue county was president, and the vice presidents were D. C. Smith of Le Sueur county and H. Fletcher of Hennepin county, and the secretary was Daniel Rohrer of St. Paul. The

following were the members of the committee on resolutions: C. G. Ames of Hennepin county, J. C. Parks of Wright county, W. D. Chillson of Goodhue county, G. A. Nourse of St. Anthony, Thos. Foster of Dakota county, T. L. Bolcomb of Winona county, Levi Nutting of Rice county, Benj. F. Davis of Scott county, Judge Jones of Nicollet county, J. A. Turrill of Le Sueur county, T. B. Twiford of Olmsted county, R. L. Nichols of Fillmore county, P. P. Furber of St. Paul.

The platform was very short, and is here given in full:

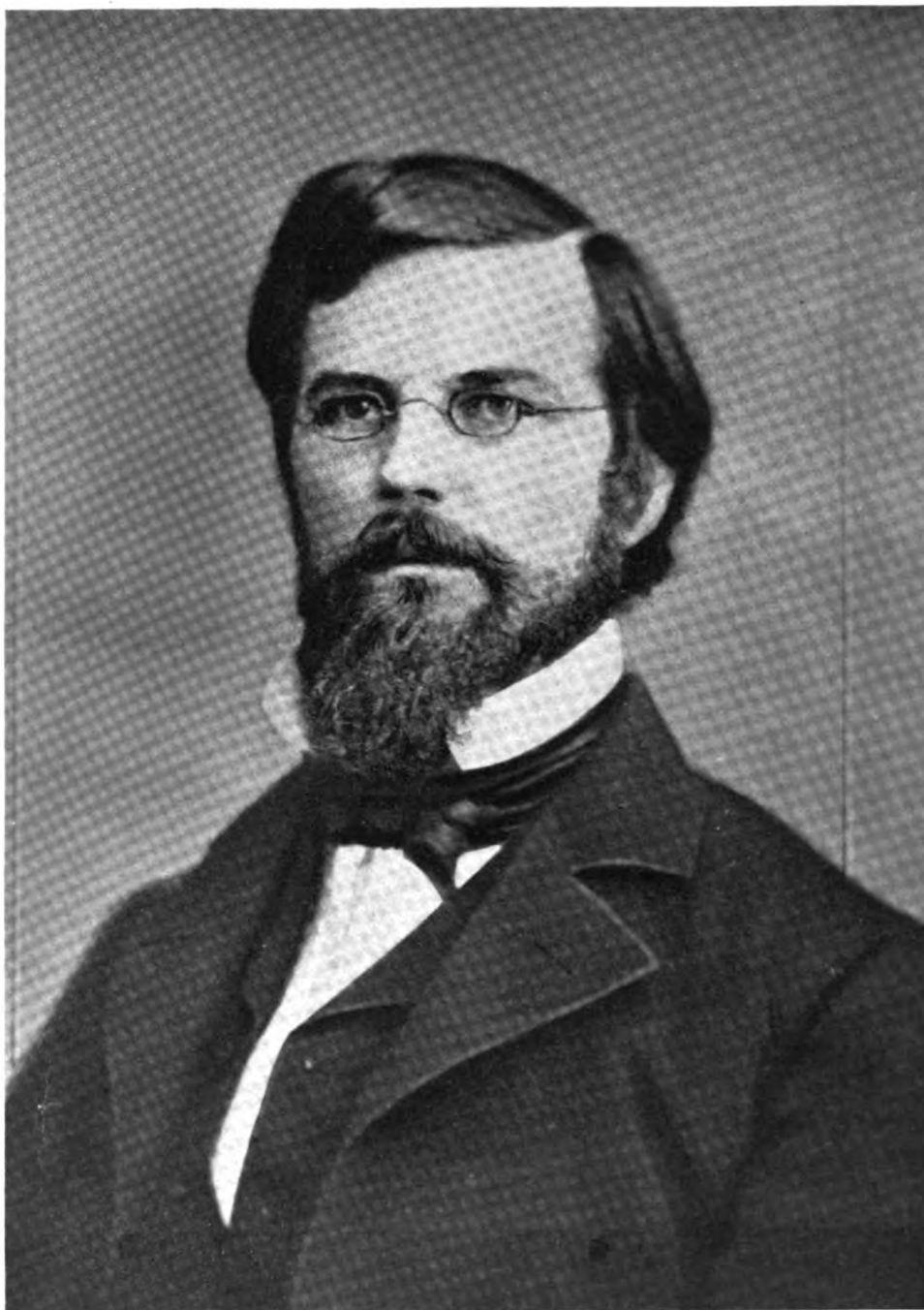
1. *Resolved*, That we reaffirm our purpose to array the moral and political powers of Minnesota, whether as a territory or state, on the side of freedom; and to aid in wielding the whole constitutional force of the Federal Government, whenever we can, and wherever we can, against the existence of slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That wherever slavery may constitutionally be abolished by the general government, there its continuance is a national curse, for which every citizen is responsible so far as he refuses to exert his influence for its removal.

3. *Resolved*, That the perfidious repudiation by the Senate of a solemn compact with the North, whereby the territories of Nebraska and Kansas were forever consecrated to freedom, has absolved us from all compacts and compromises in relation to slavery outside of the Constitution. We now demand the restoration of Kansas, Nebraska, and all our other territories to freedom, and solemnly declare that we never will consent to the acquisition of another foot of slave territory, nor the admission of another slave state into the Union.

4. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of river and harbor improvements, whenever they are clearly of national importance, whether in the East or West, on salt or fresh water.

5. *Resolved*, That, as representatives of the Republican party of Minnesota, we regard it as the mission of that party, not only to speak and act against slavery, but to take possession of our territorial government, so far as Congress has left it in our power, and administer it according to the Re-



HENRY A. SWIFT

Third Governor of Minnesota.

publican principles of practical democracy, by filling all the places of trust with men of personal merit, in perfect disregard of the wishes of political aspirants and self-constituted leaders.

6. *Resolved*, That we invite our fellow citizens throughout the territory—sharing as they do in a regard to whatever concerns the interests of our infant commonwealth, whatever may be their views on other questions—to unite with us in carrying out the principles and measures here set forth, and urge the importance of immediate and universal organization of all the friends of the Republican movement in their respective precincts and counties, that they who think alike may act effectually together.

7. *Resolved*, That we believe the fugitive slave law to be unconstitutional, and that we demand its unconditional repeal.

8. *Resolved*, That we regard the traffic in intoxicating beverages as a public evil without admixture of good; and that at our approaching fall election, we will do what we can to secure the choice of a legislature which shall enact a constitutional law suppressing it, and to fill the county and precinct offices with men who will enforce such a law.

The convention repeated the serious political mistakes made by the spring convention in St. Anthony, in adopting a resolution in favor of a prohibitory liquor law. A large number of Germans had already settled in the territory at various points along the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. These people were then, as now, strongly opposed to any legislation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of beer. They were anti-slavery in sentiment, and their sympathies were strongly with the new Republican movement, but they refused to support any party that proposed to cut off their beer. The Democrats held a convention in St. Paul on the same day that the Republicans met, and nominated Henry M. Rice for reëlection to Congress. Mr. Rice was a friend of the pro-slavery leaders in Congress, and was a supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. A considerable element among the Democrats of Minnesota opposed him on the score of his pro-slavery views and affiliations. Among these Democrats was David Olmsted, the first mayor of St. Paul, who soon an-

nounced himself as an independent candidate for Congress, and succeeded in rallying to his support nearly all the German Republican element and also such Democratic voters as were opposed to the further extension of slavery. Olmsted had been an Indian trader, first in Iowa and then in Minnesota, and he had edited in St. Paul a newspaper, called the *Minnesota Democrat*, in 1853 and 1854. He was a man of considerable talent and popularity. In his speeches he opposed the extension of slavery, attacked the Maine liquor law, and accused Mr. Rice of sympathizing with the Know-Nothing sentiment. The Know-Nothing, or American, party cut but a small figure in the campaign. It had a candidate, D. B. Loomis, but he polled only 230 votes. The election occurred on October 9th, and the returns gave Rice 3,215, Marshall 2,434, and Olmsted 1,785. If the Republicans had left out their prohibition plank, and had consolidated upon Marshall all the voters opposed to the pro-slavery Democratic party, they would have won the election.

Among the active organizers and leaders of the Republican party in Minnesota mention should be made of John W. North, for whom the town of Northfield was named, who took a prominent part in all the early conventions and campaigns, and also of George A. Nourse of St. Anthony, a zealous and able man. Mr. North is dead, but Mr. Nourse is now (1895) living in Fresno, Cal. One of the most effective orators of the young party was Rev. Chas. G. Ames, who preached in a Unitarian church at St. Anthony, and who is now one of the most eminent ministers of Boston.

The first Republican national convention was held in Pittsburg in February, 1856. It was called for the purpose of bringing together the leaders of the new party in conference, and to decide in an informal way upon a program for the approaching presidential campaign. It was there agreed that the first regular national convention should be held in Philadelphia the following June. The only Minnesota man present at the Pittsburg meeting appears to have been Major T. M. Newson, who had been making a visit to his old home in the East, and managed to be at this important gathering on his

return trip. He wrote enthusiastically to his paper, the *St. Paul Times*, of his meeting with Joshua R. Giddings, Horace Greeley, F. P. Blair, Preston King, and others, and in concluding his account of the gathering, remarked that his personal choice for President was Nathaniel P. Banks.

The Minnesota Republicans were powerfully stirred in their feelings of sympathy and indignation during the spring and summer of 1856 by the news that continued to come from Kansas of the conflict between the Free State settlers and the advocates of slavery. Almost every number of the *Minnesotian* and the *Times* contained letters from Kansas or news clipped from other papers describing the condition of anarchy and bloodshed then prevailing. The burning of the town of Lawrence by a pro-slavery force from Missouri was one of the startling events of that year, and another was the battle of Ossawatimie, where Capt. John Brown's anti-slavery band was set upon and routed, after a hard fight, by a party of Missourians.

In the Philadelphia convention of June, 1856, which nominated John C. Fremont for President and Wm. L. Dayton for Vice President, the Territory of Minnesota was well represented. In the newspaper accounts of the proceedings Dr. J. B. Phillips of St. Paul appears on the list of the members of the committee on credentials, and Gov. Alexander Ramsey as aiding in preparing the resolutions, while M. S. Wilkinson, who afterwards became United States Senator, was chosen as the member for the territory of the National Republican Committee.

Early in June news reached St. Paul of the dastardly attack on Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber by Preston S. Brooks, member of Congress from South Carolina. A call for an indignation meeting was at once circulated, signed by David Day, M. S. Wilkinson, J. B. Sanborn, Daniel Rohrer, B. F. Hoyt, W. R. Marshall, and N. P. Langford. A meeting was held June 9th. Marshall was made president and G. A. Nourse of St. Anthony secretary. Speeches were made by T. M. Newson, Judge Aaron Goodrich, and by two other speakers, Bradley and Palmer, whose initials are not given in the newspaper accounts. In 1856 Ignatius Donnelly, who

afterwards played a prominent part in Republican politics in Minnesota, migrated from his old home in Philadelphia, where he had practiced law, and established himself in the new territory. He soon took rank among the most eloquent orators of the Republican party. On the 18th of August a Fremont club was formed in St. Paul with Alexander Ramsey president and C. D. Gilfillan secretary, and a committee, composed of M. S. Wilkinson, F. Northwein, J. P. Owens, T. M. Newson, and Charles H. Parker, was chosen to draft a constitution. About the same time a Fremont club was formed at St. Anthony, with 300 members. W. R. Marshall was the most active man in this organization, and at one of the early meetings Colonel Delhay and G. M. Propper were introduced as eye-witnesses of the oppression of the slave power in Kansas, and made speeches.

At that time Ramsey county extended up the Mississippi river as far as Crow Wing, and the new county of Hennepin had just been formed, embracing the territory on the west bank of the river. Minneapolis had just come into existence, but the village of St. Anthony, on the opposite side of the falls, was much the more important place. The political complexions of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were established at the election for county and legislative tickets held on Oct. 14, 1856, and have never varied much from that day to this. The Republicans then carried Minneapolis and St. Anthony, and the Democrats carried St. Paul. The general result of the election in 1856, in Minnesota, showed that the Republican party had come into vigorous existence, and was fairly well organized in all the settled portions of the territory. On the remote frontiers, where some population had gathered around the Indian trading posts, the Democrats had everything their own way. A majority of the county officers elected that year were Republicans, and the Republicans succeeded in overcoming the majority of ten in the previous legislature. The total vote cast in the territory was so large that it became apparent that Minnesota was fully entitled to admission as a state, and that, instead of one member in Congress usually accorded new states, she had population enough for two.

CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA—TWO RIVAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

The following chapter was contributed to this work by the late H. H. Young of St. Paul:

At the time of the formation of the State of Minnesota the antagonism between the two great political parties of the country had become intensified to such a degree that many of the adherents of both organizations regarded the individual members of the opposition as enemies. Personal encounters were not infrequent, and offensive accusations, when party creeds or conduct were under discussion, were generally prevalent, even among those whose intelligence and the honorable positions they held made such conduct appear wholly inconsistent with the usual tenor of their lives. The organization of a new state, no matter in what portion of the territory, stimulated both parties to increased activity. It animated the Republicans with renewed determination to prevent the admission into its organic law of any concessions to the wishes of slaveholders; and stimulated the Democrats, equally, to greater zeal in shaping its construction, so that it should contain nothing calculated to militate against the interests of the South.

It was under such conditions that the bill enabling certain portions of the Territory of Minnesota, which in its entirety at that time extended to the Missouri river, to organize a state government, was introduced and passed by Congress. Hence, it is not to be wondered at that leading men of both parties labored energetically to gain control of the convention which was to form the constitution of the new state. The election for delegates was hotly contested in every precinct, and there is, perhaps, good reason for supposing that neither party was scrupulously honest in conducting it.

The general government was, it will be remembered, in the control of Democrats, and all the territorial officers and Indian bureau employes were, of course, members of that party. This circumstance gave them opportunities for fraudulent practices beyond any that their opponents possessed, and it were folly to intimate that they were too con-

scientious to neglect improving them, both in this election and in that for state officers and the congressional delegation, which took place in the October following. Neither does any necessity exist for striving to deceive the reader into the belief that Republicans were altogether honest in their conduct in that election. Both parties wanted all the votes they could get, and, no doubt, both put forth their best efforts to obtain them, without being very particular concerning the legality of every vote cast.

Such were the circumstances under which the proposed new state was about to be ushered into existence, and it is not surprising that the election for delegates to the constitutional convention, held on the first Monday of June, 1857, resulted unsatisfactorily to all parties. Neither gained such a majority of the delegates as to assure control of the convention, and each was consequently afraid that its opponents, by resort to some variety of ledger-demain, believed to be always at the command of politicians, might seize upon the power which control of the organization would afford, and thereby bar them out.

The Republicans claimed, and were, no doubt, entitled to, a majority representation, for it was generally admitted that more of the voters of the territory within the boundaries named in the enabling act belonged to that than to the Democratic party, but among them were many who were disinclined to active participation in political contests, when it was, as in this case, probable that lawlessness would be resorted to. They were, as an olden-time writer expresses it, "An unco quiet folk; not given to bickerings and quarrelsomeness." That many of them had staid away from the polls was evident from the meagerness of the vote cast, and of those elected as delegates, not a few hesitated to become involved in strife, the outcome of which could not be foreseen.

Fortunately, however, there were enough aggressive spirits to resist attempted encroachments upon their rights, and as these came at once to the front,

the Democrats accordingly perceived that they would not be allowed to have their own way in everything connected with the formation of the constitution. The accredited delegates of the two parties were very nearly equal in numbers, and it therefore became a question of first moment with each side to get control of the organization of the convention, that they might have the appointment of the committees and hold the lead in many other respects. This, it was feared, could only be accomplished by being first to occupy the hall. The Republicans had proposed that both parties should pledge themselves not to attempt an organization until the hour of twelve on Monday, July 13th. In answer to this, the Democrats consented to bind themselves not to meet until the usual hour on the day named for the assembling of such bodies. This appeared to the Republicans too indefinite, when they took into consideration that the Democrats had the advantage, in that their party would be able to control the opening of the hall, by reason of the Democratic territorial officers being its custodians. They concluded, that, in the absence of a positive pledge from the opposition delegates, it would not do to depend upon any such inconclusive understanding.

The Republicans had gained admittance to the hall on Saturday evening, July 11th, for the purpose of holding a caucus, and deeming it the wisest course to secure themselves against trickery, determined upon holding it constantly from that time until the arrival of the hour they had fixed upon for the meeting. By dividing their force into relays of a few members each, this might be done without drawing too severely upon their physical strength, and it was accordingly the course pursued. With commendable self-abnegation and untiring patience, they devoted themselves to this object, amusing themselves as best they could during the weary hours. But the time appointed finally arrived, and the entire body of delegates gathered in the hall. John W. North of Rice county mounted the rostrum, and calling the convention to order, moved that Thomas J. Galbraith be elected president *pro tempore*. Almost at the same moment C. L. Chase, the territorial secretary, who was in the lead of the

Democratic contingent, proceeded to make a call to order, but realizing that the Democrats were too late, he desisted, and the delegates of that party retired. They did not give up the fight, but wished to confer as to what course should be pursued.

The Republican delegates having announced that all persons who had proper certificates of election would be admitted to seats and allowed to participate in the deliberations of the body, proceeded to the transaction of the legitimate business of the convention. Without further interruptions, they spent the day in perfecting their organization and considering some material questions which would come before them. The most important of these was whether they should abide by the boundary lines described in the enabling act, or adopt instead an east and west line of division of the territory. The line indicated in the enabling act for the western boundary of the state was that still existing, in lieu of which there was a strong party in favor of dividing the territory by an east and west line, extending from the western boundary of Wisconsin to the Missouri river, in latitude of about forty-five.

The advocates of this east and west division claimed to be actuated by an apprehension, that, if the boundary designated was fixed upon, the politicians of St. Paul would dominate the future state to the exclusion of the people in the southern counties. Some of them held that there was, and would always be, a corrupt clique in St. Paul, who would thus control the politics of the state. They advanced some curious reasons for entertaining this idea, one of which was that the Democrats could hold the Indian vote. Civilized Indians were permitted to vote, and the only evidence of civilization they were required to give was that they should conform to the white man's custom in the matter of dress. If they came to the polls with shirt and trousers on they were welcomed as lawful voters; provided, always, that they would vote the right ticket—which was usually the Democratic.

A ludicrous scene arising out of the desire of the respective parties to get control of the organization of the convention took place at noon on the second day. The Republicans were hard at work with subjects demanding their close attention when Secre-

tary Chase, backed by the entire Democratic delegation, came to the door of the hall and demanded possession of the room for the "Constitutional Convention of Minnesota." The president informed him that body was already in possession of the room.

"Then you will not give up the hall?" demanded Mr. Chase.

"Certainly not," was the prompt reply of President St. A. D. Balcombe, who had previously been elected permanent presiding officer.

Mr. Chase retired, and told the delegates of his party that the hall was occupied by a meeting of the citizens of the territory, who refused to surrender it. Thereupon ex-Governor Gorman moved that the convention (meaning the Democratic contingent) adjourn to the council chamber. This motion was carried, and they at once proceeded to that room and organized themselves into a second constitutional convention. Many of the more sensible members of that party regarded this movement as a piece of folly. It may be as well to remark, that Mr. Chase claimed to act in the premises as custodian of the hall, by virtue of the authority vested in him as secretary of the territory. The Democrats evidently expected that public sympathy would be with them, and were, no doubt, surprised to hear the very general condemnation of their conduct.

The debate on the question of the boundary line continued with increasing animation, and it looked for a time as though the advocates of the east and west division would defeat the purpose of the convention, and delay the admission of the state for at least another year. Congress was committed to such admission by the language of the enabling act, but if the convention should refuse to abide by its terms, other congressional legislation would become necessary; and as there was a strong party in Congress who were opposed to the admission of any more free states, it was doubtful whether favorable action could be secured to ratify such change of boundary lines. Congress held that the territories belonged to the Federal Government, and it was not likely it would yield to the demands of this assemblage, in which the territory west of the boundary described had not a single representative. In fact,

except near the mouths of the Sioux and James rivers, and at one or two points on the Missouri, there were no white settlers in that western district.

Thomas Wilson of Winona was the leading opponent of the north and south line, and his efforts were seconded by Coggsell of Steele, King of Olmsted, Anderson and Coe of Houston, Cedarstrom of Chisago, Davis of Nicollet, Gerrish of Winona, Hudson of Goodhue, Mantor of Dodge, McCann of Houston, Robbins of Olmsted, McClure of Goodhue, Thompson of Houston, Billings of Fillmore, Colburn of Fillmore, and Dooley of Winona. An amendment which was favorable to the east and west line received only sixteen votes to thirty-eight opposed, indicating that the large majority were disposed to abide by the boundary prescribed in the enabling act. After this for a time the advocates of an east and west division seemed to have given up the contest, but the fight was resumed in some new shape every few days until near the close of the convention, and caused no little bitterness of feeling.

Looking back from this distance of time, one cannot but wonder that intelligent gentlemen should have advocated that east and west boundary; but we must remember that the delegates knew but little about the geography of the country, and far less concerning its industrial resources. The northern half of the inchoate state was believed to be practically worthless for agriculture, and only suitable for lumbering, hunting, and trapping. The iron and other metallic ore deposits, recently shown to be vast sources of wealth, were then unknown; the wonderful fertility of Red River Valley, which has since excited interest almost throughout the world, was then wholly unsuspected, and accounts of it would not have been believed had they been announced in the convention; and the grand navigable waterway through the great lakes was not, and perhaps could not have been, appreciated by that generation. Indeed, it was a subject of jest with congressmen several years later, when public attention was called to the importance of the harbor of Duluth. On the other hand, Southern Dakota was understood to be a boundless expanse of re-

markably fertile prairie, with a genial climate, and having a navigable waterway coursing along the entire extent of its southern and western borders. Those delegates who advocated the east and west division of the territory believed that they would thereby gain immensely for the future state. What they proposed to surrender to the general government could, they thought, never be other than a home for Indians and scarcely less savage lumbermen, hunters, and trappers. They were not so unreasonable as lapse of time and the wonderful development of the country which has so completely changed the conditions makes them appear.

Committees having been appointed for the consideration of every topic proposed to be included in the constitution, the reports of each of these were thoroughly digested as they were presented to the body, and only after mature consideration were they adopted or rejected as the convention deemed advisable. Meanwhile, the Democratic branch of the convention was similarly engaged in the council chamber, and the two bodies kept up communications with each other, although no official recognition of the respective bodies was had. Members of each consulted together mutually concerning the subject of the constitution, and numbers in both organizations were disposed to so shape the work that it might meet the sanction of both conventions, and thus save the necessity of submitting two distinct constitutions to the people.

As the time for adjournment drew near, committees of conference were appointed, and although their consultations were not wholly harmonious, they ultimately agreed on a single document, and both conventions wisely adopted it. It had been regarded as unfortunate that two separate conventions should be held; but from this date, when we look back at the events and the circumstances which then existed, we have to conclude that it was wisely ordered. Had the delegates of both parties met together, at a time when partisan spirit was so bitter, it is more than probable that the contentions would have been carried to such extent that the

results of their labors would have been much less satisfactory.

The Republican members certainly conducted their proceedings with commendable dignity, and throughout the long and wearisome days during the hot weather of July and August, the discussions, though occasionally exciting, were unmarred with anything reprehensible. This was the case to such eminent degree that no history of the event would do complete justice which did not hand down the names of the participants in this arduous labor so ably accomplished. The following list of the Republican members is therefore appended:

Benjamin C. Baldwin,	Joseph Peckham,
D. M. Hall,	George Watson,
Robert Lyle,	Charles F. Lowe,
S. A. Kemp,	P. A. Cedarstrom,
William F. Russell,	Charles B. Sheldon,
N. B. Robbins, Jr.,	David Morgan,
Shimeon Harding,	James A. McCann,
W. H. C. Folsom,	John A. Anderson,
Wentworth Hayden,	A. H. Butler,
D. L. King,	Charles Hanson,
T. D. Smith,	Charles A. Coe,
Edwin Page Davis,	David A. Secombe,
Thomas Wilson,	John Cleghorn,
E. N. Bates,	Alanson B. Vaughn,
John H. Murphy,	Henry Eschlie,
Thomas Bolles,	Cyrus Aldrich,
D. D. Dickerson,	F. Ayer,
Thomas Foster,	Albert W. Coombs,
Lewis McKune,	Thomas J. Galbraith,
W. J. Dooley,	H. W. Holley,
R. L. Bartholomew,	B. E. Messer,
N. P. Colburn,	W. H. Mills,
H. A. Billings,	John W. North,
Aaron G. Hudson,	Oscar F. Perkins,
Charles Gerrish,	Samuel W. Putnam,
Frank Mantor,	L. K. Stannard,
Amos Cogswell,	C. W. Thompson,
Charles McClure,	L. C. Walker,
Boyd Phelps,	Philip Winell,
President, St. A. D. Balcombe,	
Secretary, L. A. Babcock,	

The constitution was accepted by the people (taking the canvassers' returns) by a vote of 30,055 for and 571 against, and by the precinct returns of 36,240 for and 700 against. From that day to this it has been held in high esteem by all the people as an admirable instrument, and one which meets all the exigencies of public needs.



STEPHEN MILLER

Fourth Governor of Minnesota.

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZING THE NEW STATE—THE FIRST AND ONLY DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA.

A final agreement of the two rival constitutional conventions and a harmonious adoption of a constitution for the new state led the people of Minnesota to expect prompt admission into the Union, and both political parties made preparations for an active campaign in the fall of 1857 for the election of state officers and for the control of the state legislature, which would have the choosing of two United States Senators. The Republican convention was called by C. D. Gilfillan, chairman of the central committee, and met in St. Paul on Sept. 9, 1857. The temporary chairman was J. W. Furber of Washington county, then one of the most active of the new party leaders, and the secretary was Ignatius Donnelly, who had recently settled upon a farm in Dakota county, and whose peculiar gift of oratory had already given him a reputation. In the permanent organization Mr. Furber was made president, and the vice presidents were A. P. Lane of Anoka county, Dominick Troyer of Ramsey, George S. Ruble of Freeborn, James T. Williams of Blue Earth, J. T. Blackwell of Wabasha, and John MacDonald of Wright. Thirty-two counties were represented in the convention. J. P. Owens, the aggressive editor of the *Minnesotian*, offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the convention should nominate a territorial delegate and also candidates for all the executive, judicial, and congressional officers provided for by the constitutional convention. The territorial delegate was to take his seat in the House at Washington and represent the territory until the final act of admission should be passed. The convention nominated Alexander Ramsey for governor with practical unanimity, giving him 122 votes, to 5 for W. R. Marshall, and 4 scattering. For lieutenant governor, John C. Ide of Waseca county was nominated; for chief justice, Horace R. Bigelow of St. Paul; for associate justices, John M. Berry of Rice county and H. A. Billings of Fillmore county; for secretary of state, Lucas K. Stanard of Chisago county; for auditor, A. P. Lane of Anoka county; for treasurer,

Frank Mantor of Dodge county; for attorney general, George A. Nourse of Hennepin county, and for clerk of the supreme court, A. B. Russell of Scott county. The nominee for territorial delegate was Charles McClure of Goodhue county. The convention nominated three candidates for members of Congress, although it was well known that the population of Minnesota would not, under the previous practice, entitle the new state to more than two members. There was just a chance that three members might get in, and it was thought wise to nominate and elect three. The candidates chosen were Morton S. Wilkinson of Houston county, Henry A. Swift of Nicollet county, and Cyrus Aldrich of Hennepin county. Wilkinson subsequently became a United States Senator, Aldrich a member of Congress, and Swift governor of the state. In the list of names above given in connection with the work of this first Republican state convention will be found those of a number of other men who, in after years, took a leading part in the affairs of the state. A very long platform was adopted, concluding with the following grandiloquent resolution, which is here quoted as an example of a style of political literature now long out of date:

“Resolved, That we stand upon soil which, on the 13th day of July, 1787, was consecrated to Freedom by the wisdom of our fathers; that the din of conflict is now heard in the distance; that our enemies, the enemies of constitutional freedom, are in the field; that they fight for and give aid and comfort to those who would repeal the sacred ordinance of 1787 and desecrate with slavery territory now free; that our brethren in the states are anxiously looking for such tidings from the North as shall prove that every man in our party has done his duty; that on the 13th of October, next, a shout of victory shall arise, causing every son and daughter of Freedom throughout our infant state, from the plains of Iowa on the south to Prince Rupert’s Land on the north, to rejoice; that the eagle of victory has perched

upon our banner, upon whose folds liberty is inscribed; that the blood of our brothers in Kansas, like that of Abel, cries to us from the ground, to fight the good fight—that we stand on Freedom's soil and never will surrender.”

The Democrats nominated their favorite leader, Henry H. Sibley, for governor. The campaign was actively contested in all the newly settled agricultural counties of the state and in all the towns and villages, but at the Indian agencies, the fur trading posts, and other remote settlements, the Democrats had practically no opposition. The drifting adventurers and frontier element were on their side almost to a man. The first tabulated returns gave Ramsey 14,357 votes and Sibley 13,646. A few days later another table was published, giving Ramsey 15,343 and Sibley 14,682. This included all the counties except Pembina, Renville, and Mille Lacs. Again the list was made up, giving Ramsey 17,185 and Sibley 16,555. This did not include, however, the vote of Pembina, Cass, and Todd counties, where the Republicans claimed that great frauds had been perpetrated. Much excitement prevailed in St. Paul. A secret conference of Democratic politicians was held at the American House to consider the condition of the returns, and to devise means of overcoming an apparent majority of about 600 for Ramsey. The Republicans charged that at that meeting returns from St. Vincent were forged, giving 205 votes, all for Sibley, which they stated was far in excess of the total white population of all that region of country. The board of state canvassers was composed exclusively of Democrats, and it sat for a long time in secret meetings in St. Paul, going over returns. Finally, sometime in January, the board announced that Sibley had received 17,790 votes and Ramsey 17,550, and that the whole Democratic state ticket was elected. This result was reached by throwing out the unorganized counties on the north shore of Lake Superior, where Ramsey had 169 majority, and counting what the Republicans denounced as the bogus returns from Cass, Pembina, and Mille Lacs counties, which gave Sibley 544 majority.

Meantime the legislature had met, and had been organized by the Democrats with a majority in both houses. The legislature recognized Territorial Gov-

ernor Medary as the governor of the state until his successor should be duly inaugurated. The control of the legislature gave to the Democrats the great prizes of the two United States senatorships. An agreement had been previously reached between the two prominent Democratic leaders, Sibley and Rice, that Sibley should be governor and Rice should go to the Senate, and the story was current at the time that when the result of the state election was in doubt Sibley notified Rice that in case the returns did not result in his election he should feel at liberty to disregard this agreement and run for the Senate himself. In the Democratic legislative caucus Henry M. Rice received 56 votes, James Shields 25, Frank Steele 17, W. A. Gorman 15, and J. R. Brown 8. Rice and Shields were subsequently nominated and elected. Gen. James Shields, who drew the short term, was one of the most picturesque characters connected with early Minnesota history. An Irishman by birth, he had fought in the Mexican War with considerable credit; had been sent to the Senate from Illinois, and when his political career was ended in that state he migrated to Minnesota in search of further political fortune. He located a land warrant in the Minnesota Valley, and in his speeches was fond of referring to the piece of land thus obtained as his “blood-bought farm,” because he had received the warrant for his services in the Mexican War. He founded the town of Shieldsville, and soon gained popularity by his fervid Hibernian style of eloquence on the stump. After the expiration of his short term he was thoroughly played out politically in Minnesota, and never resumed his residence in the state. His next migration was to California, where he figured prominently in public affairs. In the Civil War he was a brigadier general on the Union side, and after the war he entered politics in Missouri, and was again elected to the Senate in 1879, but died the same year. No other man in American history has been chosen United States Senator by three states.

There was a long delay in the admission of Minnesota to the Union, caused principally by the frauds in the first election. The Republicans in the House of Representatives at Washington, under the lead of John Sherman, sharply criticised the poli-

tical methods of the Democrats in the new state, and delayed a final vote on the bill of admission until May, 1858. Minnesota then came into the Union as the thirty-second state. Henry H. Sibley was inaugurated governor, and took his seat on June 4th. The Republican papers spoke of him as "governor by forgery." In his first message to the legislature he denied all knowledge of frauds in the election and said: "God knows that I am not so wedded to office as to accept any position at the expense of the purity of the ballot box." He invited the fullest judicial investigation, and declared that if not legally elected governor of the State of Minnesota, he would scorn to fill that station for a single hour. Two of the three Democrats elected to Congress were admitted to seats. They were J. M. Cavanaugh and W. W. Phelps.

Judge Flandrau furnishes the following entertaining reminiscence of the way the Democrats made sure that the returns from Pembina should not fall into the hands of the Republicans:

After the election of 1857, the first state election, had been held, and all the returns were in except Pembina, it was supposed generally that the result was in doubt; but Pembina was still to be heard from, and as the days passed the excitement increased. There was an old Indian trader among the Sioux named Madison Sweetzer, who was a strong Democrat. One night about two o'clock he came to me at the old American House, and said:

"Judge, Nat Tyson has just started for the north with a buggy and a fine team, and I am convinced that his errand is to make for the frontier and capture Joe Rolette, who will have the Pembina returns, get him drunk, and get them away from him."

I took in the situation in an instant, and we decided that this move of the enemy must be defeated at all hazards. No one knew better than ourselves that, on entering the precincts of civilization, Joe was very liable to fall a victim to its allurements. But how to do it was the question. We decided to take Henry M. Rice into our councils, and immediately aroused him for advice. What he did not know about frontier strategy there was no use in finding out. He was strongly impressed with the necessity of immediate

action, and, with that characteristic decision which only results from long familiarity with the dangers of frontier life and Indian surroundings, he said:

"Go at once to Kittson; he has trading posts all the way from Gull Lake to Pembina. He has no end of reliable half-breeds who can ride 300 miles without eating or sleeping, and has horses which can carry them like the wind from post to post. Write a letter to some one you know in the upper country, and tell him to find Joe Rolette, or whoever has the returns, and get them from him, and bring them to St. Paul without fail."

I knew a gentleman from Alabama, who was a United States land officer at the most northern land office in the territory, by the name of Maj. George B. Clitheral, who could be relied upon for any work that called for activity, courage, or sagacity, and was in the cause of Democracy. So I wrote him a letter, giving him the facts, and telling him to get those returns or die in the attempt.

Charged with the instructions from Mr. Rice, we routed out Mr. Kittson (who was then an active and energetic young man) and put him in possession of the situation. It was but a short time before he had a mounted half-breed at the door ready to do or die for his chief. He gave him the letter and full instructions to get a hundred miles ahead of Tyson, and keep that distance between them until the letter was delivered to the major and he had secured the returns.

"Go. Kill all the horses necessary to accomplish your orders, but let nothing prevent you from carrying them out."

The young fellow seemed to delight in the adventure, and I felt sure of success. With a commanding wave of the hand and a last injunction, "Va, va, vite, et ne t'arrete pas, meme pour sauver la vie!" off he flew, and we went quietly to bed to await results.

The result was that he delivered the letter to the major at some point above Crow Wing, and the major secured the returns. He put them in a belt about his person and immediately started for St. Paul. When he got near the city he was in doubt as to how much was known about the affair, and deemed it prudent not to bring the precious documents into the city until he was sure of his ground, so he went to Fort Snelling and deposited them with some officer friend of his, and rode into St. Paul as tranquilly as if he did not hold the key to the first state election.

In a day or two, when he found the proper time had arrived, he asked a lady to take a ride to the fort. She did so and became the innocent and unconscious bearer of the important papers from the fort to St. Paul, where they were safely deposited in the hands of the proper officer, and were duly counted.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA—THE ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF 1859.

An election was held on Oct. 12, 1858, for county officers and members of the legislature. There was not a very active campaign that year. Times were exceedingly hard in Minnesota as the result of the financial crash of 1857 and the general depression in business which followed. The Republicans felt that they had a strong grievance in the election frauds of the previous year, and this sentiment spurred them on to activity without much effort in the way of campaign organization or stump oratory. One of the effects of the hard times was to force a consolidation of some of the numerous newspapers that had been started during the flush period of rapid immigration to the state. Major Newson's *St. Paul Times* was absorbed by the older *Minnesotian*, and the two Democratic papers published at the capital, the *Pioneer* and the *Democrat*, were merged into one concern which took both the old names. The election resulted in large gains for the Republicans throughout the state, and in their control of both branches of the legislature.

In the caucus held to select a candidate for United States Senator the leading candidates were Morton S. Wilkinson, who received most of the votes from the southern part of the state, and David Cooper of St. Paul. When it became evident that Cooper could not be elected, his supporters brought out John B. Sanborn, under an agreement with the Hennepin county delegation, that, in case Sanborn developed strength enough to nominate him with the aid of their votes, they would go over to him in a body. This agreement was not carried out, and in the final ballot Wilkinson received 45 votes and Sanborn 30. In the election by the joint convention of the two houses Wilkinson received 79 votes, and the Democrats gave 33 votes for Shields and 1 for Gorman. Wilkinson was for many years a prominent figure in Minnesota politics. He founded the town of Hokah in Houston county, and afterwards lived for a time at Mankato. He was a tall, spare man, with a long, thin face of what is known as the lantern-jawed type. As a stump orator he had few

equals in the Northwest. His manner was earnest and impressive. Many of the readers of this book will remember his gaunt figure as it appeared behind the judge's desk in county courthouses, where public meetings were generally held in the early days, the room dimly lighted by candles or kerosene lamps, and the orator towering up in the semi-obscure to what appeared almost a supernatural height; his dark eyes flashing, his long arms gesticulating vigorously, and his fists now and then pounding the desk to emphasize his denunciations of the villainy of human slavery. John B. Sanborn, his competitor for the Senate, was at that time a young attorney in active practice in St. Paul. He was a man of handsome personal appearance, of very cordial manners, and of an excellent gift for persuasive political oratory.

The first Republican legislature of Minnesota was a remarkable body for its earnestness, honesty, and economy. It overhauled thoroughly the entire system of expenditures for the state government and for the administration of county business, upon which many extravagances and abuses had been fastened during the rule of the Democratic party. At that time the party so long in power was naturally blamed for this condition of things, but it is probable that any party in possession of all governmental functions during the period of wild speculation which preceded the panic of 1857 would have been equally censurable. To the credit of the Republicans, however, they did not hesitate to apply the pruning knife vigorously as soon as they obtained a majority in the legislature.

Another election took place in 1859, and in preparation for the great presidential fight of 1860 the National Republican Committee determined to aid the Republicans of Minnesota in making a vigorous contest to secure possession of the state government. A convention was called for the 20th of July by Jared Benson, chairman of the state committee. There was no question at all as to the nomination of Alexander Ramsey for governor. All the Repub-

licans believed that he had been cheated out of the election two years before, and there was no opposition whatever to his nomination in the convention. For lieutenant governor, the young Philadelphia lawyer and orator, Ignatius Donnelly, who had only arrived in the state two years before, was nominated by 77 votes to 48 cast for Henry M. Swift of St. Peter. The nominee for secretary of state was J. H. Baker of Blue Earth; for treasurer, Chas. Schoeffer of Washington, and for attorney general, Gordon E. Cole of Rice. The convention nominated candidates for Congress for both the congressional districts of the state; the nominees being Cyrus Aldrich of Hennepin and William Windom of Winona.

The *Minnesotian* on the day after the nomination spoke of Donnelly as "a young man of thorough education and strong mind, an orator and writer, and one of the most able young men in Minnesota." Donnelly, who was at that time only twenty-eight years of age, referred in his speech before the convention to the fact that objection had been made to him because he was not well known through the state, and promised that if he could learn of a community which would like to hear Republican principles expounded it would give him pleasure to be with them. Of J. H. Baker, who became a conspicuous party leader that year, the *Minnesotian* said: "He is a young man of about the same age as Donnelly, of decided talent, fine address, and prompt business habits, and is a forcible and impressive speaker." Ramsey, Donnelly, and Baker immediately went upon the stump, and visited nearly all the counties in the state.

The National Republican Committee sent into Minnesota a number of the most famous speakers in the party. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, afterward speaker of the House and Vice President of the United States, made twenty speeches in the state. Carl Schurz, who then lived in Wisconsin, and who had already won a great reputation for oratory both in the German and English languages, held numerous meetings. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, the author of the Homestead Bill, then recently enacted into a law, was a popular orator to talk to the new settlers of the West. Other prominent Republican speakers were Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, subsequently a United States Senator and a corps

commander in the Civil War; John P. Hale of New Hampshire, the candidate of the Free Soil party for President in 1852; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, and John L. Farnsworth of Illinois.

To meet this remarkable array of Republican orators of national fame the Democrats could do but little. Governor Willard of Indiana came into the state the last week of the campaign, and defended the Dred Scott decision, the Kansas infamy, and the righteousness of slavery. He succeeded in driving a good many votes away from the Democratic party. Emil Roth of Wisconsin was sent around to the German settlements to reply to Carl Schurz. The Democratic candidate for governor, Geo. L. Becker, made an active campaign, assisted by James M. Cavanaugh, who was nominated for Congress, Christopher Graham, the other congressional nominee, and by the Irish orator, Senator Shields. The Republicans had the best of it throughout the contest, both in argument and organization. The factional fight in the Democracy, between the adherents of President Buchanan and those of Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, which caused the defeat of that party in 1860, had extended to Minnesota, and caused a good deal of demoralization in the hitherto solid Democratic ranks. A large majority of the Minnesota Democrats supported Douglas and his "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine, and condemned Buchanan for his efforts to force upon the people of Kansas the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton constitution. Still, the Federal office-holders in the state were all Buchanan's appointees, and they felt bound to show their loyalty to their master by antagonizing the Douglas men.

One of the interesting features of this canvass was the letters and addresses of Jane G. Swisshelm of St. Cloud, whose printing press and types had been thrown into the Mississippi river the year before by a Democratic mob. Mrs. Swisshelm was a woman of decided talent for political controversy. She was a vigorous writer, and an earnest and logical public speaker. The election resulted in a majority for Governor Ramsey of 3,353, and the Republican ascendancy thus secured in Minnesota has never since been broken. Ramsey received 21,335 votes, and his Democratic opponent, Geo. L. Becker, received 17,582.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LINCOLN CAMPAIGN OF 1860—WAR-TIME POLITICS IN MINNESOTA—THE ELECTIONS OF 1861 AND 1862.

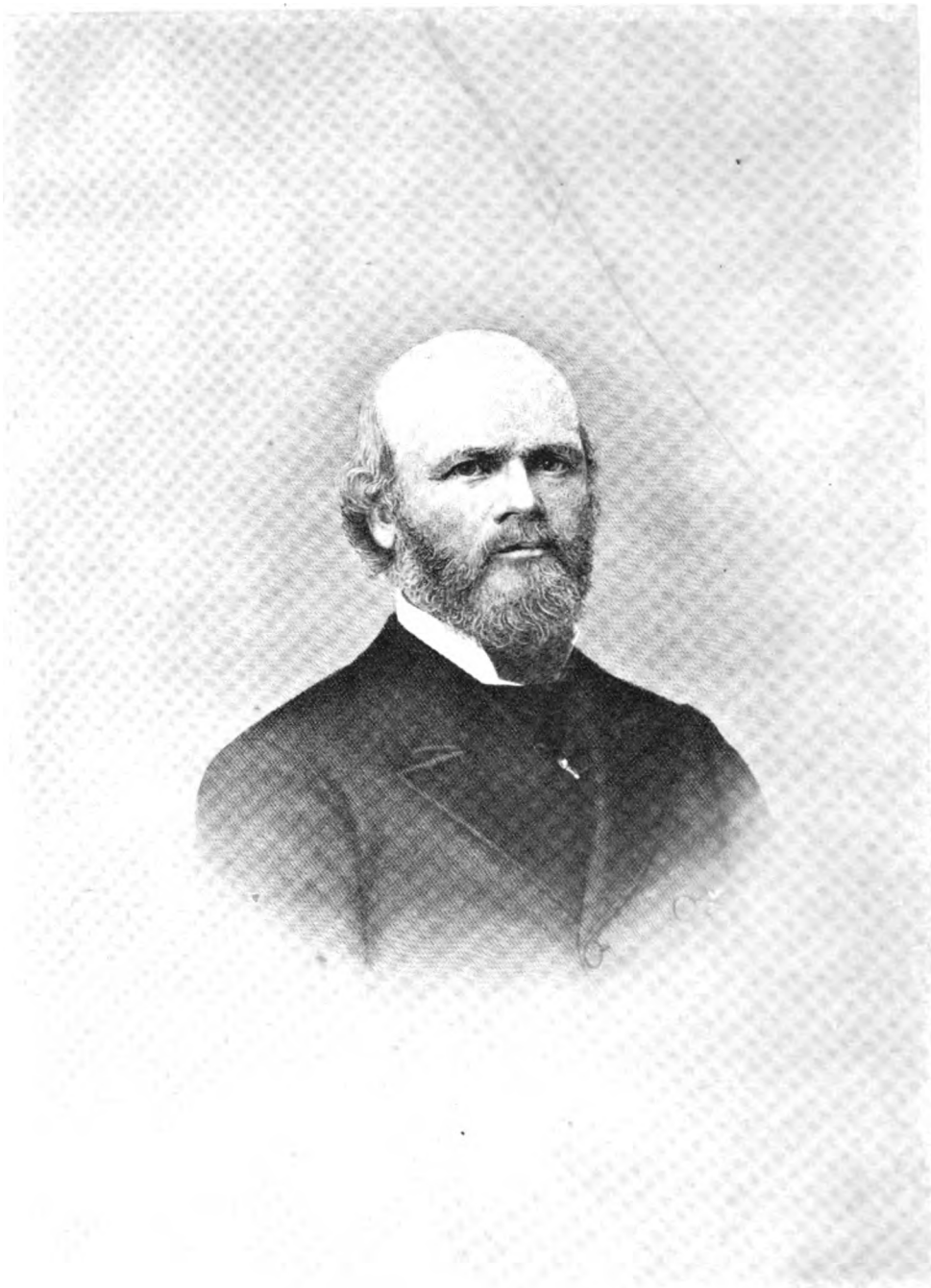
The Minnesota delegation went down to the Chicago convention in May, 1860, under the lead of Governor Ramsey. At that time the direct route to the East was by steamboat to La Crosse and thence by rail to Chicago. Judge Aaron Goodrich, Senator Wilkinson, and William Windom were members of the delegation. Ramsey was an earnest supporter of Seward for the Presidency, and it was agreed that the delegation should vote for him as a unit as long as there was any prospect of his nomination. A few weeks before Governor Ramsey had received a letter from his old Pennsylvania friend and party associate, Simon Cameron, which predicted pretty closely the result at Chicago. Cameron wrote that Seward would not be successful, and that the nomination would go to the West. He referred to Lincoln as the most probable nominee, and added that, in case the nomination got past Illinois and went still further west, Ramsey would be a very available candidate. This information was flattering to the Minnesota leader, but it did not shake his fealty to the great New York statesman. When the break came on the second day of the balloting the Minnesota delegation swung into line for the "rail-splitter of Illinois." Governor Ramsey was appointed a member of the committee to go to Springfield and apprise Lincoln of his nomination in a formal and official manner, according to the old custom in such cases. On his return to Minnesota he addressed a ratification meeting held in St. Paul, and told how much pleased he had been with Lincoln—his plain manners, his earnest views on the great question of the extension of slavery, and what was heard in Springfield of his character and influence.

A state convention was called by C. D. Gilfillan, chairman of the central committee, to meet in St. Paul on August 15th, for the purpose of nominating presidential electors, two members of Congress, and candidates for the offices of state auditor and clerk of the supreme court. Congressmen had been

elected the year before, but their terms would expire the ensuing 4th of March. Henry Acker of Ramsey county was the temporary chairman of the convention, and David Heaton of Hennepin its president. Windom and Aldrich were renominated for Congress without opposition. For electors the ticket was as follows: Stephen Miller of Stearns county, Wm. Pfaender of Benson, Clark W. Thompson of Houston, and Charles McClure of Goodhue. Charles McElrath of Nicollet was nominated for auditor, and A. J. Van Voris of Washington for clerk of the supreme court.

The campaign that followed was not nearly so active as had been the one of the previous year. The National Republican Committee now regarded Minnesota as a sure Republican state, and the Democratic committee took the same view. Neither committee sent to the state any orators for work on the stump. The pivotal states were then Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, which held state elections in October, a month prior to the presidential election, and thus set the drift of the political current, and the chief efforts of both parties were put forth in those states. In Minnesota there was not much of a speaking campaign. The two candidates for Congress, Mr. Windom and Mr. Aldrich, took the field against their old antagonists, Cavanaugh and Phelps, whom they had beaten the year before. Other Republican orators who did good service were John W. North, William S. King, Stephen Miller, and Charles McClure. The Republicans organized "Wide-Awake" clubs in St. Paul, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Stillwater, Mankato, St. Cloud, and Winona. These clubs were uniformed with water-proof capes and military caps, and each man carried a torch, composed of a tin kerosene lamp fastened to the end of a long pole.

The Democratic candidates for Congress that year were John M. Gilman of St. Paul and James George of Dodge county. When the returns came in from the election the forecast of the Republican



WILLIAM R. MARSHALL

Fifth Governor of Minnesota.

politicians that no special effort would be necessary to carry Minnesota that year was amply justified. Lincoln received 22,069 votes, Douglas 11,920, and Breckinridge the very meager total of 748. Thus the attempt of President Buchanan to force slavery upon Kansas against the will of her people was repudiated in Minnesota by a majority of about fifteen to one among the Democrats themselves, and the Southern scheme for carving slave states out of territory forever dedicated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise was condemned by the heavy vote cast for Lincoln and Hamlin.

The election of 1860 confirmed in their position among the leaders of the young Republican party in Minnesota two men of widely different types, Aldrich and Windom. Cyrus Aldrich, who lived at Minneapolis, was a plain, rough, and hearty style of a man, who won his influence largely by good fellowship. He was nothing of an orator, but he could talk briefly and in a sensible way at public meetings. His favorite form of convivial invitation was, "Will you take a little peppermint with me?" He served in the House from the Second district from 1859 to 1863, and was afterwards postmaster of Minneapolis. In 1861 a controversy arose between Aldrich and Gen. John B. Sanborn about the equipping of the First Minnesota Regiment, which reached such a degree of acrimony and personality that it was currently reported that a duel was to be fought. When the regiment was raised it was wanted immediately at Washington, and as there were no uniforms to be had in St. Paul, General Sanborn, who was adjutant general, purchased of a firm of Indian traders an outfit, consisting of a dark pair of trousers, a lumberman's red shirt and a blanket for each man, with the understanding that the regular uniforms should be furnished at Washington. The regiment went to the field, and took part in the battle of Bull Run in this strange garb, and without any change of shirts. Sanborn hastened to Washington after the battle to learn why the men had not been uniformed, and finding them in camp, ragged and dirty, he complained in the home papers of the Senators and members from Minnesota for not looking after their wants, and this led to the quarrel with Aldrich.

William Windom of Winona was a young lawyer, only thirty-two years of age when he first appeared in Congress. He was well educated, was a persuasive public speaker, and possessed an amiable and courteous manner which won him many friends. He accomplished by suavity and persistence what most men in politics seek to achieve by energetic effort. With the exception of Governor Ramsey, no man connected with the political history of Minnesota enjoyed so long, successful, and eminent a career. He was ten years in the House, two terms in the Senate, and was twice appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

On Jan. 1, 1861, a new daily newspaper appeared in St. Paul to take the place of the *Minnesotian* as the organ of the Republican party. Its owner was Wm. R. Marshall, and he announced in the first number that he had engaged the services of J. A. Wheelock as editor. Mr. Wheelock had previously been engaged in the publication of a real estate and financial weekly, and had not before entered the field of political writing. He soon demonstrated his exceptional talent for vigorous political controversy and for excellent general editorial work, and from that day to this he has always been the leading Republican editor in Minnesota. The legislature which assembled in January, 1861, was Republican in both branches. Lieutenant Governor Donnelly presided over the Senate, and Jared Benson was elected speaker of the House. The state conventions were held at an unusually late date that year. Public interest was entirely absorbed in the news that came from the seat of war in Virginia, where Minnesota was represented by her First Regiment at the Battle of Bull Run.

After the call for the Republican state convention was issued in August, a few active politicians, the most prominent of whom was Chas. D. Gilfillan, started a movement for a new party, to be composed of all men who favored the suppression of the Rebellion and the support of the national government, without regard to their previous party connections. A similar movement was going on at the same time in Ohio and in New York, but in those states it was in charge of the old Republican organization, which invited all other loyal men to join, and in order to

open the way determined to drop for a time at least the name Republican and assume that of the Union party. It was currently reported in Minnesota that Henry M. Rice, a prominent Democratic leader, was back of the Union movement in this state, and most Republicans were suspicious of it, believing it to be a scheme to weaken their organization, and thus make possible a Democratic victory. The Republican convention met at St. Paul on the 4th of September, and was presided over by David Cooper. Among the delegates were three men who afterward became governors of Minnesota—John S. Pillsbury, L. F. Hubbard, and Horace Austin. The convention renominated by a single resolution all of the state officers—Governor Ramsey, Lieutenant Governor Donnelly, J. H. Baker, Charles Schoeffer, and Gordon E. Cole. Speeches were made by Baker and Schoeffer, and Daniel Rohrer was continued as chairman of the state central committee. The platform called for a vigorous prosecution of the war to suppress the Rebellion, and for a united support of the national government by all loyal citizens.

The next day the "People's Union Convention," which had been called by Chas. D. Gilfillan, met and invited all men to join the new movement who were in favor of the union of all parties without regard to former party ties, and who would support the Federal Government in suppressing the Rebellion. The attendance was meager, a number of the most populous counties in the state not being represented at all. H. R. Bigelow called the convention to order, and Henry Acker of St. Paul was made president. Most of the delegates were former Democrats. John M. Gilman spoke in favor of abandoning the old parties and forming a new one to carry on the war. The convention nominated for governor Wm. H. Dike of Faribault county, and for lieutenant governor C. C. Andrews of Ramsey county. Candidates were also nominated for the other state offices. The *Press* next day denounced the movement as "The Great Farce," exposed the weakness of the convention in numbers and personnel, and declared that the resolutions were simply a restatement of the old Bell-Everett platform. The fathers of the "No Party" convention, according to the *Press*, were Earle S. Goodrich and Henry M. Rice. The *Pioneer* and

Democrat put up the ticket next day under the heading of the "People's Union Ticket," and continued to support it until it was formally withdrawn on September 20th, in a two-column letter signed by C. D. Gilfillan. Previous to that time the nominees for governor and lieutenant governor had refused to run.

On September 12th the regular Democratic convention met in St. Paul, with W. P. Murray as temporary chairman and Henry H. Sibley as president. It nominated a full state ticket, headed by Edwin O. Hamlin of Benton county for governor, and Thomas Cowen of Nicollet county for lieutenant governor. The platform, reported by John B. Brisbin, showed that the Democrats far up in the Northwest, and still remote from rail communication with the East, had already caught pretty accurately the spirit with which their party in the older states had determined to embarrass the Lincoln administration in its conduct of the war. The platform started out with a declaration that there was an organic and irreconcilable antagonism between the Democratic and the so-called Republican parties, and that it was the sacred duty of the Democratic party to maintain a distinct political organization. It then went on to pledge support to the national government in all constitutional means to bring to a speedy and honorable close the war between the states. As most of the Democratic leaders claimed at the time that the war itself was unconstitutional, this was a very diplomatic declaration. The platform then proceeded to hedge by opposing, "except in case of supreme urgency and strictly within the lines of military operations, the sacrifice of those safeguards with which the Constitution has surrounded the persons and property of citizens." This meant that, in the opinion of the Democrats, the government could do nothing to suppress the traitorous tongues of the Rebel sympathizers in the Northern States, who soon became as dangerous to the cause of the Union as were the Rebels in arms in the South. The platform ended with a piece of advice to President Lincoln. It stated that it was his duty "to assure the nation that the war was not a sectional war and not an anti-slavery war." So it seems that the Democrats of Minnesota continued their devotion to the institu-

tion of slavery long after the slave-holders had begun firing upon the flag of their country and upon its defenders.

After the People's Union ticket was withdrawn the *Pioneer and Democrat* refused to hoist the regular Democratic ticket, and the Democratic committee was forced to publish it in the *Press* as an advertisement for a few days previous to the election. During that month of September, 1861, when every day's papers brought war news from Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, when politics in Minnesota began to grow exciting, an event of first-rate importance to the future of this state was quietly chronicled in a few lines in the St. Paul papers. It was that the first train of cars on a Minnesota railroad had made a trial trip. On September 19th, the locomotive "Wm. Crooks" started from a point near the foot of Jackson street in the city of St. Paul, with Governor Ramsey, Senator Wilkinson, and other prominent men seated on the tender, and ran out as far as the first crossing of Trout Brook and back again. The steamboat "War Eagle," on its trip down the Mississippi, saluted the first locomotive with blasts from its whistle. It is probable that neither the men on the locomotive nor the men on the steamboat realized the full importance of the event, or foresaw that this was the beginning of a new era of Northwestern development.

The result of the election of 1861 was that Alexander Ramsey had 16,274 votes for governor and E. O. Hamblin 10,448, a falling off of over 12,000 from the total vote of 1859.

The dismal year of 1862—the year of the great Sioux massacre, which devastated with fire and murder all the frontier settlements of Minnesota, and the year of reverses for the Union arms in Virginia—made very little political history in Minnesota. The legislature was convened in extra session to provide means for conquering the brutal savages. The Indians were finally subdued, and thirty-eight of them, found guilty of murder by a court-martial, were hanged upon one scaffold at Mankato. After their sentence a strong pressure was brought to bear upon President Lincoln by the Quakers of Pennsylvania for their pardon, but Senator Wilkinson and the two Minnesota congressmen, Windom and

Aldrich, addressed a vigorous protest to the President, in which they said that if these men were pardoned all the Indians would become more insolent and cruel, and that "if the President does not permit their execution under the forms of law the people of Minnesota will dispose of these wretches without law."

No state ticket was voted for that year, but there were two congressmen to elect, and the nominations were now made for the first time in district conventions instead of in a state convention. William Windom was reelected in the First district over Chatfield, Democrat, and in the Second district the young orator, Ignatius Donnelly, succeeded in crowding Cyrus Aldrich out of a renomination, and was easily successful at the polls over William J. Cullen, Democrat. At the previous legislative session the date for the state election had been changed from the second Tuesday in October to the first Tuesday in November.

Some changes were made this year in the party newspapers at the capital. The *Pioneer and Democrat* dropped the word *Democrat* from its headline and became so patriotic in its support of the war that the pro-slavery element in the Democratic party refused to longer recognize its right to speak for them. Frederick Driscoll came to the city and launched a new Republican daily called the *Union*, assigning as one reason for his enterprise the opposition of one of the existing papers to Governor Ramsey and of the other to the two Republican congressmen. It ran only a few months. A number of the active young Republican leaders went to the war. General Sanborn took the Fourth Regiment to the field, and about the time the election returns were coming in he sent home a report of its heroic conduct in the battle of Corinth. Lucius F. Hubbard was colonel of the Fifth Regiment; John T. Averill was lieutenant colonel of the Sixth; Stephen Miller and William R. Marshall, who both subsequently filled the gubernatorial chair, were in the Seventh, as colonel and lieutenant colonel; James H. Baker resigned as secretary of state to take the Tenth Regiment into service as its colonel, and with him as lieutenant colonel went Samuel P. Jennison of Red Wing, who afterwards became one of the leading Repub-

lican journalists of Minnesota. The scattered frontier community which polled only 26,722 votes in 1861 had already sent over ten thousand fighting men to the field to defend the life of the nation.

A noteworthy act of Governor Ramsey's second administration, and one that had important consequences on the future of the public schools of the state, was his veto of a bill for selling the school lands at the price of government lands, which was \$1.25 per acre for lands lying outside of railroad grant limits and \$2.50 for lands inside such limits. As the sections adjacent to the selected school sections became settled there was a natural desire on

the part of both settlers and speculators to get hold of the school lands at low prices, and this desire found expression in a legislative act. Governor Ramsey's veto resulted in fixing a minimum price of seven dollars an acre for the school lands, and in thus building up a great permanent fund for the support of the common schools. In this matter Minnesota took warning from the example of the neighboring State of Wisconsin, where the school lands had been frittered away by unwise legislation, the state schools having received very little permanent advantage from their sale.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR-TIME POLITICS CONTINUED—GOVERNOR RAMSEY GOES TO THE SENATE—THE STATE ELECTION OF 1863.

The year 1863 was the great battle year—the year of Vicksburg, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga, when the fortunes of war turned in favor of the Union side. Public interest was intensely centered on the movements of the great armies which struggled in the entire territory between the Atlantic ocean and the wild plains of Kansas, and very little attention was paid to the ambitions and schemes of the stay-at-home politicians. A state election had to be held in Minnesota that year, however, and what was of more general interest in the new state, there was a United States Senator to be elected by the legislature which met in the early winter of 1863, to take the place of Henry M. Rice, whose term would expire on the following 4th of March. The Republicans had a large majority in both branches of the legislature, and an active contest arose between the different aspirants for Rice's seat. A caucus was held which lasted two days before a decision was reached. On the first day there were twenty-four ballots. The struggle was between Governor Ramsey and Cyrus Aldrich, with a third candidate, David Cooper, holding the balance of power. On the first ballot Ramsey received twenty votes, Aldrich fourteen, Cooper seven, and there were five scattering. Other men voted for during the day

were James Smith, Jr., Wm. R. Marshall, Stephen Miller, Jared Benson, and Charles McClure. An effort was made over night to concentrate all the opposition to Ramsey upon James Smith, Jr., but Ramsey was nominated next day by twenty-six votes to Smith's twenty. James Smith, Jr., had been president of the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad and was at that time its attorney. He had served in the State Senate three terms and was an active and popular politician. He was born in Ohio, in 1815, and came to St. Paul in 1856. Major Newson, in his "Pen Pictures," described him as "tall, slender, hair all awry, full whiskers, very polite and gentlemanly, and this has greatly assisted him in getting through the world."

The election of Ramsey to the Senate would have made Ignatius Donnelly governor, had not Donnelly preferred to take the seat in Congress to which he had been elected the previous autumn. In order to provide for the coming vacancy, Donnelly resigned the lieutenant-governorship, to take effect March 3d, and the Senate elected in his place Henry A. Swift of St. Peter. Governor Ramsey determined not to go to Washington until the meeting of the extra session of Congress in July, and he retained the office of governor until the last week in June. In the

midst of the stirring events of the siege of Vicksburg and the movement of the Rebel army into Pennsylvania preceding the battle of Gettysburg, so little attention was paid to his resignation that neither of the St. Paul daily papers chronicled the fact until one week after he had filed the formal letter with the secretary of state. Then the *Press*, edited by Mr. Wheelock, and at that time the accepted Republican organ, published a column editorial on Ramsey's administration, complimenting him for the economies practiced; for voluntarily reducing his own salary from \$2,500 to \$1,500 a year; for the land legislation, largely due to him, which gave the state an organized land department to administer the school lands, the swamp lands, and the railroad lands; and for his judicious selection of officers to command the regiments sent out to the field of war. The remarkable fact was pointed out that three of the colonels he had appointed had already become major generals and three brigadier generals. The active manager of the anti-Ramsey movement in the legislature was Wm. S. King of Minneapolis, who was at that time postmaster of the House of Representatives at Washington, and who returned to organize the campaign of Cyrus Aldrich. After the senatorial election was over the *Pioneer*, which was then Democratic in a half-hearted way, made some fun at Colonel King's expense, and proposed that Governor Ramsey should pay the costs of his trip from Washington and his stay in St. Paul. The *Pioneer* gravely itemized King's expenses as follows: "Travel, \$137.50; board and rooms, 19 days at \$11 a day, \$209; whisky and cigars, \$314.70." At the election in joint convention of the two houses Ramsey received 45 votes, and the Democrats cast their 17 votes for Andrew Chatfield, who had run against Windom for Congress the previous year.

Henry A. Swift, the new governor, was a lawyer, born in Ravenna, Ohio, who migrated to Minnesota during the territorial days. He was not a man of very positive character, although he had excellent personal qualities, and he failed to make any lasting mark upon the politics of Minnesota.

The Republican state convention was held on August 20th in St. Paul, and its president was W. H. Yale of Winona. Governor Swift was not a candi-

date for nomination. Stephen Miller of St. Cloud, colonel of the Seventh Regiment, was nominated for governor by acclamation. The rest of the ticket was as follows: Lieutenant governor, Chas. D. Sherwood of Fillmore county; secretary of state, David Blakeley of Olmsted county; state auditor, Charles McIlrath of Nicollet; state treasurer, Charles Schoeffer of Washington; attorney general, Gordon E. Cole of Rice; clerk of supreme court, Geo. F. Potter of Houston.

The Democratic candidate for governor was Henry T. Wells, who was kept pretty busy during the campaign explaining why the Democratic convention had voted down a resolution to indorse the war and commit the party to its support. At the election Miller received 19,552 votes and Wells 12,766, Miller's majority being 6,821, which was about the average majority of the other candidates on the Republican ticket. This was a gain of 2,722 over the Republican majority of the year before, but in that year the soldiers had not voted, as they did in 1863, under the law which authorized them to hold elections in their regimental camps. A comparison of the vote of 1863 with that of the two previous years showed that the war had exerted very little influence on the Democratic party in Minnesota. In spite of the patriotic feeling of the time, and of the evident necessity of supporting President Lincoln if the Rebellion was to be suppressed at all, the Democratic vote in Minnesota held together as tenaciously as it did before the war. That vote in 1860 was 11,033; in 1862, 10,776; and in 1863, 12,756. The Republican vote, which declined from 20,467 in 1860 to 14,375 in 1862, on account of the number of Republicans who had gone into the Minnesota regiments, ran up to 19,552 in 1863 by the aid of the soldier vote.

In the legislature which met in January, 1864, there were forty-four Republicans, three members classified as Union men, fifteen Democrats, and one Independent. These figures show how complete had been the political revolution in Minnesota since the time when the Democrats had full control of the state. In the Senate of that year were John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, who was subsequently governor of the state for three terms, and D. S. Norton of

Winona, who was afterwards a United States Senator. Henry A. Swift of St. Peter, who had recently left the governor's chair, returned to St. Paul as a member of the Senate. Jared Benson of Anoka was again elected speaker of the House. Edmund Rice and A. R. Kiefer of St. Paul, who afterwards became members of Congress, belonged to this House.

It does not appear that Minnesota was represented at all in the Cleveland convention, which nominated John C. Fremont for President. That convention was made up of dissatisfied Republicans, who thought that Lincoln was too slow on the slavery question, and that he was not showing sufficient vigor in the prosecution of the war. The real purpose of the convention was to frighten the regular Republican convention, soon to be held in Baltimore, from nominating Lincoln, by the threat of a formidable Republican bolt. No record has been preserved of the names of all the delegates from Minnesota to the Baltimore convention, but from the proceedings it appears that C. M. Dailey was the vice president from this state; Chas. Taylor the secretary, W. Bristol a member of the committee on resolutions, and W. S. Butler a member of the committee on credentials. It is an interesting fact that the Minnesota delegation held out to the last against the nomination of Andrew Johnson for Vice President. The convention, it will be remembered, was unanimous for renominating Lincoln, but there was a very sharp contest over the Vice Presidency. Hannibal Hamlin had a strong support for renomination, and Daniel Dickinson of New York was a formidable candidate. The Minnesota men appeared to have some premonition that Johnson would not be a safe man for a possible successor to Lincoln. Five of the eight Minnesota votes were cast for Hannibal Hamlin, and three for Daniel S. Dickinson, and in the stampede which took place to Johnson after it was seen that he was far in the lead, the Minnesotans stubbornly refused to join. The Minnesota member of the national executive committee

in the campaign of 1864 was Thomas Simpson of Winona.

A state convention was called by W. L. Wilson, chairman of the Republican state committee, to meet in St. Paul, August 4th. The Baltimore convention had dropped the name Republican and taken that of Union, in the hope of attracting to the support of its ticket all loyal men who favored the suppression of the Rebellion. The Minnesota Republicans thought it best to follow this example, and their convention was called as a Union State Convention. Thomas Simpson of Winona presided, and E. B. Ames of Minneapolis was the secretary. The convention nominated for presidential electors Chas. H. Lindley of Rochester, J. N. Murdock of Wabasha, J. W. Morford of Owatonna, and John G. Betz of St. Paul. For chief justice of the Supreme Court the nominee was Thos. Wilson of Winona, and for associate justices, S. J. R. McMillan of Stillwater and John M. Berry of Faribault. In the First congressional district Wm. Windom was renominated without opposition, and in the Second district Ignatius Donnelly was the unanimous choice of the convention.

The political campaign, taking place in the midst of the great events which presaged the speedy close of the war,—the terrible battles of the Wilderness, and the siege of Petersburg and Sherman's triumphant march to the sea,—could not well be an active or exciting one. Few public meetings were held, and there was not much political discussion in the newspapers. At the election Lincoln received 25,060 votes and McClellan 17,377, making Lincoln's majority 7,683. The Democrats ran John M. Gilman for Congress against Donnelly, and Donnelly's majority was 2,683. In the First district Windom's majority over Lamberton was 4,870. The Democratic candidate for chief justice against Thos. Wilson was A. G. Chatfield, and the Republican papers called him the "Inevitable Chatfield" from the fact that he had figured on losing Democratic tickets for many years.



WILLIAM WINDOM

United States Senator from Minnesota.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RETURN OF THE REGIMENTS—THE SOLDIER IN POLITICS—ELECTION OF GENERAL MARSHALL AS GOVERNOR.

The year 1865 was one of the most remarkable in the political history of Minnesota. The war ended in the spring, and the Minnesota troops returned to their homes during the early summer, covered with the laurels of victory. Here was a large number of energetic and intelligent young men, who had gained fame by three or four years of fighting, and who were welcomed with great honors by the people of the state. The soldier now appeared in politics in Minnesota, as well as in every other state of the Union, North and South, and for many years no political party constructed a county or state ticket without giving prominent places upon it to the heroes of the war.

In the early summer of 1865 it looked as if there would be but one candidate for governor voted for the ensuing fall. The Democratic party was everywhere demoralized and discredited by the success of the Union arms in the face of its repeated predictions that the war would be a failure. The Republican party still continued to use the name Union, and to invite to its ranks all men who approved of the suppression of the Rebellion. In Minnesota the situation was somewhat peculiar. Senator Henry M. Rice, the eminent Democratic leader, had given a hearty support in Washington to the Lincoln administration, and had approved of the emancipation proclamation. There was for a time a general disposition among the Republicans of the state to forget old conflicts and nominate Mr. Rice for governor by the coöperation of all the political elements in the state. As events turned out, however, instead of a reign of peace and harmony, an exceedingly bitter campaign was fought in the fall, accompanied by violent personal attacks upon the candidates of both parties, and a fight upon an issue which had never before been presented, namely, that of equal suffrage. The legislature of the previous winter had provided for submitting an amendment to the constitution to the voters at the next election, striking out the word "white" from the

qualification for suffrage. In this action the Republicans of the Minnesota legislature stood in line with those of a number of other states. They took the ground that, as the negro had fought to save the Union, the ballot could not justly be denied him. So deep-seated was race prejudice, however,—a legacy of the accursed institution of slavery,—that the Republicans were not able to bring their own party with a solid front upon this plain ground of justice and common sense. As to the Democrats, they were almost to a man intensely hostile to the proposition that the colored men should be permitted to vote, and throughout the campaign their newspapers and orators kept up a howl about "nigger worshippers" and "nigger equality." Looking back upon that period from our present advanced standpoint of political thought, it seems incredible that rational men should have believed it both right and politic to deny to any class of citizens the protection of the ballot because their skins were not entirely white. The political situation that year was rendered more uncertain by the doubtful attitude of President Andrew Johnson, who had succeeded to the executive chair on the assassination of Lincoln. Although Johnson had not at that time created any open rupture with his party, his attitude had become suspiciously friendly to the leaders of the late Rebellion, and the Republicans throughout the country had already begun to feel considerable alarm lest he should attempt to give away the substantial fruits of the war.

The Democrats led off in Minnesota in the campaign of 1865 by holding their state convention first. They met on August 16th under the presidency of W. W. Phelps of Goodhue county, but after a day's session and the adoption of resolutions, they concluded to adjourn until after the Republican convention had met in September. In their resolutions they sustained Andrew Johnson, condemned the Republicans for opposing his policy of reconstruction, accepted with satisfaction the ex-

tion of slavery, but vehemently opposed conferring upon the negroes the elective franchise. They spoke of the colored people as an "enervated and ignorant race, who would introduce into our system an element of disaffection, danger, and corruption." They declared that suffrage "would be productive of injury to the blacks themselves, would disturb our system of labor and our social organizations, and make the State of Minnesota a place of refuge for the scum of Southern slavery." How absurd this sounds now, when read after a lapse of thirty years. The Republicans held their convention on the 6th of September, under a call for a "Union Convention," and as in the previous year, they gave the name of "Union" to their ticket. The president was Mark H. Dunnell of Winona county, a young and active politician and an effective stump orator, who now began to make his mark in state politics. The secretaries were C. D. Davidson of Hennepin, D. Sinclair, the Winona editor, and A. R. Kiefer of St. Paul, now a member of Congress. An exceedingly close and animated contest arose over the nomination for governor. There were three candidates in the field with about equal strength—Gen. Wm. R. Marshall, who had taken one of the Minnesota regiments to the war and won the stars by gallant conduct; Gen. J. T. Averill, who had been the successful and popular provost marshal for Minnesota; and Chas. D. Gilfillan, an able and experienced St. Paul political organizer and leader. On the first ballot Averill received 44 votes, Marshall 40, and Gilfillan 39. The voting continued all day without any result, and when the convention adjourned on the twenty-first ballot Averill received 53, Marshall 52, Gilfillan 15. Next morning, on the twenty-second ballot, Marshall was nominated by 68 votes, to 50 for Averill and 4 for Gilfillan. The ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant governor, Thos. H. Armstrong of Olmsted county, by acclamation; secretary of state, Lieut. Col. H. C. Rogers of Mower county; treasurer, Charles Schoeffer of Ramsey county; attorney general, Wm. Colville of Goodhue county, who beat Gordon E. Cole by a vote of 62 to 45. The platform consisted mainly of a denunciation of the Democratic party for sympathy with the Rebellion, for denying the right of the Federal Gov-

ernment to coerce a sovereign state, for organizing secret societies for traitorous purposes, and for declaring in the crisis of the late struggle that the war was a failure. The Democrats were further charged with working on race prejudice to preserve the cause of the Rebellion, by retaining the black man of the South in a condition of peonage and serfdom. The platform took the high ground that the "spirit of our institutions requires that the measure of a man's political rights shall be neither his religion, his birthplace, his race, his color, nor any merely physical characteristic." This platform was significant, from the fact that no national convention had been held by the Republican party since the previous year to define the position of the party on the new questions that had arisen.

The Democratic convention reconvened on September 7th, and nominated Henry M. Rice for governor by acclamation. Soldiers were nominated for three places on the ticket. These were Capt. Chas. W. Nash, of Dakota county, for lieutenant governor; William Loehren of Hennepin county, who had carried a musket in the ranks for three years, for attorney general; and Maj. John B. Jones of Fillmore county for secretary of state. Resolutions were adopted appealing to the voters for a union on the Democratic ticket of "all who desired to support President Johnson in his patriotic efforts to reorganize the South without insulting their manhood by placing them on an equality with an ignorant and inferior race." The resolution spoke of the "nigger equalizing ticket" headed by General Marshall, and said that the ticket would be supported "by those who believe a negro to be as good as a white man, and are willing to go to the ballot with him as an equal, and sit at his table as his guest." Further, it was declared "the elector who believes God meant something when he made a negro black and invested him with inferior attributes, and who believes with the officers of the government that it was created for and should be administered by a superior race, who inhabit the land, will vote for Henry M. Rice."

The entire campaign was fought on the question of negro suffrage. A joint stumping canvass was arranged by the two candidates for governor. They

started in at Hastings to hold meetings in all the towns in the southern part of the state. Neither of them had any great ability as a platform orator, and it was with considerable reluctance on the part of both that they undertook this stumping tour. Old-timers whose memory goes back to that campaign, say that at their first meeting they had said all they could say and finished their speeches by nine o'clock in the evening, but as they progressed they warmed up to the work, and improved considerably both in the length and quality of their oratory. Rice was compelled by business affairs to withdraw from the canvass before it was half concluded. The Republican papers naturally took the position that he had been driven from the field, but General Marshall generously exonerated his antagonist from the charge of being unwilling to go on with the canvass.

The principal Republican speakers beside Marshall in that campaign were Ignatius Donnelly, Governor Miller, Senator Wilkinson, Governor Ramsey, Mark H. Dunnell, Gordon E. Cole, T. H. Armstrong, Albert Edgerton, Charles Schoeffer, and Gen. C. C. Andrews. General Andrews had been a Democrat before the war, and his action in joining the Republican party in this canvass brought upon him a great deal of criticism and ridicule from the Democratic newspapers, and especially from the *St. Paul Pioneer*. One of the amusing charges made against him by the *Pioneer* was that he wore a green coat and posed as a literary man. The *Pioneer* was at that time edited by Earle S. Goodrich, one of the most caustic and able political writers ever connected with Minnesota journalism. A personal attack was made by the *Press*, the principal Republican organ, on the motives of Senator Rice in defeating the original railway land grant bill in Congress, nearly ten years before. These attacks probably strengthened Rice, for he was popular throughout the state, and few men were willing to believe that he had acted in the Senate from any other than honorable motives. At the election Marshall received 17,344 votes and Rice 13,854. The amendment to strike the word "white" out of the constitution was lost by 14,807 negative votes against 12,

194 affirmative. Nearly 5,000 voters who supported General Marshall refused to give colored men the right of suffrage in the State of Minnesota.

Let us now turn back to the winter of 1865, when the legislature elected a United States Senator to succeed Morton S. Wilkinson. There were four candidates in the field. Senator Wilkinson naturally wanted a reelection. He was opposed by William Windom, a member of Congress from the First district, by Daniel S. Norton of Winona, a member of the State Senate, and by ex-Gov. Henry S. Swift of St. Peter. Windom and Norton had studied law together in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and had come out to Minnesota in the territorial days as fast personal friends, to make for themselves a career at the bar and in politics in the Far West. It was their intention to open a law office together, but Norton stopped for a time in St. Paul while Windom went to Winona. Subsequently Norton removed to Winona, and the two former friends became rivals in the practice of law and in the political life of the new state. They were able and ambitious men, and they could not pull together. Their personal ambitions clashed, and besides they differed in temperament and in their views of national politics.

In the joint legislative caucus thirty-two ballots were had before the contest was concluded. On the first ballot Wilkinson had 16 votes, Norton 12, Windom 10, and Swift 11. The final ballot stood, Norton 27, Wilkinson 21, Windom 1. The friends of Norton had very little hope of nominating him when the contest began, and were surprised at their own success. Norton at the time did not have the full confidence of the aggressive Republican element in the state. He had opposed the bill for giving the soldiers the right to vote in their camps during the war, and his general attitude was that of a Republican of a very conservative type. Prior to the caucus the *St. Paul Press* supported Wilkinson, opposing Norton's candidacy on the ground that he was not a reliable Republican. It was not long before Norton's actions justified the apprehensions of many of his party associates. He took his seat in Congress at the session which began in December, 1865, and soon identified himself with the very

small body of Republicans who sustained Andrew Johnson in his efforts to bring back the Southern States into the Union without any restrictions as to how they should treat the former slaves. These men were stigmatized as the "Bread and Butter Brigade." Senator Norton was undoubtedly sincere in his views. He was a man of rather cold temperament and judicial frame of mind, and his tendency was always to look on both sides of a ques-

tion. It was impossible for him to be a thorough partisan. He was one of the senators who voted against the conviction of President Johnson in the impeachment proceedings. For this, and for his general course in opposition to the party which elected him, he was severely criticised by the people and press of Minnesota. He died in July, 1870, eight months before the expiration of his term of office.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STATE CAMPAIGNS OF 1866 AND 1867—RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR MARSHALL.

The election in Minnesota in November, 1866, was for two members of Congress, and for state auditor and clerk of the supreme court. It was an off year in politics, and the contest was not an active one on either side. Donnelly and Windom were renominated for Congress without opposition. Windom's majority over his Democratic opponent, D. C. Jones, was over 6,000, and Donnelly's majority over William Colville was about 4,000. The Republicans reelected Auditor Charles McIlrath and Sherwood Hough, the clerk of the supreme court.

A popular movement which attracted more attention than politics in 1866 was the Anti-Monopoly Transportation Convention, which assembled in St. Paul to protest against the high rates on the river steamboats and on the railroads with which the boats connected at La Crosse, Prairie du Chien, and other river points. This was the largest delegate convention which up to that time had ever been held in the state. It was presided over by Thomas H. Armstrong, the lieutenant governor. Commodore Davidson, who then controlled the steamboats running down the river, came before the convention, and apologized for his monopoly. Alarmed by the projects brought forward for putting on a rival line of boats, he promised a reduction of freight rates. Immigration was then pouring into the state, and the high rates for freight and passengers were a serious obstacle to the prosperity and development of Minnesota. There was nothing very notable in

the Republican state convention of that year, which was presided over by F. R. E. Cornell of Hennepin county. H. P. Hall of St. Paul appeared in it for the first time in a prominent public capacity, as one of its secretaries.

Early in the summer of 1867, the Democrats, encouraged by the small Republican majority of the previous year, made preparations for vigorously contesting the state at the ensuing fall election. Their convention met in August, and nominated for governor Chas. E. Flandrau, who then lived in Minneapolis, and who had been chief justice of the supreme court under the territorial government. Flandrau was the most conspicuous hero of the Indian War of 1862, and he enjoyed great personal popularity throughout the state. The remainder of the Democratic ticket was as follows: Lieutenant governor, A. K. Maynard of Le Sueur; secretary of state, Amos Coggsell of Scott; treasurer, John Fredericks of Goodhue. The platform, reported by John B. Brisbin, opposed the Republican plan of reconstruction, maintaining that the Rebel States had no constitutional right to secede, and were consequently never out of the Union, and had preserved all their political rights to return and participate in the government. The platform also opposed striking the word "white" out of the state constitution, a proposition which the legislature of the previous winter had provided for again submitting to the popular vote. It also opposed prohibition and the protective

tariff. Geo. H. Pendleton of Ohio, a candidate for the next Democratic nomination for the Presidency, came up to Minnesota and attended the convention, and afterwards set the key-note for the Democratic campaign in a speech at a ratification meeting in St. Paul. Another honored guest at the convention was Brick Pomeroy, editor of the *La Crosse Democrat*, who had obtained a great circulation for his paper among the Northern sympathizers with the Rebellion by his violent and abusive attacks upon President Lincoln during the war period.

The Republican convention met on September 11th, in St. Paul. It was the general feeling of the Republicans throughout the state that Governor Marshall should be reelected. Chas. D. Gilfillan of St. Paul took the field against him, however, and traveled through the state organizing an opposition movement. Another active candidate was Ignatius Donnelly. One of the arguments used against Marshall was his veto of the Normal School Bill, which appropriated \$150,000 for schools at Winona, Mankato, and St. Cloud, and which he regarded as in advance of the needs of the state. His attitude in favor of adjusting the state railroad debt was also urged against him. The opposition made but a poor show in the convention, however. Mr. Gilfillan did not appear on the surface as a candidate, and Marshall was nominated on the first ballot by 119 votes to 24 cast for W. H. C. Folsom of Chisago county. Lieutenant Governor Armstrong was renominated, receiving 78 votes to 41 cast for M. F. Teft of Wabasha county. The nominee for state treasurer was Emil Munch of Pine county; for secretary of state, Henry C. Rogers of Mower county; for attorney general, F. R. E. Cornell of Hennepin county. The president of the convention was E. S. Youmans of Winona, and the secretaries were C. B. Cooley of Dodge, and W. B. Mitchell of Stearns. The platform was reported by D. Sinclair, editor of the *Winona Republican*. The resolutions made a square issue against the position of President Johnson, in his opposition to the reconstruction measures of Congress and his efforts to delay the establishment of civil government in the Rebel States—"rewarding traitors for their treason by restoring every right they formerly possessed, and giving them additional power." Johnson was denounced as "an enemy to

the peace and welfare of the country, and an impediment to the final execution of the laws."

The convention made a new departure on the question of prohibitory laws against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. This question had been passed by in the previous years, but now the Republicans determined to cut loose from all apparent sympathy with the Prohibition movement. One of the resolutions declared that "We favor all movements likely to improve public morals, but are convinced that the habits and customs of the people cannot be abridged by prohibitory or sumptuary laws, and that the legislature cannot interfere with such habits and customs without transcending the legitimate sphere of legislative action." This resolution, together with the nomination of a prominent German upon the ticket, was evidently designed as an effort to win back the German vote which had been early driven out of the Republican party in Minnesota by its indorsement of the views of the Prohibitionists.

A very active stumping campaign was organized by the Democrats, in the hope that they could carry the state by the aid of the few Republican sympathizers with the course of President Johnson. Among the Democratic orators who went upon the stump were Judge Flandrau, ex-Governor Gorman, A. G. Chatfield, Amos Coggsell, A. K. Maynard, Geo. L. Becker, W. W. Phelps, Seagrave Smith, J. J. Egan, Dillon O'Brien, M. J. Severance, and E. St. Julien Cox. The Republicans were forced to meet this campaign of political oratory, and they put into the field Governor Marshall, H. L. Gordon, Henry A. Castle, M. S. Wilkinson, Gen. S. P. Jennison, F. R. E. Cornell, W. D. Bartlett, Ignatius Donnelly, D. A. Secombe, Jared Benson, and others. The equal suffrage amendment was again lost, 2,184 Republicans, who voted for Governor Marshall failing to vote at all upon the amendment, and the result was: For the amendment 27,498, against the amendment 28,746. There was, however, some gain in public sentiment in the right direction since 1865. The majority against suffrage that year was 2,670, and in 1867 it fell to 1,248. The vote on governor was as follows: Wm. R. Marshall, 34,874; Chas. E. Flandrau, 29,502; Marshall's majority, 5,372.

CHAPTER X.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1868—AN EXCITING CONTEST IN THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

The year 1868 was the Presidential election year, and Gen. U. S. Grant was carried into the chief magistracy on a great wave of popular feeling evoked by the general hostility felt throughout the North against the policy pursued by Andrew Johnson. The Republican state convention was held in Minnesota on May 18th, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the national convention at Chicago, and for nominating presidential electors. It was called to order by Levi Nutting, chairman of the state central committee, and Morton S. Wilkinson presided. The delegates chosen to go to Chicago were J. B. Wakefield, C. C. Andrews, H. H. Butler, John Van Cleve, J. C. Rudolphs, H. B. Ames, John McLaren, and Thomas Simpson. The electoral ticket was composed of W. G. Rambusch of Freeborn county, Oscar Malmros of Ramsey, C. T. Brown of Nicollet, and T. G. Jones of Anoka. The resolutions sustained the impeachment proceedings then in progress before the Senate at Washington, declared for Grant for President, and expressed a preference for Benjamin F. Wade for Vice President. A motion to strike out the name of Wade and insert that of Schuyler Colfax was lost. On the same day a large convention of soldiers and sailors was held in St. Paul, which passed resolutions that President Johnson ought to be removed and that U. S. Grant should be the next President. In this convention a large number of men who had taken a prominent part in the recent war were present, among them being Generals Hubbard, Van Cleve, Andrews, Marshall, and Averill, Captain Kiefer, and Colonel Liggett.

The National Republican Convention was held on the 20th of May. From the record of the proceedings it appears that John Van Cleve was one of the vice presidents, R. McLaren a member of the committee on resolutions, H. H. Butler of the committee on order of business, and John T. Averill of the national executive committee. The nomination of Grant was unanimous, but there was an active contest for the Vice Presidency. Seven of the eight

votes in Minnesota were given for Benj. F. Wade and the other vote for Henry Wilson.

In the campaign which followed in Minnesota the national issues were somewhat obscured by an intensely bitter faction fight for congressman in the Second district, which then comprised all of the central and southern counties of the state. In the First district William Windom found that he was going to be pressed so hard for the nomination by Morton S. Wilkinson and Mark H. Dunnell, that he thought it best not to enter the contest, but to withdraw for a time from public life and concentrate his efforts on securing the next vacancy in the United States Senate. Eventually three candidates contested the district, Wilkinson, Dunnell, and O. P. Stearns, and this three-sided struggle was so evenly balanced that thirty-eight ballots were had in the nominating convention before a result was reached. On the thirty-seventh ballot Wilkinson had 37, Dunnell 22, Stearns 29, and on the thirty-eighth the Dunnell men went over to Wilkinson, nominating him by 48 votes to Stearns's 31. The result of this contest was to give Wilkinson a new but short lease of political life, to put Dunnell in line to succeed him, and to strengthen Windom's prospects for the senatorship.

In the Second district there was a still sharper struggle for the congressional prize, with the unfortunate ending of a temporary disruption of the Republican party. Underlying this struggle, as in that in the First district, were rival schemes for securing the coveted senatorial place. The contest was greatly embittered by the peculiar personality of Ignatius Donnelly. This remarkable man had quarreled with nearly all of the leaders of his party in the state, but his extraordinary gift of effective political oratory gave him a strong hold upon a large element of the rank and file. He had his eye on the senatorship, and knew that he must secure a re-nomination for the House in order to hold a fighting chance in the approaching contest for that great



HORACE AUSTIN

Sixth Governor of Minnesota.

honor. Party leaders in the Second district were very tired of Mr. Donnelly. They regarded him as a disturbing element—a man of masterful disposition, of enormous ambition, regardless of the ordinary amenities and ethics of politics; one, in short, whose room was always more desirable than his company in political conventions and conferences. It was quietly determined to down Mr. Donnelly, and W. D. Washburn was agreed upon in St. Paul and Minneapolis as the man most available for the nomination. In the southern part of the district Gen. L. F. Hubbard was a strong candidate, and in the northern part Gen. C. C. Andrews, who then lived in St. Cloud, was in the field with a good following. The result of the county conventions held to select delegates to the congressional convention was disastrous to Mr. Donnelly. A considerable majority of the regularly elected delegates were known to be hostile to him. Mr. Donnelly attempted to pack the congressional convention with partisans of his own, who had no credentials entitling them to a seat in the body. This scheme was frustrated by the action of the congressional committee, who issued tickets to the duly accredited delegates and stationed their secretary at the door of Ingersoll Hall with a posse of policemen to keep out Donnelly's mob. Donnelly then led his adherents to another hall, where they went through the formality of asserting that they constituted the regular Republican convention, and placed Mr. Donnelly in nomination. In the regular convention an informal ballot resulted as follows: W. D. Washburn, 31; L. F. Hubbard, 15; C. C. Andrews, 13. Mr. Washburn wisely declined to accept the nomination, and General Hubbard was nominated by 34 votes to 25 for Andrews. The district committee, the chairman of which was A. B. Stickney, issued an address to the voters, setting forth the condition of affairs, and stating that, of the 81 uncontested delegates, 49 were present in the Hubbard convention and only 32 in the bolting convention.

The Democrats, seeing their opportunity in this quarrel, nominated Eugene M. Wilson of Minneapolis, a young and popular lawyer. Efforts were made to heal the breach in the Republican ranks before the election. General Hubbard offered to

submit the question of whether he or Donnelly was the regular candidate to a committee selected from impartial men of the First district. Donnelly refused this proposition, and also the second proposition that the question should be referred for arbitration to either Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania or Schuyler Colfax of Indiana. Finally, after a great deal of dickering between representatives named by the two rival candidates, a conference committee was constituted, to meet at Winona. Before its decision was announced General Hubbard came up to St. Paul and peremptorily withdrew from the canvass. He was severely criticised at the time for this action by Mr. Wheelock's paper, the *St. Paul Press*, and by a number of other Republican newspapers, but he was wiser than his critics. The real motive for his action was the attitude of the Republican committee for the district, the members of which held that he was wrong in the whole arbitration proceedings, and that he should at that late day decline to recognize the Winona conference. General Hubbard was fully pledged to that conference. He had named a friend of his own as one of the conferees, Donnelly had selected his man, and the two had agreed upon a Winona man as the third member. Hubbard could not honorably withdraw from an arbitration to which he had assented. The Republican district committee were apprehensive that Donnelly might win, and might thus claim the stamp of regularity for his candidacy, and there was no way out of this situation for Hubbard but to decline to run, and thus allow the nomination of another candidate in his place. The district convention was reconvened on October 8th, and nominated Gen. C. C. Andrews by acclamation. Donnelly made a vehement campaign upon the stump throughout the district, and succeeded in polling more Republican votes than Andrews. The election resulted in the success of the Democratic candidate, Wilson, who received 13,549 votes against 11,207 for Donnelly, and 8,580 for Andrews. While Mr. Donnelly thus demonstrated that he was stronger with the masses of Republican voters than was the regular nominee, his campaign as a bolter cut him off from any further fellowship with the influential leaders of the Republican party in Minnesota. He made an

attempt the ensuing year to get back into the party, but was unsuccessful. His subsequent career led him first to the Democratic ranks, through the door of the Greeley movement of 1872, and afterwards to the leadership of a variety of third-party movements.

In Minnesota General Grant received 43,744 votes, and Horatio Seymour 28,204. The equal suffrage amendment to the state constitution was voted on for the third time, and this time it carried, the re-

sult being that 39,094 votes were cast for the amendment, and 29,970 against it. The very large increase in the vote of Minnesota this year was the result of the heavy immigration to the state, which began to come in immediately after the war. Many of the new settlers were Norwegians and Swedes, and this class promptly allied themselves with the Republican party, and have continued to act with it ever since, except for a temporary defection in some counties to the Populist movement.

CHAPTER XI.

RAMSEY RE-ELECTED TO THE SENATE—HORACE AUSTIN ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1869, AND RE-ELECTED IN 1871.

The real underlying motive in the factional fight for representative in Congress from the Second district, which disrupted the Republican party in that district in 1868, was the desire to secure the United States senatorship. Senator Ramsey's term would expire on the following 4th of March, and he was a candidate for reëlection. His friends believed that if Mr. Donnelly should succeed in getting back to the House, he would be a formidable and probably successful competitor of Ramsey for the Senate. Had Donnelly been content with his seat in the House he might have remained there indefinitely, but he had fixed his ambitious eye on the Senate, and had thus antagonized all the supporters of Ramsey, many of whom were in prominent Federal offices in Minnesota, and were in a position to do effective political work. Donnelly had demonstrated by his large vote in November, 1868, that he had then more Republican followers than could be mustered for the regular candidate of the party, General Andrews. He maintained that he had been tricked out of the nomination against the will of the people by the sharp practices of the Ramsey faction, and he assumed the attitude of an injured man who had a grievance which could only be remedied by his reinstatement in some important public office.

When the legislature assembled in January, 1869, Mr. Donnelly soon saw that it would be impossible for him to obtain the votes of all the members op-

posed to Senator Ramsey. He therefore formed an alliance with Morton S. Wilkinson, and rallied all his followers to Wilkinson's camp. For nearly two weeks a very energetic canvass was prosecuted. The Ramsey party had their headquarters at the old International Hotel, and the Donnelly and Wilkinson men had rooms at the Merchants. It was evident that a majority of the members were going to vote for Ramsey, on the first ballot, at least. The plan of the Wilkinson men was to make that ballot an informal one, if possible, in the hope that they could gain votes on the subsequent ballots. Each faction had scouts out to watch movements around the headquarters of their antagonists. A political phrase was coined in this controversy that had currency in the state for many years afterward. One of the Wilkinson men was seen coming out of the headquarters of the Ramsey committee in the International Hotel. He was called to account, and asked what he had been doing in the enemy's camp. His reply was that he had just dropped in to see about getting some seed wheat. H. P. Hall, who had recently started the *St. Paul Dispatch*, caught up this phrase, and rang the changes upon it from day to day in his lively afternoon paper. The phrase "seed wheat" soon came to be used as an euphemism for many years for political corruption. If a candidate was suspected of making use of money to forward his nomination or election, he was said to be

"distributing seed wheat," and when a politician was supposed to be looking after illegitimate gains, it was popularly remarked that he wanted some "seed wheat." The Republican caucus was held on the 14th of January, and it turned out that Ramsey had a safe majority. He was nominated on the first ballot by the following vote: Ramsey, 28; Wilkinson, 22; S. R. J. McMillan, 1; William Windom, 1; W. H. C. Folsom, 1.

The approach of the fall campaign of 1869, when a governor and full state ticket were to be elected, brought Ignatius Donnelly again into the field. He proposed, as the only way of harmonizing the recent breach in the Republican party, that both sides should agree to nominate him for governor. This proposition was not at all acceptable to the Ramsey men, whose leader Mr. Donnelly had attempted the preceding winter to defeat for reelection to the Senate. Nor was it acceptable to a large number of other Republicans, who had come to look upon the talented young orator from Dakota county as a bolter and general disturber of the peace of the Republican party. The Democratic organ, the *St. Paul Pioneer*, expressed the fear that Donnelly would not be nominated, and said that "all the radical demagogues, bolters, and bushwhackers are laboring for his nomination, and to that happy result we try to look, regarding it as the entering wedge by which the infernal radical party of the state will be split in twain, and its defeat secured." To the general surprise of the public the leading Republican organ, the *St. Paul Press*, published an editorial a few days before the Republican convention assembled favoring Donnelly's nomination for governor, on the ground that the majority of the Republicans in his district had shown that they regarded him as an ill-used and persecuted man, a martyr to political combinations and chicanery. The *Minneapolis Tribune*, which by this time had become a prominent Republican newspaper, made vigorous opposition to this suggestion of the older organ at the state capital, and an animated controversy raged for a time between these two prominent journals.

The Republican convention, which met in September, was called to order by F. Driscoll, chairman of

the state committee, and was presided over by Dana A. King of Meeker county. All the opposition to Donnelly's nomination was easily rallied upon Judge Horace Austin of St. Peter, who was thus brought to the front as a new man in state politics. His judicial district covered all of the southwestern part of the state, and his six years' work on the bench had given him a large acquaintance in that region. He had besides won a state reputation as a fearless, energetic judge, by his efforts to secure the indictment and conviction of the ringleaders of a mob which took two men from the jail in the village of New Ulm in 1856 and lynched them. These men had killed a German in a drunken row in a saloon, and the lynching was the result of the excitement which prevailed among the Germans of New Ulm. The frozen bodies of the two young men were chopped up and thrown into the river under the ice. So strong was the feeling which prevailed among the Germans in that region that it was impossible to get indictments for the leading criminals in Brown county, and Judge Austin, with the aid of Attorney General Cornell, secured the passage of a special act by the legislature, under which the indictments were obtained and a trial had in Nicollet county.

The contest for governor was settled by a single ballot in the convention. Horace Austin received 147 votes, Ignatius Donnelly 64, and John McKusick of Stillwater 17. There was a lively contest over the lieutenant governorship, resulting in a nomination on the third ballot by the following vote: W. H. Yale of Winona, 139; H. L. Gordon of Stearns, 57; Jared Benson of Anoka, 29. The ticket was completed by the following nominations: Secretary of state, Hans Mattson of Meeker county; auditor, Charles McIlrath of Nicollet county; treasurer, Emil Munch of Pine county; chief justice, C. G. Ripley of Fillmore county; attorney general, F. R. E. Cornell of Hennepin county; clerk of the supreme court, Sherwood Hough of Ramsey county. The platform indorsed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which provided for equal suffrage. A resolution offered by W. D. Washburn of Minneapolis, in favor of setting apart the 500,000 acres of land which the state had recently received from the gen-

eral government for the liquidation of the Minnesota state railroad bonds, was rejected by a vote of 79 to 47.

The Democrats thought they saw in Donnelly's disaffection, which the Republican state convention refused to take any steps to heal, an opportunity for them to carry the state. Their convention nominated for governor Geo. L. Otis of St. Paul, who received 83 votes to 79 for Edmund Rice of St. Paul. For lieutenant governor, J. A. Wiswell defeated Dr. A. A. Ames of Minneapolis, who subsequently became mayor of that city and a candidate for governor. For chief justice the nominee was Chas. E. Flandrau. A very colorless platform was adopted, purposely devised so that it would not repel any Republican votes. It announced no principles, and merely affirmed the desirability of a change in the administration of the state government. Mr. Otis was at that time one of the most successful practicing attorneys in St. Paul. He was a prominent member of the Masonic order, and enjoyed a high degree of popularity. No stronger candidate could have been named by his party.

For the first time in the history of the state, the Prohibitionists entered the field of politics this year, holding a convention and nominating for governor Rev. Daniel Cobb of Olmsted county, for lieutenant governor Col. John H. Stevens, one of the pioneers of Minneapolis, and a full state ticket. That was the beginning of the temperance movement as a separate political factor in Minnesota, and it has been kept up from that year to this. A feeble effort was made to organize a fourth party, and a People's state convention was called to meet in St. Paul and nominate a ticket, "by the election of which the people might rebuke the abuse of party management and reform the administration of the state offices." No names were signed to the call, and the convention was so complete a fizzle that the newspapers were not able to obtain the names of any of the delegates who attended.

During the latter part of the canvass an effort was made to bring about a joint discussion between Austin and Otis, and after some newspaper chaffing on both sides, the chairman of the Republican com-

mittee issued a formal challenge in the name of Austin, inviting his opponent to meet him upon the stump. The chairman of the Democratic committee, John M. Gilman, published a half-column letter in reply, in which he stated that Mr. Otis was too busy looking after the interests of his clients in court to go upon the stump for the purpose of meeting such an insignificant opponent as Judge Austin, and that he (Gilman) was entirely content to have Austin go on with his canvass, believing that the more speeches he made the fewer votes he would get. The truth was that Mr. Otis had no desire to measure himself in political argument with his antagonist. It is also probable that he did not care to sacrifice any of his profitable business. He did not want the nomination for governor; had accepted it with a great deal of reluctance, and confidently hoped that he would not be elected. The bitterness of political controversy in that day may be understood from an extract from an editorial which appeared in the *St. Paul Pioneer* just before the election. The *Pioneer* said of Judge Austin: "He is a man of small and dense intellect. His education is defective, although he was a school teacher. He cannot spell rightly the simplest words. He cannot write two consecutive sentences correctly. His weakness, awkwardness, dull and diminutive understanding and bad manners are conspicuous." This attack was wholly unwarranted by the character and attainments of Judge Austin. He was, in fact, one of the most intellectual men who ever filled the governor's chair in Minnesota. He had a judicial temperament, and a statesmanlike cast of mind, and he made so acceptable a governor that he was renominated without opposition, and reelected by a majority about eight times as large as that given for him at his first election. In fact, he narrowly escaped defeat at that first election, owing to the large number of partisans of Ignatius Donnelly who refused to vote for him. The result was in doubt for nearly two weeks, until the returns from the counties not reached by telegraph came in. The Republican disaffection was most severely felt in the counties of Ramsey and Dakota, where Donnelly's acquaintance and influence were largest. It is said that during those two

weeks of doubt Mr. Otis, the Democratic candidate for governor, was in the habit of going to the *Dispatch* office every day in the hope that the news would indicate his own defeat. He enjoyed a large practice, worth about \$10,000 a year, and was reluctant to surrender it for any political honors. It turned out finally that Austin was elected by the following vote: Austin, 27,348; Otis, 25,401; Cobb, 1,764. There was a falling off of about 10,000 votes from the previous year. The general Republican ticket received a majority of about 5,000. The Donnelly men who did not stay away from the polls altogether contented themselves with cutting Austin.

Governor Austin, who was inaugurated in January, 1870, was born in Maine, received a common school education, and worked as a journeyman mechanic while a boy. He was one of the early settlers on the Minnesota river, studied and practiced law, was captain of cavalry in the Sioux Indian war, and served six years as a judge upon the district bench. He was thirty-eight years old at the time he took the governor's chair. In person he was of medium height and slender build, with black eyes and hair, a thin, nervous face, a full black beard, and a swarthy complexion. His inaugural address showed that he had a firm grasp on the affairs of the state, and that he was a man of courage and conviction. He strongly advocated the very measure which his party in convention had voted down—the setting apart of 500,000 acres of land to pay the repudiated railroad bond debt of the state. This debt had been contracted soon after the admission of the state. State bonds at the rate of \$100,000 for every ten miles of railroad graded and ready for ties, and \$100,000 more for every ten miles of completed road with cars running, had been authorized by the legislature. Under this act 239 miles of railroad were graded, and \$2,275,000 of state bonds were issued,

for the payment of which the faith and credit of the State of Minnesota were pledged upon their face. In the great panic of 1857 the railroad companies became bankrupt, but instead of foreclosing its lien upon the roadbeds and upon 614,000 acres of land which had been granted to them, the legislature gave all of this property to new companies which undertook to complete the roads. Thus the state was left without any security for its \$2,275,000 of railroad aid bonds. Subsequently the legislature refused to make any provision for paying the interest on these bonds. Thus Minnesota was classed with Mississippi as a repudiating state. Largely through Governor Austin's influence an act was passed by the legislature of 1870, authorizing the exchange of these railroad bonds for land, and setting apart for that purpose the 500,000 acres, known as internal improvement lands, which the state had received from the general government. Strenuous opposition was made to this measure by a large combination of interests in different parts of the state, which desired to secure these lands as a subsidy for new railroad projects. The act was submitted to the popular vote at a special election, which took place in May, 1870, and was carried by a good majority, but by a very small vote. It failed of its purpose, however, for the reason that it required that 2,000 of the outstanding bonds should be deposited for exchange. The actual number deposited was only about 1,000. At the next session of the legislature a constitutional amendment was passed, providing that the 500,000 acres of land should be set apart and disposed of in the same manner as school lands, and that the proceeds should constitute a fund which could not be appropriated by any legislature without the indorsement of a majority of the voters of the state. This measure was one of the special features of Governor Austin's administration.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONGRESSIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN OF 1870—RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR AUSTIN IN 1871—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

Senator Norton died in July, 1870. His term of office would have expired on the fourth day of the succeeding March. Governor Austin appointed William Windom to fill the vacancy until the legislature could elect in January, 1871. The political campaign of 1870, in Minnesota, was for members of Congress and members of the legislature. In the First congressional district the Republicans renominated Mark H. Dunnell of Owatonna, and the Democrats ran against him C. T. Buck of Winona. Dunnell received 19,606 votes, and Buck 14,904, making the Republican majority 4,702. In the Second district the Republicans nominated Gen. John T. Averill of St. Paul by acclamation. Ignatius Donnelly made an effort to secure a footing in the Republican convention, and stated that he had a list of 3,500 Republicans in the district who had signed letters asking him to run. The Republican newspapers challenged him in vain to produce the list. After the nomination of Averill, Mr. Donnelly announced himself as an independent candidate. The Democratic convention made no nomination, but recommended all Democrats to vote for Donnelly. The result of the election showed that Donnelly had lost a large part of the Republican vote which supported his independent candidacy two years before. General Averill received 17,133 votes, and Donnelly 14,491, Averill's majority being 2,642.

In the canvass for members of the legislature the senatorial question was the only one at issue. Morton S. Wilkinson entered the field against Windom, but was not able to muster any formidable showing of strength throughout the state. It was already suspected that his purpose was to effect a coalition with the Democrats, and thus defeat Windom. In Olmsted county the friends of Wilkinson organized a bolting movement, and succeeded in defeating C. P. Stearns for the State Senate. The secret alliance between Wilkinson and Donnelly of two years before showed its effects throughout this can-

vass and in the fight that was made upon Windom after the meeting of the legislature. Just before the legislative caucus was held the *St. Paul Press* said: "From the first day when the members of the legislature assembled it has been manifest that Mr. Windom was the decided, spontaneous, first and last choice of over three-fourths of the Republican members." In order to make a popular demonstration, if possible, in favor of an independent movement in the legislature, a "Reform convention" was called to meet in St. Paul the day before the date fixed for the caucus to make the senatorial nomination. Active in this movement were Mr. Donnelly, Winthrop Young, Dr. Mayo, and Samuel Mayall. It was announced that the meeting would expose the evils of railway administration, and advocate civil service reform. The *Press* wanted to know who would reform the reformers. Only about fifty people attended the convention, and an adjournment was had until evening to drum up a large audience. Ex-Governor Gorman and Morton S. Wilkinson made speeches in the evening, and an executive committee was named, among the members of which were Ignatius Donnelly and Thomas Wilson. Clark W. Thompson, president of the Southern Minnesota Railroad, and E. W. Drake, president of the St. Paul & Sioux City Railroad, appeared before the convention, and answered the charges of unfair and excessive freight rates.

The attempt to get up a coalition between the anti-Windom Republicans and the Democrats in support of Wilkinson was an utter failure.

Six Republicans stayed away from the caucus. Windom was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 34 votes to 3 cast for Thomas Wilson, one for Horace Austin, and 1 blank. It had been the general expectation before the meeting of the caucus that Windom would be elected to fill the vacancy for the short term which ended on the 4th of March, as well as for the regular term beginning on that



CUSHMAN K. DAVIS

Seventh Governor of Minnesota—United States Senator.

day; but the Windom men concluded to show their appreciation of O. P. Stearns of Rochester, who had been thrown out of the State Senate by the action of the Wilkinson bolters in Olmsted county, and they therefore determined to send him to Washington for three months to take Mr. Norton's seat. For the short term O. P. Stearns received 27 votes, J. H. Baker 9, Thomas Wilson 2, and William Windom 1. When the election came up in the joint convention of the two houses, there were only two men who bolted the caucus nominations. In the House, J. H. Hubbell voted for Wilkinson, and J. Q. A. Vale voted for Thomas Wilson, in opposition to Windom. For the short term, Hubbell voted for Ignatius Donnelly.

No opposition showed itself in the Republican convention of 1871 to the renomination of Gov. Horace Austin. This was the more remarkable from the fact that he had antagonized a large number of his party friends by his independent course in vetoing a bill for distributing the 500,000 acres of internal improvement land among different railroad corporations. Great pressure was brought upon him to sign this bill, but he was determined that the land should be preserved to form a fund for the ultimate payment of the old railroad debt of the state. Lieutenant Governor Yale was renominated without opposition, and so was Attorney General Cornell. The remainder of the state ticket was as follows: Secretary of state, Gen. S. P. Jennison of Red Wing; state treasurer, William Seeger; justices of the supreme court, S. J. R. McMillan and J. M. Barry. The convention took advanced ground in relation to state control of railroads, indorsing in this respect the position Governor Austin took in his inaugural message of 1870. The tariff issue was artfully evaded by meaningless resolutions.

In the Democratic state convention there was a very animated scramble for the nomination for governor. Seven candidates entered the field. On the second ballot, Winthrop Young, a wealthy business man of Minneapolis, was nominated, receiving 107 votes against 49 for Edmund Rice of St. Paul. The nominee for lieutenant governor was D. L. Buell of Houston county. The platform denounced the na-

tional and state administrations, demanded a reform of the tariff which should give low duties on all staple articles, such as coal, iron, salt, lumber, cotton and woolen goods, and favored legislation to control railroad rates. The vote at the election was 46,950 for Austin, 30,376 for Young, and 846 for Samuel Mayall, the Prohibition candidate. Austin gained 19,612 over his vote of 1869, and Young gained 4,975 over Otis's vote of that year.

The Liberal Republican defection of 1872, which resulted in the nomination of Horace Greeley at the Cincinnati convention and in his acceptance by the Democratic convention held in Baltimore, did not produce much effect in Minnesota in the way of alienating votes from the regular Republican organization. While it had for its national leaders such eminent men as Lyman Trumbull, Carl Schurz, Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, and Horace Greeley, and received the support of four of the most prominent Republican journals in the country, the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and the *Springfield Republican*, it lacked in Minnesota, as in most other states, prominent leaders who were evidently moved by principle to take this new departure in politics. Its only conspicuous advocates in Minnesota in the spring of 1872 were Morton S. Wilkinson and Ignatius Donnelly, both of whom belonged to the class known in politics as "sore-heads," and had failed in their efforts to be continued in office by the regular Republican organization. The Cincinnati convention met on the 2d of May, and the delegates from Minnesota were C. D. Sherwood, W. W. Mayo, Samuel Mayall, F. Willius, Thomas H. Wilson, James B. Hubbell, J. X. Davidson, M. S. Wilkinson, Thomas Heilsden, and Aaron Goodrich. Mr. Goodrich, who had formerly been secretary of the legation at Brussels, was made the Minnesota vice president. The Minnesota delegation did not favor the nomination of Horace Greeley, but cast nine votes for Lyman Trumbull and one for David Davis. The *St. Paul Dispatch*, edited by H. P. Hall, was the only prominent Republican newspaper to espouse the Liberal Republican cause in Minnesota, and the action of the Cincinnati convention failed in any

way to break the force of Republican sentiment in the state, which favored the renomination of President Grant.

The Republican state convention met in Minneapolis on May 8th, under the presidency of Lieutenant Governor Yale, and nominated O. P. Whitcomb of Stearns county for state auditor, and Sherwood Hough of Ramsey county for clerk of the supreme court. The convention selected as delegates to the National Republican Convention J. T. Williams, T. S. Buckham, Adam Buck, W. E. Hicks, W. S. King, C. T. Benedict, A. E. Rice, D. M. Sabin, and Otto Wiemark. The electoral ticket nominated was composed of W. R. Marshall, Charles Kittelson, E. A. Coe, M. Scheindler, and Theodore Sander. Over two hundred and fifty delegates attended this convention. Great enthusiasm prevailed, and the proceedings were enlivened by the singing of a song by Asa D. Hutchinson, one of the old Hutchinson family of singers, entitled "General Grant, the People's Choice."

The national convention met at Philadelphia on June 5th, and nominated General Grant for reelection by acclamation. The Minnesota delegation had been instructed to vote for Grant and also to support Schuyler Colfax for the Vice Presidency. The delegation accordingly cast its ten votes for Colfax, who was beaten by Henry Wilson by a very small majority. General Averill was selected as national committeeman from Minnesota. Under the Federal census of 1870, Minnesota hoped to get four members of Congress; but when the new apportionment bill was passed at Washington, the basis of repre-

sentation was raised so that the state was accorded only three members. The new districts were formed by the legislature of 1872. In the First district, which continued to comprise the southern part of the state, the Republicans renominated Mark H. Dunnell, and the Democrats and Liberal Republicans ran Morton S. Wilkinson against him. In the Second district, comprising the western part of the state, Maj. H. B. Strait of Shakopee received the nomination, and his antagonist was Charles Graham of Goodhue county. In the Third district, comprising St. Paul and Minneapolis, and much of the northern part of the state, Gen. John T. Averill was renominated, his opponent being George L. Becker of St. Paul. The Republicans carried all three districts by large majorities. Dunnell's majority was 9,767; Strait's majority was 4,148; and Averill's majority was 7,323. In that campaign the name of Democrat disappeared entirely from the state and congressional tickets, and the word "Liberal" was substituted for it. So far as could be judged from the result, the number of Republicans who left their party to join the new Liberal movement was insignificant. It probably did not embrace 1,000 voters in the entire state. General Grant's vote in Minnesota was 55,708, and Horace Greeley's 35,211. Both parties contested the canvass of 1872 with considerable activity. Among the Republican orators who went upon the stump were Ramsey, Austin, Baker, Jennison, Miller, Dunnell, Windom, Cole, Cornell, Nutting, and Edgerton. The Liberal candidate for state auditor was Albert Scheffer of St. Paul.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GRANGER MOVEMENT—NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF C. K. DAVIS AS GOVERNOR—THE DAVIS ADMINISTRATION.

The year 1873 was marked by very general political disorganization in Minnesota, and in a number of other Western States. The old questions growing out of the Civil War seemed to have been fought out and settled, and a new movement appeared in the field of politics based upon a general restlessness under existing industrial conditions.

An organization known as the "Grange," composed of farmers and mechanics, spread with great rapidity throughout the West. Its ostensible aim was to bring the farmers and mechanics of the small towns in nearer social relations in local clubs or lodges, where they could discuss means for advancing their material interests. Women were admitted to the

Granges as well as men. The movement soon took a political turn, and was directed against the railroads. There was at that time a widespread belief among the farmers that the railroads were charging unnecessarily high rates, and that they were unjustly discriminating in favor of certain classes of shippers and of certain localities in which the managers of the roads had business interests. The contention of the Grangers was that the state had the right to regulate railway affairs and freight rates, and also the general transportation policy of the roads. On the other hand, the railroads maintained that they were authorized in their charters to fix rates, and that this constituted a contract between them and the state, in which they had a vested right which could not be disturbed by any subsequent legislative action. The most prominent Republican in Minnesota who adopted the main line of argument of the Granger movement in relation to railroads was Cushman K. Davis, then a successful young lawyer in St. Paul. He was at that time thirty-five years of age, was born in New York and reared in Wisconsin, in one of whose regiments he served during the Civil War, and came to Minnesota after the close of the war to take advantage of the opportunities for building up a law practice afforded by the rapid growth of the city of St. Paul. Mr. Davis had a marked oratorical gift, and being a man of university education, of scholarly attainments, and high ambition, he soon took a prominent place in the public life of Minnesota. In his speeches he never attempted to get down to the level of an audience, but always assumed that they would be interested in the topics and illustrations which interested him. By following this line he soon attained, by his addresses and lectures on public occasions in many parts of the state, a position of leadership among the young intellectual element in the Republican party. Prior to the campaign of 1873 he had delivered a lecture entitled "Modern Feudalism," in which he pointed out in a very striking manner the dangers to the liberties and prosperity of the people which might come from the powers granted to corporations, unless the corporations were speedily placed under vigilant state control. So conspicuous was Mr. Davis in his advocacy of state jurisdiction over railway companies, that, after he was nomi-

nated for governor on July 16th, there was considerable talk in the newspapers of a general acceptance of his candidacy by men of all parties who sympathized with what was known as the "Anti-Monopoly Movement."

Mr. Davis's candidacy before the state convention of 1873 was the result, not only of his attitude towards corporations, but also of a general feeling among the younger men of the Republican party that they had not been given a fair showing in the management of party affairs. They claimed that the leading men, especially those in St. Paul and Minneapolis, formed combinations which controlled the elective offices of the state and the Federal appointments, and they determined to revolt against this condition of affairs. A prominent candidate for the governorship was Wm. D. Washburn of Minneapolis, a member of one of the most conspicuous and influential political families which has ever figured in our national history. From this family came a governor of Maine, Israel Washburn; a governor and a United States Senator in Wisconsin, Cadwallader C. Washburn; the great Illinois leader, Elihu B. Washburn, long the foremost Republican in the House, and afterwards Secretary of State and Minister to France; and finally Wm. D. Washburn of Minnesota, who became a member of Congress and a United States Senator. Up to 1873 W. D. Washburn had held no public offices save that of surveyor general of the state and member of the legislature. He had the talent of his family for politics and public affairs, and the Republicans of Minneapolis earnestly desired to place him in the governor's chair.

The convention opened with a sharp struggle over the temporary chairmanship, which ended in an apparent victory for the Washburn element. W. H. Yale of Winona was chosen by 166 votes against 138 for J. Q. Farmer of Fillmore. A letter was read from Governor Austin, stating in positive terms that he would not be a candidate for renomination, but in spite of this letter he was placed in nomination by J. E. Child of Waseca. Governor Marshall nominated C. K. Davis, and F. R. E. Cornell nominated W. D. Washburn, and a fourth candidate, Thos. H. Armstrong of Mower, was nominated by C. F. Benedict. An informal ballot resulted: Wash-

burn 119, Davis 77, Austin 77, Armstrong 33. On the fourth ballot Davis was nominated by 155 votes against 152 for Washburn. Davis had therefore one vote more than was necessary for a choice. The Washburn men were greatly chagrined, but they made the nomination unanimous, and called out the successful candidate, who made a speech about the necessity of checking the evils growing out of corporate monopolies. For lieutenant governor there was also a very animated contest between six candidates. On the third ballot A. Barto of Stearns county was nominated, by 170 votes against 136 cast for N. P. Colburn of Fillmore. For secretary of state, Gen. S. P. Jennison was renominated on the first ballot over Col. W. Pfaender of Brown county. For state treasurer the nominee was a prominent Scandinavian of Freeborn county, Mons Grinager. For attorney general, Geo. P. Wilson of Winona received 158 votes against 153 cast for W. W. Billson of Duluth. The platform took pretty positive ground on the railroad question, declaring that no rights should be vested in railroad companies beyond the control of future legislation, and that laws should be passed to limit to just and reasonable rates all tolls and charges; and further, that the legislature should attach such provisions to new franchises and amendments to old charters as would place the rights of legislative control over such corporations beyond all question. It would seem that this should have been sufficiently radical ground to satisfy anybody who believed in state control over the roads, but the Grangers were not content, and they called a "Farmers' and Mechanics' Convention" at Owatonna on September 1st, and there organized a separate party which they called the "People's Anti-Monopoly Party." Ignatius Donnelly was in the front of this movement, and was chairman of the convention. The resolutions demanded a reduction of the tariff, the control of railroads, and the assertion by the state of the doctrine, that to prescribe tolls and charges was the attribute of the people. A full ticket was nominated as follows: Governor, A. Barton; lieutenant governor, Ebenezer Ayers of Washington; secretary of state, John H. Stearns of Hennepin; attorney general, W. P. Clough of Ramsey.

The Democratic state convention met on September 24th, and made no nominations. A resolution was adopted recommending all Democrats and Liberal Republicans to yield a cordial support to the nominees of the Owatonna convention. On the railroad question the Democrats took substantially the ground already occupied by both the Republican convention and the so-called Granger convention. They declared that they were opposed to the doctrine that the people had forfeited the right to control the rates of travel and transportation on the railroads of the state, and they denounced such doctrine as "pernicious in theory and ruinous in practice." They said that they were opposed to the concentration of wealth under unjust laws in the hands of powerful corporations which threatened the existence of free institutions. J. N. Castle of Stillwater presided over their convention. The Democrats confidently expected to beat Davis by their alliance with the Granger movement. They knew that thousands of Republican voters belonged to the Granges, and they expected the solid support of these voters for the Owatonna ticket. They failed, however, to give full weight to the position of Mr. Davis, who had in his speeches, and more notably still in a letter which he printed on July 20th, taken the most advanced ground in favor of legislative control of railway rates and of general railway management. In that letter he held that the Dartmouth College case, generally relied upon by the railroads to support their contention of vested rights, applied only to private corporations, and had no bearing upon the relations of the state to public corporations created by it. Mr. Davis also favored the acquirement by condemnation of two trunk lines from the seaboard to the West, which should be kept in repair by the government, and on which anyone who had a locomotive and cars could run them under such regulations as would insure safety. The result of the election was that Davis received 40,741 votes, a falling off of over 6,000 from the vote for Austin in 1871; while Barton, the Granger and Democratic candidate received 35,245 votes, a gain of about 5,000 over the vote for Young, the Democratic candidate in 1871. The Prohibitionists ran Samuel Mayall, who received 1,036 votes.

Governor Davis' administration was contemporaneous with the general business depression which followed the financial panic of 1873, and with the great plague of grasshoppers in the southwestern part of the state, which devastated all the country south of the Minnesota river and west of Blue Earth county. During his administration the supreme court at Washington confirmed the main points of his position in relation to the railroads by its decision in the Granger cases, one of which was taken up from Minnesota by Col. W. P. Clough. In this decision the power to control and regulate railroad rates was held to reside in state legislatures.

The legislature of 1874 affirmed the position which all parties had taken in the campaign of 1873, by passing an act creating a state railway commission, and Governor Davis named as members of this body

John A. Randall, A. J. Edgerton, and ex-Governor Marshall. During the Davis administration amendments to the state constitution were voted on and carried authorizing women to vote at school elections, providing for the investment of the school funds, and dividing the state into judicial districts.

At the election of 1874 Chief Justice S. R. J. McMillan was reelected over Westcott Wilkin, and F. R. E. Cornell was elected associate justice over William Lochren. In the congressional districts two of the old members were returned. The First district elected Dunnell over Waite, Democrat. The Second district elected Major Strait over Cox, Democrat. In the Third district, comprising the Twin Cities, Col. Wm. S. King of Minneapolis was elected over Eugene M. Wilson.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GREAT SENATORIAL FIGHT OF 1875—DEFEAT OF RAMSEY AND ELECTION OF McMILLAN—JOHN S. PILLSBURY ELECTED GOVERNOR.

1874
Senator Ramsey's second term expired on March 4, 1875, and the contest for the position began when Davis had been only a year in the gubernatorial office. Ramsey was personally popular with all the Republicans of the state, but his continuance in the Senate was strongly objected to by a large element of the party, on the ground that he was the center of a very compact political organization which distributed the honors and patronage of the Federal Government in Minnesota to themselves only. At that day the Federal patronage was of much more importance in the state than it is at present, owing to the large expenditures for supplies for Indian agencies, the contracts for transportation to the agencies and military posts, and the opportunities for profit connected with the survey of pine lands. The anti-Ramsey element, which nominated Davis the previous year, felt that they had nothing to gain by the continuance of Ramsey in the Senate, because the same men who held the Federal offices or enjoyed the various other kinds of Federal patronage would be continued at the public crib. Their movement against Ramsey had nothing in it of personal

hostility, but was simply an effort to break the combination which excluded them from all the profits of politics. In the legislature which met in January, 1875, the Republicans had 21 majority on joint ballot over all opposition, including Democrats, Independents, and Anti-Monopolists. Wm. R. Kinyon of Steele was speaker of the House.

In the Republican senatorial caucus an informal ballot gave Ramsey 36 votes, Governor Davis 21, Wm. D. Washburn 15, and ex-Governor Austin 11. On the third regular ballot Ramsey ran up to 40, and it was pretty plain that he would be nominated that day if the balloting continued. A recess was taken for twenty-four hours, which gave the anti-Ramsey men time for organizing what proved to be a formidable and persistent bolting movement. When the caucus reassembled on the evening of the 15th of July, thirteen Davis and two Washburn men absented themselves, thus giving plain notice that they did not intend to vote for Ramsey in case he was nominated. On the second ballot that evening Ramsey was nominated by 42 votes to 12 for Washburn. The Democratic caucus nominated Ignatius

Donnelly. In the joint convention next day for the election of senator, Ramsey received 61 votes, Donnelly 51, Davis 24, and there were 10 scattering votes. It was now evident that the intention of the anti-Ramsey men was to maintain a deadlock in the legislature long enough to tire out their opponents and force them to drop their candidate. Every day of the session from the 19th of January until the 19th of February, the two houses met in joint convention and balloted without any result. A large number of Republican candidates received each a few votes during the contest, among them being J. S. Pillsbury, Chief Justice McMillan, W. H. C. Folsom, Gordon E. Cole, and H. C. Waite.

On the 29th of January the Democrats dropped Donnelly and took up William Lochren of Minneapolis, to whom they continued to give their solid vote until the end of the contest. On that day the ballot stood: Ramsey 55, Lochren 55, Davis 23, Pillsbury 5, scattering 5. On February 4th a conference was held at the Merchants Hotel between the Ramsey managers and the leading men in the bolting movement. The Ramsey men then proposed that both Ramsey and Davis should be withdrawn, and that a new caucus should be held, but this the Davis men refused to consent to. On February 11th all the Republican members met in conference, but failed to reach any agreement. It then appeared that one obstacle in the way of harmony was the attitude of the Hennepin delegation, under the lead of Loren Fletcher. These members evidently hoped that the result of the general disorganization might be the election of their favorite candidate, W. D. Washburn. On February 18th the ballot gave indications that the deadlock was soon to be broken. Neither Ramsey nor Davis received any votes on that ballot. Lochren, the Democrat, had 61 votes, Washburn 39, Gordon E. Cole 32, Folsom 5, McMillan 2, Waite 1, and there were absent 5. Four ballots were had that day, and on the last the Ramsey men formally withdrew their candidate and transferred their votes with the exception of five to Chief Justice McMillan. On February 19th the long and bitter fight was ended by the election of McMillan, who received 82 votes against 61 for Lochren, and 2 scattering. This result was a very fortunate one

so far as its influence on the Republican party in the state was concerned. It healed the breach in the party, which had been widening for two years, and brought all the Republican members of the legislature together in support of a candidate of high character and recognized ability, who had taken no part in the factional strifes within the party. Judge McMillan's position upon the supreme court bench, as well as the natural bent of his character, had held him aloof from all the controversies which had raged in the Republican party since the first bolting movement headed by Ignatius Donnelly. His election was claimed as a Ramsey victory by the *St. Paul Press*, but the Davis men claimed it with good reason as a triumph for their side, because they had accomplished their original purpose of retiring Ramsey from the Senate. Judge McMillan made an able, dignified, and patriotic member of the United States Senate, and no Minnesota Republican ever had cause to regret his election. He was studious, industrious, and fair-minded, and he held to a high standard of political ethics.

In April, 1875, the two morning newspapers in St. Paul, the *Press* and the *Pioneer*, were consolidated, and the Democrats were thus left without any organ at the state capital. The *Pioneer* had gone through many financial tribulations, and although ably conducted by Louis E. Fisher, had not for many years succeeded in paying its way. The consolidated paper, called the *Pioneer Press*, was controlled by Frederick Driscoll and Joseph Wheelock. At first it attempted to cut loose from any open advocacy of the Republican party, and to maintain a position of independent journalism, which a number of prominent newspapers had assumed after the failure of the Liberal Republican movement in 1872. The most conspicuous journals of this class were the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, the *New York Tribune*, and the *Springfield Republican*. During the state campaign of 1875, the *Pioneer Press* did not put up the Republican ticket or give the Republican party any open and hearty editorial support.

The Republican state convention met on July 28th under the presidency of D. M. Sabin of Stillwater, who had now begun to rank among the active



S. J. R. McMILLAN

United States Senator from Minnesota.

party leaders. The city of Minneapolis, by its consolidation with St. Anthony, had attained a population about equal to that of St. Paul and was a strong center of Republican sentiment, whereas St. Paul had always been Democratic. The Minneapolis Republicans thought it due to them that their city should now for the first time have the honor of furnishing a governor for the state. Their candidate was John S. Pillsbury, a member of a successful milling firm, who had not been especially active in politics and who enjoyed the confidence and good will of the community. The opposition to Pillsbury was divided between Dr. J. H. Stewart, a popular St. Paul physician, and ex-Gov. Horace Austin; Austin having a large following in the southern and southwestern part of the state, and Stewart mustering his support mainly from St. Paul. On an informal ballot the vote stood. Pillsbury 96, Austin 58, Stewart 41; and on the first formal ballot Pillsbury was nominated by 107 votes, Austin receiving 55 and Stewart 34. The remainder of the ticket was as follows: Lieutenant governor, J. B. Wakefield; secretary of state, John S. Irgens; auditor, O. P. Whitcomb; treasurer, William Pfaender; attorney general, Geo. F. Wilson; clerk of the supreme court, Samuel Nichols; railroad commissioner, Charles A. Gilman; chief justice, James Gilfillan. The platform was weak, and failed to meet what was then the most important state issue, namely, the question of legislation to provide for the payment of the long repudiated railroad debt.

The Democratic convention was called so as to include besides the Democrats, the Liberal Republicans, the Anti-Monopolists, and all others opposed to the Republican party. Edmund Rice presided. The resolutions accepted the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States as closing an era in national politics. They favored the resumption of specie payments, the control of corporations created by the state, and the protection of the people against extortionate and unjust charges from the railroads. D. L. Buell, an old Democratic politician of Houston county, was nominated for governor by 187 votes to 50 cast for Louis E. Fisher, who had long conducted the *St. Paul Pioneer*, before its consolidation with the *Press*. No important state or national issues were much discussed in that campaign, but a point was made against Buell, for his opposition to the resumption of specie payments, favored by his own party platform. The Republican ticket proved to be strong and popular, and it received the united vote of the party. Nothing could be urged against Mr. Pillsbury in the canvass. He was one of the most eminent business men in the state, and had a high reputation for public spirit and personal integrity. The result of the election was as follows: J. S. Pillsbury, 47,073; D. L. Buell, 35,275; R. F. Humiston, Prohibitionist, 1,669. Pillsbury received over 6,000 more votes than were cast for Davis two years before, but Buell obtained almost the exact vote given in 1873 to Barto, the candidate of the combination of Anti-Monopolists and Democrats.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1876—THE REPUBLICAN FACTIONS IN MINNESOTA MUTUALLY HOLD OUT THE OLIVE BRANCH—GOVERNOR PILLSBURY RE-ELECTED IN 1877—CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS IN 1878.

The first movement in Minnesota politics in 1876 was the departure of Ignatius Donnelly and Ebenezer Ayers for the national convention of Greenbackers, held in Indianapolis in May. The Granger movement in Minnesota had by this time entirely disintegrated as a political force, and the leaders of that movement were looking about for some new

party organization to which they could attach themselves. This they found in the Greenback movement, which had made a strong showing in Ohio, Indiana, and other states the previous year. Donnelly was made president of the Indianapolis convention, which nominated Peter Cooper of New York for President of the United States, and Newton

Booth of California for Vice President. This representative gathering of what was at that time known as the "Soft Money Movement," demanded the repeal of the resumption act of 1875, and clamored loudly for the issue of more greenbacks.

The Minnesota Republicans met in state convention in June, under the presidency of Lieutenant Governor Wakefield. The old factional fight between the Ramsey and Davis wings of the party, which had resulted in the nomination of Davis in 1873 and in the defeat of Ramsey for the Senate in 1875, was thoroughly healed in this convention by a mutual holding out of the olive branch. It was agreed all around that Governor Ramsey should head the state delegation to the national convention at Cincinnati, and that Governor Davis should head the electoral ticket. The other electors named were Stephen Miller of Stearns county, A. J. Edgerton of Dodge, E. F. Finseth of Goodhue, and Hans Mattson of Meeker. An enthusiastic indorsement of the candidacy of James G. Blaine for President was given by the convention, and the delegates to Cincinnati were instructed to vote for him, but a resolution requiring them to vote as a unit was rejected. The Minnesota men honored officially at the Cincinnati convention were the following: Member of the committee on credentials, W. G. Ward of Waseca; committee on resolutions, Lieutenant Governor Wakefield of Faribault; permanent organization, W. R. Merriam of Ramsey; rules, J. T. Ames of Rice; vice president, L. Bogen of Brown; member of the national committee, J. T. Averill of Ramsey. On the first ballot Minnesota voted solidly for Blaine, but on the second ballot one delegate voted for Elihu B. Washburn, and on the fourth ballot there was one vote for Washburn and one for Benj. H. Bristow. On the remaining ballots the delegation stood 9 for Blaine and 1 for Washburn. Minnesota had always been a Blaine state from the time of the first prominence of that statesman for the presidential nomination, and a large majority of Minnesota Republicans remained faithful to him in their warm political attachment up to the time of his death. For Vice President the Minnesota delegation supported the successful candidate, Mr. Wheeler of New York.

There was an active campaign that year in all the three congressional districts of the state. In the

First district Buell, the old and able Democratic leader, ran against Dunnell, and was beaten by over 8,000 majority. In the Second district there were three candidates. Major Strait was renominated by the Republicans, Judge Wilder of Goodhue county was the Democratic nominee, and Ignatius Donnelly, who seemed bound to run for some office every year, took the field as the Greenbackers' candidate. The result was the reelection of Strait by a majority of about 3,000 over Wilder. Mr. Donnelly made but a feeble showing at the polls. In the Third district a new candidate secured the nomination. Colonel King had represented the district for a single term only, but the newspaper clamor over his alleged connection with the Pacific Mail subsidy legislation in Washington made his renomination out of the question. After his election to the House, and before he took his seat, an investigation was had by a committee, of charges that money had been used to secure the passage of the subsidy bill. Colonel King was brought before the committee as a witness, and testified that he had never paid any money, directly or indirectly, to members of Congress to influence their votes. He refused to answer further questions, and to escape the inquisitorial powers of the committee, retreated to Canada, where he remained until the expiration of that Congress on March 4th, out of the reach of the process of the sergeant-at-arms. Colonel King had been postmaster of the House for a long time prior to his election to Congress. He was a man of remarkably energetic character, and was possessed of many agreeable personal traits; a firm and true friend in his business and political relations, and an excellent practical politician. The unfortunate Pacific Mail scandal ended a career that promised to be long and useful. The Republican candidate for Colonel King's seat was Dr. J. H. Stewart of St. Paul, who was nominated in the convention over three competitors—Butler, Knute Nelson, and McClure. He narrowly escaped defeat, owing to the large number of Republicans in Hennepin county who scratched his name on their tickets. Some of these men were Scandinavians, and were disappointed at the failure of Mr. Nelson to secure the nomination, and others opposed Stewart because he lived in St. Paul. Stewart's majority in the district was, however, about 1,000, in spite of the fact

that Hennepin county gave 1,072 to his Democratic competitor, McNair, a wealthy Minneapolis lawyer. Dr. J. H. Stewart was an exceedingly popular St. Paul physician, who went to the front in the Civil War as surgeon of the First Minnesota Regiment, and was captured at the battle of Bull Run. He was a man of a good deal of personal magnetism, and of such a benevolent disposition that a large part of his medical practice was among poor people from whom he never received a dollar of pay.

Two important changes occurred in the political newspaper field during the year 1876. The *Pioneer Press* acquired the Minneapolis *Tribune* by purchase, and consolidated the two papers under the name of the *Pioneer Press and Tribune*, announcing that the new paper would be issued simultaneously in both cities. This arrangement gave great dissatisfaction to the Minneapolis people, who felt that they had been deprived of a morning newspaper to represent their interests, and after a long contention in the courts, this unwise arrangement was finally terminated, and the *Tribune* was reestablished under the control of Minneapolis parties. The St. Paul *Dispatch*, edited by H. P. Hall, had assumed a sort of guerrilla attitude between the two great political parties. The *Pioneer Press* was still working upon its independent journalism line, and the Republicans of the state, and especially those of St. Paul, felt grievously the want of a newspaper organ at the capital. Finally in September, 1876, the *Dispatch* was sold to Capt. Henry A. Castle, and the next day the Republican national, state, and congressional tickets appeared at the head of its editorial columns. Captain Castle was a very ardent and active Republican, who had been one of the most prominent leaders in the movement which nominated C. K. Davis for governor in 1873. An active campaign of stump speaking was carried on in Minnesota during the fall of 1876, and the prominent Republican orators, who took part in it were Windom, Austin, Dunnell, McMillan, Miller, Mattson, and Marshall. Minnesota's vote for President in 1876 was as follows: Rutherford B. Hayes, 72,955; Samuel J. Tilden, 48,587; Peter Cooper, 2,389.

There was no opposition to the renomination of Gov. John S. Pillsbury in 1877, and the Republican convention of that year was one of unusual harmony and good feeling. Ex-Gov. C. K. Davis presided,

and the nomination of Pillsbury was made by a rising vote, amid great applause. Lieutenant Governor Wakefield, Secretary of State Irgens, and Treasurer Pfaender were also renominated for their respective offices by a rising and unanimous vote. The only contests were over the nominations for attorney general and railroad commissioner. For the former office G. P. Wilson, S. G. Comstock, Stanford Newel, C. M. Start, James O'Brien, and S. L. Pierce were named, and Wilson was nominated on the third ballot. For railroad commissioner ex-Gov. Wm. R. Marshall was successful on the first ballot over F. R. Thornton and Irving Todd.

The convention gave a hearty indorsement in its resolutions to the conciliatory policy pursued by President Hayes towards the South. There was some opposition among the more radical element in the convention who desired to see the policy of Federal interference by force still continued in the Southern States, but this opposition did not manifest itself in debate. The resolutions favored the remonetization of silver, but an effort to stretch this plank of the platform far enough to include the payment of government bonds in silver was defeated by a large majority. On the old vexatious question of the obligation of the state to provide for the payment of the railroad aid bonds it was resolved that any action the legislature might take in that direction should be submitted to a popular vote before it should become effective. The factional war in the Republican party in Minnesota had now died out, for the time, and the party came to the support of its ticket with entire cordiality and unanimity. Ignatius Donnelly, who had become thoroughly identified with the Greenback movement in 1876, called a convention of his followers, and nominated W. L. Banning of St. Paul for governor. He then proceeded with characteristic audacity to capture the Democratic convention, and secure its indorsement for his candidate. This convention was held under the presidency of C. F. Buck of Winona, and although the great bulk of the Democratic party had no sympathy with the "soft money" doctrines advocated by Mr. Buck and Mr. Banning, the nomination of Banning was carried by 201 votes to 19 for Edmund Rice and 9 for J. F. Meagher. Dr. A. A. Ames of Minneapolis was nominated for lieutenant governor. The platform was a complete sur-

render to the Greenback movement, denouncing the resumption policy of the Republicans and the national banking system. The decision of the electoral commission of 1877, which made Hayes President, was also denounced, and there was a declaration in favor of lower tariff duties. W. L. Banning, the nominee for governor, had at one time been engaged in what was known in the West at an early day as "wild-cat banking." He was a man of considerable talent and many engaging traits of character, but was very much disposed to espouse any new isms that might come up in regard to currency and banking, and there were a great many such notions afloat at that time. He made a number of speeches, in which he went much further than his party platform on the currency question, advocating the payment of United States bonds in greenbacks. His principal Republican antagonist who took the stump on this question was Gen. J. H. Baker, who made a speech which served as an excellent campaign document for his party. The election resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory. Governor Pillsbury received 57,071 votes, a gain of 10,000 over his vote of 1875. W. L. Banning received 39,147 votes, a gain of about 4,000 over Buell's vote for

governor in 1875. William Meigher, the Prohibitionist candidate for governor, polled 2,396 votes. The total gain of nearly 15,000 votes over the gubernatorial election of 1875 must be attributed to the large increase in the population of the state, which was at that time attracting a considerable amount of immigration.

The retirement of Governor Ramsey from the United States Senate was generally looked upon among the national leaders of the Republican party as an unfortunate event, because of his high standing in Washington and his thorough familiarity with public affairs. His appointment by President Hayes as Secretary of War in 1878 was received with universal favor in Minnesota, and the men who had helped to form the combination that deprived him of reelection to the Senate joined with his old supporters in offering their congratulations. This was the first cabinet appointment held by a Minnesota man. Governor Ramsey served until the end of Hayes' administration, and demonstrated the same clear-headed capacity for public affairs which he had shown in the governorship of Minnesota and in the United States Senate.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONGRESSIONAL CANVASS OF 1878—DEFEAT OF MAJOR STRAIT IN THE SECOND DISTRICT—THIRD ELECTION OF GOVERNOR PILLSBURY IN 1879.

The notable feature of the campaign of 1878 in Minnesota was the defeat of Major Horace B. Strait in the Second district by a straight-out Democrat, Henry Poehler. Major Strait had now served three terms in Congress. He had excellent talents for politics, and had attained a wide influence in the state, and also a good reputation for industrious legislative work in Washington. He was a man of considerable wealth, owning a bank at Shakopee and having stock interests in a number of other banks. In person he was tall and robust, with light complexion and hair that was red in his younger days, and he had a hearty and familiar manner that made him generally popular. His record in Congress was that of a quiet, industrious, and success-

ful worker for the interests of his state. He entered the canvass of 1878 with confidence that the large Republican majority of two years before would pull him through to victory. Major Strait had taken an active part in the effort then headed by Governor Pillsbury to secure an honorable settlement between the state and the holders of the railroad bonds, and this was the principal cause of his defeat. His antagonist worked upon the deep-seated prejudice among the farmers against the payment of these bonds, on the ground that the people had received no substantial benefit from them. Henry Poehler was a merchant living at Henderson, of German parentage, who was popular with all the foreign element of the district, not

alone with his German fellow countrymen, but also with the Scandinavians and Irish. He was not able to make a figure on the stump in opposition to an old campaigner like Strait, but he traversed the district and made an industrious personal canvass. The result was the unexpected defeat of Major Strait by an adverse majority of 724. Two years later, after the bond question had been settled, Major Strait regained his hold upon the district, and was three times more elected to Congress, serving in all for the period of twelve years.

In the First congressional district Mark H. Dunnell was renominated without opposition, and re-elected by a majority of 5,881. In the Third district Wm. D. Washburn's majority was 3,011 over Ignatius Donnelly, who now ran as a straight-out Democratic candidate, having secured the nomination in the convention by 45 votes to 24 for Eugene M. Wilson, 7 for General Sibley, and 5 for W. W. McNair. This was an informal ballot, and on the formal vote Donnelly received 60 votes to Wilson's 18. Washburn's majority was a gain of 1,000 over Dr. Stewart's majority two years before. Donnelly made numerous speeches to large audiences, and carried on what the newspapers called a "brass kettle" campaign. The result showed that this pertinacious politician had now lost his hold upon Republican voters in the district, and was able to muster only the regular Democratic strength.

A state ticket was voted for that year under the old faulty system then prevailing in most of the states, of rallying the voters every year to vote for a portion of the state offices. The Republican convention, under the presidency of Thomas Simpson of Winona, put up the following ticket: For supreme court justice, John M. Berry; for clerk of the supreme court, S. H. Nichols; for state auditor, O. P. Whitcomb. The only contest was for the auditorship already held by Mr. Whitcomb, and he was successful on the first formal ballot, receiving 107 votes to 48 for Gen. M. D. Flower and 45 for E. W. Trask. The Republican majority at the election was 35,596 for Judge Berry, whose competitor was Judge Mitchell. The majority for Whitcomb was only 19,034.

John S. Pillsbury had the high honor of being three times elected governor of Minnesota, and was

the only man chosen to that office for a third term. His businesslike administration had given general satisfaction throughout the state, and he had agreeably disappointed the St. Paul people, who had opposed his first nomination, by exhibiting a spirit of entire fairness in matters affecting the two cities, and showing as much interest in his official conduct in the welfare of St. Paul as in that of his own city, Minneapolis. The Republicans of both cities were very much in favor of breaking the rule of two terms only for a governor, and giving him a third term. He was willing to accept, but the announcement of his candidacy was met by a spirit of opposition in the country which came near accomplishing his defeat. The real motive of this opposition was a desire to rebuke him for his honorable position in favor of a fair settlement of the railroad debt, but on the surface the canvass against him was carried on as an anti-third term movement. When the convention assembled it was found that the two elements, the Pillsbury men and the anti-Pillsbury men, were in about equal force, and a fight was made for the temporary chairmanship, which resulted in the choice of J. B. Daniels, a friend of Pillsbury, by 111 votes to 98 for General Jennison. On an informal ballot the vote stood: John S. Pillsbury, 119; J. B. Wakefield, 49; Gordon E. Cole, 17; L. F. Hubbard, 25; W. W. Billson, 15. It thus appeared that Governor Pillsbury had one vote more than was necessary on the formal ballot. This was, however, not a fair test of his real strength, for his opponents knew that it would be impossible to consolidate the opposition vote upon any one candidate. They therefore moved at once to make Pillsbury's nomination unanimous.

There was a very animated contest over the lieutenant governorship. The informal ballot stood: C. A. Gilman of Stearns county, 70; H. R. Denney of Carver, 32; Louis Harrington of McLeod, 16; J. H. Baker of Blue Earth, 50; A. J. Edgerton of Dodge, 47. On the fourth ballot Gilman was nominated by 121 votes to 90 for Edgerton, and 6 scattering. This contest was really for position in the governorship campaign two years later. The nominee for secretary of state was Fred Von Baumbach of Douglas county; for treasurer, G. W. Kittelson of Freeborn; for attorney general, C. M. Start of

Olmsted; and for railroad commissioner, Wm. R. Marshall of Ramsey. The Republican platform indorsed the resumption of specie payment, favored the cultivation of friendly feelings towards the South, demanded that the constitutional rights of all citizens should be protected, and declared in favor of reduction in the tariff on clothing, books, and articles of industrial and household economy, without, however, abandoning the protective principle, and took ground against unjust discriminations and combinations by railroads and other corporations.

The Democrats thought they saw in the sentiment against a third term for Governor Pillsbury a chance of carrying the state. They therefore determined to put their strongest man in the field, and their convention nominated Edmund Rice for governor. Mr. Rice had been for some time out of active politics, and was regarded with great favor and no small degree of affection throughout the state as one of the most eminent of the Minnesota pioneers. The nominee for lieutenant governor was E. P. Barnum of Stearns county. The Democratic platform declared unequivocally for free trade and the unlimited coinage of silver. The only state issue touched upon was covered by a resolution favoring state control of railroad and elevator companies. In this campaign the Democrats had the support of an efficient state organ, the *St. Paul Daily Globe*, which had been started the previous year by H. P. Hall, formerly of the *Dispatch*. They were not willing to openly antagonize Governor Pillsbury's proposition for the settlement of the railroad aid bonds, but in the canvass this question was constantly brought up as a reason for voting against Pillsbury. There was absolutely no tenable ground for an attack upon Pillsbury's administration, which had been notable for its good sense, fairness, and businesslike qualities. The result of the election was that Pillsbury received 57,524 votes, and Rice 41,524. Governor Pillsbury had about 500 more votes than he received in 1877, and Rice gained a little over 2,000 on the vote for Banning, Democrat, in that year. There was, however, no Prohibition candidate in 1879, and Rice's gain was almost exactly the aggregate of the Prohibition vote in 1877.

The conspicuous feature of Governor Pillsbury's three administrations was the continued agitation

for an honorable settlement of the railroad bond debt of the state. Governor Pillsbury made repeated appeals to the legislature and to the people to redeem the good name of the state from the stain of repudiation. Largely as the result of his active efforts, the legislature of 1877 passed a bill to apply the proceeds of the sales of 500,000 acres of internal improvement lands owned by the state to the payment of the railroad bonds. This law was submitted to a popular vote at an election held in June, 1877, and was rejected by a very large majority, in spite of the fact that the supreme court at Washington had held that Minnesota was liable for these bonds. Governor Pillsbury, in his annual message of 1878, returned to the subject with fresh courage and zeal, and shrewdly attributed the defeat of the act of 1877 to a disapproval of the particular method of payment provided, and not to a desire on the part of the people to escape the responsibility of the debt. He said that "no public calamity, no visitation of grasshoppers, no wholesale destruction or insidious pestilence, could possibly inflict so fatal a blow upon our state as the deliberate repudiation of her solemn obligations." The question was not finally settled until 1881. The legislature of that year created a tribunal composed of five district judges, appointed by the governor, to decide whether the legislature had power to make settlement with the bondholders without submitting such settlement to a vote of the people. The supreme court stepped in, however, and restrained this special tribunal from taking any action, and held at the same time that the constitutional act of 1860, for a popular vote on any plan of settlement of the railroad aid debt which the legislature might devise, was null and void, and further that the debt was valid and that it was the duty of the legislature to provide for its payment. Governor Pillsbury called the legislature together in extra session on Oct. 15, 1881, and the offer of the bondholders, made through Selah Chamberlain of Cleveland, Ohio, to accept new bonds for one-half the face value of the old bonds, was formally accepted, and thus the question which had complicated the politics of the state for nearly a generation, and had brought upon Minnesota great dishonor in all the financial centers of the world, was honorably disposed of.



JOHN S. PILLSBURY

Eighth Governor of Minnesota.

Prior to the meeting of the extra session the holders of the bonds had deposited them to the extent of \$1,800,000 in the state treasury in compliance with the law of the previous winter, which required them to show the good faith of their offer of settlement by making this deposit. When the supreme court decided that these railroad bonds were as binding an obligation upon the state as any other form of state bonds, many of the bond owners wanted to withdraw their deposits, believing that by so doing they might eventually get more than fifty cents on the dollar, but Governor Pillsbury positively refused to surrender a single bond.

Governor Pillsbury's action on behalf of the honor and credit of Minnesota was not limited to his messages to the legislature or to his constant and active personal influence with the members of that body. He was at all times and upon all occasions a foremost champion of the movement for the settlement of the railroad debt during his whole six years in the governor's chair. In every speech he made, whether before a political assembly, or a church meeting, or a business men's gathering, he never failed to allude to the great importance of wiping out the stain of repudiation which had been attached to the fair name of the state. The struggle over the railway debt did not fully end with the passage of the bill at the extra session of 1881 for a settlement with the bondholders. The repudiators endeavored to prevent the issuing of new four and one-half per cent bonds authorized to take up the old railroad bonds at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar. The most active leader in this movement was a prominent Minneapolis lawyer, David Seacombe, whose plan was to get out an injunction forbidding the delivery of the new bonds. There was no time to get these bonds engraved on steel, as required by the rules of the New York Stock Exchange, and they were hastily lithographed and printed in St. Paul. Governor Pillsbury carried them over to his house in Minneapolis in a tin box, by installments, and signed them at home at night. He was especially anxious to get them signed and have the transfer made before his term should ex-

pire in January, 1882. The holders of the old bonds sent them secretly to St. Paul in a private car, and they were conveyed to the state capitol in an old trunk, so that the hostile lawyer should not know when or how they reached the governor's office. When the new bonds had all been signed and the exchange had been made, the new bonds were placed in the old trunk, a hack was called, and Governor Pillsbury directed his porter to carry out the trunk and place it on the hack. Inside the hack were the representatives of the old bondholders, who made haste to get out of the state as soon as possible with their securities.

Another prominent and very creditable feature of Governor Pillsbury's administration was his earnest effort to alleviate the sufferings of the settlers who had lost their crops from successive plagues of grasshoppers. In the winter of 1876 the governor traveled over the counties of the state where the grasshopper plague had reduced many settlers to a condition of absolute destitution. He went among them without making himself known, distributing a great deal of money from his own purse among the most needy, and returning to his home, organized an effort for the distribution of clothing and food which furnished substantial relief. The grasshoppers disappeared in 1877, and the crop of that year was an exceedingly bountiful one.

In March, 1881, the state capitol was burned while the legislature was in session. Temporary quarters were found in Market Hall for the legislature and the state officers, and an appropriation was made on the recommendation of Governor Pillsbury for the immediate reconstruction of the capitol building. This was regarded at the time as a very friendly act towards St. Paul, for it forestalled the revival of schemes for the removal of the seat of government to some other locality. One of the schemes brought forward was to build the new capitol on the dividing line between St. Paul and Minneapolis, which would have placed it seven miles from the business center of the former city and only three from the business center of the latter.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1880—MINNESOTA SUPPORTS WINDOM IN THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—
GUBERNATORIAL CANVASS OF 1881—ELECTION OF GEN. LUCIUS F. HUBBARD.

The prominent competitors for the Republican presidential nomination of 1880, prior to the assembling of the Chicago convention, were James G. Blaine, ex-President Grant, and John Sherman. As between these leading candidates the preference of a large majority of the Republicans of Minnesota was for Mr. Blaine. Some weeks before the state convention was held to select delegates to Chicago, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* led off in an effort to bring William Windom out as a presidential candidate with the solid support of his own state. A number of other leading Republican papers fell into line with this movement, but it was actively and persistently antagonized by Captain Castle in his *St. Paul Dispatch*. Among the leaders of the Windom movement were Governor Pillsbury, ex-Governor Marshall, Gen. J. H. Baker, Gen. C. C. Andrews, Russell Blakeley, W. H. Yale, and Pennock Pusey. The opponents of the movement did not profess to put themselves in personal or political antagonism to Senator Windom. They avowed their admiration of his talents and statesmanship, but claimed that the influence of Minnesota upon the presidential nomination would be thrown away in case the delegation voted for him. They further asserted that the Windom movement was only a Grant movement in disguise. This suspicion proved afterwards to be wholly unfounded. The most prominent leader of the anti-Windom element was ex-Gov. Cushman K. Davis, and with him were such men of prominence in the party as General Averill, Congressman Dunnell, C. A. Gilman, General Hubbard, Frank R. Day, and W. G. Ward. The contest became very animated and extended to the county conventions held to select delegates to the state convention in St. Paul.

The Windom men won a victory at the opening of the state convention by the election of W. H. Yale of Winona as temporary chairman. Seeing that they were beaten, the Blaine men made a flank movement, in the form of a resolution offered by

Governor Davis, instructing the delegates to Chicago to support Windom, and to transfer their votes to Blaine in case it became apparent that Windom could not be nominated. This resolution was promptly sent to a committee, and a test of strength between the two elements in the convention was had on a motion by General Hubbard that the delegates to Chicago be elected by ballot. This was defeated by ayes 102, noes 124. A straight-out Windom delegation was then chosen, consisting of the following members: Delegates at large, D. Sinclair of Winona, A. O. Whipple of Rice county, D. M. Sabin of Stillwater, and Dorillus Morrison of Minneapolis; First district, A. C. Wedge and J. B. Daniels; Second district, M. Johnson and Geo. Bryant; Third district, E. F. Drake and C. F. Kindred. The electoral ticket was composed of J. A. Thatcher of Goodhue county, L. G. Nelson of Dodge, J. T. Williams of Blue Earth, William Shimmel of Nicollet, and Knute Nelson of Douglas. A resolution instructing the delegation to vote for Windom was adopted with no alternative recommendation added, such as Governor Davis had proposed. After this resolution had been adopted, General Averill offered a minority report, consisting of the last clause of Davis's resolution, namely, that instructing the delegation for Blaine in case Windom's nomination could not be secured. An animated discussion arose, and amid great excitement, a motion to adjourn was declared by the chairman to be carried, before any vote could be had upon Averill's resolution.

At the Chicago convention the following Minnesota men were honored with committee and other appointments: Member of the national committee, A. C. Wedge; chairman of the Minnesota delegation, D. Sinclair; state vice president of the convention, D. Morrison; member of the committee on credentials, D. Sinclair; resolutions, D. M. Sabin; permanent organization, J. B. Daniels; rules, E. F. Drake; assistant secretary, C. F. Kindred. The Minnesota delegation held firmly to Windom for

twenty-eight ballots, and then began to scatter, but only one of its members voted at any time for Grant, as the Blaine men in the state convention had apprehended that they would do. On the contrary, Blaine got a majority of the delegates on more than one ballot. On the twenty-ninth ballot there were 3 votes for Blaine and 7 for Windom. On the thirty-second ballot there were 6 for Blaine, 3 for Windom, and 1 for Elihu B. Washburn. On the thirty-third ballot Blaine had 6 and Windom 4. On the thirty-fifth ballot there was a consolidation of all 10 votes on Windom, and on the final ballot, the thirty-sixth, 9 of the Minnesota men voted for Garfield, the nominee, and 1 for Grant.

The most striking feature of the canvass of 1880 in Minnesota was the Republican bolt in the First congressional district. Mark H. Dunnell had been a long time in the House, and his control of the Federal appointments in the district had in time produced an amount of dissatisfaction that resulted in a strong opposition to his further continuance in office. He was a skillful practical politician, and had an efficient organization formed of his supporters in every township and county of the district. As a representative in Washington, few men were more prominent, more useful to their districts, or more industrious in the general work of legislation. The district convention met at Waseca and immediately split over the question of the temporary chairman. The anti-Dunnell men gathered in the rear of the hall, while the Dunnell men, who controlled the organization, proceeded with the business of renominating him. The other faction at the same time nominated W. G. Ward, so that there were two Republican candidates, each claiming the stamp of regularity. Some of the Republican newspapers in the district supported Dunnell, and others supported Ward, and the strife grew to such proportions that it attracted the attention of the National Republican Committee, and Marshall Jewell, chairman of that committee, published a circular letter which was indorsed by Russell Blakeley, chairman of the Minnesota state committee. This letter entreated the Republicans of the First district to refrain from further contention and to prevent the Democrats from securing the member from that district by giving

their solid support to Mr. Dunnell. The result of the election was a notable victory for Dunnell, who received 17,007 votes, while his Republican competitor, Ward, received only 4,331, and the vote of Wells, the Democratic candidate, was 9,760.

In the Second congressional district the two competitors at the last election were again pitted against each other, with, however, a very different result, for Major Strait beat Poehler, the Democratic candidate, by a majority of 5,519. Under the influence of the presidential contest the Republican disaffection in that district was entirely healed and Strait received the full party vote. In the Third district Wm. D. Washburn was renominated by acclamation, and was elected over Henry H. Sibley, Democrat, by a majority of 8,331. The vote for President in Minnesota was as follows: James A. Garfield, Republican, 93,902; W. S. Hancock, Democrat, 53,315; James H. Weaver, Greenback, 3,267. General Garfield received much the heaviest vote ever cast by the Republicans in the state. It was a gain of 36,478 over the vote cast for Governor Pillsbury in 1879; whereas General Hancock's gain over Edmund Rice's vote in that year was only 11,891.

The most prominent candidate for the governorship in 1881 was Gen. Lucius F. Hubbard of Red Wing, who had long been active in state affairs, and who had made during the Civil War what was perhaps the most brilliant record achieved by any Minnesota soldier. He was regarded, however, as the representative of one of the two factions which had contended for control in the Republican party, and he was antagonized from the first by the then dominant element, led by the *Pioneer Press*. This paper advocated a fourth term for Governor Pillsbury. Pillsbury was first nominated without any effort on his part, was renominated by acclamation, and had earnestly desired a third term in order that he might carry to completion his great work of restoring the honor and credit of the state. He did not desire a fourth term. He had spent about \$25,000 more than the salary of the office, and he wished to devote his entire time to his business affairs. In spite, however, of his positive declination to be a candidate a canvass was carried on in his name as the most effective way of beating General Hubbard.

The canvass was complicated by the approaching extra session of the legislature called for October 15th, and by the senatorial question. William Windom resigned the senatorship in March, 1881, to take the position of Secretary of the Treasury in President Garfield's cabinet, and the vacancy was filled by Governor Pillsbury, who appointed A. J. Edgerton, a prominent Southern Minnesota lawyer, who had long been one of the most conspicuous figures in the public life of the state. Edgerton was a warm admirer and supporter of Windom. After the death of Garfield in September, 1881, Mr. Windom soon found that he could not remain with comfort and dignity in President Arthur's cabinet. He therefore made known his intention of resigning, and his friend Edgerton, who had gone on to Washington to attend a special session of Congress, felt that he was only holding Mr. Windom's seat temporarily and that he was in honor bound to give it up in case Windom desired to resume it. The election of senator would devolve upon the legislature at the special session to be held in October. Mr. Windom's opponents made an effort to induce Edgerton to come out as a candidate for election to the place he was filling by appointment, but he declined to do so.

The Republican state convention met on September 28th, and was preceded by a great deal of political trading and wire-pulling. On the informal ballot for governor, Hubbard received 140 votes, Pillsbury 57, A. R. McGill 41, T. B. Clement 29, C. W. Thompson 30, and J. C. Stiver 8. The first formal ballot nominated Hubbard, who received six votes more than were necessary to a choice, the ballot standing: Hubbard 160, Pillsbury 51, McGill 47, Thompson 20, Clement 18, scattering 16. The remainder of the ticket nominated was as follows: Lieutenant governor, Chas. A. Gilman of Stearns county; auditor, W. W. Braden of Fillmore; secretary of state, Fred Von Baumbach of Douglas; treasurer, Chas. Kittelson of Freeborn; attorney general, W. J. Hahn of Wabasha; clerk of supreme court, S. H. Nichols; railroad commissioner, J. H. Baker of Blue Earth; supreme judges, William Mitchell of Winona, D. A. Dickinson of Blue Earth, Chas. E. Vanderburgh of Hennepin. The nominees

for judges were made on the principle of nonpartisanship. The supreme bench had been enlarged by the addition of three judges, and Governor Pillsbury had appointed, pending an election, one Democrat and two Republicans, the three appointees being the same men subsequently nominated by the Republican convention. In making up the general ticket there were two very close contests. General Baker was nominated for railroad commissioner by 155 votes to 144 for ex-Governor Marshall, and S. H. Nichols for clerk of the supreme court had only two majority over J. C. Hill. The *St. Paul Dispatch*, which had led the fight for Hubbard, rejoiced over the result as the "overthrowing of an impudent old oligarchy of Federal and state officers." Both factions proceeded to bury the hatchet, however, and to give a hearty support to the successful candidates.

The senatorial election came off in October. Windom resigned his place in the cabinet, where he had made an excellent record in charge of the national finances, and announced himself as a candidate for election to his old seat. Most of the men who had been most active in the support of General Hubbard for nomination for governor now began a vigorous attack upon Windom. They failed, however, to organize any united opposition to him in the legislature, and he was nominated on the informal ballot in the caucus, receiving two votes more than was necessary for a choice. The vote stood: Windom 56, C. A. Gilman 28, A. C. Dunn 12, A. J. Edgerton 3, J. S. Pillsbury 3, Joseph Burger 2, W. D. Rice 1, and R. B. Langdon 1. In the joint convention Windom was elected by 86 votes to 11 for James Smith, Jr., the Democratic candidate, and 3 scattering.

The Democratic candidate for governor against Hubbard was Gen. R. W. Johnson of St. Paul, a retired major general of the regular army, who had commanded with credit a division in the campaigns in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Georgia. The nomination was regarded both by him and his party as a purely complimentary affair, because no one entertained any idea that he had a chance of election. The Democrats indorsed Dickinson and Mitchell, but they put up Greenleaf Clarke of St. Paul against Vanderburgh. The result of the election was that General Hubbard received 65,025 votes, and Gen-

eral Johnson 37,168. Hubbard's majority was about 8,000 more than that of Governor Pillsbury in 1879, and was the largest ever given to any candidate for governor. Vanderburgh ran behind the general ticket, but was elected by a large majority.

Senator McMillan was elected as his own successor by the legislature of 1881 without any well organized or concentrated opposition. The candidates talked of as likely to oppose him during the state canvass of the preceding year were ex-Gov. C. K. Davis, Gen. John B. Sanborn, and Gordon E. Cole, but neither of these gentlemen made any active efforts in the county conventions which nominated the members of the legislature. When the legislature assembled very little was known of the actual strength of the different candidates. Loren Fletcher of Minneapolis was speaker of the House, and C. A. Gilman of St. Cloud presided over the Senate as lieutenant governor. A few days before the meeting the *Pioneer Press* began a concerted attack upon Senator McMillan, and brought out ex-Senator Ramsey as a new candidate against him. All of the circumstances of McMillan's election six years before were discussed anew. It was charged that McMillan was not then the choice of the Republican party, but that his success was brought about by a bolting

movement carried on in defiance of all party rules, and it was urged that Ramsey should be sent back to his old seat as an act of justice on behalf of the Republican party of Minnesota towards its most eminent statesman. There was no lack of zealous workers on behalf of McMillan, however, and through the friendship of Senator Windom he was able to command the support of nearly all the influential Federal officeholders in the state. It is probable that if Ramsey had entered the field as a candidate four or five months earlier he would have been elected, but there was nothing like an organized effort made in his behalf until just before the legislature assembled. In the Republican caucus on the informal ballot McMillan had 64 votes, Ramsey 26, Davis 16, Sanborn 7, and Mons Grinager 1. The formal ballot nominated McMillan, who received 78 votes, Ramsey having 26 and Davis 10. The Republicans had an overwhelming majority in the legislature, and there was no effort made by the opponents of McMillan to escape the results of his decided triumph in the caucus. At the election in joint convention of the two houses, 92 votes were cast for McMillan, 4 for Gen. H. H. Sibley, and 2 for C. H. Roberts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF 1882—SENATORIAL CONTEST OF 1883—DEFEAT OF WINDOM BY SABIN—SECOND ELECTION OF GOVERNOR HUBBARD.

The census of 1880 gave Minnesota a population sufficient to entitle it to two additional members of Congress, and the state was redistricted by the legislature of 1881, a new district being formed out of the southwestern counties, and another new district out of the northern counties, reaching clear across the state from Lake Superior to the Red river. In the First district Mark H. Dunnell, who had been in Congress for twelve years, lost the nomination through the opposition of the Windom element. Mr. Dunnell had announced that he should be a candidate for the United States Senate when Windom's term expired, and this announcement was sufficient

to arouse the determined opposition of Mr. Windom's supporters throughout the district, who thought that the best way to beat Dunnell for the Senate was first to defeat him for reelection to the House. The First district convention nominated Milo White, a country merchant who had not been especially active in politics. The Democrats nominated A. Biermann, and the Greenbackers, who still maintained something of an organization under the state leadership of Ignatius Donnelly, put up C. H. Roberts. In the Second district the Republican candidate was J. B. Wakefield, who had been lieutenant governor, and who was a man of decided strength in state politics

The Democrats nominated Felix Bohrer, and the third party, calling themselves Grangers in that district, put up J. A. Latimer. In the Third district H. B. Strait was again nominated by the Republicans, the Democrats running C. P. Adams and the Greenbackers Porter Martin. In the Fourth district, comprising the Twin Cities, there were also three candidates; Wm. D. Washburn being renominated without opposition by the Republicans, Dr. A. A. Ames receiving the Democratic nomination, and the third candidate being a Prohibitionist, E. E. Phillips.

In the Fifth district there was a sharp contest for the Republican nomination between Knute Nelson of Alexandria and C. F. Kindred of Brainerd. Mr. Nelson was very popular among the Scandinavians, who are numerous in that district, and had made a good record in the state legislature. His competitor had amassed a considerable fortune while agent for the sale of Northern Pacific lands, and he spent money freely in his efforts to secure the nomination. When beaten in the convention he announced himself as an independent candidate, and continued his liberal expenditures in the district. The Democrats nominated E. P. Barnum, and the Republicans were obliged to go into the fight against their regular antagonists with forces divided on account of the Kindred bolt. It was reported at the time that Mr. Kindred spent \$100,000 before and after the convention. He did not succeed in breaking down the large Republican majority in the district. Nelson received 16,937 votes, Kindred 12,715, and Barnum 4,164. Kindred's extravagant campaign expenditures resulted in making him a bankrupt, and after a struggle to regain his business standing he left the state to find employment in a railroad office in Philadelphia. In the First district the dissatisfaction of the friends of Dunnell was so great that the old Republican majority of 8,000 was cut down to 417, which was the narrow margin by which Milo White was elected. Wakefield's majority was 9,800, Strait's 10,014, and Washburn's 2,021.

During Governor Pillsbury's last term a constitutional amendment was carried for biennial sessions of the legislature, instead of the annual sessions which had been held ever since the state was admitted to the Union. The legislature of 1883 sub-

mitted another amendment to the constitution, the purpose of which was to avoid annual elections by changing the time of electing governor and other state officers from the odd numbered years to the even numbered years, so that state elections should occur at the same time as elections for congressmen and for President. This amendment provided that all state and county officers whose terms would expire on the first Monday of January, 1886, should hold over until the first Monday of January, 1887.

The state campaign of 1883 was an unusually apathetic one. The Republican state convention was held on June 27th, under the presidency of J. D. Gillfillan. Governor Hubbard was nominated for reelection by acclamation, but there was an exciting contest for the lieutenant governorship, a number of prominent men seeking this nomination with a view of placing themselves in line for succession to the governor's chair. The informal ballot resulted as follows: Stanford Newel of Ramsey county, 15; S. G. Comstock of Clay, 44; W. R. Kenyon of Steele, 25; H. G. Day of Fillmore, 25; John M. Stacy of Sherburne, 23; C. D. Buckman of Benton, 13; C. A. Gilman of Stearns, 95. The second regular ballot nominated Gilman by the following vote: Gilman, 127; Comstock, 103; Kenyon, 9; Newel, 9. The only other contest in the convention was over the attorney generalship, W. J. Hahn having 169 votes for renomination against 71 for Fayette Marsh. For secretary of state Fred Von Baumbach was renominated, and the treasurer, Charles Kittelson, and railroad commissioner, Gen. James H. Baker, also received this compliment.

Mr. Windom's term in the United States Senate expired on March 4, 1883, and the legislature which met in January of that year had the duty of electing his successor. His opponents organized a strong combination for his defeat. They made an open fight against him prior to the meeting of the legislature, their principal charge being that he had acquired large wealth in public life. Greatly exaggerated statements were current as to his property, and one of the campaign methods adopted by his antagonists was the publication of a large woodcut of the house he had built in Washington, which was said to have cost \$80,000, and which probably did not cost more



LUCIUS F. HUBBARD

Ninth Governor of Minnesota.

than one-fourth of that amount. When the anti-Windom men came to muster their forces in the legislature, they found that Windom had an evident majority of all the Republican members, and they adopted the tactics which had been successful years before under similar circumstances in defeating Senator Ramsey. They stayed out of the caucus. That body nominated Windom, all of the sixty-one members in attendance voting for him except two. The anti-Windom men to the number of sixteen held a caucus in General Sanborn's office. The Democrats caucused at the Merchants Hotel and nominated Judge Thomas H. Wilson of Winona. When a vote was taken in the Senate and House separately, on January 17th, Windom had in the two houses 70 votes, Wilson (Democrat) 34, Castle (Democrat) 1, Cole 10, Dunnell 10, Davis 3, Kindred 5, Start 1, Gilfillan 1, Dickinson 3, Armstrong 2, Gilman 1, Berry 1. In the joint assembly next day the vote stood: Windom 65, Wilson 37, Cole 11, Dunnell 9, Davis 4, Kindred 5, Hubbard 3, Strait 2, Dickinson 3, Start 2, Gilman 1, Berry 1, Armstrong 1, Castle 1, Gilfillan 1, Farmer 1. The tactics of the anti-Windom men were now fully developed, and were evidently to wear out the Windom majority by a persistent deadlock, and finally, if possible, to break the deadlock by a combination with the Democrats. In times of strong party feeling, this method would have been regarded in any state of the Union as indefensible; the duty of all men to acquiesce in the decision of a majority of the caucuses or conventions of their party being one of the first principles in politics. At that time, however, there were no very definite issues between the two great political parties of the country, and party discipline was everywhere lax. In other states, and notably in Wisconsin, a minority had resorted to combinations with the opposite party to accomplish their ends. The deadlock in the Minnesota legislature lasted for nearly two weeks, and during the balloting Windom dropped as low as 44 votes, and then pulled up to 51. His opponents scattered their votes on a multitude of candidates. Mr. Windom was in Washington when the contest began, and in response to urgent telegrams from his supporters he came to St. Paul, but was too late to

save himself from defeat. On the tenth day of the deadlock an effort was made to combine a considerable vote for Gordon E. Cole from both the Windom and anti-Windom elements, but this was unsuccessful, and on the 1st of February a new candidate was brought out. Dwight M. Sabin of Stillwater had served several terms in the legislature, and was widely known throughout the state as an active and ambitious Republican politician. He was at that time at the head of the large manufacturing concern of Seymour, Sabin & Co., at Stillwater, which built cars and made threshing machines, employing for this purpose the labor of convicts in the penitentiary. During the first week of the senatorial contest Mr. Sabin, who was classed as a Windom man, was ill and confined to his room, and he took no part in the controversy. On February 1st, 17 votes were cast for him, 40 for Windom, 10 for Hubbard, 13 for Cole, and eight other candidates received from 1 to 3 votes each. On the 2d of February seven ballots were taken, and it was evident from the first that the end of the long and acrimonious struggle was at hand. Beginning at 29 votes on the first ballot, Mr. Sabin ran up to 81, Mr. Windom running down from 39 votes to 30. The entire Democratic vote was transferred from Judge Wilson to Sabin, and the decisive ballot stood as follows: Sabin, 81; Windom, 30; Cole, 15; Hubbard, 9; Wakefield, 1; Berry, 1; total, 137; necessary to a choice, 69.

One of the elements which contributed to Windom's defeat was the active opposition of Dunnell, who paid off in this way his debt to Windom for the latter's course in beating him for the nomination in the First district the year before. Another element was a widespread feeling that Mr. Windom had grown arbitrary and dictatorial in his political relations with his constituents, and that he no longer had an actual residence in the state, having sold his old home at Winona when he built his house at Washington. At the time of Windom's defeat in 1883 he appeared to be as dead politically as any public man well could be. He had lost his hold upon his state, his home was in Washington, and his business activities were largely in the East. His opponents thought they had buried him, but they did not take into account the fact that his national reputa-

tion was much greater than his state reputation, and that he was regarded by the Republican party throughout the country as one of the foremost of Western statesmen, and as a man whose record of twenty-four years' service in the House and Senate and Cabinet was one of exceptional eminence. In 1889 President Harrison called Mr. Windom into his cabinet, and gave him the position of Secretary of the Treasury, which he had held for a few months

under Garfield's administration. In this position Mr. Windom displayed marked ability, and contributed in no small degree to the success of the Harrison administration. He died in office, immediately after delivering an address on the financial affairs of the country at a dinner in New York given in his honor. After his death it was found that he had left only a moderate estate, instead of the great wealth with which his opponents in Minnesota had credited him.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1884—CONGRESSIONAL CONTESTS IN MINNESOTA—CLOSE OF GOVERNOR HUBBARD'S ADMINISTRATION.

The leading Republican candidates for the presidential nomination in 1884 were President Arthur, who desired a renomination, and was supported by the element which was defeated four years before in an effort to nominate General Grant, and James G. Blaine, who still had the largest and most devoted personal following of any man in the Republican party. In Minnesota, while the public feeling set towards Blaine, there was a formidable opposition in most of the counties of the state, and a contest arose in county conventions over the delegates to the state convention. The old custom of having the state convention select all the delegates to the national convention had been changed to the district system, and in each congressional district a convention was held to select the two district delegates. This left for the state convention no other duty than to select the four delegates at large and name presidential electors. In the Republican state convention, which was held May 1st, the Blaine and anti-Blaine elements tried conclusions at the start over the election of a temporary chairman. The Blaine element was led by ex-Gov. C. K. Davis, and the anti-Blaine element was named by the newspapers the "Sabin-Pillsbury faction," from its two conspicuous leaders. Senator Sabin was at that time chairman of the National Republican Committee. The Blaine men triumphed in this struggle, electing L. B. Clark of Swift county temporary chairman by 157 votes, over John B. Sanborn of Ramsey

county, who received 113. It was then thought wise that the contest should go no further, and that both Davis and Sabin should be sent as delegates to the national convention. The resolutions declared the preference of the Minnesota Republicans for Blaine, and they were reported by General Sanborn, who had been a leader of the anti-Blaine forces. On matters of national politics, the platform denounced the laws of the Southern States devised to thwart the will of a majority of the legal voters; favored a revision of the tariff on a scientific basis, and a reduction of customs revenue with the least possible injury to labor and manufacturing interests. On the silver question, which had already begun to assume considerable prominence in national politics, the platform favored a bimetallic gold and silver standard, and the coinage of both metals without limitation, but on a basis as to weight of coin regulated by the market value of the two metals. The delegates at large to Chicago were C. K. Davis and D. M. Sabin, who were chosen by acclamation, O. B. Gould of Winona, and C. H. Graves of Duluth. The electoral ticket named was as follows: C. F. Kindred of Crow Wing county, J. G. Nelson of Washington, J. D. Allen of Mower, W. B. Dean of Ramsey, L. O. Thorpe of Kandiyohi, A. D. Perkins of Cottonwood, and Peter Rauen of Hennepin.

In the national convention, which met at Chicago on June 3d, Minnesota was represented in the organization as follows: Member of committee on

credentials, R. B. Langdon; rules and order of business, T. H. Armstrong; permanent organization, O. B. Gould; resolutions, Liberty Hall. The chairman of the delegation was D. M. Sabin, and the secretary C. H. Graves. Senator Sabin, as chairman of the national committee, called the convention to order, and conducted it very successfully through the preliminary stages of organization. Ex-Governor Davis seconded the nomination of Blaine in a speech of characteristic eloquence. The Minnesota delegation did not vote as a unit until the last ballot. The district delegates were, of course, not bound by the Blaine resolution adopted at the state convention, and even Senator Sabin, one of the delegates at large, did not at first support Blaine. In the selection by the delegation of a committeeman for Minnesota, Mr. Sabin secured the defeat of Davis and the choice of Mathew G. Norton of Winona. On the first ballot Minnesota gave Blaine 7 votes, Edmunds of Vermont 6, and Arthur 1. The second ballot was the same as the first, and on the third one vote was transferred from Edmunds to Arthur. On the fourth ballot, however, all the fourteen members from Minnesota swung into line for Blaine, and hurraed with the rest over his nomination.

There were some features of interest in the congressional contest in Minnesota in 1884. In the First district Milo White was renominated by the Republicans, and A. Biermann again made the fight against him. Although the district gave about 6,000 majority for Blaine, White's majority was only 2,684, on account of the indifference or hostility of the ardent friends of Mark H. Dunnell. In the Second district James B. Wakefield was again nominated, his Democratic competitor being J. J. Thornton. Wakefield was elected by the enormous majority of 10,551. In the Third district Major Horace B. Strait was again the Republican candidate, and his Democratic competitor was Ignatius Donnelly, who pressed him closely, running 1,750 ahead of Cleveland and reducing Strait's majority to 1,771. In the Fifth district the contest was without any special feature of interest, Knute Nelson being renominated by the Republicans without op-

position, and elected over his Democratic competitor, L. L. Baxter, by about 7,000 majority.

The Fourth district was the scene of an exceedingly animated contest for the Republican nomination, the underlying motive of which was the jealousy between the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, which had unfortunately been placed in the same congressional district ever since the admission of the state. Wm. D. Washburn decided not to seek another nomination, and the Minneapolis Republicans agreed upon Loren Fletcher as their man. Mr. Fletcher was objectionable to the St. Paul Republicans, for the reason, that, at the time the state capitol was burned, he had attempted to defeat the appropriation for its immediate rebuilding by offering the state a tract of forty acres of land lying on the boundary between the two cities, and proposing that the new capitol should be built upon that site. Albert Scheffer of St. Paul entered the field to contest the nomination with Fletcher. The two men canvassed the entire district, with the result that Mr. Fletcher carried only the counties of Hennepin and Wright, and Colonel Scheffer carried all the other counties in the district, giving him a majority in the convention. The Fletcher men, however, sent up a contesting delegation from Washington county, chosen in the same hall that had elected the regularly accredited delegates. The committee on credentials in the congressional convention, which met in Minneapolis, agreed to throw out the Scheffer delegation from Washington and admit the contesting Fletcher delegation. Thereupon the Ramsey county delegation threatened that if this course were taken they would withdraw in a body. It appeared that if both delegations from Washington county were excluded, there would be twenty-five Scheffer men in the convention and twenty-five Fletcher men, leaving the twenty-sixth man, a delegate named Barker, from Isanti county, unpledged and holding the balance of power, and this course was adopted. Mr. Barker had been elected as a Scheffer delegate, but since he put in an appearance in the convention he announced that he would not support either Fletcher or Scheffer. Finally Mr. Barker succeeded in running the whole conven-

tion his way. He informed the Scheffer men that he would be willing to vote for J. B. Gilfillan of St. Paul. Thereupon Colonel Scheffer instructed his friends to throw their votes for Gilfillan. The delegations from Hennepin and Wright counties refused to vote at all, and Mr. Gilfillan received 26 votes, and was declared the regular nominee. There was a great deal of soreness in Minneapolis over the result, and Fletcher was urged to take the field as an independent candidate. He was a man of strong party attachments, however, and he wisely declined to take this course. The feeling against Gilfillan was so strong in Hennepin county that Captain Merriman, the Democratic nominee, ran 3,490 votes ahead of his ticket in that county, while Gilfillan ran 2,958 behind Blaine. Gilfillan's ma-

jority in the district was 4,164, which was 3,574 less than Blaine's majority.

In the campaign of 1884 the Prohibitionists, encouraged by the fact that they had a national candidate, organized their little party in Minnesota with considerable zeal, and ran candidates for Congress in four of the five congressional districts. These candidates were A. Biermann in the First, Wm. Copp in the Second, J. C. Stevens in the Third, and J. M. Douglas in the Fourth. The presidential vote of Minnesota was as follows: James G. Blaine, 111,685; Grover Cleveland, 70,065; St. John, Prohibitionist, 4,684; Butler, Greenback, 3,583. Blaine gained 39,233 votes over the vote for Governor Hubbard in 1883, and Cleveland gained 11,814 over A. Biermann, the Democratic candidate for governor that year.

CHAPTER XX.

THE STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1886—RISE OF A NEW PARTY MOVEMENT—ANDREW R. MCGILL ELECTED GOVERNOR—THE REPUBLICANS LOSE THREE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

The year 1886 was characterized in Minnesota by a loosening of old party ties and by the beginning of a third party movement known as the Farmers' Alliance, which played a prominent part in the politics of the state for a brief period. There was a lack of distinct issues between the Republican and Democratic parties of either a state or national character. A large number of the Republicans sympathized with the policy of President Cleveland in the reduction of the tariff duties, and while not willing to go in the direction of free trade to the length advocated by a majority of the Democrats, they believed that the existing tariff was an inheritance from the Civil War, and that it should be greatly modified in the interests of the agricultural classes. The new political movement which now began to show itself throughout the state, under the name of the Farmers' Alliance, was modeled pretty closely upon the old Granger movement of ten years before. The Alliance maintained that the two old political parties were running in ruts, and had no purpose but to secure the spoils of office, and that for any further progress in legislation for the interests of the masses

of the people it would be necessary to act independently of these parties. The Alliance was organized by townships and counties throughout the state. Another organization of somewhat similar nature was known as the "Patrons of Husbandry," but this was soon absorbed by the Alliance. The main ideas of the Alliance movement were that railroad rates were too high, and should be reduced by state action; that the railroads discriminated in favor of the cities, and against the towns and villages; that corporations generally did not bear their fair burden of taxation; that interest rates were too high, and should be reduced by law; that the character of security should not regulate the rate of interest, but that this should be fixed by strict statutes enforced by heavy penalties for usury; and that in a general way legislation had been too much controlled in the interests of the rich and to the prejudice of people of moderate means.

The Republican leaders, seeing that this new movement was likely to make heavy inroads upon their party vote at the coming election, determined to cultivate, and if possible, capture it, by showing



DWIGHT M. SABIN

United States Senator from Minnesota.

great friendliness towards the ideas advocated by the Alliance and kindred movements. They therefore invited committees from these organizations to attend the Republican state convention and present their views on public questions. The invitation was accepted, and committees were present at the convention from the Knights of Labor, Patrons of Husbandry, Farmers' Alliance, and the Trades and Labor Assembly. These committees were invited to seats upon the platform, and among their number as chief of the delegation from the Patrons of Husbandry, appeared the perennially active agitator, Ignatius Donnelly, who was now honored by the state assembly of the party which he had abandoned some ten years before, and of which he had ever since been a conspicuous antagonist.

The convention did not meet until the 27th of September, this late date having been fixed in order to give time for the careful survey of the new movements which were effervescing throughout the state. Three prominent candidates had come forward to contest the gubernatorial nomination. These were A. R. McGill of St. Peter, who had entered public life as private secretary to Governor Austin, and had been insurance commissioner for fourteen years; Chas. A. Gilman, a prominent Republican leader of St. Cloud, who had been lieutenant governor for nearly seven years; and John L. Gibbs, who had served a long time in the legislature, and had great popularity among the farmers. During the balloting Col. Albert Scheffer of St. Paul developed a great deal of strength, but he had declined to enter the canvass, and was not at any time formally in the race. On the informal ballot the result was: McGill 156, Gilman 103, Gibbs 98, Scheffer 1, Barrett 2. The first formal ballot gave McGill 163, Gilman 100, Gibbs 96, Scheffer 1. No result was reached in the afternoon, and an evening session was held, at which a third ballot stood: McGill 175, Gilman 95, Gibbs 75, Scheffer 16. On the fourth ballot McGill was nominated, receiving 190 votes. Gilman had 60, Gibbs 42, and Scheffer 66.

The result was acquiesced in good naturedly all around, and the convention proceeded to nominate A. E. Rice of Kandiyohi county for lieutenant governor, by 123 votes to 103 for Capt. Henry A. Castle

of St. Paul. For secretary of state there was a contest between three prominent Scandinavians, Mattson, Stockenstrom, and Strodoek, resulting in the success of Hans Mattson, a Norwegian by birth, and a journalist and author, who belonged to the best type of the sturdy Scandinavian element that has taken a great part in the development of Minnesota. For state auditor, W. W. Braden was renominated without opposition; and for treasurer, Joseph Bobleter of Brown county was nominated by acclamation to succeed Charles Kittelson. A new man was also put on the ticket for attorney general, Moses E. Clapp of Fergus Falls, who was nominated on the second ballot over three competitors, Kellogg, Patee, and Burlingame. The nominee for clerk of supreme court was D. B. Jones of Todd county, and the justices of supreme court whose terms were about to expire, D. A. Dickinson of Blue Earth, W. H. Vanderburgh of Hennepin, and Wm. Mitchell of Winona, two Republicans and one Democrat, were nominated as nonpartisan candidates.

It was in the platform of the convention, and not in its nominations, that the party showed its extreme friendliness for the new isms and agitations threatening its control of the state. The resolutions favored an amendment of the railroad and warehouse law to secure open markets for farm products; a progressive reduction in freight and passenger rates on railroads; the taxation of railroad lands except those in actual use for operation; the reduction of the legal rate of interest to eight per cent, and the enforcement of the usury laws; free school books for the public schools; ample laws for indemnity for personal injuries to employes, whether such injuries were sustained by reason of negligence or lack of proper safeguards by the fault of the employers, or by the servants of corporations, or the coemployes of the injured. The resolutions further opposed prison labor by contract; demanded laws to forbid the employment of young children; called for the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics; declared that compensation should be equal without regard to sex, for the same amount and quality of work; favored high license, local option, and the rigid enforcement of the liquor laws; advocated the establishment of postal savings banks; praised Gov.

ernor Hubbard's administration; and finally on the money question declared for gold and silver, with the qualifying clause that there should be an honest silver dollar equal in value to the gold dollar. Such a curiously variegated and complicated platform as this had never before come from any Republican state convention in Minnesota. It was an open and palpable bid for the support of the various forms of so-called reform agitation then beginning to disturb the political waters. The result of the election showed, however, that this bid was not accepted, and that the Republican party gained no strength by inviting its antagonists to shape its platform.

The campaign in the several congressional districts of the state possessed a good many features of interest. In the First district John A. Lovely ran against Milo White for the congressional nomination, and owing to the fact that two other candidates had a few votes in the convention which met at Kasson, two entire days were consumed in balloting without results. Finally, on the third day, on the one hundred and thirteenth ballot, Mr. Lovely was nominated. In the Second district John Lind was nominated to succeed Wakefield on the first ballot. In the Third district B. B. Herbert, a veteran Republican editor of Red Wing, was successful on the twenty-sixth ballot over A. H. Reed and H. R. Denny. In the Fifth district there was no opposition to the nomination of Knute Nelson. In the Fourth district Loren Fletcher of Minneapolis, who had lost the nomination two years before by one vote, began a canvass that gave him the united support of his own county, Hennepin, which, by reason of its large Republican vote, would be entitled to 50 out of the 111 delegates to the district convention. Mr. Gilfillan wrote a letter from Washington asking for the customary indorsement of a second term, which he said had always been given in Minnesota to congressmen who had faithfully performed their duty during their first term. Albert Scheffer of St. Paul was urged to enter the canvass, but declined. A short time before the meeting of the district convention Mr. Fletcher withdrew from the contest. As a sagacious, practical politician, he realized that in case he should secure the nomination he would be cut by a great many St. Paul Republicans in return for the action of nearly 4,000 Minneapolis Repub-

licans who cut Gilfillan two years before. It was evidently going to be a bad year in Minnesota for Republican candidates who could not command the united vote of their party, and Mr. Fletcher did not propose to be scheduled for defeat. As all the candidates were now out of the way except the sitting member, the renomination of Mr. Gilfillan was made by acclamation.

There were a good many unforeseen results in the election of 1886. McGill polled a heavier vote than had ever been given to any candidate for governor in the state, but his vote fell off about 4,500 from that of Blaine in 1884. On the other hand the Democratic candidate for governor, Dr. A. A. Ames of Minneapolis, ran 34,000 ahead of Cleveland's vote in 1884. Dr. Ames had been mayor of Minneapolis, and had pursued what was known as the "wide open policy" in municipal affairs. He was known throughout the state as a good fellow by the roistering type of politicians, and he was selected by the Democrats because of his supposed personal popularity in Minneapolis. As it turned out, to everybody's surprise, he did not make a strong run in Minneapolis, where everyone knew him well, but he polled an enormous vote in the country districts, especially in the northern part of the state, and he came within about 2,500 votes of an election. Nobody could tell afterwards where all his supporters came from. They seemed to rise out of the ground on election day. McGill's total vote was 107,064, and that of Dr. Ames was 104,464, making McGill's majority 2,600. The Prohibitionists again put their little party on its feet as a state organization. It had been rather dormant since 1877, but now, in the general demoralization of parties, it was able to muster 9,030 votes, cast for James E. Child, its candidate for governor.

The result of the election in the congressional districts was as great a surprise to both Republicans and Democrats as was that in the state at large. In the First district, in which the Republicans had at one time a majority of over 6,000, the Democrats elected Judge Thos. H. Wilson, by a majority of 3,081. In the Second district, Lind, Republican, was elected over Bullis, Democrat, by 7,385 majority. In the Third district, formerly a Republican stronghold, Mr. Herbert was defeated by John L. MacDonald, Democrat, who had a majority of 1,228. In the

Fourth district the Democrats ran Edmund Rice of St. Paul against James B. Gilfillan, and defeated him by a majority of 4,635. Rice had been mayor of St. Paul, and was one of the most popular Demo-

cratic leaders of that city. In the Fifth district Knute Nelson had a walkover, no candidate being run against him.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLOSE OF GOVERNOR HUBBARD'S FIVE YEARS' TERM—C. K. DAVIS ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1888—WM. R. MERRIAM ELECTED GOVERNOR.

Governor Hubbard retired from the governorship in January, 1887, with the respect and good will of the people of the state. He had held the office longer than any other chief executive except Governor Pillsbury, his second term having been extended one year by the constitutional amendment, for the purpose of doing away with annual elections and making the state election occur in the even-numbered years. When Hubbard entered the governorship he was at the head of a flourishing business in Red Wing, but his close and conscientious attention to the duties of the office obliged him to neglect his private business and a failure resulted, so that he went back to private life a poor man. In commenting upon this, the *Pioneer Press*, which had five years before opposed his nomination, said: "What his plans for the future may be we do not know, but in a state which is proud of his record as a soldier and grateful for his five years' service as governor, he will not lack friends." The five years of Governor Hubbard's occupancy of the executive chair constituted a period of great prosperity in Minnesota in all lines of business and in agricultural pursuits, and were marked by an extraordinary growth of population, amounting to nearly sixty per cent, and by an increase of the assessed wealth of the state of nearly \$200,000,000. Among the noteworthy features of his administration were the change from annual to biennial elections; the establishment of a state school at Owatonna for dependent and neglected children; the reorganization of the state militia; the taxation of the railroad lands; the law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of adulterated dairy products; legislation providing for state supervision of warehouses and inspection of grain, and the important steps taken

for the control and regulation of railway corporations. Governor McGill, his successor, entered upon his duties with the great advantage of a long experience in a public office in the capitol, of a wide acquaintance throughout the state, and of a temper of mind well suited for the successful exercise of executive functions.

Senator McMillan's term expired on March 4, 1887. He was desirous of a renomination, but although he had served twelve years with fidelity and to the general satisfaction of his constituents, he lacked the quality of personal magnetism and the faculty for political organization which make the successful politician. He had, in fact, hardly any personal following in the state, and looking over the ground after the legislature met, he decided not to enter the contest. R. B. Langdon, a prominent business man of Minneapolis and an active politician, who had seen service in the legislature, was for a time disposed to go into the senatorial contest against the popular candidate, Ex-Gov. C. K. Davis. There was also some talk of Gordon E. Cole and of Knute Nelson, whose great popularity in the northern part of the state, where he had been reelected to Congress the previous fall without any opposition, led to some agitation in favor of a movement that would bring him out as a candidate for the Senate, counting upon the support of the Democrats as well as of his own Republican friends. Nothing came of this scheme, however, and Mr. Davis encountered no well-organized opposition in any part of the state. He made no canvass in his own behalf, and the only political work done for him prior to the election of members of the legislature was a tour of the state undertaken by a young student in his law office, C. A. Severance, who afterwards be-

came his law partner. Mr. Severance was at that time only twenty-four years of age. He visited many of the counties of the state, talked with the leading Republican politicians, and found everywhere a strong sentiment in favor of sending Davis to the Senate. When the legislature met it was found that there were nearly one hundred Republican members either instructed by the county conventions which had nominated them or otherwise pledged to their constituents to vote for Davis. The party caucus was a mere formality. Davis was nominated by 93 votes out of 94, one vote being cast for Gordon E. Cole, and he was elected by the solid Republican vote in both houses. The Democrats supported Michael Doran of St. Paul. The vote in the Senate was: Davis 33, Doran 14; in the House, Davis 70, Doran 26. This was the only senatorial election in the entire history of Minnesota which passed by without the least semblance of a contest. Governor Davis had at that time been out of office since he retired from his single term in the governorship in 1876. He had, however, been constantly active in Republican politics, delivering speeches in all important campaigns, and keeping thoroughly in touch with the public life of the state. He had a large law practice, and was at the time of his election one of the most successful men in Minnesota in the legal profession in the handling of important cases.

Each of the two great political parties held two conventions in Minnesota in the year 1888, as had been the custom in presidential years, one in the spring to select delegates to the national convention and to name presidential electors, and one in the fall to nominate candidates for governor and other state offices. The Blaine feeling was still strong in Minnesota that year, and in spite of Mr. Blaine's Florence letter declining again to be a candidate, the county conventions throughout the state chose 149 delegates to the state convention pledged to Blaine out of a total of 369. Of the candidates actually in the field seeking the nomination, Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois was the favorite in Minnesota, and was ably advocated by the leading Republican daily newspapers. In the state convention held in May, the Gresham sentiment predominated, but if Blaine had been an avowed candidate he

would unquestionably have carried the convention. The only significant resolution adopted was one upon the tariff question, which denounced the Mills bill then pending in Congress as a subterfuge which attempted to destroy the American policy of protection to American industries. The convention chose the following delegates at large to the national convention at Chicago: Frank F. Davis of Hennepin, J. P. Heatwole of Rice, G. G. Hartley of St. Louis, C. G. Edwards of Fillmore. The district delegates already selected in the district conventions were as follows: First district, James O'Brien and George B. Edgerton; Second district, M. N. Leland and H. J. Miller; Third district, M. S. Chandler and Peter Johnson; Fourth district, W. J. Frenay and R. B. Langdon; Fifth district, H. Steenerson and C. L. Lewis. The electoral ticket named was as follows: Mons Grinager of Hennepin, H. W. Stone of Stevens, W. H. Yale of Winona, E. R. Smith of Le Sueur, W. A. Foland of Swift, Alvah Eastman of Anoka, and John Cooper of Stearns. At the Chicago convention, which was held on June the 19th, the Minnesota men selected the following representatives for committee and other positions: Chairman of the delegation, James O'Brien of Caledonia; vice president of the convention, M. S. Chandler of Red Wing; secretary, C. L. Lewis of Fergus Falls; committee on organization, G. G. Hartley of Duluth; resolutions, C. G. Edwards of Spring Valley; credentials, H. J. Miller of Laverne; national committeeman, R. G. Evans of Minneapolis; member of committee to notify nominee, R. B. Langdon of Minneapolis.

The Minnesota delegation scattered its vote throughout the whole course of the balloting. On the first ballot 11 voted for Gresham, 2 for Depew and 1 for Alger, and the second and third ballots were the same. On the fourth ballot Gresham received 5 votes, Harrison 7, and Alger 2. There was no substantial change in these figures until the seventh ballot, when Harrison had 8 of the Minnesota votes, Gresham 4, and Alger 2. The original Alger man stuck to his favorite to the last, and on the final ballot Harrison received all the other 13 Minnesota votes. The delegation was unanimous in its support of Morton for Vice President.

The gubernatorial canvass of 1888 was an un-



ANDREW R. MCGILL

Tenth Governor of Minnesota.

usually close and exciting one. Governor McGill counted with good reason upon a renomination, because of the long-established custom in the state that a chief executive who had given general satisfaction in his first term should receive a second term. This custom had never been broken save in a single instance, and then Governor Davis had declined to be a candidate some time before the meeting of the state convention. There was no criticism directed against McGill's official conduct in the office of governor. As in that of state insurance commissioner, he had been conscientious, industrious and public-spirited, but he lacked a large personal following throughout the state. He was a good type of the painstaking, competent, and creditable state official, but he was not a popular and successful politician. In the legislature of 1888 the house had chosen Wm. R. Merriam of St. Paul as its speaker. Merriam was a young, ambitious, and active politician, the son of Col. John L. Merriam, who had formerly been speaker of the House, and he inherited his father's talents and taste for public life. He was at the head of one of the largest banks in St. Paul, and was the possessor of considerable wealth. He made a popular and successful speaker, and his friends in the legislature proceeded to organize a movement to place him in the governor's chair. Another strong candidate was Albert Scheffer of St. Paul, a German by birth, a gallant soldier in the Union army in the War of the Rebellion, an effective public speaker, and a man of many engaging personal qualities. Colonel Scheffer represented in a special degree the movement then in progress to secure the farmers of the state the opportunity to ship their grain to the primary markets of Minneapolis and Duluth, instead of selling it to the elevators at country railroad stations, as they had been compelled to do by the policy of the railroad companies. He was the author of what was known as the "Free Traffic Bill," passed by the preceding legislature. His attitude on this and other questions affecting agricultural interests made him popular with the Farmers' Alliance. This organization had not at that time assumed the shape of a political party. It did not put candidates in the field for office, but it threw its influence for such candidates of either party as it thought would be most favorable to its

principles. A large meeting of the Farmers' Alliance men was held in the town of Herman, for the purpose of advancing Scheffer's candidacy for governor. In this meeting four congressional districts and thirty-four senatorial districts were represented. President Atwood of the State Farmers' Alliance presided, and the meeting determined to print and circulate in the English, German, Scandinavian, French, and Bohemian languages, 300,000 copies of a circular containing Albert Scheffer's legislative record and the platform of the Alliance. The fourth candidate was Lieut. Gov. Charles A. Gilman, who had a considerable following in his own county of Stearns, and in other counties in the northern part of the state. Mr. Merriam was able to offset to some degree Colonel Scheffer's popularity among the farmers by the fact, that, as president of the state agricultural society, he had made many friends among the leading farmers of the state, and had carried on the state fair with great success.

When the state convention assembled it was evident that there was going to be an exceedingly arduous contest, and that no candidate could count on success in advance. Governor McGill was placed in nomination by Captain Castle, Mr. Merriam by Halvor Steenerson, and Colonel Scheffer by General Jennison. The first informal ballot resulted: Merriam 158, McGill 149, Scheffer 116, Gilman 17, T. B. Clement 1. A second informal ballot was had, resulting: Merriam 161, McGill 146, Scheffer 116, Gilman 17, Clement 8. The first formal ballot was: Merriam 169, McGill 138, Scheffer 106, Gilman 28, Clement 8. On the third formal ballot Merriam was nominated by the following vote: Merriam 270, Scheffer 73, Gilman 101; necessary to a choice 223. The McGill forces went over to Gilman, excepting those that favored the successful candidate. Governor McGill's principal strength was in the Hennepin county delegation. Colonel Scheffer carried the Ramsey county delegation solid against Merriam, while Merriam's original strength was gathered up in the rural counties.

The platform declared in favor of the American system of protective tariff, and at the same time demanded a modification, readjustment, and reduction of tariff duties. It favored high license, declared hostility towards trades and all monopolistic

combinations, and pledged the party to legislation to protect the producer and consumer against the evil effects of monopolies. A resolution was adopted giving a strong indorsement to Governor McGill's administration. All the old state officials were re-nominated. For lieutenant governor, A. E. Rice received 384 votes to 58 for O. G. Wall. Secretary of State Hans Mattson, Treasurer Joseph Bobleter, and Attorney General Moses E. Clapp were renominated; and also Chief Justice James Gilfillan and Associate Justice L. W. Collins. There was some dissatisfaction among prominent Republicans over the result of the state convention, and Lieutenant Governor Gilman made a speech in St. Cloud in which he declared that he would bolt the head of the ticket. At a subsequent meeting in St. Cloud, Chas. G. Kerr of St. Paul made a speech in answer to Gilman's arguments.

The contest in the several congressional districts of the state was quite animated, and resulted in a sweeping Republican victory, the delegation elected being solidly Republican. In the First district, which the Republicans had lost two years before, Mark H. Dunnell was called back from his retirement to lead them once more to victory, the general feeling being that he was the strongest candidate the party had to make the race against Thomas H. Wilson, whom the Democrats put up for reelection. Mr. Dunnell's majority over Wilson was 1,944. In the Second district, Morton S. Wilkinson, formerly a Republican United States Senator, who left the party in 1872 in the Greeley movement, and had subsequently connected himself with the Democrats, was run against John Lind, and was easily beaten by 9,216 majority. In the Third district, which the Democrats had carried in 1886 for John L. MacDonald, Darwin S. Hall beat MacDonald by 2,868. The Republicans of the Fourth district, which still comprised the Twin Cities, nominated Capt. S. B. Snider of Minneapolis, who received 76 votes to 23 for John P. Rea of Minneapolis; a third candidate, D. M. Clough of the same city, having withdrawn before the convention. Captain Snider was a successful business man, who had made money in railroad building and in operations in iron ore lands. The Democrats again ran Edmund Rice of St. Paul,

and Captain Snider's majority was 10,006. The Fifth district, represented for three terms by Knute Nelson, was thrown open to a general scramble by Mr. Nelson's refusal to serve another term. He had received two years before the extraordinary compliment of an election without any opposition from the Democrats or any other political party. In Congress he had lately placed himself in an attitude of opposition to his party associates by his support of the Mills tariff bill, which was regarded as a Democratic measure. If he had desired another nomination, it would have been given him without opposition, but he preferred to retire to private life. There was a long fight in the district convention, the candidates being Bartow, Buckman, Comstock, Stearns, and Corliss, and they developed at first nearly equal strength. There were twenty-four ballots the first day without result, and on the second day the balloting went on until almost evening, when, on the forty-fifth ballot, S. G. Comstock of Moorhead was nominated, receiving 50 votes, to 19 for Bartow, 15 for Corliss, 14 for Graves, and 1 for Stearns. The contest was a good natured one throughout, and did not at all affect the result of the election in the district, which was carried by Comstock over Charles Canning, Democrat, by a majority of 7,519. In all the districts the Prohibitionists ran candidates.

The vote for President in Minnesota in 1888 was as follows: Benjamin Harrison, Republican, 142,492; Grover Cleveland, Democrat, 104,385; Fisk, Prohibitionist, 15,311. The Democrats ran against Merriam for governor one of their most popular men, Eugene M. Wilson of Minneapolis, and the Prohibitionists had as their candidate Hugh Harrison. The result of the election was W. R. Merriam, 134,355; E. M. Wilson, 110,251; Hugh Harrison, 17,026. Mr. Merriam ran about 8,000 behind Benjamin Harrison. Mr. Wilson ran about 6,000 ahead of Grover Cleveland, and the Prohibitionist candidate for governor had about 2,000 more votes than the Prohibitionist candidate for President. It is fair to conclude from these figures that about 8,000 Republicans scratched the head of their ticket, and distributed their votes between the Democratic and Prohibition candidates.

CHAPTER XXII.

ELECTION OF WM. D. WASHBURN TO THE SENATE—THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE ENTERS POLITICS—A TRIANGULAR RACE FOR GOVERNOR, WON BY MERRIAM BY A NARROW MAJORITY.

Minneapolis had long been restive under the fact that St. Paul at all times since the admission of the state had been represented in the United States Senate by one of her citizens, and at one time had both the senators, while Minneapolis had at no time been honored by the selection of one of her citizens for this high office. As the close of Senator Sabin's term approached, the Minneapolis Republicans determined to put Wm. D. Washburn in the field and to make a canvass of the state in his behalf. Mr. Washburn was the logical Minneapolis candidate. He had served six years in the House of Representatives, and had fully demonstrated his capacity for public affairs. He was one of the foremost business men of his city, had accumulated wealth during its rapid growth, and was in every respect a conspicuous representative of Minneapolis interests. Shortly after the election of Mr. Sabin to the Senate, his great manufacturing interests in Stillwater, in which over three millions of capital had been embarked, met with a disastrous financial failure. This failure very seriously crippled Mr. Sabin's personal resources, and was a great detriment to him in his efforts to secure a reelection to the Senate. A number of his friends who had been his warm political supporters had lost money through the misfortune of the Harvester Works and the Northwestern Car Works, of which he had been president, and they were disinclined to give him any further political aid. Even with these drawbacks, however, Mr. Sabin was a formidable candidate. He was one of the best practical politicians in the state, and he had personal qualities which gave him a wide popularity among active political workers in almost every county. Mr. Windom, whom he had beaten six years before, was naturally antagonistic to him in this contest. Windom came home from Washington to lead the Washburn movement.

On the assembling of the legislature there was a contest for the speakership which appeared to run at first on senatorial lines, and in which the Sabin

party was victorious, electing Col. Chas. H. Graves of Duluth by 50 votes to 36 for D. F. Morgan of Albert Lea. It soon turned out, however, that this was not a fair test of the strength of the two candidates for senator, and that many of Colonel Graves's supporters had joined his ranks on other considerations. Senator Sabin managed his own canvass with characteristic vigor and skill. The Farmers' Alliance had elected a number of members of the legislature who had formerly affiliated with the Republicans, and these men, headed by Ignatius Donnelly, who had been in a position of hostility to the Republican party ever since his defeat for Congress in 1869, determined to go into the Republican caucus and support their leader for the Senate. This made an unexpected complication in the situation, for it was the evident hope of Mr. Donnelly that he would be able to hold the balance of power between Washburn and Sabin, and force one or the other faction to take him up and elect him. The Washburn men held a caucus, and claimed that they could count upon fifty-five sure votes. They appointed an executive committee to take charge of the Washburn campaign, with Col. W. S. King of Minneapolis as its chairman. A meeting of the Farmers' Alliance members indorsed Donnelly for senator, and there were rumors at the capitol of a union between the Sabin and Donnelly forces on Mark H. Dunnell. These were laid to rest by a declaration from Dunnell that he would under no circumstances be a candidate.

After considerable skirmishing between the rival Republican elements, it was finally agreed that a caucus should be held on January 17th. The Sabin and Washburn men appeared to be equally confident of the result. It was agreed all around that there should be no bolting from the caucus decision, and that the tactics which had defeated Ramsey and had subsequently defeated Windom should not be resorted to by the beaten candidate in the present contest. On the informal ballot in the caucus the

vote stood: Washburn 52, Sabin 43, Donnelly 15, Knute Nelson 7, Judge Start 2, Gordon E. Cole 1, Major Strait 1. The following was the result of the formal ballots: First ballot—Washburn 58, Sabin 46, Donnelly 10, Nelson 3, Start 2, Cole 2; second ballot—Washburn 56, Sabin 55, Donnelly 5, Nelson 2, Start 3, Cole 1; third ballot—Washburn 62, Sabin 54, Donnelly 4, Start 2; necessary to a choice, 62. Washburn was therefore nominated by precisely the number of votes necessary to a choice. The contest was so close and exciting that when Washburn dropped to 56 votes on the second formal ballot most of his friends gave up all hope of victory, and they were as surprised as they were delighted at his success on the next ballot.

The beaten faction did not take its defeat gracefully, but began to talk about the use of money in the election. They moved for an investigation in both houses of the legislature. Special committees were appointed, and testimony was taken, with the result of exonerating Mr. Washburn and his friends and of confuting by the reports of the two committees the vague charges of bribery and corruption. When the election took place in joint convention of the two houses, a few Republicans bolted the caucus decision, not with the hope of defeating Mr. Washburn, but solely to make a record of their dissatisfaction with the result. The vote stood: Washburn 107, C. M. Start 8, Moses E. Clapp 1, J. P. Rea, 1, T. E. Bowen 1, D. W. Durant 20, E. M. Wilson 2. Mr. Durant was the Democratic caucus nominee.

For the first time in the political history of Minnesota there were three parties in the field in 1890, with an apparent strength so equally balanced that it was impossible to forecast the result before the election with any degree of accuracy. The Farmers' Alliance had grown to be a numerous and powerful body, but had previously acted outside of party lines, merely emphasizing its preference or dislike for local candidates by the action of its members individually at the polls. But in 1890 the Alliance determined to become a political party, and to nominate a state ticket of its own. Its leaders no doubt saw the absurdity of endeavoring to create a prominent party organization based upon the support of only one class of society—the farmers. They therefore invited the various labor organizations of the

state to coöperate with them and send delegates to the state convention in St. Paul.

Previous to the meeting of this state gathering of the Alliance, the Democrats opened the campaign, and nominated for governor Judge Thomas Wilson of Winona, who had recently served a term in Congress, and who rivaled in personal popularity in the Democratic party the other prominent Wilson, Eugene M., of Minneapolis. The Democratic platform was uncompromising in its opposition to a protective tariff, and denounced the McKinley bill which had recently been passed by the Republicans in Congress. It also discussed the problems of a free and open grain market, of the inequalities of taxation, and charged the Republicans with corruption in legislation.

The Alliance men followed soon after with a very large state convention, attended by 505 delegates, fifty-three of whom were representatives of various trade-union organizations. The meeting was presided over by the state president of the Alliance, R. J. Hall, who reported that he had been up to Alexandria to ask Knute Nelson to run as the Alliance candidate for governor, and that Nelson had positively refused to accept any nomination from the Alliance, saying that he had always been a Republican, and owed all the public honors he had received to the Republicans, and that he could not accept a nomination from a party that was likely to injure the Republican party. In the Alliance convention were a number of old politicians from both the Republican and Democratic parties. Ignatius Donnelly, who had been for a greater or less time in every political organization in the State of Minnesota, was one of the leaders of the movement. Other prominent men were W. W. Erwin of St. Paul, Gen. J. H. Baker of Mankato, and Senator T. H. Barrett. The convention determined to organize an independent political party and nominate a full state ticket. After a good deal of speech making a vote for governor was had with the following result: Nelson 104, Donnelly 98, Daniel Buck 67, Henry Plowman 42, J. H. Baker 32, T. H. Barrett 30, R. J. Hall, 27, with 20 scattering votes for other candidates. The convention then adjourned over night. Next morning one ballot was had with the following result: Donnelly 172, Hall 170, Nelson 56,



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Buck 19. There was then an intermission for consultation, and an agreement was reached among the leaders to drop all the candidates and to nominate for governor S. M. Owen of Minneapolis, editor of an agricultural paper of wide circulation called *The Farm, Stock, and Home*. This was done without opposition.

The platform was the most sweeping, miscellaneous collection of oddly assorted ideas and theories ever put into shape by any political movement in Minnesota. Space is wanting to enumerate all the declarations of this extraordinary document. It demanded the repeal of the "war tariff;" denounced the McKinley bill; favored government control of railroads; demanded open markets for grain and grading at country stations; also, lower rates for freight and passenger traffic, and the erection of state warehouses for the storage of grain. It declared that mortgage debts should be deducted from the tax on realty; that there should be a reduction in the interest rate on money, and an increase in the volume of money; that free coinage of silver should be established; that the Australian ballot should be provided by the legislature; that United States senators and railroad commissioners should be elected by the people; that there should be arbitration by law to settle all labor difficulties; that no children under fifteen should be employed in shops or factories; that an employers' liability law should be passed; that free text-books should be provided in the public schools; and that there should be equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

The Democrats had nominated for state auditor Adolph Biermann, a popular Scandinavian living in the southern part of the state, who had been the candidate of the Democratic party against Governor Hubbard in 1883. After the adjournment of the Alliance convention the Alliance candidate for state auditor was persuaded to withdraw, and the central committee of the new party determined to indorse Biermann with the purpose of securing, if possible, one of the state offices, whatever might be the general result of the election.

The Republican state convention met in St. Paul on July 24th, under the presidency of Lieut. Gov. A. E. Rice of Kandiyohi county. The following ticket was nominated: Governor, W. R. Merriam

of Ramsey; lieutenant governor, Gideon S. Ives, Nicollet; state treasurer, Joseph Bobleter, Brown; secretary of state, Fred P. Brown, Faribault; state auditor, Peter J. McGuire, Polk; attorney general, Moses E. Clapp, Otter Tail; clerk of supreme court, Chas. P. Holcomb, Washington.

There was nothing like a strong opposition to Governor Merriam's renomination. He had disappointed his opponents and gratified his friends by the ability he had shown in office, and it was generally conceded by the Republicans throughout the state that he had fairly earned a second term. He was placed in nomination before the convention by Gordon E. Cole. W. W. Braden was nominated by W. H. Eustis, and Knute Nelson by Frank M. Eddy. The first ballot resulted in the overwhelming success of Merriam, who had 350 votes, to 34 for Braden and 74 for Nelson. For lieutenant governor Mr. Ives was successful over D. M. Clough by a vote of 391 to 55. Brown beat Hans Mattson for secretary of state by 312 votes to 141. Bobleter was renominated for state treasurer by acclamation, and the contest for auditor was determined in favor of McGuire, who had 261 votes to 105 for O. L. Cutler of Anoka and 81 for C. A. Whithead of Olmsted. For clerk of supreme court Holcomb was successful over J. D. Jones of Todd by 251 votes to 201. The Republican platform indorsed the reciprocity policy of James G. Blaine; favored high license for liquor sellers; discrimination in admitting foreign immigrants; a reduction of the legal rate of interest and the punishment of usury; commended the binding twine manufacturing experiment at the Stillwater penitentiary; denounced monopolies; declared that articles made by monopolies should be placed upon the free list; favored the regulation of the tolls of common carriers by the state, and legislation to secure lower rates on grain, lumber, and coal; recommended the Australian ballot system, and declared for free text books in the public schools.

The year 1890 was characterized by a political reaction throughout the country from the high tide of Republican success in 1888. Minnesota was no exception to other states in the Union, but the enormous growth of the Farmers' Alliance made the contest particularly complicated in this state. A number of strong Republican counties went over

to the Alliance in a complete stampede. For example, the banner county of Otter Tail, which had for many years given a Republican majority of over 2,000, gave a majority to the Alliance ticket almost as great. The result of the election for governor was for a long time in doubt. The Alliance drew heavily from the Republican party in almost all the strong Republican country districts. It was not until nearly a week after the election that the success of Merriam was assured. The final canvass of the votes showed that Merriam, Republican, received 88,111 votes, Wilson, Democrat, 85,844; S. M. Owen, Alliance, 58,513; James P. Pinkham, Prohibitionist, 8,424. Merriam's majority over Wilson was 2,267. The total vote of the state fell off about 20,000 from the vote for governor in 1888. Merriam's vote was 46,244 less than he received that year, and Thomas Wilson's vote was 25,407 less than the vote for Eugene M. Wilson, Democrat, in 1888. It seemed as if the fences that formerly separated political parties were down on all sides.

In the congressional contests of the state, party discipline was no better preserved than in the state campaign. In the First district Mark H. Dunnell was defeated for reelection by a combination of the Alliance men with the Democrats, which resulted in the success of Capt. W. H. Harries, Democrat,

with a majority of 2,323. In the Second district, John Lind, Republican, defeated J. H. Baker, Alliance and Democrat, by 482 votes. In the Third district O. M. Hall, Democrat, beat D. S. Hall, Republican, by 4,533. The Alliance ran a candidate of their own, and gave him 3,056 votes. In the Fourth district J. N. Castle of Stillwater, the Democratic nominee, beat Captain Snider, who was re-nominated by the Republicans, by 5,728. There was no Alliance candidate, but the Prohibition candidate, Dean, polled 3,230 votes. In the Fifth district there were three candidates: S. G. Comstock, Republican, Whiteman, Democrat, and Halvorson, Alliance; and Halvorson was elected over Comstock by 2,114 plurality. The Republicans lost every congressional district in the state excepting the Second. A notable result of the election was the success of A. Biermann, the combined Alliance and Democratic candidate for state auditor, who was elected over McGuire by a large majority. For the first time in the history of Minnesota since the first election after the admission of the state the Democrats succeeded in securing a state office. This was not only the first but the last time since 1857 that a Democratic candidate for any office in the state capitol was successful at an election.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1892—RISE OF THE POPULIST PARTY AND DECLINE OF THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE—KNUTE NELSON ELECTED GOVERNOR.

The year 1892 was one of special interest in the politics of Minnesota. The Republican national convention was held in Minneapolis, and was naturally an event in which the people of the state took great pride, for the reason that no gathering of this kind had ever before been held northwest of Chicago or west of St. Louis. A vast and commodious auditorium was provided by rebuilding the entire interior of the old Minneapolis exposition building, and no national convention was ever before furnished with such spacious and comfortable quarters. There were seats for 20,000 people, and the large number of entrances and the general arrangement of the

interior made the handling of the vast crowd a matter that was managed without any difficulty. The hotel, restaurant, and lodging-house accommodations of both St. Paul and Minneapolis were drawn upon for the delegates and visitors, and of the great multitude who attended the convention, no one was put to any serious discomfort.

In the Republican state convention, which was held on May 5th, the following delegates at large to the national convention were elected: Stanford Newel of Ramsey county, John S. Pillsbury of Hennepin, J. H. Daugherty of St. Louis, and Frank A. Day of Martin. The district delegates chosen in

conventions in the several congressional districts were as follows: First district, Mark H. Dunnell and W. H. Yale; Second district, J. F. Jacobson and Daniel Shell; Third district, E. S. Hall and C. E. Jackson; Fourth district, George Thompson and Albert Berg; Fifth district, Wm. H. Eustis and S. P. Snider; Sixth district, J. M. Markham and D. C. Dunham; Seventh district, S. G. Comstock and M. A. Wallan. The electoral ticket named by the convention was as follows: Electors at large—F. L. McGhee of Ramsey, Patrick Fox of Chisago; district electors—First, A. D. Gray of Fillmore; Second, E. C. Huntington of Cottonwood; Third, S. P. Jennison of Goodhue; Fourth, E. L. Hospes of Washington; Fifth, H. F. Brown of Hennepin; Sixth, C. A. Culkin of Wright; Seventh, H. D. Donaldson of Kittson. The state had been reapportioned by the legislature of 1891 into seven congressional districts instead of five, Minnesota having gained two members of Congress by the census of 1890. In this apportionment the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis were for the first time thrown into separate districts, greatly to the benefit of their local politics. The county of Hennepin, containing Minneapolis, was made a district by itself, and to the county of Ramsey, including the city of St. Paul, were added the counties of Washington, Chisago, Isanti and Kanabec. In the northern part of the state the region which formerly constituted the Fifth district was with some changes of boundary made into the Sixth and Seventh districts, the former including the city of Duluth and the latter nearly all of the Red River Valley.

There was not much agitation in Minnesota concerning presidential candidates prior to the meeting of the Minneapolis convention. This arose generally from two causes—first, the general feeling of approbation for the administration of President Harrison, and second, the uncertainty as to the candidacy of James G. Blaine, always a favorite in this state, who was then a member of Harrison's cabinet, and who had refused to announce himself in any positive way as a candidate for the presidential nomination. It was only at the last moment, after the delegates had assembled in Minneapolis, that Mr. Blaine resigned his cabinet office and became an avowed candidate for the Minneapolis

nomination. He sent one of his sons to the convention to manage his canvass, but he entered the field much too late to have any chance of success. His uncertain attitude can only be accounted for on the theory that the illness which soon after terminated in his death had already undermined his characteristic vigor and resolution.

The Minnesota men honored with committee appointments by the national convention were as follows: Permanent organization, Frank Day; credentials, R. C. Dunn; resolutions, George Thompson; rules and order of business, S. G. Comstock. There was a lively contest in the Minnesota delegation over the choice of national committeeman, which resulted after three sessions in the success of R. G. Evans of Minneapolis over Stanford Newel of St. Paul. Only one ballot was had by the convention for President. A Minnesota man, Wm. H. Eustis, had seconded Blaine's nomination in an eloquent speech, and Minnesota showed her old love for the "Plumed Knight" by casting 9 of her votes for Blaine, President Harrison receiving 8, and Governor McKinley 1.

In state politics that year an entirely novel situation was presented by the successful efforts of Ignatius Donnelly and his personal followers to supplant the Farmers' Alliance party by a new political organization called the "People's Party," which had already been organized in other Western States; and which nominated for President the old Greenback leader, James B. Weaver of Iowa. The Alliance leaders did not intend to be crowded out of the political arena. They held a very large convention in St. Paul on July 7th, and nominated for governor Gen. J. H. Baker, a former Republican leader, and a full state ticket. Their platform was as usual a curious mosaic of many issues and theories, some genuine and honest and others fantastic. It went at length into the question of state grain inspection at country stations, and state warehouses at terminal points. It demanded the abolition of all railroad passes, opposed the protective tariff, and insisted there should be fifty dollars *per capita* of currency afloat. It favored a deduction of mortgage indebtedness from the tax on realty, and a reduction of the rate of interest. It declared for the nationalization of the liquor traffic, for the ex-

clusion of pauper immigrants, for a graduated tax on incomes, and for a popular vote for President and Vice President and no second terms. The Alliance people established a state central committee, and opened offices in St. Paul, with the intention of carrying on a vigorous canvass. Mr. Donnelly and his supporters had, however, been long at work to undermine the movement, and they followed a week later with a state convention of the new People's party, which was attended by 650 delegates. This convention proceeded to nominate Donnelly for governor by acclamation and with great enthusiasm, but made no nominations for presidential electors. For lieutenant governor, the nominee was Kittel Halvorson, and nearly all the other positions on the ticket were filled by Scandinavian politicians who had formerly been connected with the Republican party. The resolutions were very brief. They repeated in substance the shipping, warehouse and inspection demands of the Farmers' Alliance; expressed sympathy with the Homestead strikers, who were at that time attempting to carry on war with the state authorities of Pennsylvania; demanded that the penitentiary twine should be sold at nine cents a pound, and that a law should be passed prohibiting any man holding office from being a delegate to any political convention.

The Republican state convention was held on July 28th. Thoroughly alarmed for the future of the party by the great Farmers' Alliance defection of 1890, which swept away many of the old Republican strongholds in Minnesota, the Republican leaders determined to take such a course as would, if possible, bring back to the party the heavy Scandinavian vote which had gone off into the new movement. The only way to accomplish this seemed to be by the nomination for governor of some man of exceptional popularity among the Scandinavians, and this man was evidently Knute Nelson of Alexandria, who had served three terms in Congress, and had been elected the last time without any opposition whatever. He was unquestionably the foremost man of Scandinavian birth and affiliations in Minnesota, and when the convention assembled his nomination was a foregone conclusion. Two other candidates had been mentioned, ex-Governor McGill and Lieutenant Governor Ives, but both these

gentlemen withdrew their names previous to the meeting of the convention. Knute Nelson was nominated for governor by acclamation, and D. M. Clough for lieutenant governor, also by acclamation. Mr. Clough was a popular and energetic political worker in Minneapolis, of long service in the legislature, and had the united support of Hennepin and Ramsey counties, which gave him such a standing in the convention that no one undertook to contest the nomination with him. F. P. Brown was renominated for secretary of state over Ives, Berg, and four other candidates, the second ballot standing: Brown 387, Ives 222, Berg 72, Gibbons 14, Johnson 7. State Treasurer Bobleter was renominated without opposition. A brisk contest for the attorney generalship resulted in the success of H. W. Childs of Fergus Falls, who had served efficiently as assistant attorney general under Moses E. Clapp, and who received 387 votes to 251 for Nathan Kingsley of Mower and 32 for D. W. Burkhart of Stearns. By a vote of 437 ayes to 188 noes, it was resolved to renominate without a separate ballot the three supreme court judges, Mitchell, Vanderburgh, and Dickinson, whose terms were about to expire.

The Republicans adopted a long platform on state issues, declaring against trusts and combinations; in favor of laws to protect the health, life, and limb of all employes of corporations; in favor of arbitration for strikes and all labor disputes; of the exclusion of pauper immigrants; of free and open markets for farm products; of laws for cheap elevator facilities, and proper transportation facilities to market; of legislation to secure good country roads, and of the passage of Senator Washburn's anti-option bill, which was at that time creating a great deal of discussion in Congress and throughout the country. The convention declared unanimously in favor of the reelection of C. K. Davis to the United States Senate by the legislature to be chosen at the ensuing election.

The Democratic state convention met in Minneapolis on August 3d. Ramsey county had started a boom for Daniel W. Lawler, a popular young lawyer of St. Paul and an effective campaign orator. The convention nominated Lawler by acclamation, and with no mention of Thomas Wilson or E. D. Champlin, or of any other of the numerous possible



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candidates that had been discussed by the newspapers. The platform agreed with the Populists' platform in taking the part of the Homestead rioters. It denounced combinations between railroads and elevators, and charged them to Republican legislation. It demanded free and open markets at every station; complained of unequal tax laws; opposed the laws authorizing state leases of iron lands; favored six years for a presidential term and the election of President and Vice President and United States Senators by popular vote; and demanded the abolition of contract labor at the penitentiary.

Very soon after the convention of the new People's party, generally known as populists, had been held, the Farmers' Alliance organization began to disintegrate. General Baker formally withdrew from the canvass as candidate for governor. Other candidates for state offices fairly tumbled over each other in following his example. They had all been assessed fifty dollars apiece for campaign expenses, and none of them were willing to put up the money. Finally the Alliance central committee abandoned its rooms, and scattered each man to his own home. Without any formal action to that end, the whole Alliance party was merged into the Populist movement, nobody protesting, except here and there some ambitious local Alliance leader who had hoped to get into the legislature or to secure some county office.

The congressional districts in Minnesota were all closely contested in 1892. In the First district there were four candidates, Republican, Democrat, Populist, and Prohibitionist, and the result of the election was as follows: J. A. Tawney, Republican, 18,146; W. H. Harries, Democrat, 14,995; J. I. Vermilyea, Populist, 2,342; P. H. Harsh, Prohibitionist, 1,554; Tawney's plurality, 3,151. The vote in the Second district was as follows: J. T. McCleary, Republican, 18,207; W. S. Hammond, Democrat, 11,299; S. C. Long, Populist, 6,268; E. H. Brow, Prohibitionist, 1,833; McCleary's plurality, 6,908. Third district: J. P. Heatwole, Republican, 14,727; O. M. Hall, Democrat, 15,890; F. Borchert, Populist, 3,464; W. B. Reed, Prohibitionist, 1,314; Hall's plurality, 1,653. Fourth district: A. R. Kiefer, Republican, 16,624; J. N. Castle, Democrat, 13,435; J. G. Dougherty, Pop-

ulist, 2,213; David Morgan, Prohibitionist, 1,983; Kiefer's plurality, 3,189. Fifth district: Loren Fletcher, Republican, 18,463; J. W. Lawrence, Democrat, 15,960; Thomas W. Lucas, Populist, 3,151; J. T. Caton, Prohibitionist, 2,458; Fletcher's plurality, 2,547. Sixth district: D. R. Searle, Republican, 16,941; M. R. Baldwin, Democrat, 17,317; A. C. Parsons, Populist, 3,973; E. L. Cronal, Prohibitionist, 1,692; Baldwin's plurality, 376. Seventh district: Henry Feig, Republican, 12,529; H. E. Boen, Populist, 12,614; W. F. Keslo, Democrat, 7,536; L. F. Hampson, Prohibitionist, 2,731; Boen's plurality, 85. The Democrats elected their candidates in the Third and Sixth districts, and in the Seventh district the Populist candidate was successful by the narrow majority of 85 votes. All the other districts returned Republicans.

A portion of the Democratic electoral ticket was accepted by the Populists. The Presidential vote in Minnesota was as follows: Harrison, Republican, 122,823; Cleveland, Democrat, 100,920; Weaver, Populist, 29,313; Bidwell, Prohibitionist, 14,182. The Democrat and Populist fusion electors received 107,077 votes. For governor the vote was as follows: Nelson, Republican, 109,220; Lawler, Democrat, 94,600; Donnelly, Populist, 39,862; Dean, Prohibitionist, 12,239. Nelson ran 13,603 votes behind Harrison. Lawler ran 6,320 behind Cleveland. Donnelly ran ahead of Weaver, the Populist candidate for President, 10,551 votes. Notwithstanding this notable popularity of the Populist candidate for governor, it turned out on comparing his vote with that cast by the Farmer's Alliance for S. M. Owen for governor in 1890, that Donnelly was 18,651 votes short of the number received by Owen. So far as any gain of strength was concerned the capture of the Alliance movement by the new Populist party was a disastrous failure. The result of the election demonstrated the sagacity of the Republican leaders in calling on Knute Nelson to head their ticket. To a very great extent the Republican disaffection caused by the Alliance movement in all the western counties of the state was healed by Nelson's candidacy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM 1888 TO 1892 RE-ELECTION OF SENATOR DAVIS—RAPID GROWTH OF POPULISM IN MINNESOTA—RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR NELSON—SENATOR WASHBURN DEFEATED FOR RE-ELECTION BY NELSON

The tidal wave of Populism which ran high in 1892 came pretty close to depriving the Republicans of the control of the state legislature, which they had held ever since 1859. They were able to organize the State Senate only by the assistance of three Populist senators who were Farmers' Alliance men and had formerly acted with the Republican party. In the House the Republicans had a fair working majority, but when their caucus was held Allen J. Greer of Wabasha county and ten other Republicans absented themselves. Mr. Greer published a letter charging that the caucus had been set up in advance by promises of chairmanships and other House positions. W. E. Lee of Long Prairie was nominated for speaker, and at the election received 64 votes, which was only six more than was necessary for a choice. The Democrats cast their 29 votes for J. J. Furlong of Austin, and the Populists cast 11 votes for H. P. Bjorge. Four Republicans voted for Greer. In spite of the strong and almost unanimous declaration of the State Republican Convention the previous summer in favor of the re-election of C. K. Davis to the United States Senate an effort was made to make a combination against him, composed of a small minority of Republican members acting with the Democrats and Populists. For this effort the anti-Davis Republicans had the recent example of the combination which defeated Windom and elected Sabin, and also of the famous bolting movement in the earlier years which deprived Ramsey of his senatorial seat. This project made no headway, however, and in the Republican caucus twenty-one of the twenty-five Senators were present, and together with one Populist, voted for Davis; and of the members of the House all were present except eight, and three of the absentees sent word that they were in favor of Davis. No other candidate was nominated in the caucus. The Democrats caucused and nominated Daniel W. Lawler, and the Populists put up S. M. Owen for their candidate. Rumors of a

combination between the Democrats, Populists, and the few anti-Davis Republicans continued to be rife up to the time of the vote in joint convention of the two houses. In that assembly Davis was elected senator, receiving 55 votes to 49 for Lawler, 23 for Owen, 2 for Merriam, 2 for John Lind, 2 for Albert Scheffer, 2 for Moses E. Clapp, 1 for Judge Start, and 1 for Judge Dickinson. Davis had therefore only two more votes than the aggregate of votes cast against him.

× The new People's party, commonly called "Populists" or "Pops," felt considerably encouraged by their success two years before in swallowing the Farmers' Alliance and in making a big showing at the polls. They did not fail to note the fact, however, that their candidate for governor in 1892, the famous agitator, Ignatius Donnelly, had fallen far short of securing as many votes as were cast two years before for S. M. Owen, the candidate of the Farmers' Alliance movement. They rightly concluded that Mr. Donnelly's popularity with the electors of the state had reached its climax, and if they were to expect any further growth for their party they must drop him as their official leader, and they determined to offer the nomination to S. M. Owen. This movement among the Populists was a spontaneous one. The unexpectedly large vote cast for Owen in 1890 made it plain that he was the strongest man to lead the new party.

The Populist convention met in St. Paul on the same day that the Republican convention assembled. It nominated a full state ticket, headed by S. M. Owen for governor, all the other candidates being straight-out Populists, except the nominee for associate justice of the supreme court. For this place the convention selected John W. Willis, an old and prominent Democrat, who had been for a short time upon the district bench of Ramsey county, and who had shown a desire to cultivate the friendship of the labor organizations, and in numerous public utterances had developed a lean-

ing towards the distinguishing ideas of the People's party. Friends of Mr. Willis assured the Populists, that, if they would nominate him, the Democrats would indorse him, and he would thus beat the Republican nominee. In the platform of the Populists the tendency of this new movement towards state socialism was more strongly manifested than it had ever been before in the short lifetime of the organization. The resolutions declared for fifty dollars in currency *per capita* of population, all to be issued by the government; for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one; for government savings banks; for an income and inheritance tax; for government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and for the confiscation by the government of all railroad lands not used for operating purposes. They also favored a direct vote for President and Vice President and for United States Senators. There was the usual resolution for legislation to break up "combinations which plunder the farmer." Frauds in the sale of school lands and other state lands were charged upon the Republican administration. It was declared that there should be no double tax on mortgages; that ownership of real estate by nonresidents should be discouraged by legislation; that mining lands should be taxed, and that all tax payments should be semi-annual. The platform took positive ground in favor of woman suffrage, and of the nationalization of the liquor traffic and its management by the state. The great railroad strike had just been suppressed, and it was only to be expected that the Populist convention would, as it did, express sympathy with the strikers and opposition to the arrest of Debs, the strike leader.

The Republican convention, which met on July 11th, was much the largest state convention which ever assembled in Minnesota. The unit of representation had been fixed at so small a figure that 1,017 delegates were in attendance. The purpose of this important change was to bring the convention as close to the people as possible, and to discourage the practice of controlling county delegations by small cliques of active politicians. The ticket nominated was as follows: For governor, Knute Nelson of Douglas county; for lieutenant governor, D. M. Clough of Hennepin; for secretary

of state, Albert Berg of Chisago; for state auditor, Robert C. Dunn of Mille Lacs; for state treasurer, August T. Koerner of Meeker; for clerk of supreme court, Darius F. Reese of Ramsey; for chief justice, Chas. M. Start of Olmsted; for associate justice, L. W. Collins of Stearns. The convention was presided over by Lieutenant Governor Barto, and R. G. Horr, the eloquent Michigan congressman and orator, made a stirring address. Governor Nelson and Lieutenant Governor Clough were renominated by acclamation. For secretary of state there was an active contest, the first ballot resulting: F. P. Brown 191, Albert Berg 398, J. N. Peterson 339, Joseph E. Osborn 83. On the final ballot Mr. Berg had 566 votes and Mr. Peterson 445. For state auditor there was a still more animated contest, seven candidates being put in nomination. These were R. C. Dunn of Mille Lacs, L. P. Hunt of Blue Earth, W. W. Rich of Lyon, W. J. Morrow of Becker, C. A. Whited of Olmsted, S. G. Iverson of Fillmore, and P. J. McGuire of Polk. One ballot developed the fact that the real contest was between two prominent editors, L. P. Hunt of Mankato and R. C. Dunn of Princeton, and on the third ballot Mr. Dunn was the winner, obtaining 574 votes, to Hunt 411, Morrow 23, Iverson 1. There were five candidates for state treasurer—A. T. Koerner of Meeker, Julian A. Block of McLeod, W. H. Smith of Brown, H. Burkhardt of Wabasha and J. A. Ackerman of Carver. Koerner was nominated on the second ballot, by 668 votes, against 333 for Block. H. W. Childs of Otter Tail county was renominated for attorney general by acclamation. Another lively contest arose over the clerkship of the supreme court. The first ballot stood: O. B. Gould of Winona, 295; D. F. Reese of Ramsey, 327; J. L. Helm of Rock, 295; P. J. Schwartz of Dodge, 88; Donald McCullom of Big Stone, 88. On the third ballot Reese was successful, receiving 523 votes, against 461 for Gould and 26 for Helm. For the first time in many years there was a contest in a Republican convention over the nominations for justices of the supreme court. Chas. M. Start of Rochester was nominated for chief justice, receiving 729 votes to 287 for Charles Gilfillan of St. Paul. For associate justice the vote stood: L. W. Collins of Stearns, 759; Gorham Powers of

Yellow Medicine, 188; Calvin S. Brown of Morris, 49.

In the platform making of this year it was easy to be seen that the Republicans were influenced, as they had been ever since the rise of the Farmers' Alliance, by a desire to cover as many new issues as they possibly could consistently with their views as to the functions and duties of the government. The resolutions began with a positive declaration in favor of a protective tariff, coupled with reciprocal trade arrangements. On the currency question there was a plank going much further in the direction of free silver than the party had ever before been willing to go. This plank declared for bimetallism; for the substantial parity of every dollar with every other dollar; and for the "restoration of silver as ultimate money to the currency of the world as necessary for business prosperity, proper rates of wages, and the welfare of the people." The Democrats were condemned for their repeal of the Federal election laws. The old stock resolution of opposition to trusts and monopolies was readopted with some change of verbiage; and also the one in favor of ample legal protection for the health, life, and limb of employes, and for tribunals of conciliation for the arbitration of labor disputes. There was also a repetition of the oft-adopted declaration in favor of ample elevator and warehouse accommodations, and convenient transportation to markets for farmers' grain. Another resolution favored public control of the telegraph, telephone, railroads, and railroad companies, and all corporations or individuals performing any public service. A liberal pension policy was advocated; the taxation by ordinary methods of railroad lands in place of the gross earnings tax was demanded, and also a six years' presidential term. The platform concluded with an indorsement of Governor Nelson, Senator Davis, and Senator Washburn, and all Republican members of Congress.

The Democrats waited until September 5th before holding their state convention. A large majority of the delegates were opposed to any effort at a general fusion with the Populists. For governor an old Democratic war-horse, Geo. L. Becker of St. Paul, was nominated. State Auditor Biermann, elected four years before by a combination of

the Farmers' Alliance and Democrats, was renominated. The convention nominated Judge John W. Willis for associate justice of the supreme court, thus accepting the proffer of the Populists for a union upon one candidate on the state ticket. The platform reported was so short and pointless that the convention was disposed to send it back to the committee, and it was finally reënforced by four or five additional resolutions. As completed it declared for the free coinage of silver whenever it could be accomplished consistently with the maintenance of a sound and safe currency; for a popular vote for United States Senators; for the investment of public moneys in municipal and school securities; for the taxation of railroad lands, mineral lands and mines, and for arbitration for labor disputes. It indorsed the Democratic tariff bill recently passed by Congress, and denounced the anti-Catholic organization known as the "A. P. A."

The Democratic party made a very feeble fight in the campaign of 1894, and before the contest was well advanced it was evident that the real struggle was between the Republicans and the Populists, and that the Democrats were going to play, for the first time in the history of Minnesota, the inconspicuous role of a third party organization. The Prohibitionists put their ticket in the field as usual, but their movement had culminated four years before, and there was everywhere a falling off in their vote. Governor Nelson went upon the stump in all parts of the state, and made an extraordinarily effective attack upon the theories of the Populists. He was greatly aided by the active canvass of the Republican nominees for Congress, and especially by that of Mr. McCleary in the Third district, Mr. Tawney in the First, Mr. Eddy in the Seventh, and Mr. Heatwole in the Fourth. In the Sixth district Mr. Towne, who took the silver resolution of the Republican state convention rather too literally, made a successful fight. The result of the state election was an overwhelming Republican victory. Governor Nelson received 147,943 votes, or about 5,000 more than the highest Republican vote ever before polled—that for Harrison in 1888. Sidney M. Owen, the Populist candidate for governor, received 87,890 votes, an increase of 48,038 over Donnelly's vote in 1892. Geo. L. Becker, Democrat,



KNUTE NELSON

Twelfth Governor of Minnesota—United States Senator.

received only 53,584 votes, a smaller vote than had been cast for any candidate for governor since 1881, and during the thirteen years that had elapsed since that time the voting population of the state had almost trebled. The Prohibition candidate was Hans H. Hilleboe, who polled 6,832 votes, only about half the vote given for Dean, Prohibitionist, in 1892, and only one-third of the vote cast for Harrison, Prohibitionist, in 1888.

In all the seven congressional districts the Democrats and Populists ran separate candidates. In the First district the vote was as follows: James A. Tawney, Republican, 22,651; John Moonan, Democrat, 10,479; Thos. G. Meighan, Populist, 4,675; I. Horcutt, Prohibitionist, 1,254; Tawney's plurality, 12,172. Second district: James H. McCleary, Republican, 23,136; James H. Baker, Democrat, 7,857; L. C. Long, Populist, 10,341; H. S. Kellum, Prohibitionist, 1,480; McCleary's plurality, 12,795. Third district: J. P. Heatwole, Republican, 19,461; O. M. Hall, Democrat, 14,193; J. M. Bowler, Populist, 4,988; L. W. Chaney, Prohibitionist, 948; Heatwole's plurality, 5,268. Fourth district: Andrew R. Kiefer, Republican, 20,573; Edward J. Darragh, Democrat, 10,168; Francis H. Clarke, Populist, 5,055; David Morgan, Prohibitionist, 589; Kiefer's plurality, 10,405. Fifth district: Loren Fletcher, Republican, 20,465; O. T. Erickson, Democrat, 11,506; E. F. Clark, Populist, 7,043; T. S. Reimstad, Prohibitionist, 1,039; Fletcher's plurality, 8,959. Sixth district: Chas. A. Towne, Republican, 25,487; M. R. Baldwin, Democrat, 15,836; Kittel Halvorson, Populist, 6,475; Towne's plurality, 9,651. Seventh district: Frank M. Eddy, Republican, 18,200; Thos. M. McLean, Democrat, 3,486; H. E. Boen, Populist, 17,408; Ole Kron, Prohibitionist, 2,726; Eddy's plurality, 792. The Republicans thus made a clean sweep of all the congressional districts. They won their victory in the state by a thorough campaign of argument carried on in the newspapers and on the stump. At the close of the contest when the results were obtained, it was the general opinion among the Republicans that the rising tide of Populism, with all its socialistic tendencies and its effort to array debtors against creditors, laborers against employers, and men of no property against property-owners, had been effectively

checked, and that a rapid recession of this movement would be the most marked feature of succeeding campaigns in Minnesota. As to the Democrats, they played a rather contemptible part in this canvass. They would have deserved some credit for withstanding the temptation of a fusion with the Populists if they had not attempted to break down the established principle of nonpartisanship in the state judiciary by indorsing the Populist candidate for the supreme court bench, John W. Willis. Their combination with the Populists on this single candidate on the state ticket was of no avail, for the joint vote of the two parties gave Mr. Willis only 113,019 votes, whereas the Republican nominee, Judge Collins, received 162,701 votes, his majority over Willis being 49,682; a much larger majority than Judge Start received for the chief justiceship.

The great Republican victory of 1894 produced as one of its results a legislature that was overwhelmingly Republican in both branches. Of the 168 members 142 were elected as straight Republicans. This legislature had the duty of electing a United States Senator. During the campaign no candidate announced himself in opposition to the reelection of Senator Wm. D. Washburn. The question was not brought up in the county conventions, and it seemed to be the general understanding throughout the state that Washburn would meet with no opposition. The only possible competitor concerning whom the senator felt any apprehensions was Governor Nelson, but Nelson had assured him that he was not a candidate for the place, and in a public meeting at Albert Lea he had repeated this declaration. Washburn interpreted the governor's remark at the Albert Lea meeting as an assurance that he would under no circumstances be a candidate, and went on to the meeting of Congress in December with full confidence that there was no trouble brewing for him at home. So absolute was his sense of security that he came very near going to California during the holiday recess, as a member of a special Senate committee charged with making certain researches in that state. Letters from home arrived in time to warn him that all would not be smooth sailing at the approaching session, and he returned to Minnesota to find that instead of having no competitor

there were three active and popular men in the field against him. The first to enter the contest was ex-Congressman S. G. Comstock of Moorhead, a man of marked ability and of considerable popularity in the northern part of the state. Then Professor McCleary, the congressman from the Second district, announced himself, and promised for a time to become formidable. He had made a brilliant campaign against the financial heresies of the Populists, and was regarded throughout the state as one of the ablest men in the congressional delegation. Finally, immediately after the legislature met, Governor Nelson declared without any hesitancy that he was himself a candidate. The *Minneapolis Tribune* made a vehement attack upon Nelson, charging him with a breach of good faith towards Washburn. Nelson himself made no reply to this attack, but his friends promptly came to his rescue in the newspapers with the argument that he was sincere in saying during the canvass that he was not a candidate, but that this declaration did not preclude him from entering the contest under a change of circumstances. An exceedingly bitter feeling arose between the friends of Washburn and Nelson. For an entire month the contest raged in St. Paul, and from day to day announcements were made on the part of the managers of the Nelson canvass and the Washburn canvass that one or the other had gained the promise of certain legislative votes.

A Republican caucus was held on January 19th, at which there were six ballots taken. The result of the first ballot was: Washburn 61, Nelson 45, Comstock 14, McCleary 14, scattering 17. On the sixth ballot Nelson's strength ran up to 60 and Washburn fell off to 55; Comstock had 14, McCleary 8, and there were 3 scattering. The caucus adjourned Friday night without reaching any result or fixing any time for reassembling. The Nelson men made strenuous efforts to secure another caucus, but could not bring this about, and under the act of Congress regulating senatorial elections the two houses voted separately on January 22d with the following result: Senate—Nelson 17, Washburn 22, Comstock 3, McCleary 1, McHale 2, Donnelly 5, Pillsbury 1, Dickinson 1, absent 1. House—Nelson 45, Washburn 32, Comstock 10, McCleary

7, McHale 9, Donnelly 8, Tawney 1, Buckman 1, absent 2. The Democrats divided their votes between Donnelly and McHale. On the next day, in compliance with the law, the two houses met in joint convention, and the long and acrimonious controversy was settled by a single ballot, which resulted as follows: Nelson 102, Washburn 36, Comstock 9, McCleary 2, Lind 1, Donnelly 13, Mitchell 4, absent 1. Nelson had 17 votes more than were necessary to an election.

The principal cause of the unexpected defeat of Senator Washburn for reelection was his want of positive popularity in the rural counties of the state. He had the city of Minneapolis and the county of Hennepin solidly at his back, but he had never taken pains to cultivate the friendship of the country politicians. Engaged in large affairs in Minneapolis, his time during the vacations of Congress had been devoted to his business interests. There was no attack made upon his record at Washington. It was acknowledged on all hands that he had made a very competent, intelligent, useful, and influential senator; that he stood high in the national council of the Republican party, and that he had never failed to exert himself earnestly and effectively to serve the interests of his constituents. Nelson's great strength lay in the fact that he was looked upon as a man of the people. Possessing no fortune, he had made his way from poverty and obscurity up to the governorship of Minnesota by his own ability and merits. Another influence had considerable effect in aiding Nelson to defeat Washburn. A strong political element in St. Paul had concluded that the restlessness of the country districts under the long possession of the two senatorships by the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis would, in case of the election of Washburn, continue to increase, and would result, when Davis's term should expire four years later, in the choice of a man from the northern or western part of the state to fill his place. In order, therefore, to keep one of the senatorial seats secure for St. Paul, this influence, under the lead of ex-Governor Merriam, sided with Nelson, and was a potent factor in accomplishing Washburn's defeat.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896 IN MINNESOTA—RENOMINATION OF GOVERNOR CLOUGH.

An account of the Davis presidential movement in 1896 finds its proper place in the state division of this history, from the fact that the movement, although it promised at one time to grow into national importance, was prevented from spreading outside the limits of Minnesota by the force of the great upheaval of popular sentiment for William McKinley of Ohio. Senator Davis's ringing telegram to the Duluth sympathizers with the great railway strike of 1894, in which he insisted on obedience to law and the preservation of order, won the hearty commendations of leading newspapers throughout the country and brought him at once into national prominence. These commendations, together with his record in the Senate and the pronounced Americanism of his views on public questions, led his friends at home to regard him as an available candidate for the Presidency, and in 1895 the Republican newspapers of St. Paul formally entered him for the race. At that time the prospect looked favorable for a Western candidate, who could enter the convention with the hearty support of his own state and a few neighboring states, and who could command the respect and confidence of Eastern delegations. It then seemed likely that the contest would be at the start a doubtful one, with a number of candidates in the field of nearly equal strength. Early in the winter of 1895-96 the supporters of Davis counted confidently on the solid vote of Minnesota, reinforced by a considerable contingent from other Western States. As the time for choosing delegates drew near, however, the sentiment for McKinley grew into the proportion of a tidal wave. Of the five district conventions held in Minnesota prior to the meeting of the state convention, three declared positively for McKinley, and in Davis's own district, the Fourth, the resolution adopted instructed the delegates to the St. Louis convention to support Davis, provided they could do so without injuring McKinley's chances for the nomination. Under these circumstances Senator Davis wisely withdrew his name,

in the following telegram sent to Congressman Tawney on the morning of the convention:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24, 1896.

I am bound to, always did, and do, most loyally respect the wishes of the people of Minnesota; for that reason I request that my name be not considered in the deliberations of the Minneapolis convention. Give all my friends my most enduring and heartfelt thanks.

Minnesota Republicans should, in my opinion, declare against the United States undertaking the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one; should also declare for a protective tariff that will encourage, secure, and perpetuate domestic production of everything agricultural, mining or manufactured that we can produce or make—that will, in consequence, cause steady employment to be given to the American wage earner at wages adequate to the American standard of living; that will also pledge the Republican party to protect American industry and manhood against the competition now threatening them from the Orient, particularly Japan. That will also, by provisions for reciprocity, enlarge our foreign commerce with nations who produce what we cannot produce; that will also assert the policy of the United States as declared by James Monroe and by every one of our statesmen since; that will also declare that the people of Cuba ought to be recognized as belligerents; that will also declare for coast defenses and such other naval and military preparation as will surely make us able to secure peace by our manifest invincibility in war.

C. K. DAVIS.

The convention was the largest gathering of delegates ever held by the Republicans of Minnesota. On the vote for temporary chairman 1,132 delegates responded. Ex-Lieut. Gov. A. E. Rice was chosen by 632 votes against 500 cast for ex-Lieut. Gov. G. S. Ives. The contest was good-natured, and there were no motives in it other than those of local and personal preference. No contest arose over the delegates at large to the national convention or the presidential electors. The convention was in all its proceedings singularly enthusiastic and harmonious.

The following delegates at large were selected by acclamation: Robert G. Evans of Hennepin, George Thompson of Ramsey, L. P. Hunt of Blue Earth, Charles F. Hendryx of Stearns. Alternates—Burger Thurstonson, Wright county; Ira C. Richardson, Polk county; Capt. A. H. Reed, Glencoe; James Diment, Steele county. The electoral ticket nominated was

as follows: At large, T. B. Walker of Hennepin and E. G. Holmes of Becker; First district, Burdette Thayer of Fillmore; Second district, Charles H. Budd of Chippewa; Third district, James Quirk of Le Sueur; Fourth district, V. D. Eddy of Chisago; Fifth district, C. A. Smith of Hennepin; Sixth district, Warren Potter of Aitkin; Seventh district, Horace R. Brown of Douglas.

The convention in its resolutions took positive ground on all the chief political issues of the time. Its declaration on the money question was strong and unequivocal in its opposition to the free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one and its demand for the maintenance of all kinds of money at par with gold. The following was the platform adopted:

"The Republicans of Minnesota, in convention assembled, renew their fealty to the principles of the Republican party, which has brought honor and prosperity to the nation in the past, and is the hope of the people to relieve them from the Democratic distress of the present. We submit the following declarations of principle:

"We favor the use of both gold and silver to the extent to which they can be maintained in circulation at a parity in purchasing and debt-paying power; and we are earnestly opposed, under the present conditions, to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, for the manifest reason that it would destroy such parity, greatly contract the volume of our currency by forcing gold out of circulation, and immediately place us on a silver basis. Believing, also, that it is a self-evident fact that the effect of the international demonetization of silver can be overcome only by international remonetization of that metal, the Republican party of Minnesota most heartily favors an international conference for that purpose.

"The Republicans of Minnesota, in convention assembled, rejoice in the near approach of the day when, with the restoration of the Republican party to power in all branches of the government, will return the prosperity which terminated in 1892. In the language of him whose memory is enshrined in the heart of every Republican, we are in favor of a "tariff duty on foreign importations, producing suf-

ficient revenue for the support of the government, and so adjusted as to protect American industries." We demand the restoration of the principle of reciprocity as a national policy, and favor as the logical correlative of our protective tariff laws such treaty stipulations with foreign countries as will provide a profitable market for our surplus products and enable us to buy from them on terms mutually advantageous.

"The Republicans of Minnesota, in convention assembled, assert their belief in the policy of the United States as declared by James Monroe and by every one of our statesmen since. They also declare their conviction that the people of Cuba ought to be recognized as belligerents. Believing thoroughly in the doctrine of arbitration between nations, they nevertheless advocate a sufficient system of coast defenses and such other naval and military precautions as will surely make us able to secure peace by our manifest invincibility in war.

"Resolved, That Cushman K. Davis is to-day, as he has been for years, dear to the hearts of the Republicans of Minnesota. We are justly proud of his preëminent ability, his statesmanship, his integrity, and his high standing in the country. Under other circumstances we would be glad and proud to present, at this time, his name to the Republican party of the Union as our first and only choice for President; but, in view of the general sentiment of the Republicans of this state, and of the country at large, that William McKinley of Ohio is the man of all others to lead the Republican party to victory and the country to prosperity, we declare that William McKinley is our choice, and request the delegates from this state to do all in their power to secure his selection as the standard-bearer of the Republican party of the United States in the campaign of 1896."

The Minnesota delegation to the National Republican Convention of 1896 was composed of the following gentlemen: Delegates at large, C. F. Hendryx of Sauk Center, L. P. Hunt of Mankato, Geo. Thompson of St. Paul, R. G. Evans of Minneapolis. District delegates—First, A. D. Gray of Preston and L. S. Swenson of Albert Lea; Second, W. R. Edwards



DAVID M. CLOUGH

Thirteenth Governor of Minnesota.



THE POPULAR VOTE IN MINNESOTA AT EACH
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SINCE THE FOR-
MATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.



PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN MINNESOTA.

1860.		1880.	
Abraham Lincoln, Republican.....	22,069	James A. Garfield, Republican.....	93,903
S. A. Douglas, Independent Democrat....	11,920	W. S. Hancock, Democrat.....	53,315
J. C. Breckinridge, Democrat.....	748	James B. Weaver, Greenback.....	3,267
John Bell, Constitutional Union.....	62	Scattering	286
	————— 34,799		————— 150,771
1864.		1884.	
Abraham Lincoln, Republican.....	25,060	Grover Cleveland, Democrat.....	70,065
Geo. B. McClellan, Democrat.....	17,375	James G. Blaine, Republican.....	111,685
	————— 42,435	St. John, Prohibition.....	4,684
1868.		Benjamin F. Butler, Greenback.....	3,583
U. S. Grant, Republican.....	43,545		————— 190,017
Horatio Seymour, Democrat.....	28,075	1888.	
	————— 71,620	B. H. Harrison, Republican.....	142,492
1872.		Grover Cleveland, Democrat.....	104,385
U. S. Grant, Republican.....	55,117	Fisk, Prohibition	15,311
Horace Greeley, Democrat and Lib. Rep..	34,423	Streeter, Union Labor.....	1,004
Black, Temperance	1,271		————— 263,282
	————— 90,811	1892.	
1876.		Grover Cleveland, Democrat.....	100,920
R. B. Hayes, Republican.....	72,955	B. H. Harrison, Republican.....	122,823
S. J. Tilden, Democrat.....	48,587	James B. Weaver, People's Party.....	29,313
Peter Cooper, Greenback.....	2,389	John Bidwell, Prohibition.....	12,182
G. C. Smith, Temperance.....	72		————— 265,238
	————— 124,003	James B. Weaver (fusion vote).....	107,077



THE POPULAR GUBERNATORIAL VOTE IN MINNE-
SOTA AT EACH ELECTION SINCE ITS
ADMISSION INTO THE UNION.



VOTE FOR GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA.

1857.			1877.		
Henry H. Sibley, Democrat.....	17,790		J. S. Pillsbury, Republican.....	57,071	
Alexander Ramsey, Republican.....	17,550		W. L. Banning, Democrat.....	39,147	
		35,340	Wm. Meigher, Greenback.....	2,396	
					98,614
1859			1879.		
Alexander Ramsey, Republican.....	21,335		J. S. Pillsbury, Republican.....	57,524	
George L. Becker, Democrat.....	17,582		Edmund Rice, Democrat.....	41,524	
		38,917			99,048
1861			1881.		
Alexander Ramsey, Republican.....	16,274		L. F. Hubbard, Republican.....	65,025	
E. O. Hamblin, Democrat.....	10,448		R. W. Johnson, Democrat.....	37,168	
		26,722			102,193
1863.			1883.		
Stephen Miller, Republican.....	19,628		L. F. Hubbard, Republican.....	72,462	
H. T. Welles, Democrat.....	12,739		A. Biermann, Democrat.....	58,251	
		32,467			130,713
1865.			1886.		
W. R. Marshall, Republican.....	17,318		A. R. McGill, Republican.....	107,064	
H. M. Rice, Democrat.....	13,842		A. A. Ames, Democrat.....	104,464	
		31,160	James E. Child, Prohibition.....	9,030	
					220,558
1867.			1888.		
W. R. Marshall, Republican.....	34,874		W. R. Merriam, Republican.....	134,355	
C. E. Flandrau, Democrat.....	29,502		Eugene M. Wilson, Democrat.....	110,251	
		64,376	Hugh Harrison, Prohibition.....	17,026	
					261,632
1869.			1890.		
Horace Austin, Republican.....	27,348		W. R. Merriam, Republican.....	88,111	
George L. Otis, Democrat.....	25,401		Thomas Wilson, Democrat.....	85,844	
Daniel Cobb, Prohibition.....	1,764		S. M. Owen, Alliance.....	58,513	
		54,513	James P. Pinkham, Prohibition.....	8,424	
					240,892
1871.			1892.		
H. Austin, Republican.....	46,950		Knute Nelson, Republican.....	100,220	
Winthrop Young, Democrat.....	30,376		Daniel W. Lawler, Democrat.....	94,600	
Samuel Mayall, Prohibition.....	814		Ignatius Donnelly, People's.....	39,862	
		78,140	William J. Dean, Prohibition.....	12,239	
					255,921
1873.			1894.		
C. K. Davis, Republican.....	40,741		Knute Nelson, Republican.....	147,943	
A. Barton, Democrat.....	35,245		S. M. Owen, People's.....	87,800	
S. Mayall, Prohibition.....	1,036		Geo. L. Becker, Democrat.....	53,584	
		77,022	H. S. Hilleboe, Prohibition.....	6,832	
					296,249
1875.					
J. S. Pillsbury, Republican.....	47,073				
D. L. Buell, Democrat.....	35,275				
R. F. Humiston, Prohibition.....	1,669				
		84,017			

PART III.



BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADING MINNESOTA REPUBLICANS.

BIOGRAPHIES

OF

LEADING MINNESOTA REPUBLICIANS.

RAMSEY, ALEXANDER.—Governor Ramsey has done as much, if not more, than any other public man known to the history of this region to advance its development. While not one of its earliest pioneers, he came here in the beginning of the country's settlement, and since his residence with us his life has been spent in successful efforts to promote the material and social interests of the country. In truth his devotion to the public welfare was made so conspicuous that he soon won, and has since retained, the esteem and respect of the entire community. He was born in Dauphin county, near the city of Harrisburg, Pa., on the 8th of September, 1815, his father (also of Pennsylvania birth), being of Scotch-Irish lineage and his mother of German stock, a combination which could hardly escape transmitting to their children those elements best calculated to make useful men and women. His mother's family name was Kelker. He was left an orphan at an early age, and, up to his twelfth year, was under the care of his mother's uncle, Frederick Kelker, who employed him occasionally in his store at Harrisburg. At twelve he went into the register of deed's office, to acquire a knowledge of clerical duties. During the next ten years he attended school, and spent some time in college at Easton, Pa. Subsequently he studied in the law office of Hamilton Alricks in Harrisburg, and closing his legal education with two years in the law school at Carlisle, was admitted to practice in 1839, when he was twenty-two years of age.



ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

Soon after his admission to the bar he became engaged in politics, being at that time an enthusiastic Whig, and was an effective laborer in the campaign of 1840, which resulted in the election of Gen. Wm. H. Harrison to the Presidency. When the campaign closed he was made secretary of the electoral college which cast the vote of the Keystone State for the hero of Tippecanoe. In 1842 he was elected to represent his district in the Twenty-eighth Congress, a position held by him during two terms. Although a young man and a new member, he made his mark in the proceedings of the first session in which he took part, becoming noted for his capacity for work, for the excellence of his judgment, and for his unwavering reliability. The following year he was elected chairman of the Whig State Central Committee, and rendered brilliant service in the campaign resulting in the election of Gen. Zachary Taylor to the Presidency. In 1849 the Territory of Minnesota, embracing all the country between the western confines of Wisconsin to the Missouri river, was organized, and Alexander Ramsey was named by President Taylor as its governor. This was a most honorable position, but it imposed duties requiring a large measure of sagacity. The governor at that time was also Indian superintendent for all the Indians within the boundaries of the territory, embracing, in this instance, Sioux, Chippewas, and Winnebagoes. It was his duty to keep himself informed of the condition of affairs at the several agencies, hear all com-

plaints, adjust disputes, and by correspondence keep himself constantly in touch with the bureau at Washington; and do all this in addition to his duties as governor of the territory, the governmental machinery of which he must himself adjust and put in operation. The position required a man of comprehensive mind, sound judgment, and superior executive ability, but Governor Ramsey proved himself equal to all these complex and difficult demands, and administered the affairs of the territory satisfactorily to all concerned. He entered upon the discharge of the duties



ALONZO T. STEBBINS.

of this office on the 1st of June, 1849, converting a small room in the St. Paul House (the only hotel in the city) into an office for the occasion, and from there was issued his proclamation announcing the organization of the territorial government. His associates in this work were Charles K. Smith, secretary; Aaron Goodrich, chief justice; David Cooper, associate justice; and H. L. Moss, district attorney.

Eleven days afterwards the governor organized three judicial districts and made provision for the election of members of the first legislature. In his message to that

body he suggested a petition asking Congress to extend the preëmption laws to the unsurveyed lands, and to limit the sales of public lands to actual settlers, both of which requests were favorably replied to by the national legislature, and the evil of nonresident land-ownership was measurably averted from this part of the country. He also hastened the conclusion of treaties with the Indians, thus securing the early opening of the lands on the west side of the Mississippi to white settlers.

Mr. Ramsey held the position of territorial governor until 1853, when he was superseded by Willis A. Gorman. In 1855 he was elected mayor of St. Paul, and in 1857 he was the Republican candidate for governor of the new state, which had been admitted in 1858, but he was beaten by Henry H. Sibley, as was believed at the time because of the wonderful facility with which the Indians, under control of Democratic superintendents and agents, were civilized sufficiently to become voters. From 1857 till 1860 Governor Ramsey was not in any official position, but continued to be an active and public-spirited citizen and an efficient politician. In January of the latter year he took his seat as governor of the state, having been elected the previous year. This position he held for two terms of two years each, being reelected in 1861.

It was during this period that his services to his country were most important. When the Rebellion occurred he entered promptly upon the work of its suppression, so far as was consistent with the duty of the chief executive of a state, and it was mainly through his energy that Minnesota became entitled to the credit of getting the first regiment into the field. Upon his shoulders also fell the task of originating measures to quell the Sioux rebellion of 1862, and defend the frontier settlers from those merciless savages. With what excellent judgment and untiring energy he acted, in fitting out troops to operate against them and in calling upon the general government to further chastise them, are matters of record.

In January, 1863, before the expiration of his gubernatorial term, he was elected United States Senator in place of Henry M. Rice, and served in that capacity until 1875. From the last mentioned date until 1879 he was again out of office, but was frequently consulted concerning public affairs, and exercised a powerful, though quiet, influence in their management. In 1879 President Hayes called him to the Secretaryship of the War Department, which he held until the close of that administration. In 1882 he accepted, at the solicitation of President Arthur, a membership in the Utah commission, appointed in conformity with a law known as the Edmunds law. This work occupied him four years. Since that time he has been permitted to rest upon his laurels, won in forty-four years of almost continuous public service.

This sketch would not be complete did it omit to mention that in 1845 Mr. Ramsey married Miss Anna Earl Jenks, daughter of Hon. Michael Earl Jenks, for many years a judge of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and at one time a fellow member of Congress with Mr. Ramsey. The issue of this marriage were two sons, who died in infancy, and one daughter, who became the wife of Charles Elliot Furness of Philadelphia, and is still living. Mrs. Ramsey was a woman of great beauty and queenly bearing, her strength of character and charm of manner undoubtedly contributing largely to her husband's success in life. Her death, which was mourned by a very wide circle of friends, and, indeed, by the entire community of St. Paul, occurred on the 29th of November, 1884, at their residence in this city, where the bereaved husband, yet in fairly vigorous health, although in the eightieth year of his age, still abides, awaiting the summons to join her on the further side of the dark river.



STEBBINS, ALONZO T.—Alonzo T. Stebbins of Rochester, one of the strong members of the Senate of 1895, was born at Mansfield, Mass., Sept. 21, 1847. His father, Thos. W. Stebbins, came of French stock, his original ancestors being Huguenots. They came from England to America about 1834. His grandfather served in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812. Thomas Stebbins moved to Keene, N. H., when the subject of this sketch was three years old. At Keene young Stebbins was preparing to enter the high school when, at ten years old, his parents moved with him to Minnesota, settling on a farm in Winona county. He entered the high school at Winona, and attended four winters. At seventeen he went to Boston, where he entered Bryant & Stratton's Commercial College, from which he graduated. Returning to Minnesota, he engaged in a hardware store as a clerk and afterward became book-keeper for a wheat firm at Winona. In 1871 he established a hardware store at Rochester, of which he is still proprietor.

In the fall of 1888 he was elected to the House of the state legislature from the Fourteenth senatorial district. He became chairman of the House committee on insane hospitals. In that capacity he did much to promote the building up of the Fergus Falls hospital, among other things procuring a large appropriation for that purpose. In the fall of 1894 he was elected to the Senate, and in that body was made chairman of the committee on insane hospitals. He drew up and secured the passage of the bill for a fourth insane hospital, for which an appropriation of \$15,000 was made, \$50,000 having been asked. He was also a member of the special joint committee on appropriations. As a legislator Mr. Stebbins has a keen

sense of public needs, is active in his efforts to gratify them, and has excellent judgment in carrying through his ends.

Jonathan Stebbins, great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, enlisted in the Continental army when he was fifteen years old, and served till the end of the Revolutionary War; then drew a pension for the remainder of his life. Senator Stebbins's mother was originally Miss Harriet Blandin of Massachusetts. He was married to Miss Adelaide Stebbins of Vermont. They have two children.



HENRY A. CASTLE.

CASTLE, HENRY ANSON.—Henry A. Castle was born near Quincy, Ill., in 1841, both his parents being natives of Vermont. He was trained to mercantile pursuits by his father, and afterwards received a collegiate education, graduating in 1862. He immediately enlisted as a private in the Seventy-third Illinois Volunteers; after serving three months was made sergeant major of the regiment; was severely wounded in the battle of Stone's River, and finally discharged. When his wound healed he raised a company for the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Illinois, which he commanded as captain during its term of service.

In the meantime he studied law, was admitted to practice by the supreme court of Illinois, and opened an office in Quincy. But a severe attack of hemorrhage of the lungs, in 1866, obliged him to abandon the law and seek a healthier climate.

He arrived in St. Paul in July, 1866, and at once selected it as his future home—having married at the close of the war in 1865. In 1868 his health had so far recovered as to permit a resumption of business, and he established in St. Paul the wholesale stove depot of Comstock, Castle & Co.,



ROBERT H. SENG.

which he successfully conducted for six years. He then reëmbarked in the legal profession, but in 1876 was chosen editor-in-chief of the *St. Paul Dispatch*, a pursuit more in accord with his tastes and inclinations. He conducted the *Dispatch* for nearly nine years, most of the time being both editor and publisher. In 1885 he sold the *Dispatch*.

Captain Castle has always been an active Republican; has been a delegate to most of the district and state conventions since 1868, and an orator in all the leading campaigns. In 1872 he was president of the St. Paul Central Grant and Wilson Club, in which H. R. Brill, W. D. Cor-

nish, C. K. Davis, and other live "young Republicans" were also officers. In 1873 he was a member of the Minnesota legislature, and the same year he took a leading part in the movement which resulted in electing C. K. Davis governor. Governor Davis appointed him adjutant general in 1875, and he held over a part of Governor Pillsbury's first term. In 1883 he was appointed state oil inspector by Governor Hubbard, and held four years. He was secretary or treasurer of the Republican state central committee a greater part of the time from 1875 to 1883. In 1884 he was made chairman of that committee, and in that capacity conducted the famous Blaine and Logan campaign in this state. All through his career as editor of the *Dispatch* he was a supporter of C. K. Davis, and has been recognized throughout the state as one of the senator's trusted champions.

Captain Castle has held many honorary positions, involving labor and responsibility, gratuitously contributed for more or less public service. Among these have been president of the St. Paul Library Association two years; director St. Paul Chamber of Commerce twenty-three years; department commander Grand Army of the Republic three years; president Minnesota Editorial Association two years; secretary Minnesota Soldiers' Orphans' Home seven years; president Board of Trustees Minnesota Soldiers' Home nine years; commander of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion for the State of Minnesota. He is a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, being a great-grandson of Jonathan Hastings, a Massachusetts soldier.

On March 1, 1882, Captain Castle became postmaster of St. Paul, under a commission signed by President Harrison. He held the office beyond the expiration of his four years' term, and his successor has not been appointed at this writing. Although serving for nearly his entire term under a Democratic administration, with which he could not, as a Republican, be in any sort of political sympathy, his ability and fidelity commanded the respect and confidence of his superiors in the Postoffice Department, and he was frequently called to Washington for consultation on important questions relating to the efficiency and organization of the postal service.



SENG, ROBERT H.—Robert H. Seng was born Dec. 31, 1860, in the city of St. Paul, where he has since lived. His father and mother, both of whom are living, were of German birth, and came to this country shortly before the war. They were married in Bethlehem, Pa., and soon moved to St. Paul. William Seng, the father, was a native of Saxony and a potter by trade. His independent spirit rebelled against the enforced military service of the country; and, disregarding all claims, he cut loose from the army and took passage for America.

Reaching St. Paul with forty cents, a kit of tools, and a strong determination to succeed, he started out as a plasterer and bricklayer, and soon acquired enough to get a little home. Later he went into business as a dealer in brick, lime, etc.

Robert H. Seng obtained his education in the Jefferson school of his native city, and in Professor Faddis's business college. His early ambition was to be an engineer, but from this his father dissuaded him. He then learned the barber's trade, and for five years followed it with good financial results, when the sickness of his father caused him to abandon the tonsorial chair to assist in the lime and brick business.

In 1889 he opened a retail boot and shoe store at the Seven Corners, under the firm name of Seng & Oertel, which he conducted successfully for over four years, when he sold out and bought an interest in the St. Paul Lake Ice Company. He was chosen vice president of the company, and still holds that office.

Mr. Seng is a Republican by inheritance. The father's early ambition to enter the Union army and help free the slaves still influences the son. In 1892 Mr. Seng was elected county commissioner, and he was reelected in 1894. In 1892 he was one of only two Republicans elected on the whole ticket, and in 1894 he received more votes than any other man elected. May 15, 1895, he resigned the office of county commissioner and entered upon the duties of county assessor of Ramsey county.

For six years Mr. Seng was an active member of Company D, Minnesota Guards, to which he devoted much time and effort. He also belongs to the Elks, Druids, Knights of Pythias, and Junior Pioneers. On Oct. 12, 1887, he was joined in marriage to Miss Katherine Hardy. Three children have resulted from this union, two of whom are living, Arthur and Edna, eight and six years of age respectively.

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MCCLEARY, JAMES THOMPSON.—J. T. McCleary, representative in Congress from the Second Minnesota district, was born at Ingersoll, in the Province of Ontario, Feb. 5, 1853. His father, Thompson McCleary, was an architect and builder. His mother's maiden name was Sarah McCutcheon. He has always been a hard and careful student. He was educated at the high school in his native town, and at McGill University in Montreal. In October, 1870, Mr. McCleary came to the United States. He engaged in teaching in Wisconsin, and in a few years his abilities as an educator were recognized by his election to the position of superintendent of public schools in Pierce county, in that

state. He took an active interest in teachers' institute work, and his reputation as a zealous and progressive educator spread beyond the boundaries of his own state. In 1881 he resigned his superintendency to accept the position of state institute conductor of Minnesota and professor of history and civics in the state normal school at Mankato. He held that position until June, 1892. During the summer vacations he conducted institutes in Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Virginia, Tennessee, and Colorado. He thus did much to promote public education, and at the



JAMES T. MCCLEARY.

same time acquired practical knowledge concerning the industrial condition and needs of the country.

In 1888 Mr. McCleary published "Studies in Civics," and in 1894 a "Manual of Civics." These works have much merit, and are used in the best schools of the country.

It was during 1891 that he was chosen president of the Minnesota Educational Association. In 1892 he received the Republican nomination for representative in the Fifty-third Congress, and was elected by a large plurality. In 1894 the people were so well satisfied with his public services that they reelected him by a large majority. He re-

ceived 23,269 votes, against 7,912 for James H. Baker, Democrat, 10,362 for L. C. Long, Populist, and 1,487 for H. S. Kellom, Prohibitionist.

Mr. McCleary is a leading authority in the House on economic subjects. He met the author of "Coin's Financial School" in debate at Duluth, and routed him by the force of his strong argument in support of sound currency. Not long ago he made a powerful speech in the House against free coinage of silver and in favor of sound currency. He is an ardent protectionist and a zealous friend of industrial progress.



ELLING K. ROVERUD.

Mr. McCleary was brought up in the Presbyterian church. His wife's maiden name was Mary Edith Taylor. They have one son, Leslie Taylor McCleary. Mr. McCleary's home is in Mankato. He is a forcible stump speaker, and his vigorous canvasses of his district have done much during the past six years to strengthen the Republican party in Minnesota. He is especially strong in his arguments on economic and financial subjects.

In June, 1896, he was renominated for Congress by the unanimous vote of the Republican Second district convention.

ROVERUD, ELLING K.—E. K. Roverud, whose immense height (six feet four inches and one-half) entitles him to the pseudonym of the "Tall Norway Pine of Houston County," was born at Ringerike, Norway, Nov. 2, 1852. His father, Knute H. Roverud, was a farmer in the old country, and, coming with his family to Minnesota in 1867, engaged in farming in Spring Grove township, Houston county. Young Roverud attended the common schools of Norway, and on his arrival in Minnesota he worked on the farm in summer and attended school winters. He entered the Winona normal school in January, 1874, attended two and one-half years, and graduated. He taught school in Fillmore county two terms, and then attended Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, one year in the teachers' department, after which he returned home and became principal of the Spring Grove public schools. In 1880 he was elected county auditor of Houston county, which office he held four years, and was afterward appointed clerk of the district court to fill a vacancy for one year. He was then elected county auditor for a two-year term. In May, 1890, he became one of the two publishers of the *Caledonia Journal*, and has been its editor ever since. He has always been, and is, a steadfast and active Republican.

Mr. Roverud was elected to the State Senate in the fall of 1894 to represent the First senatorial district of this state. His rival for the honor was James C. Kelly, Democrat, who was indorsed by the Populists. Kelly was running for reelection. Mr. Roverud received a majority of 602 out of a vote of 3,200. In the senate Mr. Roverud was recognized throughout the session as a very active senator, quick to see the needs of his district and the public at large, energetic in action, and always moving with good judgment and effectively. His tall form and massive frame made him a marked figure, and visitors to the Senate at once became interested in him.

He was married to Miss Martha H. Blexrud some seventeen years ago. They have six children.



STEVENS, HIRAM FAIRCHILD.—Hiram Fairchild Stevens, one of the most prominent Republicans of St. Paul, has for the past seven years been a member of the state legislature. He is a lawyer of high rank, and one of the best orators in Minnesota. Mr. Stevens is a simon-pure Yankee, a descendant of the best Vermont stock. He was born at St. Albans, Vt., Sept. 11, 1852. His father, Dr. Hiram Fairchild Stevens, now deceased, was an eminent physician and one of Vermont's foremost citizens. He was for a long time president of the Vermont State Medical Society, was at various times a member of the Vermont state legislature, and served in the War of the Re-

bellion as an army surgeon. Mr. Stevens' mother, originally Miss Louise I. Johnson, lives at St. Albans.

Mr. Stevens is the oldest of a family of four children. After the death of his father, which occurred in January, 1866, he obtained employment in a grocery store. Ambitious to acquire an education, during a year's service in the store he saved enough money to enter Kimball Union Academy. By teaching school at intervals and working on farms during vacations he worked his way through this academy and succeeded in graduating from the University of Vermont. He studied law in the office of Judge John K. Porter of New York, and in the Columbia Law School, and graduated from that institution in 1874. Immediately afterward he was admitted to the bar of Vermont. He formed a law partnership at St. Albans, the firm style being Davis & Stevens, and engaged in a successful practice. He was admitted to the United States Circuit Court in March, 1876, and continued to rise in his profession.

Mr. Stevens removed to St. Paul in December, 1879, and formed a law partnership with William P. Warner. In 1886 Mr. Stevens withdrew from this partnership, and became counsel of the St. Paul Title Insurance and Trust Company, which position he still holds. He is also a member of the law firm of Stevens, O'Brien, Cole & Albrecht, one of the strongest aggregations of lawyers in St. Paul.

Mr. Stevens was one of the organizers of the American Bar Association, at Saratoga, N. Y., in August, 1878; was for several years a member of its general council, and is at the present time vice president of the organization for Minnesota. He was the first secretary of the Vermont State Bar Association, organized in October, 1878. He was one of the organizers of the Ramsey County Bar Association, and has served as its president. He took a leading part in the organization of the Minnesota State Bar Association, in June, 1883, and was its first secretary, and is at present its vice president. For years he has been a conspicuous figure in the chamber of commerce, and has served several terms as one of the directors of the organization. In 1888 Mayor Smith (Democrat) appointed him one of the park commissioners of St. Paul, and for several years Mr. Stevens was president of the park board.

Mr. Stevens is a Mason, and was a member of the Grand Lodge of Vermont. For years he was prelate of Damascus Commandery of Knights Templar of St. Paul. He is also an Odd Fellow and a Knight of Pythias. In Vermont he was for five years a member of the national guard, serving in the "Ransom Guards," a crack military organization.

In 1876 Mr. Stevens was at the head of the Hayes and Wheeler club of Vermont. Ten years later he was chairman of the Ramsey County Republican Committee, which, in spite of the decidedly Democratic supremacy in the

county, secured the election of five out of the seven representatives to the legislature, also a majority of the county officers. In 1888 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature as one of the representatives of the Twenty-seventh senatorial district. Two years later he was elected to the Senate, and in the fall of 1894 he was reelected to the Senate. In the House his prominence gained for him the chairmanship of the judiciary committee, and soon after the session of the legislature began he was recognized as one of the ablest and most influential men of either



HIRAM F. STEVENS.

house. He was also chairman of the judiciary committee of the Senate of the legislature of 1895.

During his legislative career Mr. Stevens introduced and carried through many bills which are now prominent laws. He also took a leading advocacy of many noted bills which were introduced by others and are now laws. Among the many leading measures passed during his first term in the legislature that owe their passage largely to his support are the Australian election law, the law requiring corporations to pay fees to the state, under which it has received nearly half a million dollars of revenue, law for the

sanitary inspection of factories, law creating a pension fund for disabled policemen and for widows of policemen, and a law requiring employers of females to furnish seats for them. Among the most prominent measures passed by the legislature of 1895 that were introduced and advocated by Mr. Stevens are the law for a constitutional amendment authorizing the taxation of sleeping cars and other corporation property, law for the arbitration of labor difficulties, law for the incorporation of societies to loan money to the worthy poor, and a law requiring employment bureaus

received a plurality in the Ninth ward, which is in Mr. Stevens's legislative district, of 468, while Mr. Stevens, in the fall following, received a plurality from this same ward of 496, and he also carried twenty-three out of the twenty-eight precincts of his district. He is one of the lecturers in the law college of the state university, his subject being "Real Property." On Jan. 26, 1876, Mr. Stevens was married to Miss Laura A. Clary, daughter of Joseph E. Clary of Massena, N. Y.



FRANK E. ELMUND.

ELMUND, FRANK ELOF.—Frank Elof Elmund, son of Magnus and Charlotte Elmund, was born July 21, 1859, in Elmebodo, Kronobergs Lan, Sweden. Tillers of the soil for many generations were the families of both his parents, and there on his father's farm Frank grew up to young manhood, becoming acquainted with all branches of farm work, and attending the public schools of his native parish.

An older brother had come to America when Frank was a small boy; and partly from his accounts of the new world, and partly from a belief that America would offer better opportunities for his growing family to make careers for themselves, Magnus Elmund, in the spring of 1876, sold his farm and home in his native Sweden, and started, as so many thousands of others had done before him, to seek new lands beyond the sea. They reached St. Paul in June, 1876, but soon left for Sedgwick county, Kansas, where, in company with the oldest son, who had been ten years in the country, they bought a farm and again settled down to a life devoted to the tillage of the soil. Here Frank, now grown to young manhood, besides working on the farm, attended the public schools for two winters and made good progress in learning the language of his adopted country. Not long after locating in Kansas, Magnus Elmund died. The family remained until 1878 and then returned to St. Paul, where they have since lived.

Frank Elmund, now about nineteen years of age, forced to shift for himself, took up the first thing that offered. For two years he drove team, and then went out with the crew that was building what is now the Omaha road, from St. Paul to Ashland. The next year he came back to St. Paul and secured employment as receiving clerk in a warehouse. A year afterward he hired out to a fuel company, and in 1884 he engaged in the fuel business for himself. For eleven years he conducted the fuel business successfully, and only sold out after being elected county treasurer of Ramsey county in the fall of 1894.

May 8, 1887, Mr. Elmund was united in marriage with Augusta C. Johnson. They have two children, both boys, Clarence, aged seven, and Morris, aged two. A daughter was born to them, but died in her infancy.

to keep their records in such a way that fraud may be easily detected.

Every election of Mr. Stevens to the legislature has been by a large majority, though his district has a Democratic majority of about 500. In his last election he was opposed by Michael Doran, the Democratic candidate, who is considered one of the strongest men in the Democratic party; but he received 1,065 more votes than Mr. Doran. The significance of this victory is more apparent from the fact that in the spring preceding this election Robert A. Smith, the Democratic candidate for mayor of St. Paul,

Mr. Elmund's preferred church is the First Swedish Lutheran Church of St. Paul. He is a member of the A. O. U. W., K. of P., the Business Men's Union and the Commercial Club, and treasurer of the Union Cemetery.

He was reared a Republican. Hatred of slavery made the Swedish people natural allies of that party, and in its fold most of them have remained. Mr. Elmund has taken an active part in local politics, is a member of the Lincoln Club, and in 1894 was nominated and elected treasurer of the strongly Democratic county of Ramsey by a plurality of 2,300 over John S. Grode, who was his chief competitor. Frank E. Elmund is the second Republican who ever served as treasurer of the county. That he has performed his duties faithfully is conceded even by his political opponents.



FIDDES, ALEXANDER.—Alexander Fiddes of Jackson, who has for many years been one of the leading Republicans of Minnesota, was born at Campsie, Stirlingshire, Scotland, March 15, 1840. His father, James Fiddes, and his mother, originally Miss Jessie Nisbit, were natives of the same locality. The father by occupation was a cotton weaver, having several looms, and selling his fabrics at the stores of various towns. Alexander attended the public schools of Campsie until sixteen years old; then he was compelled to shift for himself. He went to Glasgow, where he served a five-years' apprenticeship as an engineer. He then went to sea as an engineer, and sailed between the East Indies and China, Egypt, Burmah, and Persia. During the war between England and Abyssinia he conveyed troops and dispatches between India and Abyssinia, being in the latter country during the bombardment of Magdala and at the time of the capture of King Theodore. For three years he was chief engineer for the Bombay & Bengal Steamship Company. The vessel on which he served as engineer was finally sold by the company to the Persians, with the condition attached that Mr. Fiddes should be retained as engineer of the vessel for six months after the sale. He served seven years upon the ocean, then went from Bagdad to Bombay, then up the Red Sea to Suez, crossed the desert to Alexandria, went down the Mediterranean to Marseilles, thence to Paris, to London, and reached his old home at Campsie. Finding that two of his brothers had emigrated to Canada, he decided to follow them.

Mr. Fiddes arrived at Jackson, Minn., in 1869, and has resided there ever since. Almost immediately after his arrival at Jackson he met Miss Agnes Hunter, daughter of James and Agnes Cook Hunter, a Scotch family that had lived in the place for several years, and on September 16th of the same year he married her. Mrs. Fiddes was born in Perthshire, Scotland. Mr. Fiddes engaged in the mer-

cantile business at Jackson with J. W. Hunter, his wife's brother, and the two continued together until 1872, when Mr. Fiddes engaged in the hardware business without a partner, continuing in that until 1894, when he retired to devote all his time to looking after his large farming and other property interests.

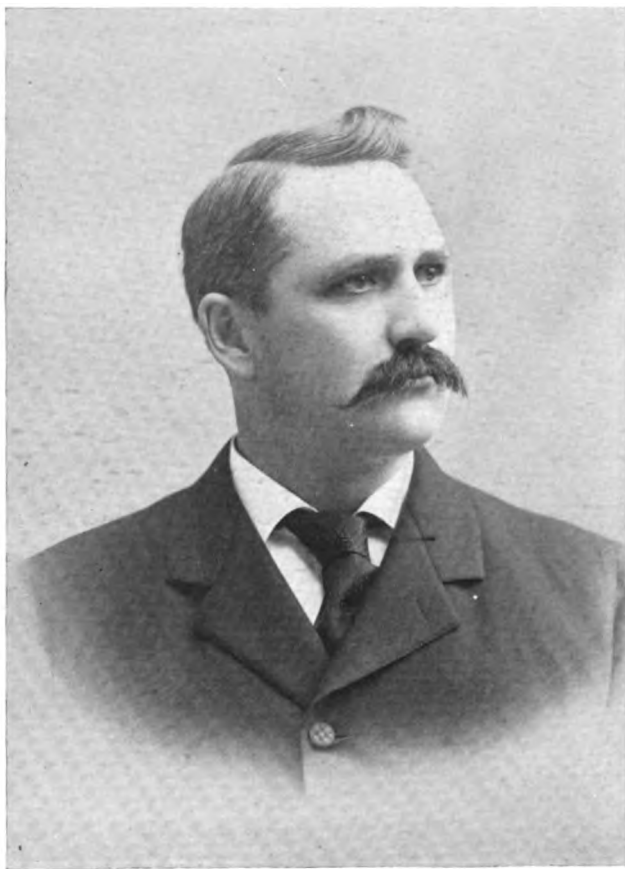
He has served two terms as representative in the state legislature, the first term being in the House of 1877, and the second in the House of 1884. During his first term he was chairman of the House half of the joint special com-



ALEXANDER FIDDES.

mittee on St. Peter Hospital, the purpose of which was to consider the matter of removing the imbeciles to other quarters. He advocated the building of an imbecile asylum, and his committee reported in favor of so doing. The legislature passed a bill in accordance with the report of the committee, and the outcome of the matter was that an imbecile hospital was established at Faribault. During this session he was a prominent member of the railroad committee, of which D. M. Sabin was chairman, and while acting in that capacity he led the winning fight of Southern Minnesota against several leading capitalists of the

Twin Cities in the matter of the land grant for the Southern Minnesota Railway. By the terms of the grant the Southern Minnesota Railway was to be built across the state by 1875. The road, however, built only to Winnebago City, and failed to get farther until the time had expired. Certain capitalists of the Twin Cities, who were interested in other railways, sought to have the land grant canceled. The populace of Jackson looked upon it as a matter of vital importance to Jackson that the Southern Minnesota should be continued on westward through their



OLIN B. LEWIS.

locality, and took it for granted that it would not be if the grant were canceled. To Mr. Fiddes they looked for a champion, and they were not disappointed. During this term in the House Mr. Fiddes was also a prominent member of the committee on public accounts and expenditures. During his second term in the House he was made chairman of the committee on towns and counties.

Governor Merriam, at the beginning of his second term as governor, made Mr. Fiddes a member of the state board of equalization, and he was reappointed to the position by Governor Nelson, and again by Governor Clough.

Mr. Fiddes was made treasurer of the Jackson school board in 1871 and still held the position in 1896. He was president of the village council four years, was postmaster of Jackson from 1877 to 1885 inclusive, and from 1880 to 1893 inclusive, and he was a member of the Republican state central committee during the years 1894-96, and has again been appointed for 1896-98.

Mr. Fiddes was made a Mason in Renfrew, Scotland, in 1865, in Prince of Wales Lodge, No. 426. Since then he has passed through every degree of Masonry,—the Chapter, Commandery, Consistory, and Shrine,—and has held about every office in the order.

Among his various possessions in Jackson is a fine brick store building, and just outside the city limits he has a fine four hundred-acre farm.



LEWIS, OLIN B.—Olin B. Lewis, one of the substantial conservative young Republicans of St. Paul, was born March 12, 1861, in the town of Weyanwega, Waupaca county, Wisconsin. His father, Z. D. Lewis, traces his ancestry back to Plymouth Rock and the Mayflower; while his mother, Rebecka Horning, was descended from a German family who had settled in Pennsylvania in the early times. His ancestry, on the side of both father and mother, were among the sturdy yeomanry who hewed out for themselves homes in the wilderness, built up the early commonwealths, and defended their possessions from the attacks of Indians, the encroachments of the French, and the oppression of the English. His grandfather, Miner Lewis, was the author of several war ballads of 1812, and two or three brothers of this grandfather were officers in the American army during the same war.

Born and reared on a farm, young Olin Lewis grew up accustomed to hard work. Out door air and exercise gave him a good physical development. The common schools furnished the foundation of his education. The high school at Omro, Winnebago county, near where his father had located as a farmer, prepared him for the state university, where he entered in the fall of 1879. Here he spent the better part of five years supporting himself, while pursuing his studies, by working during vacations and at such other times as employment offered. The last year of his course in the university he was appointed regular instructor in chemistry, a position which he held for another year after graduating with honors in 1884. After leaving the university he took up the study of law, and for five years more his time was divided between the study of his chosen profession and earning the means to meet necessary expenditures. During part of a number of seasons he was employed by the Walter A. Wood Company in their collection department. He taught country and

village schools, and for some time was engaged as a high school teacher.

Admitted to the bar in 1889, he located in St. Paul and formed a law partnership with Oscar Hallam, under the firm name of Lewis & Hallam. He is regarded as a lawyer of excellent judgment, has been engaged in many notable cases, and in the fall of 1896 he was nominated for district judge at the Republican county convention at St. Paul.

Born at the opening of the Civil War, his boyhood and youth were passed among ardent opponents of slavery. His entire surroundings tended to make and keep him a firm and uncompromising Republican. Such he has remained, as such he was nominated against his protest, and elected against his wish, to the city assembly in 1894, and reelected in 1896. Mr. Lewis is a man of strong convictions and great determination. Never afraid to express his sentiments, his course in the assembly has met the approval of many outside his own party, and their votes helped to swell his majority.

Mr. Lewis was married in 1885 to Della Barnett of Oshkosh, Wis. He was brought up in the Methodist Church and is now a member of the Central Park Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul. He is a Mason, a Modern Woodman, and past master of the Ancient Order of United Workmen.



POTTGIESER, NICHOLAS.—Nicholas Pottgieser was born in the Territory of Minnesota and the village of St. Paul, Feb. 26, 1854, in a house located where the St. Paul postoffice now stands, and on the same lot where he now lives.

His father, Nicholas Pottgieser, Sr., was a Prussian by birth, who came to Chicago in the fifties in search of wider opportunities. Having by several years of industry and economy acquired a few hundred dollars, he took to himself a wife and migrated to St. Paul, where he purchased land at the corner of Fifth and Wabasha streets and erected a hotel, which will be remembered by many old settlers as the Minnesota House. Here he lived and conducted the hotel business until his death, Feb. 21, 1880.

Though a thorough German on his father's side, the subject of this sketch is an equally thorough American on the side of his mother. She was descended from a Scotch and English family named Graves, who early located in the Mohawk Valley, in Herkimer county, New York. Lieutenant Graves, a brother of Mrs. Pottgieser's grandmother, was killed in the War of 1812. Her husband, a Mr. Cooke, was also an officer during the same war. This Mr. Cooke was an uncle of the noted bankers, Jay and Pitt Cooke, and of Edwin Cooke, a well known clergyman of his time.

Mr. Pottgieser obtained his education in the common schools of his native city. Among his teachers he remem-

bers Principals S. S. Taylor and George Sidney Smith. He also for some time attended a German school, and now speaks that language equally well with English. At an early age he left school and began work about his father's hotel. His whole life has been spent in the hotel and restaurant business. As a result of energy, thrift, and careful business methods, he was able to retire in 1894 with a nice competency. Mr. Pottgieser was reared by his father a staunch Democrat, and, in 1880, he was elected as a Democrat to the office of county commissioner of Ramsey



NICHOLAS POTTGIESER.

county. He filled this position for two years, but refused to consider a renomination. His first indication of weakening in the Democratic faith was in 1890, when he took a deep interest in the campaign of his friend, Col. A. R. Klefer, who was the Republican candidate for mayor of St. Paul. This set him to thinking; and after carefully examining the tenets of both parties, he became convinced of the correctness of the principles of protection and reciprocity. Consequently, he has since affiliated with the Republican party, and as a Republican was elected state senator in 1894 by 602 majority from the Twenty-sixth

district, one of the strongest Democratic districts in the state. In the State Senate, he served on the railway, educational, and temperance committees, and was chairman of the printing committee. He originated and secured the passage of a bill to diminish fees for collecting delinquent taxes, and a bill to secure pay to unseated officers for the time they should actually serve, in case they had received a certificate of election. His poultry bill, which the district court declared unconstitutional, is the measure with which his name has become most intimately identified.



EUGENE V. SMALLEY.

A uniform license bill was another measure which he introduced, but failed to secure its passage.

Senator Pottgieser attends Christ Episcopal Church, and is a member of the Masonic fraternity, the Odd Fellows, the Druids, and the Sons of Hermann. He also belongs to the Lincoln Club, and was one of the founders and is still an active member of the Junior Pioneers.

In 1875 he was united in marriage with Miss Franceska Handlos, who was born in Austria and came to this country at seven years of age. Her death occurred Jan. 14, 1893, no children having blessed their union.

SMALLEY, EUGENE VIRGIL.—E. V. Smalley, a prominent Republican journalist in Washington and New York during the period following the Civil War, and in later years an author, magazine writer, and publisher, was born in Randolph, Portage county, Ohio, in 1841. He was the son of a small farmer, who was warmly interested in the anti-slavery movement, and who wrote articles and delivered lectures in its support. The father died when the boy was eleven years old, and at thirteen the latter apprenticed himself to learn the printer's trade in the office of the *Advertiser*, at Fredonia, N. Y. He completed his apprenticeship on the *Telegraph*, at Painesville, Ohio, and then managed to get a few terms of schooling in a little anti-slavery college at McGrawsville, N. Y., endowed by Gerrit Smith. This was accomplished by teaching school and setting type part of the time. At the age of nineteen he was part owner and local editor of the *Press and Advertiser*, in Painesville, Ohio. At twenty he enlisted, on the outbreak of the Rebellion, in the Seventh Ohio Infantry, under the first call for volunteers. He was discharged in 1863 on account of wounds received at the battle of Port Republic. He worked for a time on the *Cleveland Herald*, and then obtained a clerkship in the treasury at Washington. This post he resigned in 1865 to buy the *Register* at Youngstown, Ohio, in the congressional district of General Garfield, who obtained for him the clerkship of the committee on military affairs in the House, at Washington. He sold his newspaper in 1868, traveled in Europe in 1869, and in 1870 began to furnish Washington correspondence for the *New York Tribune*. In 1871 Horace Greeley gave him a place on the staff of that paper, and he went South to investigate the Ku-Klux outrages. His letters from South Carolina led to the suspension of the *habeas corpus* in five counties of that state by President Grant, and to the arrest and punishment of a large number of the leaders of the cruel Ku-Klux Klan.

In 1883 Mr. Smalley was sent to Europe to describe the World's Fair at Vienna. The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia was his special field in 1876. As a political correspondent, he visited nearly every state in the Union, frequently taking part in campaigns as a platform speaker. In 1880 he wrote "A Brief History of the Republican Party," which had a large sale, and also a life of General Garfield. He served continuously for twelve years on the *Tribune*, except one year spent in the position of managing editor of the *Cleveland Herald*. In 1882 he was commissioned by the *Century Magazine* to travel through the northern tier of states and territories, from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, and write a series of articles. This journey led him to write a "History of the Northern Pacific Railroad," which was published in a large volume in 1883 by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. In 1884 he established

in St. Paul the *Northwest Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, with the purpose of promoting the development of all the new regions of the northwestern part of the American continent. Of this periodical he is still editor and publisher. Mr. Smalley has been a frequent contributor to Eastern magazines, notably to the *Atlantic*, the *Century*, and the *Forum*. His home is in St. Paul. His extensive travels in the Northwest and his close study of its topography, climate, resources, and people, for fourteen years, has made him a recognized authority on this section. He has enjoyed the acquaintance of seven Presidents of the United States, and was the trusted personal friend of Hayes and Garfield. His newspaper work brought him into intimate relations with nearly all the eminent men who organized the Republican party and were its national leaders during the first thirty years of its existence.



H EATWOLE, JOEL PRESCOTT.—Joel P. Heatwole, representative in Congress from the Third District of Minnesota, was born in the village of Waterford, Elkhart county, Indiana, Aug. 22, 1856. His father, Henry Heatwole, was a physician, a Virginian by birth, who moved first to Ohio and then to Indiana. His mother, Barbara Kolb, was born in Pennsylvania, and is still living at Goshen, Ind. On both sides the family is of German descent. Mr. Heatwole's paternal great-grandfather, Mathias Heatwole, emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1748, settled in Pennsylvania, and married Mary Haas. His grandfather, David Heatwole, married Magdalene Weland, and removed to Virginia. His maternal great-grandfather, George Kleber, was born in Germany, and came to this country when a boy, and his daughter Elizabeth married Henry Kolb, grandfather of the subject of this sketch. The Klebers and Kolbs took part in the Revolutionary struggle. Joel worked on a farm when a lad, and by the time he was seventeen he had mastered the printer's trade. Next he took to school teaching, like many ambitious young men of that day, and he rose to the position of principal of the graded schools of Millersburg, Ind. In 1876 he began the publication of a weekly newspaper, the *Millersburg Enterprise*, which he conducted for two years, continuing at the same time his work in the schools. In 1878 he decided to give up teaching, and to seek his permanent career in journalism. He then removed to Middlebury, Ind., established a printing office, and began the publication of a weekly paper called the *Record*. In 1881 he sold the *Record*, and purchased an interest in the *Goshen Times*. For four years he was secretary of the Indiana Editorial Association. Disposing of his interest in the *Times* in 1882, he worked for a short time as a reporter on daily papers and then removed to Minnesota.

Mr. Heatwole's first newspaper venture in Minnesota was the purchase of a half interest in the *Glencoe Enterprise*. A few months later he went to Duluth, and worked on the *Lake Superior News*. In November, 1883, he returned to Glencoe, and resumed charge of the *Enterprise* until April, 1884, when he bought the *Northfield News*, and in March, 1885, purchased the *Northfield Journal*, and consolidated it with the *News*.

In 1886 he was elected first vice president of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association, and in 1887 was



JOEL P. HEATWOLE.

elected president, and reelected in 1888-89. He was made a member of the Republican state central committee in 1886, elected secretary of that body and also a member of the executive committee; was reelected in 1888 to the same positions; was unanimously elected a delegate at large to the National Republican Convention in Chicago, June, 1888, and was made chairman of the Republican state central committee in 1890, which position he filled with zeal and ability until July 28, 1892. In December, 1891, the governor appointed him a member of the board of regents of the University of Minnesota.

In 1892 Mr. Heatwole received the Republican nomination for Congress in the Third district, which was then heavily Democratic. He was defeated, but made a very strong run, and reduced the plurality of his opponent at the previous election nearly 4,300 votes. He was then elected mayor of Northfield by a vote of about three to one. In 1894 he was again the Republican candidate in the Third district, and was elected to Congress by the heavy majority over his Democratic opponent of 5,268. He was appointed to a position on the important committee on



JOHN L. GIBBS.

foreign affairs, an unusual honor for a new member. Mr. Heatwole was married in 1890 to Mrs. Gertrude L. Archibald, a native of Vermont. He is not a public speaker, but a forcible writer, and a man of genial personal qualities. For a long time he has enjoyed the distinction among his brother editors in Minnesota of having made a marked business success in a country printing office.

In June, 1896, Mr. Heatwole received the unanimous renomination for Congress from the Republican convention of his district,

GIBBS, JOHN LAPORTE.—John L. Gibbs, one of the most widely known Republicans in Minnesota, was born on a farm in Bradford county, Pennsylvania, May 3, 1838. His father, Eli Gibbs, also a farmer, was born in Massachusetts, and was descended from English and Irish ancestors who settled in Massachusetts between 1620 and 1630. These early settlers were shipbuilders and farmers. Mr. Gibbs' grandfather, Elijah Gibbs, and his great-grandfather, Israel Gibbs, both fought in the Revolutionary War for the freedom of the American colonies.

In his early boyhood Mr. Gibbs attended the public school at South Hill, Bradford county; afterwards the LeRoyville Academy, and then the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute at Towanda. He graduated from the Ann Arbor Law School in March, 1861, and then emigrated to Iowa, where he arrived a month later. Soon afterward he walked to Minnesota, and took up his residence in Albert Lea. Being without money he drifted about to find a school to teach. A school house was soon built in Albert Lea, and he was employed. In 1862 he was elected county attorney of Freeborn county. In 1863 he was elected to the house of representatives of the state legislature to represent Freeborn, Steele, and Waseca counties. In 1864 he was reelected. In 1875, when Freeborn county became a legislative district by itself, he was again elected as a representative to the state legislature. In 1876 he was reelected, and served as speaker during the following session of the legislature. In 1884 he was again elected representative, and was speaker of the following session. In the fall of 1894 he was once more elected to the state legislature, and was one of the most distinguished and efficient members of the House of 1895.

Mr. Gibbs moved from Albert Lea to Geneva, in the north end of Freeborn county, in the spring of 1862. There he has ever since lived and farmed, being at present one of the heaviest farmers in Southern Minnesota, owning and operating several large farms in different parts of Freeborn county.

In the session of 1865 Mr. Gibbs was chairman of the railroad committee of the house, and reported the bill which passed in favor of accepting the United States Railroad Land Grant and providing for the building of the St. Paul & Lake Superior Railroad, making the eastern terminal in Minnesota, which action resulted in locating the terminal at Duluth. In 1876 he worked through the legislature a measure changing the law by which a party in any part of the state might be sued in any county of the state other than that in which he resided, and be compelled to go to that county to defend. Every lawyer in the house opposed his bill, and every prominent man of St. Paul and Minneapolis, as well as of several other localities, exerted

every influence to defeat it. The St. Paul and Minneapolis business men urged that such a measure would result in injuring the business interests of these cities. Mr. Gibbs had a long, tedious fight to get the bill through, but eventually won, both in the House and Senate. After it was passed, powerful influences were brought to bear upon Governor Pillsbury to induce him to veto it. The governor was at first disposed to do so, but after hearing the arguments of Mr. Gibbs, in which he showed that all the great states of the Union, as well as nearly all the younger states, had laws requiring that a party must be sued only in the county of his residence, Governor Pillsbury attached his signature to the bill.

In 1886 Mr. Gibbs was a prominent candidate for governor. Hon. A. R. McGill was nominated for that office, however, and Mr. Gibbs took a very active part in stumping the state in his behalf.

In 1887 Governor McGill appointed Mr. Gibbs railroad commissioner, and at the expiration of his term of two years he was reappointed as railroad commissioner by Governor Merriam.

The subject of this sketch has for many years taken great interest in developing dairying in the state, and for two years he was president of the State Dairymen's Association.

In 1868 he was married to Mrs. Martha Robson, widow of Capt. James A. Robson, who was killed in the war in the year 1862.

Among the many honors borne by Mr. Gibbs was that of being chairman of the Republican state convention which first nominated Wm. R. Merriam for governor, and was himself one of the leading candidates for nomination for governor at the hands of the Republican state convention of 1896.

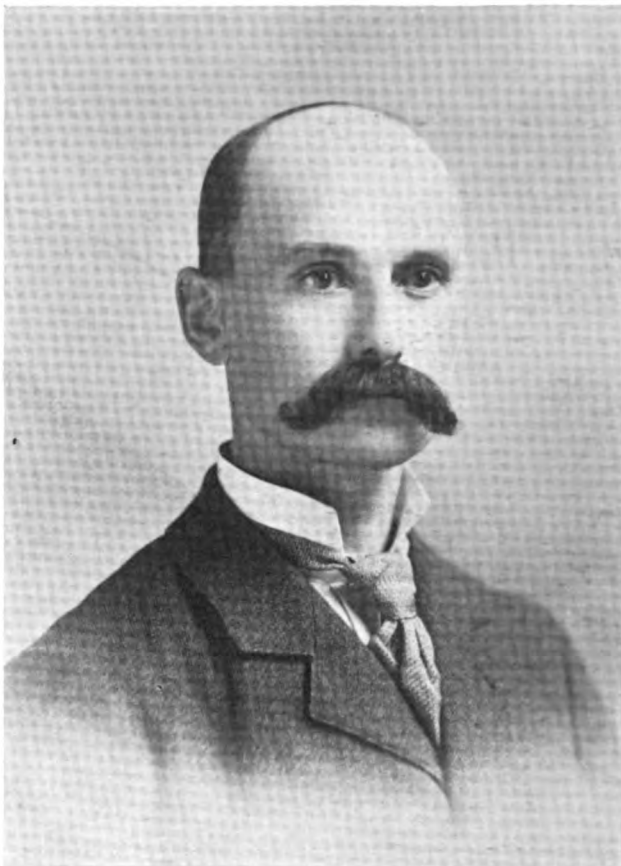


RANDALL, EUGENE WILSON.—E. W. Randall was born in Winona, Minn., Jan. 1, 1859. His parents,

Albert D. and Maria Jayne Randall, were natives of New York, both father and mother being descended from families that have lived in that state since early colonial times. Mr. Randall's father died in November, 1859, and about two years later his mother married J. B. Stebbins of Utica, Minn., upon whose farm the subject of this sketch was brought up, receiving his early education in the country district schools. Later he attended the high school in St. Charles and the state normal school at Winona, graduating from the latter institution with a full share of school honors in 1879.

From Winona, Mr. Randall went to Morris, Minn., where he was chosen principal of the public schools, and where, under the State High School Act, he organized the Morris

high school. At the end of two years he resigned this position that he might give personal attention to the *Morris Tribune*, which paper he had purchased. Under his management the *Tribune* had a large circulation, for a country paper, and, with an excellent business patronage, was a thriving and influential publication. Disposing of the *Tribune* by sale in 1888, Mr. Randall turned his attention to farm work, residing for a number of years on Spring Lawn Farm, a well equipped place of 640 acres near Morris, which he still owns.



EUGENE W. RANDALL.

In politics Mr. Randall has always been a consistent and active Republican. He has served as a member of the state central committee, and has been chairman of the party committee in Stevens county, as well as a worker in the ranks. In 1891 he was appointed postmaster at Morris by President Harrison, and served in that capacity for one term. Agricultural work has always had an attraction for him. During most of the years of his residence in Morris he was connected with the Stevens County Agricultural Society in some capacity. He served for one term, also, as secretary of the Morris Driving Park As-

sociation. For the last nine years he has been active in the affairs of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society almost continually, beginning in 1887 as assistant secretary. He was elected as one of the board of managers in 1893; was chosen secretary of the society in 1895, and was reelected as secretary in 1896.

Mr. Randall's work as secretary has been successful to a marked degree. He has visited all parts of the state for the purpose of enlisting coöperation and increasing interest in the state fair, and has shown a thorough comprehension of the varied resources of the state and an ability to

aged eight, and Dorothy, who died when less than two years old. The family is now domiciled upon the state fair grounds, a residence there being required of the secretary of the state agricultural society; and the three boys are numbered among the pupils in the public schools of the city of St. Paul.



JOHN T. FRATER.

devise new and practical plans for presenting them in an attractive way to the hundreds of thousands of visitors to the fair grounds. Mr. Randall has taken a hearty interest in the new movement for encouraging immigration to the state, and his addresses have been a notable feature of the numerous district and county conventions held to forward this movement.

His home is a very pleasant one. He was married in 1882 to Miss Eudora, youngest daughter of Hon. and Mrs. H. W. Stone of Morris. Four children have been born to them—Clarence, aged thirteen; Ward, aged eleven; Frank,

FRATER, JOHN TAYLOR.—John T. Frater is a native of Belmont county, Ohio, where he was born on a farm April 19, 1848, the second of a family of five boys. His early education consisted of going to the district school in winter and working on the farm in the summer until he was fourteen years of age, when, on account of his father's death, he was obliged to leave school, and, with the help of an elder brother, assist his mother in the management and working of the farm. His father, Thomas Frater, was a Virginian by birth, but of Scotch parentage. After his removal to Ohio he became a sheep raiser of considerable prominence, and was accounted one of the best judges of high-grade sheep in the state. His mother is a native of Scotland. She came to America with her parents in 1819, at the age of one year. To her example and teaching he attributes his success in life, and desires to attest this tribute of veneration. The only higher education Mr. Frater ever enjoyed was one year spent at the Ohio Central College at Iberia, and later, when he decided on a business career, a term at Duff's Commercial College at Pittsburg, Pa. In December, 1881, Mr. Frater came to Brainerd and entered the employ of the Northern Pacific Railroad as a clerk in the division superintendent's office, a position which he held until 1883, when he resigned to become a book-keeper for a large mercantile house in Brainerd, remaining there five years. In the fall of 1888 he was the Republican candidate for country treasurer, and was elected. He was reelected in 1890, 1892, and 1894, without any opposition. He is an exceptionally genial and affable gentleman, and though always an ardent and consistent Republican, counts his friends in any and all parties, as witness his political leadership in his home county and continued reelection to the most responsible office in that county without any opposition from the other parties. Even as a boy, before he moved from Ohio, he was active in state and local politics, and as a young man took a prominent part in the congressional, state, and county conventions.

In October, 1874, Mr. Frater was married to Miss Julia A. V. Myers of Iberia, Ohio. Mrs. Frater is of a quiet and retiring disposition, and has never aspired to social leadership, but has always enjoyed the society of a large circle of warm personal friends and has been a wise counselor of her husband in his political and business affairs. She is a

woman of education and refinement, a great lover of flowers, and is always posted on the topics of the day, being a great newspaper reader. Her home is a pleasant one. Mr. Frater considers his marriage to this lady the most fortunate act of his life.

He has for many years been a prominent Mason. He is a Knight Templar, and Past Commander of Ascalon Commandery, No. 16, Knights Templar, of Brainerd. He is also a noble of the Mystic Shrine, and a member of the Knights of Pythias. In person Mr. Frater is a man of medium stature, and has more the look of a student than that of an active business man or politician. His greatest faculty is in the making and keeping of friends. A resident of Brainerd asserts that "the day would never be too cold or stormy nor the exigencies such that John T. Frater would not leave his fireside to do a kindness." It is this characteristic which, perhaps more than any other, has made him such a universal favorite in the community, and has made his many reelections to office possible.



KIEFER, ANDREW R.—Andrew R. Kiefer is one of the pioneers of Minnesota. He came to the Northwest and selected St. Paul as his permanent abiding place in 1855, before the state was admitted into the Union. He was at that time an energetic, enterprising, and enthusiastic young German-American citizen, and these characteristics have always predominated in his long, successful, and honorable career. Colonel Kiefer was the first wharf-master at the foot of Jackson street, and occasionally he may be found there on a pleasant summer evening recounting tales of the early and exciting days of 1855. In 1860 he was clerk of the Minnesota legislature. A year later, when President Lincoln called for volunteers, young Kiefer organized a German-American company, and tendered his services with those of his command to the governor. He served as captain of Company G, Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, and was in the first engagement of the Western army at Mill Springs, Ky. He served with valor and distinction, holding the office of provost marshal in Tennessee under General Schofield for some time. Captain Kiefer was commissioned a colonel of Minnesota state troops in the fall of 1863. In 1864 he was elected a member of the legislature of the state. He then retired from politics until 1877, when he was elected clerk of the district court for Ramsey county, one of the strongest Democratic counties in the state. In 1890 he was the Republican candidate for mayor of the city of St. Paul. He made an aggressive and active campaign. He perfected an organization in every precinct of the city, and although defeated by a small majority, Colonel Kiefer laid the foundations in that campaign for future victories of the party

and for himself. In 1892 the Republicans of the Fourth congressional district unanimously nominated him for Congress. The district was Democratic, but Colonel Kiefer carried it by over 3,000 plurality.

Colonel Kiefer's first term in Congress was marked by his successful efforts in securing legislation for the survey of the proposed canal from the head waters of the Mississippi to Lake Superior, on which the government engineers have since made a favorable report. In 1894 he was unanimously renominated and received the magnificent plu-



ANDREW R. KIEFER.

rality of more than 10,000, leading the ticket in every county of the district. Colonel Kiefer is an indefatigable worker for the cause of Republicanism. He is always ready and willing to do his part, and he has ever been at the front in many heated political campaigns. He is a thorough American, a well read and perfectly posted citizen, who takes a keen and immediate interest in all questions of the public concern. His votes and utterances in the Congress of the United States have been heartily indorsed by his constituents, and he is always at his post of duty.

TOWNE, CHARLES A.—Charles A. Towne of Duluth, representative in Congress of the Sixth district of Minnesota, was born Nov. 21, 1858, on a farm in Rose township, Oakland county, Michigan. On both sides of the house Mr. Towne descends from Puritan stock. John William Towne and Joanna Blessing Towne, his wife, landed at Salem, Mass., from the west of England in 1636. Mr. Towne is a direct descendant of these pioneers. His mother was Miss Laura Fargo. On her mother's side she was descended from the Lawrences of New England, of



CHARLES A. TOWNE.

whom Amos and Abbott Lawrence, respectively famous as philanthropist and minister to England, were members. On her father's side she was related to the Masons, who were connections of George Washington. Mr. Towne's grandfather was Levi Towne, born in New Hampshire in 1797. His parents moved with him from New Hampshire to Wyoming county, New York, when he was a boy. Mr. Towne's father, Charles Judson Towne, was married in Wyoming county in 1857. Among the noted relatives of the Towne family were Gen. Salem Towne, a famous gen-

eral in the War of 1812, and Salem Towne, author of a series of text-books.

Mr. Towne was educated in the common school and at Ann Arbor, where he graduated in the class of 1881. He was orator of his class in the senior year. After graduating, he engaged in the department of public instruction at Lansing as chief clerk. He declined the professorship of English at Ann Arbor preparatory school, and also the professorship of Latin and Modern Languages at the Orchard Lake Military Academy, in order to study law. He studied law nights by himself, performing his duties as chief clerk daytimes. He took an interest in politics at an early age. In 1884 he was prominently mentioned as a candidate for Congress in the Lansing, Mich., district, the *Lansing Republican* bringing him out. He was admitted to the bar in the supreme court of Michigan, in April, 1885, and began practice in partnership with W. S. Hill, at Marquette, in March, 1886. He was married April 20, 1887, to Miss Maude Irene Wiley of Lansing.

In 1888 there was a special election for Congress in the Eleventh Michigan district, comprising the upper peninsula, Seth C. Moffatt, the congressman, having died. J. A. Hubbell was the leading candidate for the nomination. After two days balloting, Mr. Towne was offered enough votes to nominate him; but he declined the honor, and Hon. Henry W. Seymour of Sault Ste. Marie was nominated and elected. In March, 1889, Mr. Towne moved to Chicago, and practiced law there until June, 1890. For several months while in Chicago he and Hon. Geo. E. Foss, a brilliant young lawyer, who last fall was elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress, had desks in the same office.

Mr. Towne moved to Duluth, Aug. 15, 1890, and entered into law partnership with S. L. Smith. In January, 1892, he formed the law firm of Moer, Towne & Harris. The following year Mr. Moer was elected to the district bench. Mr. Towne is at present a member of the law firm of Phelps, Towne & Harris.

In 1876 he made his first appearance upon the stump, and has ever since been active as a speaker and general party worker. He was never a candidate for any office until elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress. His vote was 25,487, to 15,836 for M. R. Baldwin and 6,475 for Kittel Halverson, a plurality of 9,651 and a majority of 3,176.

Becoming a strong advocate of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, after the action of the St. Louis convention in June, 1896, on the money question, Mr. Towne formally left the Republican party and joined the free silver movement. He proceeded to deliver addresses in Minnesota on the silver question, ranging himself with Senator Teller and the other Republicans who bolted from the St. Louis convention. It is probable that his speech on

the silver question, delivered in Congress Feb. 8, 1896, and which foreshadowed his retirement from the Republican party and precipitated the noted congressional campaign in his district in the fall of the same year, brought him more prominently before the country than any other step taken by him.



HALL, DARWIN SCOTT.—On the shores of Preston lake in Renville county, and distant about five miles from Buffalo Lake, on the Hastings & Dakota line of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, is located the farm and home of the subject of this sketch. There is not a prettier location, nor a better farm, acre for acre, than Mr. Hall's. Nature has done everything possible to beautify this locality. The farm residence is built on the lake shore, and all the attractiveness that a beautiful lake front, native timber, rolling prairie, and running streams can give to a location, will be found here. Indeed, there is nothing lacking to make home life in this beauty spot of nature simply ideal.

Mr. Hall is a son of the Hon. E. D. Hall, who was a resident of Wisconsin for nearly half a century and a prominent figure in Wisconsin politics in the early history of the state, being a member of the state legislature, representing Winnebago county in that body for several years. It was in Wheatland, Kenosha county, Wisconsin, that the subject of this sketch was born on the twenty-third day of January, 1844. During his boyhood he attended such common schools as were to be found in Wisconsin. Later on he had a brief term in the Elgin, Ill., Academy, and later still in the Markham Academy at Milwaukee. In 1866 he came to Minnesota and settled in that now historical spot known as Birch Coolie in Renville county. His purpose in coming to Minnesota and settling in Renville county was the same as that of thousands of others, who, hearing of the fertile government lands in this state, came here to avail themselves of the advantages offered, and, like Mr. Hall, took up government land and went to farming. Though a practical farmer, few men in Minnesota have held so many political positions of honor and trust, both elective and appointive, as has Darwin Hall, who has always been a consistent and active Republican. He was twice elected county auditor of Renville county, was clerk of the district court two terms, and for many years represented Renville county in the Senate and House of Representatives. During President Hayes's administration he was receiver of the local United States land office, and was continued in the same position by President Arthur. In 1888 he was elected to the Fifty-first Congress, and at the close of his term President Harri-

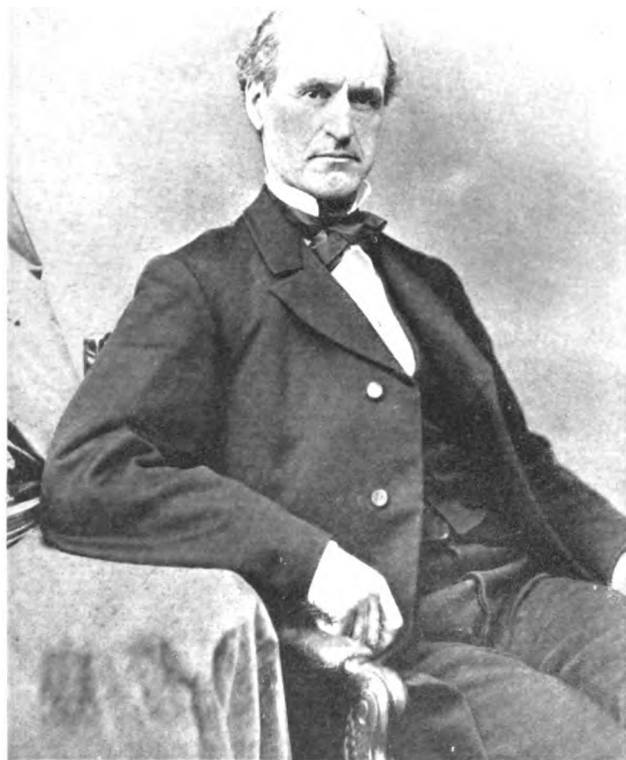
son appointed him chairman of the Chippewa Indian Commission to succeed the late Hon. Henry M. Rice, a position he held until the change of administration in 1893. In 1892 he was a delegate to the National Republican convention. Mr. Hall's official record is one to which he can point with justifiable pride. Though a strong partisan and earnest and vigorous in his advocacy of Republican principles, no man has ever ventured to suggest the slightest taint of dishonor in connection with his official career. It is greatly to his credit that, during the various movements for the



DARWIN S. HALL.

betterment of the agricultural classes, Mr. Hall was never carried off his feet by the unsound arguments of the various anti-monopolistic, Greenback, Farmers' Alliance, or Populist organizations, though he has always been a large farmer and had more at stake than had ninety-five out of every hundred of those who deserted the Republican party. He is an earnest advocate of sound money. As expressing his belief in the doctrines of sound money, Mr. Hall tells a good story on himself, that happened when he was a boy working on rafts on the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers. On one occasion, at Davenport, Iowa, he was paid

for several months' service in what old-timers will recognize by the name of "stump tail" money—the name given to the depreciated currency of that day that was largely used in paying off laborers, especially on the rivers. Mr. Hall found, after he had been paid his wages and the paymaster had departed around the bend of the river, that he was left in Davenport with an amount of money that was really worth about twenty-five cents on the dollar. It is needless to add that he has ever since been a believer in sound money—money worth a hundred cents on the dollar.



MORTON S. WILKINSON.

Mr. Hall is a member of a number of societies, among them the masonic order, of which he is a Royal Arch Mason, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and the Grand Army of the Republic, in all of which he takes an active and thorough interest. He enlisted as a private in Company K, Forty-second Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and served to the close of the war. For a few years past Mr. Hall has given his time exclusively to the management of his farming interests and stock raising, and takes only such active interest in politics as is required by his presence in the councils of his party.

On July 11, 1869, Mr. Hall was married to Mary D. McLaren, who is a daughter of the late Dougal F. McLaren, a prominent merchant and lumberman of Portage-du-Fort on the Ottawa river, Canada.



WILKINSON, MORTON S.—At Skaneateles, Onondaga county, New York, Jan. 22, 1819, Morton S. Wilkinson was born. While securing an education he worked at intervals upon his father's farm. In the year 1837, when eighteen years of age, young Wilkinson came West, locating in Illinois. During the time of his first sojourn in the West, which lasted two years, he was engaged in railroad work. He then returned to his native home in New York, where he studied law. After completing his course in law, Mr. Wilkinson came West again, this time settling at Eaton Rapids, Mich. Not quite satisfied with his surroundings there, another move was made, and in 1847 he came to Minnesota, locating in Stillwater. There he hung out his shingle, and was the first practicing lawyer north-west of Prairie du Chien. In 1847 he was prosecuting attorney in Judge Dun's court. From that time until the time of his death he was a continuous resident of the state. He was president of the first meeting looking to the organization of the Territory of Minnesota.

In 1849 Wilkinson was chosen a member of the state legislature. Many of the laws which were adopted by the territory as its code were of his framing. From 1847 until 1850 he resided in Stillwater, following the practice of his profession. In 1850, desiring to enlarge his field of practice, he removed to St. Paul. In 1855 a treaty was made by the government with the Winnebago Indians. By the terms of this treaty this tribe of Indians was removed from Wisconsin to Blue Earth county, Minnesota. Their reservation was twelve miles east of Mankato. This latter point was not only the trading post of the Winnebago tribe of Indians but also that of the Sioux. On account of the location of the post, only eighty-five miles distant from St. Paul, and easily reached by boat during navigation season, it grew to be a town of considerable commercial importance. To this new town Mr. Wilkinson removed in 1857. He was chosen by the legislature of 1859 to succeed General Shields in the United States Senate. He was chairman of the Senate committee on Revolutionary claims; also, a member of the committee on Indian affairs.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he took a leading part in the national councils, and was one of Lincoln's warmest supporters and most intimate personal friends. Mr. Wilkinson was commanding in personal appearance. He was an eloquent speaker, earnest and impressive, and an effective political campaigner. During the stormy period of the war he made many able and patriotic speeches in

the Senate, and in every political contest he took the stump in Minnesota. In 1864 he was a delegate to the Baltimore convention which renominated Lincoln. During that memorable campaign he took an active part in the canvass in many of the Northern States as well as in Minnesota. He was defeated for reelection in 1865 by D. S. Morton of Winona. William Windom and Ex-Gov. Henry A. Swift of St. Peter were also Republican candidates against him. In 1868 the First congressional district sent him to Congress, but he was not reelected in 1870. In sympathy with the anti-Grant movement, in 1872 he attended the Cincinnati convention which nominated Horace Greeley for President.

Shortly after 1872 Senator Wilkinson began to act with the Democratic party. In 1874 he was elected to the State Senate. He served as State Senator four years. After moving to Wells, Minn., he was elected county attorney. In 1888 he was the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Second congressional district, and was beaten by John Lind by over 9,000 majority. He died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. J. S. Brewster, at Wells, Minn., Feb. 4, 1894, having reached the age of seventy-five years.



DOWLING, MICHAEL JOHN.—M. J. Dowling of Renville, Minn., has had a remarkable career. In spite of a terrible misfortune, which would have made most men dependent for life on the charity of relatives or of the public, he has made a marked success, first as a teacher and later as a journalist and politician. He was born in Huntington, Hampden county, Massachusetts.

His father, John Jerome Dowling, worked as a carpenter, and now, in his old age, is dependent upon the son. His mother, Honora Barry Dowling, died in 1876, when the son was a boy. He obtained his education in public schools in Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and was two terms in Carleton College at Northfield, Minn. The young man earned his first dollar as a cook's assistant on the Mississippi steamboat "Alexander Mitchell," in 1876. He worked on a farm at Cottage Grove, Minn.; went to school one winter in Rochester, Minn.; herded cattle and did farm work for three years in Lyon and Yellow Medicine counties. On the night of Dec. 4, 1880, he was caught in a severe storm on the prairie, and was frozen so badly that his life was only saved by the amputation of both legs below the knee, of his left arm below the elbow, and of all the fingers and half the thumb of the right hand. To all appearances his life was ruined; and it would have been had he not possessed great courage and ambition. Without money and without friends able to assist him in his helpless condition, he was taken care of for a time by Yellow Medicine county. On April 1, 1883, he ceased to be a county charge, and set out to face the world without a cent in his possession, and from that day he has earned every dollar that has come into his

possession. His hard experience has caused him to smile at the suggestion he often hears—that a man who is crippled will receive better and fairer treatment from his fellows because of his misfortune. He has been compelled to fight the battle of life on even terms with his able-bodied competitors.

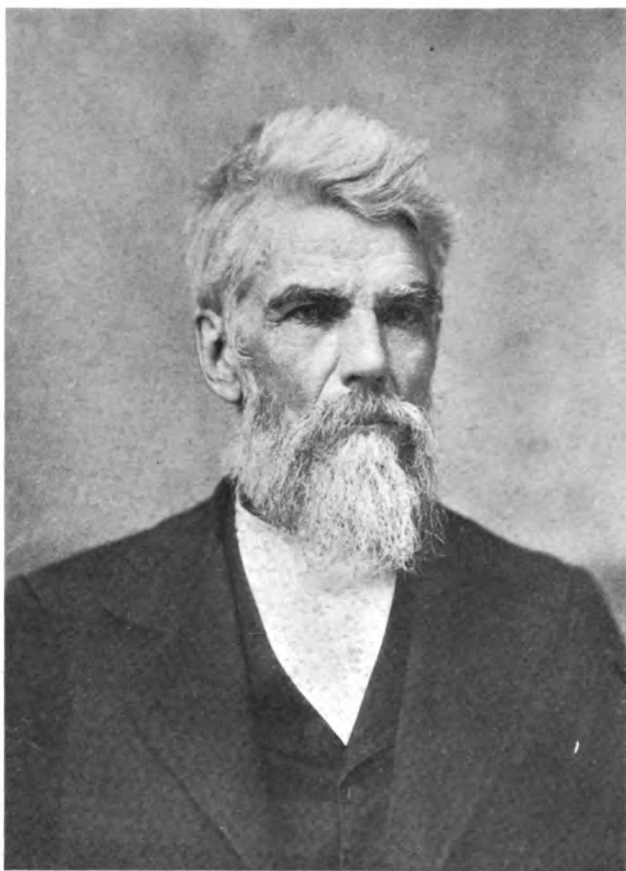
During the summer of 1883 Mr. Dowling did painting with his mutilated hand and ran a roller skating rink. He next took up the career of a teacher in country schools, and in 1886, having made a local reputation in this line, he was elected principal of the East Granite Falls school,



MICHAEL J. DOWLING.

and in 1887 of the Renville schools. The latter position he held for three years. His savings gave him a little capital. He resigned and founded a newspaper called the *Renville Star*. This he sold seven months later, and engaged in life insurance work, traveling extensively in 1890, 1891, and 1892, as a special agent in the United States and Canada. In the latter year he returned to Renville and repurchased the *Star*, buying also its contemporary, the *Farmer*, and uniting the two papers under the title of the *Renville Star-Farmer*. This paper he still edits, and it has been a decided business success.

Mr. Dowling has always been a Republican. He has been village recorder one term, justice of the peace four years, secretary of Renville county committee, and a delegate to district and state conventions. In 1893 he was first assistant clerk of the Minnesota House of Representatives, and in 1895 was unanimously elected chief clerk of that body. At the meeting of the National Republican League in June, 1895, at Cleveland, Ohio, after a hard fight, he was elected secretary of that organization. He is temporarily located at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago.



LUCAS K. STANNARD.

Mr. Dowling is a member of the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order United Workmen, and also a member (nonresident) of the St. Paul Press Club, and of the Marquette Club, Chicago. He was secretary of the Minnesota Editorial Association for two years, and has represented it in the National Association three times. He was a delegate representing the St. Paul Commercial Club at the First National Good Roads Convention at Asbury Park in 1894. On Oct. 2, 1895, he was married to Jennie L. Bordewick at Atlanta, Ga. She is the daughter of Henry Bordewick, ex-postmaster of Granite Falls.

STANNARD, LUCAS KINGSBURG.—Each succeeding year witnesses a constant diminution in the ranks of the old-timers of Minnesota who beheld her throw off the name of Territory and don the garments of Statehood. Those were stirring times in this young state, and among the most active in the councils of the Republican party as constituted in those days, and among the foremost of her public men, was Lucas K. Stannard, the subject of this sketch. Mr. Stannard was born at Georgia, Vt., July 6, 1825, and was the seventh son of Samuel Stannard, a merchant and farmer in Franklin county, Vermont. His grandfathers, on both his maternal and paternal sides, were soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Financially, his father's circumstances were what would be called in those days quite comfortable. Though he had a family of eleven children to raise and support, all received the benefit of a good education, not a little of which was imparted to them by their father in their early years around the home fire-side.

Lucas K. attended the common schools of Franklin county, and at the age of twenty-one entered Bakersfield Academy, teaching school in the winter, and remained there three years, during which time he read law in the offices of B. H. Smalley and Corydon Beckwith (who later became a member of the supreme bench of Illinois, and was admitted to the bar at St. Albans, Vt., in 1850. After that Mr. Stannard traveled extensively through the West and Southwest, with a view of selecting a point for permanent location, and finally landed at Taylor's Falls in 1852, and preëmpted a quarter section of land within the present village limits. In addition to attending to the limited law business in the small village, Mr. Stannard worked in Taylor & Fox's general merchandise store for three years succeeding his location at Taylor's Falls. After that he formed a law partnership, under the firm name of Stannard & Setzer, and during the next three years he devoted the greater portion of his time to the practice of his profession. When this partnership was dissolved, he continued the practice of the law alone until 1872, making only one business venture, which was to engage in logging and lumbering in partnership with Cyrus C. Somers during five years of this time, and which proved to be an unfortunate one. In 1872 Mr. Stannard formed a partnership with Smith Ellison of Taylor's Falls, in the general merchandise and lumbering business, which lasted for eleven years. This was a highly unremunerative venture, since retiring from which he has given his whole time to real estate and law business.

Mr. Stannard has not only always been an active Republican, but he has been a leader in the ranks of his party in Minnesota, and was for many years the foremost Republican in Chisago county. In 1856 he was elected to the last territorial legislature that met in Minnesota, and was

one of the five to organize the first Republican club in Taylor's Falls. He was one of the Chisago county delegates to the constitutional convention in 1857, was secretary of the joint committee that reported the present state constitution to the joint convention, and was the nominee for secretary of state on the first Republican state ticket ever placed before the electors of Minnesota. In 1859 he was elected state senator from the senatorial district embracing Chisago and Pine counties, and in 1861 was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at Taylor's Falls, holding that position until 1870, when he resigned to accept the election as representative to the state legislature from the district made up of Washington, Pine, and Chisago counties. On the death of the register of the land office at Taylor's Falls in 1884, President Arthur appointed Mr. Stannard to that position, and he continued in it until the appointment of his successor during the Harrison administration in 1889, serving throughout the first Cleveland administration. During his legislative career Mr. Stannard was directly instrumental in inaugurating the principles which, later on, led to having the so-called gross earnings tax bills enacted into legislation by constitutional amendment. These are the splendid laws, now in force on our statute books, that provide for the taxation of the gross earnings of all railroads operating in Minnesota, the most just and equitable system of taxation ever adopted for compelling railroad companies to bear their share of the burden of the state's taxation. While register of the United States Land Office at Taylor's Falls, Mr. Stannard made a record in his decisions of cases between the settlers and the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad Company that was not only a credit to him, but which thoroughly demonstrated his entire fitness for the position he was appointed to fill. In several instances, where these cases were carried up before the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, or before the courts, his decisions were uniformly sustained.

In 1858 Mr. Stannard was married at Davenport, Iowa, to Miss Harriet Newel Stevenson of Maine, by whom he had three children, only one of whom is now living. He lives upon the homestead at Taylor's Falls.



ELLISON SMITH.—Away back in the early forties, when the now State of Minnesota was a part of the Territory of Wisconsin, there came into the valley of the St. Croix river and located near where Taylor's Falls now stands the subject of this sketch, then a young man twenty-one years of age. Since that time there has been little if any development on the Minnesota side of the St. Croix river in which he did not take part. Indeed, we find his exceptional business ability coupled with almost every

successful business and industrial venture that has grown up along the upper St. Croix.

Smith Ellison was born on the fifteenth day of March, 1823, in Madison county, Illinois, where his father, Elijah Ellison, had located in 1818. Elijah Ellison was a soldier in the war of 1812. Smith was educated in the common schools of Illinois of that day, and removed to the St. Croix river in 1844, and with the exception of short intervals has resided in Minnesota ever since. His first occupation after going into the St. Croix Valley was as a common laborer in a



SMITH ELLISON.

saw mill during the summers and working in the pine woods in winters. During the succeeding four years he saved up enough money to begin operations on his own account in the business of cutting and logging pine timber. Soon after he commenced manufacturing lumber, and as his wealth increased his business branched out to other lines, including the manufacturing of flour, a general merchandise store, and banking. For forty-three years he was the most active man in the St. Croix Valley, and was uniformly successful in all his business ventures. During eleven years of this time he was in partnership with Hon. L. K. Stannard in the

general merchandise business at Taylor's Falls. In 1857 he was elected to the Minnesota legislature, but never served. In 1865 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and served during the following term. He was on the board of county commissioners in Chisago county for eight years, during six years of which he was chairman of the board. He is a large stockholder in the First National Bank of Stillwater, of which he has been a director for twenty years and vice president for eight years. He never married. At the age of fifteen, he, with two brothers, be-



WILLIAM P. ALLEN.

came imbued with the Whig sentiment then prevailing, and his father and an elder brother later left the Democratic party. Since that time Smith Ellison's affiliations have been with the Whig and Republican parties.

Few men in Minnesota have had so successful a business career as Mr. Ellison has had. From a beginning as common laborer to the accumulation of a competent fortune, is the best evidence of his energy and sterling ability. His individual word is as good as a bond, and his reputation for honesty and integrity is without a flaw.

A LLEN, WILLIAM PRESCOTT.—William Prescott Allen comes of substantial old New England stock, and was born at Thomaston, Me., Sept. 1, 1843. His father, Rev. Lorenzo B. Allen, D. D., was a prominent Baptist minister in Maine, as was also his grandfather. He is a lineal descendant of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, through his mother, who was Miss Nancy Pope Prince. In 1858 his father moved to Iowa, and became president of the Burlington (Baptist) University, a position he held until 1863, when he came to Minneapolis as pastor of the First Baptist church. Aside from being a prominent minister of the Baptist Church, the Rev. Dr. Allen attained marked distinction as an educator, and it was this feature of his early training that gave the subject of this sketch the marked advantages he received at Yarmouth Academy in Maine, which he attended until he was fourteen years of age, when he moved to Iowa with his father, and began in the preparatory course of the Burlington University, which he entered two years later. The Yarmouth Academy of those days would compare favorably with the best high schools of these times. It was with the view of building up the Burlington University that the Rev. Dr. Allen came to Iowa, a task in which he met with admirable success until the breaking out of the war, when a majority of the students joined the volunteers, among them William Prescott Allen, then a boy of seventeen years. He enlisted as a private in Company C, First Iowa Cavalry, July 1, 1861. He first served in scouting duty through Missouri and Arkansas. During 1861 and 1862 he engaged in the battles of Prairie Grove and the capture of Little Rock, together with innumerable skirmishes incident to cavalry service. In January, 1863, he reënlisted as a veteran in the same regiment. In April, 1863, he was appointed a lieutenant in the Sixty-fifth United States Colored Infantry, and was promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant in the same regiment in 1865. In 1866 he was breveted captain "for meritorious service," and mustered out at Benton Barracks, Missouri, in 1867. He is a prominent and active member of the Grand Army of the Republic and Loyal Legion. After leaving the army Mr. Allen joined his family in Minneapolis, and entered the employ of the government in a surveying party in charge of G. B. Wright, and later with T. B. Walker. This business he followed for six years, mainly in the pine regions of Northern Minnesota, examining and locating pine lands. In fact, this might be said to be the first money he ever earned, save what he received for his services in the United States army. Naturally enough his experience as a surveyor gave him an insight into the pine land business that afterwards proved of great value to himself and the corporation with which he subsequently became connected.

In 1876 Mr. Allen located at Stillwater, as manager of C. N. Nelson's lumber business. In 1881 the C. N. Nelson

Lumber Company was incorporated at Cloquet, Minn., with Mr. Allen as general manager. Later the title of vice president was conferred upon him, both of which offices he has continued to occupy.

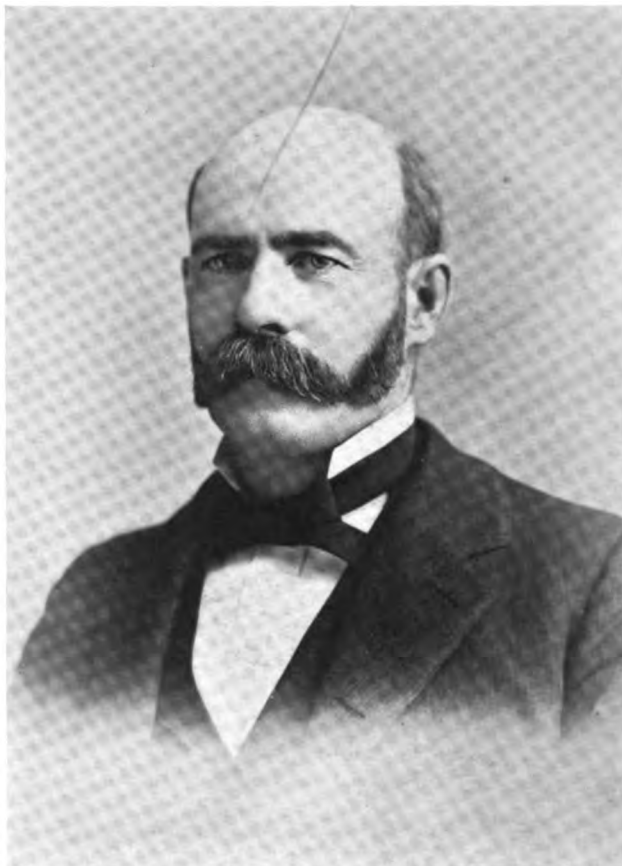
In politics Mr. Allen has always been a Republican, and a leader in the councils of his party in Minnesota. He was the first president of the village council of Cloquet, in which capacity he served three years. In 1890 he was elected to the State Senate from the Fifty-third senatorial district for four years, and reelected in 1894, also for four years. The legislative measure looking toward the taxation of unused railroad land grants, which was passed by the last legislature, also the present forestry law for the preservation of the forests of Minnesota, were both formulated and introduced by him. He has been a member of the Sixth district congressional committee since 1890, and chairman of the Carlton County Republican Committee since 1886. An ardent Republican and a leader in party affairs, Senator Allen has also been a thoroughly successful business man, as witness the development of the corporation of which he has been the active financial head.

Mr. Allen has been twice married, the first time in Minneapolis, February, 1873, to Miss Emma Curtis, who died at Cloquet, Minn., in 1887. His second marriage occurred March 11, 1891, to Miss Mary E. Humphrey of Yarmouth, Me. Mr. Allen is a Shriner of Osman Temple and a Knight Templar in the Duluth Commandery. He is also a Past Grand Odd Fellow.



CHILDS, HENRY W.—Henry W. Childs was born in the town of Clay, Onondaga county, New York, Nov. 23, 1848, the son of Philander and Mary A. Childs. His paternal ancestors came to this country in the seventeenth century, and settled in Durfield, Mass. His father was born in Chenango county, New York, and passed his life in that state, the greater part in Onondaga county, where he died in 1876, aged seventy-two years. He was a plain and unassuming gentleman, much respected by his acquaintances, and for many years prior to his death was engaged in farming. Rev. J. D. Childs, an uncle of the subject of this sketch, still lives, and is upwards of eighty years old, the last fifty years of his life being spent in Orleans county, New York. Attorney General Childs's father took an active part in political affairs, and occasionally held minor offices. He was a Republican, and a strong anti-slavery man during slavery days. The maternal grandfather of Attorney General Childs, Benjamin Preston, settled in Onondaga county in 1811. He was a Minute-man during the War of 1812, and participated in the battle at Fort Oswego, N. Y.

Attorney General Childs lived on a farm from early childhood. He learned Republicanism under his father's roof, where the *New York Tribune* was for many years industriously read by the whole family. He attended country and village schools, and from early childhood was a good reader, making frequent requisitions from district libraries. He attended Baldwinsville Academy and Falley and Cazenovia seminaries, graduating from the last named in 1871. For the most part he earned money teaching district school with which to enable him to attend the seminary. After leaving



HENRY W. CHILDS.

the seminary he taught school for a few years, mostly as principal of the Liverpool Academy, then a large and flourishing school. He read law for nearly five years in the office of Tousley & Bailey, in Syracuse, N. Y., and was admitted to practice in 1881. He practiced law in that city until the fall of 1883, when he removed to Fergus Falls, Minn. At the latter place he continued the practice of law until the winter of 1886-87, when he was appointed to a position in the office of the attorney general, and removed to St. Paul, where he has ever since resided.

In 1892 he was elected to the office of Attorney General and was reelected in 1894, being renominated that year without opposition and by a rising and unanimous vote. He was again named by his party as its candidate for the same office in 1896. Upon accepting office General Childs discontinued the private practice of law, and has ever since devoted himself exclusively to official duties. In recent years he has been identified on behalf of the state with important civil and criminal causes. He was leading counsel for the state in the three notable trials of William Rose, who was eventually hanged for the crime of murder. He conducted



HENRY CHILDS.

the prosecution of Clifton Holden for murder, and represented the state in that case in the United States Supreme Court. He has assisted county attorneys in numerous other murder cases.

It was upon his counsel that suits were instituted against the oil companies, resulting in the inspection laws being sustained and the covering into the treasury of a large amount of money as unpaid fees. He prosecuted the cause of the state in the celebrated state elevator case; also, the lake bed case, in which the law as to the ownership of lake beds was declared; prosecuted the H. O. Peterson case, in

which the law for the removal of county officers was sustained. He prosecuted the Brown and Redwood county tax cases, in which he appeared before the United States Supreme Court and argued successfully the constitutionality of the law under which the taxes were assessed. He prosecuted the Steenerson railroad rate case. The last and most prominent case in which Mr. Childs has appeared for the state was the celebrated Great Northern injunction case. This was the case in which the district court of Ramsey county enjoined a consolidation between the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways. Mr. Childs's argument on the side of granting the injunction was one of the most masterly efforts of the kind ever heard in a court in Minnesota, and the result of his effort added much to his popularity in this state, and gave him a fame almost national. Few cases have attracted wider attention and resulted in greater satisfaction to the people of Minnesota than the case of the State vs. Sutton, in which it was held that a member of the legislature is ineligible to any other office during the term of his legislative office. Mr. Childs took a firm position against the lawfulness of the business carried on by a number of bond investment companies in Minnesota, with the result that such business was discontinued. He carried on a long and successful litigation against the American Savings and Loan Association, and succeeded in securing the appointment of a receiver for that company.

As a lawyer Mr. Childs is preëminently fair. He always aims to do his best, never stoops to take a mean advantage, and is never made despondent by defeat. He has been called upon for official opinions far more frequently than any of his predecessors, and it is safe to say that he has rendered to the legislature and its committees more opinions than have been rendered by all his predecessors put together. Among the many subjects referred to him for opinions by the legislature were the taxation of railroad lands and the Swiss "Initiative and Referendum."

In 1892, upon the invitation of the Minnesota Historical Society, Mr. Childs delivered the "Columbia Address," before a large audience in the chamber of the House of Representatives.

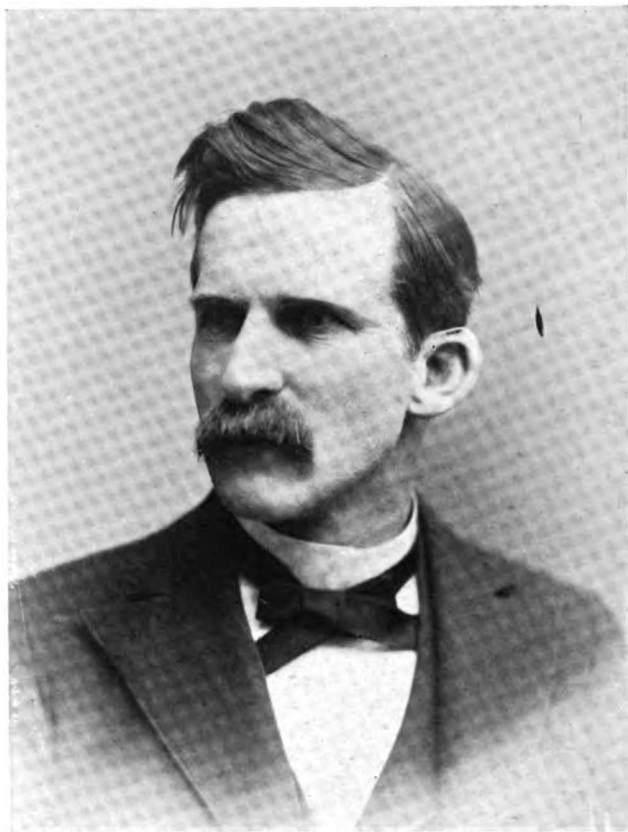
His home is in Merriam Park, a suburb of St. Paul. He has a wife and a son ten years of age.



JOHNS, HENRY.—Among the numerous active young attorneys in St. Paul none have attained a more enviable reputation in their profession nor are more esteemed by their friends than is Henry Johns. Though he has not always lived in St. Paul, he received his early education here, where the best years of his life have been spent. His father, Capt. Henry T. Johns, who now holds a govern-

ment position in the Pension Department at Washington, was an active figure in the early development of Minnesota, and especially during the era marked by the beginning of the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He was a resident of New England, and at the breaking out of the war became a private in Company C of the Forty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers. Later he became captain of a volunteer company in the Sixty-first Massachusetts Volunteers, and served until the close of the war. He was a lawyer by profession, and at the close of the war came to Minnesota and settled in St. Paul, where he soon gained enviable prominence as the author of a series of articles on the resources and advantages of the Northwest. He is the author of a volume entitled "Life with the Forty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers," in which is given the only known authentic record of the every-day life of a private soldier during the War of the Rebellion. While in Minnesota Captain Johns was active on the lecture platform. Many of the old-timers will recall his lecture on "Abraham Lincoln," delivered before the state legislature in January, 1867, and which elicited intense enthusiasm. He was also for several years state lecturer of the State Temperance Society and a coworker in the temperance cause with the Most Reverend Archbishop Ireland and other leading temperance workers in Minnesota. On his mother's side Henry Johns comes of good old New England stock, her ancestors having settled in Massachusetts as far back as 1680, several of them taking part in the Revolutionary War. Henry was born at Johnstown, N. Y., June 18, 1858. When only eight years of age his family moved to St. Paul, where they remained for the next ten years, and where he received his early education in the schools of this city. It was during his course in the high school that he made something of a reputation throughout the state as a writer and editor of amateur papers, of which there were a number in Minnesota at that time. In 1876 he went to Washington, and entered the National Law School, from which he graduated early in 1879. In the following June he was admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia—a few days before attaining his majority. In the fall of 1879 he went to Burlington, Iowa, and entered General Tracy's law office, where he remained one year, when he came to Red Wing, Minn., and practiced law there until 1885. Then he located in St. Paul, where he has remained ever since. He was always an active Republican, and always took an interest in politics and in public affairs. It was not long after his location in St. Paul before he attained an enviable position as one of the most active and foremost among the young Republicans in Ramsey county. He has always been in great demand as a campaign orator, and is an acknowledged leader in the ranks of the Republican party. He has never been a politician in the sense of being a seeker after public office, but while attending assiduously to the duties of his

profession and building up a lucrative practice, he has been an active worker in every campaign the past ten years, and has been of invaluable service to his friends and party. In the fall of 1894 he was nominated and elected to the legislature from St. Paul, and can have the renomination and reelection in 1896 if he will accept it. During his term in the legislature he was an active member of the judiciary committee, and was an acknowledged leader on the floor of the House. He is a good lawyer, active and painstaking, and his friends predict for him a brilliant future in his chosen profession.



WALLACE B. DOUGLAS.

D OUGLAS, WALLACE BARTON.—W. B. Douglas of Moorhead, Minn., was born at Leyden, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1852. His father, Asahel M. Douglas, was a farmer. His mother's maiden name was Alma E. Miller. He traces his ancestry from Deacon William Douglas, who emigrated from Scotland to America in 1640, and settled in New England with his two children, Robert and Ann. His wife's maiden name was Ann Mattle. She was a daughter of Thomas Mattle of Ringstead, Northamptonshire, England. From this union sprang the leading branch of the Douglas family in America. The Hon. Stephen A.

Douglas, who was United States Senator from Illinois, held the first rank in the family membership.

W. B. Douglas had a common school education, supplemented by less than one year's instruction at the old and famous Cazenovia Seminary in Cazenovia. When he was fifteen years of age his father moved to Momence, Ill. From this point he attended the University of Michigan, graduating from the law department thereof in 1875. From 1875 to 1883 he practiced law in Chicago, his office being next to Emory A. Storrs. He was treated almost as a protege by that noted counselor, and acquired much valu-



MOSES D. KENYON.

able information and not a little inspiration from him. In 1883, his health requiring a change of climate, he came to Minnesota, and settled in Moorhead, where he has lived and practiced his profession ever since.

Mr. Douglas has always been a Republican, and has taken an active part in politics. He held the office of city attorney of Moorhead five years, was county attorney of Clay county six years, and is recognized as one of the best known and ablest attorneys in Northwestern Minnesota. While county attorney he brought to the scaffold the first murderer ever executed in Clay county. In the fall of

1894 he was elected to represent the Fiftieth senatorial district in the legislature of 1895-96. It was a Populist and Democratic district, but he carried it for the Republican party by a majority of 871. In the following session of the legislature he lent prominent aid in supporting and in securing the passage of the Red river drainage appropriations, and had full charge of this measure after its constitutionality was attacked. He succeeded in convincing the House and the Senate judiciary committee that the legislation was strictly constitutional; and all this, too, after the attorney general had declared the enactment void. The law has since been upheld and respected. He was the author and promoter of the legislation changing the right of appeals from the decisions of the board of railway and warehouse commissioners to the county wherein the complainant resides. When the park board of Minneapolis offered Loring park to the legislature as a site for the new capitol, it was Mr. Douglas who succeeded in showing that the park board had no power to make such a donation. He is a good debater and a hard fighter—a man whose aid is courted and resistance feared. In 1881 Mr. Douglas was married to Ella M. Smith. Two children have been born to them, Harold B. and Lella L. Douglas. He is a Mason, and also a member of the Knights of Pythias and Odd Fellow fraternities.



KENYON, MOSES D.—Moses D. Kenyon, who has for eight years faithfully filled the office of public examiner and superintendent of banks of Minnesota, is descended from two long lines of New England Yankees. His mother, whose maiden name was Laura Dibble, was a native of Massachusetts, and a member of an ancient and honorable family of the old Bay State, while his father, Almon Kenyon, traces his lineage back through a long line of Rhode Island farmers to the very earliest settlements.

The subject of this sketch was born Aug. 13, 1843, on a farm near Granville, Washington county, New York, but while still very young came with his parents to Rosendale, Wis., where his early youth was passed and his early education acquired. He then entered Lawrence University at Appleton, Wis., where he remained until he had finished the sophomore year, sickness preventing his return to college. For the next six years he was assisting his father on the farm, teaching district school, and taking a trip to the East to visit various parts of New York, the Pennsylvania oil regions and other points of interest.

In 1867 he came to Rochester, Minn., but soon returned to Rosendale, and for four years engaged in the mercantile business. In 1872 he came back to Rochester, and worked in a lumber yard for about eight months, when he

was appointed clerk in the state land office. From that day until this, for more than twenty-three years, he has occupied some position of honor and trust connected with the state government; first in the land office, then for thirteen years deputy state auditor under Auditors Whitcomb and Braden, and for the last eight years holding his present office, appointed originally by Governor McGill in 1888, and successively reappointed by Governors Merriam, Nelson, and Clough. The present banking law of the state, passed by the last legislature without a dissenting vote, stands as one result of Mr. Kenyon's labors.

He has always been a Republican in politics, his first vote having been cast for Abraham Lincoln in 1864, he having voted for every Republican candidate since.

Mr. Kenyon was married in 1868 to Miss Ida Vincent of Rosendale, Wis. They have one child, Alice, who is now the wife of E. F. Van Gorder of Minneapolis.

Of quiet, unassuming manners, preferring home to all other places, Mr. Kenyon has never joined clubs or societies, the Masonic fraternity alone counting him as a member.



MOREY, CHARLES ANSON.—C. A. Morey of Winona was born Aug. 9, 1851, in Vershire, Orange county, Vermont. His father, Royal Morey, was also born in the same place and followed the calling of his ancestors—farming. Mr. Morey lived on the farm until he was ten years old, when, with his parents, he came West, settling in Wabasha country, where he lived on a farm until 1864, when the family moved to Lake City. Here he attended school and worked as a carpenter and millwright until 1870, when he taught school at Gopher Prairie, Wabasha county, for twenty-five dollars per month, and, as was the custom, boarded around. With other young men from the vicinity, he entered the Winona Normal School in 1871, and graduated in 1872. In the fall of that year he entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, taking a special course in science preparatory to accepting a position in the Winona Normal School as professor of sciences. He took this professorship in 1874, and during his service established the first laboratory in the Northwest for scientific work by students themselves. In 1876, upon the resignation of President Phelps, he succeeded to the presidency of the institution. He resigned that position in 1879 and entered immediately upon the practice of law as a member of the firm of Berry & Morey, the senior member of which firm is Gen. C. H. Berry, whose daughter Mr. Morey married Nov. 28, 1877. Mr. Morey's great-grandmother on his mother's side was Sarah Putnam, a niece of Gen. Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame.

During the latter part of Mr. Morey's attendance at the Boston Institute of Technology, he worked with Prof. A.

Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. Professor Bell was a teacher in the Massachusetts Deaf and Dumb Institute, and was perfecting the system of visible speech by means of which he was teaching the deaf and dumb to talk with each other. He entered the Institute of Technology for the purpose of making experiments in the registration of vowel sounds by the use of the phonautograph. Mr. Morey was assigned by the school authorities to assist Professor Bell, he being a special student in science and having assisted Prof. Chas. R. Cross in his Lowell In-



CHARLES A. MOREY.

stitute Lectures on Sound. Professor Bell soon took up the use of the electrical apparatus in connection with the phonautograph and, with Mr. Morey's assistance, several weeks of experimentation were had in the line of the study of sounds, their transmission by electricity, and their registration by means of vibrating membranes. Professor Bell continued his experiments after Mr. Morey left the institute, and within six months perfected the telephone. Professor Bell's original apparatus, which he exhibited at the World's Fair, was in part the same made by him and Morey together. At the close of the year Mr. Morey read

a paper before the Society of Arts and Sciences of the Institute, describing and illustrating his improvements upon the phonautograph, an important acoustical instrument. This made him an honorary member of the association for life. The paper was published in the *American Journal of Science*, and his improvements upon the familiar piece of apparatus are used in scientific institutions everywhere.

Mr. Morey had the profession of law in mind from boyhood, and had studied law at odd spells for years. During

ing of the large and beautiful court house and government building in that city. He was a member of the city council from 1890 to 1895 inclusive, during which time the entire sewerage system of Winona, the high wagon bridge across the Mississippi river, the water-works plant, all street paving, and most other permanent improvements in the city came into existence. He is at present president of the Winona Savings Bank, attorney for the Second National Bank, member of the Free Library Board, member, director, and treasurer for the State Normal Board, and United States court commissioner. Mr. Morey was the United States court commissioner who was selected by the attorney general of the United States to hear the famous Minneapolis census fraud cases of 1890.

Royal Morey, father of the subject of this sketch, was always an Abolitionist. Mr. Morey's first recollection of politics is of being taken out by his mother, who showed him the flashes of cannon being fired by his father and others at West Fairlee, Vt., in celebration of the first election of Lincoln as president of the United States.

Mr. Morey is therefore a Republican by birth, as well as from conviction. He has never sought office, but is usually in the county, district, and state conventions of his party, and has done much to shape its policy. He is an active and effective campaigner, and is always ready to help his friends. Mr. and Mrs. Morey have one son and three daughters.



ANDREW H. BURKE.

his vacations he read in the office of Brown & Stocker at Lake City, and while in Boston he attended law lectures at Harvard. He was admitted to the bar before Judge Mitchell at Winona in 1879.

He was a member of the Winona school board for six years, during which time he was chairman of the executive committee. During his service in this capacity the high school and the Jackson and Jefferson school buildings of Winona were built. He started the movement in the Winona board of trade, of which he has been a member since it came into existence, which resulted in the build-

BURKE, ANDREW H.—Andrew H. Burke, formerly governor of North Dakota, and in recent years a prominent grain merchant in Duluth, was born in New York City, May 15, 1850. The death of father and mother left him a homeless child in a great city. At four years of age the Children's Aid Society took him in charge; at eight they found him a home with a farmer in Indiana. At twelve he went into the service of his country as a drummer boy, a member of the Seventy-fifth Indiana Volunteers. After the war he attended Asbury, now De Pauw, University, at Greencastle, Ind., but hard study forced him to lay aside his books and renew the struggle in other fields. For a time he was business manager of the Evansville (Ind.) *Courier*; afterwards at Cleveland in the employ of a commercial agency; later with a lumber firm at New York Mills, Minn. Moving to North Dakota in 1880, he was for a time employed in trade, and later became cashier of the First National Bank of Casselton. He was elected treasurer of Cass county and twice reelected, and then chosen governor of North Dakota, succeeding the first governor, John Miller, who served but one term of two years. He is a thirty-third degree Mason.

Governor Burke left North Dakota and took up his residence in Duluth from a desire to engage in the active business life of a growing city. His success in public life and his excellent business record opened the way for him to take a leading part in the affairs of the new commercial metropolis at the head of Lake Superior. His career is a striking example of the opportunities afforded by the West for young men of character and energy to make their way to high positions without any help from family connections or from inherited wealth. As a child he was a homeless orphan, with no kindred to give him sympathy or assistance; yet he rose to be the chief magistrate of a great state, honored and trusted by all her citizens. One factor in his success in a political career is his unfailing courtesy and kindness of manner. He makes many warm friends, and never loses one through any failure on his part to recognize the rights and interests of other people. Governor Burke took a hearty interest in the reciprocity movement which produced an international convention at Grand Forks in 1892, and the larger gathering in St. Paul in 1893, and he presided over the former assembly. He has also been active in the international movement for a deep waterway from Duluth to the Atlantic.



KOERNER, AUGUST T.—August T. Koerner, treasurer of the State of Minnesota, was born in 1843 at Rodach, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. His parents were poor, and young Koerner had no greater advantages than the common schools afforded. At the age of fourteen we find him working in a toy factory near his home. Craving a wider field and better opportunities, he came to America about a year later, and spent three years in Missouri and Indiana.

April 17, 1861, he enlisted for three months in Company G, Sixth Indiana Volunteers, and on the day of his discharge he reënlisted for three years in Company H, Twenty-sixth Indiana Volunteers. Discharged Jan. 31, 1864, he veteranized the same day, and was finally discharged June 25, 1865, having served as a fighting private four years, two months and eight days. Mr. Koerner's army experience was an active one. He was first sent into the West Virginia campaign, where he was engaged in the battles of Phillippi, Laurel Hill, and Carrick's Ford. Then for a year and a half he was helping chase Price through Missouri, where he was wounded at Prairie Grove. From thence he went to the siege of Vicksburg, and then to Texas and Louisiana, the close of hostilities finding him at New Orleans, where he received his discharge.

After being mustered out, he spent a year or two keeping books at Troy, Ill., and then, in 1867, located on a farm near Litchfield, Minn. He has since lived in and near that beautiful village.

Mr. Koerner's early political affiliations were with the Democratic party. From 1868 to 1874 he was associated with the greenback movement. Since that time the Republican party has claimed him, and for four years he has been a member of the state central committee. He has held the office of clerk and other minor positions in the village of Litchfield. From 1878 to 1884 he was register of deeds of Meeker county, and in 1891 he was made postmaster of Litchfield by President Harrison. This position he resigned in 1892, upon which he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature. In the spring of 1894



AUGUST T. KOERNER.

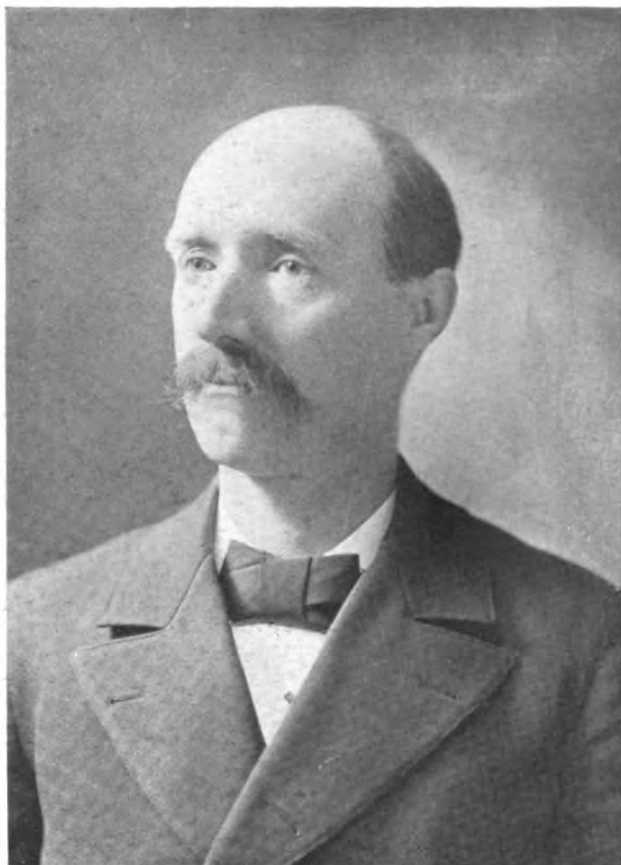
he and Senator Leavitt organized the Meeker County Abstract and Loan Company. Of this company Mr. Koerner was chosen president, a position he still holds.

In the fall of 1894 he was the Republican candidate for state treasurer, and was elected by a plurality of 80,836 over Charles A. Lambert of Carver county, and by a majority of more than 11,000 over all opponents.

Mr. Koerner is a member of the Christian Church of Litchfield. In 1868 he joined the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and in 1878 he became a Mason, and has since been commander of Melita Commandery, No. 17, Knights

Templar. He early became a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and has been post commander of Frank Daggett Post, No. 35.

While keeping books at Troy, Ill., in 1865, he came to Litchfield, and took back with him as his wife, Miss Katie McGannon. Six children have blessed their union, three of whom are still living. Mamie, the eldest, is the wife of Wm. Miller of Litchfield; P. C. Koerner, twenty-four years of age, is a clerk in the treasurer's office; while Pauline, the youngest, is a girl of twelve and chiefly interested in school-books.



ROBERT C. DUNN.

DUNN, ROBERT C.—Robert C. Dunn, familiarly known throughout Minnesota as "Fighting Bob Dunn," was born at Plumb Bridge, Tyrone county, Ireland, Feb. 14, 1855. His father, Robert Dunn, and his mother, whose maiden name was Jane Campbell, are both of sturdy Scotch-Irish stock, and the son has evidently inherited from them much of his perseverance and untiring energy.

The old people are still living, in well-to-do circumstances, at Plumb Bridge, tilling their own land, and thus escaping the necessity of helping to support that curse of Ireland, the landlord. An elder brother, who still clings to the old sod, is magistrate of his district.

Robert attended the common schools until about fourteen, when he became an apprentice in a dry goods store, about twenty miles from home. This occupation was not to his liking, so he took his destiny into his own hands, and started for America. The home of an uncle, living near Portage City, Wis., was his objective point, and there, in the employ of his kinsman, he "earned his first dollar." Here he found his first steady and lucrative employment. A year at Portage City, and then we find him at St. Louis, where he learned the printer's trade, and fitted himself for the life work that he has since followed.

In 1876, at twenty-one years of age, he came to Minnesota, and at the village of Princeton, Mille Lacs county, started the *Princeton Union*, which is now twenty years of age, and according to its editor, "the best paper in Minnesota, pays freight as it goes, and never had to borrow, beg, or steal a cent from anyone."

When Robert Dunn located at Princeton, he was not old, but what he lacked in age he made up in energy, and soon made his presence felt in the community. It is said that an Irishman takes to politics as a duck takes to water, and the young editor soon proved the truth of the adage by securing the office of town clerk,—a position he held till 1889, and would probably be holding still if the people had not got rid of him by giving him a better office. The duties of editor and town clerk were not sufficient to employ his energy, so in 1884 he was elected county attorney of Mille Lacs county, and was reelected in 1886. In the fall of 1888 he was sent to the legislature to represent the counties of Todd, Morrison, Mille Lacs, and Crow Wing, where he served on the railroad and other committees, and was chairman of the committee on printing. That he was not a member of the legislature of 1891 was not his fault. He tried hard enough, and even contested the seat of his opponent, who was declared elected by only two majority. But the fates were against him this time, and he settled down to the sole occupation of editing the *Princeton Union*.

In 1892 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Minneapolis, and that fall he was again elected to his old seat in the state legislature. It was during this session that Mr. Dunn started the famous pine land investigation, which has resulted in recovering to the state many thousands of dollars for pine that had been unlawfully taken from state lands.

In the fall of 1894 Mr. Dunn was nominated for state auditor and elected by a plurality of 71,544 over his Democratic opponent, and by a majority of more than 7,000 over all. As the term is for four years, he is not losing any sleep yet over the problem of a renomination.

Mr. Dunn has been an outspoken advocate of the taxation of unused railway lands, and is now trying to place on the assessment rolls the millions of dollars' worth of mineral lands that have heretofore escaped taxation. His efforts

to recover for the state the valuable lands of "Section 30," worth perhaps a million of dollars, is worthy of special notice.

The state auditor is a member of the Masonic fraternity, but in most respects is not much of a club man.

On Feb. 14, 1887, the thirty-second anniversary of his birth, he was united in marriage to Miss Lydia McKenzie. They are now the happy parents of two bright children, George and Grace, who are quite able to hold their own with their schoolmates.



HUNT, LEWIS PIERCE.—Lewis P. Hunt, president and manager of the Free Press Printing Company of Mankato, Minn., was born at Edwards, N. Y., in 1854. His father, Nathan F. Hunt, was a native of Vermont, born there in 1811. While he was a lad he removed to St. Lawrence county, New York, and was for several years employed at the shoemaker's trade. In 1832 he married Caroline Gates, a native of St. Lawrence county, and to them were born fifteen children, twelve of whom grew to manhood and womanhood, and eleven of whom are still living. The old people lived together fifty-eight years, the father surviving until May 14, 1890, and the mother until Sept. 31, 1894. Nathan Hunt, in 1860, acquired part ownership of, and the position of manager in, a large manufacturing plant in Edwards, St. Lawrence county, New York, for the manufacture of wagons, carriages, axles, etc. A prosperous business was carried on until 1864, when the plant was entirely destroyed by fire, causing a loss of \$150,000. This left Mr. Hunt without resources, yet with a large family dependent upon him. He came West with his family, and located at Independence, Iowa, remaining there five years. He then engaged in farming near Jesup, but misfortune and failing health, and a longing for the scenes of his younger and more prosperous days, induced him and his wife to return to New York in 1871, where they remained until they died. Mr. Hunt never recovered his fortune. Owing to his father's misfortunes Lewis Pierce, the subject of this sketch, was obliged to strike out for himself while yet a mere lad, and while the family still resided on the farm near Jesup, Iowa. At the age of twelve he began to learn the printing business. He had received only such education as a boy of that age could acquire in the public schools,—chiefly in country schools,—and it may be said, therefore, that the printing office has been his school and the type-case his educator. He was but thirteen years of age when he took charge of a country office, and always thereafter, until engaged in business for himself, he had either the foremanship of the mechanical departments or the editorial charge of the papers on which he was employed. In February, 1881, Mr. Hunt engaged in busi-

ness for himself by purchasing, in connection with F. E. Cornish, the Lanesboro (Minn.) *Journal*. In October of the same year he purchased a half interest in the *Mankato Free Press*, and in the following September bought out his partner and conducted the business alone, publishing a weekly paper until 1887, when he formed a stock company and started a daily edition. This paper has met with remarkable success under his direction. In 1895 he built a handsome business block for its occupancy, which makes it beyond a doubt the model country printing office of Minnesota.



LEWIS P. HUNT.

Mr. Hunt has always been an active and consistent Republican, but the only office he ever held which could be regarded as political was that of postmaster under President Arthur, from March, 1883, to May, 1885, when he was removed by President Cleveland to make room for a Democrat. He was named as a member of the Minnesota World's Fair Commission, and in 1891 was elected superintendent of the Minnesota state exhibits at the World's Fair. The state had only appropriated \$50,000, and it was generally agreed that that was not sufficient to make a satisfactory showing at the Exposition. Mr. Hunt was, therefore, au-

thorized to solicit subscriptions for a fund of \$100,000 to supplement the legislative appropriation, and was actively engaged in collecting this money for nearly a year. He was entirely successful, and, as a result, his state was well represented and the guarantors were subsequently reimbursed at a later session of the legislature. Following his success in raising this fund his time was devoted to collecting and installing exhibits and superintending the Minnesota exhibition at Chicago until the close of the fair, and until the exhibits were returned to the state. In 1896 he was delegate at large to the National Republican Convention at St. Louis.

In 1874, while not yet twenty years of age, Mr. Hunt exemplified his love of home life by marrying Miss Elizabeth



SAMUEL R. VAN SANT.

Putnam, his junior in years and a native of New Hampshire. He is popular in social and business circles, a member of the Knights of Pythias, and at present one of the supreme representatives for this grand domain.



VAN SANT, SAMUEL R.—S. R. Van Sant (formerly spelled Van Zandt, in the old Holland way), speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives of 1895, was born at Rock Island, Ill., May 11, 1844. As his name indicates, he is of Holland stock—of Knickerbocker descent. His great-grandfather, Johannis Van Sant, was born in New Jersey in 1726, and died in 1820. His grand-

father, Rev. Nicholas Van Sant, a Methodist minister, was born in New Jersey, and died in his ninety-first year. His father was born in Burlington county, New Jersey, in 1810, and still lives. All of Samuel's early ancestors were ship-builders and sailors. It was said of his great-grandfather that he could build a ship, and rig her and sail her to any part of the world. Johannis was actively engaged in the marine service during the Revolutionary War. Rev. Nicholas Van Sant served in the War of 1812, and at the time of his death was a pensioner. Samuel's father, John Wesley Van Sant, came West in 1837, settled at Rock Island, Ill., and endured all the hardships of pioneer life. Upon his arrival he began at once the building and repairing of steamboats, and all his children followed this occupation. He was an Abolitionist, and his father before him was an Abolitionist.

During Abraham Lincoln's campaign for the United States Senate, Samuel R. Van Sant, then fourteen years old, took the liveliest interest in the stirring race made by Lincoln against Douglas. During Lincoln's first campaign for President of the United States young Van Sant, at the age of sixteen, was a "Wideawake," and bore his torch in the ranks of the thousands of ardent followers of Lincoln. In a speech made by Stephen A. Douglas at Rock Island, Mr. Douglas made the remark: "Who is Abraham Lincoln? He would never have been heard of but for me. I made him." At this point young Van Sant's Republicanism overflowed, and he shouted out, at the top of his voice: "Yes; and when you made him you made a President!"

When Fort Sumter was fired upon, Samuel was a student in the Rock Island high school; and, though not yet seventeen years old, he enlisted at the first call for troops. He was rejected on account of his youth. He enlisted several times afterwards, and was rejected each time for the same cause. In August, 1861, he enlisted in Company A, Ninth Illinois Cavalry, and was rejected until his father's written consent was given. He served in the war more than three years as a private, most of the time belonging to Grierson's famous raiders, operating in Mississippi, Tennessee, and the Southwest.

After the war young Van Sant attended and graduated from Burnam's American Business College, situated at Hudson, N. Y., and feeling the need of more education, attended Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., two years. Soon thereafter he went into the boatyard business with his father at Le Claire, Iowa. He there built the first raft boat of large power ever constructed purposely for the rafting business, naming it the J. W. Van Sant, after his father, who was his partner. At present Captain Van Sant is engaged in the transportation business, conveying down the Mississippi river logs and lumber to various mills and concerns, operating a dozen or more steamboats. He is also a member of the Carnival City Packet Company,

running steamboats between Davenport and Burlington, and Keokuk and Quincy.

Captain Van Sant (he gets his title from the steamboat business, and not from army associations), moved to Winona in 1883. He was elected alderman of that city, and served one term. He was also elected to represent the Winona district in the House of Representatives of 1893, carrying a Democratic district in which President Cleveland received a majority of 150, Captain Van Sant receiving a majority of 64. He was elected to succeed himself in the legislature, and was the distinguished speaker of the House of 1895. During his first term in the legislature he was chairman of the state normal school committee, and owing to his efforts and to the efforts of the chairman of the State Senate committee, the normal schools of the state were placed upon a permanent foundation.

The captain is an enthusiastic member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and has served twice as commander of the John Ball Post. In 1893 he was elected senior vice department commander of Minnesota, and in 1894 he was elected department commander without opposition. During his two years as a department officer he traveled over twenty thousand miles, visiting posts and conducting camp fires and memorial services. He was one of the many active men who, at Louisville, secured the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic of 1896 for St. Paul, and he was one of the leading candidates for governor in 1896.

In 1868 he was married at Le Claire, Iowa, to Miss Ruth Hall. They have had three children, only one of whom, a son, is living.



TAWNEY, JAMES ALBERTUS.—James A. Tawney of Winona, now serving his second term in Congress, is a young man with a brilliant record. He was born in Mount Pleasant township, near Gettysburg, Pa., Jan. 3, 1855. His father was a farmer and a blacksmith. At fifteen years of age he began as an apprentice in his father's blacksmith shop. After mastering that trade he learned the trade of a machinist. Mr. Tawney arrived in Winona Aug. 1, 1877, obtained employment as a machinist, and continued in that business until Jan. 1, 1881, when he began the study of law in the office of Bentley & Vance of Winona. During the two years prior to this he had studied law mornings and evenings at his home. He was admitted to the bar July 10, 1882. After this he attended the law school of the University of Wisconsin. This was the only school of any kind he had attended since he was fourteen years old. Mr. Tawney was elected to the State Senate from Winona in 1890. He was a delegate to the state convention of July 28, 1892, and made the nominating

speech for Knute Nelson for governor. In the State Senate of 1893 he was chairman of the committee on municipal corporations.

In the fall of 1892 Mr. Tawney was elected to represent the First district of Minnesota in the Thirty-third Congress, defeating W. H. Harries, Democrat, who was a candidate for reelection, by a plurality of 3,141 votes. He made his maiden speech in Congress Oct. 6, 1893, combating the bill of Hon. Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia, to repeal the Federal Elections Law. At the conclusion of his effort Mr. Tucker and several other Democratic congressmen, as well as Republican members, declared that it was by far the strongest and best speech made against the bill.



JAMES A. TAWNEY.

Jan. 19, 1894, Mr. Tawney made his famous speech on barley, which gave him the pseudonym of "Barley Jim." The Democratic side of the house was engaged in its scheme to tear down the tariffs upon farm products. Mr. Tawney presented a petition signed by 1,500 barley raisers in his district protesting against the reduction of tariff on that cereal, and showing that any reduction would result in letting in Canadian barley at a rate that would seriously injure their industry.

He showed that, prior to the enactment of the McKinley tariff law, from 1884 to 1890 inclusive, "we imported from Canada 72,173,458 bushels of barley, for which we paid the Canadian—not American—farmers \$46,948,575, less

the cost of transportation." Mr. Lockwood, Democratic member from New York, representing the interests of the New York maltsters, contended that the Canadian barley was far superior to the American barley for malting purposes. Mr. Tawney showed by undisputed authority that the American barley—that raised in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, and on the Pacific Coast—is not only equal to the Canadian barley, but superior to it for malting purposes, and that it is used in preference by the Milwaukee brewers, St. Louis brewers, and all the heavy brewing con-



SAMUEL T. LITTLETON.

cerns of the country. The speech was in line with the theory of Republicans, that the Democrats, in tinkering with the tariff, had sectional political feelings in view more than the general interests of the nation. On Jan. 24, 1894, Mr. Tawney followed up this idea with another speech for the maintenance of the McKinley tariff on iron ore. In this speech he arraigned the Democratic party directly, charging that they were fixing up a tariff to suit their political interests. It was a very able effort, and received marked attention. On January 25th following he made a powerful speech in opposition to the effort of Mr. Wilson

and his followers to repeal the reciprocity measure of the McKinley bill. It was an unanswerable argument, showing facts and figures of the increase of our foreign trade under that provision.

At another time Mr. Tawney prepared and introduced a resolution of inquiry as to the construction which the Department of the Interior had placed upon the act of Dec. 21, 1893, making it unlawful to withhold the payment of a pension without first giving the pensioner due notice. The resolution passed the House, and was referred to the Attorney General for his opinion. He held that Mr. Tawney's construction was correct, and as a result several million dollars were immediately paid to pensioners which had been withheld by the Interior Department. On March 5, 1894, he made a strong speech, in which he arraigned the Democratic party in severe terms upon the bill presented by the Democrats of the House, making a very limited appropriation for the operation of the Pension Bureau. He also prepared and introduced a bill for the settlement of controversies between railways and their employes by arbitration. The bill was referred to the judiciary committee, and afterwards sections of it were included in the Olney bill, which passed.

His brilliant record in the Fifty-third Congress won for him a nomination for reelection, and he was reelected by an overwhelming majority to succeed himself in Congress.

Mr. Tawney's record in the State Senate was also a brilliant one, and a strong forecast of what he would be as a congressman. Among the many measures which he introduced in the Senate and worked into laws was the bill prohibiting special legislation. He procured the repeal of the struck-jury law.

As a lawyer, Mr. Tawney has, almost from the beginning of his legal career, stood among the leaders of the bar of Minnesota. His practice has included some of the heaviest cases tried in the state.

He was married at Winona, Dec. 19, 1883, to Miss Emma B. Newell, and they have five children.

In June, 1896, Mr. Tawney was renominated for Congress by the unanimous vote of the Republican convention of his district.



LITTLETON, SAMUEL T.—Samuel T. Littleton of Kasson, Dodge county, Minnesota, was born in Chariton county, Missouri, Dec. 3, 1858. His father's name is Joseph Dodson Littleton, the mother's maiden name being Sarah Ann Parks. Joseph Littleton lives on a farm at Salisbury, Mo. Although he resided in a strong slave county during the War of the Rebellion, he was opposed to slavery, and served in the Union army. His wife was born in Ten-

nessee and raised in Missouri, and her people were large slaveholders and sympathized with the Southern cause. Samuel's paternal ancestors came from England, and settled in Maine and Kentucky between the years 1750 and 1780. They were nearly all farmers, a few only taking to the pulpit or to the law. Among the latter was Lord Littleton of England, author of "Littleton's Tenures." His maternal ancestors were natives of Ireland, and were, in most instances, wealthy farmers. They came to this country about the year 1790.

Samuel's early education was received in a log school-house. At the age of sixteen he began teaching. He continued his studies, however, and afterwards graduated from the high school. In 1887 he began the practice of law in West Concord, Minn. Two years later he moved to Kasson, his present home, where he has established a large practice that extends throughout many counties. In 1894 he formed a law partnership with John C. McCaughey, a recent graduate of the state university. Since going to Kasson Mr. Littleton has been elected mayor of the town twice, and in 1894 he was elected to represent his district in the Minnesota House of Representatives.

Among his most noted law cases was that of *Sparrow vs. Pond*, decided by the supreme court in May, 1892. It was known as the Blackberry case. The main question was whether blackberries growing on the bushes were real or personal property. Although the case went against him, Mr. Littleton's brief and argument caused him to be the recipient of many compliments. It was the leading case of the kind in the United States.

He has always been a Republican. While in the legislature he served as chairman of the committee on claims, was a member of the judiciary committee, and he was also on the committee on municipal legislation. He was selected by the judiciary committee to make the legal argument for the report of the committee on the impeachment of Judge Ives.

On Feb. 5, 1881, in Topeka, Kan., Mr. Littleton was married to Laura A. Sheldon. They have one child, Melvin Albertis, aged fourteen, who is far advanced in music, is an accomplished pianist, and will doubtless adopt music as a profession. The subject of this sketch belongs to the Methodist church, is an Odd Fellow, a Modern Woodman, an A. O. U. W., and a Mason.



GJERTSEN, HENRY J.—Among the rising young attorneys of the Hennepin county bar few can lay claim to a wider or more successful practice than Henry J. Gjertsen. Descended from the hardy Norwegian race, he has inherited physical and mental endowments that could not fail to bring him success in whatever field his life work might be chosen. His father, Herman J.

Gjertsen, was a sea captain in his early days, and ran a vessel from Bergen to the northern ports, where he met and married Albertina Wulf. The family of Gjertsen at Bergen and the family of Wulf in the far North were both well-known and highly respected. Among both families we find merchants, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and men of broad views and large affairs, who, in their respective communities, were leaders and molders of public opinion.

Henry J. Gjertsen was born Oct. 8, 1861, at Tromsøe, in Northern Norway, but came with his parents, at six years



HENRY J. GJERTSEN.

of age, and located on a farm in the town of Richfield, Hennepin county, Minnesota, where he passed his youth, attending the district school and helping about his father's farm. His parents designed him for the ministry; so, after spending three years in the Minneapolis high school, he entered the theological seminary at Red Wing, where he spent three years in study, completing in that time the six-year collegiate course, and preparing himself for his theological studies. At this time a change came over him, and, instead of becoming a preacher, he determined to adopt the legal profession. Accordingly he returned to Minneapolis,

and, after two years of hard study, was admitted to practice in all the courts of the state. While reading law, a peculiar thing occurred: A case on which he was employed by the plaintiff was taken to the supreme court by the defendant, and thus Mr. Gjertsen's name appears on the record as attorney before the supreme bench before he was ever admitted to practice. After admission he opened offices with Robert Christensen, and continued the partnership for three years. During the years of his practice he has taken many cases to the supreme court, and has been almost uniformly successful. After the crash of 1893 he

Mr. Gjertsen attends the Gethsemane Episcopal Church in Minneapolis, is a member of the Masonic order, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Elks, the Knights of Pythias, and belongs to the Board of Trade and the Commercial Club.

His political affiliations have always been with the Republican party, in whose councils he has been active as a member of city, county, and congressional committees, as a delegate to many conventions, and as a speaker from the platform in every campaign for the last ten years. He was prominently mentioned in 1894 for district judge, but has never held nor sought political preferment. His only ambition is one common to all lawyers,—that of some day being thought worthy of a seat on the judicial bench.



FRANK B. DAUGHERTY.

was extensively connected with litigation relative to failed banks. In 1892 he was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court, and he has had several cases there. Business has come to him freely, and a large practice has grown up.

Although of Norwegian birth, and speaking all the Scandinavian languages, as well as German, English is the language he wields most fluently.

On Jan. 4, 1882, he was united by marriage with Miss Gretchen Goebel, a native of Germany, who had come to this country with her parents in her early childhood. Their only child is an interesting little girl of ten.

DAUGHERTY, FRANK BERTINE.—It is not often that one meets a man who, entirely unaided and by his own mental endowments and perseverance, has, from a very meager beginning, forged to the front and attained the prominence and position that Frank B. Daugherty has. His early life was not surrounded with the advantages that boys and young men of even moderate circumstances enjoy to-day, but, with the determination that recognized no such thing as failure, he started out to achieve success and he achieved it. He was born at Rosendale, Wis., June 7, 1850. His father, Jonathan Daugherty, was editor and owner of the *Oshkosh Democrat*, but died in 1855, when the subject of this sketch was a youth of five years. He was an important factor in Wisconsin politics up to the day of his death, having been for several years a member of the Wisconsin legislature, and for a term of years county treasurer of Winnebago county. Frank B. Daugherty's early education consisted in attending the public schools until he was eight years of age, when he commenced working in a factory at the modest sum of twenty-five cents per day of ten hours. From that time until his permanent location in Duluth in August, 1878, his occupations and locations were exceedingly varied, and consisted in finding work when and where the best opportunity offered. Be it said to his credit, however, that he never made a change without bettering his condition. During the four years following the date he was obliged to leave school, we find him engaged in the various occupations of working in a saw mill, selling papers on the street, and as cabin boy on the river boats. At twelve years of age he "struck out" in the world, and left home to become a sailor on the great lakes, and followed that for the next eight years, advancing to various positions until he became a captain at nineteen years of age. At twenty he joined a railroad surveying party as a chainman. Later he became rodman in a surveying party during the construction of the Marquette, Houghton & Ontonagon Railroad. Still later he was made

a division engineer and assistant chief engineer of this same road, and on its completion he was made superintendent of the iron ore docks. With an eye to improving his business, and seeing the large sums of money made in the contracting lines, he resigned his position with the above named railroad company and entered the employ of the large contracting firm of E. T. Williams & Co., holding the position of manager. In 1884 he became a partner in this firm, and its active business manager. He followed this business up to Jan. 1, 1896, when he sold his interest and moved his family to St. Paul, where he now resides at 579 Summit avenue.

During his residence in Duluth Mr. Daugherty was prominently identified with the administration of the affairs of that city, and an active worker in Republican county, legislative, congressional, and state politics. He was for four years a member of the Duluth city council, two years of which he was president of that body. He was for four years a member and president of the board of fire commissioners of Duluth, and it is to Mr. Daugherty, more than to any other man, that is due the building up of the splendid fire department that is now the pride of that city. Later he was elected to the State Senate from St. Louis county, and served four years. In 1892 he was delegate at large from Minnesota to the National Republican Convention, held at Minneapolis, and was one of the ardent advocates of the renomination of President Harrison. At present he is chairman of the Sixth District Republican Congressional Committee, and one of the acknowledged leaders of the Republican forces in Northeastern Minnesota.

In December, 1875, Mr. Daugherty was married in Detroit, Mich., to Miss Lucie M. Matile, and has a family of three boys. During their residence in Duluth they were active members of the Episcopal Church, and prominent in Zenith City's social circles. Mr. Daugherty is a member of the Kitchigammi Club of Duluth, and is also a prominent Mason. He is a member of Palestine Lodge, No. 79, Keystone Chapter, No. 20, Duluth Council, No. 6, and Duluth Commandery, No. 18.



SCHURMEIER, THEODORE LEOPOLD.—He who writes the biography of Theodore L. Schurmeier epitomizes the history of a man who has won for himself a distinguished position in the estimation of the entire Northwestern public. He was born in St. Louis, Mo., March 14, 1852. His parents were natives of Germany. Caspar H. Schurmeier, the father, emigrated to this country with his family, and became a prominent manufacturer of carriages in St. Louis. In 1855 he sold his interests in the Missouri city, and moved to St. Paul, where he invested largely in real estate. St. Paul was a small town

then, but he had confidence in its future, and was content to await its development.

Theodore received his early education in the public schools, and finished it at the Baldwin University in Berea, Ohio. In 1870, when eighteen years of age, J. J. Hill, the well-known president of the Great Northern Railroad Company, gave him a clerkship in a railway office and advanced him rapidly. He remained with this company three years, and then entered the First National Bank of St. Paul in order to become thoroughly proficient in financial matters and the banking business, a work which he pursued



THEODORE L. SCHURMEIER.

until 1878. On July 1, 1878, the firm of Lindekes, Warner & Schurmeier, importers and jobbers of dry goods, was organized in St. Paul, and the subject of this sketch resigned from the bank to enter upon his duties under the new partnership. He assumed full charge of the firm's finances and credits, and under his able management the house soon gained a position which placed it in the front rank of the great business enterprises of the Northwest. There is probably no more popular house in the whole country. The excellent judgment, promptness, and general efficiency of its management are universally recognized, and have en-

abled the house to maintain its leading position throughout the most trying period in commercial history.

Aside from the duties devolving upon him in his own counting-rooms, Mr. Schurmeier is a director in the First National Bank of St. Paul and in the St. Paul Trust Company, and he is also vice president of the corporation known as C. Gotzian & Company, manufacturers and jobbers of boots and shoes, and president of the Schurmeier Land and Improvement Company. His real estate holdings are large. Some of the property was inherited from his father, and, having been bought before St. Paul had grown to its pres-

prominent part in the management of charitable institutions, to which he gives valuable time and liberal contributions. Very naturally, Mr. Schurmeier is prominent in all social and club ways. He is a member of the Commercial Club of St. Paul, the Minnesota Club, the Town and Country Club, the Chicago Club, and trustee of St. Luke's Hospital. He is a strong Republican, and is chairman of the Republican city and county committee. Under his chairmanship the entire Republican city ticket was elected in the last campaign. Among his prominent positions is that of president of the Northwestern Immigration Association, of which he is one of the chief promoters. He is also president of the Minnesota State Immigration Association.

In November, 1882, Mr. Schurmeier married Miss Caroline E. Gotzian, daughter of the late Conrad Gotzian. Three children have resulted from this union—Conradine, aged twelve; Theodora, aged eight; and Hildegard, aged five. It is a happy home, abounding in honor and prosperity.



WALTER L. CHAPIN.

ent size and importance, has now acquired large and permanent value. Indeed, the fortunes of the prominent real estate owners of St. Paul do not in the least rest upon speculative values; they are founded as securely as those of the Astors in New York City.

The early home influences of zealous Christian parents had a marked effect on Theodore, and witnessed his development into all the graces of Christian manhood. No man is less selfish—none more benevolent. His benevolence does not partake of the abstract order; it is broad, general, active, and thoroughly human. It has led him to take a

CHAPIN, WALTER LEEDS.—Walter L. Chapin is one of the most active as well as one of the best known young attorneys in St. Paul, and it may be said to his credit that what success he has attained has been due neither to luck nor to the influence of relations or friends, but to his own indomitable pluck, backed up by a vigorous mind and an honest and laudable ambition to put himself in the front rank of his chosen profession. Born in Boston on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1863, his life has practically been spent in St. Paul. He came here June 25, 1869, when only six years of age. His father, George Aaron Chapin, was a wholesale hardware merchant in Boston up to 1864. In 1869 he brought his family to St. Paul, and went into the hardware business with C. D. Strong, which later became the firm of Strong, Hackett & Chapin. Mr. Chapin's mother was Miss Sarah Homans Davis of Boston, whose father, Gilman Davis, was private secretary to the first Josiah Quincy, and whose grandfather, Eliphalet Davis, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. Aside from the childhood training received from a mother who was possessed of both education and refinement, Mr. Chapin's early education was received in the public schools of St. Paul. At twelve he entered the high school. Three years later, while in his junior year, the untimely death of his father necessitated his leaving school. He found employment in the city engineer's office in St. Paul, and remained there two years. The character of the work here was not to his taste, so following the bent of his ambition he left that and began reading law in the office of McMillan & Beals, where he remained for one year. He then accepted a situation in the office of the board of public works, in November, 1882, and stayed there till June 1, 1884, when he resigned to take

the position of deputy in the city treasurer's office, where he remained until September, 1886. During these four years of active work he found time to complete his law studies and prepare himself for admission to the bar by examination, Feb. 7, 1885. In October, 1886, he opened a law office in St. Paul, and Jan. 1, 1887, Col. C. B. Lamborn offered him the position of tax commissioner in the land department of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which he held until January, 1889, when he resigned to again take up the practice of law in this city. During the subsequent years he had only one partnership, and that lasted less than a year and a half. In March, 1893, he was made third assistant city attorney, and in May, 1894, he became first assistant, and remained in that position until the change from a Republican to a Democratic administration. It was while assistant in the office of the city attorney that he thoroughly demonstrated to his friends and associates the metal that was in him, and which showed him to possess legal acumen seldom found in a man of his years. Perhaps the most notable cases in which he took part during these years are what has become known in the history of the administration of the city attorney's office as the waterworks case, the Broadway bridge and the levee cases of the city against the Great Northern Railway Company and Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, in all three of which Mr. Chapin was actively associated with his superior officer. In the division of the work in the office of the city attorney that portion of it relating to the care of the real estate interests of the city fell to the lot of Mr. Chapin, and never was it better or more ably looked after in the history of this city.

In politics Mr. Chapin is an active member of the Republican party, and among the foremost in its councils in this city and county, ever responding to the call of his party, regardless of his personal interest. In 1894 he was the Republican candidate for county attorney against the strongest Democrat ever nominated in Ramsey county, and though his opponent had the benefit of the combined Democrat and Populist nominations, the election was considered a close one.

On July 7, 1887, Mr. Chapin was married to Susan Winifred Sewall of St. Paul, and has a family of two children. To say that his friends predict for him a life of usefulness and prominence in his chosen profession is only to say that he will carry out the life work so auspiciously begun.



COTTON, JOSEPH BELL.—Hon. Joseph B. Cotton, next to the youngest representative in the legislature of 1893, and one of the leaders of the House, was born on a farm near Albion, Noble county, Indiana, Jan. 6, 1865. His father was Dr. John Cotton, and his mother was formerly Miss Elizabeth J. Riddle. His

father was a direct descendant of Rev. John Cotton of New England fame, and also of Cotton Mather. The most distinguished member of the family in later years was Bishop Phillips Brooks of Boston. Joseph's father and mother were born in Ohio. His mother's father was the son of Judge Riddle of Ohio, and her mother was Traney Mar Knox. Her immediate ancestors came from Pennsylvania, and were descendants of Rev. John Knox, the great Presbyterian divine of Scotland.

Mr. Cotton's early education was obtained in the common schools of Indiana. He graduated from the high school



JOSEPH B. COTTON.

at Albion, and his collegiate course was taken at the Michigan Agricultural and Mechanical College at Lansing, from which school he graduated in 1886, after taking a Latin-scientific course, with the degree of B. S. He was a tutor in mathematics two years at that institution, and during this time studied law under Hon. Edwin Willits, then president of the institution and a former member of Congress from the Monroe district of Michigan for three or four terms, and first assistant secretary of agriculture under President Harrison's administration.

Mr. Cotton was admitted to the bar before the supreme court of Michigan in June, 1888. Thereupon he resigned his

tutorship and came to Minnesota, arriving Sept. 20, 1888. He located in Duluth and at once began the practice of his profession. It was not long before he occupied a front rank among the lawyers of the state, and he is now the general solicitor of the Duluth, Messabe & Northern Railway Company, and also of the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines.

In September, 1892, the Republicans of St. Louis, Lake, and Cook counties nominated Mr. Cotton by acclamation to represent them in the lower house of the legislature. In the legislature which followed he quickly stepped to the front as one of the leaders of the House. He introduced and succeeded in passing a bill for a third judge for the Eleventh judicial district. It was in part to accomplish this work that he was sent to the legislature. He also introduced and carried through a bill which provided that owners of mining property, when owning one-half, or a majority, of the land, can mine and operate the whole mine without a partition, and by merely accounting for profits. This measure was regarded as important to mining parties, where lands were owned by tenants and in common. It has aided in developing important mining properties which had lain idle. Mr. Cotton took an active part in the fight for a new state capitol, and helped to secure the passage of the bill. He also took a very active part in the proposed terminal elevator legislation, which was aimed to bring terminal elevators under the same restrictions as local elevators, and, aided by the other members of the St. Louis delegation, he was instrumental in defeating those measures. He succeeded, with many other Republicans, in killing off a series of measures of Populist tendencies which were sailing under the cloak of Republicanism. In nearly all the important legislation of that session he took an active part. With others he defended the constitutionality of the so-called "Scalpers' Bill" in the House. He was a member of the subcommittee of the House judiciary committee on corporation law, and was also a member of the grain and warehouse, municipal corporations, tax and tax laws committees. His theory was to pass very few measures,—the fewer the better,—and those only along remedial lines; hence, he devoted much of his effort to killing measures of a mere cumulative nature, or which would be class legislation.

He was an ardent supporter of Hon. C. K. Davis, and made the speech nominating Mr. Davis in the House for reelection to the United States Senate.

Mr. Cotton began his political career in 1888, when, after locating in Duluth, he made stump speeches for General Harrison and the Republican ticket throughout the northern part of Minnesota. He was secretary of the Republican city committee of Duluth in 1892.

His mother's people were originally Whigs. They became Republicans when the Republican party came into

existence. His father, before the war, was a Douglas Democrat. He was a Union man, and served in the Union army.

Since leaving the legislature Mr. Cotton has been a solicitor, as heretofore mentioned, and has devoted his time to the practice of corporation law. During the past two years he has been counsel in very heavy and important litigation.



AUSTIN, HORACE.—Horace Austin was born Oct. 15, 1831, at Canterbury, Conn. He received a common school education, after which for a time he worked at a trade. He studied law at Augusta, Me., and in the year 1854 removed to the West, finally settling at St. Peter, Minn. In 1863, as a captain of cavalry, he took active part in the Sibley campaign on the Missouri. The following year he became judge of the Sixth judicial district. In the fall of 1869 he was elected governor by about 2,000 majority, and the following January assumed the duties of the executive office.

There was much excellent advice to the legislature in Governor Austin's inaugural. He advocated, among other things, a revision of the criminal code, whose intricacies often led to injustice. Then, too, he thought such residue of swamp lands as should exist after present grants were satisfied ought to be expended in founding public school libraries. In his message of 1871 he made earnest review of many questions agitating the people, some of which became of grave import in the next decade, while others still remain as a heritage for future solution. He proposed to divide the internal improvement lands among the counties of the state, to be used for such purposes (in accord with the intent of the grant) as the citizens might elect; or, instead of making the gift direct, to sell the lands at a prescribed price, and allow the counties to use the interest on the permanent fund so created for such specific works as building bridges and making highways. He advocated the improvement of Duluth harbor by the general government, on account of the great future value it would have as a shipping port, especially for the products of the state. He opposed excessive special legislation; that is, such as provided for individual schemes, the incorporating of villages, and many other things which might be suitably provided for by general statute. Such matters retarded and often crowded out more important legislation. He recommended that elections of congressional and state officers should be arranged to come in the same year, in order to give time for an occasional calm in the political strife that constantly vexed the people in the midst of their private affairs.

He recommended, further, the calling of a convention to draft a new constitution in place of the one existing, which

he thought inherently weak and outgrown by the needs of the state.

During the year 1870 Congress granted two additional townships of land for the endowment of the university, thus placing it once more on a firm foundation; for the previous grant was long ere this almost entirely spent to pay an indebtedness incurred through early mismanagement.

The internal improvement lands, granted to the state in Governor Marshall's time, under a congressional act of 1841, had not been set apart for the support of public schools, as in the case of like grants in other states, and the legislature, in 1871, apportioned them among several railroad corporations that sought to obtain them. Governor Austin vetoed the bill. This led to an amendment of the constitution, Nov. 5, 1873, by which the legislature was restrained from appropriating the proceeds arising from the sale of these lands unless the enactment were first ratified by a majority of the popular electors.

Governor Austin was reelected in 1871 by a majority of about 16,000, showing the firm position he had gained in public favor. In his annual message of 1872 he made an appeal for biennial sessions of the legislature, on the ground that the necessity for frequent meetings, which arose in the early history of the state, when everything was in a formative condition, no longer existed.

Several amendments of moment were made to the constitution in 1872 and 1873. One provided for increasing the public debt, to maintain the charitable institutions of the state in a more effective manner. Another prohibited any village, city, or county from granting a bonus beyond ten per cent of its property valuation to any railroad asking aid. This valuation was to be determined by the assessment last made before the obligation was incurred. An amendment of later years reduced the per cent to five. The restriction was much needed; for there had always been a tendency on the part of the people to magnify the benefits to be derived from rendering such aid. Perhaps the most important of the list was one directing the sale of internal improvement lands at the rate obtained for school lands; the investing of the funds so obtained in United States and Minnesota bonds; and, as elsewhere said, forbidding the appropriation of the funds without the consent of the people.

Soon after retiring from the executive chair Governor Austin was called by President Grant to the important position of third auditor of the United States Treasury, where he served under Secretaries Bristow, Morrill, and Sherman, after which he held a place for about seven years in the Department of the Interior, and subsequently served the State of Minnesota for several years as chairman of the railway commission. He is now (1896) at the head of an important financial institution at Minneapolis, Minn.

SWISSHELM, JANE GREY.—One of the most earnest, courageous, and effective workers in the upbuilding of the Republican party in Minnesota in the day of its very beginnings was Jane Grey Swisshelm of St. Cloud. She believed firmly in the equal rights of all men and all women before the law, and her best energies were given from early life to the advocacy of the recognition of these rights. A deep-seated hatred of slavery had been intensified by a temporary residence in Kentucky, where she came in personal contact with this twin relic of barbarism and saw its iniquities and cruelties. Her pen and tongue were enlisted in the cause of the slave, and she became an enthusiastic worker in the ranks of the Republican party as the party of freedom.

Mrs. Swisshelm was born at Pittsburg, Dec. 6, 1815. Her father was Thomas Scott, a merchant, who lost his all through financial reverses, and her mother Mary Scott, whose mother was Jane Grey, a direct descendant of Lady Jane Grey, for a few brief days one of England's queens. Her immediate ancestors had subscribed to the "Solemn League and Covenant" in Scotland, and had endured great sufferings and bitter persecutions because of their faith. She was married Nov. 18, 1836, to James Swisshelm of Pittsburg, which continued to be her home. Having marked literary tastes, she became a few years later a contributor to various Philadelphia and Pittsburg papers, first under the *nom de plume* of "Jennie Deans" and afterwards under her own name; but more serious matters pressing upon her for consideration, she turned her attention to the discussion of political and social questions. Her letters were characterized by a vigor, directness, and keenness quite unusual in women writers at that date, and attracted wide attention. In 1848 she established at Pittsburg the *Saturday Visitor*, as a literary and political paper, in the columns of which she denounced unsparingly the horrors of slavery and those who defended the institution, and argued with great earnestness in behalf of a juster recognition of woman's right to the proceeds of her own industry and to inherited property. She allied herself with the Liberty party and the Free Soil party, and when the Republican party was organized at Pittsburg at once identified herself with it. She was always in the ranks of those who were battling for human liberty and a higher manhood and womanhood. While an earnest advocate of woman's rights, she had no sympathy with the vagaries of many of those connected with the movement, who seemed to think that the adoption of a certain kind of dress was the great end to be attained. In the early part of 1850 she went to Washington, under contract with Horace Greeley, as a regular correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, remaining there for some time, also editing her own paper. In the fall of 1856 the *Visitor* was sold to the proprietor of the

Pittsburg *Journal*, and consolidated with that paper. In June of the following year Mrs. Swisshelm, from considerations of health, removed to St. Cloud. There was then published in that place the *Minnesota Advertiser*, owned by the townsite proprietors, and intended mainly to boom the new town, a purpose it was serving only indifferently well and at considerable expense to its owners. Being urged to purchase the plant and assume charge of the paper, Mrs. Swisshelm did so, and Dec. 10, 1857, began its publication as the *St. Cloud Visitor*. Her keen and cutting anti-slavery



JANE G. SWISSELM.

articles aroused a bitter hostility on the part of certain local Democratic leaders, and on the night of March 24, 1858, the printing office was broken into, and the type, with a part of the machinery, scattered along the street or thrown into the Mississippi river. An indignation meeting of citizens was at once held, the outrage denounced, and assistance offered to secure a new outfit. This was obtained, and the publication of the paper promptly resumed, Mrs. Swisshelm abating not one jot of her assertion of the right of free speech and a free press. The name of the paper was changed soon afterwards to that of the *Demo-*

crat, although its politics continued to be radically Republican. Mrs. Swisshelm discussed fearlessly and with striking ability the issues which entered into state and national politics, devoting herself wholly to her editorial duties, except for occasional absences from home, when she delivered lectures in this and some of the adjoining states. In January, 1863, she went to Washington, and becoming interested in the army hospital work remained there, gave her time and efforts to the care of sick and wounded soldiers. In the fall of 1864 she returned to St. Cloud for a few days, disposed of her newspaper to her nephew, W. B. Mitchell, who had been connected with it in various capacities for a number of years, and going back to Washington, went almost immediately to the hospital at Fredericksburg, where there was the greatest need of skilled help, and remained until her health gave way. Returning again to Washington, and having very limited financial resources, she was given by Secretary Stanton a clerkship in the quartermaster general's office, a position she held but a short time, being summarily dismissed by the direct order of President Johnson for having ventured to criticise the policy of his administration. A successful lawsuit, begun that year and carried to the supreme court of the United States, gave her in later years a property in Pennsylvania,—the old homestead at Swissvale, some nine miles out of Pittsburg,—which yielded her a comfortable income. After leaving Washington, her remaining years were spent in St. Cloud, Chicago, and at Swissvale, with one year in Europe. While in Chicago, her only daughter and only child, Zo, was married to Mr. E. L. Allen, Northwestern manager of the Royal Insurance Company of Liverpool, now vice president of the German American Insurance Company of New York. While living in Chicago Mrs. Swisshelm was much with Mrs. Lincoln, widow of the martyred President, the two having much in common. The last days of her life were spent at the old homestead at Swissvale, where she died July 21, 1884. Reared in the strictest tenets of the Presbyterian faith, in her later years she was less rigid in her beliefs, and was in general sympathy with the preaching and doctrines of Professor Swing and Dr. Thomas, both of whom were her warm personal friends during her residence in Chicago.

Mrs. Swisshelm was radical from the intensity and honesty of her convictions. She hated wrong and injustice and oppression with a holy hatred, and with her whole soul she entered into the war against the institution of human slavery. Many a black man and woman did she aid in making their escape by way of the underground railroad from bondage to freedom, and she was as ready with her purse as with her pen to aid in the cause of freedom. She was on terms of close personal acquaintance with Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Gar-

rison, Edwin M. Stanton, George W. Julian, and many others of the great leaders in the anti-slavery and Union cause, and was a collaborer with Governor Ramsey, Governor Miller, Senator Wilkinson, and others who helped mold and direct the policy of the Republican party in Minnesota. No woman in this country ever wielded a keener pen, none was ever more merciless with an opponent in a discussion where a principle was involved, and none was ever more gentle and attractive in social life or self-sacrificing and devoted when suffering was to be relieved. Vigorous in intellect and with a personal courage which knew no fear, she was slight in figure, delicate in health, and was filled with a deep longing for the love and confidence of friends.

In 1880 she published a volume of personal reminiscences, entitled "Half a Century," prepared during her stay at Swissvale, and in which are given many interesting facts and sketches of men of prominence during the preceding fifty years.



PILLSBURY, CHARLES A.—The career of Charles A. Pillsbury of Minneapolis furnishes ample confirmation of the theory, so often entertained by excellent citizens, that an active interest in politics is inconsistent with success in business. Mr. Pillsbury is one of the greatest flour millers of the world. He has been for a long time the executive head of a gigantic milling concern that seeks its markets in all parts of America and Europe. He has studied and adopted many new processes for perfecting the art of getting all the nutritious properties out of the wheat berry and putting them in the most healthful and attractive forms for bread-making. Nevertheless he has found time to take a hearty interest in the public affairs of his city, of his state, and of the nation, and he long served an intelligent constituency in the State Senate with marked ability. He was born at Warner, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, Oct. 3, 1842, and graduated from Dartmouth College, teaching country schools in vacation times to get money for his support. For six years he was engaged in mercantile pursuits in Montreal, most of the time as a clerk in a store. He was married in 1866 to Miss Mary A. Stinson, daughter of Capt. Chas. Stinson of Goffstown, N. H.

In 1866 he migrated to Minneapolis, where his uncle, John S. Pillsbury, had already been living for fourteen years. He bought an interest in a small flouring mill, and applied himself diligently to learn the business. About that time the "middlings purifier," a Minneapolis invention, and the gradual reduction process, using steel rollers instead of the old burr stones—the latter a Hungarian invention—began to attract notice, and the Pillsburys, Washburns, and Christians, the chief millers of Minneapo-

lis, promptly remodeled their mills to make use of these improvements, and soon gained a wide reputation for their "new process" flour. For several years the Minneapolis mills had a monopoly of the new process of milling, and its great economies over the old methods and the superior quality of flour it produced secured for them a large trade and good profits. Minneapolis flour gained a reputation as the best flour made anywhere in the world. In 1872 the Pillsbury mills were greatly enlarged, and Gov. John S. Pillsbury and George A. Pillsbury, father of Charles A.,



CHARLES A. PILLSBURY.

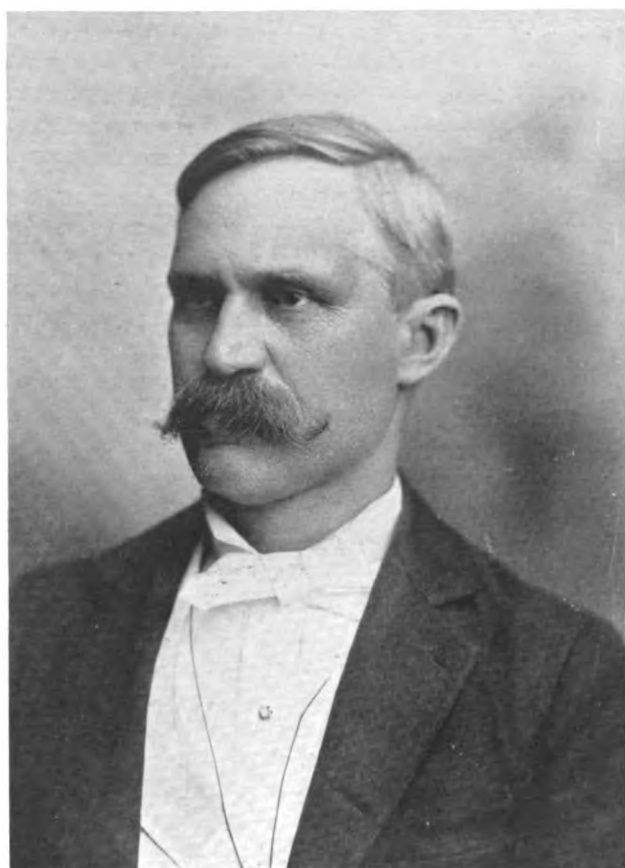
became active members of the firm. At a later period Charles A. Pillsbury's brother, Fred C., was also admitted to the partnership. To the original mills were added the "Pillsbury B," the "Anchor," the "Empire," and the "Excelsior" mills, and all were refitted with the new machinery. A line of elevators was built throughout the wheat regions of the Northwest by the Millers' Association, of which the Pillsburys were active members.

Mr. Pillsbury then went to Europe to study the mills of Buda Pesth, in Hungary, where the best European flour was made. On his return he determined to eclipse any

milling plant he had seen in the Hungarian capital, and the "Pillsbury A" mill was built, with a capacity of 7,000 barrels of flour a day, which capacity has since been increased to over 10,000 barrels per day—the largest mill in the world. In 1890 the Pillsbury mills and the Washburn Mill Company mills were sold to an English syndicate, and consolidated in one interest, under the corporate name of the Washburn-Pillsbury Milling Company, which also acquired the water-power of the Falls of St. Anthony. Mr. Pillsbury remained in the business as its manager and one

he always regarded it as a sound business principle, tending to avert strikes and to securing faithful and intelligent employes.

Mr. Pillsbury served in the State Senate for ten years, beginning in 1877, and for most of that time was chairman of the important committee on finance. He gave very valuable support to his uncle, Gov. John S. Pillsbury, during the long labors of the latter to secure the recognition and adjustment of the railroad debt of the state. In municipal affairs his influence has always been felt on the side of good government. He is an attendant of Plymouth Congregational Church, and a bountiful supporter of many forms of wise benevolence. In person he is of medium height, of robust frame, and of genial temperament. He is popular in his manners, and accessible to all. His large fortune has been liberally drawn upon to support many enterprises for the prosperity of his city and for the benefit of its people.



FRANK M. NYE.

of the three American directors. He has gained a world-wide celebrity for the introduction into his mills of the profit-sharing system, under which the labor employed participates yearly in the profits of the business, after assigning to capital a reasonable interest. Under this system as high as \$25,000 have been distributed in a single year among the employes of the firm, while at the same time they received the current wages and were not liable for any losses in the business. The result has been to identify the workmen closely with the interests of the business. Mr. Pillsbury never placed this plan on the ground of benevolence;

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NYE, FRANK MELLEN.—Among the most distinguished members of the Minnesota state bar, and among the most popular as well, is Frank M. Nye of Minneapolis. He was born in Shirley, Me., on March 7, 1852, of Franklin and Eliza M. Nye. There is naught of special interest associated with the parental history, save the fact that Franklin Nye was a Maine state lumberman, and an Abolitionist who voted his principles at a time when it was almost dangerous to do so. This branch of the Nye family lived in the Pine Tree State several generations.

In 1855 the family moved from Maine and settled in St. Croix county, near River Falls, Wis. The subject of our sketch was brought up on a farm. His educational advantages consisted of common schools and academic courses of study at the village of River Falls. When seventeen years of age he began teaching school, a pursuit which he followed a number of terms. After this came the study of law. In the spring of 1877 he left River Falls. In the spring of 1878 he was admitted to the bar at Hudson, Wis., and shortly thereafter he removed to Clear Lake, Polk county, in the same state, where he practiced law and held the office of district attorney two terms. Following this came his election to the lower house of the Wisconsin state legislature. He served in the sessions of 1884-85, and it was he who had the honor of nominating John C. Spooner for United States Senator.

In the spring of 1886 Mr. Nye changed his place of residence to Minneapolis, where, according to his own grim statement, he had little money and no acquaintance. For two or three years the struggle was a hard one. Finally,

in January, 1889, he was appointed assistant county attorney, under Robert Jamison, an office which he held two years, and which brought him into considerable prominence. In the fall of 1890 he was a candidate for the county attorneyship, but, though he ran ahead of his ticket quite largely, he was defeated. Two years later, however, he ran for the same office a second time, and was duly elected; a result which was repeated in 1894, when he was reëlected by over 16,000 plurality. As county attorney for Hennepin county Mr. Nye has had a distinguished career. Among the noted prosecutions in which he was engaged was *The State vs. James Dugan*, who was charged with the murder of James R. Harris, and *The State vs. Joseph White*, charged with the same high crime. Both were convicted and received life sentences. The Blixt-Hayward prosecutions, for the murder of Catherine Gling, are numbered among the most celebrated and sensational criminal trials that have ever been held in this country. Claus Blixt was sentenced to the Minnesota state penitentiary for life, and Harry Hayward was hanged. The Hayward trial lasted seven weeks, and in both trials Mr. Nye was opposed by the ablest and most skillful criminal lawyers that ample resources could employ. The noted Kent case of North Dakota, in which Myron R. Kent was charged with the murder of his wife, is another case in which Mr. Nye was employed to assist the prosecution. After two trials, two convictions and two appeals to the state supreme court, Kent's sentence to hang remained unchanged. It is a matter of record that Frank M. Nye has met with wonderful success as a prosecuting attorney. He is very strong before juries—eloquent, earnest, logical, learned in the law, and a master of every art of legal fence and defense.

Coming from Abolition stock, Mr. Nye has, of course, always been a Republican—a consistent and aggressive Republican. He belongs to the silver wing of the party. He never fails to take an active part in campaigns, and is one of the leading and most influential political orators in the state. As a Mason, Odd Fellow, Elk, member of the Union League and of the Park Avenue Congregational Church, time does not drag on his hands when released from professional duties. In the spring of 1876 he was married to Carrie M. Wilson. Her family were Indiana people, but lived in Wisconsin at the time of her marriage, and are living there now. Three daughters and a son are the fruits of this union. Edgar W. Nye, the famous, and now lamented, humorist, was Frank Nye's brother, and his senior by eighteen months. They grew up as twins, almost, until 1876, when Edgar went to Wyoming and entered upon his newspaper career. The brothers were bound together by the strongest ties of affection, and Edgar's death was a serious blow. A younger brother, C. A. Nye, lives in Moorhead, Minn., and is county attorney of Clay county.

KING, WILLIAM SMITH.—W. S. King, one of the most energetic and public-spirited of the group of men that have developed Minneapolis in a single generation from a petty saw-mill village to a beautiful city of nearly a quarter of a million of inhabitants, was born in Malone, Franklin county, New York, Dec. 16, 1828. He was the fifth child of Rev. Lyndon King, an itinerant Methodist preacher, a man of much originality and force of character, who was one of the early anti-slavery agitators in Northern New York. The preacher was poor,



WILLIAM S. KING.

but he lived in the high thought of carrying forward a great humanitarian movement. He was a friend of Gerrit Smith, William Goodell, and many other prominent Abolitionist leaders. When the boy William was eight years old the father established his family on a small farm that was mainly woods, and the children were set to work helping clear land and doing the general farm work. Four years later the mother died, and the family was broken up. William got work on a farm, and later in driving a team for a village merchant, who sent loads of goods out into the woods where potash was made by boiling hardwood ashes.

The lad traded the merchandise for potash. He managed to get a little schooling in the winters by working for his board. In 1846, at the age of eighteen, he went into Otsego county to canvass for a mutual insurance company. At this business he saved a little money, and four years later, becoming an ardent member of the Free Soil party, he made his first newspaper venture, starting at Coopers-town the *Free Democrat* to advocate the election of John P. Hale to the Presidency.

In 1853 Mr. King organized at Cherry Valley, N. Y., a club which called itself the Young Men's Republican Club, and which was the first association in our modern political history to take the name of Republican. A year later a number of state organizations assumed the name. Others may have preceded him in advocating its use as the title of a new party to oppose the extension of slavery, but he is certainly entitled to the credit of being the first man to actually assume it for a political club, and to carry on a local campaign under that name. During his active political career in New York, Mr. King frequently visited Albany to confer with the leaders of the new party, and there he enjoyed the friendship of Thurlow Weed, William H. Seward, Preston King, and other eminent Republicans. He was appointed a colonel of state militia. He had a broad highway open to him for success in his own state, but the Western fever seized him in 1858. After he had decided to seek a new career somewhere in the West, he asked advice of Oliver A. Morse, the member of Congress from his district, who told him to go to the Northwest, where there would be rapid development, and where he would find the kind of people he was used to living among. Morse gave him a letter to Major Cullen, then superintendent of Indian agencies in Minnesota. Before setting out, King went to New York and saw Horace Greeley, telling him he was going up to the head of navigation on the Mississippi to locate. Greeley thought a minute, and said: "Be sure to settle on the west side of the river, and if you find anything of interest, write a letter for the *Trib.*" King stayed at St. Paul for a little time, making acquaintances, and then walked up to Minneapolis, looked the place over, and decided to make it his home.

He believed from the first that the place was destined to become an important city, and he resolved to share its fortunes. He threw himself at once into the work of aiding the growth of the town, and, at the same time, of building up the young Republican party. In 1859 he started the *State Atlas*, as a radical Republican paper, and strongly opposed the issue of the railroad bonds, predicting that they would be repudiated, which afterwards came to pass. He was a keen, forcible, and sarcastic editorial writer, and he soon became a power in the journalism of Minnesota. He took the stump in political campaigns, and was a popular and effective speaker.

In 1861 Colonel King went to Washington, aided in the fitting out of the Minnesota regiments, met his old New York friends, and was elected postmaster of the House of Representatives. This position he held for twelve years, during which period he was, in fact, an additional member of Congress from Minnesota, for he exerted as much influence as any of the members in securing legislation and appointments for Minnesota. During the vacations Colonel King was perhaps the most conspicuous champion of Minneapolis interests among the many able men who labored to advance that city. He ran a state fair with marked success; he was secretary of the board of trade; he was one of the founders of the *Minneapolis Tribune*; and he was a member of a construction company that built the Northern Pacific Railroad across the State of Minnesota.

In 1874 Colonel King was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress from the Fourth district, embracing the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. His long experience in public life and his intimate acquaintance with legislation at Washington fitted him in a high degree for usefulness to his district and state and to take a prominent place in national politics. Unfortunately, while postmaster, he became informed of certain facts connected with the passage of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's subsidy bill. It was an epoch of morbid suspicion, and of efforts to involve public men in scandals by the efforts of investigating committees, urged on by newspapers, for political purposes. A committee was set to work investigating the Pacific Mail matter, and Colonel King was summoned as a witness. He had received in New York three packages of money from the agent of the Pacific Mail Company to convey to Washington and hand to certain parties then prominent in public life. This was testified to by another witness, and was admitted by him, but he refused to disclose the names of the men who received the money. To have done so would have ruined those men, and have been on his part, as he believed, a base betrayal of confidence. He was not himself accused of any attempt to corrupt legislation. He determined to shoulder any load of suspicion and denunciation that might be heaped upon him rather than tell the committee who got those money packages. Leaving Washington he went to Canada, where he remained beyond reach of the process of the sergeant-at-arms until the Congress expired and the investigation ended. The committee exonerated him from the charges of complicity in improperly influencing legislation, but blamed him for absentsing himself.

A Washington grand jury indicted Colonel King. He demanded a trial, but could not obtain one, and, after a long delay, the indictment was rescinded, and he was fully exonerated by the prosecuting attorney. The affair was made use of by his enemies at home to throw him out

of public life, and, after serving his one term in Congress with credit, he was not a candidate for reelection.

For some time he was connected with the *Pioneer Press* as a stockholder and as its Minneapolis editor. He owned a farm that afterwards became a part of the city, and he went into the breeding of short-horn cattle. This farm was deeded to Philo Remington of Ilion, N. Y., as security for loans, and Colonel King recovered it after a famous law suit, when its value had increased to nearly two million dollars. His lawyers received magnificent fees out of this new fortune, and with the remainder Colonel King embarked in various business enterprises, which were in the main unsuccessful; so that in a few years there was little left out of the money won in the great suit.

Colonel King has been twice married. His first wife was Mary E. Stevens of Ilion, and his second wife was Caroline M. Arnold of the same place. With her and with his son, Preston King, and a married daughter and her family, he lives in his beautiful home on the island in Minneapolis, facing the Mississippi and within hearing of the Falls of St. Anthony.



BERG, ALBERT.—It is seldom that a young man of thirty-five attains the personal and political prominence that has fallen to Secretary of State Albert Berg. This is not due to any accident, nor to any political upheaval, but rather to persistent effort, coupled with rare business ability and sound judgment. His genial nature and winning manner have, of course, much to do with his personal popularity, but otherwise his success has been due to his own intelligent effort. Secretary Berg has performed his official duties during the present term in an able manner, and will be reelected by a rousing majority. In the election of 1894 he received 4,758 more votes than Nelson for governor, and ran ahead of the highest vote for any state officer by 1,721, his majority being 1,720 more than that of any other state officer.

Albert Berg came from hardy and patriotic stock, his father, Jonas Berg, having laid down his life for his newly adopted country as a Union soldier in Company D of the Third Minnesota Regiment. Oct. 2, 1861, he left his young wife with their only child, Albert, then but three months old, and went to the war. He died at Jefferson Barracks, where he is buried. At the reunion of the Third regiment, in 1895, Albert Berg was made an honorary member of the association, an honor he esteems greater than that of membership in any of the other numerous societies to which he belongs.

Secretary Berg was born of Swedish parents, June 25, 1861, at Centre City, Minn., and is now thirty-five years

old. His parents were among the early Swedish settlers, coming here in 1852. Leaving the common schools, he spent the years 1876-77 at Carleton College, Northfield, and then studied for three years at Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter. During the next four years he was employed by Major Edwards on the *Fargo Argus*, doing political work in the Northwestern States. In 1886 he was elected register of deeds for Chisago county, and was reelected in 1888, 1890, and 1892, serving eight years. An expert in official work, and possessing a remarkably retentive memory, he could give without reference to the records an abstract of nearly all the land titles in his county. This experience ripened him for the duties of secretary of state, which he has so ably performed.

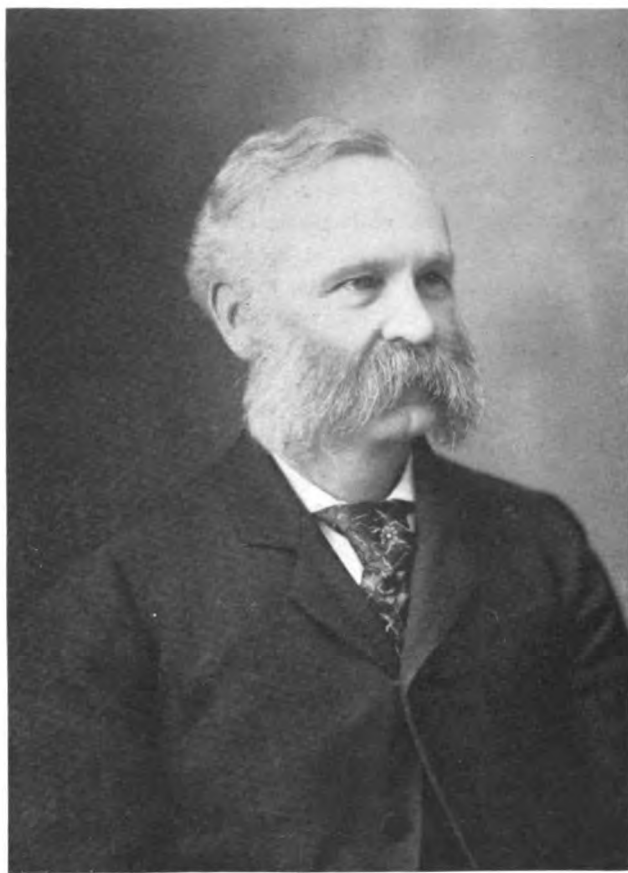
In 1892 he was a delegate from this state to the National Republican Convention, and the same year he was a formidable candidate for the position which came to him two years later. The best work of Mr. Berg during his present term of office was the state census of June 1, 1895. With an appropriation far too limited he succeeded in giving the state the best, most complete, and comprehensive census yet produced, and which has attracted favorable comment at home and abroad. Mr. Berg is a member of the Lutheran Church, belongs to the fraternity of Masons, Elks, Knights of Pythias, and other societies, and not the least of his talents is comprised in vocal music, for which he has a magnificent voice, highly cultured; and no religious, social, or political gathering at which Albert Berg is present is complete in entertainment until his masterly vocalization has been heard.



MITCHELL, WILLIAM BELL.—William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud is one of the oldest Republican journalists of the state, and has taken a prominent part in building up and maintaining the party in Minnesota. He was born May 14, 1843, at Wilkesburg, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, and came with his parents to Minnesota in the spring of 1857, making the journey by steamboat on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Pittsburg. His father, Henry Z. Mitchell, was engaged in mercantile business, was postmaster at St. Cloud under Lincoln, and during the great Indian outbreak was appointed commissary general by Governor Ramsey. He died at St. Cloud, March 9, 1896, at the age of eighty. Mr. Mitchell's mother, Elizabeth Ann Cannon, was married at Pittsburg in 1841, and is still living in St. Cloud. She is a sister of the late Jane G. Swisshelm, the famous writer and advocate of the anti-slavery cause and of the rights of women.

Young Mitchell attended local schools, and was about a year in the mathematical department of Duff's Business Col-

lege at Pittsburg, just before coming to Minnesota. He attended the local academy at St. Cloud for a part of the time during the first two years after coming to Minnesota, and afterwards at intervals. While in the printing office, he took private lessons in Latin, Greek, and two or three English subjects, for about two years, from the Rev. Wm. Phillips, a Baptist minister and a highly educated and very earnest man, whose instruction, brief though it was, and received under many disadvantageous circumstances, was very inspiring and helpful. All school work closed when he was about



WILLIAM B. MITCHELL.

eighteen or nineteen years of age. His intention was to become a civil engineer. In the spring of 1858 he went with a party, under charge of T. H. Barrett, to survey a state road from St. Cloud to Breckenridge, on the Red River of the North, which became the main traveled road for all traffic between the Hudson Bay territory and St. Cloud, and on to St. Paul, until the railroad was built. Speaking of this trip, Mr. Mitchell says: "The country then was very sparsely settled. We had to pack all of our supplies; we went without tents or other covering except our blankets, and were six weeks in making the trip, com-

ing back by ox teams. I often recall the trip when going through that thickly settled and prosperous country now. My first money was earned on this surveying work, when I was a 'chainman,' although our pay for running and locating this road was received in county orders which were cashed at forty cents on the dollar."

Later in that same year (1858) he went into the printing office of the *St. Cloud Visitor*, owned by his aunt, Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm, intending to remain for only a short time, giving what assistance he could around the office until she should get regular and satisfactory help. He was in the office a part of the time, went to school a part of the time, for the next two or three years, and then gave practically his whole time to newspaper work, beginning with the position of "devil" and roller boy, with some work at the case; then compositor, pressman, book-keeper, local editor, and so on, until Mrs. Swisshelm, going temporarily to Washington in 1863, left him in entire charge of the paper. In 1864 he purchased the plant for \$600, of which amount he paid in cash \$100. The name was then the *Democrat*,—a seven-column paper. He soon enlarged it to a nine-column paper, changing the name to the *Journal*. In 1876 he purchased the *Press*, which had been established in 1872, and consolidating the two, published the combined paper as the *Journal-Press*.

In September, 1892, having become largely interested in manufacturing enterprises which required his personal attention, Mr. Mitchell sold the newspaper plant to Alvah Eastman of Anoka, who organized the *Journal-Press* Company, and began the publication of a daily as well as a weekly edition of the paper. Mr. Mitchell retains a considerable interest as a stockholder in the paper and does occasional editorial work on it. In 1865 he was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at St. Cloud by President Lincoln, but was removed by President Johnson for political reasons less than two years afterwards. President Hayes reappointed him to this same office in 1878, and in 1882 he was reappointed by President Arthur, to be removed in 1885 by President Cleveland for "offensive partisanship." Since 1877 he has held continuously the position of member of the state normal school board and resident director at St. Cloud, having the longest term of service of any member of the board. He has been a member of the Republican state central committee, and frequently a member and chairman of the county and legislative committees. He was a stockholder in, and a member of the board of directors of, the St. Cloud Water Power and Mill Company, which built the dam across the Mississippi river at St. Cloud, an enterprise involving the expenditure of \$250,000, and making one of the best water powers in the West. He was also one of the stockholders in, and secretary of, the St. Cloud Vulcanized Fiberware

Company, which built a pulp mill and erected a plant for the manufacture of fiberware goods, costing, with the machinery, \$75,000. He was a member and president of the St. Cloud Paper Mill Company, which had just got its plant in good working order when the paper mill and pulp mill adjoining it were totally destroyed by fire in August, 1893, without enough insurance to warrant their reconstruction in the condition the money market was then in. It was to actively engage in the management of these business enterprises that he sold his newspaper in 1892, and when these mills burned he was compelled to turn to something else, and so opened a real estate and loan office. Mr. Mitchell has always been an active Republican. He is a member of the Presbyterian church.

On Dec. 7, 1871, he married Miss Emily Whittlesey of Marietta, Ohio, whose father, William A. Whittlesey, was one of the leading members of the Ohio bar and a member of Congress from the Marietta district, his uncle, Elisha Whittlesey, having been the solicitor of the treasury department during President Lincoln's administration. Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell have eight children—Carrie T., Mildred W., Eleanor, Leslie, Jane W., Henry Z., Ruth, and Dorothy.



SANDER, THEODORE.—Theodore Sander, who for more than thirty years has been an active and well known citizen of St. Paul, was born in 1841 in Pymont, Waldeck, Prussia, and came to this country with his parents when nine years of age. His father, Conrad Sander, and his mother, Bertha Artzt, both sprang from the hardy common people, who from the earliest times had been accustomed to severest toil. His father's father was a contractor and builder in his native town, while the father of his mother was engaged on both sides during the Napoleonic Wars; at first under Napoleon as a conscript forced into the service, but afterward as a volunteer against the great Corsican.

When his parents first reached America, in 1850, they settled in Philadelphia and started a boot and shoe shop. Whether it was unfamiliarity with his new trade, having been a forester in the old country, or whether his choice of location was unfortunate, this first venture proved unsuccessful, and Conrad Sander moved with his family to a small village of Montgomery county, near Philadelphia, where his efforts were rewarded with success, and he was able to rear his large family free from want. Here Theodore Sander continued the studies he had pursued in the common school in his native country, and helped his father about the shoe shop until fifteen years of age, when he entered a printing office in his adopted village, and for five years performed its various duties, from sweeping out dirt to writing an editorial.

The Mennonites were Abolitionists to a man. In one of these settlements in Pennsylvania, at the time of the opening of hostilities, Mr. Sander was a resident. Here his native hatred of slavery was fanned to a flame; from here he entered the army; here he attached himself to the Republican party, and, though not a voter, shouted for Fremont and no extension of slavery.

On May 5, 1861, at twenty years of age, he enlisted in Company K, Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, and served three years and one month. Although he was in many skirmishes, in Pope's raid along the Rappahannock,



THEODORE SANDER.

and was in the thick of the fight at first Bull Run, Cross Keys, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, second Bull Run, and Gettysburg, he came through it all without a scratch upon his person, his only serious loss being his rations and a carefully kept diary which were in his haversack when that piece of baggage was shot from his back by a passing shell. It was a busy time, and there was little opportunity to search for lost rations or books. He then spent a short time in the hospital; but on Feb. 25, 1865, he reenlisted in Company K, Third Regiment, United States Veteran Volunteers, known as Hancock's corps, and prepared again

for active service. But while marching to the front the welcome news of Lee's surrender was borne to their eager ears, and they knew that the spilling of blood was over. His company was sent to Fort Snelling, and there for half a year he endured the hardships of idleness. To quote the words of the victim himself: "On the field of battle there was something to do, but when our only business was to sit around and look pretty, that was tiresome."

Upon his discharge in February, 1866, he returned to his old trade, bought an interest in the *Minnesota Staats Zeitung*, and soon afterward became its sole proprietor. For eleven years he managed this as a German Republican paper, and then, merging it with the *Volksblatt*, under the title of the *Volks Zeitung*, a daily morning paper was started. This venture not proving agreeable, Mr. Sander retired from its management, and from 1879 to 1890 filled the office of deputy state treasurer. Though seldom holding elective office, his only experiences being in 1874-75, as register of deeds of Ramsey county, in 1895 as representative in the state legislature from the Ninth ward of St. Paul, and as presidential elector in the second Grant campaign, yet Mr. Sander has always clung to his first political affiliation and conscientiously supported the Republican party. During his newspaper career he was active in organizing building societies. In 1870 he organized the St. Paul Workingmen's Building Society, the second in the state; in 1876 the Franklin, the first installment, or cash, plan society in the state; and in 1880 the Workingmen's Building and Loan Society. Of each of these societies he has always been and is now the secretary.

Mr. Sander has been twice married. His first wife was Emilie Engels of St. Paul, who had come to this country from Germany when a mere child. She united her fortunes with his Oct. 12, 1868, and bore him two children, Martha and Otto. In Ida Pause, of Oshkosh, Wis., also of German lineage, he found his second attraction, and they were united April 28, 1894.

Mr. Sander is an Odd Fellow, a Druid, and has been commander of Garfield Post, Grand Army of the Republic.



HARTSHORN, BENJAMIN F.—B. F. Hartshorn of Staples is a veteran Republican, having cast his first vote for John C. Fremont in 1856. He was born in Ohio, Aug. 18, 1834, and migrated to Wisconsin with his father's family in 1840. His father was born in Ohio, in 1810, and was a graduate of the Philadelphia College and a practicing physician and surgeon. He died about twenty-five years ago. His grandfather, Hugh Hartshorn, was a Virginia farmer, who owned large landed estates. His ancestors came from England, and settled on Chesapeake bay in the early part of the seventeenth century. He was a soldier in

the War of 1812. Mr. Hartshorn's maternal grandfather, Charles Spear, was a Massachusetts man of Mayflower stock. He enlisted in the land forces sent to cooperate with Commodore Perry against the British in the War of 1812, and died in the service at Erie, Pa. Mr. Hartshorn's mother was born in Connecticut in 1808, and is still living at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

The subject of this sketch was educated in the subscription schools of Wisconsin when that state was a territory, and after its admission attended the public schools soon afterwards established. He wanted to go into the war for the Union in 1861, and enlisted in a Wisconsin company, but was rejected by the examining surgeon on account of an injury to one of his feet. He studied law in the office of Graham & Terhorn at Viroqua, and took a course in the law department of the state university. After his admission to the bar at Lancaster, Wis., he hung out his shingle in Mason City, Iowa, and worked his way up to a prominent standing in his profession and to a good practice, especially in trial cases. He held the office of clerk of the court in Wisconsin, and shortly after he settled in Iowa he was elected to the same position in his new home. He was a member of the Iowa legislature, and helped elect Senator Allison to his first term in the United States Senate. For three consecutive terms he was mayor of Mason City. He came to Minnesota in 1878 on a professional errand, and with a view of soon returning to Iowa, but finding himself with a good deal of law business in this state, and liking the country, he remained to become a citizen, engaging in farming as well as practicing at the bar. He has a fondness for country life, and owns a handsome farm of 400 acres at Philbrook, upon which he lives.

Mr. Hartshorn was elected to the Minnesota legislature in 1895. He has always taken a warm interest in Republican politics, not to obtain office for himself, but to help his friends and to aid in the work of his party. He has taken a prominent part in state and congressional elections and in senatorial contests. He is an effective stump speaker, and has done service in this line in state and national campaigns. He makes no claims to oratorical talent, but has a faculty for presenting the issues of the day to an audience in a plain and convincing way.

Mr. Hartshorn was married thirty-five years ago in Viroqua, Wis. His wife is a native of Meadville, Pa. They have had six children, only two of whom are now living.



MARSHALL, WILLIAM RAINEY.—Hon. William Rainey Marshall was the fifth governor of the State of Minnesota, succeeding Stephen Miller. He was a consistent and zealous Republican, as his two most immediate predecessors had been, and more than any other man

was entitled to the honor of being the father of the Republican party in Minnesota. He presided over the first Republican meeting held in the territory, and was the first candidate of the party for a territorial office. He was of commanding appearance, and full of vigor and robust life, able to endure fatigue and compete with all with whom he was brought into contact. Very decided in his views touching political matters, yet slow to condemn those who disagreed with him; suave in his address, never forgetting or defying the demands of courtesy, he possessed peculiarities of disposition to please all with whom he was associated, and even his political antagonists gave him credit for sincerity. It may be truly said of him that he was a unique character, seldom met with in the political arena where contentions are the general rule. His amiability covered his faults.

Governor Marshall was the son of Joseph and Abigail (Shaw) Marshall, and was born in Boone county, Missouri. His father was a Kentuckian by birth, and the native state of his mother was Pennsylvania. Both his grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers, and his own father was of Scotch-Irish lineage, which in a measure may account for his combativeness and remarkable self-command. He was educated chiefly in the schools of Quincy, Ill., and obtained little more than a graded school training. Upon leaving school he went to the lead mining districts of Wisconsin, and engaged in mining and surveying until 1847, when he removed to St. Croix Falls and made a land and tree claim, meanwhile opening a store in the village and dealing in merchandise and lumber. He was likewise deputy receiver in the United States Land Office, and was regarded as a reliable man of business.

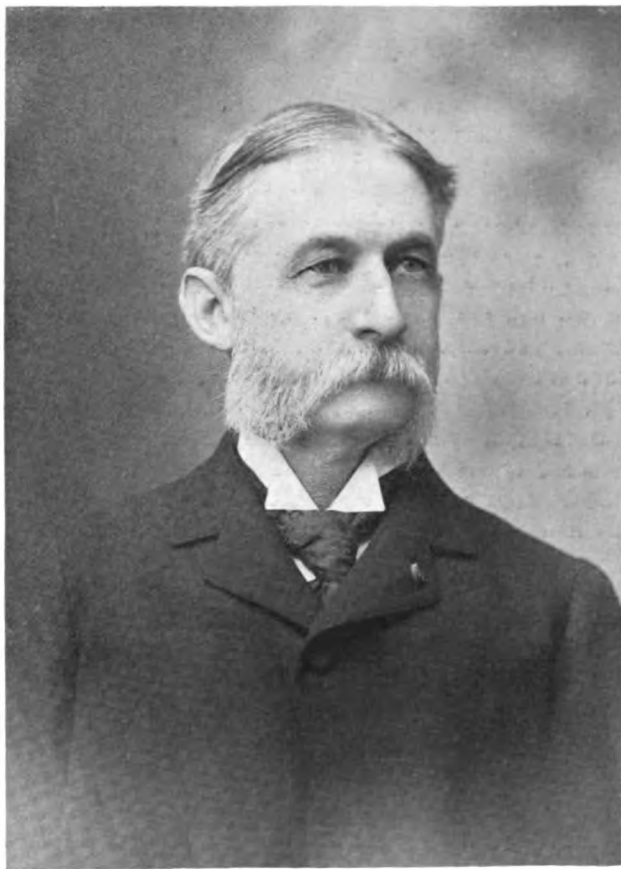
In 1848 he was elected representative for the St. Croix Valley in the Wisconsin legislature, but his seat was successfully contested by Joseph Bowron, because he resided on the west side of the state boundary, and he accordingly continued his mercantile business and bided future opportunities for gaining political distinction. Late in 1847 he located a claim at St. Anthony Falls, but did not perfect his title thereto until 1849; in the fall of which latter year he was elected a member of the first territorial legislature of Minnesota, where he rendered effective service and won a more than average degree of credit. He continued his residence on his claim at St. Anthony until 1851, when he removed to St. Paul, and opened the first iron store established here. As his business did not occupy his time fully, he continued to survey public lands, and finally disposed of his business in the city and devoted himself exclusively to the latter pursuit. In 1855, in association with several others, he engaged in the banking business in this city. That enterprise was successful until 1857, when the financial depression which extended throughout the commercial world carried it under, as it did hundreds of other kindred institutions.

Mr. Marshall's next business undertaking was the opening of a dairy farm near this city and selling milk from his wagons. This proved a remunerative enterprise, but was not exactly to his taste, and in 1861 he bought out the *Times* and the *Minnesotian*, two Republican daily newspapers published in St. Paul, and consolidating them, began the publication of the *Press*, in which he was engaged when, in 1862, he enlisted in the Seventh Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers. Soon after he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the regiment. The following year he was made colonel of the Seventh, in place of Stephen Miller, elected governor of the state. He won high honors by his bravery and good executive ability as a commander, and it may be said of him that few men from civil life ever achieved in military service equal credit for efficiency.

His career as an officer is best told in the following memorandum of his operations: "Aug. 28, 1862, commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Regiment Minnesota Volunteers; reported to General Sibley at Fort Ridgely with the companies then organized, and commanded the battalion in the Indian campaign of that year, at relief of Birch Coe, and battle of Wood Lake. In 1863 Lieutenant Colonel Marshall commanded the regiment in General Sibley's expedition to the Upper Missouri, and in the battle of Big Mound and other engagements (Colonel Miller being in command of the District of Minnesota). Oct. 10, 1863, went south in command of the regiment. Commissioned colonel Nov. 6, 1863. June 1864, joined right wing of the Sixteenth Army Corps at Memphis, Tenn. Assigned to First Brigade of First Division, Gen. J. A. Mower, division commander; Gen. A. J. Smith, corps commander. Took part in the battles of July 13, 14, and 15, 1864, near Tupelo, Miss. Was in expedition to Oxford, Miss., in August, 1864; in skirmish at Tallahatchie river, September, October, and November, 1864; was under General Mower in Arkansas and Missouri in pursuit of General Price; under General Thomas at the battle of Nashville, Dec. 15 and 16, 1864. Succeeded to command of Third Brigade on the death of Colonel Hill, December 15th; under command of Canby at the siege of Mobile, March and April, 1865. Wounded in the advance on Spanish Fort, March 25, 1865. In command of post at Selma, Ala., May, June, and July, 1865. Commissioned brevet brigadier general, March 13, 1865, for services at Nashville, on recommendation of Generals McArthur, Smith, and Thomas. Mustered out with Seventh Regiment at Fort Snelling, Aug. 16, 1865."

On the close of the war in 1865 General Marshall was elected governor of Minnesota, and he was reelected in 1867, serving until January, 1870, and making a very praiseworthy administration. He was then chosen vice president of the Marine National Bank of St. Paul, and also president of the Savings Bank of St. Paul. In 1874 he was appointed one of the three members of the railroad commission, and when the law was subsequently changed and the office

made elective, he was elected first under the new law, continuing to fill the office until 1883. During the interval from 1883 till 1893 he was engaged in various enterprises, occupying most of the time in farming and stock-raising, and buying and selling real estate, but his efforts were not marked with success, chiefly because he had no patience to carry them to conclusions. He would persuade himself that there was something else that would be better for him, and leaving what he had in hand, but had not yet developed, would make a change without having weighed thor-



CHARLES H. GRAVES.

oughly all the chances it offered. Much of this period of his life may be cited as an example of misapplied energy.

In the autumn of the latter year Governor Marshall was elected secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, vice J. Fletcher Williams, compelled by ill-health to retire from that position. In the fall of 1894 the subject of this sketch was stricken with paralysis, and in January, 1895, he tendered his resignation as secretary because he could no longer attend to his duties; but the council of the society did not accept it until the following March, hoping he might recover sufficiently to resume active service. The governor himself seemed to be animated with no such hope. From

the first he despaired of full recovery, but went at the advice of friends to Pasadena, Cal., to take advantage of the curative influences of that climate. After his arrival in California he was again stricken with paralysis. On the 8th of January, 1896, death released him from suffering. His remains were brought back to St. Paul, and on the 16th of January, 1896, his funeral took place from Christ Church in this city, where a multitude of his friends and his fellow members of the Loyal Legion assembled and listened to the eloquent address delivered on the occasion by Rev. Dr. Edward C. Mitchell, pastor of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) Church, of which the deceased was one of the founders. Of Governor Marshall it may be remarked that he sometimes seemed the plaything of Dame Fortune, for the alternations from prosperity to adversity which he experienced were frequent and extreme, but through it all he maintained that gentleness of disposition—that lovable-ness—which was the marked characteristic of his life.

Governor Marshall was married on March 22, 1854, to Miss Abby Langford of Utica, N. Y., by whom he had one child, a son, who lived to man's estate, dying some four years ago, and leaving a widow and one child, who were with Governor Marshall in California, and by whom his wants were attended to and his last moments on earth were cheered.



GRAVES, CHARLES HINMAN.—Charles H. Graves, one of the most noted speakers the House of Representatives of Minnesota has had, was born at Springfield, Mass., in 1839. He was the son of Rev. A. H. Graves, a Baptist minister and editor of the *Christian Watchman and Reflector*, of Boston. Mr. Graves received a common school and academic education. He clerked in a dry goods store until May, 1861, when he enlisted at West Cambridge in a volunteer company raised by Captain Ingalls, which in June was assigned to the Fortieth New York Infantry Volunteers and ordered to Washington. He served as a private and noncommissioned officer until November of the same year, and was then promoted, on competitive examination of all the noncommissioned officers, to a second lieutenancy. He took part in all the battles of the Army of the Potomac. In June, 1862, he was detailed as an ordnance officer and aide-de-camp on General Kearney's staff. He afterwards served at different times as a staff officer under Generals Stoneman, Birney, Graham, and Terry. He was promoted to first lieutenant, then to captain in his regiment, then to assistant adjutant general, and was soon after raised to major "for gallant services in the attack on Fort Fisher, N. C." He was also breveted lieutenant colonel and colonel. In 1865 he was appointed lieutenant of infantry in the regular army. The following

year he was promoted to a captaincy, and made major and lieutenant colonel by brevet, serving as inspector general of the Department of Dakota and in other important positions. Colonel Graves was severely wounded at Gettysburg. He resigned from the army in 1870, and took up his residence in Duluth.

Colonel Graves was elected to the State Senate and served from 1873 to 1876, inclusive. During this time he was a member of the special investigating committee of the state treasury, the result of which work was the resignation of the officers of the treasury through Republican efforts, though they were Republican officials, and the restitution to the state of large sums of money. He was the author of the law which has, since 1876, governed the state treasury. With Senator Buckham, now one of the district judges of the state, he drew the first law of this state providing for a railroad commission and the exercise of the authority of the state over railroads. He was for several years a member of the Republican state central committee, was chairman of the Republican congressional convention of 1880, and he was mayor of Duluth for two terms, embracing the years 1882 and 1883.

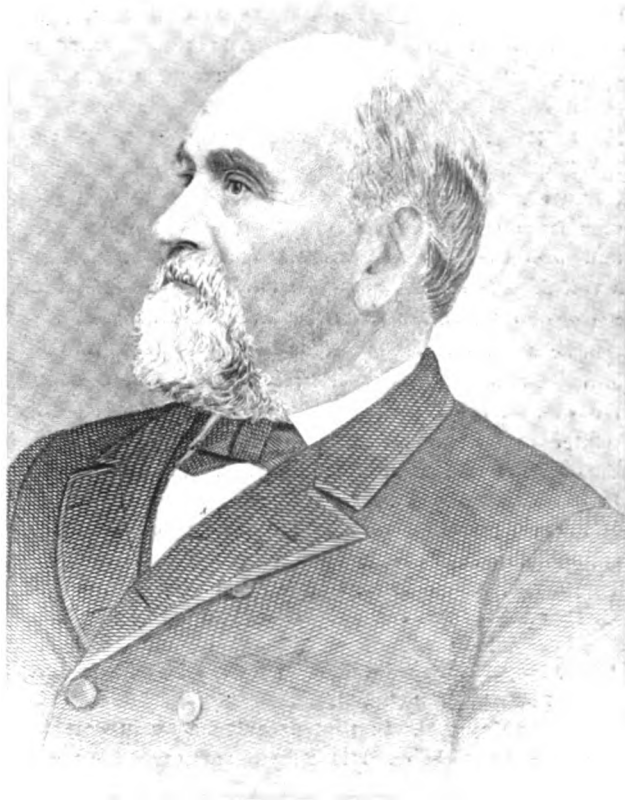
For several years Colonel Graves was one of the directors of the St. Paul & Duluth Railway; a member of the firm of C. H. Graves & Co., a leading firm in the city of Duluth; at one time president of the Union Improvement and Elevator Company; president of the Lake Superior Elevator Company, and secretary of the Duluth Iron Company.

In 1888 he was elected state representative from the Forty-sixth district, then composed of Hubbard, Carlton, St. Louis, Wadena, Cook, Lake, Itasca, Cass, and Aitkin counties. He received more than twice as many votes as his Democratic opponent, H. H. Hawkins. He was elected speaker of the House, and has ever since been referred to by leading Republicans as one of the best and most efficient speakers the House ever had. Many important measures were dealt with during his term as speaker. Among these was the Duluth & Winnipeg land grant fight, the Sabin and Washburn senatorial contest, the matter of the state leasing the iron mines, and the reapportionment of the state. It was Mr. Graves's bill for the leasing of the iron mines which passed the House and Senate and became a law, the result of which measure has been that the state has reaped immense revenues from these mines. At the close of the session Colonel Graves received various distinguished honors from the legislative body.

In 1884 Colonel Graves was a delegate to the National Republican Convention.

He was married in 1873 to Mrs. E. Grace Stevens, daughter of Major General Totten, chief of engineers, United States Army, in Washington, D. C.

SANBORN, GENERAL JOHN B.—John B. Sanborn, one of the most eminent of the military leaders which Minnesota furnished during the Civil War, and also a prominent lawyer and a statesman, was born in Epsom, Merrimac county, New Hampshire, Dec. 5, 1826, on the homestead that has been in the possession of his family for seven generations. He comes from old New England ancestry, and both his grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers. As a boy he worked on the farm and in a saw-mill, and attended the public schools. Studying law on the advice of President Franklin Pierce, in the



JOHN B. SANBORN.

office of Judge Asa Fowler, in Concord, he was admitted to the bar in that town in 1854. In the same year he removed to St. Paul, where he formed a partnership with Theodore French. Subsequently the firm became Sanborn, French & Lund. In 1859 he was elected to the lower branch of the state legislature, and in 1860 to the State Senate. When the Rebellion broke out, in 1861, Governor Ramsey appointed him adjutant general of Minnesota, with the rank of brigadier general, and he set about the work of organizing and equipping the volunteer regiments from the state. After sending the First, Second, and Third Regiments to

the field, he enlisted as a soldier in the Fourth Regiment in December, 1861, and was commissioned as its colonel.

In the spring of 1862 he was ordered with his regiment to the South, and joined General Halleck's army in front of Corinth. He was engaged in arduous service during the spring and summer, and on Sept. 19, 1862, in command of the First Brigade of the Third Division of the Army of the Mississippi, he took part in the battle of Iuka, one of the hardest fought engagements of the war. His brigade, composed of the Fifth and Sixteenth Iowa, the Twenty-sixth Missouri, the Fourth Minnesota, the Forty-eighth Indiana regiments, and the Eleventh Ohio Battery, was in the hottest part of the fight. The battle was a series of assaults and counter-assaults, of bayonet charges and hand-to-hand fighting. Three times was his battery taken and recovered. In the end Sanborn held his position, after having lost nearly six hundred men of his command in killed and wounded, but having inflicted a much larger loss on the enemy and really winning the fight. That night the Confederates, commanded by General Price in person, retreated. Sanborn received, in orders, the highest encomiums from General Rosecrans for his skill and gallantry, and won the praise of all his associates and comrades. A few days later, October 3d and 4th, he commanded in the battle of Corinth, and well sustained the brilliant reputation he had already won. Thereafter he was in all of General Grant's campaigns in the Valley of the Mississippi. He was on the Oxford expedition in the fall of 1862 and winter of 1863; was with the arduous expedition down the Yazoo Pass in March following, and took an active part in the Vicksburg campaign.

From April 15th to May 2d General Sanborn was in command of the Seventh Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, and was ordered to the assistance of General McClernand at Port Gibson, Miss. Resuming command of his brigade, he took part in engagements at Raymond, Miss., May 12th, at Jackson, two days later, at Champion Hills, and in the assault on the Rebel fortifications in Vicksburg, on May 22d. In that assault he again commanded the Seventh Division. His brigade was one of those designated by General Grant to lead the advance into Vicksburg, on July 4th, after the surrender of that stronghold.

General Sanborn was promoted by President Lincoln to brigadier general of volunteers soon after the battles of Iuka and Corinth in 1862. This appointment was allowed to lapse for want of confirmation on the adjournment of the Senate, March 4, 1863, and although fighting the battles and making the campaigns above, he was not commissioned brigadier general until Aug. 4, 1863. In October he was assigned to the command of the district comprising Southwestern Missouri, where he remained until the close of the war, his chief service being the restoring of order within its borders by the suppression of the Confederate guerrillas that overran the country, and in the resistance to the advance and attacks of the Rebel army invading Missouri under Gen. Sterling Price in the autumn of 1864. Dur-

ing this invasion General Sanborn had command most of the time of all the cavalry forces west of the Mississippi, numbering from eight to ten thousand men, and fought many affairs and battles with the Rebel army, numbering more than twenty thousand men. He was successful in all these, and the result was the capture of eight pieces of artillery, several thousand prisoners, including Generals Marmaduke and Cabell, and so crippling the Rebel forces west of the Mississippi that they could render little if any more service to the Confederacy. His administration was eminently successful, and by his justice and firmness he won the confidence of all law-abiding residents of the district. In June, 1865, General Sanborn was ordered to the upper Arkansas to open a line of travel to Colorado and New Mexico, and to operate against the hostile Indians in that quarter. He set out with 6,000 troops, establishing his headquarters at Fort Riley, Kan., and in ninety days he had accomplished the object of his mission. He was mustered out of the military service in June, 1866, and returning to St. Paul, resumed his law practice under the firm name of Sanborn & King. This firm was dissolved in 1878, and General Sanborn formed a partnership with his nephew, Walter H. Sanborn. In 1881 another nephew, Edward P. Sanborn, was added to the firm. This partnership continued without change until the appointment of Walter H. Sanborn as United States circuit judge by President Harrison.

In 1867 General Sanborn was appointed one of the peace commissioners to treat with a number of hostile Indian tribes, comprising the Sioux, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and other bands. He was associated with Generals Sherman and Terry, Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri, and Col. Samuel S. Tappan. In 1872 he was elected to the Minnesota legislature, and again in 1882. He took an active part in restoring the credit and honor of the state by the recognition and settlement of the railroad bond debt. In 1860 he was a candidate before the Republican caucus for United States Senator, and was defeated by Morton S. Wilkinson by only two votes. For several years General Sanborn was president of the Chamber of Commerce. He has been commander of the Minnesota Commandery of the Loyal Legion, a trustee of the Historical Society, vice president of the National German American Bank, and a director or officer of a number of other important institutions.

General Sanborn has been thrice married. His first wife was Miss Catharine Hall of Newton, N. J., whom he married in March, 1857, and who died in 1860, leaving a daughter, Hattie F. Sanborn, who died Dec. 5, 1880. His second wife, to whom he was married in November, 1865, and who died in June, 1878, was Miss Anna Nixon of Bridgeton, N. J., a sister of the Hon. John T. Nixon of the Federal district court of New Jersey. April 15, 1880, he married his present wife, who was Miss Rachel Rice, daughter of the late Hon. Edmund Rice of St. Paul. To the last union there have been born four children.

SABIN, DWIGHT MAY.—William Sabin, the great-grandfather of Dwight May Sabin, was a Huguenot refugee, who fled from France to England, and afterwards to this country, settling in the town of Rehoboth, Mass., in 1643. He was a man of culture and wealth, and was a strong and leading citizen. He died in 1687 and is buried in the Old Granary cemetery in Boston. On a beautiful farm in Windham county, Connecticut, lived, all his long life of eighty-seven years, Jedediah Sabin, and there was born his only son, Horace Carver Sabin, the father of the subject of this biography, who there passed his boyhood and younger days. In his early manhood he removed to the Western Reserve of Ohio, but afterwards came farther west to Ottawa, Ill., then a prosperous trading village at the head of navigation on the Illinois river. In this locality Mr. Sabin purchased a large tract of land, and stocked it with blooded cattle, the first farm of this kind in the state, which, as a business venture, proved successful. He was one of the original Abolitionists, and his protection and services were freely accorded to the fugitive slaves who, at that time, passed through this section in large numbers on their perilous way to liberty. Mr. Sabin's residence was, in fact, one of the "underground railroad stations" to which these escaped negroes were always directed for assistance. He was a friend and collaborer of Owen Lovejoy and John F. Farnsworth, and a fervent admirer and acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln. All these gentlemen were frequently welcome guests at Horace C. Sabin's home, when they, on horseback, made professional and political trips through this new region. Though always evincing a spirited interest in the affairs of state and nation, he declined office that was strictly political, although he held for many years positions of trust and responsibility on state and county boards, serving at one time as canal and land commissioner. He was also appointed delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States. In 1855, in consequence of rapidly failing health, Mr. Sabin returned to Connecticut at the request of his father, who, in his old age, desired the presence of his son.

It was in Illinois, April 25, 1843, that Dwight May Sabin was born, the eldest son of Horace Carver Sabin and Maria Elizabeth Webster, his wife. Another son was born two years later, and called Jay H. When the family again settled themselves in Connecticut, owing to the death of his grandfather and the impaired health of his father, the care of the farm and somewhat extended lumber interests devolved upon Dwight, then a young and inexperienced lad. Until he was seventeen he had had only a common school education, but at this time he was sent to Philip's Academy, where he took a course of civil engineering and higher mathematics, remaining there a year, and then returning to take charge of his father's business.

He continued this uneventful life until Lincoln's call for volunteers in 1862, when, his patriotism becoming fired, he tendered his services to Governor Buckingham, who sent him to Washington to join a Connecticut regiment. Upon medical examination he was rejected for the active service because of his youth and tendencies to pulmonary weakness. He was, however, assigned to the quartermaster's department, but was afterwards given a first-class clerkship in the third auditor's office at Washington. He retained this position until June, 1863, when he was transferred to the commissary department of Beaufort's cavalry brigade, and reached the scene of action immediately previous to the battle of Gettysburg. He was with this brigade during many subsequent engagements, following Lee's retreating army. In the following year he was called home by the death of his father, being appointed executor of the estate; and with this and his other business affairs he was occupied until 1867. The old pulmonary weakness becoming more apparent, in the autumn of this year, by the advice of his physician, he decided to make a change, and selected Minnesota for climatic reasons. He first went to Minneapolis, where, during the winter, he investigated the lumber outlook. In the spring an opportunity to enter this business presented itself in Stillwater, where he settled, and has since continuously resided. He also engaged in various other enterprises, building up the manufacture of threshing machines, engines, and railway cars. This business assumed immense proportions, giving work at one time to over three thousand five hundred men. He was a promoter and partner in large lumber operations on the St. Louis river, besides other smaller affairs. In 1870 he was elected to the State Senate, and served continuously until 1883, when he was sent to the United States Senate to succeed William Windom.

While a member of that body Mr. Sabin served as chairman of the railway committee, and was a member of the Indian and pension committees. He secured pensions for over eight hundred old soldiers. He never made a pretense at oratory or attempted much speech-making, but was rather known as a strong working member for the interests of his state, especially in the transportation line. Though his efforts, with the aid of Senator Palmer of Michigan, a large appropriation was obtained for the speedy completion of the new canal at Sault Ste. Marie, and by his work appropriations were also made for the improvement of the Mississippi and other large streams. For several years previous to his election as United States Senator, he was a member of the Republican national committee, and at the death of Governor Jewell, in December, 1883, he was elected his successor to the chairmanship, and in this capacity presided over the Republican National Convention held in Chicago in 1884. Since Mr. Sabin's retirement from the United States Senate in 1889, he has been actively engaged in the iron and lumber business.

AMES, CHARLES GORDON.—Charles G. Ames, one of the founders of the Republican party in Minnesota, was born in Dorchester, Mass., Oct. 3, 1828. His early years were spent on a New Hampshire farm and in a printing office. At eighteen he began to preach, as he says, "with much zeal and little wisdom," and for a while supported himself by choring and teaching at an academy in Chester, Ohio, where he was a classmate of James A. Garfield. At twenty-one he was ordained as a Free Baptist minister, and in 1851 was sent by a home mission so-



CHARLES G. AMES.

ciety to St. Anthony Falls, where he gathered and organized the society now known as the First Free Baptist Church of Minneapolis. He was its pastor till 1856, when from a radical change in theological views, he asked and received an honorable dismissal. Three years later he found his place among the Unitarians, by whom he has been honored with various positions of trust. He has preached in twenty different states, lectured in the principal cities of the North and West, gathered congregations in California and elsewhere, and for three years edited the *Christian Register* at Boston. In 1889 he accepted his present place as pastor of the Church of the Disciples in that

city, being the successor of Dr. James Freeman Clarke. In 1896 he received from Bates College the degree of doctor of divinity. Mr. Ames was a resident of Minnesota from 1851 to 1859, and is now represented in that state by his son, Charles W. Ames, secretary of the West Publishing Company at St. Paul, and by his daughter, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter of Minneapolis. At the request of the editor of this volume Mr. Ames has supplied the following reminiscences of the early history of the Republican party in Minnesota, and of his own connection therewith:

"The Republican party in Minnesota consisted originally of such Free Sillers, Barnburner Democrats, and old Whigs as were drawn together by their common opposition to the extension of slavery. At a local meeting held at St. Anthony Falls, July 4, 1854,—John W. North presiding, and I acting as secretary,—we issued a declaration of opinion, and created a committee to provide for the future. A few weeks later, a purse was made up, a press purchased, I was appointed editor; and in October appeared the first number of the *Minnesota Republican*, from which I believe the *Minneapolis Tribune* is the lineal descendant. It was a small affair, but a brave pioneer venture; for I believe it was the first distinctively Republican journal in the Northwest, although many older papers of that section were already coming into line with the rising movement against pro-slavery aggression. It was easy to dream of 'a party of moral ideas,' and I ran up the motto, 'Absolute Right is the Highest Expediency,' which excited the mirth of some and the wrath of others.

"In March, 1855, we got together at St. Anthony Falls the first preliminary convention for organization. Wm. R. Marshall was president, Charles G. Ames secretary, and John W. North and Geo. A. Nouke were members of the committee on platform, to which I contributed a few planks, probably including prohibition, limitation of revenue to the needs of government, and I know not what other matters that proved irrelevant or premature, and therefore deciduous.


"In July, at our committee's call, a much more representative convention met in St. Paul. Many came from the down river counties. Practical politicians appeared. There were manifest rifts between old Whigs and old Democrats, as between conservative and radical views of slavery. The discussions were strenuous; the balloting was exciting. Wm. R. Marshall was nominated for delegate to Congress, and there was a spirited canvass. Henry M. Rice was elected, but the new party polled a large vote, and appeared to be well set up in every part of the territory. The *Republican* was blamed for weighting the cause with its insistent protests against both slavery and intemperance, and in July, 1855, Hon. Charles Sumner, then on a visit to Minnesota, called on the editor with a friendly suggestion that we should drop all other questions till the

overshadowing national issue should be fought out. His advice represented the wiser instincts of the time; for soon the rising music of the battle-cry of freedom silenced every other sound. But Hennepin county, where the influence of the *Republican* was mostly felt, was also the center and chief inspiration of the party's activity and the seat of its first triumphs.

"In 1855 I was nominated for a seat in the territorial council, but withdrew that the old Whig element might have a place on the ticket. In 1856 I was elected register of deeds. Being removed by Gov. Sam Medary, on the disgraceful charge of issuing fraudulent certificates of election, I was restored on the same day by the commissioners, and afterwards reelected by a larger majority than had ever been given to a county officer.

"In 1860, after I left Minnesota, a prominent citizen, in a note to the State Department at Washington, described me as a man whose influence and activity had done more than any other to create the sentiment that had made Minnesota a Republican state. But other witnesses could honestly give a quite contradictory testimony, and my own persuasion is that the same result would have been reached as surely if I had remained behind a wood-pile or a stone wall in New Hampshire."



 **OSMUN, EDWARD H.**—Edward H. Osmun was born in Rochester, Minn., Aug. 6, 1857, of Revolutionary ancestry. His paternal great-grandfather came to America in 1750, located in Orange county, New York; served, with his son, in the Continental army, and both were captured and starved to death as British prisoners of war in the old sugar house in New York. His two maternal great-grandfathers, Capt. John Schenck and Richard van Wagner, were also in the War of the Revolution; and, since that time, more than one hundred of the ancestors and members of this family have served in the wars of the United States. It follows naturally that he is himself a member of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Mr. Osmun was educated in the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan, taking a classical course in the literary departments of those institutions, and afterwards a law course in the University of Michigan. When in college he joined the Sigma Phi—Greek letter secret society. Immediately after graduating, in 1881, he located permanently in St. Paul, and quickly following his admission to the Minnesota bar came his appointment as assistant counsel of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, a position which he resigned in 1885 to take up the general law practice which he has since prosecuted, corporation law being his specialty.

At this period there were little or no requirements for admission to the bar, and deeply interested in his profession, and seeing the necessity of reform in all matters pertaining to legal education, Mr. Osmun took up the subject in 1888, made a draft for a proposed bill, secured a meeting of the State Bar Association that was called to consider it, created favorable public sentiment for it outside the profession, and obtained for it the unanimous indorsement of the legal fraternity, and finally had it introduced and secured its passage in the Senate only to meet with defeat



EDWARD H. OSMUN.

in the House. In 1891, however, he again took hold of the subject, and the measure passed both branches of the legislature successfully, and is now known as Chapter XXXVI. of the General Laws of 1891. Under this wise law the standard of admission to the bar was raised to a three years' course of study and a rigid examination upon twenty-six legal subjects, in addition to such qualifications as are given by a general education. The supreme court appointed Mr. Osmun a member of the first State Board of Examiners under this law, and the board at once elected him secretary thereof, a position he has held ever since.

That he is held in high esteem by his brother members of the bar is evidenced in the fact that unusual honors have been paid him. He has been president of the St. Paul Bar Association four years and secretary of the State Bar Association two years.

Mr. Ozmun has always been an active and consistent Republican. He has given his time and services freely to his party in conventions, on political committees, and on the rostrum in every campaign since his residence in St. Paul. From 1891 to 1894 he was a member of the executive committee of the State League of Republican Clubs and chairman of the Ramsey County League. In the city campaign of 1892 he achieved marked prominence as a political organizer, having so marshaled the party in St. Paul that, for the first time in twenty-one years, a Republican mayor was elected. Although urged to take office, Mr. Ozmun never tried to obtain a nomination for such honors until the autumn of 1894, when he was nominated for the State Senate from the Twenty-seventh legislative district and elected by a plurality of 1,010 over his Democratic opponent in a district which, six months before, had given a Democratic majority of 154. In the Senate he soon became known as one of the hardest workers in that body, always pursuing the course of a consistent reformer of political methods. In his first session, and after great opposition, he introduced and secured the passage of a "corrupt practice act," an act which is intended to prevent the corrupt use of money in state elections. Among other bills introduced by Mr. Ozmun, and which passed the Senate, but failed in the House, were a "civil service reform act," designed to place all state and city employes, below heads of departments, under rules similar to the Federal civil service regulations, and a bill known as the "Australian Nomination Act," designed to do away with conventions and providing that all nominations for city offices should be made on petition. Always interested in the national guard, he also introduced and secured the passage of an act (Chapter 70, General Code of 1895), which remedied many defects in the military code, and provided for the purchase of uniforms by the state instead of at the expense of the soldiers.

In November, 1894, Senator Ozmun was married to Miss Clara Goodman of Weedsport, N. Y. In August, 1895, they were both shipwrecked while crossing the English channel and nearly lost their lives, their steamer sinking within ten minutes after the last passenger had escaped, and themselves being rescued by a French vessel. The senator made careful and exhaustive studies of the municipal affairs of the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, London, Paris, and Brussels while abroad, and collected much useful information which he intends to use in the promotion of public interests.

HUBBARD, LUCIUS F.—In 1857 a young man of twenty-one landed from a steamboat at Red Wing who was destined to play a very conspicuous part in the civil and military history of this state. His name was Lucius F. Hubbard, and he was born in Troy, N. Y. The death of his father when he was three years old gave him into the charge of an aunt living in Chester, Vt., who brought him up in the old conscientious New England fashion, sent him to the common school, and later to an academy at Granville, N. Y., and when he was fifteen apprenticed him to a tinsmith. The young man worked steadily three years to learn his trade, the period required by the custom of the country, and then, with his credentials as a journeyman tinner in his pocket, he struck out for the West. Halting in Chicago, he found employment and worked for three years in that city, saving what money he could from his wages and devoting his leisure hours to study and to the reading of good books. He was of a thoughtful and ambitious cast of mind, and he did not intend to remain long a journeyman mechanic. In Red Wing he started a newspaper called the *Republican*, which is still alive and flourishing. He knew nothing from experience of the occupation of journalism or of the printer's trade, but he gave all his energies to his new field of work, and made the paper succeed. It was congenial work, and that was a great deal. He had a taste for politics, and he took active part in the movements for the success of the young Republican party in his county of Goodhue. In 1858 he was elected register of deeds. In 1861 he ran for the State Senate, but was defeated by seven votes.

The Civil War had then begun. Under Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men Minnesota could furnish only one regiment, but under the second call, for 500,000 more, the state was entitled to recruit four more regiments. Hubbard enlisted in Company A of the Fifth Regiment and was elected its captain. When the regiment rendezvoused at Fort Snelling, it was found that he was the senior captain, and he was elected lieutenant colonel. In May following the regiment was divided, three companies being ordered to the Minnesota frontier, the other seven companies to the South, and on the twenty-fourth of the same month joined the army under General Pope before Corinth, Miss., and were assigned to the Second Brigade, First Division, Army of the Mississippi.

The regiment was engaged in the battle of Farmington four days after its arrival, and the next day was again engaged in the first battle of Corinth, where it achieved distinction for great bravery. At this battle Colonel Hubbard was severely wounded.

On Aug. 31, 1862, he became a colonel through the resignation of Colonel Borgersrode. He was in command of the regiment at the battle of Iuka, and of the Second Brigade

at the second battle of Corinth, and at the battle of Jackson and Mississippi Springs, and remained in command of the brigade until the spring of 1863, when the Fifth Regiment was transferred to the Fifteenth Army Corps, and joined in the siege of Vicksburg.

The regiment formed a part of the storming column in the assault on the defenses of that city, May 22, 1863, and during the siege was almost continually under fire. It was during the investment of this city that the regiment, having been detailed, fought in the battles of Richmond, La., and at Mechanicsburg and Satastia, Miss.

After the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863, he was again given the command of his brigade, which was transferred with the division, and assigned to the Sixteenth Army Corps in March, 1864, under the command of Gen. A. J. Smith, to coöperate with General Banks in the famous Red River expedition. Within a very short time the brigade had been in seven battles in Louisiana and southern Mississippi, ending on their return with the battle of Greenfield, La., where they defeated and routed the enemy, and relieved the Mississippi river from blockade. Returning to Memphis, his command took part in several engagements in the northern part of Mississippi, and marched across Arkansas and Missouri to the Kansas line in the attempt to attack and destroy the forces under General Price. Returning to St. Louis Colonel Hubbard with his brigade was ordered to reinforce General Thomas at Nashville, and was engaged in the battle of Nashville, Dec. 15 and 16, 1864, on the latter day being in the first line of the assaulting column, where the whole brigade was badly cut to pieces, and Colonel Hubbard, after having two horses killed under him, badly wounded. The brigade, which had long held a well-earned and enviable reputation, under its gallant commander, for endurance and bravery, on this occasion redoubled its honors, capturing seven pieces of artillery, many stands of colors, and forty per cent more prisoners than there were members of the command.

In recognition of his many qualities as a soldier and commander, Colonel Hubbard was promoted after this engagement to brigadier general. In February, 1865, General Hubbard with his command went to New Orleans and subsequently to Mobile, where he participated in the active operations about that city and Spanish fort, the Fifth Minnesota being the first regiment to enter and take possession of that fort on its surrender. After the surrender, he was mustered out at Mobile in October of the same year, with the brilliant record of having taken part in thirty-one battles.

Returning to his home in Red Wing, General Hubbard embarked in the grain business, and soon after became extensively engaged in milling operations in both Goodhue

and Wabasha counties. In 1876 he raised, through his personal influence, the money to complete the Midland Railway, a line extending from Wabasha to Zumbrota, before that time projected, but at a standstill for want of a proper leader. This opened up a new era for the mills along the Zumbro river and the agricultural region contiguous thereto. The road was soon purchased by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company, which resulted in the construction and operation of a competing line by the Northwestern Railway Company through the same territory. He subsequently organized the Minnesota Central Railway (Cannon Valley), to run from Red Wing to Mankato. As president of the company he secured the building of the road from Red Wing to Waterville, about sixty-six miles, and the same is now operated by the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway Company, which has since completed the line to Mankato.

In 1868 General Hubbard was nominated for Congress in the Second district. A narrative of the split in the party, the withdrawal of Hubbard, and the nomination in his place of General Andrews will be found in the state historical part of this work. In 1872 he was elected to the State Senate, and again in 1874, declining a reelection in 1876. In the Senate he was regarded as one of the best informed, painstaking, and influential members. In 1881 General Hubbard received the Republican nomination for governor of Minnesota, and was elected by the largest majority ever given for any candidate for the office up to that time. He was renominated and reelected in 1883, and his second term was extended one year by a constitutional amendment which abolished annual elections and made the elections for all state and county officials take place in the even-numbered years, so as to occur at the same time as elections for President and for members of Congress. On retiring from the executive chair after five years' service, Governor Hubbard resumed his business activities in his old home at Red Wing. For a full account of his administration as governor, see the chapters of state history in this volume. He has since remained in private life, but has constantly taken a hearty interest in the career of his party and in the progress of his state.



ROBBINS, ANDREW BONNEY.—Andrew B. Robbins of Minneapolis was one of the leaders in the lower House of the state legislature of 1895, and is one of the leading business men of Minnesota. The purest of Yankee blood flows in his veins, he being a native of New England, where his ancestors for many generations back were born and raised. More than that, he is of Puritan origin on both sides of his house, and a descendant

of soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War for the independence of the American colonies.

He was born at Phillips, Me., April 27, 1846. His father, Daniel Robbins, was a man of affairs, having many business interests, such as flouring mills, lumber mills, mercantile concerns, etc. Robbins the elder's descent from Puritan stock was alloyed but slightly, yet he was a Democrat during the troublous slavery times, years prior to the War of the Rebellion. However, he redeemed himself by joining the Whig party, and, later, by becoming a charter



ANDREW B. ROBBINS.

member of the Republican party. His mother was Miss Mary Shaw of Winthrop. Her father and his brothers were all officers in the Continental army during the Revolutionary War.

Mr. Robbins came with his parents to Minnesota in 1855, settling at Anoka. There he was educated in the public schools and graduated from Tiffany Academy of Anoka. At seventeen years of age Mr. Robbins enlisted as a private in Company A, Eighth Minnesota Volunteers, and served three years. His first service was on the Western plains under General Sully. The regiment was eventually

sent to the front, where it took part in the engagements about Nashville, being stationed at Murfreesboro when General Hood made his raid in January, 1865. After this the regiment went to Newbern, N. C., and worked its way up to a junction with Sherman's army at Raleigh, just at the close of the war. During this time Mr. Robbins was on detached service in the quartermaster's department.

After the war was over he entered the service of the old St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, as station and land agent at Willmar. Within a year or so he added to his work the dealing in lumber, farm machinery, and also banking. In a short time his private business affairs became so important that he resigned from the service of the railroad. In 1876 he was elected to the State Senate, and represented Kandiyohi county in that capacity for two years. In the Senate he was made chairman of several important committees; and though but thirty years old, he soon rose to such prominence that he was chosen by his Republican colleagues to nominate Senator Windom for reelection to the United States Senate. He accepted, and performed the charge with marked ability. The Democratic leaders of the Senate were W. P. Murray, Morton S. Wilkinson, Michael Doran, and James Smith, Jr. These gentlemen were very much stirred up over the result of the Hayes and Tilden controversy, and improved every opportunity to attack with the utmost vigor every Republican and every Republican movement in the State Senate. Young Senator Robbins met every onslaught with so much strength and adroitness, that he succeeded in about every instance in driving these Democratic stalwarts into the defensive, and in no instance did he permit them to score an effective point. It was on account of his successes in these trying times that he was selected to nominate Senator Windom.

In 1882 Mr. Robbins moved from Willmar to Merriam Park, to take the management of the Northwestern Elevator Company. In 1887, after Merriam Park had become a part of the city of St. Paul, he was elected to the St. Paul City Council, but through some legal quibble the district court held that the former alderman was entitled to hold over, so Mr. Robbins was not seated.

In 1890 he purchased a large tract of land in the extreme north suburb of Minneapolis, moved upon it, and founded what is now known as Robbinsdale, which is a beautiful suburban residence locality.

In the fall election of 1894 Mr. Robbins was elected to the lower house of the state legislature. As already noted, he was one of the leaders of that body. As a speaker upon the floor of the House he was fluent, strong in argument, and fair in his methods, all of which, together with his high standing as a citizen and his well-known integrity, made him a powerful influence. He was never to be moved by any measure made popular by "hurrah" methods,

but weighed everything calmly in the light of good sense, and never hesitated to attack measures that he considered pernicious, no matter how popular they were. He was therefore looked upon as a very safe man to follow.

He was the chairman of the committee on general appropriations, was connected with many other prominent committees, and was very active in all committee work intrusted to him. He is now, and has been for a number of years past, the manager of the Minnesota & Dakota Elevator Company.

In 1869, at Minneapolis, Mr. Robbins was married to Miss Adelaide Walker, sister of Hon. T. B. Walker of Minneapolis. They have a family of five daughters.

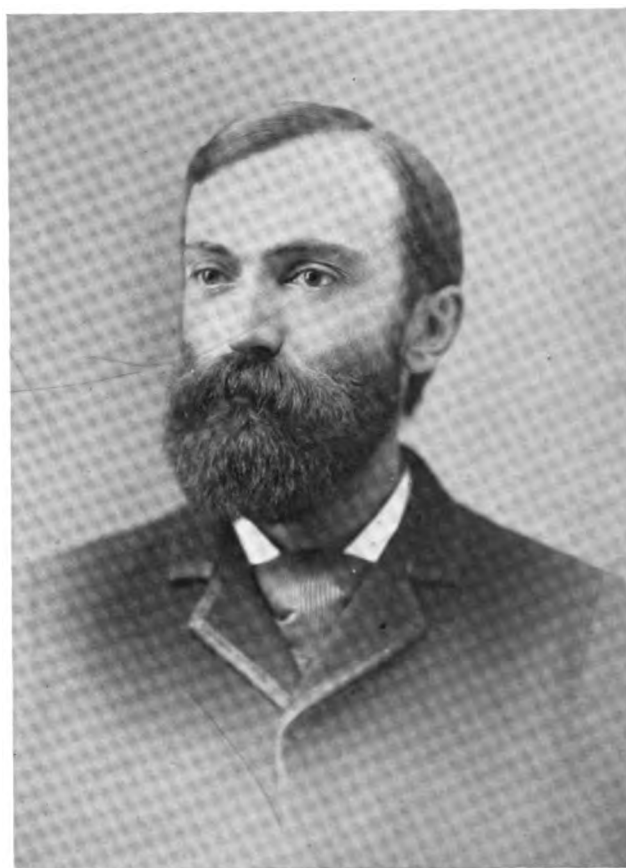


ANDERSON, AUGUST JOHAN.—It is doubtful if the native American residents of Minnesota fully realize how much the development of this state and the entire Northwest owes to the Scandinavian people, who left their mother country and came here to share the oftentimes unfavorable surroundings of the early immigrants linking their fate with the destinies of a growing community. Their citizenship and loyalty to the land of their adoption is unquestioned, and there is scarcely an instance where one has come to the Northwest with a view of making a competency and going back to his mother country to spend it. Oftentimes their store of wealth was practically exhausted when they arrived here, but with stout hands and willing hearts as their only capital, they have been even more successful than have any nationality of settlers that ever came into the Northwest. Just such a man is the subject of this sketch, and his meager beginning and subsequent success is the best possible demonstration of the possibilities of a man endowed with intelligence and energy in Minnesota.

August J. Anderson was born at Ugnanäs, Hofmantorp, Sweden, on the ninth day of May, 1860, and is the oldest of a family of seven children, now living. His father, Otto Anderson, followed the trade of miller in his native town, and, from the best evidences at hand, belonged to the more intelligent class of mechanics, and was comfortably well off, as wealth and comforts go in that country. During the depressions in 1867-68, which resulted in a practical famine among the poor and middle classes, he found his savings of several years practically wiped out; and, with no future in sight in his native land, he decided to come to the United States and locate in Minnesota, attracted here by the reports he had heard of the productiveness of the Minnesota prairies and the great advantages offered as the reward of industry and intelligent effort. So, gathering about him all the wealth he possessed, he bought an emigrant ticket to Minnesota, and landed at Taylor's Falls on the St. Croix

river, with just two dollars in his pocket. During the next year he earned enough, with the kindly assistance of friends, to enable him to bring his family to this country, and later to make the first payment on a piece of school land near Franconia, which he bought from the state, and on which he has made his home ever since and reared and educated a family of seven children.

The school advantages enjoyed by August J., the subject of this sketch, were meager in the extreme, and consisted in attendance a few months each year at the common



AUGUST J. ANDERSON.

schools in his native land, and, after coming to Minnesota in June, 1869, attending the common schools a few months in winter during the three succeeding years. When a lad of only twelve he began working on a log boom on the St. Croix river at fifty cents a week, and so faithful and energetic was he that by the end of the season he had been advanced to fifty cents per day. His little earnings were all carried home and used by his parents in the support of the family. On May 9, 1873, when but thirteen years of age, he got a position in a country store at Franconia, in which he continued without interruption until April 1, 1883, when

he left to take a vacation and travel through Northern Europe for three and a half months, visiting the home of his birth. On his return to Franconia he formed a partnership with his former employer in the general merchandise business, and this continued until the death of his partner in 1892. Then he took the position as manager of a bank at North Branch, Minn., for one and a half years, and at the expiration of that time he gave up active business to look after his personal interests. In January, 1896, the Taylor's Falls Produce Company was formed among the business men of Taylor's Falls, and Mr. Anderson was made manager, a position which he occupies to-day.

When only eighteen he began taking an active interest in local politics. It was Mr. Anderson who secured the incorporation of the village of Franconia, and he was for several years a member of the board of trustees and recorder of that body. In fact, any position in the village was at his command by saying he wanted it. In 1890 he was elected from the Forty-fourth legislative district, embracing Chisago, Pine, and Kanabec counties, and was re-elected in 1892 and 1894. Though always an earnest and ardent advocate of Republican principles, his first legislative experience was in the first and only anti-Republican legislature ever assembled in Minnesota, due to the fusion of Populists and Democrats in that body. It was during that session that the twine plant was located in the state prison at Stillwater, and of this Mr. Anderson was an ardent advocate. In the next session, which met in 1893, Mr. Anderson was one of the original eighty-five members who voted for Senator Davis's reelection from the beginning to the date when he was elected. He was the author of the so-called "Anderson Bill" (House File No. 1) for the taxation of unused railroad lands, which goes before the people at the next state election for their ratification. Among other measures which he introduced during his term in the legislature, and which were enacted into laws, was the bill providing for the use of Minnesota stone in all public buildings in the state, and also the bill providing for the interstate park at the Dalles of the St. Croix; also, the bill compelling the stopping of all passenger trains at all county seat stations. He also introduced the first bill in the last legislature for the prevention of forest fires, and at the last legislative session was an active member of the judiciary committee. Throughout his legislative career he earned the reputation of being an indefatigable worker and an exceptionally useful member of each committee on which he was placed.

Mr. Anderson was married in October, 1888, at Taylor's Falls, to Miss Josephine J. Holm, the daughter of one of the oldest settlers in Chisago county and the first postmaster of Centre City, and has two children. He is a member of several Masonic orders, as well as a Knight of

Pythias and Modern Woodman. He has an attractive home at Taylor's Falls, and can be relied upon in the future as in the past to make himself felt in the affairs of his own community and in the state.



BENSON, JARED.—Jared Benson, born in Blackstone, Mass., in 1821, died in St. Paul in 1894, was a leading spirit in the early Republican campaigns of Minnesota. He settled on a farm, in what is now Anoka county, in 1856, and at once began to take an active part in politics, making stump speeches in all the early campaigns and proving an efficient worker for his party. In 1860 he was elected clerk of the House of Representatives, and coming back at the next session as a member he was chosen speaker. At the session of 1862 he was reelected speaker, and again at the session of 1864. He was again a member in 1879 and ten years later, in 1889. During President Harrison's administration he held the post of deputy collector of internal revenue. Benson belonged to the best type of the intelligent, public-spirited farmer element of Minnesota.



MILLER, STEPHEN.—The fourth governor of the State of Minnesota was Gen. Stephen Miller, born in Perry, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, Jan. 17, 1816. He was the son of David and Rosanna Miller, and his grandfather was Melchor Miller, who came from Germany about 1785. His mother's family name is believed to have been Darkess, though the information touching that question is not positive. Young Miller's education was such as he could get in the common schools of the county where he was born, and he certainly made the most of the opportunities these afforded, for he filled creditably several positions requiring considerable scholastic information. One of his peculiarities was the determination to get to the top on all occasions and in whatever he undertook. He was more than usually ambitious. In 1834 he engaged in the forwarding and commission business in Harrisburg, and made a success of it. During this time he married Miss Margaret Funk of Dauphin county, who seems to have seconded his efforts to gain a high place in life. He was an old-line Whig, and busied himself with politics even when carrying on his commercial business, and in 1849 was elected prothonotary (probate officer) of Dauphin county, which position he held until 1855, and besides discharging satisfactorily his public duties, was editor of the *Telegraph*, an influential Whig paper published in Harrisburg.

In 1855 Governor Pollock appointed him flour inspector at Philadelphia, which office he held until 1858, when failing health induced him to seek relief in the salubrious climate of Minnesota. He located at St. Cloud and entered at once upon the business of a merchant in that thriving little city. He could not well refrain from engaging in politics, and two years later we find him in the honorable post of delegate at large to the Republican national convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, and later the same year his name headed the electoral ticket. He had soon become very popular with his new neighbors, and having brought with him commendations of a high order from those with whom he associated in Pennsylvania, it was not strange that he was thus honored, for it was evident that he deserved the confidence reposed in him.

When the war broke out, and this state was called upon to furnish troops, Mr. Miller was one of the first to enlist as a private, but before he had seen service he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the First Regiment by Governor Ramsey, and served with the regiment in the Army of the Potomac till September, 1862, when he was promoted to a colonelcy and placed in command of the Seventh Regiment. His first duty with this command was against the Sioux Indians on the western border of the state, where he won a flattering reputation as a brave soldier and skillful commander. It was under his command that the thirty-eight Indians, who had been captured and convicted of murder, were hung at Mankato. He was subsequently promoted to the rank of brigadier general; but being soon after elected governor of the state did not, we believe, serve in that capacity. He was governor during the closing two years of the war, and embraced every opportunity which offered to contribute to the comfort and happiness of the troops from this state who were in the field and to further the efficient prosecution of the war. His conduct showed beyond question that he was prompted by patriotic motives, and he had no patience with those who opposed the vigorous and most effective use of whatever means the government had at its command to bring the struggle to a speedy and successful close.

On the termination of his gubernatorial term he was out of public employment for several years, but never slackened in his interest in public affairs. With him his country seemed to have always first place in his thoughts, and when not in active duty his influence was being used as an adviser of those who were in the public service. In 1873 he was again called into the political arena as the representative in the state legislature of the six southwestern counties, and the records testify that he performed his duty faithfully. Again in 1876 he was on the state electoral ticket, and was the messenger who bore the returns of that election to the national capital.

During the last few years of his life General Miller was in the employ of the Sioux City & St. Paul Railroad Land Company, and removed his residence first to Windom, Minn., and later, in 1878, to Worthington, where he died in 1881, of a painful and somewhat lingering disease. His death was mourned by the hundreds of friends he had made during his residence in the state, and although it took place in a distant city, off the usual line of travel, his funeral was attended by a large delegation from St. Paul, among whom were a number of the state officers and most prominent citizens. He was buried with Masonic honors. The governor had four children—one daughter, who died in infancy, and three sons. Of these the oldest fell at Gettysburg, fighting gallantly for his country. The second was a captain and commissary in the army for a time, but has more recently been lost sight of by the people of this state. The third and youngest was working in the government printing office at Washington at last accounts. While none of them achieved the honors their father won, they all became useful and worthy citizens.



WHITNEY, CHARLES COLBY.—Charles C. Whitney, editor of the *Marshall News-Messenger*, the sixteenth president of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association, was born March 20, 1846, at Salmon Falls, N. H. His father was an overseer in the cotton mills at Salmon Falls, and later at Lawrence, Haydenville, and Waltham, Mass. When he was quite young his parents removed to Lawrence, and it was there that his life-work began. After attending the public schools, he entered the Lawrence *American* newspaper office at fifteen years of age, serving a most thorough mechanical apprenticeship, and becoming so expert that he was made foreman of the job department when but seventeen years old. He remained with that establishment twenty-one years, the last ten years having been spent in the editorial department, which he entered first as a reporter. He was soon promoted to the position of city editor, and, during the latter portion of his stay, was one of the proprietors of the paper. While thus engaged he was also, for many years, a special correspondent for the Boston *Herald*. His parents removed to Waltham soon after he began his apprenticeship, but, with the persistence which has characterized his later years, he remained at his post and secured a mechanical, business, and editorial education.

There was the hiatus in his working career which was characteristic of so many of the resolute boys of Massachusetts. That was occasioned by the war. When but eighteen years of age he enlisted for three months as a private in Company I, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, and when this term expired he reenlisted in Company D, First

Battalion Twenty-sixth New York Cavalry, in which he remained until the conclusion of the war. The war over, he resumed his work in the *American* office, continuing for the period already named. During this time he became actively interested in politics and public affairs, among other things serving in the city council of Lawrence for two years.

The most marked success of Mr. Whitney's career awaited his coming to Minnesota. The attraction of this great state led him to leave Massachusetts in 1880 and come to Marshall, the county seat of Lyon county, where



CHARLES C. WHITNEY.

he at once engaged in his chosen profession by purchasing the *Lyon County News*. In 1885 he bought the *Marshall Messenger*, and he has since conducted the paper under the name of the *News-Messenger*. The first thing which attracted the attention of the newspaper fraternity to Mr. Whitney was the neat typographical appearance of his paper, the result of his thorough Massachusetts schooling. This at once led to the reading of its contents, and it was readily seen that the state had a new editor who was bound to make his mark. Mr. Whitney's paper at once took front rank in the politics of Southwestern Minnesota, and, as he

became more widely known, its influence has been extended far beyond his local balliwick, and it is now one of the influential Republican papers of the state. He has also been a great factor in the building up of his town, which has become one of the most attractive residence towns in the state, the population being over 2,000. One of the especial advantages of Marshall is its excellent schools, the development of which has been greatly aided by Mr. Whitney, who has been secretary of the board of education and one of its most active members for the past nine years. In social life he has also been active, belonging to the Masonic, Odd Fellows, Pythian, and Royal Arcanum orders, as well as being an active member of the Grand Army of the Republic.

In addition to his presidency of the Editors' and Publishers' Association in 1895, he organized the Republican Press Association in 1894, and was chosen its first president, still remaining an active participant in the management of both organizations by being on their respective executive committees. As an indication of the political position he has secured in his party, and his ability in his profession, it can be noted that in November, 1895, he was tendered the position of superintendent of state printing, that officer being selected by the board of printing commissioners, composed of the secretary of state, state treasurer, and state auditor. His selection was made purely as a matter of merit, as he was wired to come to St. Paul without the slightest idea of the occasion for the call. He accepted the position, though still giving a directory and advisory care to his valuable newspaper property at Marshall.

Mr. Whitney was married at Lawrence, Mass., in 1866, to Miss Mattie M. Hogle, and there his eldest son, Frank C. Whitney, was born. He is now twenty-five years of age, and is associated with his father in the conduct of the *News-Messenger*, proving an able and competent journalist. Mr. Whitney's first wife died in 1877, and in 1879 he was married to Miss Nellie A. Johnson of Bethel, Me., who accompanied him to Minnesota, three sons and one daughter, who are still living, having resulted from this union.



FLETCHER, LOREN.—If one were asked to designate the most prominent traits in Mr. Fletcher's character he would unhesitatingly name firmness and determination. To attribute much of his success in life to these characteristics would be by no means amiss. He comes of New England stock, his birthplace being Mount Vernon, Kennebec county, Maine. Mr. Fletcher's early education was received in the common schools of Kennebec county, supplemented somewhat later by a two-years' finishing course in Kent Hill Seminary, from which he graduated

at nineteen. This institution educated some of the most prominent men that the State of Maine ever produced. Among those best known to Minnesotans are the several members of the Washburn family and the subject of this sketch.

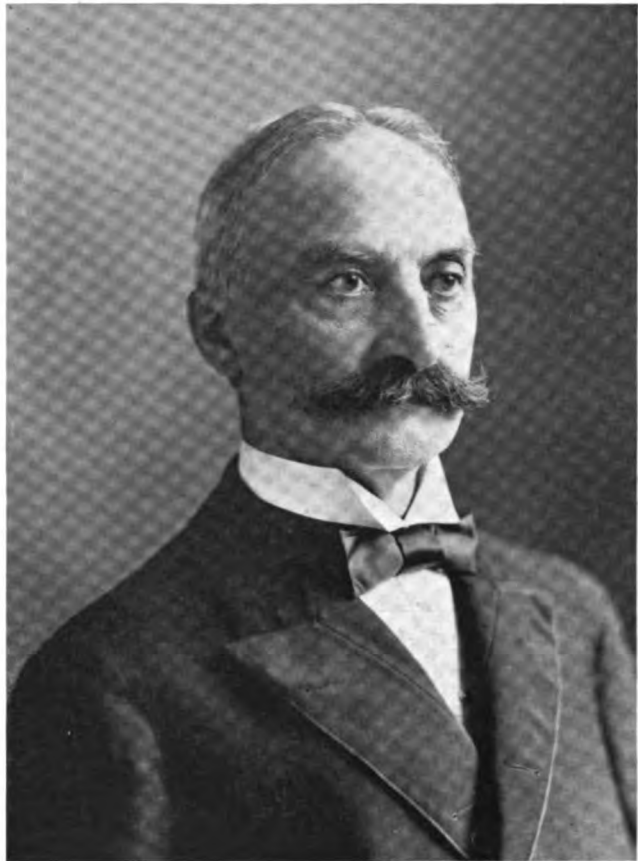
After three years as a clerk for a mercantile and lumbering concern in Bangor, Me., having saved a few hundred dollars, Mr. Fletcher started for the West, to seek a more lucrative field.

After visiting Dubuque, Iowa, and one or two other points on the Mississippi river, he finally landed at St. Anthony Falls, Aug. 14, 1856, single-handed and alone, and practically without a friend or acquaintance in the then Territory of Minnesota. His first thought was to secure work, and the best thing he could find was a situation in a general merchandise store, at a salary of thirty dollars per month. Shortly thereafter he found an opening with the firm of Hersey & Staples, at Hastings. He remained there until the following spring, when he came back to take charge of a lumber yard in St. Peter, Minn., for the Hon. Dorillus Morrison, for which work he received \$100 per month, and his expenses when away from home. Thus it was that the young man who was glad to find employment in August, 1856, at thirty dollars per month, had more than tripled his income within one year, to say nothing of having attracted the attention of at least three of the most prominent lumbermen and successful business men that ever came to Minnesota. At a later date Mr. Morrison made him manager of his logging camps in the pineries during the winter and of the drives on the river during the summer.

By 1860 he had accumulated some money, which he invested in the general merchandise business with Hon. C. M. Loring, a partnership that lasted thirty-three years, and which exercised a marked influence in the business and public affairs of Minneapolis. Though originally organized, to carry on a general merchandise store, they later went into the manufacturing of lumber and flour on a very large scale, engaging in railroad contracting and dealing in farm lands and town lots as well. They built thirty-five miles of the Northern Pacific Railroad east of the Red river, out of which they made a handsome profit. They also located about 100,000 acres of farming land in the Red River Valley, and until recently owned a farm of fourteen thousand acres in Richland county, North Dakota. No man ever had more uniform success in his business ventures than Mr. Fletcher, and this was not due to luck or chance, but to indomitable energy, coupled with good business ability. A former resident of Minneapolis, who had known him since he came to Minnesota, once made this remark about him: "Fletcher never took hold of any business enterprise that he did not make a success of, and I don't be-

lieve he ever had a note come due that was not paid at maturity." No better indorsement of a man's business career would be possible.

Mr. Fletcher's political career began in 1872, when he was sent to the lower branch of the state legislature, to which he was seven times reelected. The last three sessions he was elected speaker of the House, the last time by acclamation. If one were to ask Mr. Fletcher what one courtesy received during his life afforded him the greatest pleasure, he would undoubtedly refer to his unanimous



LOREN FLETCHER.

reelection as speaker of the lower branch of the Minnesota legislature; for it was an expression of the confidence reposed in him by those who had come to know him through business and political associations of fourteen years. It would be difficult to name any man in Minnesota who has exercised a greater influence on legislative and state affairs generally than he has. He was one of the most active men in the state in opposing the issue of the old Minnesota state railroad bonds, but after they were issued he was just as prominent in his advocacy of paying them; whereas there were a good many members of the state legislature who

were in favor of repudiating them. When St. Paul and Minneapolis were placed in separate congressional districts by the apportionment of 1891, Mr. Fletcher was nominated by acclamation by the Republicans to be the first representative of the new district in Congress. He was elected by 2,500 majority, and reëlected in 1894 by an increased majority. His third nomination in May, 1896, was also by acclamation. At Washington Mr. Fletcher is known as a faithful champion of the interests of his state and district, who accomplishes results in legislation and political action by quiet and diligent work. No man ever represented a Minnesota district in Congress who has done as much as Mr. Fletcher has for the old soldier population of his district and the state, though he is not a G. A. R. man. He seldom takes an active part in the debates of the House, except to make business-like statements concerning some measure in which his constituents are interested, but few members accomplish more for their districts than does Loren Fletcher.



WASHBURN, WILLIAM DREW.—William D. Washburn, for six years a member of Congress from Minnesota and for six years one of her representatives in the United States Senate, was born in Livermore, Androscoggin county, Maine, on Jan. 14, 1831. He belongs to one of the most remarkable families that have figured in the public affairs of this country. Its founder, John Washburn, came over with the Mayflower pilgrims. William D. is one of seven brothers, the sons of Israel Washburn, and the grandsons of Revolutionary soldiers. All seven became men of mark, and several of them distinguished themselves to such an extent as to become a part of the country's history. Writing of the Washburn family in his "Triumphant Democracy," Andrew Carnegie says: "Their career is typically American. The family record includes a secretary of state, two governors, four members of Congress, a major general in the army, and another second in command in the navy. Two served as foreign ministers, two as state legislators, and one as surveyor general." William D. Washburn spent his childhood and youth upon a farm, working hard summers and going to school winters. He entered Bowdoin College in 1850, and, after completing his course in that institution, read law with his brother Israel, who was for ten years a member of Congress, and afterwards the war governor of Maine. His law studies were finished in Bangor, in the office of John A. Peters, who was afterwards chief justice of Maine. In 1857 Mr. Washburn migrated to the then Territory of Minnesota, and opened a law office at Minneapolis. He saw at once the great opportunity for building up a milling industry with the aid of the water-power of the falls, and soon put aside his law books and became agent for the Minneapolis

Milling Company. His business career from that day to this has been associated with large flour and saw milling enterprises. The great Washburn mills at Minneapolis, ranking with the largest in the world, are largely the creation of his genius and enterprise.

Mr. Washburn had from his youth a taste for public affairs, and he early took a prominent part in all efforts to make Minneapolis an important commercial and manufacturing city. He was already fully launched upon a political career when, in 1861, President Lincoln appointed him surveyor general of Minnesota. In 1858 he was elected to the first state legislature. Again in 1861, and ten years later, in 1871, his fellow citizens sent him to the legislature. He displayed the somewhat rare talent of being able to give attention to politics without neglecting his business, and his milling enterprises continued to grow and flourish. In 1878 he was elected to Congress from the district then embracing the two cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and he was reëlected in 1880 and in 1882, serving six years and then declining another election. His long and creditable service in the House at Washington led to his election, in 1889, to the United States Senate to succeed D. M. Sabin. In that body he served for six years, with general acceptance to the people of the state, and was distinguished for his business capacity as a practical legislator and his close attention to the interests of his constituents. He failed of reëlection in 1895, largely because he made no effort to work up a movement in his own behalf in advance of the choice of the members of the legislature. The combination which finally defeated him, after a long struggle, did not appear on the surface until after the assembling of the legislature.

General Washburn, as he is popularly called since he held the office of surveyor general, has been one of the chief railway promoters and builders in Minnesota. He was the projector of the Minneapolis & St. Louis road, of which he was for a time president. After retiring from that enterprise, he formed two important projects for new transportation lines to benefit the business interests of his city and its sister city of St. Paul. One was to build a railroad eastward through the wilderness country of Northern Wisconsin and Northern Minnesota to the Sault Ste. Marie, there to connect with a branch of the Canadian Pacific, and thus to afford a route to the East independent of the Chicago lines—a route for outgoing flour and incoming merchandise that should not be controlled by interests that sought to build up Chicago at the expense of the Twin Cities of Minnesota. The other was to build a road westward, between the two lines of the Great Northern, and so on into North Dakota. Both these schemes were carried out successfully; the lines were built, and were subsequently consolidated to form a part of what is now known as the "Soo" system.

General Washburn was married in 1859 to Miss Lizzie Muzzy, daughter of Hon. Franklin Muzzy, a prominent public man in Maine. He has been happy and fortunate in his family life, and his handsome home in Minneapolis is much admired as one of the best houses in the Northwest. Its merits are not limited to the stately stone edifice and the extensive grounds, for it has always been the center of much hearty and refined hospitality. Although he has reached the age of sixty-five, General Washburn is still as active and energetic as most men of forty. He continues his business activities, and takes a hearty interest in the affairs of his city and state and in the Republican politics of the nation.



NELSON, KNUTE.—Knute Nelson, one of the United States Senators from Minnesota, was born in the parish of Voss, near the city of Bergen, Norway, on Feb. 2, 1843. His father died when he was three years old, and his mother brought him to America in 1849. The family lived in Chicago a year, and then settled in Wisconsin. Nelson was educated in the common schools and in the academy at Albion, Wis. When he was eighteen years of age the Civil War broke out. He enlisted in May, 1861, in the Fourth Wisconsin Infantry, a regiment that saw a great deal of hardship and fighting. At the siege of Port Hudson, on June 14, 1863, Nelson was wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy, after a gallant charge on the fortifications of the enemy had been repulsed. He was exchanged, rejoined his regiment, and served out his full three years' term. Returning to his Wisconsin home, he studied law, and was admitted to the Dane county bar in 1867. In 1868 and 1869 he was a member of the Wisconsin legislature. In 1871 he removed to Alexandria, Douglas county, Minnesota, which has ever since been his home, buying a farm and beginning the practice of law in the village. His new neighbors were not long in recognizing his ability, for in 1872, only a year after his arrival, they elected him county attorney on the Republican ticket, and he filled that post until 1874. The following year he was a member of the State Senate, and in that body he served until 1878. In 1880 he was one of the Republican presidential electors from Minnesota. In 1882 he was elected to Congress from the Fifth district, and he was re-elected in 1884 and 1886, closing his six years' service in the House on March 4, 1889. At his last election the Democrats, seeing no chance whatever of beating him at the polls, did not take the trouble to put up a candidate against him.

Mr. Nelson now determined to retire from public life, and positively declined another nomination for Congress.

Like most faithful public servants, he had found that official life involved the sacrifice of opportunities for gaining even a modest competence, and he desired to devote his energies to his private business. He was not allowed to remain long in retirement, however, for in the summer of 1892 the prominent leaders of the Republican party in Minnesota insisted that, as the only man in the state who could win back to the Republican ranks the thousands of Scandinavians who had gone off into the new Populist movement, he should accept the nomination for governor, and thus save his party from threatened defeat. He consented, was nominated, and was elected by a plurality of 14,620 over Lawler, Democrat, the Populists running Ignatius Donnelly and the Prohibitionists having, as usual, a candidate in the field. In 1894 Governor Nelson was re-nominated without opposition, and elected by the largest majority ever given for any candidate for the governorship in Minnesota. He received 60,053 more votes than the next highest candidate, S. M. Owen, Populist.

Governor Nelson was scarcely installed for the second time in the executive chair when the election for United States Senator to succeed Wm. D. Washburn came off. He had not been a candidate for the position, but when it became evident that there would be a number of competitors for Washburn's seat, he determined to enter the race against Washburn with the others. The Republican caucus failed to make a nomination, and Nelson was elected on the first ballot in the joint convention of the two houses of the legislature. He took his seat in December, 1895. Senator Nelson has been in public life almost continuously since he left the army, a youth of twenty-one. He is the only man of Scandinavian birth who ever held a seat in the United States Senate. He is a forcible and logical public speaker, and is especially strong on questions of finance and business. His two canvasses of the state during his first and second campaigns for governor were notable for the ability and success with which he combated the dangerous financial theories which formed the chief stock-in-trade of the Populist orators.

Senator Nelson is a sturdily built man of medium stature, with blue eyes and dark brown hair. He lives when at home on his farm near Alexandria, and is a man of simple tastes and plain, farmer-like habits of living.



PILLSBURY, JOHN S.—One of the most remarkable of Minnesota's public men is the Hon. John S. Pillsbury, governor of the state from 1876 till 1882, he having been thrice elected to that honorable position. Mr. Pillsbury is slightly above the average stature, of commanding presence, and heavily built, without a tendency

to corpulency. He has an intellectual countenance, and impresses one with the idea that he is a ready and sound thinker. It appears to be a natural faculty of his to solve any question that may present itself, no matter how abstruse, and to do so at once. It is sometimes difficult to believe that he has sufficiently considered a matter about which he has been consulted, when he is already prepared with a reply; but the truth that he has done so is found in the accuracy of his answer.

He comes from New England stock, the founder of the family in this country being Joshua Pillsbury, who emigrated from England in 1640, and settled at Newburyport, Mass., where a grant of land from the crown was located. This still continues in the possession of some of his descendants, many of whom have been in prominent positions, and were men of undoubted integrity. The father of John S. resided at Sutton, N. H., where the subject of this sketch was born July 29, 1828. His mother was Susan (Wadleigh) Pillsbury, whose ancestors were by no means unknown to New England fame. Young Pillsbury's opportunities for education were no more than the youth of that section generally enjoyed, but he did not fail to improve them to their fullest extent. On arriving at a suitable age he started to learn the trade of painting. This being distasteful to him he soon abandoned it, and entered the store of his brother, George A., as salesman, remaining four years with his brother and three additional years with his brother's successor. He then went into partnership with Walter Harriman,—subsequently governor of New Hampshire,—in the same business and in the village of Warner, where he had his earlier experience. On the termination of his partnership with Harriman he went from Warner to Concord, and entered upon the business of merchant tailoring and dealing in cloth. As usual, he was successful, but the business was hardly to his liking, and while he continued it his attention was turned to the West, which reports led him to believe offered better opportunities to enterprising people than were to be found in the East, and in 1853 he started on a tour of observation, visiting various parts of the country and taking time to study thoroughly the advantages each possessed. The result was the conclusion that St. Anthony (now East Minneapolis), because of the manufacturing facilities which the immense water-power of the falls afforded, was most likely to grow rapidly into a large, thriving, and influential city, and he determined to pitch his tent there and make it his home for life.

He did not, however, act precipitately, even after his mind was made up. Joining with Messrs. George F. Cross and Woodbury Fisk, the latter his brother-in-law, he embarked at first in the hardware business, for which he believed there was ample room, because of the constant and

increasing building which must go forward every year in order to accommodate the increasing population of the city and surrounding country. His calculations proving correct, in 1856 he returned to Warner and married Miss Mahala Fisk, daughter of John and Sarah (Goodhue) Fisk, with whom he shortly returned to Minneapolis and established a home. This was, perhaps, one of his most successful ventures, and certainly creditable to his judgment.

In 1858 a circumstance occurred proving that Mr. Pillsbury was not superior to the mishaps of life; a fire destroyed the building in which his store was located, and in one short night he found himself the loser of the accumulations of his industry through several long years. This misfortune would have discouraged most men, but Mr. Pillsbury appeared to regard it as something to be amended instead of being grieved over, and he accordingly set about rebuilding the fortune so seriously and suddenly impaired. The worst feature attending this calamity was that it left him deeply involved in debt, and his first efforts on resuming business was the settlement of these obligations. Through close application and sagacious management he was able to do this in much less time than it was believed possible, and was soon conducting a larger and more profitable trade than he had before the fire. The secret of this success was that he maintained his credit and retained the confidence of the business community.

In 1858 he was elected a member of the city council, which position he held, by reflections, for six years, occupying it during the period of the Rebellion and the Indian war. He used both his personal and official influence in furthering the enlistment of troops, and it was largely due to his exertions that to Minnesota belongs the credit of sending the first regiment into the field. For the Indian war in 1861 he enlisted, and in company with several of his fellow-citizens equipped, a mounted company which did effective service in that struggle. Throughout the continuance of these contests he was always ready with means and influence to aid in their successful consummation, and deserves a large meed of praise for his patriotic efforts.

The educational institutions of the state always filled a large share of Mr. Pillsbury's thoughts, and he stood in the front rank of those who desired to make these serve the full purpose of their establishment. Foremost among these the State University, of which he was appointed a regent in 1862, was the object of his especial care. It was involved in apparently inextricable difficulties, and the idea of abandoning it had been seriously entertained. To this Mr. Pillsbury strenuously objected. He applied himself with so much intelligence to the task of straightening out its finances, that it was soon rescued from the threatened danger and placed upon a safe footing. It has ever since

been an especial object of his fostering care, until it is now not only thriving financially, but as a school for learning is not surpassed by any similar public institution in this country. One of its chief buildings, Pillsbury Hall, is an enduring monument to his beneficence.

Mr. Pillsbury was elected to the State Senate in 1863, and five times reelected to that position. That he pleased his constituents is evident from the fact of his continuance term after term in that position, and that his services were appreciated by the citizens of the state generally is manifest from the wide popularity which he enjoyed. In 1872 he was reelected to the Senate, and the same year he entered with his nephew, C. A. Pillsbury, into the milling business, starting that extensive scale of flour manufacturing which has given Minneapolis a world-wide fame. Such successes naturally attracted the animosity of the envious, and probably no man in the state was more roundly abused than was John S. Pillsbury by those political aspirants who gained the lead of the anti-monopoly party through systematic false pretenses; and when, in 1875, he became a candidate for governor, the changes were rung upon the accusation that he was the head of the "Millers' Ring." The Democrats opposed him with Mr. D. L. Buell, a citizen of Houston county, whom the opposition leaders declared was the farmers' true friend; but, in spite of their zealous labor, Mr. Pillsbury was elected by a majority of 11,798 over Buell, and of 10,129 over both opposing candidates. His nomination had been a free-will offering of his party, for he had neither sought nor expected it until solicited by numerous friends to permit them to use his name in that connection. Two years later he was again elected, his majority being 15,521 over the combined vote for William L. Banning and William Meigher, both popular gentlemen and widely known in all parts of the state. In 1879 at the continuous urging of a number of prominent gentlemen of the state, he consented to stand for a third term. Many of his friends looked upon this as imprudent. There was believed to be a settled principle of antagonism to a third term among the people, and they feared that this attempt to break through an established rule would develop opposition in the Republican ranks. Again, the governor's persistent advocacy of the payment of the old state railroad bonds would, it was apprehended, occasion his loss of many Republican votes. Then there was the further unfavorable circumstance of the probable opposing Democratic candidate being Hon. Edmund Rice, one of the most popular Democrats in the state. There was certainly ground for apprehension, but Mr. Pillsbury was reelected by a majority of 16,000, and the very causes which it was believed would tend to his defeat seem to have contributed to his success. There were too many valid reasons for reposing confidence in him for the objec-

tions to exert any considerable influence. Had he not uniformly shown that to him the public weal was more than personal gain or aggrandizement? Had he not sacrificed his own ease and interests to build up and keep in existence the State University? Had he not drawn liberally upon his own funds to relieve those who suffered from grasshopper depredations? In short, had he not on many occasions proved himself a true friend of the people? Why, then, suspect that in this question of paying the old railroad bonds his motives were other than pure and commendable?

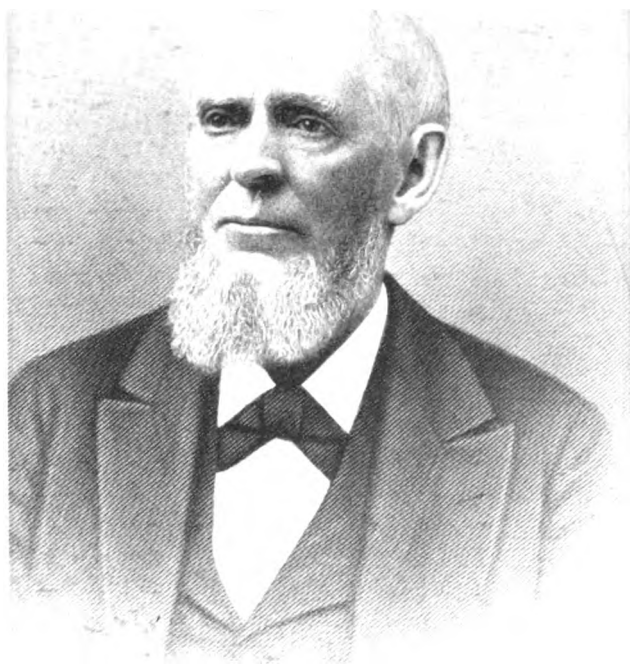
In the historical portion of this book will be found a full account of Governor Pillsbury's long and finally successful labors to restore the credit of the state by providing for the recognition of the railroad bond debt and of other features of his three administrations as governor.



MERRIAM, JOHN L.—John L. Merriam was born in Essex, N. Y., Feb. 6, 1825, and died in St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1895. He was one of the most notable men in the early days of Minnesota, whether as merchant, railway builder, banker, or politician. He left his mark broadly on the great transportation arteries of the state. He was descended from the early settlers of Massachusetts, and his grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier. His father, William S. Merriam, was an iron manufacturer in Northern New York. His mother, Jane Ismen, came of a New Jersey family. He was educated in the common schools and in academies at Westport and Essex, and engaged in manufacturing as soon as he began his business career. In 1857 he was elected treasurer of Essex county, and served two years. In 1860 he was attracted by the opportunities of the young State of Minnesota, and coming to St. Paul, he formed a partnership with J. C. Burbank and Capt. Russell Blakeley in the stage and express business, the firm name being Burbank, Blakeley & Merriam. This firm owned the Minnesota Stage Company and the Northwestern Express Company. At the same time Mr. Merriam engaged in mercantile business both in St. Paul and St. Cloud. He had remarkable business talents, and made a good deal of money. He was one of the incorporators of the First National Bank and the Merchants National Bank of St. Paul, and one of the projectors and builders of the Minnesota Valley Railroad, afterwards the St. Paul & Sioux City; of the Worthington & Sioux Falls Railroad, and of the St. Paul, Stillwater & Taylor's Falls Railroad. He was also a member of the construction company that built the Northern Pacific from Thompson Junction to Moorhead. His wealth was largely increased in these various enterprises, and he became one of the richest men in the state. In 1875

he retired from active business to enjoy his fortune. In politics Colonel Merriam, as he was universally called in St. Paul, was an anti-slavery Whig. He joined the Republican party as soon as it was formed. He was a member of the Minnesota legislature in 1860, 1870, and 1871, and was speaker of the House during the sessions of 1870 and 1871, an office held in later years by his son, Wm. R. Merriam. He was a delegate to the national convention of 1876, which nominated Hayes.

Colonel Merriam married Mahala L. Delano of Westport, N. Y., who died in 1857, leaving one son, William R.



JOHN W. NORTH.

Merriam, who became governor of Minnesota. In 1858 the colonel married Helen Wilder of St. Paul, a sister of the late A. H. Wilder. Of the six children of this union, four are living. Colonel Merriam built on Merriam Hill what was the most costly and elegant private residence in St. Paul until the erection of the great mansion of J. J. Hill, on Summit avenue. He was of rather slender frame, but was a man of great energy, and in his younger days was capable of enduring great hardship and fatigue. He was as courteous as he was self-reliant and enterprising, and he was a generous giver to all worthy charities.

NORTH, JOHN W.—One of the most active and conspicuous men in the organization and early career of the Republican party in Minnesota was John W. North, who was born in Onondaga county, New York, graduated from Wesleyan University of Middletown, Conn., and who became in his early manhood a member of the little band of devoted anti-slavery lecturers in New England. He was a friend of William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, Frederick Douglass and the Quaker poet, John G. Whittier. In his lecturing career he spoke in every town, except one, in the State of Connecticut. He studied law, and at the age of thirty was admitted to the bar, commencing his practice in Syracuse, N. Y. There he married Miss Emma Bacon, who died a year and a half after their union. In 1848 he married Ann H. Loomis, daughter of Dr. Geo. S. Loomis of De Witt, N. Y. In 1849, with his young wife, he settled at the Falls of St. Anthony in the Territory of Minnesota, and built a cabin upon Hennepin Island. He was the first lawyer to hang out a sign in the village of St. Anthony. He was the founder of the city of Faribault, Minn.; and when that town was well started, and flour mills had been built by him and his associates, he sold out his interests and founded the town of Northfield, which worthily perpetuates his name. The financial crash of 1857 deprived him of nearly all the considerable fortune he had accumulated, and led to his leaving the state in 1861 to accept a Federal office in Nevada.

As an able public speaker, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the anti-slavery movement, Mr. North found a bright career open to him in Minnesota in the organization of the Republican party in that state. He went into the work with his whole soul. The late Governor Marshall, writing a few weeks before his death to the author of this volume, said that North should be given the honor of being the father of the party in this state. The old governor was much too modest in thus proposing to assign to another the fame to which he himself was fairly entitled. It was Marshall who presided at the first Republican meeting held in Minnesota, and who a few weeks later presided over the first delegate convention of the party assembled in Minnesota; and it was Marshall who was selected by the Republicans to make the unsuccessful run for Congress in 1855. North presided over the Republican wing of the convention which finally, by a compromise, framed the constitution for the new state. In 1851 he was a member of the territorial legislature, and it was chiefly by his efforts that the bill was passed establishing the university. In 1860 he was delegate to the Chicago convention which nominated Lincoln, and was one of the committee appointed to go to Springfield with the official notice of the nomination. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him surveyor general of the newly organized Territory of Nevada. He

closed up his business affairs in Minnesota and moved to that region of sagebrush and silver mines, where he soon had a quartz-mill in operation. When the State of Nevada was admitted he was appointed one of the judges of its supreme court, having already presided over the convention which framed the constitution. It is doubtful whether another case can be found in American history of the same man presiding over the conventions which framed the constitutions of two states.

In 1865 Judge North removed to Knoxville, Tenn., where he attempted to establish a Northern colony, and where he built an iron foundry. The enterprise failed, and North went to California, organized a company which bought a large tract of land near Los Angeles, and established the remarkably successful fruit-growing settlement of Riverside, which, like Faribault and Northfield in Minnesota, remains as a living monument to his enterprise and sagacity. In 1880 he sold his interest in Riverside, and removed to Oleander, Fresno county, where he lived for nearly ten years, dying on Feb. 22, 1890, at the age of about seventy-five years.



OWENS, J. P.—J. P. Owens was one of the first Republican editors in Minnesota. He was born in Dayton, Ohio, in 1818, learned the printer's trade, and engaged in newspaper work in his youth in Cincinnati. Afterwards he did editorial work on the *Louisville Journal*, under George D. Prentice, and later was at different times connected with the *Vicksburg Whig*, the *Nashville American*, and the *New Orleans Picayune*. When the Territory of Minnesota was organized he was in Cincinnati, and he made up his mind that St. Paul would be a good point to establish a paper. Associating himself with a partner named McLain, he purchased type and a press for a weekly paper, and the two started by steamboat for the new town on the far Northwestern frontier. In July, 1849, they launched the *Minnesota Register* as a Whig paper, supporting the administration of Governor Ramsey. In 1851, in partnership with G. W. Moore, Owen started the *Daily Minnesotian*, which was for a number of years the most influential paper in the territory. On the death of the Whig party and the birth of the Republican party the *Minnesotian* espoused the cause of the new organization. Mr. Owens was made quartermaster of the Ninth Minnesota Infantry in 1862, and was appointed register of the land office at Taylor's Falls in 1869. He died Aug. 26, 1884. He was an aggressive political journalist, a strong partisan, and at times a very caustic writer. He wrote a history of the Republican party in Minnesota which never went into print, for the reason, that, after his death, his friends regarded it as too critical and personal for publication.

ROGERS, EDWARD G.—Edward G. Rogers is a man who has seen much of the world, having been in every state of the Union except the Carolinas and traveled through parts of Europe and Africa. His parents were both Vermonters of English descent, with some intermixture of French-Canadian blood, and are still living at Berlin, Wis., at the remarkable age of ninety and eighty-five years respectively. His father, Judge Jabez N. Rogers, was descended from an American soldier of the Revolutionary War, and Edward G. is now a member of the Sons of the American Revolution.



EDWARD G. ROGERS.

The subject of this sketch was born at St. Joseph, Mich., Dec. 8, 1842, but at five years of age removed with his parents to Berlin, Wis., where he passed his childhood and youth, and in the common and high schools of that place obtained his early education. At sixteen years of age we find him teaching country school; but, his father being a lawyer, young Rogers determined to follow the legal profession. He studied at home, took the law course at Ann Arbor, and was admitted to practice in the courts of Wisconsin at twenty-one years of age. The next year he ran for county attorney as a Republican, but was defeated by twelve votes.

Nov. 23, 1866, he came to St. Paul and entered as a clerk in the law office of Morris Lamprey. In 1869 he formed a partnership with his brother, J. N. Rogers, and afterwards with another brother, F. L. Rogers. These partnerships were finally dissolved in 1885. In 1887 he formed a partnership with Emerson Hadley, which was dissolved in 1890. Mr. Rogers did a large and lucrative law business.

E. G. Rogers was a politician before he was a voter. Coming from a family of old-line Whigs, he naturally became a Republican, and has ever since taken an active part in conventions and on the stump. A forcible speaker, his voice is heard in every campaign, expounding the tenets of his party, and eloquently urging the voters to stand firm. In 1877 he was elected attorney of Ramsey county, and in 1886 was sent to the legislature that elected C. K. Davis to the United States Senate. In 1892 he was talked of for the Republican nomination for Congress, and in 1894 he was elected clerk of the district court for Ramsey county.

Mr. Rogers is an Odd Fellow, a Knight of Pythias, and an active member of the Minnesota Club and the St. Paul Commercial Club and director of the Chamber of Commerce.

Nov. 12, 1878, at New Albany, Ind., he was united in marriage with Miss Mary E. McCord, the daughter of Robert G. McCord.

Their only child, Julia, is now sixteen years of age.



STEARNS, OZORA PIERSON.—O. P. Stearns was born in St. Lawrence county, New York, in 1831, and died in California June 2, 1896. He received a common school education in New York State, and when still a young man went to California, sailing around Cape Horn, and for some time turned his attention to the digging of gold, California being at that time in the midst of the gold excitement. He accumulated some money in that way, and returned to the States to obtain an education. He attended Oberlin College for several years, and then went to Ann Arbor, where he graduated from both the classical and law departments.

In 1860 he went to Rochester, Minn., and there began the practice of law. In the fall of 1861 he was elected county attorney of Olmsted county. In the spring of 1862 he raised a company of soldiers for the Ninth Minnesota Volunteers. He was elected first lieutenant of the company, and served on the frontier during the Indian troubles. He went to Missouri in 1863, and was soon after appointed colonel of the Thirty-ninth United States, a regiment composed of colored troops. He took command of his regiment just before the battle of the Wilderness. He was at the siege of Petersburg, and showed great courage, leading his regiment into the famous pit caused by the explosion of a

mine. All through the war he was noted for his gallantry and courage.

He returned to Rochester in 1865, and was again elected county attorney. In the same year he formed a partnership with Judge Start, at present chief justice of the supreme court. In 1871 he was elected United States Senator to fill the unexpired term of Senator Norton, who died at that time. He served in the Senate for about three months.

In 1872 he went to Duluth, and formed a partnership with Judge Ensign. In 1874, when the Eleventh judicial district was formed, he was appointed judge by Governor Davis, and held the position for nineteen years, being three times reelected without opposition. In 1894 he declined reelection on account of ill-health, and the following fall moved to California, where he died as stated above.

For many years before he was appointed judge he took an active interest in politics, and after his removal to Duluth took great interest in the affairs of that city. For many years he was prominent in Duluth, ever ready to do anything in his power to further that city's interests.




MCGILL, ANDREW RYAN.—Andrew R. McGill, governor of Minnesota from 1887 to 1889, was born in Crawford county, Pennsylvania, Feb. 19, 1840. His grandfather, Patrick McGill, emigrated from Antrim county, Ireland, in 1774, took part in the Revolutionary War and settled in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. In 1800 he removed to what was then the wilderness of Western Pennsylvania. One of the sons of Patrick McGill was Charles Dillon McGill, who married Angeline Martin, the daughter of a soldier of the War of 1812 and the granddaughter of a Revolutionary soldier. He was the father of the subject of this sketch. Andrew was educated in the public schools and in an academy in the village of Sagertown, and he worked on his father's farm when not at school. At eighteen he went to Kentucky and obtained employment as a teacher. In 1861 Kentucky was not a comfortable place of abode for a young man recently from the North, and McGill determined to seek a new home in the Northwest. He arrived in Minnesota in June of that year and obtained the position of principal of the public schools in St. Peter, then a frontier village in perilous proximity to the reservation of the warlike Sioux. In August, 1862, he enlisted in the Ninth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry, and took part in the campaign for the suppression of the great Sioux outbreak. He was discharged for disability in 1863 and soon afterwards was elected county superintendent of schools, which position he held for two terms. In 1865 and 1866 he owned and edited the *St. Peter Tribune*, and in 1865 he was elected clerk of the district

court. This post he held for four years, devoting his leisure to the study of law under the tuition of Horace Austin, then district judge. He was admitted to the bar in 1868.

When Judge Austin became governor in 1870 Mr. McGill was selected by him for his private secretary. This brought him into the circle of state politics. In 1873 Governor Austin appointed him to the office of insurance commissioner, which he held for thirteen continuous years, discharging its duties with such efficiency and courtesy that he became one of the best known and most popular public officials in the state. In 1886 the Republicans of Minnesota nominated him as their candidate for governor, and elected him by a small majority after a hot campaign, in which the dominant issue was the Republican platform in favor of high license and local option to regulate the liquor traffic. The Democratic candidate, Dr. A. A. Ames of Minneapolis, was very popular with the saloon element of the Twin Cities, and the liquor-selling interest all over the state made great efforts to elect him. On the other hand, the Prohibitionists, who would be satisfied with nothing short of a total prohibition of the sale of intoxicants, drew off to their candidate for governor over 9,000 votes. True to his pledges in the canvass, Governor McGill urged upon the legislature the passage of a high license law, with an alternative local option provision enabling towns and villages to enforce prohibition if they should vote so to do. This law was passed, and has ever since been generally approved by the people of Minnesota.

Other important legislative measures recommended by Governor McGill were a revision of the laws relating to railroad transportation, grain storage, wheat grading, the watering of railroad stocks, the simplification of the tax laws, the abolition of contract prison labor, the establishment of a soldiers' home, of a state reformatory, and of a bureau of labor statistics. His administration was notably fruitful in practical measures for the welfare of the people, and for meeting the business needs of a growing and progressive commonwealth. At the close of his term Governor McGill retired to private life. He has been twice married. His first wife was Miss Eliza E. Bryant, a daughter of Chas. S. Bryant. She died in 1877, survived by two sons and one daughter. He was again married in 1880 to Miss Mary E. Wilson, a daughter of Dr. J. C. Wilson of Edinborough, Pa., and two children have been born to them. Governor McGill has a pleasant home in St. Anthony Park, one of the handsomest suburbs of St. Paul. He is interested with one of his sons in the McGill Printing Company of St. Paul, a large job and book printing concern, and is also president of a trust company in Minneapolis. He is an active Republican, and takes a hearty interest in all movements in behalf of good government in his city and in the state and nation.

 LOUGH, DAVID M.—David M. Clough, who succeeded to the governorship of Minnesota on the election to the United States Senate of Gov. Knute Nelson, in January, 1895, was born in Lyme, N. H., Dec. 27, 1846. His father, Elbridge G. Clough, was a lumberman and a prominent citizen. The fame of the pineries of the West led the father to migrate with his family to Wau-paca, Wis., in 1855, and two years later he made another move, establishing his home at Spencer Brook, Minn., where he engaged in lumbering and farming. Young David was one of a family of fourteen children, and with so many mouths to feed the struggle of the father in a new country was a hard one. The boy's only educational opportunities were those of the district school, and even there his attendance was irregular from the time when he was old enough to work on the farm in summer and go into the pineries to earn money in the winter. At twenty he felt that he had the right to strike out for himself and seek employment, and he found work with H. F. Brown, a Minneapolis lumberman, driving a team and sawing logs. In this position he remained four years, saving what money he could.

At the end of this time he formed a partnership with his older brother Gilbert, and the two young men engaged in lumbering, under the firm name of Clough Brothers. In 1874 the firm removed to Minneapolis. Gilbert died in 1888, and David assumed the sole control of the business, which by that time had grown to large proportions. It continued to increase in importance until it employed a capital of half a million dollars and handled in a single year over 15,000,000 feet of lumber.

David M. Clough was a Republican from his boyhood, and early became an active worker for his party in conventions and campaigns. From 1883 to 1887 he was a member of the Minneapolis city council, and he was president of that body for one term. In 1886 he was elected to the State Senate, and he was re-elected in 1888 and in 1890. In 1891 he was chosen president of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society, and his influence with the legislature enabled him to obtain an appropriation of \$20,000 to pay the debts of the society and put it on its feet financially. The fair held under his management was a great success, and netted over \$10,000.

Mr. Clough's prominence as a leader in Hennepin county politics brought him early into the field as a candidate for higher offices than that of state senator. In 1892 he was nominated for the office of lieutenant governor by acclamation, on a ticket headed by Knute Nelson for governor. From the state convention of 1894 he received, with Governor Nelson, the high indorsement of a renomination by acclamation, and in January, 1895, he succeeded to the governorship by the election to the United States Senate of Governor Nelson. His long service in the legislature as

a senator and as lieutenant governor made him thoroughly acquainted with state affairs and with public men in every county, and fitted him for the successful discharge of his new and important duties.

The marriage of David M. Clough and Miss Addie Barton of Spencer Brook, Minn., was celebrated in April, 1868. Their parents were neighbors, and the young people had known each other from childhood. To them was born one child, now Mrs. R. H. Hartley. Governor and Mrs. Clough are active members of Plymouth Congregational Church of Minneapolis. They retain their old homestead of six hundred acres at Spencer Brook, which is dear to them from early associations, and there the governor indulges his taste for blooded cattle. He is one of the most successful breeders of Durhams in the Northwest. In person Governor Clough is of medium stature and of a rather robust and muscular build. The solid physical development acquired in a youth and early manhood spent in healthful toil in the open air assures him excellent health in middle life. He is an industrious worker, and he brings to the executive office the system and habits of an experienced and careful man of business.



AVERILL, JOHN T.—John T. Averill, a brigadier general of volunteers in the Civil War, and a representative of the St. Paul district in Congress for four years, was born in Alma, Me., in 1825, and died in St. Paul, Oct. 3, 1889. He was a graduate of Wesleyan College, and as a young man taught school and engaged in lumbering in Maine. For a time he was a country merchant at Winthrop, in that state. In 1852 he removed to Pennsylvania and remained there five years, prosecuting the business of a lumberman. In 1857 he migrated to the Northwest, and settled in Lake City, Minn., where he sold goods and bought grain until 1864. He served his county in the State Senate during the sessions of 1858, 1859, and 1860. In 1861 he enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota Infantry, and was commissioned its lieutenant colonel. For two years his regiment was engaged in warfare with the Sioux Indians. In 1863 he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and was detailed as provost marshal and mustering officer at St. Paul. In June, 1865, he was commissioned brigadier general. After the close of the war he sold his interests in Lake City, and removing to St. Paul, founded a wholesale paper house, under the name of Averill, Carpenter & Co., which carried on business successfully until his death, when it was reorganized as Wright, Barrett & Stilwell.

General Averill attended the Philadelphia convention of 1856 which nominated John C. Fremont for President. In 1868 he became a member of the National Republican Com-

mittee. He was elected to Congress as a Republican in 1870, and was reelected in 1872. He was married in 1848 to Hannah E. Atkinson, and had two daughters, who, with his wife, survive him. General Averill was a man of commanding and dignified presence, of amiable character, and of solid business qualities. He left an excellent record of his political, social, and business career.



SWIFT, HENRY ADONIRAM.—Henry A. Swift was the third governor of the State of Minnesota, and the second Republican to occupy that position. His birth occurred March 23, 1823, at Ravenna, Portage county, Ohio, his father being Dr. Isaac Swift. After acquiring the usual rudimentary education in the schools of his native city, he attended and graduated from the Western Reserve College at Hudson. Going thence to the State of Mississippi, he taught school there one season; but the associations were not such as suited him, and he accordingly returned to his native state as soon as his teaching contract was terminated. On his return home he applied himself to the study of law, gaining admittance to the bar in 1845. During the legislative session of 1846-47 he was assistant clerk, and for the following term held the chief clerkship of the Ohio House of Representatives.

Subsequently he devoted his attention to his profession and to the management of the business of an insurance company, until 1853, when he removed to St. Paul and opened a law and insurance office in that city. Joining the company of incorporators who platted the city of St. Peter, and becoming a stockholder in that enterprise, he removed thither in 1856, and was the register of the company's land office. In the fall of 1857 the Republicans nominated him as their candidate for Congress, and he shared in the defeat of his party that year,—a result believed to be due to the extraordinary civilizing influence of Democratic officeholders and politicians upon the minds of the Indians, inducing them to don a shirt and pair of trousers and attend the polls.

In 1861 he was elected to the State Senate, and when Mr. Donnelly resigned his position of lieutenant governor, to enter upon his duties as congressman, to which station he had been elected, Mr. Swift, who was elected president of the Senate, became ex-officio lieutenant governor. Early in the same year Mr. Ramsey resigned the governorship of the state, thus promoting Mr. Swift to that more exalted position. He held this office, however, only about six months, positively refusing the nomination of the convention of his party that fall, and permitting it to go to Stephen Miller, who was subsequently elected.

But for his disinclination to become a candidate for the office, it was thought that the legislature of 1864-65

would have chosen him, instead of Hon. D. S. Norton, for United States senator. Mr. Swift was a domestic man and student. He loved his home and books far better than the strifes and jostlings of political life, and, while fully appreciating the duties of citizenship, had little desire for that kind of fame which might be gained in the political arena. Moreover, having in September, 1851, married Miss Ruth Livingston of Gettysburg, Pa., who made him a most excellent and affectionate wife, and by whom he had five children, his home was the place where he could enjoy the truest happiness.

Still another consideration which had its influence in determining his choice of a lot in life was, no doubt, his somewhat feeble health. Yet, strong as was this attachment to his family, and necessary this regard for his health, they did not hinder him from engaging in any public service that was imperatively demanded, no matter how difficult or dangerous. He would willingly have enlisted in the War of the Rebellion, but that his services in the legislature of his adopted state appeared a more fitting field; and when the Sioux uprising occurred in 1862, he was one of the first to rush to New Ulm to aid in defending the people of that village against the savages; and it was, no doubt, due to the unusual hardships and exposures of that campaign that he contracted or developed the disease which caused his death on the 5th of March, 1869.

It may be truly claimed for Mr. Swift that his public services were always prompted by pure and patriotic motives, and not by personal ambitious desires nor with any purpose of self-aggrandizement. He was a true patriot and most worthy citizen, and in his death the people of Minnesota lost a statesman upon whose intelligence and integrity they could place the utmost reliance. His decease was mourned throughout the state.



GOODRICH, AARON.—Aaron Goodrich was one of the supreme court judges sent out by President Taylor to organize the Territory of Minnesota. He was born in Cayuga county, New York, in 1807, and died in St. Paul in 1887. His education was only such as the common schools of Western New York afforded in his childhood. He read law, and removed to Tennessee to practice his profession. There he took an active part in politics as a Whig, and was a member of the legislature in 1847 and 1848. He arrived in St. Paul in May, 1849, with his commission as judge, and served on the bench until 1851. In 1858 he was member of a commission to revise the laws of the territory, and fit them for the uses of the new state. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him secretary of legation at Brussels, and he held the post for eight years. He was a writer of a good deal of talent, and in 1874 he astonished the literary

world with a new view of Columbus, publishing a book entitled "A History of the Character and Achievements of the So-called Christopher Columbus," in which he attempted to show that the great discoverer was a pirate named Griego, who finding in the Canary Islands the log-book of a dead mariner who had discovered America, with it returned to Europe and claimed the honors due to the dead man. Judge Goodrich's iconoclastic work did not find favor with historians, and its fate was similar to that which has befallen the profound labors of that other eminent Minnesotan who has endeavored to prove that Shakespeare's works were written by Bacon. In 1872 Judge Goodrich cut loose from his party and joined the Liberal Republican movement, and he afterwards acted with the Democrats. He had the distinction of having been the personal friend of three Presidents—Taylor, Lincoln, and Johnson.



COMSTOCK, SOLOMON GILMAN.—S. G. Comstock was born in Argyle, Me., May 9, 1842, and comes of an old line of New England ancestry. On his father's side the line is Scotch, and can be traced back to the arrival of an ancestor who landed in the Plymouth settlement in 1634. On the mother's side the family line runs back to England, and is as old in its American roots as that of the father. Mr. Comstock was educated in the common schools of Maine and in Wesleyan Seminary. He studied law in the University of Michigan, and was admitted to the bar in Omaha, Neb., in 1869. He came to Minnesota in 1870 to seek a permanent home, and in 1871 was attracted to Moorhead by the fact that the Northern Pacific railroad, then rapidly building, would cross the Red river at that point, and would undoubtedly create there a good town. He entered actively into public movements in the new community, and was at once made county attorney of the newly created county of Clay. This position he held from 1871 to 1877. In 1875 he was elected to the Minnesota House of Representatives, and he was continuously re-elected until 1881, when he was returned to the State Senate, serving in that body until 1888. During his long service in the legislature he was chairman of the House finance committee, and of the House railroad committee, and chairman of the Senate judiciary committee. He took a prominent part in shaping and passing the legislation for the payment of the old railroad debt of the state. He secured the location of a state normal school at Moorhead. It may be said that for twelve years no man had a greater share in shaping the legislation of Minnesota.

It was public recognition of Mr. Comstock's value as a practical legislator that led to his nomination by the Republicans for Congress in the old Fifth district, which embraced all the northern part of the state. He served but

one term at Washington. He was renominated by his party in 1890, but the Farmers' Alliance movement had so far broken up old political relations in his district that he was defeated by the candidate of the new and short-lived organization. Mr. Comstock brought to his duties in Congress the same industry and knowledge of practical legislative methods which had made him conspicuous and successful in the Minnesota legislature. He was a member of the committee on elections and the committee on coinage, weights, and measures. He secured the passage of a bill for the relief of settlers on Northern Pacific Railroad lands, and obtained appropriations for the benefit of his district aggregating nearly one million dollars.

Mr. Comstock was married in 1873 to Sarah Ball, and has three children, Ada, Jessie, and George M. During his residence in Moorhead he has witnessed the whole of the wonderful growth of the Red River Valley, which was a bare plain when he settled there, and which is now the most productive wheat country in America, streaked with the rails of many roads and dotted with prosperous towns and villages.



STEWART, JACOB B.—Jacob B. Stewart, a prominent St. Paul physician and one of the leading public men of the state, was born in Connecticut in 1829, and was the son of an eminent physician, Dr. Philander H. Stewart. He was educated at the Peekskill, N. Y., Academy and in Yale College. Bad health compelled him to leave Yale before graduating, and when he had recovered from illness he concluded to begin his medical studies at once. He entered the University of New York and graduated as an M. D. in 1851. For four years he practiced with his father at Peekskill. In 1855 he removed to St. Paul, attracted by the reports of the beauty and prosperity of the new State of Minnesota. He soon built up a good practice. In 1861 he was commissioned surgeon of the First Minnesota Regiment, and at the battle of Bull Run was captured by the Rebels. He was paroled, and could not, therefore, return to his regiment for active service. Coming home to St. Paul he soon found a field for his patriotic zeal in the examination of recruits for the army. In 1864 he was elected mayor of the city. In 1869 he was again chosen mayor, and also in 1871 and 1873, holding the office eight years, and making a remarkably popular and successful executive. In 1864 President Lincoln appointed him postmaster of St. Paul. He served in both houses of the state legislature, and in 1876 was elected by the Republicans of the Twin City district to Congress, where he served a single term, and on his retirement was appointed by President Hayes to the important post of surveyor general of Minnesota. He died Aug. 25, 1884.

He was married in 1851 to Catherine Sweeney, and three children survived him, one of whom is now a leading physician in St. Paul. Dr. Stewart was a man of genial nature, and such was the benevolence of his disposition that a large part of his medical practice was always among the poor, who paid him nothing for his services.



GILFILLAN, JAMES.—James Gilfillan, chief justice of Minnesota for twenty-five years, was one of the most eminent of Western jurists. He was born in Scotland in 1829, and died in St. Paul in 1894. His parents migrated to America when he was an infant, and settled in Oneida county, New York, where he spent his boyhood. He studied law in Buffalo, and in 1850 was admitted to the bar at Albany. He came to Minnesota in 1857, established himself in St. Paul, and began the practice of law in partnership with his brother, C. D. Gilfillan. In 1862 he enlisted and was commissioned captain in the Seventh Minnesota Infantry, serving in that regiment in the Indian war and afterwards in the South against the Rebellion. In 1864 he was promoted to the colonelcy of the Eleventh Regiment, and took that regiment into service in Tennessee. Colonel Gilfillan was a zealous and conscientious soldier, but his subsequent great fame as a jurist so obscured his early military reputation that he was rarely addressed by his army title. On his muster out in 1865 he returned to St. Paul and resumed his law practice. In 1869 he was appointed to the supreme bench of the state by Governor Austin, under an act authorizing the governor to appoint three additional judges. In 1875 he was elected chief justice, and he was twice reelected, serving until his death in 1894. As a judge he led an uneventful life that brought him very little before the public, but many of his opinions became standard authority throughout the country, and he was greatly respected by the bar and his fellow jurists for his ability and his painstaking and faithful service. One of his notable decisions was that which opened the way to the recognition and settlement of the railroad aid debt of the state. So strong was the public opinion of the time against the payment of the railroad aid bonds that an amendment was adopted to the constitution providing that no settlement should be made of this debt until the plan had been submitted to a popular vote and ratified at the polls. This was intended to prolong repudiation indefinitely, for every plan of settlement theretofore proposed by the legislature had been voted down. The supreme court, Justice Gilfillan reading the opinion, held that this constitutional amendment was itself unconstitutional, because it attempted to impair the obligation of a contract, which the states are restrained from doing by the constitution of the United States. There was a great outcry at the time over this

decision, but Judge Gilfillan lived long after it was upheld by the almost unanimous approval of the people of Minnesota.

Judge Gilfillan was married in 1867 to Martha McMasters, daughter of Rev. S. G. McMasters, rector of Christ's Episcopal Church in St. Paul. Two sons and five daughters survived him. He was a man of earnest, simple character; religious, patriotic, straightforward, and kind-hearted.



WAKEFIELD, JAMES B.—James B. Wakefield of Blue Earth City was born in Winsted, Conn., March, 1828, and graduated in 1846 from Trinity College, Hartford. He studied law in Painesville, Ohio, and commenced practice at Delphi, Ind., in 1852. He removed to Minnesota in 1854, and settled in the southern part of the state, then a new country just released from the possession of the Sioux Indians. He soon became actively engaged in politics, as well as in law business, and in 1858 was elected to the legislature. In 1863 he was again sent to the State House of Representatives, and again in 1865. In the session beginning in 1866 he was elected speaker of the House. The following year he was elected to the State Senate, and he was reëlected in 1868 and 1869, but resigned in 1869 when appointed receiver of the United States land office at Winnebago City. This position he resigned in 1875 to accept the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor, to which he was elected on the ticket with Governor Pillsbury. He was reëlected on the ticket of 1877, which was also headed by Pillsbury. In 1882 Mr. Wakefield was elected by the Republicans of the Third district to represent that district in Congress. He was reëlected in 1884 by a vote of nearly two to one over his Democratic opponent. In 1886 he was not renominated, and the district elected J. L. MacDonald, Democrat, by about 1,100 plurality over B. B. Herbert, Republican.



ALDRICH, CYRUS.—In the early Republican movements in Minnesota Cyrus Aldrich of Minneapolis was a conspicuous figure. He had been an active Whig politician in Illinois before he came to this state, and he brought to the new party the force of a resolute and sincere character, a popular manner and a long experience in the practical work of organization in the field of politics. He was born in Smithfield, R. I., in 1808, and when a lad went upon a number of coasting voyages as a sailor. Emigrating to Illinois, he engaged in the business of taking mail contracts for horseback and wagon service in what was then a new country. He served in the Illinois legislature as a member from Jo Daviess county in 1845 and

1846, and in 1847 was elected register of deeds for that county. In 1849 he was appointed by the Whig administration at Washington receiver of the land office at Dixon. The preceding year he had been the Whig candidate for Congress in the district which then embraced all the northern part of the state, and had been beaten by John Wentworth, popularly known as "Long John," who was the Democratic nominee. It was this unsuccessful canvass that gave him the land office appointment.

In 1854 Mr. Aldrich removed to Minnesota, and settled at the Falls of St. Anthony, where he engaged in the lumber trade. In 1857 he was a member of the constitutional convention. He became an active Republican as soon as the new party came into existence, his old views as an anti-slavery Whig leading him naturally to the party that undertook to resist the further extension of slavery. In 1857 he was nominated as one of three candidates for members of Congress from the new state, which it was expected would be admitted early in the session of the following winter. The Republicans were defeated at this election, and when the act of admission was passed it admitted only two of the three members elected by the Democrats. Another election was held in the following year, at which the Republicans were victorious, and Aldrich took his seat in the House at Washington in December of that year, as the representative of the Second district of Minnesota, which then embraced all the northern part of the state, including the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. He was reëlected, and held the position until March 4, 1863, when he was succeeded by Ignatius Donnelly, then a Republican, who beat him for the nomination. In 1863 Mr. Aldrich was a candidate for the United States senatorship, and made an active but unsuccessful fight against Governor Ramsey. He served a term in the legislature in 1864, and was appointed postmaster of Minneapolis by President Johnson in 1867. He died of dropsy Oct. 5, 1871.



REESE, DARIUS FRANKLIN.—Dar. F. Reese, clerk of the supreme court, was born on a farm near Bernadotte, Fulton county, Illinois, Sept. 3, 1856. He was educated in the common schools of the locality, and became a teacher at seventeen. He afterwards attended Hedding College for a period of three years. In June, 1880, he was admitted to the bar of Illinois, and became a member of the law firm of Masters & Reese, and practiced at Lewiston. In 1883 he removed to Minnesota, locating in St. Paul. Had he remained in Lewiston he would that summer have been tendered the Republican nomination for county attorney. When he left for Minnesota he was secretary of the Fulton County Republican Committee, and had, the previous fall, closed a winning

campaign in a county that had always gone Democratic, every Republican being elected except the country treasurer.

His father, Joel S. Reese, was of Welsh Quaker stock. His ancestors came from Wales in Puritan days, and settled in Pennsylvania. He was himself born in Ohio, where he married Miss Mary A. Cline, the mother of the subject of this sketch. She was of German and Irish stock, and was also born in Ohio. The subject of this sketch was the seventh child of a family of ten children.



DARIUS F. REESE.

When Mr. Reese arrived in St. Paul in the spring of 1883 he opened a law office at the corner of Seventh and Wabasha streets, and began the practice of law in good earnest. But his passion for politics soon got the better of his good resolutions in the direction of practicing law. In 1884 he was one of the organizers of the Blaine and Logan Club, and was its vice president. He took a very active part in the campaign of that year, making speeches throughout the wards of St. Paul.

He has always been the staunchest of staunch Republicans, and is uncompromising in his devotion to his party.

In the Republican city convention of 1888, a strong movement was started for the indorsement of the candidacy for reelection of R. A. Smith, Democrat, for mayor. As the matter was about to go to vote Mr. Reese arose and opposed the movement, making the first public declaration for many years against Democratic city rule. He carried the day, and the convention put up a full Republican ticket, with Dr. J. H. Murphy at the head for mayor. Dr. Murphy, a few days later, withdrew, leaving the mayoralty place on the ticket vacant. The Republicans, however, in the election which followed, elected a majority of the city council, and could easily have elected the mayor. This was the first Republican city victory in St. Paul for twenty-five years.

Mr. Reese was a member of the Republican state convention of 1886. After the nomination of A. R. McGill for governor, he stumped the state in behalf of that candidate, making many strong and effective speeches. He has been a member of the city, county, and congressional committees at various times.

In 1894 he received his merited reward for effective party service during his residence in the state. The Republican state convention of that year nominated him for clerk of the supreme court—and this in spite of the fact that the convention had already nominated a candidate for secretary of state who lived in the same congressional district with Mr. Reese. He was elected by a plurality of 82,501 over Thos. C. Kurtz, his Democratic opponent, and he received a majority of 17,028. Mr. Reese is unmarried.



MCMILLAN, SAMUEL J. R.—S. J. R. McMillan United States senator from Minnesota for twelve years, was born in Brownsville, Pa., Feb. 22, 1826. During his infancy his parents removed to Pittsburg, and he was graduated in 1846 from Du Quesne College, which was afterwards Secretary of War during the Civil War, and in vania. Choosing law for a profession, he studied in the offices of Hon. Charles Shaler and Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards secretary of war during the Civil War, and in 1849 he commenced practicing at Pittsburg. In 1852 he removed to Stillwater, Minn., where he immediately took a prominent position at the bar, and attracted much attention by his brilliant conduct of certain important civil and criminal cases. Removing to St. Paul in 1856, he continued his practice until—the state government of Minnesota being formed in 1858—he was elected judge of the First judicial district. In 1864, together with Hon. Thomas Wilson, he was appointed associate justice of the supreme court, to fill the vacancies caused by the resignations of Hon. I. Atwater and Hon. Charles E. Flandrau, and in the same year

he was elected to the same office for the full term of seven years. He was reelected in 1871, and in 1874 was chosen chief justice in place of Hon. G. C. Ripley, resigned, and at the next election he was returned for a full term, running so far ahead of his ticket as to attract the attention of politicians.

In February, 1875, he was chosen United States senator. As such he distinguished himself as a broad statesman rather than as a politician, although faithful in all matters pertaining to his own constituents. While in the Senate he was chairman of the committee on claims, and succeeded Roscoe Conkling as chairman of the committee on commerce. He was also a member of the judiciary and Revolutionary claims committees. He has not only distinguished himself as a jurist and statesman, but his scholarly attainments and precision have been recognized in ecclesiastical as well as civil courts, and in 1890 he was chosen as one of two men from the West as a member of the committee of revision of the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church. In 1883 his alma mater conferred on him the degree of A. M., and in 1891 conferred on him the degree of LL. D. After serving two terms in the United States Senate he resumed his practice of law. He was one of the leading spirits in putting a stop to prize-fighting in this state,—the commencement of the movement which, during the past few years, has been waged generally throughout the country against that abominable practice,—and established the precedent of the supremacy of the law in those matters.



WHITE, MILO.—Milo White, representative in Congress from the First district of Minnesota from 1883 to 1887, was born in Franklin county, Vermont, Aug. 17, 1830, and came of old Mayflower stock. His father, Josiah White, and his grandfather, Asa White, who went from Uxbridge, Mass., to Vermont, claimed descent from Peregrine White, the first white child born in New England. His mother's maiden name was Polly Bailey. Milo White was educated in a country schoolhouse up to the age of fifteen, when he was put to work in a country store. Later he worked as a clerk in Burlington and in New York City. In 1855 he removed to Minnesota, and settled at Chatfield, where he took up government land. Trading a part of his land for a team, he drove fifty miles across a country entirely without roads to reach the nearest mill, at Decorah, Iowa, to buy flour, passing through Preston, the county seat of Fillmore county, which at that time had but one house. In 1856 he began selling goods in Chatfield, an occupation he has followed ever since. It is believed that no other man in

Minnesota has sold dry goods uninterruptedly for forty years, and during all that time Mr. White has never failed to pay one hundred cents on the dollar. In the early times he bought everything the farmers had to sell, hauled the produce to the Mississippi river, where it was shipped by steamboat, and the teams brought back lumber, salt, groceries, and general merchandise.

Mr. White's first public office was that of chairman of the board of supervisors in his town, to which he was chosen by a unanimous vote of the citizens when the state



MILO WHITE.

was admitted in 1858 and the new system of local government was put into effect. He was too busy, however, to take much part in politics, but in 1871 his county sent him to the State Senate, reelecting him in 1872 and again in 1874. Then he was out of public life until 1880, when he was once more elected State Senator. In 1882 he was elected to Congress from the First district, and he was reelected in 1884, serving four years. While in the House he procured the passage of a bill for a public building, costing \$100,000, at Winona, and also got two appropriations for a harbor of refuge at Lake City, on Lake Pepin. Mr.

White thinks that the most valuable work he did in Congress was in helping the passage of the oleomargarine law. He was the only member of the committee on agriculture that had practical knowledge of the dairy and creamery business. He aided in perfecting the bill, and with two other members, made it his special work to fight it through the House. He has been mayor of Chatfield three years. He now regards himself as out of politics, but feels a warm interest in the usefulness and purity of the Republican party. He has seen a great state grow up in what was a wilderness when he settled in Minnesota, and he is ready to leave his work to a new generation. His Republicanism dates back to the formation of the party, and he has never gone astray in any third-party movements or bolting movements. He is a bimetallist. He was married in 1858, and has three sons, C. H. White and Milo White, Jr., who are in business in Chatfield, and J. C. White, who is in the State University.



WINDOM, WILLIAM.—In Belmont county, Ohio, on the 10th of May, 1827, William Windom was born. He was the youngest child of Hezekiah and Mercy Windom, who were quiet and unostentatious Quakers. Both his paternal and maternal ancestors were of the Quaker persuasion, and originally came from Virginia. The first ten years of young Windom's life were spent in Belmont county. His parents then moved to Knox county. This henceforth was the family home. Here amid the limitations and environment peculiar to a newly settled and undeveloped country, with the wholesome economies of a pioneer farm life in the Buckeye State, William Windom spent the remainder of his boyhood, and laid the foundations of his subsequent character and career. His early educational advantages were only such as the country schools of that day afforded.

In his early childhood Windom had met some fascinating members of the legal profession, and had determined to become a lawyer. This was a most alarming declaration to his parents, as their religion had taught them to regard the profession of law with peculiar disfavor. They had hoped to save their son by securing for him "a good honest trade." His ambitions were stronger than parental desires or purposes, and resulted in his taking an academic course at Martinsburg, Ohio. This was followed by a thorough course in law in the office of Judge R. C. Hurd of Mount Vernon, Ohio. In 1850, at the age of twenty-three, he was admitted to the bar at Mount Vernon, and at once began the practice of his profession. After five years' practice in his native state he determined to try his fortunes elsewhere, and in 1855 he removed to the Northwest, locating in Winona, Minn. In 1856 he was

married in Warwick, Mass., to Ellen Towne, third daughter of the Rev. R. C. Hatch, the officiating clergyman.

It seemed that destiny had marked Mr. Windom for a life of public service. In the fall of 1858, at the age of thirty-one, he was elected as a Republican to the Thirty-seventh Congress, and he was reëlected to the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses, his service in the House covering a period of ten years, and terminating in 1869. In that year he was appointed to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of D. S. Norton, deceased. In 1871 he was elected to the Senate by the legislature of Minnesota for the full six-year term, and he was reëlected in 1877. In the National Republican Convention of 1880 Mr. Windom's name was presented, and during twenty-eight ballots was rigidly adhered to by the delegates from Minnesota, as their candidate for the Presidency. In March, 1881, he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Garfield. Retiring from the treasury upon the death of Garfield and the accession of Mr. Arthur, in the autumn of 1881, Mr. Windom was again elected to the United States Senate, and served out the expiring term, March 3, 1883, making an aggregate of twelve years in that body.

From March, 1883, until March, 1889, with the exception of one year spent in foreign travel with his family, he devoted himself to his private business. From his private affairs he was called by President Harrison to again take up the portfolio of the Secretary of the Treasury, the duties of which post he reassumed March 4, 1889. During Mr. Windom's long service both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, covering a period of over twenty-two years, he was most assiduous in all his labors, holding highly responsible positions. From 1876 until 1881, while in the Senate, he was chairman of the committee on appropriations, and when he reëntered the Senate after the death of President Garfield, he became chairman of the committee on foreign relations.

In the cabinet of President Harrison, Mr. Windom served from March 4, 1889, until Jan. 29, 1891, the date of his death. His achievements as a national financier, especially in refunding the public debt, gave him a world-wide fame. In appreciation of Mr. Windom's profound knowledge of finance and his distinguished public services, the Board of Trade and Transportation of New York invited him to favor that body with an address, allowing him to name the date, and Jan. 29, 1891, was fixed as the most favorable time. Proceeding to New York from Washington on that day Mr. Windom joined a brilliant assembly of leading New York business men at Delmonico's, where a banquet was held. His remarks for the occasion were upon the sentiment: "Our Country's Prosperity Dependent upon Its Instruments of Commerce." Mr. Windom spoke forty minutes, and closed amid applause which was almost be-

wildering. He rose and bowed his thanks, and immediately after resuming his seat he expired, without a sign or a struggle. His eyes closed. He apparently had fallen asleep.

The length and prominence of William Windom's service in the field of national politics and statesmanship, his twelve years in the House of Representatives, his twelve years in the Senate and his appointment by two Presidents to the great office of Secretary of the Treasury place him foremost in the list of Minnesota's leading public men.



WHITNEY, GEORGE ALONZO.—Few men in Minnesota, in either private or public life, can lay claim to the ancestry enjoyed by George A. Whitney. Upon his father's side he is a lineal descendant of the Plantagenets, and on his mother's side he inherits the blood of the Faulkner family of Massachusetts. John Whitney, the father of the subject of this sketch, dates his ancestry from the Whitneys of New England back to the original Plantagenets of old England. This, however, does not interfere with making Mr. Whitney one of the best of American citizens and one of the most popular and successful men in Wadena county. It can be said of him that he is a self-made man. Born on a farm in Rindge, N. H., his early education consisted in attending the country schools in winter and working on the farm in the summer. Attendance at Appleton Academy at New Ipswich, N. H., gave him the necessary training to become a teacher of country schools, and it was at this that he afterwards earned money with which to go to college. Appleton Academy was one of the best preparatory schools in the East, the principal of which was E. T. Quinby, who afterwards became professor of mathematics in Dartmouth College. In 1875 Mr. Whitney moved to Michigan, in which state he taught school for three years; in 1878 he came to Minnesota, locating in Wadena on the third day of May. School teaching was his occupation for the four years following, and it is to Mr. Whitney, more than to any other one person, that the admirable school system of Wadena owes its present enviable reputation. Since 1882 Mr. Whitney has been a member of the Wadena school board. Later he owned and edited the *N. P. Farmer* at Wadena, selling it out some years afterward to go into the general merchandise business. His success can best be judged by saying that now his only occupation is looking after his property interests. He has an office in the First National Bank, of which he is a director. Mr. Whitney has a distinguished military record. Nov. 28, 1861, he enlisted in Company K, Sixth New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, as a private. In the second battle of Bull Run, Aug. 29, 1862, he was wounded severely, necessitating his discharge from the service. He

is now a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and has been post commander of Farragut Post, No. 102, at Wadena. He was also commander of Park Region Encampment Association in 1890, and was an aide on the staff of General Walker, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. As a member of the national guard, he was an aide with the rank of major on Governor McGill's staff, and assistant inspector general with the rank of lieutenant colonel on the staffs of Governors Merriam, Nelson, and Clough.

Mr. Whitney was active in politics as a young man, even before he left New Hampshire, being a member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives in 1868 and 1869, and a member of the New Hampshire Senate in 1875. Since settling in Wadena he has several times held the office of mayor, and was a member of the state board of equalization, and is now chairman of the board of county commissioners.

He was married Sept. 1, 1869, at Rindge, N. H., to Miss Susie R. Converse, who died six years later, leaving one daughter, now in her junior year in the classical course of the University of Minnesota. Nov. 23, 1880, Mr. Whitney was married a second time, to Miss Louise Lackey, at Wadena.



JENSEN, MATHIAS.—During the year 1856 there came from Copenhagen, Denmark, and located in the then small village of St. Paul, a man of marked characteristics, who during the next twenty years made as many staunch friends as any man who ever located in Ramsey county. That man was Soren Jensen, the father of the subject of this sketch. In his native land he was a skilled mechanic, but he was also a student and a scholar both before and after he came to Minnesota. He spoke the English, German, Norwegian, and Danish languages fluently. His wife, the mother of Matt Jensen, was also an educated woman, and together they prospered in St. Paul, and won a large circle of staunch friends. Soren Jensen was a man of deep religious conviction. After coming to St. Paul he followed the business of contracting, and later, in partnership with the firm of Pepper, Miller & Jensen, owned and operated a saw mill for a number of years. He constructed nearly all the large buildings in St. Paul of that day, and his deep interest in religion was the cause of his founding and building the first Norwegian Lutheran church ever built in the town. It was located at the corner of Canada and Thirteenth streets, where the new building of the same denomination stands now. Not only did he build the church, but for some time he acted as the pastor. No man who ever lived in St. Paul had more friends among the old settler element than did Soren Jensen.

Matt Jensen was born in St. Paul on the first day of April, 1865, and is the fifth of a family of seven. He attended the ward schools in St. Paul, and after graduating at the Franklin school was sent to St. Olaf's College at Northfield, Minn., for the next three years. He was obliged to leave school on account of sickness, and after a three months' vacation went to work in Connick & Gotzian's dry goods store on East Seventh street, where he remained six months. At the time the late H. H. Young was commissioner of emigration for the State of Minnesota he em-

Jensen as his chief clerk until Jensen was elected city clerk of St. Paul in June, 1895, a position he still occupies. During the years he was in the state treasurer's office he and his brother started the first general merchandise store ever located at Oberon, in North Dakota, a partnership that lasted two years, and which was a highly successful business venture. The two young men had no capital with which to start in business, but their reputation and that of their family was so well established in St. Paul that the wholesale houses here gave them credit for anything and everything they wanted.

Even as a boy Matt Jensen was an acknowledged political influence in the old Third ward of St. Paul, the Democratic stronghold of Minnesota. On account of the slavery question, which was absorbing the attention of the people of this country in 1856, when the elder Jensen located in St. Paul, he allied himself with the then new Republican party, and remained an ardent Republican until the day he died. Not only that, but he taught and imbued his sons with the principles of Republicanism to the extent that, though political preferment was in store for Matt Jensen while he lived in the Third ward had he been a Democrat, he yet stuck to the party in whose sterling principles he was a firm believer. From the time he was a voter he was a member of the Republican city and county committees from the Third ward, and was always looked upon as the right man to look after the Republican interests in that part of the city. When he changed his residence from the Third to the Fourth ward, in 1885, he soon after took the same position in his new residence on both city and county committees. He always took an active part in the state, congressional, county, and city campaigns. In 1889 Governor Merriam appointed him on the auditing board to audit the accounts of the state agricultural society, a position for which he was thoroughly qualified. At the expiration of Governor Merriam's term Governor Nelson continued him in the same position. When the contest for the city clerkship came up before the city council in June, 1895, Matt Jensen was urged by his friends to become a candidate. Not only did he receive all the Republican votes, but he received three Democratic votes besides, which gave him the election by a majority of two. In the fall of 1892 he got the unanimous nomination for county treasurer on the Republican ticket, and though he ran against the strongest man the Democrats ever put up for that office, he was beaten by only 482 votes. If he had been willing to accept the Republican nomination for county treasurer in 1894, he could have had it for the asking. As it was he received 108 votes on the first ballot, in spite of his protest that he would not accept the nomination if tendered him.

Dec. 11, 1890, he was married to Miss Laura Ellingsen in St. Paul. They live at 612 York street. The family consists of one boy. Mr. and Mrs. Jensen are members of the



MATHIAS JENSEN.

ployed Mr. Jensen to write emigration letters to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in the respective languages of those countries. This lasted for one and a half years, when he went into the state treasurer's office as clerk and continued there for the next two and a half years, or until the close of Treasurer Kittelson's term. When Colonel Bobleter was elected state treasurer he continued Mr. Jensen in the treasurer's office during the following eight years of his incumbency in that office. The last two years he was Colonel Bobleter's chief clerk. In 1894, when August Koerner was elected state treasurer of Minnesota, he too retained Matt

Norwegian Lutheran denomination, and attend the church founded by Mr. Jensen's father soon after he came to St. Paul. At the risk of offending Mr. Jensen's sensitive nature, it can truthfully be said that he has as many warm and sincere friends as any man in Minnesota, and they are not confined to any one political party, nationality or religion.



PEET, EMERSON WILLIAM. — Emerson William Peet, a prominent citizen of St. Paul and an active supporter of the Republican party ever since its organization, was born in Euclid, now the eastern district of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 16, 1834. His ancestry on both sides for six or seven generations back were prominent citizens of New England, and on his mother's side he is a descendant of John Howland of the Mayflower and of Capt. George Denison, the celebrated Indian fighter in the colonial wars. He had five ancestors in the American Revolution, and is a member of the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman, and a man of wide reputation in his day in both religious and educational circles. The family removed to Green Bay, Wis., in 1836, where the father became pastor of a Presbyterian church which enjoyed the distinction of having the first bell erected on a Protestant house of worship west of the Great Lakes. This bell was sent out from New York as a present from John Jacob Astor. The elder Peet went actively into the missionary work of his denomination in the new country of Wisconsin and founded a number of churches. He was for a time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Milwaukee, and was one of the founders and president of the boards of trustees of Beloit College and of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Emerson W. Peet was educated at Beloit College and at Amherst College, graduating from the latter institution in 1856. He first engaged in teaching and became principal of the Oshkosh public schools. In 1860 he went to Texas to engage in land surveying for the state, marking out lands which the state had granted in aid of railways. While he was in this work the Civil War broke out, and he found himself, as a Northern man, in a perilous condition far in the interior of a hostile country. He made his way to the coast on horseback, got on board a steamer at Galveston, which was conveying to New Orleans the officers of the force that General Twiggs had surrendered to the rebels at Brownsville, and from New Orleans went up the Mississippi on a steamboat which cleared through the Confederate custom house for Memphis but pushed on to St. Louis. Returning to Wisconsin, Mr. Peet was appointed principal of the high school in Milwaukee and

continued in the work of teaching until 1864. He then engaged in the insurance business as special agent and superintendent of agencies for the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. In the organization and management of insurance work he found his life career. In 1868 he left the Mutual Life to become successively actuary, secretary, and president of the National Life Insurance Company of the United States, with headquarters in Philadelphia, remaining with that company until 1879. From 1872 until 1888 he was also actuary of the Insurance Department of the State of Pennsylvania.



EMERSON W. PEET.

In 1885 Mr. Peet returned to the West and made his home in St. Paul, and in partnership with his son, engaged in the loaning, bond, and life insurance business, establishing the well-known firm of E. W. Peet & Son, who, as the Western representatives of Eastern corporations and individual investors, have made very large investments in mortgage loans and in bonds and stocks of the two cities and of the state, and as managers of the Mutual Life Insurance Company have established and maintained one of the most important and successful life insurance agencies in the Northwest. He always took an earnest interest in the

affairs of the city, exerting his influence in behalf of efficient and economical municipal government. A good deal of his time has been given to public interests and to charitable work. As a director of the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad and of the Bank of Minnesota, a trustee of his alma mater, Amherst College, and president and treasurer of the Associated Charities of St. Paul, his has been a life of usefulness and great activity. For many years a director of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, in 1896 he was elected its president. Mr. Peet was married at Genoa, Wis., to Miss Emma Jane Fel-



GRIER M. ORR.

lows, who died in 1866. In 1872 he was married at Rochester, N. Y., to Miss Amelia K. Eastman. There is only one child, a son by his first wife, William Fellows Peet, who is associated with him in business. Mr. Peet is an Episcopalian, a communicant of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in St. Paul, and active and influential in the diocese; was a delegate to the general convention at Baltimore in 1892, and is one of the trustees of St. Mary's Hall at Faribault, Minn. He has a handsome home on Summit avenue, St. Paul, and has always been an active force in the social and business life of his adopted city.



RR. GRIER M.—The parents of Judge Grier M. Orr were both born in 1812 in the State of Pennsylvania.

Both were descended from Scotch-Irish families who migrated to this country in the very early days, the family of his father coming long before the Revolution, while his mother's ancestors sought the New World soon after the recognition of independence, and both are still living with a daughter in Southern Ohio, having celebrated their golden wedding in 1885. Judge Orr's paternal great-grandfather, Robert Orr, was captain of the Westmoreland Volunteers in Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution. His company was captured by the Indians, and it was three years before he was able to return to his family. He was sheriff of his county and associate judge for a number of years. At the attack on Hannahstown, when all the inhabitants were taking refuge in the blockhouse, Judge Orr's grandfather, then an infant, was overlooked and left in his cradle. As soon as he was missed, his mother rushed forth amid the flying bullets, clasped her baby in her arms, and returned in safety to the blockhouse. Their ammunition running low, pewter plates were brought forth and melted into bullets with which to drive back the Indians. This furnishes a solid foundation for Judge Orr's membership in the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

The subject of this sketch, who derives his Christian name from a paternal kinswoman, a sister of Associate Justice Robert C. Grier of the United States Supreme Court, was born May 14, 1856, at Pike Furnace, Clarion county, Pennsylvania, where his father was engaged in the iron business, but at the age of twelve removed with his parents to Northern Wisconsin, where the same pursuit was followed. During his early years his father was well-to-do, and gave him as good educational advantages as the new country afforded. At seventeen years of age he entered Heidelberg College at Tiffin, Ohio, from which he afterward graduated. The financial disaster of 1873 left his father poor, and from that time forward young Orr was obliged to depend on himself. He worked in a saw mill for three seasons, taught school, read law, and, finally, ten years after entering college, graduated from the Cincinnati Law School and entered upon the practice of his profession at Lima, Ohio, under the firm name of Richie, Richie & Orr. The senior member of the firm is now (1896) judge of the court of common pleas of his district. The other Richie is (1896) supreme chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of the World, and Judge Orr occupies the municipal bench of St. Paul.

In 1884 this Ohio firm was dissolved, and Judge Orr came to St. Paul, where, with W. J. Romans, he formed a partnership, which lasted eight years.

Judge Orr was married to Mrs. Etta S. White of Rochester, Minn., Aug. 12, 1896. He is a Mason, an Odd Fellow,

a Knight of Pythias, an Elk, and an Imperial Knight, besides being an active member of the St. Paul Commercial Club. For eight years he was Grand Keeper of Records and Seal of the Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias of Minnesota.

He has always been an active Republican. In his earlier days, back in Ohio, many were the political tilts he had with his Democratic partners at Lima. In 1892 he was nominated for the legislature from the Third ward of St. Paul, and, in that Democratic stronghold, was defeated by only 36 votes.

In the spring of 1894 the Republicans placed him in nomination for judge of the municipal court, and this time he was elected by a safe plurality over his Democratic opponent.

Judge Orr is a man of broad gauge, generous impulses, and with a memory for names and faces that not only gives him great popularity among his friends and acquaintances, but greatly helps him in dealing with offenders who are brought before his court.



JENNISON, SAMUEL PEARCE.—Among the earliest settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were Robert Jennison and Edward Lamb, who came there in 1637, and were among the early proprietors of the village of Watertown. From these two men Gen. S. P. Jennison, now a resident of Red Wing, Minn., is a lineal descendant. He was born at Southbridge, Mass., May 9, 1830, and was the son of James Jennison and Mary Lamb Jennison. His father was a gunsmith by trade, and also owned a small farm on which he raised his family. The subject of this sketch received his early education in the district school at Southbridge, and later at the Monson Academy. At the age of eighteen he was prepared to enter Harvard College, where he remained until the end of his sophomore year. It was during these two years in Harvard College that a little incident—trifling in itself though it may seem—occurred that changed the whole course of his after life. He attended a performance of Mozart's "Don Giovanni." This opera awakened in him a passion for music undreamed of before, and which led to his leaving college, at the end of his sophomore year, with intent to become a professional singer. This purpose was not accomplished, but it succeeded in making him one of the most ardent lovers, and a most capable judge, of good music. His means of education, above the district school, were obtained mostly by teaching in the winters and by working on the farm in the summer months. In the winter of 1845-46 we find him teaching school in the town of Union, Conn., at thirteen dollars per month of twenty-six days each, and enjoying the luxury of building the school fires and boarding round.

At the close of his college career, and after losing confidence in the future of a musical career, he became principal of the high school in Concord, N. H., for two years, and of Hopkinton Academy for one year, and then taught private pupils in Concord while reading law in the office of Judge Asa Fowler and Judge H. A. Bellows. He was admitted to the bar in January, 1857, after examination by the supreme court of New Hampshire, and later started for Minnesota, hoping to find a more lucrative field in which to practice his profession. He reached St. Paul the following



SAMUEL P. JENNISON.

March, with no capital (beyond a few dollars) save willing hands and a mind stored with knowledge and a determination to persevere and make for himself a mark in the world. The year 1857 in Minnesota might be likened very much to the year 1896, in that times were anything but prosperous. This made our young attorney look to some other occupation than the law for gaining a livelihood, and he took charge of the St. Paul College, and later he went into a common occupation in those days, namely, laying out a town site. In the fall of 1857 he formed a partnership with the Hon. David Cooper, an ex-judge of the territorial court.

This lasted through the dull and trying times to the end of 1859, during which time he took a part in the political campaigns of 1857-59, and the campaign against the "Five Million Dollar Loan Amendment" in 1858. The ability he displayed in these campaigns brought him to the notice of the Hon. Alexander Ramsey, elected governor in 1859, who, on taking the office the following January, appointed Mr. Jennison his private secretary and state librarian. These offices he resigned on the issuance of President Lincoln's second call for three-year troops, and he was mustered into the military service of the United States as second lieutenant, Company D, Second Regiment Minnesota Infantry, on July 5, 1861, at Fort Ridgley. Here he had charge of the quartermaster's and commissary stores until the regiment was moved to Kentucky in November of that year. Jan. 18, 1862, he was promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant of the regiment. The morning after receiving this promotion a rebel attack opened the battle of Mill Springs, which gave the young lieutenant his introduction to his new position. He continued during the following campaigns under Gen. George H. Thomas until he was mustered out for promotion by order of the war department on the 24th of August, 1862. On reaching St. Paul he was appointed by Governor Ramsey lieutenant colonel of the Tenth Minnesota Infantry, in which rank he was mustered in Sept. 10, 1862, and mustered out Aug. 19, 1865, having been breveted colonel after the battle of Nashville and brigadier general at the close of the war.

The admirable drill and tactical discipline of the regiment, acquired under most unfavorable circumstances, were due wholly to General Jennison. The regiment was under his command during all its engagements against the Indians in 1863 and against the Confederates in 1864-65, the colonel being on detached service from November, 1863, until the day he was mustered out. On the second day of the battle of Nashville General Jennison's horse was shot from under him, and in the final charge which followed, during the melee at the enemy's works, he received a severe gunshot wound in the head—a "carom" over the right ear—for which, as its effects restricted his regular vocations, he was given a pension.

On returning to civil life General Jennison became assistant editor of the *St. Paul Press*, but, on the advice of surgeons, he gave up the place as too exacting, and in January, 1866, took the management of the interests of certain owners of the Holmden oil farm, at Pithole, Pa. Before the end of the year he was back in St. Paul, however, and continued to reside here until his removal to Red Wing in April, 1870, he having bought a half-interest in the *Goodhue County Republican* the fall before. In 1879 he bought out his partner, and in 1880 united the *Republican* with the *Red Wing Advance*. In 1884 he consolidated with the *Red Wing Sun*, the papers all becoming incorporated in the *Red*

Wing Printing Company. He has been in the newspaper business continuously since 1870, barring the years from 1881 to 1886, when his official engagements prevented it.

Politically General Jennison has always been an ardent Republican. Even before coming to Minnesota he took part in the campaign of 1856, in Manchester, both as an orator on the stump and as political editor of the Manchester (N. H.) *Daily American*. He has been a potent factor in all the campaigns in Minnesota since the close of the war, and has been a leading figure in almost every state convention during these years. Although never ambitious in the direction of holding a public office, circumstances have led to his holding various positions of honor and trust in Minnesota. He was private secretary to Governor Ramsey from January, 1860, to June, 1861; private secretary to Governor Marshall from 1867 to 1869; secretary of state from 1872 to 1875; private secretary to Governor Hubbard from 1882 to 1886; chief clerk of the House of Representatives three sessions; secretary of the Senate two sessions; secretary of the impeachment court one term; and Republican presidential elector in 1892.

General Jennison was a member of the Loyal Legion of the Illinois commandery, and helped to form the Minnesota commandery in 1885. He is a member of the St. Paul Musical Society, of which he was director in 1868 and 1869, and has always been a promoter of musical associations, both state and local.

Aug. 2, 1858, he was married at Concord, N. H., to Miss Lucia A. Wood, who is also a lineal descendant of the early seventeenth century settlers of New England. He has three sons living—James, who is chief book-keeper of the Pillsbury-Washburn Mill Company of Minneapolis; Paul, a solo violoncellist and teacher of considerable note, and Samuel Wellington, a solo violinist and teacher. Another son, Theodore, died Aug. 3, 1887.



DAVIS, CUSHMAN K.—Succeeding Governor Marshall in the gubernatorial office was Cushman Kellogg Davis, the sixth governor of the state. He is the son of Hon. Horatio N. and Clarissa F. (Cushman) Davis, formerly of Waukesha, Wis., whither they emigrated from Henderson, Jefferson county, New York, in August, 1838, where the subject of this biographical sketch was born, on the 16th of June of that same year, being but two months old at the time of his parents' removal. His ancestors on both sides of the house are of English extraction, and were among the early settlers of New England, and his grandfather was one of the pioneers of Henderson, N. Y. The father of C. K. Davis was a man of considerable note in Wisconsin, although attending to his business as a farmer the first fifteen years of his residence in the state. He

served as a captain in the commissary department during the War of the Rebellion, and was breveted major by President Johnson. Returning to Wisconsin when the war was over, he held several municipal and county offices and was a member of the State Senate. Cushman obtained his rudimental education in the neighborhood schools, where he was noted as a bright scholar. He was sent afterwards to Carroll College, at Waukesha, and finished his studies at the Michigan University, at Ann Arbor. He then read law with Governor Randall, and in 1859 was admitted to the bar. He practiced law in Waukesha until the second year of the war, when he enlisted in the Twenty-eighth Wisconsin Infantry, and was commissioned lieutenant of Company B. His regiment was with the Army of the Tennessee, and went through some severe service.

Lieutenant Davis' health suffered severely from army life, and, to relieve him, he was frequently detailed to perform other and less exhausting duties. He acted frequently as judge advocate, for which his legal education eminently fitted him. He was also adjutant general under General Gorman for a time. Finally, after two years' service in the field, he was so completely broken down that he had to withdraw from the army and return home, which he did very reluctantly. Having formed a pleasant acquaintance with General Gorman while in the field, soon after his return to civil life he removed to St. Paul, and became the partner of that gentleman in the practice of law, the firm name being Gorman & Davis. He was subsequently associated with C. D. O'Brien and H. A. Wilson, under the firm name of Davis, O'Brien & Wilson. Having now come to be looked upon as one of the most learned and brilliant lawyers of the state, he soon gained a large and rapidly increasing business, and commanded fees commensurate with his reputation. His knowledge of law authorities was extensive, and always at his command, and led to his being frequently consulted about important and difficult cases. He was also a clear and convincing advocate before a jury, and achieved more than an ordinary share of success.

His well-known legal ability, together with his urbanity and social tact, brought him into such prominence that it was not to be wondered at that he was called upon to serve the state in the capacity of a legislator, and in 1867 he was elected a member of its House of Representatives. His services here fulfilled the expectations of his friends, and gave very general satisfaction. In the three or four committees of which he was a member he took a leading part, and on the floor of the House he invariably commanded respectful attention, if he did not always carry the measures he supported. He was a powerful debater, and his mind was quick to perceive and make use of whatever circumstances or arguments could best be used to promote the object he desired to attain.

He was United States district attorney from 1868 until 1873, during which time the popular mind throughout the

Northwest was occupied with the discussion of the rights and powers of railroad corporations, as affecting public interests. Mr. Davis took the side of the people, and having prepared a lecture entitled "Modern Feudalism," read it at various localities within the state, thereby winning the regard of those who supported what was known as the "granger legislation," and placing himself at or near the top in the group of politicians who were in line for high positions in the future.

In 1873 Mr. Davis was nominated for governor by the Republican convention, and was elected by a plurality over two other candidates of about 4,500, beating the Democratic candidate by about 5,500. His term lasted till January, 1876, when, having positively refused to permit his name to be placed before the convention for renomination, he was succeeded by John S. Pillsbury. Davis's administration was in every way a creditable one, and he could have secured a second nomination and election; yet that he was criticised unfavorably cannot be disputed. He did not altogether please that element of the anti-monopolists whose policy was to crush the railroad corporations. The radical temperance men also opposed his renomination, yet it was admitted by his opponents that he managed the affairs of the state with wisdom, and did all in the power of its chief magistrate to advance its material interests.

On the expiration of his gubernatorial term, Mr. Davis resumed the practice of law, in company with Messrs. Kellogg and Severance, his own name being the leading one in the style of the firm. In 1887 he was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate in place of S. J. R. McMillan, whose second term expired at that time. He was reelected in 1893, and his second term will continue until 1899. Senator Davis has been twice married, but has no children. He resides with his own family and his father and mother in this city.

Senator Davis has long ranked as one of the foremost orators in the West on topics requiring ripe scholarship and an intimate knowledge of public affairs, both state and national. He is distinguished in the Senate for his devotion to his duties, his careful study of public questions, and his ability as a debater. As chairman for many years of the pension committee, he was able to render great assistance to hundreds of worthy ex-soldiers. He is an acknowledged authority on all international questions. In his private life his tastes lead him to devote much of his leisure to the fields of literature and scholarship.



MCKUSICK, LEVI HASLAM.—New England, and especially the State of Maine, has contributed many substantial residents to Minnesota. The subject of this sketch was born at Barling, Me., March 31, 1854. His father was a lumberman, a farmer, and an influential

political figure in his part of the state. He served a term in the legislature, and was active in educational matters. Levi's mother was born at Deer Island, and was the daughter of a sea captain. She was a highly educated woman. Mr. McKusick's early education was received at the village school in Baring, which, though only a town of about 600 inhabitants, had a high-grade school. At the age of sixteen he began teaching school to earn money with which to pursue a higher education, and like thousands of other young men in the Eastern and Middle States, he



LEVI H. MCKUSICK.

taught school in the winters and went to school in the spring and fall of each year. When not teaching or going to the academy at Upper Mills, New Brunswick, he was engaged in reading law in his brother's office at Calais, Me. This he followed for three years, teaching school in the winters, going to the academy for a few months in the spring, and reading law in the summer and fall. Later he attended the Eastern State Normal School at Castine, Me., for one year. He came to Pine City, Minn., Jan. 1, 1878, and taught school for the following four months, during which time he made hosts of friends among the residents

of Pine City, and also throughout the county, who, as we shall see later, did not forget the popular young school teacher who taught the village school in the primitive county seat of 1878. After completing his four months' term of school he went to Stillwater in 1878 and was admitted to the bar, after which he came back to Pine City and opened a law office, continuing in the practice of law ever since. In the fall of 1878, when less than eleven months in the county, he was elected county attorney and was reelected to the same office in 1880. Two years later he was sent to the lower house of the state legislature, and at the close of that legislative session, in March, 1883, he was appointed county attorney to fill the place made vacant by the resignation of the regularly elected official. He served as county attorney until Jan. 1, 1885, when he took his seat in the legislature, to which he was reelected in the fall of 1884. In the fall of 1886 he was again elected county attorney and served until January, 1889.

Mr. McKusick has the distinction of doing what, probably, no other man ever did in Minnesota. In the fall of 1888 he received the regular Republican nomination for representative in the legislature, and he was put on the Democratic county ticket for county attorney. He was elected to both offices, and held them for the following two years. In the fall of 1890 he received the Republican nomination for State Senator, but was defeated by 111 votes. In 1894 he was once more elected county attorney by fusion of Democrats and Farmers' Alliance, and at this writing (in 1896), he has already received the Republican nomination and the Democratic indorsement for the same office. With the exception of four years he has held the office of county attorney since the fall of 1878. Naturally enough his official position has made the subject of criminal law more of a study than any other branch. Two of the most notable cases he had to deal with as county attorney are what have passed down in the criminal history of Minnesota as the celebrated Brooker and Scott murder cases, both of which Mr. McKusick prosecuted in his official capacity as attorney of Pine county. The former was executed and the latter is serving a life term in the penitentiary. Indeed, so well is Mr. McKusick's legal ability recognized in Pine county and that part of Minnesota, that no action of prominence is brought in which he is not an attorney in the case. During the four years that he was not county attorney, he was attorney for the defendants in two murder cases in Pine and Kanabec counties, and succeeded in getting both his clients acquitted.

He has always been an ardent Republican, and has for years been recognized as a leader in the ranks of the Republican party in this state. From the very start he took prominence in the state legislature, and in each succeeding session was identified with a number of the most important committees in the lower branch thereof. He is an

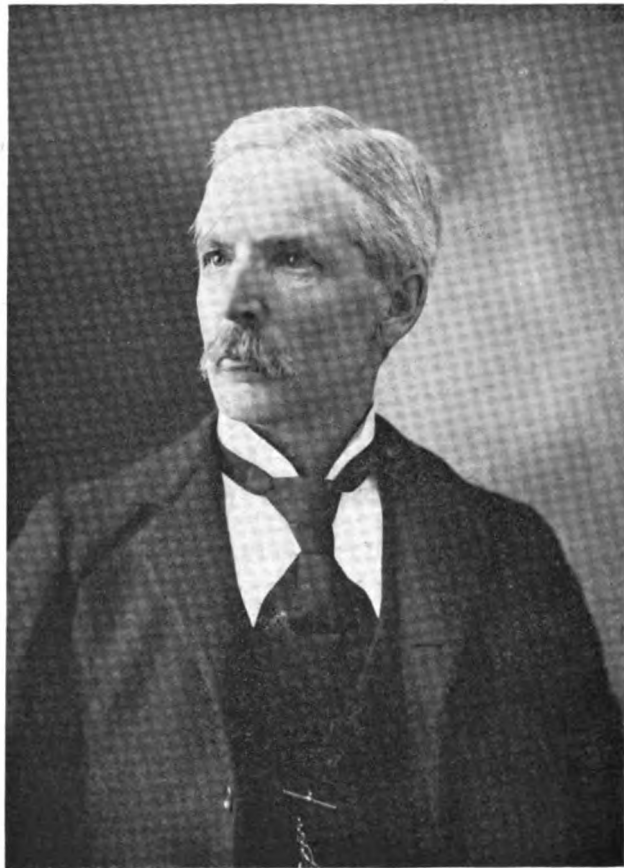
eloquent, forcible speaker, and few in the state legislature have made a more enviable record than he. He was a member of the judiciary committee all through his legislative career, and was also a member of the tax committee, railroad committee, and the committee on public lands. He was chairman of the temperance committee in the session of 1885, and was a strong advocate of the high license bill that became a law in 1887. In the legislative session of 1889 he drafted and introduced the bill for the taxation of railroad lands, which was afterwards reintroduced by others in 1891 and 1893, and which finally became a law by legislative enactment in 1895. He was one of the acknowledged leaders on the floor of the House in advocacy of the present railroad and warehouse bill in the session of 1885. The combination of lumbermen on the St. Croix river had for a number of years a dam on the Snake river at Pine City in which they held the water until the hot months of July and August each year, when it would be released and the flowage would be used to augment the current of the St. Croix river to float logs down to Stillwater. This resulted in generating a good deal of typhoid fever in the little town of Pine City. He introduced and had a bill passed in the session of 1885, giving Pine City control over this dam, and if Mr. McKusick were asked to-day what was the hardest political fight of his life, he would probably refer to this one, as he had to fight a combination which included nearly all the lumber interests of Minnesota and a part of Wisconsin. About the only benefit that Pine county has ever received from the state in the way of bridges, etc., was obtained for it by Mr. McKusick while he was a member of the legislature. In fact, he did more for that district than all the other representatives put together.

Mr. McKusick is married and has a family of five children, three boys and two girls. The two oldest boys are attending school at the Pillsbury Academy in Owatonna. He has a comfortable home in Pine City, and is devoted to his wife and family.



HENDRYX, CHARLES F.—Charles F. Hendryx was born in Cooperstown, N. Y., April 22, 1847. He was the only son of James I. Hendryx, who for twenty-five years was editor of the *Otsego Republican* of Cooperstown. Prior to his residence in Otsego the elder Hendryx established the *Jefferson Democrat* in a town of that name now known as Watkins, near the celebrated Watkins Glen. During the early years of his life he was a Democrat, but left that party and became a champion of the Republican principles upon the organization of the Republican party. In 1873 he sold out his interests in Cooperstown and came to Minneapolis, where, together with Charles F., the subject of this

sketch, he invested in the *Minneapolis Tribune*. This venture proved to be a financial failure, and resulted in the removal of both father and son to Sauk Center in 1879, where the elder Hendryx lived until his death in 1883. Thus it will be seen that Charles Hendryx was a newspaper man by training, if not by natural inclination, though it is a well known fact among his friends that if he had not been a successful newspaper man, he would have been a successful lawyer, for which he has all the natural qualifications. His first school days were spent in a little pri-



CHARLES F. HENDRYX.

vate school taught by his aunt at her home, a school that would compare with the present day kindergartens. Later on he went to the public schools in Cooperstown, and when fifteen was sent to the Deer Hill Institute at Danbury, Conn., an Episcopal school for boys, in which he remained several years. Here he took a prize (a gold pin, which he still possesses). After that he attended the Cooperstown Seminary for one year, and then went to Hobart College at Geneva, N. Y., where he remained three years. It was at Hobart College that he first came under the influence of Dr. D. W. Wilson, a man of remarkable personality and

deep thought. He was a power in the college, and exerted a great influence over the minds of the students. Dr. Wilson was an acknowledged authority on metaphysical subjects, and upon the opening of Cornell University in 1868 he was called to the chair of metaphysics of that institution. At the same time Mr. Hendryx changed from Hobart College to Cornell, from which he graduated in 1869, with the first class graduated from Cornell University. Among his classmates of that year were ex-Governor, now Senator, J. B. Foraker of Ohio, Rev. Dr. Rhodes, now pastor of St. John's Church of St. Paul, and Judge Buckwalter of Cincinnati.

Mr. Hendryx came to Minnesota in 1874, and took the position of night editor on the Minneapolis *Tribune*, and later on became city editor of the same paper, a position he held until his removal to Sauk Center in 1879, where he bought the Sauk Center *Herald*, which he has owned and edited ever since. Though always an ardent Republican, and active and influential in the councils of the party in Minnesota, Mr. Hendryx held but one public office in his life, that being postmaster of Sauk Center during President Arthur's administration. For several years past it has been his custom to take the stump throughout his congressional district. He is an eloquent and forcible speaker, having a good voice and a fine command of language. He has also devoted some time to lecturing on educational, literary, and religious subjects. He was delegate at large to the late Republican convention held at St. Louis in June, being the only country newspaper man who was honored with that position. In his editorial capacity he has ever been an ardent advocate of the payment of the repudiated state bonds, believing that the honor and credit of the state demanded the payment.

He was married, Sept. 6, 1876, at St. Mark's Church in Minneapolis, to Miss Fanny Galt Taylor, daughter of the late Col. William Henry Harrison Taylor, who for sixteen years was state librarian. They have three children. Mrs. Hendryx is a woman of charming personality, and has attained an enviable prominence as a writer. She is a granddaughter of ex-President William Henry Harrison, and a first cousin of ex-President Benjamin Harrison. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hendryx are leaders in Episcopal Church circles, not only in Sauk Center but throughout the northern part of the state.



MERRIAM, WILLIAM R.—William R. Merriam, governor of Minnesota from 1889 to 1893, was born at Wadham's Mills, Essex county, New York, in 1849, where his father, Col. John L. Merriam, was at that time a prosperous merchant. The family is of English ancestry, and traces back to the first settlement of Concord, N. H. Colonel Merriam moved to Minnesota in 1861,

and engaged in the stage and other transportation business, and William was sent to school at an academy in Racine, Wis., at the age of fifteen. In the academy and in college he stood high in scholarship, and on his graduation in 1871 he was chosen to deliver the valedictory oration. He went into active business life immediately after leaving school, entering the First National Bank of St. Paul as a clerk. He at once showed a marked aptitude for business affairs, and when he was only twenty-four he was made cashier of the Merchants National Bank of St. Paul. With this strong institution he has ever since been connected. He became its vice president in 1880 and its president in 1882. As a financier he has won more than a state reputation. Articles on banking, currency, and other money questions, contributed by him to Eastern magazines, have gained for him wide recognition as an authority on sound principles of finance.

Inheriting from his father a talent for active political work, he was early engaged in the political contests of his ward and city. In 1882 and in 1883 he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature, and in 1886 he was again elected and was chosen speaker of the House, a position twice held by his father. He made an excellent presiding officer, pushing the business of the House along with energy and tact. His popularity with the members, his capacity for leadership, and his prompt, systematic methods of dispatching public business, made him widely known throughout the state as one of the most conspicuous of the young Republican leaders, and when he entered the race for the gubernatorial nomination in 1888 he had a strong following. He won the nomination in a close contest over two popular opponents, Governor McGill and Col. Albert Scheffer. His Democratic opponent in the canvass was Eugene M. Wilson of Minneapolis, a very able lawyer and a politician of great personal popularity. Governor Merriam was elected by a majority over Wilson of 24,104. His renomination followed in 1890 without much opposition. He received in the convention, on the first ballot, 350 votes against 108, divided between the two opposing candidates. The Democrats ran against him another Wilson, also a strong party leader, Judge Thomas Wilson of Winona, who had served a term in Congress from a strong Republican district. The Farmers' Alliance movement was now at the height of its power, and its candidate was S. M. Owen of Minneapolis. This movement drew votes from both the old parties, but the Republicans suffered most. The election was a close one for Minnesota, Merriam receiving 88,111 votes, Wilson, 85,844, and Owen 58,513, Merriam's majority over his leading competitor being only 2,267.

Governor Merriam's career in the state capitol was marked by political sagacity, knowledge of men, and close and intelligent application to the duties of his office. Dur-

ing these four years he was frequently called upon, as all governors are, to make addresses on public occasions. He had never before made any pretensions to oratorical talent, but he developed a capacity unsuspected by his friends for forcible, clear, common-sense talk on the platform. His messages to the legislature dealt with state questions and affairs in a characteristic business-like manner. In January, 1893, he was succeeded in the governor's chair by Knute Nelson, and resumed private life gladly, to devote his energies to his banking and other business affairs. In March, 1896, he was chosen by the Republican state convention one of the four delegates at large from Minnesota to the national convention.

In 1872 Governor Merriam was married to Miss Hancock, a niece of the great corps commander, Gen. W. S. Hancock. He built on Merriam Hill one of the handsomest homes in St. Paul,—a large mansion, surrounded by extensive, park-like grounds. In this home, which was destroyed by fire in 1896, much cordial hospitality was dispensed by the Merriams, and a large number of men of eminence in politics, art, literature, and business, from all parts of the world, who visited St. Paul during the past fifteen years, have been entertained there. The Merriams have a charming summer home on Forest lake, where the governor indulges his taste for farming and for raising fine stock. Governor Merriam is in the prime of life, and is one of the most influential of the Republican leaders in Minnesota and in the nation. He is possessed of a large fortune, and can afford to gratify his tastes for public life. If he desires further political honors, they will no doubt be within his reach.



MOORE, RICHMOND H.—The early career of R. H. Moore would make a good theme for a book of adventures, and a full narrative of it might well be taken for a romance, were it not for the fact that truth is stranger than fiction. The narrative can only be given in very brief compass here, but it is possible that the busy lawyer may some day find time to grant the request of many friends, and write the story of his life in detail. Mr. Moore was born at Church Hill, Richmond, Va., April 28, 1835, near to which city his father owned a plantation. His parents were English people, and immediately after their marriage they emigrated to Virginia. His father's name was Francis Mount-Cashell Moore, and his mother's maiden name was Jane F. Hamilton. There were three children, a daughter who died when a child, and two sons, one of whom was killed at the battle of Chickamauga. The boy, Richmond, was educated in private schools in Baltimore, and was given a year at Trinity College, Dublin. When he was three years old his mother took him to England on

the steamship *Great Western*, which was the first steam vessel that made regular trips across the Atlantic to carry passengers. While in England the boy had a narrow escape from death by drowning. The father died young, and the son commenced at an early age to study law in the office of F. F. Evans, a famous chancery lawyer of Baltimore, and the mother removed to that city. Both parents had been opposed on principle to the institution of slavery, but when the Virginia plantation was bought the slaves went with it, and the father tried in vain to get free labor to work the place. After his death the mother, with the consent of the two sons, legally freed the slaves, sixteen in number, and was required by the Virginia law to give bonds that they should never become a charge upon the poor rates. In manumitting them she voluntarily sacrificed property worth in the slave market of Baltimore more than \$10,000.

An uncle in London desired to take charge of the education of the boy, and after a year in Trinity College he entered the uncle's law office in Chancery Lane, where he read for four years. He then returned to the office of his former preceptor, Mr. Evans, in Baltimore, and afterwards spent a year in the law office of Richard C. Underhill, in New York, and a year in the office of Knox Gavin, a leading lawyer in Detroit, Mich. Then he went to New Orleans, was admitted to the bar, and began practice. The father had been an anti-slavery Whig, and the son shared his political opinions. When the secession agitation began in the South, Mr. Moore joined an organization composed of sixteen men who bravely undertook to combat the movement by making public speeches for the preservation of the Union. This was a perilous undertaking, and the first public meeting the patriotic band attempted to hold was broken up by a mob. At Baton Rouge one of Mr. Moore's associates was captured by the mob and hung. He saved his own life by escaping to the coast, where a fishing vessel put him on board a schooner bound to Havana. From Havana he went to Panama, and from there to New York. He lost everything but the clothes he wore and a little money he had in his pocket. His library, which had cost him over \$5,000, was confiscated. Years afterwards he learned that the books had fallen into the possession of two men who sat upon the supreme bench of the state.

Mr. Moore immediately offered his services to his country, and, after doing provost duty in New York and Baltimore, he enlisted in the Tenth Regiment of West Virginia Infantry, and was placed on detached service. For a time he was attached to General Halleck's headquarters in Washington. While carrying dispatches to the Army of the Potomac he was wounded at Kelly's Ford by a shell, which left a splinter in his knee. At that time he was a lieutenant and brevet captain. He was afterwards attached to the secret service, and was engaged for nearly a year in looking out for shipments of supplies to the Rebels along

the Ohio river from their friends in Indiana, the Knights of the Golden Circle. Some of these shipments were sent first to Canada, and then shipped to Southern ports on fast steamers that ran the blockade.

When his enlistment expired, Captain Moore found himself pretty well disabled. He had a festering wound in his side, and the older wound in his knee still troubled him. He went to California on a business trip, and helped to raise a company in Sacramento. The men expected to be ordered East to take part in the closing struggles of the war, but there were Indian troubles in Northern Cali-



RICHMOND H. MOORE.

fornia and Washington, and they were attached to a battalion of mountaineers and marched through a wild country as far as Fort Colville, near the British line. A secret movement had been organized to take the Pacific Coast region out of the Union in the event of the success of the Rebellion, and the battalion was kept in that region to watch events after the Indian troubles had subsided.

Mr. Moore has been shipwrecked twice. Each time he was one of a very small company that survived the disaster. A few years before the war he went from Baltimore to Australia, with the purpose of joining the gold-seekers in the new diggings at the antipodes; but after a varied ex-

perience in Australia, he sailed in the ship "Sea Gull" (Captain Hammond) for Liverpool. In the South Seas the vessel foundered in a storm. Of the four boats that left the sinking ship, only one reached land on Willis Island. The others were never heard from. Moore and his companions in the lucky boat were about three months upon the island, and were at last rescued by a vessel that put in for fresh water. He reached his Baltimore home in safety. His second shipwreck was on the "Brother Jonathan," a steamer which sailed from San Francisco for Portland, and went upon the rocks off the harbor of Crescent City. That wreck is still fresh in the memory of old-timers in California and Oregon, as one of the great tragedies of the Pacific Coast. The steamer carried 166 passengers. Only sixteen were saved. Captain Moore saw one boat after another put off, to be dashed on the hidden rocks or capsized in the angry sea. Finally, with fifteen others, he left the sinking ship in the last boat, which was the smallest and poorest of all. This boat reached the beach safely. Captain Moore was on his way to Portland with \$20,000 in gold to make investments in the Willamette Valley. The money went to the bottom of the sea.

His next adventure was to go to Sonoma with a pack-train, to open and superintend a silver mine. The country was then in arms against the foreign usurper, Maximilian, and Moore was prevented going on with the mining enterprise. He promptly enlisted and commanded a company of Mexican patriots, and served in the Department of Acapulco, under General Alvarez. He had no intention of turning Mexican, but he wanted to defend the Monroe doctrine and help drive the French army and the Austrian emperor from American soil. After the downfall of Maximilian he returned to the United States, recovered the body of his brother, which had been buried on the field of Chickamauga, made a trip to England, and finally determined to settle in the West and practice his profession. His first trip up the Mississippi, by steamboat to St. Paul, was made in company with Capt. Henry A. Castle, who was also seeking a new home in Minnesota. In 1866 Captain Moore established himself in St. Paul. In 1868 he went to Kansas City, and shortly afterwards, in Kansas, married Miss Mary C. Wellhouse. He lived for some time in Missouri, but in 1881 returned to Minnesota and found a permanent home in the handsome town of Lake City, Minn., where he has since resided, and where he has given close attention to legal practice.

Mr. Moore has never held public office except as a school trustee. He cannot be called a politician, but he is an earnest and original Republican, having cast his first vote for John C. Fremont in 1856, and having ever since been faithful to the party that freed the slaves and saved the Union. There are six children in the family, two boys and four girls, the oldest twenty-six and the youngest twelve. They have a delightful farm home close to the town.

MORRIS, ROBERT PAGE WALLER.—If Judge Page Morris had elected to spend all his life in his native State of Virginia, there are no honors that could come to a man of aristocratic lineage that would not have been his. He is a true Southerner, and is greatly attached to his native state. He loves its hills, and mountains, and streams, and grows intensely eloquent when describing them. Why, then, did he leave Virginia to make Minnesota the state of his adoption? He was a Republican, and, much as he loved his native state, he loved liberty of speech and liberty of the ballot more. He is a lineal descendant of the Morris of Hanover county, Virginia, and the Hanover Morris settled in Virginia before the Revolutionary War. Judge Morris's father was a physician in his early life, and was very well off. After the invention of Morse he became interested in the construction of telegraph lines, being satisfied that there was a great future for investment in that direction. He became the president of the Lynchburg & Abbingdon Telegraph Company, which constructed the first telegraph line ever built for commercial purposes south of the Potomac river, and upon its consolidation with the American Telegraph Company, he became a director in the latter company, serving on the board with Mr. Morse, Mr. Field, and others of the most noted telegraph men of that day. At the breaking out of the war he organized the lines in the Confederate states into a separate company, and, as president, operated them during the war.

Judge Morris's mother was a daughter of Dr. Robert Page Waller, a physician of prominence and a wealthy planter who lived at Williamsburg, Va., and whose family location at Williamsburg dates back more than two hundred years. On her mother's side she is a great-granddaughter of General Mercer, a noted brigadier general in the Continental army, who was killed at the battle of Princeton during the Revolutionary War.

Page Morris was born at Lynchburg, Va., June 30, 1853, and received his early education at a private country boarding school kept by his uncle, Charles Morris, M. A., who afterwards became professor of Greek in the University of Georgia. His college education consisted of a year at William and Mary College, after which he entered the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, and in three years completed the regular four years' course, graduating as first honor man in his class July 4, 1872. He won a debating society medal for that year, which was presented to him by the president of the debating society the day before he graduated. After graduating he became assistant professor of mathematics for one year. It was his intention to make civil engineering his life profession, but a trivial incident occurred that changed his whole course in life. He represented his debating society in one of the two public debates held in the Virginia Military Institute each year.

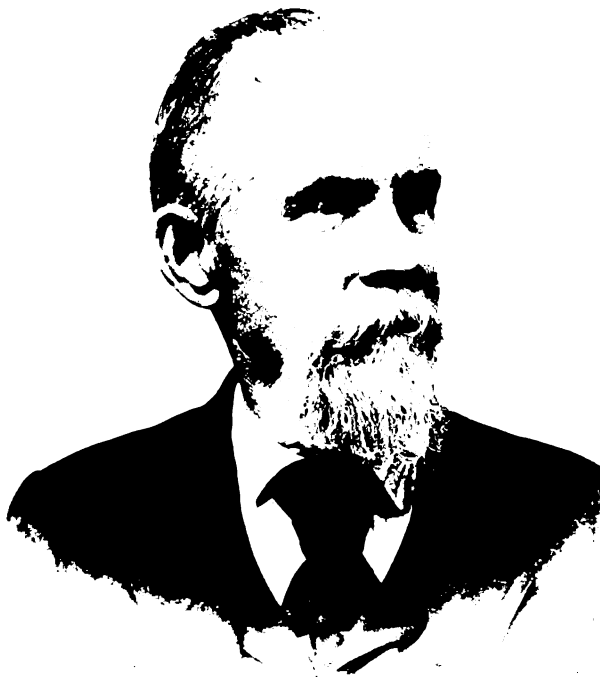
Soon after one of these occasions a fellow student, in congratulating him, told him that he ought by all means to abandon civil engineering and take up the law, as he had every qualification to make a successful lawyer. That student was a prophet, as Page Morris's career since clearly demonstrates. In the fall of 1873, when only twenty years of age, he accepted the chair of mathematics in the Texas Military Institute. Three years later the Agricultural and Mechanical College was organized at Bryan, Tex., and he went there to take the chair of mathematics, and remained



ROBERT PAGE W. MORRIS.

at that institution three years. During all this time he read law more or less, and spent two summer vacations in the office of a prominent attorney in Austin, Tex. Then he went to St. Louis, where, after several months spent in reviewing what he had read, he was admitted to the bar on examination, in February, 1880. He went back to Lynchburg, Va., on a visit, and was prevailed upon by his friends to remain and open a law office there. He remained at Lynchburg until December, 1886, when he decided on a change of location, and came to Duluth, where he was not long in gaining merited prominence both as a citizen and as

a lawyer of ability. In March, 1889, he was elected municipal judge, and served until March, 1892. In March, 1894, he was elected city attorney, and served until the 1st of September, 1895, when Governor Clough appointed him to the district bench, to fill the vacancy caused by Judge Lewis's resignation. It was while Judge Morris was city attorney that some of the most important street assessment litigation in the history of Duluth came up under the new city charter of 1887 and amendments of 1889 and 1891. It involved hundreds of thousands of dollars, and was car-



GEORGE W. BENEDICT.

ried by him to a successful termination in the supreme court.

Politically Judge Morris was a Democrat until he was twenty-nine years of age. Then he became convinced that the protective policy was the right one for Virginians. To advocate the Republican policy of protection in Virginia in those days meant to make a man decidedly unpopular, if not something worse. It meant that he must constantly be a fighting Republican to hold his own. In the congressional campaign of 1882 he took the stump to advocate the election of the Hon. John S. Wise as congressman at large, and in

1884 he was nominated for congressman in the Sixth district, and made a splendid showing against John Daniel, now United States Senator from Virginia, in a hopelessly Democratic district. The only object in making a congressional nomination in that district was with the view of making a united front, and, if possible, to carry the electoral vote of the state for Blaine. While a spectator at a political meeting in Duluth, in the fall of 1888, he made an impromptu speech in which he acquitted himself so well that he was immediately recognized as the ablest stump speaker in St. Louis county, and one of the ablest in Minnesota. That fall he stumped the legislative district, which was then nearly as large in area as the present congressional district, for Colonel Graves, and in each succeeding campaign has been active except in the years that he was on the bench. July 16, 1896, he was forced to accept the Republican nomination for congressman from the Sixth district, to do which he sacrificed his position on the bench, which was not only lucrative but also more to his taste than would be a congressional career.

Feb. 21, 1877, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Statham of Lynchburg, Va., and has a family of five children, four girls and one boy.

Judge Morris is a member of the Masonic fraternity; a member of a College Greek Letter fraternity, and belongs to the Episcopal Church.



BENEDICT, GEORGE W.—George W. Benedict of Sauk Rapids is well known throughout the state as one of the veteran Republican editors of Minnesota. He was born in Rochester, N. Y., March 20, 1824. He learned the printer's trade in the office of the *Journal and Express*, in Hamilton, Ontario, serving the apprenticeship of five years, which was customary at that time. His father, Reuben Benedict, was a native of Connecticut, and was by occupation a builder and contractor. His ancestors were of English origin. He was a man of large stature and great muscular power, and was famous in his neighborhood for his feats of physical strength. The mother's name was Nancy Smith, and she was of German parentage on both sides. She was born in Canada, and was a woman of marked intellectual ability, and an excellent mother to a family of nine children. The father was in very moderate circumstances, and the children had to make their own way in the world. George earned his first money by sawing wood at twenty-five cents a cord. In 1852 he published the *Herald* in Tecumseh, Mich., in partnership with John Shepard. Arriving in Minnesota in 1854, he pushed up the Mississippi to Sauk Rapids, then the head of navigation above the Falls of St. Anthony, and started a newspaper, called the *Frontiersman*, for Jeremiah

Russell. In 1860 he went to St. Paul, and worked for four years on the *St. Paul Press*. After a trip to the East he took the foremanship of the *St. Paul Pioneer*, and remained in this situation until 1868, when he went again to Sauk Rapids and started the *Sentinel* on his own account. This paper he still edits and publishes, and he is now one of the oldest editors in continuous service in the state. Only two or three outrank him. He started the *Alexandria Post* in 1870, still retaining his ownership of the *Sentinel*. The *Post* he sold to W. E. Hicks.

Mr. Benedict was elected a member of the Minnesota State Senate in 1874, and served one term. He was deputy collector of internal revenue for two terms under the collectorship of William Bickel. In his early manhood he was a Whig, but he joined the Republican party as soon as it was organized, and has ever since been an active member of that organization. He is a Mason and an Odd Fellow. In 1850 he was married to Anna Cronk, who died in 1860.



SNIDER, SAMUEL P.—Samuel P. Snider of Minneapolis, who represented the Twin Cities district at Washington from 1889 to 1891, was born in Mount Gilead, Ohio, Oct. 9, 1845, and after attending the common schools was taking a course at Oberlin College when the Civil War broke out in 1861. Although only sixteen years old, and therefore below the age for enlistment, he managed to get with the Sixty-fifth Ohio Infantry, and served in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. He was wounded at the battle of Stone River, and at Chickamauga he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. When exchanged he was given a captain's commission in the Thirteenth United States Colored Infantry. He settled in Minnesota in 1876 and engaged in farming, mining, manufacturing, and lumbering, making his home in Minneapolis. From 1884 to 1888 he served in the Minnesota legislature, and in 1888 he was elected to Congress by the Republicans of the Fourth district, which then included the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. His majority over Edmund Rice, Democrat, the sitting member, was about 10,000. In 1890 Captain Snider was beaten for reelection by J. W. Castle, Democrat. He has not since been in public life.



WEBER, HENRY.—The subject of this sketch is a native of Indiana, having been born in Fort Wayne in that state, July 28, 1852. His father, Henry Weber, and his mother, Sophia Gardner, were born in Germany and came to America about 1849, and their son has inherited many of the excellent characteristics of the Ger-

man race. When Henry was eight months old the family moved to St. Paul, where the father engaged in the grocery business in "upper town" until his death in 1869. The mother is still living at the old homestead on Summit avenue. Young Henry attended the Jefferson school in St. Paul, and afterward took a business course in the Bryant & Stratton Commercial College. While his father lived the son helped in the business, but in 1870 he became a salesman in the business house of R. & J. M. Warner, where he remained for twelve years, part of the time as cashier.



HENRY WEBER.

From 1882 to 1893 he successfully conducted the business of a clothing merchant on Wabasha street.

During this period Henry Weber was elected alderman from the Eighth ward as a Republican, and two years later was reelected by 1,000 majority. A faithful public servant, he opposed all measures which he thought improper and unjust, and successfully resisted the scheme to let the contract for the high bridge at \$90,000 above the price offered by the lowest bidder. He has been very active in bringing the Germans into the Republican party. The German "Bürger Verein," or Citizens' Union, of which he was one

of the founders, has wielded a great influence among people of German birth and descent, and has turned their support largely away from the Democrats.

In 1889 Mr. Weber traveled in Europe, attending the Paris Exposition and visiting about thirty cities of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, and England, making a study of their institutions and bringing home with him a very large photographic collection of European sights and scenes—perhaps the largest in the city of St. Paul.



DANIEL S. NORTON.

Of a social turn of mind, Mr. Weber has not only been active among the young Republicans but has also become a member of the Druids and Sons of Hermann, where he has held the highest offices. He is a Junior Pioneer and a member of the Commercial Club and other societies.

In 1894 he was elected register of deeds of Ramsey county by a plurality of 5,865 over his Democratic opponent. This office he has managed on strictly business principles, and he has given satisfaction to its many patrons. He is a very charitable man, has been married twice, and is the father of five children, one son and four daughters.

NORTON, DANIEL S.—Daniel S. Norton, United States senator from Minnesota from March, 1865, until his death on July 14, 1870, was born in Mount Vernon, Ohio, on April 12, 1829. He was educated at Kenyon College. At the age of nineteen he enlisted as a private in a regiment recruited for the Mexican War, and after serving through that contest he traveled in Nicaragua and California. Returning to Ohio he studied law, and was admitted to the Mount Vernon bar, then renowned as the strongest in the state. He practiced for a short time, and then set out to seek a new home in the West in company with his friend, William Windom. The two young men came to Minnesota with the purpose of opening a law office together. Norton stopped in St. Paul and Windom went to Winona. Shortly afterwards Norton decided to make his home in Winona, also, but the proposed partnership was not formed, and the two friends soon found themselves members of rival law firms. Their rivalry was not long in extending to the field of politics, for which both developed decided tastes and talents. Both were Republicans, however, and both succeeded in reaching the highest honors within the gift of their party in the state. Norton was six times elected to the state senate,—in 1857, 1858, 1860, 1861, 1863 and 1864. He was one of the ablest and most efficient men that ever sat in that body, and he acquired considerable influence throughout the state. He was a sound lawyer, and he took a large part in shaping legislation. When Senator Wilkinson's term expired in 1865 a very animated contest arose in the legislature, and after long balloting the various elements opposed to returning Wilkinson concentrated on Norton and elected him.

In Washington Senator Norton soon ranked himself with the moderate Republicans on the pending questions of reconstructing the Southern States. By temperament he was never a radical. He differed with the leaders of his party, and took sides with President Johnson in the long controversy between that stubborn and often wrong-headed man and the overwhelming Republican majority in Congress. He tried to aid Johnson in the latter's efforts to organize a new party on the basis of his ideas of the wise and constitutional treatment of the states and people lately in rebellion. This course lost him the sympathy and confidence of the Republicans of Minnesota. He died at his post, about a year before the expiration of his term of office, and was succeeded by William Windom, who had been one of the competitors for his place five years before. Mr. Norton was a man of sincere and positive convictions, and he no doubt reached his conclusions in the matter of reconstruction from conscientious mental processes of his own, and not from any expectations of political advantage to himself. He lived to see the Andrew Johnson idea thoroughly discredited and defeated, and the government in all its branches, after the election to the Presidency of General Grant, in the hands of the Republicans.

EDDY, FRANK M.—Hon. Frank M. Eddy of Glenwood, present representative in Congress from the Seventh district of Minnesota, is a Minnesotan by birth. He was born in Pleasant Grove, Olmsted county, April 1, 1856, and is the first native of the state to be elected to Congress. In 1860 he removed to Iowa with his parents, returning to Minnesota in 1863, and residing at Elmira, Olmsted county, until 1867, when he removed to Pope county. In 1874 he was back in Olmsted, attending school there until 1878 and working in a brick yard during vacations to get money to pay his expenses. He taught a term of district school in Fillmore county and one in Renville county, and in the winter of 1879-80 went again to Pope county, where he taught school for three years. In 1883 he worked for the Northern Pacific Railroad Company as a "cruiser" or land examiner. Going into political life in 1884, he was elected clerk of the district court of Pope county. This position he held until he was elected to Congress in 1894. He received 18,200 votes against 17,408 for Haldor E. Boen, Populist, 3,486 for Thos. N. McLean, Democrat, and 2,726 for Ole Kron, Prohibitionist. The district embraces sixteen counties, and includes nearly the whole of the famous Red River Valley country in Minnesota. Mr. Eddy is an effective stump speaker, clear and persuasive in argument and popular in manner. As a member of the House he has shown earnestness, industry, and a thorough comprehension of all important questions of legislation. He has been renominated as the Republican candidate for reelection to the Fifty-fifth Congress. It was chiefly owing to Mr. Eddy's popularity and to his zealous efforts in the canvass of 1894 that his district, which had before been represented by a Populist, was redeemed by the Republicans that year.



DEAN, WILLIAM B.—Among Minnesota business men who have attained prominence in public affairs is Hon. William B. Dean of St. Paul. He was born in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1838. His father's given name was William, and his mother's maiden name was Aurelia Butler, and there are Revolutionary ancestors on both sides of the family tree.

William B. Dean received his education in the public schools of Pittsburg and in Bolmar's Academy at West Chester, Pa. In 1856 he came to St. Paul and secured employment as book-keeper for the wholesale iron house of Nicols & Berkey. In 1860, in company with John Nicols, he established the firm of Nicols & Dean, successors to Nicols & Berkey, and continued in the same line of business. Upon the death of Mr. Nicols in 1873, the business was carried on by Mr. Dean and his brother-in-law, J. R. Nicols, under the same firm name. It is now probably the oldest house and the oldest firm name in the Northwest, both having been in existence over thirty-six years.

Aside from the time devoted to large commercial interests, Mr. Dean's life has been a busy one. He has been a member of the St. Paul board of education, board of fire commissioners, and water board; he was appointed in 1883 by the President of the United States to inspect, as United States commissioner, a portion of the Northern Pacific Railroad, then being built through Idaho; he was one of the United States electors on the Blaine and Logan ticket in 1884, and was elected to the Minnesota State Senate for a four-year term in 1890, to represent the Twenty-seventh

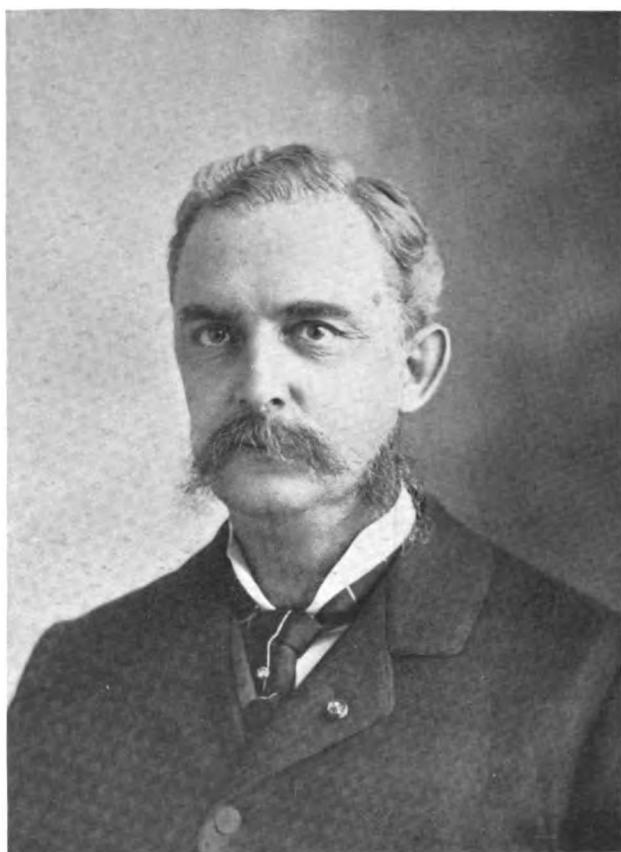


FRANK M. EDDY.

senatorial district, comprising the Seventh and Eighth wards in the city of St. Paul. For this high honor he was placed on the Citizens', Republican, and Democratic tickets, and was elected without opposition. At the close of the senatorial term he refused to be a candidate for renomination. His principal work while in the legislature was upon the amendment to the charter of the city of St. Paul and in securing the passage of the bill for the construction of the new state capitol building. He was the Ramsey county member of the committee to which the whole subject was referred by the Senate, wrote the majority report in favor

of building a new capitol, and was author of the bill as substantially and finally passed.

Mr. Dean is a director of the Second National and the State Savings banks of St. Paul, a trustee of Oakland Cemetery, and a director of the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railway. He is a member of the Commercial Club of St. Paul, the Jobbers' Union, Chamber of Commerce, and belongs to the Presbyterian Church. In 1860 he married Mary C. Nicols, daughter of John Nicols, St. Paul. They have six daughters and two sons, all of whom are living.



CHARLES H. BRUSH.

BRUSH, CHARLES HENRY.—Few states in the West were inhabited by a more substantial class of settlers than was Illinois. A great many of the residents came from New England and the Eastern States, and among them was Henry Lyman Brush, father of Col. Chas. H. Brush, who came to Ottawa, Ill., from Vergennes, Vt., in 1831. Soon after coming there he engaged in the mercantile business, and thereafter was engaged in fruit-raising and farming. He was a Republican from the organization of the party. Colonel Brush's mother, Caroline E. Gridley, was a daughter of Henry W. Gridley. She was

born at Grandby, Mass., but early in life moved with her father's family to Ottawa, where she married Mr. Brush, and where the subject of this sketch was born, Dec. 27, 1838. His early education was received in a private school, after which he entered and took the full course through the public schools of Ottawa. This was supplemented by a year's course in the Pearce Academy, at Middleboro, Mass., which he was obliged to leave because of poor health. After a year spent in recuperating, he finished his education with an advanced course of two years under a private tutor at Ottawa. After completing his literary education, in the spring of 1861, he commenced the study of law in the office of Glover, Cook & Campbell in Ottawa, continuing until he went into the army in January, 1862, as a private in the Fifty-third Illinois Volunteer Infantry. On the organization of the regiment, he was appointed sergeant major. On the 26th of the following November he was commissioned lieutenant and adjutant of the regiment. The first service his regiment was engaged in was at Pittsburg Landing; after that he went through the Tennessee and Georgia campaigns, and continued with Grant's army through the siege of Vicksburg, and through the following campaigns of 1864, and with Sherman's army in his Atlanta campaign and his march to the sea. A good deal of this time the then Lieutenant Brush was on staff duty. Early in 1865 he was promoted to major of the regiment. The following spring he was made lieutenant colonel of the regiment, which rank he held when his regiment was mustered out of the service the following August. He went through three years and eight months of active service during the war, and at the close of the war he was breveted colonel by the President for gallant and meritorious services. During 1864-65 he was acting assistant adjutant general of the Fourth Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, commanded by Gen. Giles A. Smith, during Sherman's march to the sea and around to Washington, and during that march was appointed division inspector of the same division, in which position he continued until the return of Sherman's army to Washington, when, at his own request, he was relieved of his position to take command of his regiment, in the absence of its colonel.

After his discharge from the military service, in August, 1865, he resumed the study of law in the same office in Ottawa, Ill., that he had left nearly four years before. He was admitted to the bar in December, 1868, and immediately thereafter formed a partnership with Chas. F. Butler, a young friend who had been an associate student in the same office. This partnership lasted three years. After that Colonel Brush continued the practice of law alone at Ottawa until the fall of 1879, and gained for himself a splendid reputation as an able advocate and a safe and conservative counselor, and succeeded in building up a handsome law practice. In the fall of 1879 he associated himself with

another lawyer at Ottawa, principally for the purpose of leaving his law practice in capable hands while he sought a more congenial climate in which to build up his failing health caused by over-work. Learning of the recuperative effects of the dry and bracing climate of Northern Minnesota, he came here the following March, and located on a large farm in Wilkin county, near the town of Campbell. In partnership with another gentleman, he bought several tracts of land and opened up a number of large farms in that county, and was among the first to import blooded horses and cattle into Northern Minnesota. The colonel is still a large holder of farm lands in Wilkin and other counties in Minnesota.

Colonel Brush's first vote was cast for Lincoln in 1860, and he has never seen the occasion for voting any but the Republican ticket since, and has always been prominently identified with that party, thoroughly believing in its principles and proud of its grand achievements. In the fall of 1888 he was sent to the Minnesota legislature from the Forty-sixth legislative district, and served one term, with marked distinction. Sept. 8, 1890, Secretary Windom appointed him United States national bank examiner for the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the northern peninsula of Michigan, a position which he still holds, though the territory over which his duties extend has been somewhat changed during the past few years.

He is a G. A. R. and Loyal Legion man. These are the only societies to which he ever belonged. He has been a member of the Congregational Church at Ottawa, Ill., since his early youth, and though he is a regular attendant at the Congregational Church at Fergus Falls, Minn., where he spends most of his time when not absent on his duties as national bank examiner, he has never changed his membership from the church in the city of his birth.



STRAIT, HORACE BURTON.—An aptitude for practical politics, a hearty interest in public affairs, and a prompt and zealous attention to the business and wishes of his constituents gave Major Strait a much longer term in Congress than is attained by many Western members of that body. He was not an orator, although he could discuss public issues in a plain way from the stump, but he was a faithful committee worker in Washington, a good business legislator, and a representative who looked closely after the interests of his district. He was born in Potter county, Pennsylvania, in 1835, and received a common school education. Removing westward in search of better business opportunities than a rural district in Pennsylvania afforded, he first lived a year in Indiana, from 1854 to 1855, and in the latter year made a permanent home at Shakopee, Minn., where he bought a farm. In 1862 he

raised a company for the Ninth Minnesota Infantry, and was made its captain. He was promoted to major in 1864, and attached to the staff of General McArthur as inspector general. At the close of the war he returned to Shakopee and engaged in mercantile and banking business. His banking operations extended to other towns, and in later years to St. Paul, where he became president of the Germania National Bank.

Major Strait was three times elected mayor of Shakopee,—in 1870, 1871 and 1872,—and in 1872 he was elected to Congress by the Republicans of what was then the Third district. He was reëlected in 1874, and again in 1876, and he was nominated in 1878, but was beaten by Henry



HORACE B. STRAIT.

Poehler, Democrat. Two years later he again took the field, and was triumphantly elected over his old antagonist, Poehler. He was also successful in 1882 and in 1884, closing his long service in the House in March, 1887. In all he served six terms, with a break of two years in the continuity of his membership.

Major Strait came of an old Virginia family. One of his great-grandfathers was a Revolutionary soldier, and one of his grandfathers served his country in the War of 1812. He was first married in 1867 to Helen Parsons of Troy, Pa., who died in 1872. In 1877 he married Mrs. Jenny Antibus of Toledo, Ohio. He died in 1894, while on a trip to Mexico in search of health.

MCKENNEY, CHARLES RICHARD.—The newspaper profession in Minnesota enrolls no brighter or more vigorous intellect in its ranks than Charles R. McKenney, editor and proprietor of the *North St. Paul Sentinel*. Though a native of Wisconsin, he has lived in Minnesota for twenty-three years, during all of which time he has been a successful newspaper editor and proprietor. He founded *The Sentinel* at North St. Paul, and during the past nine years has been its owner and editor. He was appointed enrolling clerk of the Forty-seventh, Fifty-first, and



CHARLES R. MCKENNEY.

Fifty-fourth Congresses, the only three Republican Congresses in the United States in twenty years. He was elected to the Twenty-ninth Minnesota legislature by the largest plurality ever given in his district. It did not take him long to become a recognized leader in the House, and the press of the state joined in urging his election as speaker, an honor which he persistently declined, as he was committed to the candidacy of Capt. S. R. Van Sant of Winona. While in the legislature Mr. McKenney made a record of which any man might feel proud. He was the author of the bill prohibiting the sale of liquor at the state

fair grounds, which brought about his head the anathemas of the liquor element all over the state. But Mr. McKenney is a man of intense determination of character, and, once in the fight, he never gave up until he saw the bill made a law by legislative enactment and the signature of the governor. He also introduced the bill imposing a double liability on the stockholders of savings banks, which meritorious legislation, strange to say, had escaped the attention of previous sessions of the Minnesota legislators. It was during this same session that Mr. McKenney introduced his meat inspection bill, designed to protect the meat consumers of the larger cities in the state. The bill authorized the city board of health to appoint one or more inspectors of cattle, sheep, and swine sold in any city in Minnesota having a population of 30,000 or more people. His idea was to force the inspection of live animals within twenty-four hours after being thrown on the Minnesota market. Another clause in the bill made it compulsory on the part of the manager of any company selling dressed meat to furnish a certificate of their inspection. He saw the bill safely through the House, but it was killed in the Senate by means of which, perhaps, the less said the better. It was Mr. McKenney who introduced and had passed what is now known as the Lincoln Bill, making February 12th a legal holiday in Minnesota. The bill passed both branches of the legislature under suspension of the rules, and within one hour after its passage had been signed by Governor Clough, who courteously gave Mr. McKenney the pen with which he signed the document. Mr. McKenney is the possessor of a letter from Hon. Robert T. Lincoln of Chicago, in which, among other things, he says: "I assure you that I am deeply touched by such a manifestation of the regard in which my father's memory is held." Another measure which he introduced was the bill authorizing the judge of probate to appoint guardians for children of vicious parents, removing them from under the authority of such parents. For this Mr. McKenney was most highly complimented by the press and the people of the state. As enrolling clerk in the lower House of Congress he made a record that has never been equaled. The promptness with which the work of his office was completed had never been known to members of Congress before, and after their experience with him as enrolling clerk in the Forty-seventh Congress, his election to the same position in the Fifty-first and Fifty-fourth Congresses was practically unanimous. As showing the character of the man and his wonderful capacity for hard work, a story is told of his prompt action in the case of the Federal Election Bill, which came up for passage in Congress on the night of July 2, 1894. The Republicans under the leadership of Hon. Thomas B. Reed, presented an unbroken front; while the opposition, under the leadership of that prince of parliamentarians, Hon.

William M. Springer, were resorting to dilatory tactics with a view of killing off the measure. Finally, as a last resort, Mr. Springer demanded that the engrossed copy of the bill be produced. Never thinking that it was possible that Enrolling Clerk McKenney could have had the bill engrossed in so short a time, Mr. Springer demanded the bill. Mr. Reed produced it, the Republicans cheering enthusiastically, while the Democrats were correspondingly depressed. After the passage of the bill Mr. McKenney was immediately surrounded by the Republican members and congratulated for his prompt action in meeting the emergency. Had the measure failed to come up that night, it probably would have been defeated. Old employes around the capitol at Washington often allude to the clever way in which McKenney outwitted Springer.

Politically Mr. McKenney is a Republican, and has been unswerving in his devotion to Republican principles ever since he cast his first vote. He is active and influential in the councils of the party, and both on the platform and through the columns of his paper renders splendid service to the Republican cause in every campaign. He is a member of the St. Paul Press Club, the Minnesota Editorial Association, and of the Knights of Pythias lodge.



LIND, JOHN.—John Lind of New Ulm represented the Second district in Congress for six years, from 1887 to 1893. He was born in Sweden, March 25, 1854, and came to Minnesota with his parents in 1868. He received a common school education, taught school, read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1877. In 1881 he was appointed receiver of the United States land office at Tracy, and held the position four years. In 1888 he was elected by the Republicans to Congress by 22,909 votes, to 13,260 for Bullis, Democrat, and 2,114 for Day, Prohibitionist. In 1886 he was a candidate for reelection, his opponent being ex-Senator Wilkinson. He received 25,699 votes against 16,480 for Wilkinson and 2,924 for Edwards, Prohibitionist. In 1890 he was returned for a third term, receiving 20,788 votes, against 20,306 for James H. Baker, the Alliance and Democratic candidate, and 1,146 for I. B. Reynolds, Prohibitionist.

In 1896 Mr. Lind was nominated for governor by the Populist and Silver Democratic parties. About a year before he became an advocate of free silver coinage and embraced the theories of Populism.



COPELAND, JOHN.—John Copeland, who has for the past six years represented the First ward of St. Paul in the common council, and for many years been an active and worthy worker in the ranks of the Republican party, was born at Newton Stewart, Wig-

tonshire, Scotland, Dec. 28, 1845. His father, William Copeland, was born in the Highlands of Scotland, but passed the most of his life in Wigtonshire. He was a descendant from the Puritans, his ancestors having been sorely persecuted by the monarchs of the Stuart house. He followed the occupation of shoemaker, and was known by a wide circle, and held in very high estimation. He was a member of the old Secession Presbyterian Church. Copeland, senior, died in 1848. John's mother, originally Miss Marguerite Thompson, daughter of David Thompson,



JOHN COPELAND.

a wheelwright of Newton Stewart, was also a descendant from Puritan stock, her ancestors, like those of her husband, having undergone the most outrageous persecution at the hands of the kings. Mr. Copeland's ancestry, on both sides, were strong Liberals. He was an only child, and his mother died in 1865.

John Copeland, the subject of this sketch, learned the carpenter's trade in Scotland, was married in 1866 to Miss Grace Hyslop McKeand of Kirkcowan, Wigtonshire, and then engaged in business on his own account as a contractor and builder, doing business in Newton Stewart and

surrounding towns until 1873. On April 29, 1874, he started with his wife and four children for America, landing at Hudson, Wis., in May. There he obtained employment with the old West Wisconsin Railway (afterwards the Omaha), and he has continued with that company ever since, having been for the last fourteen years superintendent of bridges of the northern division. Soon after he obtained employment with the company he was transferred to Eau Claire, and having allied himself with the Republican party from the start, he took active interest in politics, and was in the course of time elected justice of the peace. He left Eau Claire in 1879 and became general foreman of the car department of the Omaha yards in St. Paul. In



TAMS BIXBY.

1882 he was appointed superintendent of buildings and bridges of the northern division, the position he now holds.

In the spring of 1890 Mr. Copeland was elected to the board of aldermen of St. Paul, was reelected in the spring of 1892, and was elected to the assembly in 1894, of which last mentioned body he is now the president. During his second term as alderman he was a member of the court house and city hall commission, was chairman of the board of aldermen committee on streets, and was otherwise honored with conspicuous positions in connection with the city government. During his first term as alderman he was a leading member of the committee on ways and means.

Mr. Copeland is a member of Paladin Commandery, of Summit Blue Lodge, and is a Thirty-second degree Scottish Rite Mason. He is also a leading member of the Shrine. Copeland Camp, No. 1544, Modern Woodmen of America, is named in his honor. He is supreme vice chief ranger for the United States of the United Order of Foresters. For the past eight years he has been the treasurer of the National Track and Bridge Association, and in 1896 he was appointed commissioner of public works by the mayor of St. Paul.



BIXBY, TAMS.—Tams Bixby, a prominent Republican journalist and political organizer, whose home is in Red Wing and who was Governor Clough's private secretary, was born in Stanton, Va., Dec. 12, 1856. His father was Bradford W. Bixby, and his mother's maiden name was Sarah Jane Clark. The family removed to Stillwater, Minn., in the fall of 1857; afterwards lived for a short time in Hastings and St. Paul, and settled in Red Wing in 1863, where Tams attended a parish school until he was thirteen. Thrown early upon his own resources, he worked hard at various pursuits. The first money he earned was as a street peddler. He ran a bakery for a short time, and then kept a hotel, and finally found his true occupation as a newspaper publisher. In 1872, when he was sixteen years old, he was one of the editors and publishers of the *North Star*, at that time the only amateur weekly in the United States, and also one of the editors of the *Grange Advance*, the first paper of the farmers' political movement which had a very important but short-lived career in Minnesota and other Western States. In 1886 he became the editor and principal proprietor of the *Red Wing Sun*, which was afterwards consolidated with the *Republican*, and he is now president of the Red Wing Printing Company, which issues the daily and weekly *Republican*, and is also the editor of that paper.

Mr. Bixby was always warmly interested in Republican politics. He was secretary of the Republican clubs of Minnesota during the campaign of 1884, and in 1886 he was chairman of the Goodhue County Republican Committee. From 1887 to 1889 he was secretary of the Republican League of the State, and from 1888 to 1892 he was secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. He was secretary of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission from 1888 to 1890. From 1890 to 1893 he was private secretary to Governor Merriam, and he continued in this important position under Governor Nelson from 1893 to 1895, and continued to fill it with recognized ability under Governor Clough. This is an office which usually changes with changing administrations, but Mr. Bixby's thorough acquaintance with public men throughout the state, his sagacity as a politician, and his intimate acquaintance with the

business of the executive office make his services so valuable that it is not likely that any future governor will willingly dispense with them. During 1895, and until superseded in 1896, he was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

Mr. Bixby is a member of the Masonic fraternity, of the Odd Fellows, of the Knights Templar, and of the Elks. He belongs to the commercial clubs of both St. Paul and Red Wing and to the State Editorial Association. In 1886 he was married to Miss Clara J. Mues, and he has three children—Edson Kingman, Joel Heatwole, and Tams. One of the causes of his success in politics and business is unquestionably his personal popularity, gained by a courteous manner and an obliging disposition. As a party manager, he believes in close organization and in persistent work.



PILLSBURY, GEORGE ALFRED.—Not one of Minnesota's adopted sons has achieved more marked success or endeared himself more to the hearts of the present and future generations of this state than has Hon. George A. Pillsbury, the subject of this sketch. He was sixty-two years of age when he came to Minnesota from old New Hampshire—a time of life when most men seek retirement from business cares, especially when possessed of a fortune adequate to meet all possible requirements of ease and luxury; but inactivity was not compatible with Mr. Pillsbury's character and training. In this connection, nothing more appropriate could be said of Mr. Pillsbury's indomitable energy and love of work than is contained in the paragraph-sketch written of him by the author of this history twelve years ago. He then wrote: "His liking for hard work and a belief in its virtue seemed to have been early rooted in the Pillsbury family; for in England, more than two centuries and a half ago, they bore for their motto the words, '*Labor Omnia Vincit.*' But in all the generations of the Pillsburys who have lived since then and worked, from England's Essex to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Minnesota, it may be doubted whether any one of them has better deserved to bear the motto than has Hon. George A. Pillsbury. It was Lord Brougham who was advised by a friend 'to confine himself, if possible, to the work of five ordinary men,' but his toil-loving lordship might have been envious of the amount of downright hard work which Mr. Pillsbury has gotten through with in his life. Setting aside his early life for the present, Mr. Pillsbury has only been in Minneapolis about six years as yet. During that time he has been president of the Minneapolis board of trade and of the city council, the homeopathic hospital and the Minneapolis free dispensary, and he is still president of the chamber of commerce, of the Pills-

bury-Hurlburt Elevator Company, of the board of water-works, of the St. Paul and Minneapolis Baptist Union, and the Minneapolis Baptist State Convention; vice president of the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company; a member of the board of park commissioners; a director of the Northwestern National Bank, Manufacturers' National Bank, and the Minneapolis Elevator Company, and trustee of institutions innumerable. All this besides being mayor of the city! Here is a small trifle of work! Eleven presidencies and nine trusteeships is a small coming-in for one man.



GEORGE A. PILLSBURY.

And despite the diversities of his duties, there has not been one post among all those which he has filled wherein he has failed to win the heartiest respect and approbation of all who have been brought into connection with him. The more difficult the kind of work he has had, the more he appears to be able to give his undivided attention to it. Mr. Pillsbury has shown a capacity, almost a genius, for hard and honest work totally incomprehensible to most men. This alone would compel the respect of his fellow citizens; but by his generosity, his warm-heartedness, and unostenta-

tious charity, he has also won their affection. No stranger could read his public record without admiring a man who could live such a life; but it is a stronger tribute to his character that no acquaintance could see the details of his private life without his admiration growing to something warmer. Mr. Pillsbury is only sixty-eight years of age, and it is safe to predict that Minneapolis will yet be grateful to him for much good work done for her, and for the many benefits received at his hands."

If the writer of the above had written with the pen of prophecy he could not more clearly have depicted the career of George A. Pillsbury during the past twelve years. Not only has Minneapolis and Minnesota profited by his generous philanthropy, but at least three cities in his native state as well. In the year of 1890 he erected, at a cost of \$72,000, the Margaret Pillsbury Hospital at Concord, N. H., besides raising a soldiers' monument at Sutton and building a public library at Warner in the same state. Perhaps the most conspicuous act of benevolence with which the Minnesota public is familiar was his donation of \$150,000 to the old Minnesota Academy at Owatonna, under the patronage of the Baptist State Convention. In 1886 he donated \$30,000 to build a ladies' boarding hall. In 1889 he donated \$40,000 for an academy building and \$25,000 towards a permanent endowment fund, besides building a music hall, drill hall, supplying a heating plant, and buying additional land. In recognition of these princely gifts the Minnesota legislature, by special enactment, changed the name of the institution from Minnesota Academy to "The Pillsbury Academy."

Anything like an accurate estimate of Mr. Pillsbury's munificence is simply impossible, because with his characteristic modesty he declines to furnish any detailed statements,—if, indeed, he could furnish any outside of those that are matters of public record. Enough is known, however, to warrant the statement that \$500,000 would be a conservative estimate of the money he has contributed in the cause of education, religion, and charity. Few men ever succeed in accumulating so large a sum as Mr. Pillsbury has given away. Truly can it be said of him, that no worthy cause ever appealed to him in vain.

But, though Mr. Pillsbury is to-day a wealthy man, his accumulations are due to his own indomitable energy and business sagacity; for fortune never favored him with anything but a robust constitution, inherited from a line of temperate, religious, and energetic ancestors. He was born in Sutton, N. H., on the twenty-ninth day of August, 1816, and his early years were spent among the rough hills of the old Granite State, where he received a thorough common school education. This was completed before he was eighteen years of age, when he made his first business venture in Boston as a clerk in a grocery and fruit house. A year

later he returned to Sutton, and engaged in the manufacture of stoves and sheet-iron ware for several years. This proved a successful venture. Feb. 1, 1840, Mr. Pillsbury engaged as clerk in a store at Warner, N. H., and the following year he purchased the business, and for eight years remained at the head of it. Then he went into a wholesale dry goods house in Boston for a year, after which he returned to Warner and engaged in the mercantile business for another twelve months. From 1844 to 1849 he was postmaster at Warner, and at various times selectman and town treasurer. In 1850-51 he was a representative to the general court. Mr. Pillsbury's business ability made him a leader in every community. This will account for his being placed at the head of the commission that built the Merri-mac jail at Concord, which was completed in 1852. For nearly twenty-four years—from December, 1851,—Mr. Pillsbury was the general purchasing agent for the Concord Railroad Corporation, in which capacity he made a truly enviable record. It is said of him, that, in settling personal injury claims against the road, alone, he saved many times his salary. He lived about twenty-seven years in Concord, and during that time was honored with nearly every position of trust within the gift of the people, as well as being interested in almost every public building erected in the town. In 1864 he was the leading spirit in organizing the First National Bank of Concord, and two years later he was made its president, a position he held for twelve years. He led in the organization of the National Savings Bank in 1867, and was its president from its organization until 1874, a period of seven years. However, if Mr. Pillsbury was a shining light in the business circles of Concord, he was still more of a leader in the organizations that had for their object the relief of the suffering and unfortunate. He was one of the largest contributors to, and the most active in establishing in Concord, the Centennial Home for the Aged, and was for many years a member of its board of trustees. The same is true of his contributions to, and connection with, the Orphans' Home in Franklin. Together with his son, Hon. Charles A. Pillsbury, he made a donation of a handsome pipe organ to the First Baptist Church of Concord, and individually contributed the bell that hangs in the tower of the board of trade building. He was for many years a member of the city council of Concord, and in 1876 was elected mayor, to be reëlected a year later. He served from 1871 to 1872 in the New Hampshire legislature, in which he was chairman of the special committee for the apportionment of public taxes.

Upon his determination to leave Concord and New Hampshire to make Minneapolis the home of his adoption, intense regret was felt on every hand, and among all classes of people, for Mr. Pillsbury is not a man whose popularity is confined to any one set, creed, or party. Complimentary

resolutions were passed by both branches of the city government and by the First National Bank of Concord, all testifying strongly to his integrity and superior business qualities. Complimentary resolutions by the First Baptist Church were passed, and entered upon the records of the church organization. The Webster Club, composed of fifty prominent business men of Concord, passed resolutions expressive of their regret over his departure from the state, and similar testimonials were presented to him subscribed to by more than 300 of the business men of the city, embracing all the ex-mayors then living, the clergymen of all denominations, all the members of both branches of the city government, and nearly all the lawyers and doctors. On the eve of their departure, Mr. and Mrs. Pillsbury were presented with an elegant bronze statuette of Mozart, showing the high esteem in which he and his amiable wife were held by their old friends and fellow citizens.

No sooner had he located in Minneapolis than he at once became an active figure in the business community. Nor has his very successful career been confined to business alone, for several times he has been literally forced into official positions, which he has filled in each case with distinguished credit to himself and the community he represented. Soon after his arrival in Minneapolis he was elected to the school board, and later to the city council, of which he became president. In 1884 the Republican nomination for mayor of Minneapolis was forced upon him, and in the election that followed he received a majority of nearly 8,000. He made a model executive, his devotion to economy in public expenditures and rigid control of the disorderly elements being marked characteristics of his administration. In 1885 Mayor Pillsbury was chairman of the committee to build the chamber of commerce in Minneapolis, and the following year he was chairman of the building committee that built the First Baptist church there, the most costly church edifice belonging to any denomination west of Chicago. When completed Mr. and Mrs. Pillsbury, together with their two sons, the Hon. Charles A. and the late Fred C. Pillsbury, donated to the church the handsomest pipe organ in the Northwest. In 1888, at the annual meeting of the American Baptist Union, he was elected president.

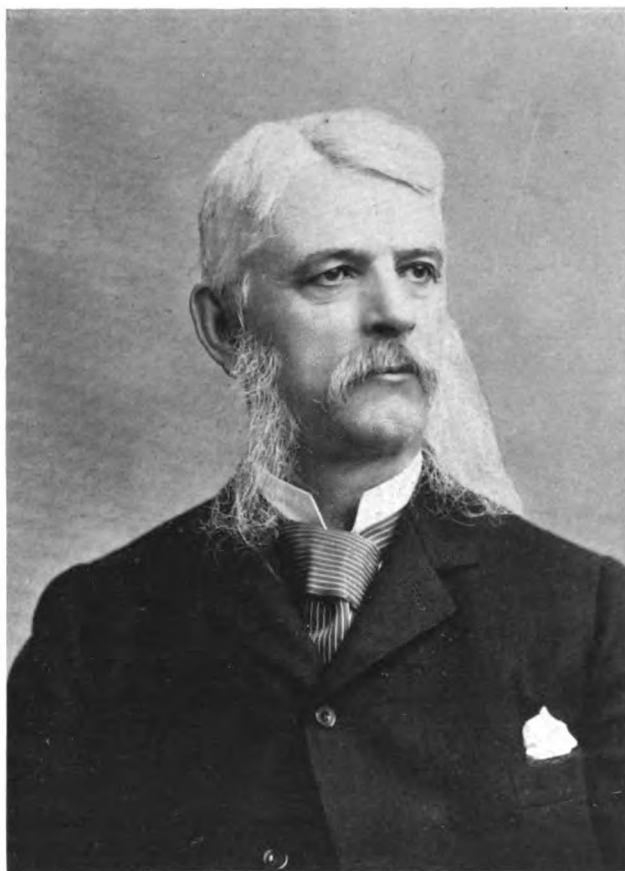
May 9, 1841, Mr. Pillsbury was married to Miss Margaret S. Carleton, a charming and highly educated woman, who has ably seconded her husband in all his acts of benevolence, and been his mainstay throughout a long and successful business career. While not supposed to be actively engaged in business at the present time, Mr. Pillsbury goes daily to his desk in the Northwestern National Bank, of which he is president, and to the offices of the Pillsbury-Washburn Milling Company, in both of which corporations his wise business counsel is eagerly sought and thoroughly appreciated.

WHEELLOCK, JOSEPH A.—The name of Joseph A. Wheelock, for twenty-one years editor-in-chief of the *Pioneer Press*, is familiar to everyone conversant to any degree with the personnel of American journalism. Associated with the newspapers of Minnesota during the latter half of the century, he has given to Northwestern journalism and Northwestern Republicanism, through the paper of his creation, a standard which has been and must continue to be invaluable. As no single factor in the political activity of a country is more potent than its newspapers, the history of a party is to a great extent bound up in the representatives of its leading journals. The main position taken by a prominent newspaper, which speaks at once to and for the people, is doubly significant, and while the precise nature of the influence of the modern newspaper is difficult to determine, it is vastly important; and an adequate study of the development of a party in any given section must necessarily include a review of the attitude maintained by its leading newspapers. Therefore, although not conspicuously identified by name and office with the activity of the Republican party in the Northwest, Mr. Wheelock is nevertheless bound by the closest and finest ties to its history. A pioneer among Western editors, he is to be rated among the makers of the state as truly as the men who did their work in the more blatant arena of the legislature or the more conspicuous field of administrative government.

Joseph A. Wheelock was born at Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, Feb. 8, 1831. He was educated at Sackville Academy, and came to Minnesota in 1850 at the age of nineteen. He began his business life as a clerk in a sutler's store at Mendota, then a lively trading post. In 1856 he became editor of the *Real Estate and Financial Advertiser*, published in St. Paul, and in 1858 he was attached to the editorial staff of the *St. Paul Pioneer*, where he remained for two years. In 1861 he was appointed commissioner of statistics for Minnesota, being the first to occupy that position. The report compiled by him during his two years of service in this capacity was the first important collection of Minnesota statistics ever published, and is still a valuable work of reference, containing as it does an analysis of Minnesota's position in the plan of continental development, a careful outline of its physical characteristics and comparative geography, and an exhaustive statement of its resources as ascertainable at that time. The character of this book is something more than statistical, for it reveals the discrimination and far-seeing judgment of the man who saw Minnesota's great possibilities and from them argued her mighty future.

In 1861 Mr. Wheelock was married to Miss Kate French, daughter of Theodore French of Concord, N. H. At about the same period he, in association with Hon. William R. Marshall, founded the *St. Paul Press*, and thus

began his actual editorial career. He continued editor-in-chief of the *Press* up to the time and after its union with the *Pioneer*, and his work in this capacity established his reputation in journalism and gave the Northwest its first great newspaper. The staunch Republican position adopted and maintained by the *Press* at the beginning of the war was the keynote of its future. From 1871 to 1875 Mr. Wheelock held the office of postmaster at St. Paul. Although with the exception of this term and the appointment as commissioner of statistics he has not held



JOSEPH A. WHEELOCK.

office in the state of his adoption, he nevertheless figured actively in some of the exciting crises of St. Paul's early history. In those days which test the mettle of a community and frequently decide whether brute force or intelligence shall rule, the young Nova Scotian stood with his associates for the finer element in public affairs. The force of his personality, proud, incisive, and indomitable, made a lasting impression on his contemporaries. Although he enjoyed the advantages of education and a favorable environment in youth, he is yet to be regarded as

a self-made man in the best sense, namely, through native ability, integrity, and force. Among the important services Mr. Wheelock has rendered to St. Paul, outside his profession, is his work on the park board of the city, of which he has been an active member for years. To his active, untiring, yet judicious interest, St. Paul owes some of the most important improvements in its admirable park system.

Into the paper whose fortunes he has molded, however, the subject of this sketch has put his life-work. In its history we read the character of the man. Mr. Wheelock's qualities, those which have made him a marked figure in the history of his city and state, are honesty, fearlessness, and confidence,—honesty of mind, fearlessness of conviction, confidence in the cause of the right. These qualities, backed by a remarkable intellectual equipment and combined with literary discernment and independence, are the essentials of creative journalism. As a thinker, Mr. Wheelock is logical, clear, and incisive. As a writer, he has a trenchant, polished style, rising to eloquence at times, and touched not infrequently with needful sarcasm. He is as fearless a fighter of shams as he is a supporter of the truth. Staunchly Republican in his convictions, he is, as an editor, broad in his sympathies and candid in his appreciation of his opponent's claims. Both as editor and citizen his labors in the community have had an indelible influence for progress and enlightenment.

The history of the *Pioneer Press* involves the history of its predecessors and progenitors. The *Pioneer*, of Democratic traditions, was founded in 1849, and had James M. Goodhue and Earle S. Goodrich as its successive editors. The *Press*, although not established under that name until 1861, was descended from the *Minnesotian*, which was founded in 1852. The consolidation of the two papers was effected in 1875, the first number appearing April 11th. Later in the same year the *Minneapolis Tribune* was incorporated with the *Pioneer Press*. The political history of the paper is identical with that of the party in the Northwest. It has given the dominant note to Northwestern Republicanism as well as Northwestern journalism. Its political tone has been high and clean; its policy broad and candid. As a teacher of sound finance it is not too much to say that the *Pioneer Press* has stood abreast with the oldest and ablest papers in the United States. It has done more than any other one agency in the Northwest to combat erratic and superficial financial doctrines. It is equally sound on sociological questions, and in all religious and philanthropic issues it has maintained a dignified and tolerant position. Locally it has been a powerful agent in the development of the city, and has been constant in its advocacy of municipal reforms and public improvements.

DUNNELL, MARK H.—One of the most commanding figures in the arena of Minnesota politics was, for more than a score of years, Mark H. Dunnell of Owatonna. A sturdy man, intellectually and physically, and industrious and ambitious, with a good talent for stump oratory and parliamentary debate, he obtained a firm grasp on national and state issues and impressed himself strongly on Washington legislative circles and on political thought at home. He was born in Buxton, Me., July 2, 1823, graduated in 1849 from Colby University, and for five years was principal of academies at Norway and Hebron, Me. In 1854 he was a member of the Maine House, and in 1855 he was a member of the Maine Senate. From 1855 to 1860 he was superintendent of common schools in that state, with the exception of 1856. In 1856 he was a delegate to the first national convention of the Republican party, which assembled in Philadelphia and nominated John C. Fremont for President. In 1860 he opened a law office in Portland. He helped raise a regiment in 1861, and was commissioned colonel of the Fifth Maine Infantry. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him consul at Vera Cruz. He resigned that post in 1862, and coming to Minnesota in 1865 settled in Winona, and began the practice of law. It did not take him long to gain recognition in the politics of the new state, and in 1867 he was elected to the legislature. After serving one session in the House he was appointed state superintendent of public instruction, and held that office until 1870, when he was elected to Congress from the First district.

Mr. Dunnell served continuously in Congress for twelve years, and became one of the few members of long service from the West. He took high rank as a debater and a practical legislator, and was the associate and friend of the leading statesmen in both branches of Congress. After 1883 he was out of public life for six years. Then his constituents returned him to the House for the Fifty-first Congress. He was succeeded by a Democrat, and retired finally to private life, continuing to reside at Owatonna, though spending his winters in Washington, transacting legal business before the courts and in the departments. At the age of seventy-three he is still an active and robust man.



FLOWER, MARK D.—In tracing the history of Gen. Mark D. Flower of St. Paul, we recount the services of one of Minnesota's favorite sons. He was born in Chagrin Falls, Ohio, March 31, 1842, on what is known as the famous Western Reserve. His father, M. T. C. Flower, came to Minnesota in the territorial period of 1855, settling in Meriden, Steele county. He was the first settler in that town, and his nearest neighbor was at Owa-

tonna, twelve miles distant. He is in comfortable circumstances, and now lives a retired life at the advanced age of eighty-three years. M. T. C. Flower's ancestors settled in Massachusetts in 1635. His grandfather served with credit in the War of the Revolution. A very similar ancestral record attaches to Cybele B. Flower, General Flower's mother. Her grandfather served three years in the Continental Army during the struggle for American independence, and her father, Col. John Brooks of Ohio, served with distinction in the War of 1812.

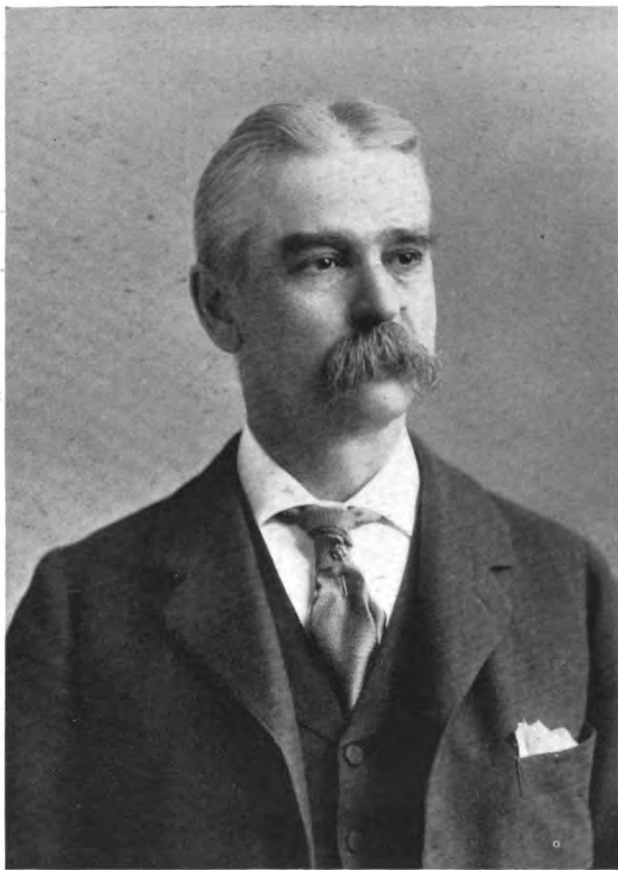


MARK H. DUNNELL.

Mark D. Flower, the subject of this sketch, came to Minnesota with his parents in 1855, when he was thirteen years of age. He is, therefore, one of the earliest settlers of the state. In 1857 he was sent to the Aurora Institute at Aurora, Ill. It was an academy of high standing, and he remained there until the 13th of April, 1861, the day Fort Sumter was fired upon. He would have graduated in June of that year, but duty called him, and on April 14th,—the day following the beginning of hostilities,—he enlisted in Company C of the Seventh Illinois Volunteer Infantry, the first regiment raised in Illinois for the War of the Re-

bellion. When his term of enlistment expired in the Seventh he re-enlisted for three years of the war, in the Thirty-sixth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, serving in many of the important campaigns in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama.

In December, 1863, General Sherman organized the First Brigade of Memphis (Tenn.) Enrolled Militia, consisting of four regiments of infantry, a company of cavalry, and one battery of artillery. This force was enrolled largely from employes of the quartermaster, commissary, and other departments of the government stationed there, supplemented



MARK D. FLOWER.

by citizens of Memphis who were liable to military service, that city being under semi-martial law. Of this force General Sherman appointed Mr. Flower adjutant general, with the rank of captain in said organization. The brigade was well organized and equipped, very efficient in supporting the regular forces of the government, and in repelling the raid of General Forrest it rendered signal services that were acknowledged, in special orders, by General Sherman. In July, 1865, Captain Flower retired from the army, having served continuously, save a brief period between enlistments, from April 14, 1861.

His interest in political matters was first manifested when, as a child, he attended the fervid and inspiring campaign meetings of Joshua R. Giddings and Tom Corwin in Ohio. After his retirement from the army and return to Minnesota in August, 1865, he engaged in the hotel business at Mankato. A little later he became interested quite extensively in the flouring business, continuing therein until 1869. In March, 1870, he was appointed adjutant general of the State of Minnesota to succeed Gen. H. P. Van Cleave. He held that office until November, 1875, when he resigned to engage in the grain and transportation business. Having become owner of a steamboat and a fleet of barges, he operated them on the Mississippi river and its tributary streams with fair success until 1877, at which time all his boat property was destroyed in a cyclone on the Yellowstone river, where he was engaged in carrying out a government transportation contract. Thus, in a moment, were the savings of years swept away. As the Yellowstone country was at that time involved in war with Sitting Bull, no insurance could be had, and the whole loss fell upon the general, leaving him a financial wreck. Returning to St. Paul he engaged with accustomed energy in the political campaign that was then raging, and was at once elected secretary of the Republican state central committee. He held this position two terms, and was also elected chairman of the executive committee. When General Flower retired from the adjutant general's office it was his firm intention to eschew politics (with which he had always been prominently identified) and devote himself to business pursuits; but, having lost all his means, he was forced temporarily to accept any position that would yield him a living, and so, pushing into politics as an open field, he again became one of the leaders in the state arena. His political campaigns were marked by energy, keen perception, good judgment, and signal victory at the polls. In the twentieth and twenty-first sessions of the legislature, in 1878-79, he was elected chief clerk of the House. In April, 1879, he was appointed deputy collector of customs of the port of St. Paul, a position he filled with credit and ability. Before his term of office expired, President Arthur appointed him supervising inspector of steam vessels for the Fifth United States district. He held this office until Mr. Cleveland's first accession to the Presidency, when he was removed for offensive partisanship, which he has always considered creditable, and which he does not attempt to palliate. When President Harrison assumed the reins of government he at once reappointed General Flower to his old position, but the general respectfully declined it. He was weary of office-holding (which, by the way, he never sought except as a candidate for the chief clerkship of the Minnesota House of Representatives), and once more turned his attention to more prosaic business matters. Throughout all

his political career General Flower has been a staunch Republican. He believes in the teachings of his party, and is proud of its brilliant record. He cast his first vote while in the army. It was for the immortal Lincoln. In Minnesota he has been the warm personal friend, confidant, and ally of William Windom, Horace Austin, C. K. Davis, A. R. McGill, and Henry A. Castle, and has always fought their battles with courage, honor, and ability. His career as a politician has been honorable and trustworthy; his position on every political question has been frank, courageous, and manly. He has never been guilty of double-dealing, and he ranks among the ablest political leaders of the state.

In the winter of 1886 President A. B. Stickney made General Flower the general claim agent of the Chicago Great Western Railway Company. He continued in that position until 1890, at which time he was elected president and manager of the St. Paul Union Stock Yards Company, which position he still occupies. He is a member of the commercial club of St. Paul, a director in the St. Paul chamber of commerce, secretary and director of the South St. Paul Belt Railroad Company, director and member of the executive committee of the Interstate Investment Trust, and a director of the United States Saving and Loan Company. He is an able and successful business man, and has a genial nature that endears him to all with whom he comes in contact. While stationed at Memphis, Tenn., in October, 1864, he married Miss Lena Guthertz, a sister of Carl Guthertz, the noted artist, an accomplished and most estimable lady who still lives to bless and brighten the general's beautiful home.



HUBBARD, CLARENCE A.—C. A. Hubbard is one of the most active and successful business men in Lake City, and has been warmly interested in Republican politics ever since he became a voter. He was born in Ingham county, Michigan, Nov. 4, 1844. In his childhood he attended school in Lansing, Mich., and when he was nine years old his family removed to Winona, Minn., where he attended public and private schools until the opening of the first normal school in that city. In that institution he studied, and from it he graduated in 1862. He was then eighteen years old, and was therefore just eligible by age for a soldier. He lost no time in enlisting. The Sioux war was at that time raging on all the western border of the newly settled districts of the state, and there was much more urgent need of men in the field to protect the homes of the settlers and to chastise the savages than to go South and recruit the armies engaged in the great struggle with the Rebellion. Young Hubbard became a member of Company G, Eighth Minnesota Infantry. His

regiment made an active campaign against the Sioux, and he was one of the historic party sent to the relief of Fort Abercrombie. In 1863 he was placed on the noncommissioned staff of Gen. Stephen Miller, commandant at Fort Snelling, and later on that of Gen. R. N. McLaren, Miller's successor. Subsequently he became a member of the staff of Gen. H. H. Sibley, commanding the Department of the Northwest, with headquarters at St. Paul. He remained with General Sibley until the close of the Civil War, returning to private life in July, 1865.



CLARENCE A. HUBBARD.

Mr. Hubbard selected Lake City as his home, and soon embarked in the flour and grain business in a small way. He was moderately successful, and sold out in 1869 to enter the private banking house of C. W. Hackett & Co. This bank was afterwards incorporated under state laws, with Mr. Hubbard as cashier, as the Lake City Bank of Minnesota. This position Mr. Hubbard has ever since held. The removal of Captain Hackett to St. Paul, where he is now one of the leading jobbing merchants, left the cashier with enlarged responsibilities, and he is now known as one of the prominent country bankers of the state.

Mr. Hubbard has been mayor of Lake City and a member of the board of education. While mayor, at the request of Governor McGill and Adjutant General Seeley, he located Lakeview, the site of the annual encampment of the National Guard of Minnesota, and was largely instrumental in securing its purchase and presentation to the state. This is one of the finest camp grounds in the country, and the yearly encampment of the state troops, reinforced in some years by the regulars from Fort Snelling, is of great business advantage to Lake City.



JAMES E. BENHAM.

Mr. Hubbard is a member of Major Doughty Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of which he was the first commander. He is a member of the First Congregational Church of Lake City. In the Masonic order he is prominent and active, belonging to the following named bodies at Lake City: Carnelian Lodge, No. 40; Hope Chapter, No. 12; Lake City Commandery, No. 6, Knights Templar; has been worshipful master of the lodge; is the present high priest of the chapter, and was for five consecutive years eminent commander of the commandery. He is also a member of the Masonic Veteran Association of Minnesota, of the

Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Minnesota (of which he is a past grand captain general), and of Ozman Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, and is a charter member of a local chapter of the Order of Eastern Star.

Mr. Hubbard comes of New York State ancestry. His father was John I. Hubbard, and his mother's maiden name was Lucy L. Smith. Both were natives of the Empire State. His wife, Helen Blanchard Hubbard, is also a native of that state. He has two children—a son, William A., and a daughter, Florence. The Hubbards have a pleasant home in Lake City, and are prominent in the social, educational, and religious life of the place.



BENHAM, JAMES ELLSWORTH.—Ellsworth Benham, the present city attorney of Duluth, was born on a farm near Lebanon, Ohio, May 24, 1861, the day Colonel Ellsworth was killed, for whom he was named by his grandfather. His father and mother were both natives of Lebanon, and are lineal descendants of the early Dutch settlers of 1628. A number of them were active participators in the Revolutionary War, and James I. Benham, the father of Ellsworth, was a soldier in the War of the Rebellion. When a boy Ellsworth attended the local country school until he was fourteen, and then went to the National Normal University at Lebanon, from which he was graduated at nineteen with the degree of B. S. and B. A. Then he taught a country school near Anderson, Ind., for a year, after which he went to Moscow, Tex., to go into the lumber business with his father, remaining there until February, 1883, when he returned to Lebanon, and taught school the three years following. He studied law in the meantime, and after a year's attendance at the law school in Lebanon, was admitted to the bar in August, 1886, and opened a law office in Lebanon in January, 1887. But to a young man of Mr. Benham's active temperament, a law practice in a town the size of Lebanon did not offer the remuneration or the opportunities for advancement that an ambitious young man is looking for, so he commenced to cast about for a new location, and on Christmas day, 1890, less than four years after he launched out for himself, he arrived in Duluth to look the ground over, familiarize himself with the situation, and to remain if he was satisfied. The intended stay of a few weeks was protracted to several months, and the following September he decided to reside in Duluth permanently. He opened a law office, and has followed his profession ever since, vastly more successful, it may be said, than are most young men. He inherited a natural taste for politics. Both his father and grandfather were active in politics in Ohio, and Lebanon, their home, was the political hot-bed of Ohio. In the campaign of 1883, when only twenty-two years of age, Ells-

worth was a member of the county committee and took the stump in the state campaign for the Republican ticket. In the campaign of 1885 he was chairman of the county committee and of the executive committee, both of which positions he held until he left the state in the fall of 1890. In the fall of 1887 he was appointed county auditor, a position which he held until he came to Duluth. The first campaign in Minnesota after his location at Duluth was in the fall of 1892 when Judge Searle was a candidate for Congress from the Sixth district, and in that campaign Mr. Benham did effective work for the Republican ticket. In April, 1894, he was made assistant city attorney under Judge Page Morris, and held that position until the end of Judge Morris's term. In March, 1896, he was elected city attorney of Duluth, and on July 1, 1896, he was unanimously chosen chairman of the Republican state convention held in St. Paul, an honor seldom accorded to so young a man. In assuming the duties of city attorney of Duluth he inherited from the preceding administration the now celebrated waterworks cases, which have been the bone of contention between the city and the waterworks company for several years, but which culminated the past summer in Mr. Benham's applying to the attorney general of the state to begin quo warranto proceedings against the waterworks company to have their charter forfeited. In these cases he has met some of the ablest counsel in the state, and the admirable manner in which he has handled the interests of the city of Duluth has won for him unstinted praise from people of all political parties, and fully justified the faith his admirers and friends have in his ability.

In February, 1883, Mr. Benham was married to Miss Etta M. French, at Wakeman, Ohio. He is a Knight Templar Mason and past chancellor of the Knights of Pythias Lodge of Duluth. He is also a member of the Endion Club, one of the successful new business men's clubs in Minnesota.



SMITH, BENJAMIN DAYTON.—Though only thirty-six years of age, Mr. Smith has accomplished more in his chosen profession, and has attained more prominence as a citizen generally, than is common to most men of his years. He was born May 27, 1860, at the little village of Vernon Centre, Blue Earth county, Minnesota, and is the son of John S. Smith and Mary Dayton Smith, both former residents of Ohio, who came to Minnesota in 1857, and, with Col. Benjamin F. Smith, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, founded the little town of Vernon Centre in 1857, and established a general merchandise store, saw-mill, and hotel. Benjamin F. Smith was a prominent man in Ohio before coming to Minnesota, and was one of three brothers, each of whom became a distinguished man in this state. One of these brothers, who is

now a resident of St. Paul, is James Smith, Jr., who for many years was president and general counselor of the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad. The other is Dr. Vespasian Smith, an eminent physician of Duluth. Previous to his residence in this state, Colonel Smith was a conspicuous figure in political and business circles in Ohio. At the breaking out of the war he organized a cavalry company, but before going to the front he was made lieutenant colonel of the Third Minnesota Infantry Regiment. He contracted malaria and was released from duty at the front and placed in command of Fort Snelling, which position he held until

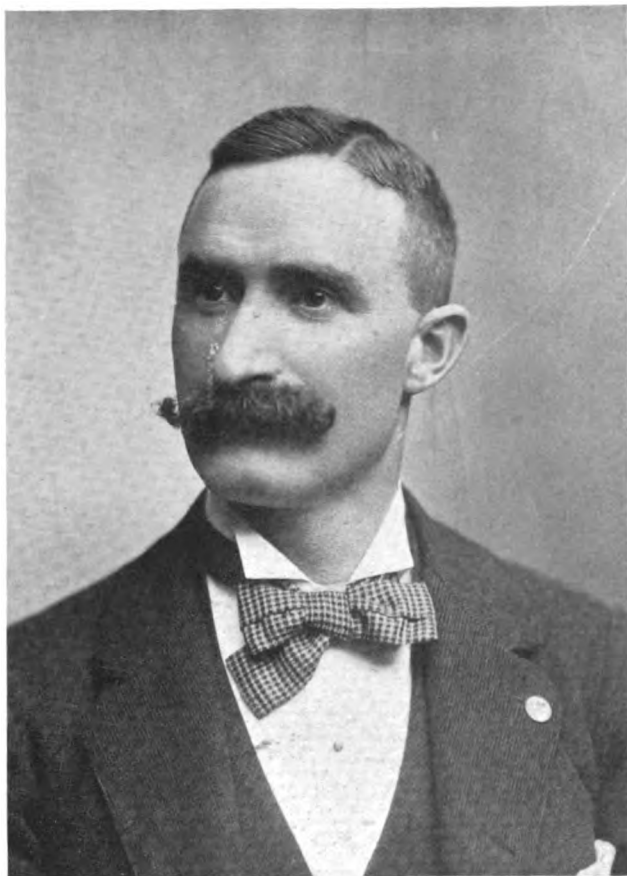


BENJAMIN D. SMITH.

near the close of the war. At various times he was register of deeds of Blue Earth county, served in the State Senate from that county, and was register of the United States Land Office at Redwood Falls for four years. He was a member of the Ohio legislature before coming to Minnesota. He died at Mankato in December, 1891, at the age of eighty-one years. Because of an accident which incapacitated him for military service, John S. Smith, father of Benjamin D. Smith, remained in charge of affairs at Vernon Centre until the breaking out of the Sioux war in 1862, when their location, about midway between the

Winnebagoes and the Sioux, made a residence in that part of Minnesota dangerous, and he, with the other inhabitants of the village, drove across the country to Owatonna, and, after remaining there a short time, went back to Martinsburg, Ohio, where he remained until December, 1866, and then returned to Blue Earth county, Minnesota, where he has since resided.

Benjamin D. attended the common schools of Blue Earth county until the age of seventeen, when he entered the state normal school at Mankato, took an advanced course,



SAMUEL F. FULLERTON.

and graduated in 1880. Then he taught in the public schools at Henderson, Minn., for one year, after which he returned to Mankato and commenced the active study of law in Freeman & Pfau's law office. He was admitted to the bar in December, 1883. In 1884 he opened a law office and began the practice of law in Mankato, a practice which he has continued ever since. In the fall of 1886 he was elected county attorney for Blue Earth county, to which office he was reelected in 1888. He has had charge of many important cases, and stands in the front rank of Minnesota lawyers.

He has been president of the Mankato Normal School Alumni Association; also of the Mankato Social Science Club, an active and successful association, composed of forty leading professional and business men of Mankato, organized for the discussion of social and economic questions. At present he is a member of the head board of directors of the Modern Woodmen of America.

Though Mr. Smith's active political career began in 1886, when he was elected county attorney, it would be hard to say when he first began taking an interest in politics. Even as a boy he was active in local campaigns; and since he attained his majority, he has been a leader among the Republicans of Blue Earth county. He has been chairman of the Republican county committee, and a member of the Republican state central committee for two years. When the State League of Republican Clubs was organized, he was made the executive member of the league from Blue Earth county, a position which he still occupies. He was a candidate for the nomination for attorney general before the last Republican state convention.

Sept. 15, 1892, Mr. Smith was married at Oakham, Mass., to Miss Alice W. Ayres, an accomplished and highly educated woman, who has a bachelor of science degree from Wellesley College, from which she graduated with the class of 1883. They have two children, and live in a beautiful home on one of the most attractive streets in Mankato.



FULLERTON, SAMUEL F.—S. F. Fullerton was born Feb. 2, 1858, in the village of Charlemont, North of Ireland, the historical spot where King James the Second of England made his last stand in front of King William.

Mr. Fullerton, losing his father and mother when a boy, came to this country in 1873, landing in New York. Stopping with friends in Brooklyn and New York for about a year, he then went to Canada. He left Canada for Duluth in 1879, and he has resided in Duluth ever since.

Having identified himself with the Republican party, he has never seen any cause for change. In February, 1895, Governor Clough appointed him one of the members of the state game and fish commission. At their first meeting he was elected executive agent, which position he still holds. As the Minnesota State Game and Fish Commission is in control of one of the most important departments of the commonwealth, it goes without saying that the men appointed to it must possess certain high qualifications. The fact that the subject of this sketch was made not only a member of the commission but elected its chief executive agent as well, shows that he is eminently fitted to discharge the duties of that responsible position.

WARNER, ELI S.—The subject of this sketch is so well known in St. Paul and throughout Minnesota that to write a biography of him almost seems like repeating a well-known story. He is a Minnesotan by birth; and, though only forty years of age, he has made an excellent record in business and politics. He was born on a farm in Olmsted county near Rochester, Minn., June 6, 1856. His father and mother were both born and raised in New York and are of English ancestry. Before Eli was a year old his father left Olmsted county and located at Garden City, in Blue Earth county, where he preëmpted land and took a homestead, which he still owns. For the past fifteen years he has been engaged in the general merchandise business at Garden City. Though an active political worker and influential in the ranks of the Republican party, he never sought any public office and never held any office outside of a position on the school board and local municipal offices. Eli S. received his early education in a district school in Blue Earth county, which he attended in the winters, working on the farm summers. This was supplemented by a finishing course in the Garden City high school. When Gen. James H. Baker was elected railroad commissioner of Minnesota, in 1882, he made Mr. Warner his secretary. He held this position for three years, or until the office of railroad commissioner gave place to the board of railroad and warehouse commissioners by the enactment of the legislature of 1885. Mr. Warner became secretary of this new board,—the first board of railroad and warehouse commissioners in Minnesota,—and held the position until Jan. 1, 1889, when he resigned to take the management of the St. Paul White Lead and Oil Works, in which position he remained five years. At the beginning of 1894 he sold out his interest in the White Lead and Oil Company and became the manager of the Twin City Varnish and Japan Company until July, 1895. The following September he was made state manager for the Iowa Life Insurance Company, with headquarters in St. Paul, and holds that position now.

He has always been an ardent Republican. He is frank and outspoken in his political views, and one always knows where to find him. Before he was old enough to vote, he was an influential figure in county politics in Blue Earth county, and in the campaign of 1876 he was an active worker for the Republican state, congressional, and county tickets. Almost as soon as he became of age he was made town clerk at Garden City. In the fall of 1884 he was elected from Blue Earth county to the state legislature, and though only twenty-eight years of age he made an enviable record during that session. He was appointed on several of the most important committees, among them being the railroad and finance committees. It was during this legislative session that the first bill was introduced providing for a board of railroad and warehouse commissioners

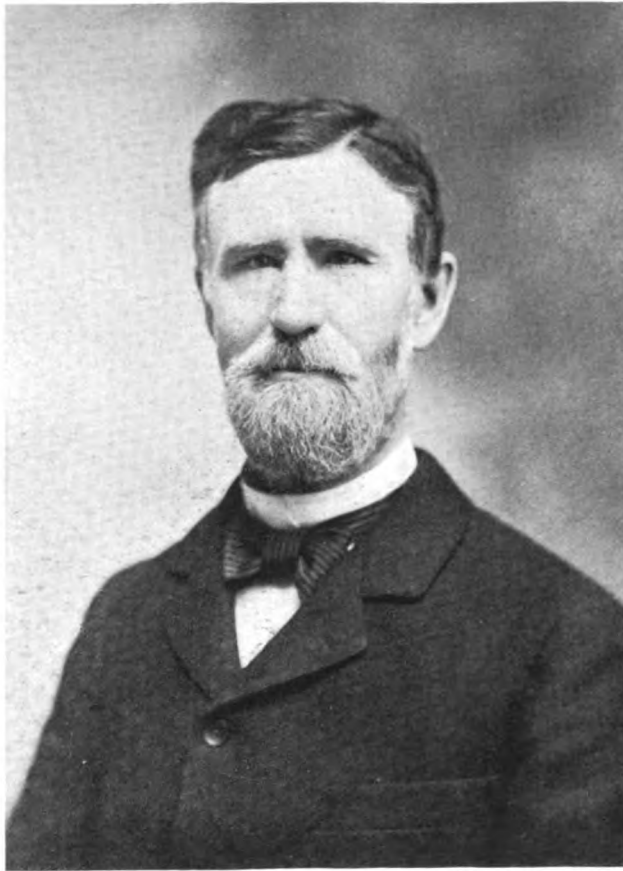
in Minnesota. This bill was introduced by Mr. Warner, and though it was not passed exactly as introduced, all the best features of the law that was passed were taken from his bill. While Mr. Warner was secretary for General Baker he made a study of the railroad laws of the different states, and in framing his bill he took the best from each state. It was during this same session that, at the request of the breeders of high-grade stock in Minnesota, he introduced and had passed the bill making the service of domestic animals a lien on the offspring. He also introduced and had passed the bill for extension of the time for build-



ELI S. WARNER.

ing the Mankato, Austin & St. Cloud Railroad. The first and only money ever received by Blue Earth county for the construction of bridges was secured by him during this legislative session. At the close of the legislature of 1885, when the new board of railroad and warehouse commissioners commenced operations, they appealed to Mr. Warner to take the position of secretary of the board, because of the good service he had rendered in a similar position under General Baker, and because he was practically the only man in the state who had sufficient knowledge of the railroad and warehouse business to enable the board to

be of immediate service to the grain-raisers of Minnesota. It was while he was secretary to General Baker that something like \$100,000 in back taxes was collected from the railroads in the state under the gross earnings tax system. Few, if any, men in Minnesota have the personal acquaintance throughout the state that Mr. Warner has. It could almost be said that there is no public man of note in the state with whom he is not personally acquainted. In the fall of 1894 he was elected to the legislature from the Seventh ward in St. Paul, and on the assembling of the legis-



DANIEL SINCLAIR.

lature, Jan. 1, 1895, he was made chairman of the Ramsey county delegation. In the Washburn-Nelson senatorial contest that followed, he was an active and influential Nelson man, and cut no small figure in Nelson's success as a candidate before the legislature. During this session he was chairman of the committee on public buildings, which, together with his position as chairman of the Ramsey county delegation, and the fact that the capitol fight was on, made him the acknowledged leader on the floor of the House in all matters affecting St. Paul and Ramsey county. During this session he was a member of the finance, appropriation,

and municipal legislation committees, and was also on the committee on corporations other than municipal. As chairman of the Ramsey county delegation he introduced the capitol bill in the lower House. He also introduced and had passed the bill creating the position of commissioner of public works, to take the place of the old board of public works in the city of St. Paul. He also introduced and had passed the bill reducing the salaries of county and city officials in Ramsey county and St. Paul. In March, 1896, he was chosen president of the State League of Republican Clubs, which has a membership of 180 active clubs. He is at present chairman of the Republican state central committee and manager of the campaign of 1896.

In November, 1876, Mr. Warner was married to Miss Anna F. Walker, at Mankato. He has a family of three children—two boys and one girl. He is a member of the Elks, a Blue Lodge Mason, a Knight of Pythias, and is now quartermaster in the Uniform Rank of the Knights of Pythias Lodges of Minnesota.



SINCLAIR, DANIEL.—Daniel Sinclair, the first president of the Minnesota Editorial Association, was a most worthy selection, being one of the earliest editors of the state, and one who has won high position in his profession by his ability, integrity, and perseverance. Mr. Sinclair was born Jan. 12, 1833, at Thurso, Caithness-shire, Scotland, and was educated in the common and grammar schools of his native town. The death of his father when he was five years of age left him to work his own way in the world, and ever since he was fourteen he has cared for himself. The two years from fourteen to sixteen he spent in Edinburgh, Scotland, and in portions of England, and at the age of sixteen he came to this country, first locating at Meadville, Pa. He learned the printer's trade in the office of the *Crawford Journal*, at Meadville, and when twenty years old he had, by his own industry and prudence, saved enough to enable him to purchase an interest in the *Conneautville (Pa.) Courier*, which paper he edited for fifteen months. After seven years' residence in Pennsylvania he removed, at the age of twenty-three, to Minnesota, and in June, 1856, located at Winona, where he has ever since resided. He at once took the position of editor of the *Winona Republican*, and for forty years has been continuously in that work. With possibly one exception, he has had the longest continuous editorial service of any man in the state.

Aug. 25, 1855, Mr. Sinclair was married to Miss Melissa Jane Briggs, and besides his wife, has three daughters living, one of them being Mrs. Wm. E. Smith, who has two sons. His only son died at the age of twelve, and he has also suffered the loss of two daughters.

He has never been a candidate for an elective office, but without any personal solicitation on his part was appointed by President Grant postmaster of Winona, May 16, 1869, and held the position until July 1, 1885, a period of sixteen years. Again without any personal effort he was appointed to the same position by President Harrison, July 1, 1890, and occupied that post until Sept. 1, 1894, when a change of administration led to his retirement.

Mr. Sinclair was never a violent partisan, but politically has always been an earnest Republican, and was sent as a delegate at large to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1880, and chosen chairman of the delegation. He supported the late Hon. Wm. Windom of this state for the presidential nomination until the break came, when he voted for General Grant. It was well understood that General Grant was his second choice, and that his vote would go in that direction should Mr. Windom's name be withdrawn. He was one of the famous "306" who went down with the Grant flag, and was presented with one of the medals issued to those who went on record for Grant upon the last ballot.

An able and dignified writer, always conservative and judicial in the expression of his views, he has made the *Republican* one of the most influential daily papers in the state, commanding attention and respect by his utterances far beyond the scope ordinarily secured by journals in larger fields. He has had for years, and still continues to wield, a great influence in shaping the political affairs of the state, and in advancing the business and industrial interests of Winona and Southern Minnesota has rendered a service which, while recognized, can never be repaid by the community which has been blessed by his life labors.



CAREY, JOHN R.—John R. Carey, United States commissioner, was born at Bangor, Me., March 3, 1830.

His father, John C. Carey, was a lumberman and merchant of Scotch-Irish descent, and came to Maine from New Brunswick. Mr. Carey's mother, originally Miss Julia Terry, was of English descent and hailed also from New Brunswick. Mr. Carey, senior, died when the subject of this sketch was fourteen years old, and his mother operated the lumbering and mercantile interests for four years. During these four years Mr. Carey continued in the public schools of Bangor. At eighteen he went to his uncle, brother of his father, at New Britain, Hartford county, Connecticut, where he graduated from the high school of that place. In 1853 he formed a part of a New England colony, composed of eighty-five persons, and emigrated to St. Paul, Minn., it being the intention of the colonists to take up tracts of government lands in the new territory and engage in extensive farming. The colony came by way of Chicago and Galena,

at which latter place they took passage on the old stern-wheel steamboat *Clarion*, which years afterward sunk in the Minnesota river. The point selected by the colony for locating their farms was at the mouth of the Cannon river, near the present location of Faribault. They were disappointed in their expectations as to getting government land for farms, speculators having monopolized the land; so many of them returned to New England. Those who remained in the territory divided up, some remaining in St. Paul, others going to Stillwater, St. Anthony Falls, St.



JOHN R. CAREY.

Peter, and other localities. Dr. Humphrey, the only physician in the party, located at Yellow Medicine Indian Agency, where he was afterward killed by the Indians. Mantorville, Dodge county, was named for one of the party, who located on that spot.

Mr. Carey became clerk and foreman in the shoe house of Luke Marvin, who was then doing a flourishing wholesale and retail business on East Third street, St. Paul. In September, 1854, he was married to Miss Hannah E. Terry, who had come from York State before his arrival. He had voted twice in Connecticut, both times the Democratic

ticket, the first vote being for Franklin Pierce for President of the United States, and the second for Thos. H. Seymour, who was elected governor of Connecticut. He cast his first Republican vote after his arrival in Minnesota, voting in the spring of 1855 for Wm. R. Marshall, candidate for mayor of St. Paul.

Mr. Carey left St. Paul, May 12, 1855, for the head of Lake Superior, and located at Superior, then supposed to be the coming city of the Northwest. He went by way of Galena, Chicago, and the Great Lakes, landing at Superior



EDWARD B. ZIER.

June 12th. There he engaged in the boot and shoe business, taking with him a stock from Chicago. He took a squatter's claim on unsurveyed land on the Minnesota side of the bay, between what is now Duluth and West Duluth. By virtue of his squatter's right and claim of residence in Minnesota he voted for Wm. R. Marshall for delegate to Congress. This was the first election held in St. Louis county, and but 114 votes were cast, only nine of which were Republican. He afterward abandoned his claim of residence in Minnesota, and continued his home in Superior. In 1856 he voted for Fremont and Dayton. In 1857 he left

Superior and located in Oneota, now a part of Duluth, and engaged in the lumber business, he having been driven from Superior by the great business depression of that year.

In 1859 he was elected judge of probate of St. Louis county, and was reëlected four successive terms, going out of that office in 1871. During a part of these years he studied law, and in 1869 he was elected clerk of the district court, holding this office in addition to the office of probate judge. He was clerk of the court twelve years, and resigned during his last term, which was in 1882, to accept the office of register of the United States land office at Duluth. Among the other honors conferred upon him was that of Federal court commissioner, which office he now holds, he being appointed to that position in 1862 by Judge Nelson. In 1864, and again in 1865, he was nominated at the Republican convention, held at St. Cloud, as a Republican candidate for the legislature. The district was overwhelmingly Democratic, and he was defeated both times. While district clerk he was elected city justice of Duluth, holding one term. He stepped out of the land office in 1885.

Since 1885 he has remained practically out of politics, but has continued to do good party service in the interests of other candidates for office.

Mr. and Mrs. Carey have six children.



ZIER, EDWARD B.—Edward B. Zier, one of the leading Republicans of Minneapolis, was born May 19, 1857, at New Albany, Ind. His father, M. Zier, was an iron manufacturer and steamboat builder at New Albany for more than forty years, and among his most notable achievements was the building of the famous steamboat "Robert E. Lee," the swiftest steamer that ever plowed the waters of the Mississippi river. Edward's father was born in Vienna, Austria, and his mother in Germany.

His early education was obtained in the public schools of New Albany. Studying for the profession of medicine, he graduated from the University of Louisville, and received his degree from the medical department of that institution before he was twenty-one years old. During the interval between the public schools and college, he served an apprenticeship under his father in the iron works, obtaining a general practical knowledge of the iron and boat-building business.

After receiving his degree of medicine, Dr. Zier spent four years in Europe, most of which time he devoted to the hospitals of Vienna, London, and other large cities of Europe, studying clinics under some of the greatest medical men of the century. In 1881 he arrived in Minneapolis, where he located and engaged in the practice of medicine,

gaining an enviable reputation in a short time. In 1884 he was married to Miss Minnie M. Harrison, daughter of the late Hon. T. A. Harrison, organizer and president of the Security Bank of Minneapolis.

Dr. Zier's father became a Republican upon his arrival in America, and has always remained in the ranks of that party; in fact, he came to this country through his love for republican institutions, and with the conviction that the Republican party was the safest and best exponent of those principles. He was a student at the Polytechnic Institute at Vienna, and to avoid conscription he disappeared and sailed for America. Dr. Zier has always been a Republican. He cast his first vote in Minneapolis, and has taken a quiet but active interest in politics ever since.

In 1888 Dr. Zier erected the Zier Row in Minneapolis, one of the finest structures in the Northwest, if not in the United States, the work being done under his personal supervision. He also owns several other large business and residence blocks in the Flour City.

In the fall of 1894 he was elected to represent the Thirty-second legislative district in the state legislature. This is perhaps the wealthiest and most populous legislative district in the state. He was opposed by Phillip B. Winston, ex-Mayor of Minneapolis, and one of the strongest men in the Democratic party. Dr. Zier's majority was 629 votes. In the following legislature he was made chairman of the manufacturing committee of the House, and chairman of the committee on crimes and punishments. Among his most notable accomplishments in the legislature was the introduction and carrying through of a bill for a constitutional amendment authorizing a board of pardons, the board to consist of the governor, chief justice of the supreme court, and the attorney general. The salvage corps law is another of his important measures. He also introduced and carried through the House a bill requiring banks to file public record in probate court of unknown depositors; but the bill failed in the Senate. He carried through the House Senator Potter's cattle and milk inspection bill, requiring local health authorities to inspect dairy cattle and milk; also, to inspect cows for tuberculosis. The bill was strongly opposed in the House by the state authorities, but Dr. Zier gave a scientific explanation of tuberculosis in cattle, the dangers of milk from such affected cattle, and for over an hour was listened to with much interest by the House. The measure was up for final passage, and up to this time the bill was badly defeated, every member having voted excepting Dr. Zier, his being the last name on the roll call. When he was through with his arguments in favor of the measure every negative vote was changed in favor of the bill, and it carried almost unanimously. Dr. Zier is still actively engaged in the practice of his profession.

REA, JOHN PATTERSON.—John P. Rea of Minneapolis is known so widely that a brief sketch of his life will prove unusually interesting. He was born in Lower Oxford township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, Oct. 13, 1840. His father, Samuel Andrew Rea, was a well-to-do woolen manufacturer of Chester county, and took a deep interest in political affairs. He never ran for office, but watched the trend of events closely and was a diligent reader and a great student. He was a son of John Rea, who served in the Revolutionary War from its beginning



JOHN P. REA.

to its end. This John Rea was a cousin of Capt. John Ray of the Continental Army, who was also a member of Congress and quite noted in the history of Western Pennsylvania. His mother was Mary Patterson, whose father served in the same regiment with his father. She was a first cousin of the late Gen. Robert Patterson of Philadelphia. Ann Light was the maiden name of John's mother. Her mother and father bore the same name, though they were not blood relations. Her paternal grandfather was Jacob Light, who settled on the present site of Cincinnati in 1790; her maternal grandfather was John Light, who

was secretary of the meeting that adopted the "Lebanon Resolves," indorsing the Boston patriots, in 1775. She died in 1886, in her seventy-second year.

John P. Rea, the subject of this sketch, attended the common schools and Hopewell Academy, near his old home, but got his education principally—as he himself states—while operating a set of carding machines in his father's factory. In 1865 he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, and in 1867 he graduated in the classical course. He was the prize essayist of his classes in both academy and college. The class of 1866 made him its president to sign the diplomas of its members from the Zetegathean Literary Society. He was on the program of every public literary entertainment given by his society while he was at the university, and he was also a member of the Zetegathean Society and of the Phi-Kappa-Psi Greek fraternity.

Mr. Rea's professional training began in Lancaster, Pa., where he studied law with Hon. O. J. Dickey, and was admitted to the bar in that city Aug. 8, 1868. In 1869 President Grant appointed him assessor of internal revenue. He continued to hold office until May 15, 1873, at which time he returned to the practice of law in Lancaster. In 1876 he removed to Minnesota and became editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, a position which he held until May, 1877. In November of the same year he was elected judge of probate for Hennepin county, and two years later he was honored with a second term, a third term being declined. In May, 1880, he was appointed judge of the district court for the Fourth judicial district of Minnesota, and in 1887 he was elected to the same office without opposition. He held this important position until July 1, 1890, when he resigned and resumed the practice of law in Minneapolis. The firms he has been a member of are named as follows: Rea & Hooker; Rea, Hooker & Wooley; Rea & Wooley; Rea, Wooley & Kitchel; Rea & Kitchel; Rea, Kitchel & Shaw; Rea, Miller & Torrence; Rea & Hubachek; and Rea, Hubachek & Healey.

When Judge Rea's war record is reached, a chapter begins which he has every reason to be proud of. April 16, 1861, he enlisted as a private in what became Company B of the Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He was commissioned second lieutenant of the First Ohio Volunteer Cavalry Sept. 23, 1861; was promoted to a first lieutenant March 12, 1862; was made a captain in April, 1863; was breveted major for gallantry in action at Cleveland, Tenn., Nov. 23, 1863, and was mustered out as senior captain of his regiment, by reason of the expiration of his term of enlistment, in November, 1864—a result which was due to broken health, though he still wished to remain in the service. John P. Rea was in every battle in which the Army of the Cumberland engaged from the date of its organization to the time he was mustered out, including many cavalry actions, and he never missed a fight in which his

command participated. He was absent from his command only seven days—and then he was a prisoner of war.

After the war he was the first captain of Company A, First Regiment Minnesota National Guards, for two years, and a brigadier general on Governor Hubbard's staff. He joined the Grand Army of the Republic in Ohio in December, 1866; was a delegate to the first Ohio department encampment; was a charter member of the Geo. H. Thomas Post, No. 84, of Lancaster, Pa., in 1867, and held nearly every office in the post, including that of commander; was at every department encampment of Pennsylvania until 1875; was a member of the council of administration of the Pennsylvania department and a delegate to the national encampment; was a charter member of the Geo. N. Morgan Post, No. 4, Department of Minnesota, when reorganized in 1880, and was its first commander; was senior vice commander of the Department of Minnesota in 1881-82 and department commander in 1883, and he was elected senior vice commander-in-chief in 1884 and commander-in-chief in 1887. He is also a member of the Loyal Legion. In 1888 he was junior vice commander of the Minnesota commandery. He was a member of the national council two years. In 1888-89 he was a member of the board of directors of the Gettysburg National Park, and he is now a member of the board of directors of the Vicksburg National Park.

With reference to Judge Rea's political affiliations, it may be said that, as a boy and young man, he was an ardent advocate of the anti-slavery cause and took the stump for the same in 1858. Excepting the time he spent in the army, he was found speaking in Pennsylvania during every year he lived in that state. He remained with the Republican party until 1892, when, on account of the economic legislation and financial policy of the party, he voted for Cleveland. Just now he is an advocate of bimetallism, he believing that the United States can adopt and sustain its own financial policy without the aid of foreign countries.

Judge Rea is a member of the Presbyterian Church, belongs to the Elks and the Phi-Kappa-Psi Inter-Collegiate Association, of the council of which he was president two years, and was married Oct. 26, 1869, to Emma M. Gould, daughter of A. R. Gould of Delaware, Ohio. She is a great-granddaughter of General Drake of Ohio. There are no children.



ESPY, JOHN.—Maj. John Espy, one of the foremost citizens of St. Paul, Minn., first saw the light of day in the historic Wyoming Valley at Nanticoke, Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, Sept. 21, 1842. His ancestral tree bears many renowned names. James P. Espy, the noted meteorologist, was duly commissioned by the United States War Department to prosecute his investiga-

tions in the Washington Observatory. Several volumes of his reports were published. While holding this office he instituted a service which consisted of daily bulletins respecting general atmospheric conditions. He may, indeed, be justly regarded as the founder of the now universal weather bureau system. M. Arago, the eminent French *savant*, says: "France has its Cuvier, England its Newton, America its Espy." The progenitors of the American branch of the family can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. George Espy, a native of the North of Ireland, settled in Derry township, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1729, and died in 1761. Josiah Espy came from the North of Ireland and settled in Hanover township, Lancaster county, where he died. George, a son of Josiah, was born in 1749, and was a soldier in the War of Independence. He married Mary Stewart, a sister of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, who fell at the battle of Wyoming—a region which for many years was the scene of sanguinary conflicts between contending patriots and the Tories, British and Indians, and famed, later, for the long series of internecine contests known as the "Pennymite Wars." Captain Stewart was leader of the celebrated Paxton boys of Pennsylvania, who left Hanover township in Lancaster county and settled in Hanover township in Luzerne county—a township named by him. During the struggles in the Wyoming Valley, which lasted nearly eight years, the captain rendered patriotic and distinguished services. Josiah Espy, Jr., and Samuel Espy, brothers of George Espy, were also soldiers of the Revolution. They served under Capt. Ambrose Crain, whose command bore a gallant part at Brandywine, Germantown, and elsewhere. In 1809, John, a son of George Espy, married Lavina Inman, a daughter of Col. Edward Inman of the Revolutionary army. In 1841, James, eldest son of John and Lavina Espy, married Mary A. Miller, a daughter of Barnet Miller.

And then, through a long line of patriotic and distinguished ancestry, we bring this genealogical table down to Sept. 21, 1842, at which time John Espy, the subject of this sketch and a son of James and Mary A. Espy, was born at Nanticoke, Luzerne county, Pennsylvania. In 1868 he married Martha M. Wood, a daughter of John B. Wood of Wilkes Barre, Pa. Her father was a prosperous merchant and banker, and her mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Gore, was descended from one of the oldest and most honorable families in America. Her great-grandfather and five of his sons fought against the British and Indians in the Wyoming Valley campaigns.

Major Espy has an interesting history. Much of his childhood was spent under the care of his paternal grandmother, Lavina Inman Espy, a woman of broad culture and great intelligence. In 1860, when only seventeen years of age, he entered upon a career of independence. Equipped

with a good common school education, habits of industry, and ambition to succeed, he came westward and located at Burlington, Iowa. The War of the Rebellion set the country ablaze the following spring, and John Espy was among the first to enlist in Company E of the First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry in response to President Lincoln's first call. This regiment fought under Gen. Nathaniel Lyon in those campaigns which did so much to save the State of Missouri to the Union. Young Espy accompanied it in the expedition under General Sweeny to Forsyth, near the Arkansas line; was in the engagement at Dug Springs, and took part in the memorable battle of Wilson's Creek, Aug. 10, 1861, in which action the lamented Lyon fell and the First Iowa lost 151 men in killed and wounded. A few days after this battle the First Iowa's term of enlistment expired, and Espy was mustered out of service. He intended to reënter the army forthwith, but his left hand became crippled for life by a sorghum mill, and rendered him incapable of further service as a soldier.

It was at this period that John Espy returned to Pennsylvania and completed his education. He was graduated from the new Columbus Academy in 1863, from Harvey's Institute in 1864, and from the Albany (N. Y.) Law School in 1866. From this last named school he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He was admitted to the bar of Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1868.

Upon returning from the law school he at once began taking an active part in politics. Every campaign found him on the stump and participating prominently in conventions, either as the chairman thereof or as a hard-working delegate. He was, of course, a strong Republican; but, while his father was a supporter of Simon Cameron, the son was equally ardent in his support of the Luzerne county anti-Cameron movement. This factional contest oftentimes led to very interesting situations, in which the subject of this sketch figured conspicuously. He helped others to official positions, but business obligations kept him from holding public office himself. He prospered at law; was for ten years a director of the Wilkes Barre Water Company, and of the Wilkes Barre & Kingston Passenger Railway, and he was interested in banking and in promoting many other important enterprises. In 1871 he was commissioned aide-de-camp, with the rank of major, on the staff of Gen. E. S. Osborn of the Pennsylvania National Guard. He served in that capacity ten years, and took an active part in suppressing the riots at Scranton in 1871, at the Susquehanna Depot in 1877, and at Hazleton in 1878.

Major Espy came to St. Paul in 1879. Admitted to the Ramsey county bar, he for a time occupied the same office with Hon. Hiram F. Stevens. Soon after coming here he was made secretary of the state central committee; this was during the Blaine and Logan campaign, when Minne-

sota gave the largest Republican majority ever polled in the state, Nelson's excepted. While he still conducts an office practice, his large investments and property holdings occupy most of his time. He has done a great deal for St. Paul. He built and owns the well-known Espy block on Fifth street, and has also erected many buildings in other parts of the city and is interested in the beautiful White Bear town of Mahtomedi and Wildwood—one of the loveliest lake resorts in the Northwest. He is public-spirited and large-hearted. A member of the Episcopal Church, he

his grand design was carried to a magnificently successful conclusion.

Major Espy's whole life bespeaks the man. Respect has followed him all through the years. Here in St. Paul, no man is held in higher esteem. He and his estimable wife have four children—John B., Lila Wood, Maude M., and Olin, and their elegant home at No. 74 Summit avenue is the center of a large circle of friends and much graceful hospitality. There the major will doubtless spend the remaining years of his busy and useful life. Although past the half-century mark, he is still strong and active and manifests no sign of lessening interest in the development of his chosen field of labor. To a man of his temperament, there can be no period to his career until its final close.



JOHN ESPY.

is also a director of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Commercial Club, and belongs to Acker Post, No. 21, of the Grand Army of the Republic. Always an active G. A. R. man, he was a delegate from Minnesota to the twenty-eighth annual encampment at Pittsburg, and worked hard to secure the 1895 encampment for his home city. He was also a member of the local committee that went to Louisville in 1895 and secured the thirtieth national encampment for St. Paul in 1896. During that encampment the major exerted his energies to the utmost. He suggested the "living flag," composed of 2,200 children, and saw that

LANGDON, ROBERT BRUCE.—To write a biography of R. B. Langdon would mean to almost write the history of railroad building in the United States since 1848. He was born on a farm near New Haven, Vt., in 1826, and received his early education in the district schools, which was supplemented later by a brief course in academies where he prepared for college. His ancestry was English on both his father's and mother's side, his grandfather having been captain of a Massachusetts regiment in the Continental army. Mr. Langdon's business career began in 1848, when he was foreman of a construction company engaged in building the Rutland & Burlington Railroad in Vermont. Since that time, and up to his death in Minneapolis, July 24, 1895, he had been engaged in constructing more than 7,000 miles of railroad in the States of Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Mississippi, Tennessee, Iowa, Northwestern Territory, Dakota, and Montana. The first contract he ever took on his own account was in fencing the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad from Fond du Lac, Wis., to Minnesota Junction. In 1853 he had charge of the construction of a section of the Illinois Central road from Kankakee, Ill., to Urbana, Ohio. Later he had contracts on the Milwaukee & La Crosse and the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien railroads. When the war broke out Mr. Langdon was forced to abandon a large contract on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad and return to the North. In 1858 he broke ground for the first railroad in Minnesota. Not only was he among the foremost railroad contractors in the United States, but he was a stockholder and director in the executive management of several lines of road. He was at one time vice president of the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railroad, and for several years vice president of the Minneapolis, Sault Ste. Marie & Atlantic Railroad Company. Whenever there was a lull in the business of railroad construction, Mr. Langdon turned his attention to other enterprises. In 1866 he built the canal of the Min-

neapolis Milling Company. He was a man whose advice and counsel were eagerly sought by various corporations and enterprises, not only in Minnesota but throughout the Northwest. His reputation as a financier and for business enterprise was the cause that led him into taking an active interest in many public enterprises and in the construction of so many large buildings in Minneapolis. He was interested in the Syndicate Block, Masonic Temple, Minneapolis Club, Terminal Elevator Company, the Belt Railway connecting the stock yards at New Brighton with the inter-urban systems, the Twin City Stock Yards, the City Bank of Minneapolis, and in the George R. Newel Grocery House.

He was a man of large, robust physique, and had an impressive personality. Though preëminently a business man, he was all his life a student, and few men could be found who were his conversational equals on such a diversity of topics. He was a genial man and had the natural faculty of making friends.

A close personal and political friend of many years standing had this to say of him: "He was one of the noblest of God's creation,—an honest man in every sense. His word was always as good as his bond, whether in business, friendship or politics. He was a man who delighted in serving his friends, who never lost an opportunity to reciprocate the slightest favors or courtesies, and his loyalty to friendships and business associates was a matter of universal comment among all who knew him." These sterling traits of character made him a strong man in every department in which he became interested. Withal, these admirable traits hid a great fund of good common sense and good judgment, which helped to make him a man of strong character and wide influence. In molding the business and political destinies of Minneapolis, as well as the state, his influence was widespread and potent. He also had a large acquaintance among men of national reputation and influence in the country, and at several national Republican conventions he exerted a decided influence in shaping presidential nominations. He was a remarkably benevolent and kind-hearted man, always giving freely to public charities. His wise counsels will be missed in the business and political circles of the state, and few men leave behind so large a circle of sincere and devoted friends among all classes.

Politically Mr. Langdon was a Republican all his life. He was elected to the Minnesota State Senate in 1872, and served continuously until 1878. He was again elected in 1880, and served until 1885. In 1888 the Republicans of his district nominated him for the State Senate, but because of the great Farmers' Alliance "landslide" of that year, he was defeated. As showing his popularity in the Republican party, it is a matter of record that he never had an opponent for any nomination he ever received. He was one

of the Minnesota delegates to the National Republican Convention in Cincinnati in 1876, again in 1884 to Chicago, and a third time in 1888. He was influential in securing the national convention to Minneapolis in 1892, and was chairman of two of the most important committees as well as a member of the general committee.

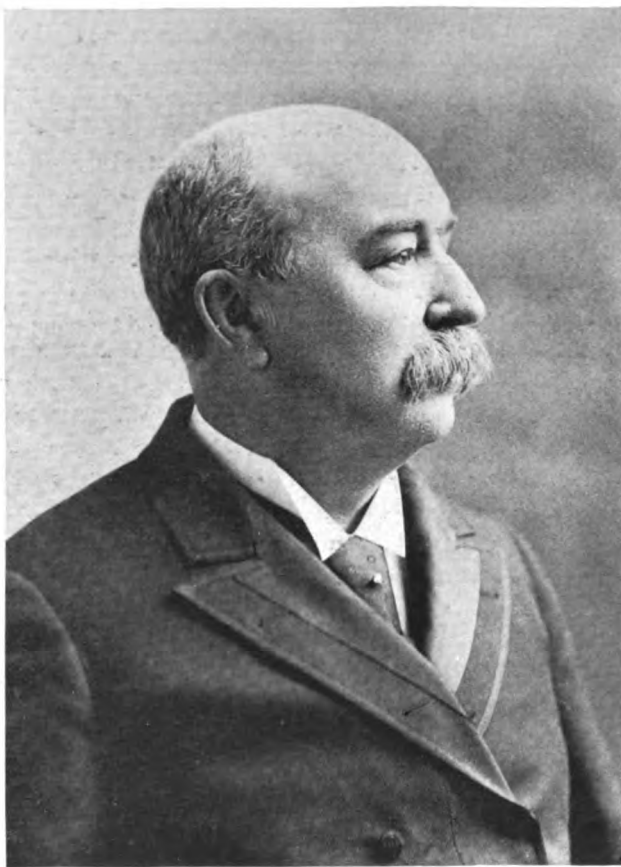
In 1859 he was married to Miss Sarah Smith, a daughter of Dr. Horatio A. Smith of New Haven, Vt. Mr. and Mrs. Langdon removed to Minneapolis in 1866, where they have resided ever since. Their family consists of three children



ROBERT B. LANGDON.

—Cavour Langdon, Mrs. H. C. Truesdale, and Mrs. W. F. Brooks, all three of whom are married and live in Minneapolis. In his religious faith he was an Episcopalian, and up to his death was a vestryman of St. Mark's Church in Minneapolis. It can truly be said of him that in all enterprises for promoting the growth of Minneapolis, Mr. Langdon took an active and public-spirited part. The same was equally true of any enterprise with which he was ever connected. The town of Langdon, N. D., was named for him.

DRISCOLL, FREDERICK.—Frederick Driscoll of St. Paul, general manager of the Pioneer Press Company, and one of the most prominent men connected with Northwestern history, was born in Boston, Mass., July 31, 1834. After having received a New England academic education, he entered the mercantile business and was employed, for a few years, in a clerical capacity. On May 31, 1858, wholly dependent on his own exertions, he arrived in Minnesota and located at Belle Plaine, in Scott county. There he became secretary of the Belle Plaine Land Company, a position which he held a year or more,



FREDERICK DRISCOLL.

or until the company assigned. On final settlement for services the company, having no tangible property except vacant lots and a country newspaper printing office, offered him his choice, and he concluded to take the newspaper office, although a stranger to the business. Thus it was that the old Belle Plaine *Enquirer*—a rank Democratic sheet—was taken possession of by Mr. Driscoll and converted into a radical Republican paper known as the *Scott County Journal*.

In 1860 the Republican county convention nominated him as a candidate for the Minnesota House of Representa-

tives. It was during the famous Lincoln campaign, and, although Scott county was the banner Democratic county of the state, Mr. Driscoll was elected by eight plurality, there being two Democratic candidates who so divided the vote of their party as to let the Republican candidate win. His valuable services, while a member of the House, in helping to fix the terminal of the present Duluth railroad at St. Paul,—though he was not then a resident of the city,—are still remembered by many of the older citizens.

The following winter he was elected, after nineteen ballots, to the office of secretary of the State Senate, of which Ignatius Donnelly was the presiding officer. Judge R. F. Crowell, recently deceased, was his chief competitor.

In the following month of November he moved to St. Paul and started the *St. Paul Daily Union*. Upon the opening of the ensuing session of the legislature, in the winter of 1863, he was elected state printer. This was after a strong contest with the established Republican paper, the *St. Paul Press*, and it resulted in the consent of the proprietors of the *Press* to sell to Mr. Driscoll a half interest in that paper. On March 1, 1863, the *Daily Union* ceased publication, and Mr. Driscoll became business manager of the *St. Paul Press*. Much that is interesting might be written of the stirring political history of the state during the preceding year. There was the keen contest for the United States senatorship between Alexander Ramsey and Cyrus Aldrich and the consequent warfare of factions; the great Rebellion; the terrible Indian massacre of 1862—all these occurrences helping to make it one of the most eventful years in Minnesota's history. Early in 1863 Governor Ramsey was elected to the United States Senate, and, with but one Republican paper at the capital, there was general acquiescence in the situation and peace once more reigned in the ranks of the Republican party of the state.

In 1867 the subject of this sketch served as secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, and in 1868 he was elected chairman of this committee. The political history of this period was of the most exciting character. It covered the noted congressional campaign in which Ignatius Donnelly bolted and ran for Congress independently—an act which resulted in the election of Eugene M. Wilson, a Democrat, over C. C. Andrews, the Republican candidate.

In 1870 Mr. Driscoll took active charge of the St. Paul postoffice on behalf of Mr. Wheelock, who had been appointed postmaster, and he held this position until 1875. In April of the same year the proprietors of the *Press* purchased the *Pioneer* and the two papers were consolidated under the name of *The Pioneer Press*. A year following, in May, 1876, the Pioneer Press Company bought the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune* and the *Evening Mail*, the only dailies then published in that city. The publication of the *Mail* was discontinued, and the *Morning Tribune* was changed to

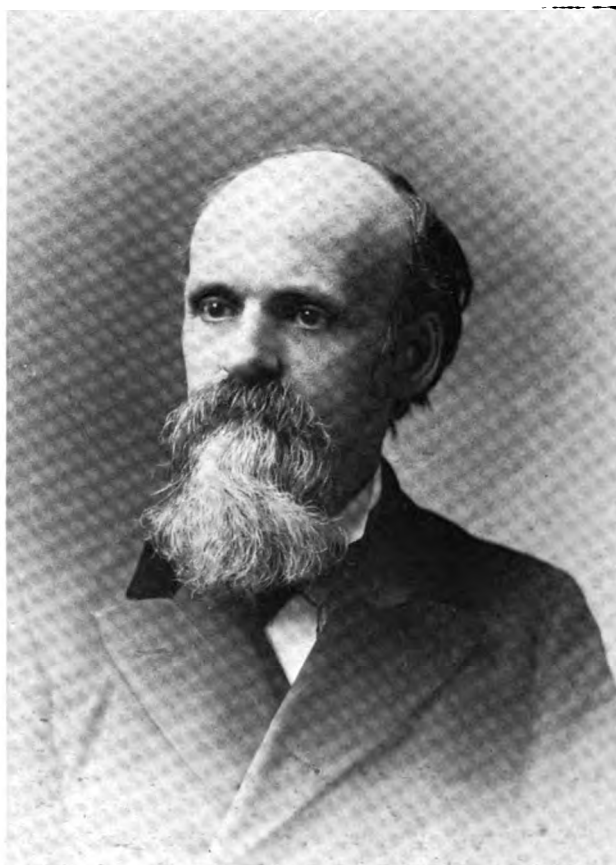
the *Evening Tribune*. After this, for nearly four years, the *Pioneer Press* was the only morning paper published in Minnesota.

In 1890 Mr. Driscoll was elected president of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. In the same year he was elected a member of the board of directors of the Associated Press, and was also made one of the three members of the executive committee thereof, positions which he has held continuously to the present time. In 1893 he was elected one of five members of the executive committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, an association which comprises 160 of the leading daily papers in the United States. He still serves in the same capacity, having been reelected in the spring of 1896. His prominence in newspaper circles is attested in many ways. For several years, and from the very inception of the organization, he has been president of the Dual City Publishers' Association, composed of Twin City dailies, and in all important Northwestern journalistic events he has borne a conspicuous part. At this writing (1896) he is engaged as actively as ever in the performance of his multifarious duties as general manager of the Pioneer Press Company.



GILFILLAN, JOHN B.—It is extremely doubtful if the majority of the residents of Minnesota, especially the younger generations, realize how much the development and the growth of this state is due to the early New England settlers who came here during the late fifties. As a rule, they were young men without financial capital, but nearly all were well educated, enterprising, and energetic; and few are those that have not left their mark upon the political, commercial, financial, and social history of the state. One of these men was John B. Gilfillan, a Vermonter by birth, who came to St. Anthony, now East Minneapolis, in October, 1855, to pay a visit to his brother-in-law, Capt. John Martin—a visit that resulted in his locating there permanently. He was born Feb. 11, 1835, in the little town of Barnet, Caledonia county, Vermont, and is of Scotch ancestry, some of whom settled in Caledonia county as far back as 1794. It is from these sturdy Scots that he derives those persevering and industrious traits to which, more than to any other, his success in life is due. His early education consisted in attending the district schools in Caledonia county, and, later, the Caledonia Academy, in which he prepared himself to enter Dartmouth College, but did not take a college course. His parents were comfortably well off, but in the matter of academic and higher education young Gilfillan decided to help himself instead of drawing on their resources. At the age of seventeen he became a school teacher in the district

schools of his native county and followed that vocation three winters—replenishing his educational funds thereby, and incidentally putting into practice the education he had already acquired. When he came to St. Anthony, in 1855, he secured a position as school teacher there, where he taught during the next year. His leisure time was spent in reading law. At the close of his school term he entered the law office of Nourse & Winthrop. Later he became a law clerk and student in the office of Lawrence & Lochren, and in 1860 was admitted to the bar of Hennepin county. Immediately afterwards he formed a law partnership with



JOHN B. GILFILLAN.

James R. Lawrence, which continued until Mr. Lawrence went to the war. Mr. Gilfillan continued the practice of law alone in St. Anthony until 1871, when he formed a partnership with Judge Lochren and Hon. W. W. McNair and came to the west side of the river, now Minneapolis proper. This partnership continued until Judge Lochren was appointed to the district bench, after which the partnership of McNair & Gilfillan continued until within a short time of the death of the former. At present he is senior member of the law firm of Gilfillan, Belden & Willard, a partnership that was formed in 1884. Mr. Gilfillan has the

reputation of being one of the most careful and thorough counselors of the Hennepin county bar. There is nothing of the sensational or emotional about him. On the other hand, he carries his point by putting his evidence in a plain and comprehensible manner, which is supplemented by logical appeals to sound sense and judgment.

Politically, Mr. Gilfillan has always been a consistent and ardent Republican; but he is a "stickler" for conservative protection. His idea is that all such industries as are worthy of protection should be protected, but he believes in such an adjustment of tariff duties as will throw the burden on the luxuries, thereby deriving the greatest portion of the government's revenue from that source. Soon after his admission to the bar he was elected city attorney of St. Anthony, serving at different periods four years. In 1863 he was elected county attorney of Hennepin county, and served until 1867. He was again elected in 1869, and served until 1871; and again in 1873, and served until 1875, holding that office eight out of twelve years between 1863 and 1875. In 1875 he was elected to the State Senate from the district representing that part of Minneapolis east of the Mississippi river, together with the counties of Anoka and Isanti, and served continuously in that body until March, 1885. After the first contest, in 1875, his succeeding elections to the State Senate were almost unanimous. On entering the Senate his record shows that he at once became a leader, and, during the first sessions, was chairman of the committee on taxes and tax laws, and was largely instrumental in embodying those laws into the present efficient code. He was from the first a member of the judiciary committee of the Senate, and for the last five years its chairman. At other times he held the chairmanship of the finance committee, and he was chairman of the committee on university and university lands all the time he was in the Senate. In the legislation effecting the adjustment of the state railroad bonds, Mr. Gilfillan was an active leader on the floor of the Senate in working against repudiation, and he practically dictated the bill that finally passed the legislature. In the summer of 1884 he received the Republican nomination for Congress from the Fourth district, was elected the following November, and served one term. At the close of his congressional career, in 1887, he went abroad, traveling in different parts of Europe and the old world nearly two and a half years, after which he returned to Minneapolis and resumed his law business again.

Mr. Gilfillan was married in 1870 to Miss Rebecca C. Oliphant, a charming and highly cultivated woman, who died March 25, 1884. Five children were the issue of his marriage, four of whom, three boys and a daughter, survive their mother. On June 28, 1893, he was married to Miss Lavinia Coppock of Lisbon, Ohio, but who had resided in Washington, D. C., for ten years previous to her marriage.

Miss Coppock was the daughter of the late Ezra Coppock and Anna French, his wife, now Mrs. R. C. Taggart of Washington.

If Mr. Gilfillan can be said to have any particular hobby, it is on the subject of education. As far back as 1859, while only a law clerk, he organized in the village of St. Anthony the Mechanics Institute for Literary Culture, and was one of its first officers. About the same time the young law clerk drew up a bill for the organization of a school board in St. Anthony, under which the first system of graded schools was introduced, and it was on this beginning that the present splendid school system of Minneapolis has since been built. He was one of the first members of the school board in St. Anthony, and continued in that service eight years. He was also a member of the board of regents of the state university from 1880 to 1888. All through his legislative career as an influential member of the State Senate, we find him bending his every energy towards the building up of the university and the other educational institutions of the state. Indeed, it would be impossible to speak of his splendid services in the cause of education in too flattering terms.



WILLIAMS, MILTON M.—Milton M. Williams of Little Falls is an active Republican, and is widely known as the projector and manager of the great water-power improvements which have developed important manufacturing enterprises and increased the population of that town more than five-fold during the past few years. He was born in Litchfield, Mich., in 1848, and was one of a family of twelve children. His father, John Newton Williams, was a Presbyterian minister. His mother came from New York City, and her maiden name was Susan A. Halstead. Her father was purchasing agent for General Washington during the Revolutionary War, and died in New York at the great age of ninety-six. Milton was educated in public and private schools, took a high school course, and completed his studies under a private tutor. His father removed to Minnesota in 1857, and settled in Goodhue county, where he preached and worked as a missionary for the American Sunday School Union. At the age of twenty-two the young man began an active and successful business career in the work of railroad construction, with the firm of De Graff & Co. This firm built the line from St. Peter to Watertown, S. D., for the Winona & St. Peter Company, a line which now forms a part of the Chicago & North-Western system. The firm also constructed the road from St. Cloud to St. Vincent for the St. Paul & Pacific Company, which now forms a part of one of the main lines of the Great Northern. It also

built the portion of the Northern Pacific system between Sauk Rapids and Brainerd. In 1881 the firm was engaged in building the Little Falls & Dakota road, from Little Falls to Morris, and the Northern Pacific, Fergus Falls & Black Hills road, from Wadena to Wahpeton. Both these lines now belong to the Northern Pacific.

Purchasing a section of land near Little Falls for a farm home, the attention of Mr. Williams was directed to the possibilities of the great unused water-power formed by the rock ledge which runs under the Mississippi at that place. He organized a company, raised a capital of \$250,000, and built a strong dam, with canal, sluices, dikes, etc., thus obtaining one of the greatest powers in the entire Northwest. He is president of the Little Falls Water Power Company which owns these improvements, and which has brought to the town an immense lumber mill, a flouring mill, a paper mill, and a number of other industries. He was president of the Little Falls Chamber of Commerce for five years, is vice president of the First National Bank, and is connected with many business enterprises. Although an earnest worker in Republican politics, Mr. Williams has never desired to hold any public office, and never has except serving on Governor Hubbard's staff as assistant quartermaster general, with rank of colonel. In 1894, while chairman of the Republican committee in the Forty-sixth senatorial district, comprising the counties of Crow Wing, Todd, Morrison, and Mille Lacs, he was active in reversing an overwhelming Democratic majority in Morrison county, making that county heavily Republican. His services on the stump as a logical and vigorous speaker contributed to this result.

Mr. Williams was married in 1889 to Miss Florence E. Bennett of Rochester, N. Y. The Williams home at Little Falls stands in the midst of an estate a mile square, which forms one of the handsomest farms in Minnesota, and lies immediately west of the city limits. Mr. Williams is heartily interested in good roads and in modern methods of agriculture. He is a thirty-second degree Scottish Rite Mason, a Knight Templar, and a charter member of the Minnesota Club of St. Paul.



PRATT, ROBERT.—It is doubtful if Minneapolis ever had a more popular and efficient chief executive than Mayor Robert Pratt. He was born in Rutland, Vt., Dec. 12, 1845. His father, Sidney Wright Pratt, now deceased, was a farmer; his mother, whose maiden name was Sarah E. Harkness, was a Scotch lady whose parents came to America when she was sixteen years of age, from Dumfries, Scotland, and settled in Vermont. Robert's paternal grandfather married a South Carolina lady, and was a captain in the War of 1812.

During Mr. Pratt's school years he attended the district schools at Brandon, Vt., finishing his education at the well-known Brandon Seminary. When asked how he earned his first dollar, he answered, with a touch of sturdy pride, "By picking up stones in my native state." He has been picking up stones ever since, and with them he has established a reputation that reflects credit upon his industry and manhood alike.

When he was in his sixteenth year he enlisted in Company H, Fifth Vermont Infantry. This was in August, 1861. The full company was raised in his own town of Brandon and the immediate vicinity, and comprised boys from the village, farms, schools, and shops. The regiment was mustered into service in September and sent to Washington, afterwards joining McClellan in Virginia, and becoming a part of what was known as the "Old Vermont Brigade," it being composed wholly of troops from that state.

Remarkable as it may appear, Robert Pratt was not absent from his command one single day during nearly four years of service. He was in all the engagements participated in by the Army of the Potomac—the "Seven-Day" battles under McClellan; the second battle of Bull Run; Antietam; first battle of Fredericksburg, under Burnside, and the second battle of Fredericksburg, under Hooker—really a part of the battle of Chancellorville; Gettysburg; the battle of the Wilderness; Spottsylvania; Cold Harbor and Petersburg, under Grant, and in many other actions there before the Union lines were fully established. In the Seven Days' battles the Fifth Vermont was almost annihilated at the battle of Savage Station, and at Spottsylvania it was in action ten hours, and held the angle at the fearful "Slaughter Pen." During the riots in New York City the "Old Vermont Brigade" was sent there from the front a short time to preserve order and protect the city from further riotous demonstrations. In 1864 the division to which Mr. Pratt belonged was detached from the Army of the Potomac and hurried to Washington, to protect that city against Early's threatening raid. It was this division that drove the dashing Early back and saved the capital. The corps then, under the command of Sheridan, followed the Rebel army into the Shenandoah Valley and participated in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, the Rebel army being routed completely and thoroughly broken up.

While in the Shenandoah Valley, all soldiers who had served three years were given permission to vote in the field, the votes being credited to their respective states. Mr. Pratt had served more than three years, and so cast his first vote for Abraham Lincoln in November, 1864, when only eighteen years of age.

In December, 1864, the corps returned to the Army of

the Potomac at Petersburg, and did duty in the trenches there during the remainder of the winter of 1864-65. It was this command that surprised and captured the Rebel works at Petersburg on April 2, 1865, the Fifth Vermont Infantry having the honor of leading the corps in the attack which compelled the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond.

In the history of "Vermont in the Civil War," Captain Gould, the first man to enter the enemy's works at the capture of Petersburg, and who was breveted major for his bravery at this time, says:



ROBERT PRATT.

"My statement thus far has been necessarily in regard to myself. It is but justice to an officer who was as brave as modest, that I should complete the history of that early morning engagement at the earthwork mentioned. It was reported to Lieutenant Pratt that I had been killed inside the works. Forming the men in the ditch, he led them into the work, and, after a short but desperate fight, captured the guns and a number of prisoners, and held the works until other troops arrived; but in the excitement of the battle and his anxiety to rejoin his command, Lieutenant Pratt left guns and prisoners to the first comers,

and, omitting to place guards upon or to take receipts for his captures, did not receive the credit to which he was entitled."

Then followed the pursuit of the fleeing Confederates, the attack upon the Rebel rear guard at Sailor's Creek, and the capture of General Ewell and staff and quite a large portion of Stonewall Jackson's old corps. Mr. Pratt was also at Appomattox, where General Lee laid down his sword and the War of the Rebellion came practically to an end. After this great event our subject's corps was sent by forced marches to get in the rear of Johnson's army, which had not yet surrendered.

The war over, the young soldier was finally mustered out of service July 12, 1865. He enlisted as a private, served as corporal, sergeant, and sergeant major, was promoted to a first lieutenant near the close of 1864, and in the spring of 1865, while yet a little more than nineteen years of age, he was commissioned captain.

At the close of the war the captain attended school another year at the Brandon Seminary. In November, 1866, he came to Minneapolis in company with his brother, who had been wounded in the battle of the Wilderness and sought relief for his infirmities in the healthful regions of Minnesota. This visit resulted in Robert Pratt becoming a permanent resident of the Flour City, for he has lived there ever since. Not finding anything else to do at that time, he worked by the day in a lumber yard. In the winter he found employment in the woods at twenty dollars per month; in the spring he drove logs on rivers. Soon after this he bought teams and hauled lumber in Minneapolis during the summer months and worked in the woods, hauling logs by the thousand feet, during the winter season. Then he began lumbering for himself. For the past fifteen years or more he has been engaged in the fuel business in Minneapolis.

Politically, Captain Pratt has always been a Republican. While he never has sought office, political preferment has come to him, and he has held various important positions of public trust. From 1884 to 1887 he was a member of the Minneapolis city council, having been elected from the Third ward, a Democratic stronghold. He helped to pass the much-needed patrol limits, and carried to the courts a suit to compel the railway corporations to bridge, at their own expense, the dangerous street crossings of the city. In 1888 he was elected a member of the school board for four years, and in 1892 he was reelected for a term of six years. He was interested in securing free text-books for the public schools, and has manifested zeal in all matters tending to promote educational interests in his chosen city. On Jan. 1, 1895, he was elected mayor of the city of Minneapolis for a term of two years, and he has been renominated for the same position and for a similar term from Jan. 1, 1897. His

almost unanimous renomination would seem to indicate great satisfaction with his administration.

Mayor Pratt is president and a director of the German-American Bank of Minneapolis, is a director of the commercial club, and he is a member of the Masonic and Elk orders and of the Grand Army of the Republic and Loyal Legion. Though not a church member, he has for many years been trustee of the Fourth Baptist Church, of which his wife and daughters are members. On Aug. 30, 1871, he was married to Irene Lamoreaux, in Minneapolis. Seven children have been born to them, of whom six are living—three sons and three daughters. Two daughters have been graduated from the state university, at which a son is now in attendance. One daughter was valedictorian at the Minneapolis high school, another took class honors at the university, and the former was elected "Queen of the Carnival" during the great events at the Twin Cities in September, 1896. Mrs. Pratt, an accomplished lady, is very prominent in Sunday-school circles, and graces a lovely home at 1603 Bryant avenue north.



EUSTIS, WILLIAM HENRY.—William Henry Eustis, one of the most widely and favorably known residents of Minneapolis, was born at Ox Bow, Jefferson county, New York, July 17, 1845. His father, Tobias Eustis, was a native of Truro, Cornwall, England, and immigrated to New York in 1839, crossing the ocean in a sailing vessel, and being six weeks on the water.

Mr. Eustis attended the district school at Hammond, and was eventually sent to Gouverneur Seminary, St. Lawrence county, from which he graduated in 1870. Then he attended Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., graduating in 1873. He graduated from Columbus Law School in 1874, having taught school in New York during his law school term. He began the practice of law at Saratoga Springs, Jan. 1, 1875.

Mr. Eustis came to Minneapolis in October, 1881, and at once began the practice of law, and also to take an active part in politics. His political activity was of the unselfish order, and he therefore received no reward for his services to the party until 1892, when he was elected mayor of Minneapolis.

As mayor Mr. Eustis carved out a policy of his own, and in pursuing it excited attention almost national in its scope. He believed that in city life moral issues are far more perplexing than financial issues, and that, therefore, they should receive the more careful attention from the mayor. He maintained that the saloon is the fountain head of the wrong side of the moral issues, and that the mayor should exert himself to the utmost to surround himself with a thoroughly honest and efficient police and detective

force. He argued that there are two main reasons why the saloon is the fosterer and promoter of crime: First, "Society demands the life of the (liquor) traffic, and refuses to recognize its right to exist." The laws of society legalize and foster the liquor traffic, and at the same time public opinion places the dealer in the traffic outside the pale of society. The saloonkeeper is looked upon as a social outcast, and he naturally feels that he owes little to society except the right to earn his living by selling his licensed goods. He feels that he is under little obligation to the law-abiding side of the world. More than that, the anathemas that are hurled at him by upper circles and the onslaughts upon him of so-called Crusaders have made

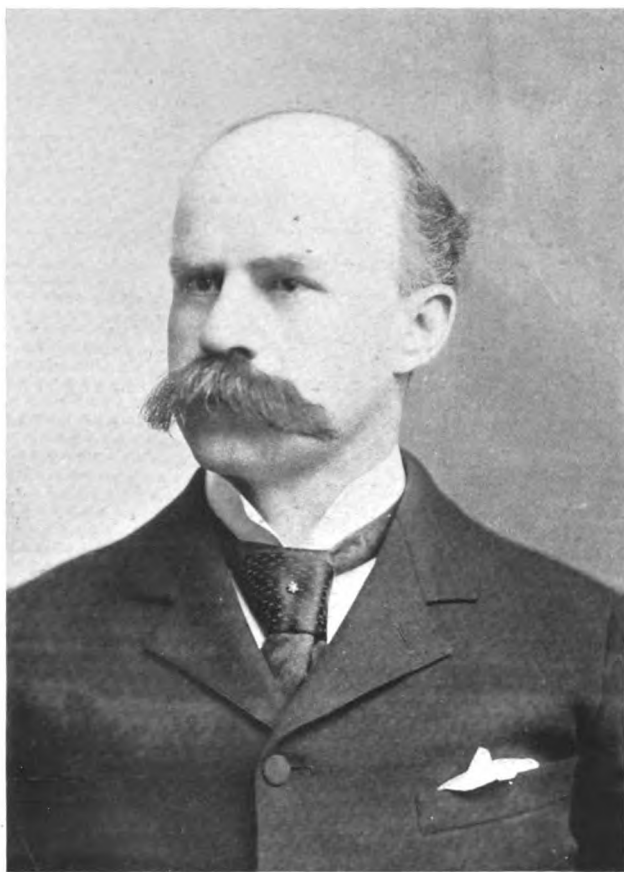


WILLIAM H. EUSTIS.

some of the saloonkeepers rebellious and reckless. Second, the average policeman or city detective is somewhat prone to be susceptible, if not to pecuniary influence then to free treats, and this weakness of the official enables the saloonkeeper to prosecute his criminal methods without molestation in the very presence of an angry, law-abiding populace. These were the views of Mayor Eustis, and from the beginning of his official career he proceeded to surround himself with policemen and detectives whom he believed to be free from these influences, and to devote his utmost attention to regulating the saloons. He was not long in discovering, however, that no amount of honesty and efficiency of the police could in every instance bring to justice criminal

operators in saloons. He therefore devised a method that proved to be able to reach every case. He made a rule that every saloonkeeper should be held responsible for what takes place in his saloon within the bounds of reason. By this method he called to account the saloonkeeper in whose saloon a robbery had been committed, and ordered him to refund the stolen money upon penalty of having his license revoked if he failed to obey the order. He held the saloonkeeper responsible for every crime committed in his place of business, without regard to who committed the crime, and his penalty was the revocation of the license where

in the police department and in the cost of running the workhouse. It was a part of the policy to reform habitual drinkers, if possible; and in furtherance of this scores of men arrested for drunkenness were given the Keeley cure and influenced to become better citizens. There is little doubt that this admirable policy will sooner or later be adopted by all progressive city governments. If ex-Mayor Eustis does no more for mankind, he will be entitled to a large measure of gratitude for the great stride taken by him in the direction of reform in municipal government.



GEBHARD WILLRICH.

stolen money or other property was not returned or where the crime was so grave that it could not be repaired with a money compensation alone. The plan worked so well that Mr. Eustis's successor, Mr. Pratt, pursued the same policy.

All reforms beget differences of opinion, and there was no exception in this instance; but it is a matter of record that the reform thus introduced and carried out by Mayor Eustis during his efficient administration resulted finally in fewer arrests for drunkenness, in a better class of saloonkeepers, and in a very considerable reduction of expenses

WILLRICH, GEBHARD.—Gebhard Willrich, now probate judge of Ramsey county, has had a most remarkable career. Descended from a long line of German Lutheran ministers, who trace the family and the profession back almost to the Reformation, including among their number many illustrious scholars and divines, and at least one bishop of the Lutheran Church; inheriting from his mother the daring, roving, venturesome, military traits that had for many generations characterized her family, Gebhard Willrich entered upon his career endowed with a nature and a disposition which largely helped to shape the events of his after life.

May 27, 1853, at the little village of Gilten, Hanover, this son of August Willrich and Louisa Leopold first saw the light. From his birth he was surrounded with the influences of a refined and cultured home. From his father he received his early educational training, and was fitted to enter the preparatory schools, from which he expected to go forward to the university and to a career in the German navy. But that loving father's heart was stilled and his guiding hand removed ere yet the son had reached the age of eleven. Ministering over the grave of a poor parishioner, he contracted the fatal malady that brought his life's work to a sudden termination, and left the family home a house of mourning.

During the next four or five years young Willrich pursued his studies at the preparatory schools of Oldenburg and Kiel, and was looking forward to an entrance at the university when the discovery of a defect in his right eye rendered impossible the career he had planned. His impulsive, imaginative nature had been liberally fed on Cooper's "Leather-stocking" tales and other romances of the Western world. If he could not enter the German navy he could at least come to America, where fortune was eager to reward with abundance every earnest effort. How wide the difference between our expectations and our realizations! Instead of a speedily acquired fortune, an early return to the fatherland, and a home of ease and refinement, Gebhard Willrich passed through twelve years of the most arduous frontier life, working a farm and learning English in the wilds of Missouri; hunting deer, wolves, or

buffalo among the savages on the frontier of Indian Territory and Texas; teaching German at Independence, Mo.; earning the princely sum of five dollars by an entire winter's work cutting wood at the mouth of the Red river in Louisiana, when he was obliged to sell his cherished copies of Schiller and Goethe to provide himself with food; working a Red river plantation; tramping his way into Texas in search of employment; back down the Red and up the Mississippi river to St. Louis again; studying law in the office of ex-Governor Fletcher; admitted to the bar in 1876; practicing in the office of United States Senator John C. Henderson, of anti-third term fame; emigrating to Minnesota; farming and practicing law in Kittson county, and finally coming to St. Paul, after selling out his farm, where we find him, in 1882, teaching German in the public schools and preparing to enter upon the practice of his chosen profession. Such, in brief, was the checkered career of Gebhard Willrich the first twelve years of his life in the new world. His dreams had been far from realized, but a great fund of knowledge had been gained; and when, the next year, the Drake block fire left him penniless, and with only a hat and a nightshirt as his sole earthly possessions, the stout-hearted young man started in again and soon had a lucrative practice.

Always a Republican, he was a leader in the organization of citizens' clubs in 1887, was elected chairman of the Central Citizens' League, and was largely instrumental in carrying the spring elections of 1888.

In the fall of 1888 he was elected to the state legislature, and helped put through many important measures, among them the Australian Ballot Bill and the bill to abolish prison contract labor. He introduced the bill to annul the charter of the street railway company, which brought that corporation to terms, and paved the way for the present transfer system. He was appointed by Mayor Wright a member of the St. Paul school board, and for two years served as president of that body. In 1894 he was elected to his present office, judge of probate, by a plurality of over 4,000 votes.

Despite the trials of the frontiersman and the exactions of a busy life, Judge Willrich has found time to cultivate his natural musical and linguistic talent. Besides his native tongue, he speaks English with great ease and fluency, and possesses a considerable knowledge of the Scandinavian, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian languages.

Judge Willrich is a member of many clubs and societies, among them the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Druids, Sons of Hermann, Ancient Order of United Workmen, and Knights of Pythias, besides having been one of the earliest members of the St. Paul Commercial Club. Among German-Americans Judge Willrich is widely known and highly respected.

At thirty-seven years of age, in 1890, he revisited the fatherland, a bachelor, but returned with Miss Hilda Kettenburg of Hamburg as his wife. They have two children—Erika and Edgar, aged four and two.



JOHNSON, EDWARD M.—Edward M. Johnson was born in Fisherville, Merrimac county, New Hampshire, Nov. 24, 1850. In 1854 his parents moved to St. Anthony, now a part of Minneapolis, where they have since resided. His father, Luther G. Johnson, is well known to plo-



EDWARD M. JOHNSON.

neer settlers of this section, having been engaged actively as a manufacturer and merchant until recent years. He was a member of the firm of Kimball, Johnson & Co. and of L. G. Johnson & Co., two of the earliest mercantile and manufacturing concerns of the city, the last named firm having established the first furniture factory in Minneapolis. Mr. Johnson's ancestors, upon both his father's and mother's side, were among the earliest settlers of New England. Among the former were a number of prominent founders of Andover, Mass., and Concord, N. H., as well as members of the Committee of Safety during the Revolutionary War.

He first attended the pioneer school which was kept in a small frame building in St. Anthony, on what is now University avenue, between Second and Third avenues southeast, a building well remembered by the earliest settlers of the city. Later he entered the first high school in the city, which was organized at St. Anthony about 1863. The school year 1866-67 was spent at the Pennsylvania Military Academy, at Chester. He then, for four years, attended the Minnesota State University, which had been reopened in 1867, but left there before any class graduated, and was for some time in his father's employ. In January, 1873, Mr. Johnson went to Europe, where he remained nearly three years. While there he visited nearly all of Central Europe, but spent the most of his time at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin, where he studied law, including Roman and international law, under Professors Windschied, Bluntschli, Gneist, and Bruns, and political economy under Wagner. He also attended courses of lectures by Mommsen, Curtius, Grimm, Treitschke, and other celebrated German professors. At the end of the year 1875 Mr. Johnson returned to Minneapolis, and early the following year entered the law offices of Judge J. M. Shaw and A. L. Levi; later he attended the law school of the Iowa State University at Iowa City, where he graduated in 1877. Soon afterward he opened a law office in Minneapolis, in partnership with Mr. E. C. Chatfield. Later this partnership was dissolved, and for four years he was alone. In January, 1882, Mr. C. B. Leonard entered into partnership with Mr. Johnson. This firm, with the addition of Mr. Alexander McCune, still continues. Mr. Johnson has made a specialty of the law of corporations, real estate, and municipal bonds. He has been the attorney and counselor of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Savings Bank of Minneapolis since 1883. For ten years he was clerk and attorney for the board of education. In 1883 he was elected to the city council from the Second ward, and served in that body until 1890, when he resigned, being at that time its president. It is generally conceded that, during Mr. Johnson's term in the city council, his views were most frequently the controlling ones of that body. His career during that time was marked by the same steadfastness and fearlessness that has constituted him a leader among men. One of the most important innovations of recent years in municipal taxation originated with Mr. Johnson, and by his unceasing efforts was brought to a successful trial. It is what is known as the "Permanent Improvement Fund," by means of which a city is enabled to improve and beautify its streets while the tax upon property owners for payment of the expense is divided into five equal annual assessments. Since the successful operation of this measure in Minneapolis the principle has been incorporated into the laws of some of our surrounding states. By Mr. Johnson's tact the system of street railway transfers was brought about.

That Mr. Lowry realized this fact and gave him the credit of forcing the measure upon his company, is manifest in a reminder that Mr. Lowry presented Mr. Johnson in the form of a transfer-check printed upon satin and handsomely framed in mahogany. A few years ago a suspension bridge stood on the site of the present steel arch bridge. The roadway was narrow and was fast becoming inadequate to the demands made upon it, and the strain of projected electric cars would have proved more than the bridge could sustain. With remarkable firmness Mr. Johnson undertook to replace the suspension bridge with one of steel. The cause he so championed created great public opposition, but he fought it through to a successful termination, and to-day no one of Mr. Johnson's efforts is more appreciated by the public than that of securing the fine steel arch bridge in place of the old suspension one. One of Mr. Johnson's most valuable services to the public was in connection with the Minneapolis public library. Through his efforts the plan finally adopted sprang into vital action. As chairman of the council committee which had that matter under consideration, as well as chairman of the council committee on legislation, he drafted the library board charter and urged it through the legislature. Poole, the recognized authority on library matters, said it was one of the best laws for the government of libraries he had ever examined. After securing the passage of the library act, he was made one of the directors of the library board, and has been, and is now, one of its most efficient members. As a director of the society of fine arts, Mr. Johnson has given it enthusiastic support. In 1887 he was appointed one of the commissioners having in charge the erection of the new courthouse and city hall, and was for a number of years its vice president, chairman of its financial committee, a member of its building committee, and for the past two years its president. In all these positions of responsibility Mr. Johnson has given his time and labor without one thought of pecuniary reward. Through his efforts the Northwestern Casket Company and the Minneapolis Office and School Furnishing Company were established, and of both concerns he has long been president. In politics Mr. Johnson has always been a Republican and actively interested in the success of his party. In 1892 he was chairman of the city committee, and by virtue of such office was a member of the Republican campaign committee of that year. In 1894 he was appointed chairman of the county committee, which made him chairman of the Republican campaign committee. In 1896 he was appointed member at large and secretary of the state central committee.

In 1890 Mr. Johnson married Effie S. Richards, daughter of Mr. W. O. Richards of Waterloo, Iowa. He has a pleasant home on Fourth street and Tenth avenue southeast, in the immediate vicinity of where his parents located in 1854, and still reside.

GOODNOW, JOHN.—Among the most active young Republicans in Minnesota is John Goodnow of Minneapolis. He was born at Greensburgh, Ind., June 29, 1838. His father, James H. Goodnow, a cousin of President W. H. Harrison, was lieutenant colonel of the Twelfth Indiana Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, and removed to Minnesota in 1870. He engaged in the lumber business until 1887, when he retired. John's mother was Nancy T. Lattimore, the daughter of a prominent Presbyterian preacher in Southern Indiana.

The subject of this sketch received his early education in the public schools of Minneapolis, graduating from the high school in 1875. In 1879 he graduated from the University of Minnesota. Prior to coming to Minneapolis with his father in 1870 he worked in a flouring-mill at Liberty, Ind., where he earned his first dollar, so he was on the road to independence long before he left the halls of the Minnesota State University. Following his graduation were two years spent as chemist for the state board of health, the term comprising the years 1880-81. After that, and down to the present day, he has been engaged in the fuel and contracting business.

Mr. Goodnow's interest in politics dates from 1890. He has been president of the Minnesota State League of Republican Clubs, member of the state central committee for 1892 and 1894, chairman of the Minneapolis city committee, and member of the advisory committee of the National League. Though he has never been a candidate for political preferment, appointive or elective, he has been identified with many important measures for bringing the control of the party into the hands of all its members, and has exercised a very positive influence in state politics. He was one of the leaders in organizing the Minnesota League of Republican Clubs, and no one has devoted time, ability, and money more freely in promoting the best interests of his party generally. He was a member of the committee that secured the Republican National Convention of 1892 for Minneapolis, and he has been a delegate to the national conventions of the Republican League Clubs.

Oct. 16, 1881, Mr. Goodnow was married to Mary E. Hamilton. They have had four children, two of whom are living. Our subject is a Mason and a member of several college societies.



MORRILL, ASHBY CUTLER.—For many years Maj. A. C. Morrill has been a prominent figure in the business, political and social life of Northern Minnesota. His handsome home on the Mississippi, a short distance above the town of Little Falls, recently destroyed by fire, was for many years the center of much refined and genial hospitality. There were few more tasteful and

comfortable country residences in the state. He was born in Canterbury, N. H., Jan. 9, 1830. His father was Ezekiel Morrill of that place, a man of prominence in public affairs, who was a member of the governor's council under three of the New Hampshire governors. He was a farmer, and he died when the son was seven years old. Mary Cutler, mother of Major Morrill, was born in Hardwick, Mass. The young man was educated in the common schools and academies of his native state. He studied law at Harvard College and was admitted to practice at the Boston bar. In 1857 he removed to Minneapolis and began his career as a lawyer. In 1868 he engaged in the flouring and lumber business in that city, and kept up his interest in those lines for ten years. In 1859 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Hennepin county by the Republicans. In 1863 he was appointed agent for the Chippewa Indians, his post being on the Upper Mississippi. In 1867 he was appointed United States revenue collector. He served one term in the legislature during his residence in Minneapolis. His interest in the flour and lumber business caused him to look into the unused power of the Mississippi at Little Falls. His investigations led him to the conclusion that the improvement of this power would sooner or later make an important manufacturing town, and he began to buy property as long ago as 1881. In 1886 he bought and enlarged the elevator, and in 1885 and 1886 erected his Little Elk mills, near Little Falls.

In the recent development of Little Falls, which has brought that place forward from a county seat village of less than a thousand inhabitants to a busy manufacturing town of six or seven thousand people, with varied industries and with one of the best water powers in the Northwest, Major Morrill has taken an active part.

In 1879 Major Morrill and his wife removed from Minneapolis to Brooklyn, where they resided until 1884, but their attachment to Minnesota brought them back to make their permanent home at Little Falls.



LANGUM, SAMUEL A.—Samuel A. Langum, secretary of the State Senate of 1895, was born Aug. 18, 1837, in Bloomfield township, Fillmore county, Minnesota. His father, Andrew J. Langum, now sixty-six years old, came from Norway, his native land, about fifty years ago, and settled in Fillmore county four years later. He is a man of strong character, and has made himself noted as an advocate of the Lutheran religion. He was a distinguished correspondent of the Norwegian publications of this country and of Norway. He was so devoted to his faith that he determined to contribute at least one member of his family as a minister, and his son, Samuel A., was the one he set apart for that work. Samuel, however, after he had

made an earnest effort to turn his mind and affections in that direction, concluded that the ministry was not to his liking, and abandoned the effort. He attended the district school in his country locality, in Fillmore county, until he was fifteen years old, working on the farm springs, summers, and falls. After that he attended the academy of the Lutheran Church at Marshall, Wis. After two years there the school broke up, and he was sent to a theological school near Decorah, Iowa, where he remained a year. He then went to Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, where



SAMUEL A. LANGUM.

he remained a year. He was then nineteen years old, and became convinced that the ministry was not his calling. Settling at Preston in October, 1876, he became a clerk in the office of the register of deeds, where he first got a taste for politics. He remained in this service four years, during which time he took an active interest in political work. In the fall of 1880 he ran for sheriff of Fillmore county, and although opposed by Ole Allen, who two years previously had been elected on the Greenback wave by an overwhelming vote, Mr. Langum was elected by a large majority, being the youngest man who had ever been

elected to a county office in Fillmore county. He held the office of sheriff six years, being elected to each term by immense majorities. During his last term as sheriff, in July, 1886, he bought the Preston *Democrat*, and made it a Republican paper, changing its name to the Preston *Times*. He has made a success of the venture, and now owns the building in which the plant is operated. He was alderman of Preston during 1889 and 1890, and was deputy warden at Stillwater under J. J. Randall during 1890 and part of 1891, going out with Mr. Randall. He was a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives in 1893, having been elected in the fall of 1892 against a fusion composed of Democrats, Populists, and Prohibitionists. Mr. Langum's majority was over 800.

He was elected secretary of the Senate of 1895 by a handsome majority over such strong and excellent men as D. M. Brown of Fergus Falls, Mr. Folsom of Taylor's Falls, and Mr. Hayes of Duluth. During his service as secretary he had the good fortune never to lose a paper or bill; breaking the record, it is said, in that respect.

In 1878 Mr. Langum was married to Miss Emma C. McCollum of Preston. They have three children.



GREER, ALLEN J. - Allen J. Greer was born in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, in 1854. The family moved to Jefferson City, Mo., in 1858. Hon. Alex. Ramsey's prominence among Pennsylvanians was the means of stirring up interest in the then Far West. A great many Pennsylvanians moved to Minnesota. The Greers were inspired to move westward by the Ramsey influence, but when it came to locating in the West, they thought the Minnesota winters were too rigorous, and they therefore located in Missouri. When the war broke out James Greer, father of the subject of this sketch, sent his family back to Pennsylvania and enlisted in the Thirty-third Missouri Volunteers, under the command of Col. Clinton B. Fiske, who was in recent years Prohibition candidate for President of the United States. He died at Helena, Ark., February, 1863, while the regiment was returning from the expedition up the Pike river.

Young Allen J. Greer came West with his mother in April, 1865, and settled in Mount Pleasant, Wabasha county, Minnesota. Young Greer attended the country district school and later the Lake City schools. He moved with his mother to Lake City in 1868. He went to the Winona normal school in 1871, and graduated in 1873. He then taught school two years at Carver, in Carver county. In 1875 he entered the state university, where he graduated in 1879. He worked his way through the university by teaching institutes through the state. He graduated in the

class with Minnesotans so well known as Tim Byrnes, John Goodnow, Geo. H. Partridge, Dr. Bowman (now of Duluth), Professor West of the state university, Judge Keysor of Mankato (now district judge of Omaha, Neb.), and C. J. Rockwood of Minneapolis.

In the fall of 1879 Mr. Greer was elected county superintendent of Wabasha county, and was reëlected in 1881 without opposition. During his years of service as county superintendent he read law at odd spells with Hon. W. J. Hahn, then of Lake City and afterwards attorney general. Mr. Greer was admitted to the bar in May, 1883, and fell heir to the business of Mr. Hahn, who had, in 1882, been appointed attorney general and had moved to Minneapolis. He occupies the same office on Lyon avenue, in Lake City, as did General Hahn for ten years.

Mr. Greer was elected mayor of Lake City in 1884, and reëlected in 1885. He was a member of the Republican state central committee, and one of the executive committee of that body in 1888 and 1890. In the fall of 1890 he was elected to the House of Representatives of the legislature by over 400 majority in a strong Democratic district. He was reëlected in 1892 by an increased majority. In the fall of 1894 he was elected to the State Senate. During his three terms in the legislature he has served as a member of the committees on judiciary, education, and state university. In the session of 1895 he was chairman of the Senate committee on tax and tax laws.

He has always taken a deep interest in education and in the advancement of the state institutions, believing that all these should be built on a broad and liberal foundation to meet the future wants of the state. He was the first youth of Wabasha county to graduate from Winona and from the state university. His efforts, both in the legislature and in other ways, have resulted in increasing the attendance of the state institutions of learning. In the winter of 1895 Wabasha county had twice as many youths in the state school of agriculture as any other county of the state, a fact owing almost entirely to the interest in that direction stirred up in Wabasha county by Senator Greer. He has made it largely his business to urge the youth of that county to go to school.

Mr. Greer went to the legislature against his will, but finally yielded to the urgent request of his friends, and went for the purpose of getting a bill through, fixing the state military camp ground at Lake City. He succeeded in his purpose. He has always supported all the state guard interests in Wabasha county. During his second term in the legislature he drafted the substitute free text-book bill that passed and became a law, and which is a very popular measure throughout the state. During his preceding term he had killed the free text-book bill because it was not an optional measure. He opposed and defeated a bill of the character of the noted Bennett law of Wisconsin, which was introduced by a Populist of Mankato

named Knuteson. During his legislative career he has always been very watchful of country measures.

Mr. Greer was married in 1882 to Miss Mollie Dorman, daughter of D. B. Dorman, one of the early settlers and the first banker of old St. Anthony.



STAPLES, CHARLES FRANCIS.—Charles F. Staples was born Aug. 4, 1856, on the farm in Dakota county where he now resides and where he has lived continuously since his birth. His father, Samuel C. Staples.



ALLEN J. GREER.

was born in Newfield, Me., and was of the old Staples stock, that has been so important a factor in populating and building up so many Western communities. He is still living, a hale and hearty old gentleman, who is to-day more vigorous than scores of men who are younger in years by half. The maiden name of the mother of our subject was Catherine McDonough, a lady of Irish descent, who was exceedingly intelligent, and is said to have possessed rare personal attractions. The senior Staples is a man of thoughtful habits, and one who evidently imparted many of his personal characteristics to his son Charles, for the latter was

elected a member of the board of school commissioners as soon as he was of legal age, was made chairman of the board, and has held this position for nearly nineteen years. He was also chairman of the board of county commissioners of Dakota county four years.

In 1892 Mr. Staples was nominated by the Republicans of his county for representative in the lower branch of the state legislature. Many of his friends advised him to refuse the nomination, since the county was so strongly Democratic as to make defeat a foregone conclusion. But Mr.



CHARLES F. STAPLES.

Staples made the race, and was elected by a handsome majority over a formidable opponent. In 1894 he was again nominated for representative, and was again elected—this time by a larger majority than before. In both of these campaigns the election of a United States Senator was involved, and the Democrats, of course, made a powerful effort to defeat the Republican ticket. Mr. Staples' success was due solely to the high esteem in which he was held personally throughout his county.

At the close of the first session of the legislature of which he was a member the investigation of the state land

department was left unfinished, and the committee which had been appointed to conduct it prosecuted its work during the following two years. In the prosecution of this work Mr. Staples was active and prominent, being a member and secretary of the committee, and in the subsequent session he introduced and had charge of the bill which became a law and which now governs the business transactions of the land department. It has proved to be the most effective measure ever devised for the handling of the vast landed interests of the state.

During his second term in the legislature Mr. Staples was recognized as the leader of the Republican side of the House. He was particularly looked up to and followed by the members from the country. His influence in the legislature was universally admitted to be second to that of no member who had ever sat in that body. With a few other members of the House he joined in a successful effort to so far prune the appropriations that a material reduction was made in the annual tax levy; and for this he was so warmly commended by his constituents that even those of the Democratic faith expressed a willingness that he should again serve the county as its representative.

In the fall of 1896, during the McKinley-Bryan campaign, and against a fusion candidate, Mr. Staples was for the third time elected to represent his district in the state legislature, and at this writing he is one of the most prominently mentioned candidates for the speakership of the House.

In his political associations our subject has been an unswerving Republican. He believes that the Republican party is the real agency through which the masses can be guaranteed absolute equality of justice. He is an earnest and effective advocate of protection in its true sense—that of protecting American workingmen against unjust and unnecessary competition with the laborers of those countries where conditions do not warrant the payment of such wages as are paid to the workmen of this country. In Republican circles he is known as a conservative but accurate judge of political situations, and his counsel is sought and duly weighed whenever a campaign is to be fought in districts where he is acquainted. He has at all times enjoyed the confidence of the party leaders, and is to-day looked upon as one of the coming men.



SEARLE, DOLSON BUSH.—Dolson B. Searle, better known as Judge Searle, was born on a farm near the village of Franklinville in Western New York, June 4, 1846. He has had a peculiarly successful business, professional, and political career. His father, Almond D. Searle, a farmer, was also a native of New York State. He was a thoroughly well educated man, fairly well off, and

always took an ardent interest in politics and affairs of state, though he never held any political offices save on the school board and in the township. His grandfather Searle was a soldier in the War of 1812. On his mother's side, Judge Searle is a lineal descendant of Sir Walter Scott. His mother, Jane M. Scott, is a highly cultured woman, and is still hale and hearty at the ripe old age of eighty. Judge Searle began his education in a district school near his father's farm, after which he took a course in the academy in his native town, and graduated. After that he enlisted as a private in Company I, Sixty-fourth New York Infantry, and served for two years, during which time he participated in the following battles: He was at Fair Oaks and stood next to General Howard when that old veteran had his arm shot off; later he was in the battles of Seven Pines, Gaines' Mills, the Seven Days' Fight, the second battle of Bull Run, and at Antietam. In 1864 he was detailed for special duty in the War Department at Washington, and was discharged from the service, by President Lincoln, to accept a civil appointment in the War Department. He served in this position continuously until June, 1871, during the most of which time he was in charge of an important War Department bureau. During these years spent in Washington he found time to attend the law department of Columbia College, from which he graduated in 1868. It may be remarked, also, that his official duties in the department named brought him into close contact with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, for whom the young department clerk had a warm friendship. Judge Searle was in the audience in Ford's old theater at Washington the night President Lincoln was shot, and his description of the incidents connected with that fatality is interesting in the extreme. When he resigned his position in the War Department in June, 1871, he came to St. Cloud, Minn., and almost immediately formed a partnership with ex-Judge E. O. Hamlin, a leading lawyer of Minnesota in those days, and at one time Democratic candidate for governor of the state. A year later Judge Hamlin returned to his native State of Pennsylvania, leaving Mr. Searle to continue the practice of law alone in St. Cloud. It was then that Judge Searle really began his very successful career as an advocate and jurist, which he has added to very materially each succeeding year. He was a ripe scholar and well versed in law when he came to Minnesota, and soon began to rank among the able attorneys in this state, of which it had its full quota. His reputation was not confined to that part of the state in which he lived, but soon extended to St. Paul and Minneapolis, as an evidence of which he was at different times the attorney for the Northern Pacific, the old St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba and the "Soo" roads up to the time he went on the bench in 1887. In 1880 he received the Republican nomination for county attorney of Stearns county, which nominally gives a Democratic ma-

jority of three thousand, and was elected by over one thousand majority. In April, 1882, while still county attorney of Stearns county, President Arthur appointed him United States district attorney for Minnesota, in which position he served until October, 1885, when he tendered his resignation to President Cleveland. An incident in connection with this resignation is worthy of notice here. Those who are at all familiar with or who took any interest in politics during the first Cleveland administration, will recall how President Cleveland, after giving his unqualified indorse-



DOLSON B. SEARLE.

ment to the cause of civil service reform, afterwards sought various ways in which to remove Republican incumbents and place loyal Democrats in office. One of the characteristic charges against Republican office-holders by that administration was that of "pernicious activity"—a term that belonged wholly to the first Cleveland administration and has passed down into political history. Judge Searle was really anxious to resign the office of United States district attorney, but did not propose to do it if there were any charges made against him nor if any were pending. His telegram tendering his resignation to President Cleveland was as

follows: "If you desire my resignation as United States attorney for this district I hereby beg leave to tender the same, providing no charges have been made or are pending against me." It is needless to say that his resignation was accepted at once, and he was relieved from the duties of his office. No charges had been or were thought of, as Judge Searle well knew when he sent that telegram; but, as he says himself, he "wanted to put President Cleveland on record as to the civil service." Soon after his appointment as district attorney by President Arthur, he took his



EDWARD H. SMALLEY.

brother, F. E. Searle, into partnership with him, for the purpose of leaving his large law practice in capable hands while attending to the duties of his federal office. This partnership continued until the spring of 1886, when F. E. Searle retired from the firm to accept the presidency of the German-American Bank of St. Cloud. Later he took Charles F. Lamb into partnership for one year, when Mr. Lamb retired from the law business to accept the general agency of the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company for Stearns county. Judge Searle formed one other partnership, with Geo. W. Stewart of St. Cloud in the spring of 1887, which

continued until Governor McGill appointed him to the district bench of the Seventh judicial district, on the twelfth day of November, 1887, to take the place made vacant by the appointment of Judge Collins to the supreme bench. A year later Judge Searle was elected to the bench without opposition, having received the indorsement of all the parties. In 1892 he received the Republican nomination for Congress, in the then new Sixth district, in the convention held at Duluth in July. Though he ran more than a thousand votes ahead of the national ticket in that district, he was defeated by a small majority. Two years later, in 1894, notwithstanding the defeat alluded to, he was nominated unanimously and reelected to the bench in the Seventh judicial district, a position he will probably continue to hold as long as he will permit the use of his name. As a judge he has few equals and no superiors in the state. It was before him and Judge Baxter that the first of the notorious "Pine Land Cases" was tried. It is, unfortunately, a matter of record in this state that the pine land rings practically dominated the state auditor's office and never received a check in their wild plans of aggrandizement until the present state auditor was elected. Very soon thereafter he brought suit against C. A. Smith & Co. of Minneapolis, and the case was heard by Judges Searle and Baxter and a judgment rendered in favor of the state for several thousand dollars, which was very promptly paid by the defendants. The rendering of this judgment was really the first time that the pine land rings of Minnesota realized that they had anything to fear from the courts, and it was fortunate for the state that the case was brought before such judges as Searle and Baxter.

Feb. 16, 1875, Judge Searle was married to Miss Elizabeth Clarke of Worcester, Mass. Their only child died when five years of age. Aside from his professional and judicial duties, Judge Searle has found time to interest himself in about every public enterprise inaugurated for the advancement of St. Cloud interests. He is a member of Elk Lodge, No. 59, of St. Paul, is a Knight of Pythias, and a Knight Templar of the Columbia Commandery of Washington, D. C. Judge Searle was, on Oct. 24, 1896, appointed aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel on the staff of the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic.



S MALLEY, EDWARD H.—E. H. Smalley was born at Sheboygan, Wis., Nov. 13, 1852, where his father was engaged in manufacturing, removing, five years later, to Manitowoc, where his boyhood was spent. He received his primary education in the schools of that village. The door of the country schoolhouse opened the way for him, as it has for so many others of our youth, to a

higher education, and for three years he taught school in the county of which Manitowoc is the seat, earning thereby the money which defrayed his expenses while attending the state university at Madison, from whose law school he graduated in the class of 1875. He continued the study of law, first in the office of Judge P. L. Spooner, in Madison, and later in that of his son, Senator John L. Spooner, at Hudson, Wis.

He went to Swift county, Minnesota, and there practiced law for eighteen months, when he joined the throng that sought fortune amid the gold-bearing mountains of the Black Hills, and, until December, 1881, he practiced his profession in the city of Deadwood, S. D. He then went to Caledonia, in this state, and entered into partnership with his brother, P. J. Smalley, in law practice, a partnership that lasted until 1888. It having been a stipulation in the agreement that there should be no office-seeking or holding by either member, and the Republicans having nominated the junior member for county attorney, the partnership was dissolved. He was elected, and served one term, during which he offended some of his fellow servants by lopping off some of the "perquisites" of their offices not sanctioned by law, and they were influential in securing his defeat at the next convention. In 1892 he was nominated for county attorney by the Populists of Houston county, and while himself supporting the Republican ticket except the candidate for county attorney, was defeated by the regular nominee. Since then he has eschewed practical politics, and devoted himself entirely to his profession, but aiding his party all in his power.

He married Angeline Kimball, daughter of one of the early settlers in Chicago, and to them one child was born, to die in early infancy. Mr. Smalley is a Republican. His father was one of the first to join the new party in 1854, having been, as was his father, a Whig after the Federalists went out of existence.



MCINNIS, NEIL.—St. Louis county was particularly fortunate in her representation in the last session of the legislature. Of the three representatives in the lower house, Neil McInnis was the member from the mining district in the north and eastern part of the county, in many respects the most important section of the state. He was born at Port Hastings, Nova Scotia, Jan. 6, 1841. Though a citizen of the United States by adoption, there is none more loyal than he. He is of Scotch ancestry, and possesses all the determination and energy characteristic of that nationality. His father owned a mill at Port Hastings, and a farm near by on which he raised his family. He was an active and influential man, both in busi-

ness and politics, in the part of Nova Scotia in which he lived. The local district school was located on the McInnis farm near Port Hastings, and it was here that Neil got his early education. The school was similar to our district schools in Minnesota, but not so high a grade. At thirteen he went into a general merchandise store as a clerk, remaining there five years. Then he worked on the farm and in his father's mill for eight years. At twenty-six he struck out in the world for himself, and found a position in a hardware store in Boston, where he worked three

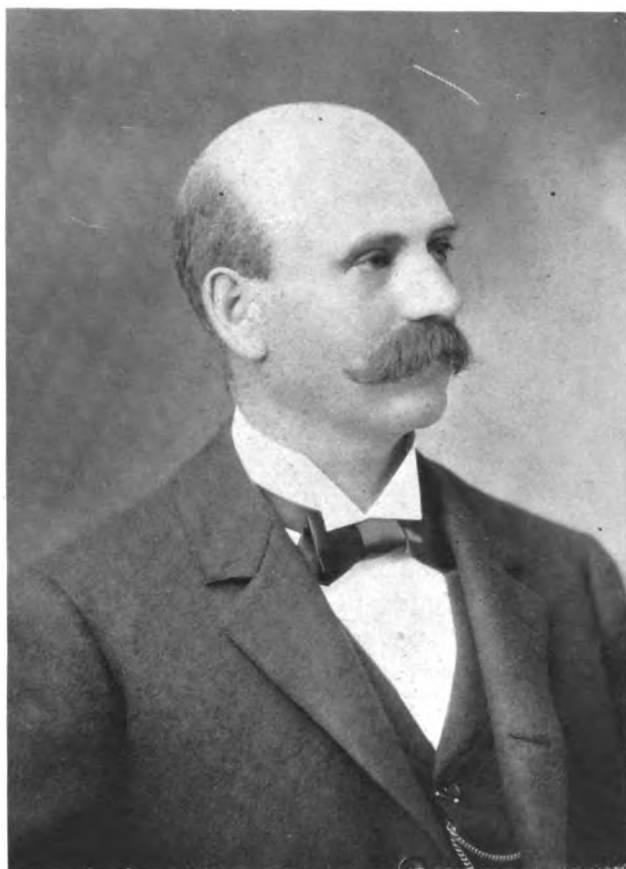


NEIL MCINNIS.

years. In 1870 he came to Chicago and became superintendent for a contractor then building one of the street railways in that city. In May, 1871, he obtained a similar position on the Wisconsin Central. The following September, deciding to take a trip into Minnesota, he visited Winona, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth. He remained only a short time in Minnesota, and went from Duluth to Marquette, Mich., where he engaged in mining and exploring, following that business thirteen years. In July, 1884, he came to Tower, Minn., and opened a general merchandise store under the firm name of McNamara & McInnis,

in which he was engaged for the next three years. Then he bought out his partner and continued alone in the business until the spring of 1892, when he sold out and engaged in mining and exploration work, which he has followed ever since.

Though Mr. McInnis is now a leader of the Republican party in St. Louis county, he was nearly nine years in the United States before he took any active interest in politics. He cast his first vote in the United States for General Grant in the election of 1872, and has never voted any but



EDGAR WEAVER.

a Republican ticket since. Samuel J. Tilden was an extensive mine owner in Marquette county, Michigan, and this was one of the causes that made the presidential campaign of 1876 the most active ever known in Northern Michigan. It was here that Mr. McInnis first made his reputation as an organizer and political manager. He did active service in organizing a large and influential Republican club in Marquette, and has taken a hand in every political campaign, both in Michigan and Minnesota, ever since. The only office he ever held in Michigan was to act as a member of the local school board. Upon coming to Tower, in

1884, he became an active worker in the Republican ranks of St. Louis county in Minnesota, as he had been in Marquette county in Michigan. He was several times elected to various municipal offices, was a member of the school board, and in 1894 was nominated by the Republicans and duly elected one of the three representatives in the state legislature from St. Louis county. In the legislature he was chairman of the committee on mines and mining, and was on the public lands and forestry committee, the census committee, appropriations committee, and the normal school committee. He introduced and had passed the bill locating the new normal school at Duluth. In the legislature he was known as an active and influential member, whose success was due to quiet and effective work. He has been successful as a business man, and has accumulated a very comfortable fortune.

Feb. 24, 1868, he was married to Miss Marcella McDonald of Halifax, Nova Scotia. They have four children, three girls and one boy. His eldest daughter is married, and lives at Tower, Minn. He is a member of the Knights of Pythias and Odd Fellows societies.



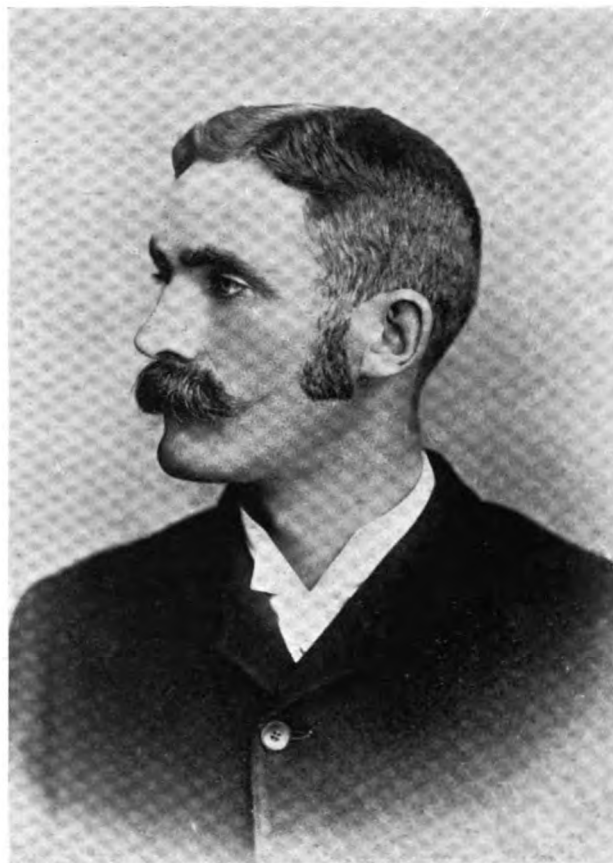
WEAVER, EDGAR.—Edgar Weaver, mayor of Mankato and president of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society, was born in Milton, Rock county, Wisconsin, in 1852. On his father's side he is of Welsh ancestry, on his mother's side he is of Dutch extraction. The line of descent is American on both sides, however, for more than a century. His father's great-grandfather immigrated from Wales to the American colonies, and his father's father and grandfather were both born in the State of New York. His father's mother, Trobeida Morehouse, was the daughter of a Revolutionary soldier. His mother's grandfather, whose name was Van Antwerp, came from the city of Antwerp, Belgium, and belonged to a family that traced back to the origin of that city. His mother's grandmother's name was Betsey Connor, whose father originally owned the General Herkimer estate in Central New York. The name indicates an Irish ancestry for this branch of the family. His father, Asa Weaver, removed from New York to Milton, Wis., in 1845, and was one of the early settlers of that part of the state. His occupation was that of a builder and contractor. Edgar Weaver attended school at Milton College, Wisconsin. In 1879 he came to Minnesota and located in Mankato as the general agent of the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Company of Racine, Wis., a position he still holds. Mr. Weaver may be said to have inherited his Republican politics. His father was an ardent Republican, and so were all the members of both his father's and mother's families. His active business interests kept him out of public office, however, until he was

elected mayor of Mankato in 1893. He served his city in this position with such efficiency that in 1895 he was reelected without any opposition. He has always been a progressive and public-spirited citizen, and has taken a leading part in the various movements that have advanced Mankato from the rank of a country village to that of a prosperous manufacturing and commercial center and the metropolis of Southern Minnesota. His active and intelligent interest in the promotion of the agricultural resources of the state brought him into the work of the State Agricultural Society, and in 1894 he was elected first vice president of that society. In 1895 he succeeded to the presidency, and in 1896 he was elected for a second term. The fair held in 1895, under his management, was the most successful in the annals of the society. In 1895 he became a member of the state board of control of farmers' institutes, and was elected its secretary. He is a thirty-second degree Mason, a Knight Templar, and a member of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. In 1889 he was married to Miss Kittie Wise, daughter of John C. Wise of Mankato. Mr. Weaver is a good type of the progressive men who, in the midst of engrossing and successful business careers, are ready to devote their energies to the general welfare of the community and the state.



ZELCH, JOHN.—John Zelch, an energetic and thorough Republican by training and natural bent, and whose identity with the Republican party has been distinguished, was born at Hesse Castle, in the province of Hesse, Prussia, on the 27th of September, 1860. He was the first child born to Peter Zelch and Anna George. Peter Zelch was born in Prussia, trained in the skilled and hardy labor of the iron worker of his day, and was for some years a soldier in the German army. When John Zelch was but a few months old his parents immigrated to America, settling in Minnesota and near St. Paul in May, 1861. His earliest education was obtained in the district school of Reserve township, now a part of St. Paul, and in the locality specifically known as Merriam Park, where the Zelch family then resided. This was followed by a year's private tuition, and by the completion of his studies in the higher public schools in St. Paul. As a student he was industrious, and always carried off high school honors; but lack of means prevented him from obtaining the highest scholastic education which he desired, and he was obliged to abandon schooling and turn to work while he was a mere boy. His first work was at farming, principally for his father, who paid his sons with the same regularity and business equity that was shown to all the men he employed. It was while thus working that John earned his first dollar. Farm work was interspersed with small contracting and grading,

and, being a prudent young man, he soon acquired sufficient means with which to make a first payment upon a farm of his own at Cottage Grove, Minn., which he afterward paid for and made of it one of the finest farms in that portion of the state. The original purchase was made in October, 1882, and in 1885 he purchased adjoining property, making his farm one of 640 acres, which property he has continued to improve and to reside upon. He farmed very extensively, often cropping 1,000 acres of rented land besides his own. In addition to grain farming Mr. Zelch early



JOHN ZELCH.

developed important and valuable stock-breeding interests, and imported fancy draught horses as well. He made five trips to Europe within a very few years, making large purchases of fine stock each time. He bred and introduced much of the finest draught stock now used throughout the Northwest, and has carried off innumerable gold prizes and rewards with fine animals at various expositions.

In 1890 Mr. Zelch became one of the organizers and heavy stockholders of the Anchor Shoe Company of St. Paul, of which organization he was later elected vice president. He also became heavily interested in the Life Insur-

ance Clearance Company of St. Paul, immediately upon its being established. He was a very considerable purchaser of Pacific coast property in the era of activity in the Puget Sound country.

He was always a Republican, as his father was from the very day of the issuance of his naturalization papers, and labored strenuously at all times for the success of the party. He never asked public office preferment at any time, though for many years, during the decade between 1880 and 1890, he was regularly elected to his town board.



MOSES E. CLAPP.

In 1890 he was elected to the Minnesota legislature from Washington county. The legislature of that year was of Populistic complexion, and the Republicans were unable to accomplish much that they desired to, but Mr. Zelch introduced the famous text-book bill for free and uniform text-books in the public schools, and was a chief promoter of the wheat investigation bill which was passed. He was, after the session, a member of the wheat investigation committee which sat for sixty days and placed the facts in connection with elevators, wheat grading, handling, etc., for the first time truthfully before the people.

In 1892 he was reelected to the legislature, and made chairman of the important grain and warehouse committee. He was also a member of the Republican "steering" committee and of the committee of seven having in charge the candidacy of Hon. Cushman K. Davis for the United States senatorship. During this session he introduced a number of important grain bills, and succeeded in having passed the bills for licensing warehouses, for establishing legal grain grades, etc., many of them being passed against bitter opposition.

Mr. Zelch became a Mason in 1881, later taking Knights Templar and Shriner degrees. He is also a Knight of Pythias and an Elk. On the 6th of June, 1895, he married Mary F. Hart, daughter of Rev. E. J. Hart of Cottage Grove, Minn., and a son was born to them on the 17th of March, 1896.



CLAPP, MOSES E.—What Henry Clay was to the politics of Kentucky in the earlier stages of his public career, Moses E. Clapp has been to the politics of Minnesota during the past fifteen years. Possessed of a magnificent physique and endowed with a rare talent for oratory, it was natural that he should choose the profession of the law; and he had scarcely located at Fergus Falls, Otter Tail county, Minnesota, in 1881, ere he was called to the leadership of the Republican party in that section of the state. He was singularly successful in his professional career at Fergus Falls, participating in some of the most notable cases on trial in Minnesota and the then territory of Dakota. His natural bent led him to a specialty in the trial of criminal cases, and, had he continued in this special line of practice, there is no doubt that he would have attained the highest renown as a criminal lawyer. In 1886, however, he was nominated on the Republican ticket for attorney general of the state, and was elected by a complimentary majority. He was twice re-nominated and reelected to that office, and in these three campaigns he established the reputation of being one of the most powerful and magnetic orators who ever participated in the arguments upon the hustings in Minnesota. His style of speaking is impressive, impassioned, and thoroughly convincing. He has ready access to a generous vocabulary, and his leonine appearance on the platform gives great force to his fervid utterances. Especially in the campaign of 1886 did he distinguish himself as a master of the fine art of stump oratory, and as the contest was close and the result in doubt, he received a large share of the credit for the victory in that campaign.

At the close of his last term as a state official, General Clapp made St. Paul his actual residence, and entered into

a business partnership with N. H. Clapp and A. E. Macartney, under the firm name of Clapp & Macartney.

In 1896 he became a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor, leading the opposition to the existing administration. Though defeated for the nomination, he took part in the ensuing campaign, and it was largely due to his personal efforts on the rostrum and among his friends that a magnificent victory was scored by the party when practically the entire opposition was massed against it behind a candidate of strong personality.

Moses E. Clapp was born at Delphi, Ind., May 21, 1851. His father, Harvey S. Clapp, was a native of Vermont and descended from French and English ancestry. His mother was descended from the old Dutch settlers of New York, her maiden name being Jane A. Vandercook. General Clapp was married in 1873 to Miss Hattie Allen of New Richmond, Wis., and they have had four children, three of whom are still living—a boy and two girls. He began the practice of law at Hudson, Wis., in 1873, his professional education having been acquired in the University of Wisconsin. After a successful practice of his profession for nine years in Hudson, he removed, as stated, to Fergus Falls, Minn., where his record was made and his life in Minnesota begun.



THOMPSON, GEORGE.—No conventional biography is adequate to the consideration of George Thompson as a factor in the upbuilding of the Republican party in Minnesota. Almost from the first day of his residence in the state he became identified with the party organization, and from that time up to the present his connection with it has been one which was in every way profitable to the party and creditable to himself.

Coming to St. Paul in 1883, after a successful business career in Joliet, Ill., Mr. Thompson purchased the *St. Paul Dispatch*, and at once began the reorganization of that influential paper on wholly original lines. He did not wait for the *Dispatch* to become established as a successful business enterprise to make it felt as a political agency, but built it up largely through the aid of Republicans who admired its fearlessness and its unswerving fealty to Republican principles.

To the public, to the Republican party, and to his business and social acquaintances, George Thompson is known as a discriminating and successful editor, a loyal and partisan Republican, and a polished and sociable gentleman. Such a man, with such a newspaper, it must be seen, necessarily has great power. No one realizes this more than Mr. Thompson himself, yet there is no humble worker in the party ranks who demands less of it. If his favorites

are nominated for office, he supports them with no greater fervor and effectiveness than when the party nominees are not men to his personal liking. He recognizes the composite wisdom of the party as superior to the personal judgment of one man, and it is to this characteristic that is attributable much of the influence which he exerts as an individual in the direction of party affairs.

Since taking charge of the *Dispatch*, Mr. Thompson has rendered efficient service to the party as a campaign speaker as well as an editor and publisher. He has aided



GEORGE THOMPSON.

materially in bringing about good city government and in furthering the interests of the Republican party in both city and state. In these efforts he demonstrated the fact that he is a very practical politician and a fearless journalist. Perhaps the vigorous policy of the *Dispatch* and the personal courage of its editor were never more pointedly illustrated than when, in a recent campaign, a prominent candidate for a high office served upon the *Dispatch* a demand for the retraction of certain statements. Mr. Thompson detailed a trusted reporter to investigate the charges, and satisfied himself that they were well founded. He re-

fused to retract, and papers were served in an action for libel. The next day the paper came out with a double-leaded leader reiterating all that it had previously said, supporting the former statement with others still stronger, and closing with a proposition to pay in advance all the expenses of the action if the plaintiff would immediately proceed to the trial of the case. The proposition was not accepted, the candidate was not elected, and the case took the usual course.

So far as office is concerned, our subject has twice been a delegate at large to national conventions and always to

in close sympathy with the work of her husband, and if he has ever needed encouragement or the stimulant of a commending word, it has come from home. She is thoroughly familiar with the details of the newspaper business, is in full accord with her husband in his work and in his ambitions, and is a charming hostess and a devoted wife. Two beautiful children, both girls, constitute their family, and the elegant home on Laurel avenue, in St. Paul, is seldom without guests.



EDWARD G. KRAHMER.

the state conventions and party gatherings, but he has never held any remunerative public position, nor has he sought any political prominence whatever. He has preferred to serve the party rather than to let the party serve him, and in no single instance has he ever failed to give it the best service that a clear intelligence, a warm enthusiasm and a generosity which knows no limit could offer.

In his business and political career, Mr. Thompson has had the wise counsel, the helping hand and the cheering companionship of a wife whose influence extends far beyond the threshold of her home. Mrs. Thompson has been

KRAHMER, EDWARD G.—Among the enterprising and public-spirited young business men of St. Paul, Edward G. Krahmer stands in the front rank. He was born in New Ulm, Minn., on Jan. 31, 1858, the memorable year in which our state was admitted into the Union, and he has always remained a faithful son to the soil of his nativity. The blood of a sturdy German ancestry courses in his veins. His father, Edward F. Krahmer, immigrated from his native Germany early in life to seek his fortune, and found a new home on the western frontiers of civilization. After two years' residence in Chicago, from 1852 to 1854, the steady stream of venturesome pioneers once more carried him westward to the little hamlet of New Ulm, ensconced in the very heart of a virgin country of boundless promise. Here he was married, in 1857, to Miss Phillipina Pfaff, who shared with him all the privations and vicissitudes of frontier life. When, in 1862, the atrocities of the historic Indian massacre sent a thrill of horror over the country, Mr. Krahmer's father was one of that heroic band who volunteered their services in defense of the scattered homes of the terror-stricken settlers. In that same year Mr. Krahmer, Sr., removed with his family to St. Paul. He still survives as one of the pioneer settlers of the city, and is actively engaged in the fuel business.

Edward G. Krahmer was four years of age when his youthful gaze first beheld the small cluster of frame buildings out of which was destined to arise the future metropolis of the Northwest. His early training was derived from the public schools of the city, and was finished by a commercial college course. From that time forward Mr. Krahmer has always, in some manner, been closely identified with the business interests of St. Paul. He was first associated with his father as painting contractors, in which line they conducted an extensive business. After his father's retirement from the firm, Mr. Krahmer assumed the general management and continued the business as the senior member of E. G. Krahmer & Co. His long and successful activity in this branch terminated in 1891, when he retired from the firm in order to engage in the wider field afforded by the real estate and renting business. In this

line Mr. Krahmer's energy, painstaking industry, and scrupulous integrity soon commanded confidence, as a result of which he has been intrusted with the general care and management of large real estate interests. In 1884 Mr. Krahmer was married to Miss Emma Albrecht, who, with a son of eleven years, contribute to render his home life in all respects what it should be.

Mr. Krahmer's native sagacity and sound business judgment have been not a little sought after in the councils of the Republican party, to which he has always owned allegiance; and when it came to pass that the Third ward of the city demanded representation in the city council, Mr. Krahmer's name at once suggested itself, and received the loyal and enthusiastic indorsement of his party. He was nominated and elected to the assembly by a large plurality in the spring of 1896. His characteristic energy and ability here found ample scope in the responsible and arduous labors of his office. During his term matters of grave importance were presented for solution, and Mr. Krahmer's prudent and fearless attitude on these public questions did not fail to win for him the general respect and applause of his fellow citizens. His splendid career in the council and his widespread popularity asserted themselves in the Republican county convention of September, 1896; and in recognition of his valuable public services, he was unanimously nominated for the office of Register of Deeds. A majority of nearly 6,000 votes over the fusion candidate at that election voiced the general sentiment of the community.

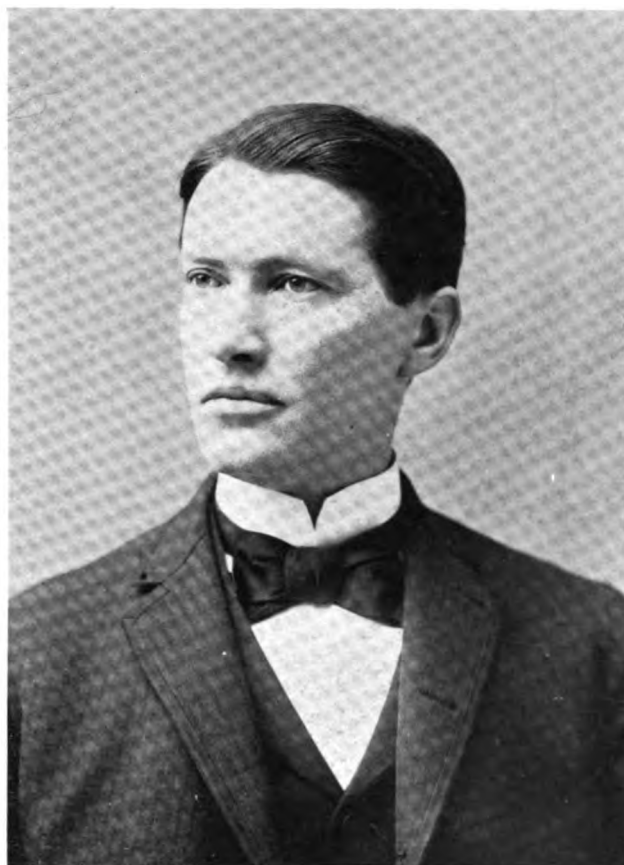
Mr. Krahmer, withal, counts hosts of friends among men of all parties, and is a popular member of the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Junior Pioneers. He is a careful observer of public affairs, and is always zealous in promoting the best interests of the city.



HOWARD, STEPHEN BENNETT.—Stephen B. Howard was born into that rugged rural environment from which so many illustrious men have come, on the 16th day of April, 1856, in Cedar township, Floyd county, Iowa. He was the first child born in the township and the second born in the county, his advent occurring in the first house ever erected in the township, which was built by his father, Sanders M. Howard. The latter was a son of Elbert Howard, a wealthy man who, though a Southerner in every interest, became a most radical Abolitionist and voluntarily liberated the large number of slaves which he owned, and moved first to Northern Kentucky. Sanders M. Howard, father of Stephen Bennett Howard, located in Illinois in the very early days of that state, and engaged in farming in the poor but vigorous pioneer fashion. In

1849 he crossed the plains with an ox team to California and engaged in mining, amassing a comfortable fortune, which was afterwards lost through unfortunate business associations. In 1854 he returned East and removed from Illinois to Iowa, where Stephen Bennett Howard was born. The mother of the latter was, prior to her marriage, Miss Francis Bennett, of a poor but highly respected Illinois farming family, and whose mother was Miss Betsy Knickerbocker, of the famous New York family of that name.

Stephen Bennett Howard's education was begun in the district schools in the neighborhood of his birthplace. From



STEPHEN B. HOWARD.

these primitive educational institutions he went to the Wesleyan Methodist Seminary at Wassioja, Wis., and then to the State University of Iowa. He graduated in the philosophical course from the Iowa University in 1883, with high honors. During his student days he took much interest and an active part in the work of the school literary societies and in oratorical contests. As sophomore he carried off the first honors of the university in oratory, and was secretary and treasurer of the state oratorical association. As junior he also won first prize for oratory, and was chosen delegate to the interstate oratorical contest at

Indianapolis, after which he again took first prize at the Iowa State University, and also in the state contest. In 1883 he represented Iowa at the oratorical contest in Minneapolis. After graduating, he edited the *Iowa City Daily Republican* for one year, and in 1884 moved to Minneapolis, where he has since resided. He studied law with Mr. W. H. Morris, and was admitted to practice in the supreme court in 1885, since which time he has practiced law continuously, though he has been in part occupied with a number of business enterprises.

votes cast. As representative he introduced and succeeded in having passed the bill creating the state labor bureau. He was a member of the judiciary committee, and led the fight against the famous "Anti-Scalper" bill. He worked and voted for the street car vestibule bill, the anti-ironclad law, the factory inspection bill, the bill to protect union labels, and the bill making Labor Day a legal holiday. He was a courageous and tireless worker in any legislative cause which he espoused.

Mr. Howard is a member of the Delta-Taw-Delta college fraternity of the Iowa State University, and retains a keen interest in literary and oratorical as well as political work.



ALLEN F. FERRIS.

In 1887 Mr. Howard was married to Miss Fannie M. Hammond of Waterloo, Iowa, and a little daughter blessed the marriage in 1892.

Mr. Howard was reared a Republican, and has clung continuously to that political faith, never having voted at any time with any other party. In 1892 he was elected to the House of Representatives in the Minnesota state legislature from the Thirty-fourth district, and in 1894 he was elected to the State Senate from the same district. The nomination for state senator was made by acclamation. He received a majority of 2,770 votes out of a total of 5,400

FERRIS, ALLEN F.—Allen F. Ferris, the banker-legislator of Brainerd, was born at Perrysburg, N. Y., July 22, 1865. His father, Wm. Ferris, was for many years agent at that place for the New York & Erie Railway Company and the United States Express Company. His mother was Miss Beulah Allen, daughter of the judge of one of the New York courts. Mr. Ferris came with his parents to Brainerd in 1872. There he attended the public schools, and in 1882 went to Carleton College, where he remained two years. He returned to Brainerd, and, in 1885, became teller in the First National Bank of that city. This bank was founded by his father in 1880, and his father was its president from the time of its organization until his death in 1881. Mr. Ferris was elected cashier of the bank in 1887 and president thereof in 1891, a position he still holds.

When the game and fish commission of the state first came into existence, which was in 1891, Governor Merriam appointed Mr. Ferris a member of the board. In the drawing for length of terms he drew the six-year term. He was also a member and vice president of the Brainerd city council for four years, beginning in 1891.

In the fall of 1894 he was elected to the state legislature. In the session which followed he was chairman of the House railroad committee and a member of the committees on banks and banking, logs and lumber, on the state prison, and of the special committee on building and loan associations. He introduced several important bills which became laws. Among these was the bill to furnish grass seed to farmers in burned districts. This law has been very beneficial, the wide tracts which were burned over by the fires of 1893 being now covered with a strong growth of grass as a result of the seed distributed by the state. He introduced a new game and fish bill, which, with some amendments, became the law now in existence. He introduced a bill licensing fishing with nets at certain seasons of the year in international waters, which was the subject

of long and heated debate, but which finally passed after having twice passed both bodies of the legislature. Mr. Ferris took a leading part in the forestry legislation, and also in aiding the passage of the bank and banking bills which placed state banks under a more rigid examination. It may be added that he is treasurer of the game and fish commission organized under the law of 1895.

Mr. Ferris married Miss Anna M. Steege of Waverly, Iowa. They have one child.

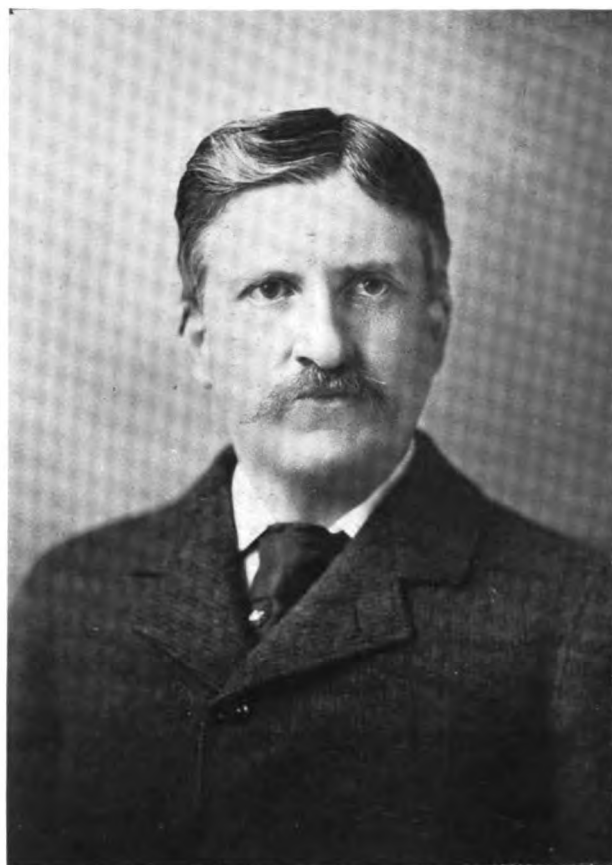


McLAIN, JOHN SCUDDER.—John S. McLain, son of James Robinson and Nancy Anderson McLain, was born on a farm near Ripley, Ohio, May 26, 1853. James R. McLain was a farmer in moderate circumstances. He was a native of Pennsylvania, but moved with his parents, when a child, by flatboat down the Ohio river to Cincinnati, near which place the family settled. His father was a millwright, but settled on a farm; and there it was that James R. grew up as a farmer boy under such influences as developed the sturdy, rugged character of the Middle Western pioneers. The Christian influences of his boyhood home impressed themselves strongly upon a serious and thoughtful mind, and reappeared in his own family and social relations. He removed to Illinois in the spring of 1854, when the subject of this sketch was only a year old, and settled on a farm near Yorkville, in Kendall county.

It was here that John S. grew up. He attended the district school and an academy at Aurora, Ill. In the fall of 1869 he was sent to Crawfordsville, Ind., where, after a year in the preparatory department, he entered Wabash College in the class of 1874. He continued in school there three years; but in 1872, owing to financial reverses suffered by his father, who had moved to Paola, Kan., in 1869, John was obliged to leave college and begin to care for himself. He had already developed an inclination for newspaper work, and decided to prepare for it. With this in view he secured employment with Leslie J. Perry, editor and publisher at Paola, and there began his newspaper experience, learning the printer's trade and assisting in the local news department of the paper. The publisher was an excellent printer and a vigorous writer, and Mr. McLain has always looked back upon the time spent with him as profitable.

In 1873 our subject went to St. Louis, intending to continue his studies to some extent in Washington University, and hoping to get a chance to do some newspaper work with which to pay expenses. It was just at a time when business was greatly depressed, and, for a period, the situation was very discouraging; but he was determined to make a place for himself, and went to work on the old St. Louis *Democrat*, then published by G. W. Fishback. He

hustled for news, wrote up special articles, and in every way possible made himself useful to the paper for over two months without receiving a cent for his services. He had, however, attracted the favorable attention of the management, and was commended for his course and offered five dollars a week if he chose to take it. This was better than nothing to a boy who had but a few dollars left. He continued in daily newspaper work in St. Louis nearly two years, going from the *Democrat* to the *Times* and from the *Times* to the *Globe*, the change being made in each instance on the offer of better salary.



JOHN S. McLAIN.

At this time he decided to return to college and complete his college course; so he went to Crawfordsville, in the fall of 1875, and entered as a junior in the class of 1877, with which he was graduated. He remained a year in Crawfordsville, engaged in post-graduate work, and in the summer of 1878 went to Kansas City to find employment on a daily newspaper. Introducing himself to the editor of the *Kansas City Journal*, he was soon put at work. He remained with that paper three years as reporter, city editor, and finally as managing editor. In the fall of 1881, overwork and ill-health compelling him to seek a less arduous

and confining task, he was appointed general advertising agent of the Santa Fe Railway and removed to Topeka, Kan. Two years later the immigration department was organized and he was made chief clerk, a position which he held until the summer of 1885, when the railway company had disposed of all its lands and the immigration department was discontinued.

This gave our subject an opportunity to get back to newspaper work, and in October he secured the position of editor of the *Minneapolis Journal*, which passed into the hands of new proprietors on November 1st of that year. Mr.



DANIEL W. BRUCKART.

McLain has been at the head of the *Journal's* editorial department ever since—universally recognized as one of the ablest editors in the Northwest. He has acquired a financial interest in the paper, and has devoted his time and energies diligently to its building up. While the *Journal* has maintained a degree of independence which has distinguished it from the mere party organ, it has always been a vigorous advocate of Republican principles.

Mr. McLain was married April 19, 1881, to Miss Caroline E. Thomson, daughter of the late Prof. S. S. Thomson of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.

BRUCKART, DANIEL WEBB.—Daniel W. Bruckart, more familiarly known throughout Northern Minnesota as "Dan" Bruckart, is a lawyer of exceptional ability and a resident of St. Cloud, the county seat of Stearns county. He first saw the light of day on the 23d of April, 1851, at Silver Springs, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and is therefore past his forty-fifth year. He comes of good old Pennsylvania stock, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, being the birthplace of both his father and mother. His father, Samuel Bruckart, was a mine owner and dealer in coal, and his mother was the daughter of Col. J. Habecker, a wealthy and prominent citizen of Lancaster county, who was one of President Buchanan's early advisers in Pennsylvania. His early education embraced such facilities as were offered by the country schools in Lancaster county, up to the age of fourteen years, when he went to the Millersville State Normal School of Pennsylvania for four successive summers, teaching school winters. Mr. Bruckart is not only a good lawyer, but an exceptionally good business man as well, the result being a goodly accumulation of this world's goods. At twelve years of age he employed his vacation days working in the iron mines, and at thirteen he practically had a monopoly on the sale of newspapers in and about his native town, Silver Springs. He is an entertaining talker, especially so when he grows reminiscent over those early days in his native town in Pennsylvania. Fortunate indeed is the man who finds him with enough time to revert to those old days and tell of the peculiar experiences he had as a vender of that staunch old Union journal, the *Philadelphia Press*, besides the *Lancaster Express* and *Lancaster Intelligencer*, during those trying months of 1864 and 1865, when the nation's life hung in the balance. To quote his own words: "I well remember the day of Lee's surrender, and the terrific excitement it created,—an excitement, even in our little village, compared with which the returns from a present-day presidential election is like a gentle breeze compared to a cyclone. Of course, our people were looking hourly for some definite news, and by previous arrangement with the railroad company I had my papers come to Silver Springs by a different route, getting them there about two hours ahead of the regular time. Even in that little village I sold over four hundred copies among the villagers and miners. I was back there some two years ago, and found some of those papers, giving the account of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, still kept as relics of those stirring times."

In the fall of 1869, Mr. Bruckart, having completed his term in the Millersville normal school, entered Lafayette College at Easton, Pa., and remained there until his junior year, studying law meanwhile preparatory to his entrance into the law department of the University of Iowa in the

fall of 1871, from which he was graduated and admitted to the bar in 1872. Of his early schooling, Mr. Bruckart says: "Notwithstanding the chaotic condition of things in Pennsylvania incident to war times, the school system there was such as to be a credit to any state at any period of its existence, and especially was this true of the Millersville State Normal School and Lafayette College, among whose early students can be found the names of men who have since distinguished themselves in the various paths of business and professional life in this country."

In the fall of 1872 he began the practice of law at Independence, Iowa, subsequently becoming connected with the legal department of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern Railroad, a position he held until his removal to St. Cloud in November, 1883. Always a consistent Republican, Mr. Bruckart, in Iowa as in Minnesota, took a very active interest in national, state, congressional and county politics, having been the secretary of the Iowa state central committee in 1881. Soon after his arrival in St. Cloud he formed a law partnership with Judge James McKelvey, who had just resigned from the district bench. Mr. Bruckart made many friends among the influential men of St. Cloud and throughout the northern part of the state, prominent among whom were such men as Loren W. Collins, now associate justice of the supreme court, who was instrumental in showing him the field open for a man of his ability and energy.

May 18, 1875, Mr. Bruckart was married at Independence, Iowa, to Miss Sara W. Williams. They have two boys, fourteen and nineteen years of age respectively. They have a beautiful home, and are very prominent in the best social circles of St. Cloud. The elder boy, Lee Dudley, is a sophomore in the University of Minnesota, and occupies his vacations doing reportorial work on the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The younger, Lloyd Owen, is in the senior year in the St. Cloud high school.



STEVENS, FREDERICK C.—F. C. Stevens, who resides at Merriam Park, in St. Paul, is one of the most distinguished members of the Minnesota state bar. He was born in Boston, Mass., Jan. 1, 1861. He is of a scholastic turn of mind, and possesses an excellent education. In 1877 he graduated from the Rockland high school in Rockland, Me.; in 1881 he was graduated from Bowdoin College at Brunswick, Me., and in 1884 he became a graduate from the law department of the University of Iowa, one of the most thorough law schools in the United States.

Coming to Minnesota in 1884, it was not long before he gained a very considerable practice, and won for himself a position among the leading political workers of Ramsey county. This is evidenced by the fact that, four years

later, he was elected to represent the country district of the county named in the lower branch of the legislature of 1888-89. It was during this session that he manifested that zeal for good government which has always characterized him. He took especial interest in the matter of changing the election and primary laws of the state, and was active in all railway and land legislation. So satisfactory were his services that he was returned to the legislature of 1890-91. It was at this session that he wrought his best work for state and county. At that time it was on every-



FREDERICK C. STEVENS.

one's lips that the thanks of the people were due him for his unflinching interest in the cause of good government. He was always found advocating measures that stood for the welfare of the people generally. It was he who introduced and caused to be passed the constitutional amendment looking toward the prevention of special legislation. His services to the people in this one instance entitle him to the highest consideration from the commonwealth at large. It was he, also, who made so strong a fight for the passage of the Australian Ballot Bill and assisted in securing the passage of remedial legislation in behalf of the city

of St. Paul. His conduct on the floor of the House in sustaining the Senate's amendment to the Keyes election law brought him honor from all classes and all parties. It is altogether probable that, without his skill as a parliamentarian, his influence with his fellow members and his devotion to principles of cleanliness in politics, the reform would not have been accomplished. It may justly be said that it is largely through his influence that Minnesota now has the benefit of what is perhaps the most perfect election law in operation in the United States.



DARIUS F. MORGAN.

In addition to the services rendered by Mr. Stevens while in the state legislature is valuable work done by him as chairman of the Republican county and city committee during several campaigns. For five years he was secretary of the Republican State League. In the fall of 1896, during the McKinley-Bryan campaign, he was elected by a majority of 9,600 over his fusion opponent to represent the Fourth Minnesota congressional district in the lower house of Congress, where he is certain to add to his reputation and continue his support of the best interests of the country.

In 1889 Mr. Stevens was married to Ellen F. Fargo of Lansing, Mich. They have a pleasant home at Merriam Park, one of St. Paul's beautiful suburbs, where they dispense hospitality to a large circle of friends.



MORGAN, DARIUS F.—Darius F. Morgan was born in Jackson county, Iowa, in the month of February, 1854. The Morgans were descended from a long line of New England farmers, who had immigrated from Wales before the Revolution and had taken an active part in that struggle for liberty. Senator Morgan's father, Harley Morgan, was a native of Vergennes, Vt., but in 1842 he came West and located, first in Jackson county and fourteen years later in Winneshiek county, Iowa, where young Darius passed the years of his childhood and youth, and obtained the rudiments of a practical education in the common schools.

The mother of Senator Morgan, Ruth Duprey of Meadville, Pa., was descended from a French Huguenot family, who had also, in early colonial times, fled from the tyranny of Old World conditions and sought a home in the freer land of the newly opened continent.

The subject of this sketch remained on his father's farm, working summers and attending school winters, until 1876, when he took up the study of law. In the fall of 1877 he was admitted to the bar at Austin, Minn., where he had located the previous spring and had been employed as reporter in Judge Page's court. At the end of a year he moved to Albert Lea, where he formed a partnership with John A. Lovely, which continued for ten years. In the fall of 1888 he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature to represent Freeborn county. Here, during the following winter, he served as chairman of the finance committee of the House.

In 1890 Mr. Morgan located in Minneapolis and formed a partnership with W. H. Eustis, which continued until after the election of 1892, which placed Mr. Eustis in the mayor's chair. May 1, 1893, the firm of Hale, Morgan & Montgomery was organized, and a very successful practice has been built up. The election of 1894 sent D. F. Morgan to the State Senate to represent the Thirty-second district, composed of the Fifth and Sixth wards of the city of Minneapolis. Here he served on the judiciary committee as chairman of the subcommittee on constitutional law, and was also made chairman of the finance committee, where he was instrumental in keeping down expenditures.

Born and reared among the Quakers of Northeastern Iowa, in an atmosphere of intense hatred of slavery and all its corrupting associations, it is not strange that D. F. Morgan should have become early attached to the Repub-

lican party and that he took an active part in its councils. He has served on county and state committees, and for eighteen years has always been found on the stump, during campaigns, expounding the principles of his party.

At the age of twenty-two, Mr. Morgan was united in marriage with Ella M. Hayward of Waukon, Iowa. Her death, in March, 1893, left him with a son and two daughters. After nearly three years of single life he married Mrs. Lizette F. Davis of Auburn, N. Y. Senator Morgan attends Gethsemane Episcopal Church, and is a member of the order of Elks, this being the extent of his society membership.



WALKER, THOMAS BARLOW.—T. B. Walker of Minneapolis, one of the most active and prominent of the Minnesota Republican leaders, and one of the wealthiest men in the Northwest, was born in Xenia, Ohio, Feb. 1, 1840, the son of Platt Bayless Walker and Anstis Barlow Walker. While he was still a child, his father joined a party of gold seekers to cross the plains to California and died of cholera on the road, leaving his family penniless. Thomas was one of four children, and he early began a hard struggle with poverty. He secured an education at the Baldwin University at Berea, Ohio, by working to support himself. He was only able to attend the school one term in the year, but he managed to get what was a pretty fair education for that time, and was especially distinguished for his proficiency in mathematics. When nineteen years old, he traveled as a salesman for Fletcher Hulet, a grindstone manufacturer of Berea, and also took a contract to furnish ties for a railroad in Illinois. His ambition at that time was to be a teacher, and he made application for a position in the University of Wisconsin, but while awaiting the result his plans were all changed by meeting J. M. Robinson of Minneapolis, who urged him to go to that city. This he did, taking with him a lot of grindstones consigned to St. Paul. In St. Paul he met a young man who was then working on the steamboat wharf and who aided Walker to sort out and label the stones. The name of this man was James J. Hill, now the head of the Great Northern Railroad system. Mr. Walker remained a short time in St. Paul, and then going to Minneapolis, he became acquainted with George B. Wright, who was about to go into the woods as a surveyor of government lands. Walker joined him, and a year's work in the great pine forests of Minnesota proved to be the foundation of his fortune, because his active mind grasped the possibilities of the future development of the lumber industry in the pineries of this state. It was not long before he began to buy pine land with what little money he could save. In

1863 he returned to Berea, Ohio, and married Miss Harriet Hulet, the daughter of his former employer. Bringing his young wife back to Minneapolis, he began the remarkable career as a lumberman and an owner of pine lands which in time enabled him to amass a large fortune. He became the largest pine land proprietor in the State of Minnesota. For a time he gave his attention mainly to the work of government surveys, and in 1864, he aided in running the first trial line for the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad. His first partners in the pine land business were L. Butler and Howard B. Mills, the firm being Butler, Mills & Walker. Later he went into partnership with Major Camp. The Camp & Walker Co. purchased the Pacific Mills at Minne-



THOMAS B. WALKER.

apolis and built mills at Crookston, Grand Forks, and other points. He had great faith in the ultimate value of Minnesota pine lands, and his knowledge of the entire pine district of the state soon became more thorough and complete than that of any other man engaged in the lumbering business.

Mr. Walker has always been conspicuous for his public-spirited efforts for the building up of the city of Minneapolis, and his name is associated with a number of enterprises which have been strong factors in the growth and prosperity of that city. He was a large contributor to the fund for the erection of the Public Library building, and has, since the library board was established in 1886, been

its president. He is also president of the Society of Fine Arts, and the Minneapolis Academy of Natural Sciences and the Athenaeum owe much to his efforts and patronage. He organized the Minneapolis Business Men's Union for the purpose of encouraging the establishment of manufactures and other business enterprises. Mr. Walker's love for art has led him to build an art gallery in connection with his residence on Hennepin avenue, and to fill it with many of the greatest works of European artists. This gallery now contains one of the very best collections in the



SAMUEL G. COMSTOCK.

United States. It includes "Napoleon in His Coronation Robes," by David; J. Jules Breton's "Evening Call;" Bouguereau's "Passing Shower;" Rosa Bonheur's "Muleteers Crossing the Pyrenees;" Corot's "Nymphs," and "Scenes in Old Rome;" Boulanger's "Barber Shop of Lycinus;" Lefevre's original portraits of Napoleon, Josephine and Marie Louise; Peale's original portrait of General Washington; Detaille's "En Tonkin," with other masterpieces, including those of Knaus, Ferdinand Bol, Van Marke, Jacque Rousseau, Francais, Gabriel Ferrier, Cazin, Schreyer, Innes, Moran, and other famous artists.

While always active in Republican politics and liberal in his contributions for the campaign work of his party, Mr. Walker has steadily refused to be a candidate for office, although often solicited to run for various prominent public positions. He headed the Minnesota electoral ticket in 1896, however, and was chosen one of the presidential electors by a majority of over 50,000. Concerning his efficient work in the campaign of 1896, a Minneapolis friend, Judge Eli Torrance, published the following statement in the *Tribune*:

"Having carefully observed the effective and valuable work done by the local and state Republican committees during the recent campaign, and with special satisfaction witnessed the patriotic services rendered by the sound money club and many of our citizens, irrespective of party. I feel that Minneapolis has special reason to be proud of one citizen, whose efficient service rendered in a quiet and modest way should be gratefully remembered. I refer to T. B. Walker, who, by his pen and agencies established by himself for advancing 'the campaign of education,' and by daily personal work in the public and private discussion of the political questions of the day, probably secured as many votes for the Republican ticket as any other citizen in the State of Minnesota. His pamphlet on 'Low Tariffs and Hard Times,' published and distributed by the National Republican League of the United States, is one of the most terse, thorough and satisfactory reviews of the tariff ever published. This pamphlet was published more than a year ago, and was used during the entire campaign to illustrate the effects of the tariff, and made many converts to the cause of protection. Mr. Walker also contributed many other able articles on the financial and tariff issues, which were extensively circulated and read. For six months prior to the election he maintained a bureau for the distribution of literature, which was sent all over Minnesota and adjoining states. He also had a number of men constantly in the field, working for the success of the Republican cause. The organization of the Citizens' Sound Money Club was largely due to Mr. Walker's efforts, and after its formation his action in securing and opening rooms for the distribution of literature, and daily and evening speaking, accomplished much in turning the tide in favor of the Republican ticket."

Six sons and two daughters have been born to Mr. and Mrs. Walker, and all are living except one of the sons. The large, old-fashioned home of the Walkers on Hennepin avenue, with its spacious grounds and red settees standing under the trees near the sidewalks for the comfort of passers-by, is one of the most conspicuous objects in the central residence district of the city. Mr. Walker is still in the prime of life and in full tide of business activity and prosperity.

MARKHAM, JAMES E.—Among the many hard-working lawyers who reflect credit upon the St. Paul bar and whose name is held in honor and esteem by all who know him, is James E. Markham, who came to this city in April, 1886. He was born at Rochester, N. Y., July 21, 1857, and is, therefore, now forty years of age. After having received a liberal education, he graduated from the Genesee Valley Seminary in 1875. Following this he was chosen principal of the public schools at Salamanca, N. Y., still pursuing his studies and availing himself of every opportunity to cultivate the naturally fine intellect with which nature had endowed him. His duties as principal of the public schools, however, did not debar him from taking up the study of the law, for which he had a predisposition. He pursued his legal studies with his accustomed industry, and was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of the State of New York, at Buffalo, in June, 1879. Relinquishing all other pursuits, he at once began the practice of his profession at Salamanca, meeting with marked success.

Since coming to St. Paul he has succeeded in building up an extensive practice. It has been said of him that, as a trial lawyer, he has no superiors and few equals, at least among the younger members of the bar. He is a close, logical reasoner, a fluent and easy speaker, and an industrious student. He is what may be termed a conscientious lawyer—that is, he makes his client's case his own case. All his energies and all his abilities are placed at the service of those who employ him. His method of conducting cases is earnest and convincing. His mind is judicial and his legal system thorough. It is doubtful if any member of the St. Paul bar can point to a record of more continuous and deserved success than James E. Markham. As recently constituted, the members of the firm of Markham, Moore & Markham are James E. Markham, Albert R. Moore and George W. Markham, a good firm and a strong one.

In all matters pertaining to the advancement of St. Paul and her interests, he occupies a prominent and influential position. He is now serving his third term as alderman of the Seventh ward, and it is no more than just to say that he is one of the ablest members of the city council.

On June 4, 1889, the subject of this sketch was married to Miss Katharine Browning of St. Paul, a most charming and estimable lady. Mr. Markham is a quiet, dignified gentleman, with unassuming manners, but he is very popular among the members of the bar, and he and his wife are always welcome in the best social circles of the city.

BAUMBACH, WILLIAM R.—Probably no man in Minnesota more fitly represents the state's financial and commercial interests than W. R. Baumbach of Wadena. He was born at Racine, Wis., in 1849. His father, William von Baumbach (being a thorough American the son has discarded the "von," which is a title belonging to the German aristocracy), was a physician, and immigrated to America in 1848, settling at Milwaukee. The mother's maiden name was Augusta Hoffman. The paternal grandfather and uncles were all graduates from military academies, and were officers in the regular army of Germany. The maternal grandparents belonged to the nobility.



JAMES E. MARKHAM.

When William was very young his parents moved to Mendota, Ill. There he attended the public schools until the War of the Rebellion broke out, when he manifested his patriotism by enlisting as a private in Company A of the One Hundred and Thirty-second Illinois Volunteer Infantry. This was in April, 1864, when he was but fifteen years of age, and he served with the regiment until the close of the war.

From 1876 to 1880 Mr. Baumbach was engaged in mercantile pursuits with J. J. Meyer in Illinois. In 1880 he came to Minnesota and located at Wadena, where he and Mr. Meyer again engaged in commercial pursuits, under the firm name of Baumbach & Meyer. This business was continued five years, and proved very profitable. In 1885 the firm was dissolved, Mr. Meyer succeeding to the business and Mr. Baumbach starting what was then known as the Wadena Exchange Bank, an institution that was a financial success. He was its president until 1892, at which time it was merged into the First National Bank of Wadena, of which Mr. Baumbach is president and his son, C. W. Baumbach, cashier.

During the construction of the Wadena & Park Rapids Railroad, from Eagle Bend to Park Rapids, the subject of this sketch was one of its directors. After its completion the road was sold to the Great Northern Railway Company. Mr. Baumbach also had an interest in all the town sites along the line named. No man has led a busier life. His interests are many. He is the partner of John Ander-

son & Co., merchants in Sebeka, Minn., and is also a member of the mercantile firm of C. W. Baumbach & Co. at Menahga, in the same state and county, both of which houses have paid handsome dividends on investments.

Politically Mr. Baumbach has always been a Republican. His first vote was cast for General Grant. While he has manifested a hearty interest in the success of his party, and has exercised no inconsiderable influence in the direction of its campaigns, official emoluments have not been sought by him. At the head of large business enterprises, as he is, and honored with the respect and confidence of the general public, mere political preferment will probably remain of secondary importance to him.

He is a member of the Masonic and Odd Fellow fraternities, and was married in 1870 to Miss Rebecca J. Dawson, a daughter of Lieut. James Dawson, an officer who served under General Kilpatrick, and who was killed in the battle of Atlanta. There is only one child living, a young man, who is cashier of the First National Bank of Wadena.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVI, PART I.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1896—ELECTION OF MCKINLEY AND HOBART.

The publication of this work has been delayed so as to make it possible to include a statement of the chief results of the election of 1896. The campaign was the most animated known since that of 1868, and developed a great deal of intense feeling. It ran almost wholly on the question of changing the monetary standard of the country from a gold to a silver basis. In localities having large manufacturing industries, the Republicans made some effective use of the tariff issue, but Mr. Bryan and his followers refused to meet them on this ground, and concentrated all their efforts in an assault on the gold standard. Their contention was that gold had appreciated and that a cheap silver dollar would make money plenty, cause business to become active, and ameliorate the condition of the debtor and the working classes; but their orators and newspapers were unable to explain clearly how all this would be brought about by lowering the money standard. Mr. Bryan spent the entire campaign in traveling over the country and making speeches. He visited thirty states and delivered over 500 speeches—all in advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Major McKinley remained at his home in Canton, where he was visited by numerous delegations that came by train-loads from all parts of the country. To each delegation he delivered an appropriate and forcible address.

On the first of September a national delegate convention was held in Indianapolis to organize that portion of the old Democratic party which refused to accept the free coinage of silver plank of the Chicago platform and the planks aimed at the supremacy of the national government and the

power of the supreme court. These planks, written by Governor Altgeld of Illinois to justify his action during the great railroad strike and riot in Chicago in the summer of 1894, when he denied the right of President Cleveland to use troops to open the way for the United States mails and assailed the Federal judiciary for issuing injunctions against the strike leaders, raised almost as much hostility among Democrats as did the new cheap silver doctrine. The Indianapolis convention nominated Gen. J. M. Palmer of Illinois for President and Gen. Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice-President. These two distinguished veterans, who had fought on opposite sides in the Civil War, took the stump together and spoke in many states in opposition to the Chicago platform and ticket. They received only an insignificant vote, for the reason that their followers saw that the only effective way to beat Bryan was to vote for McKinley instead of throwing their votes away on a third-party ticket.

An element of humor was contributed to the canvass by Watson of Georgia, the nominee of the People's party for Vice-President. He refused to resign in favor of Sewall, the Democratic nominee, and persisted in annoying the Democratic managers with letters and speeches up to the close of the canvass. In spite of his performance, however, a complete fusion on electoral tickets was effected in all the states between the silver Democrats and the Populists. This new fusion party was nicknamed the Popocratic party by the Republican newspapers.

The campaign was a remarkable one, both for the quantity of campaign literature circulated and for the activity of the stumping canvass, which, in all the close states, extended even to the rural school

districts. The Republican national committee printed and circulated about 140,000,000 documents. In 1892 the record was 47,000,000, which far exceeded all previous records. The chief battle ground of the campaign was in the Middle West—in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Minnesota and Iowa. Kansas, Nebraska and the two Dakotas were also vigorously contested, and the Pacific Coast States were stoutly contended for.

As the contest progressed, the business classes became more and more alarmed at the threatened evils of a change in the monetary standard, involving the partial repudiation of all debts and obligations, public and private, and they became almost solid in their support of McKinley. This was the most powerful element that contributed to the success of the Republican ticket. Before the election took place it was difficult to discover, outside of the old Bourbon Democratic element in the South, any men responsible for the management of business enterprises who were not opposed to the Bryan plan of cheapening the currency. Mr. Bryan's following was composed of partisan Democrats, who supported him because he was the regular nominee; of unsuccessful men; of debtors seeking to escape from a portion of their obligations by cheapening the legal tender unit of value; of bankrupt speculators; of the irresponsible, reckless element in cities, and of a multitude of sentimental theorists and reformers who thought that the adoption of a cheap silver money standard would be a blow to capitalists, corporations and the well-to-do classes generally, and a help to the poor. A strong effort was made by the silver party to secure the votes of the members of

the labor organizations, but this was only partially successful. The more intelligent members of these unions saw that to lessen the purchasing power of money, as proposed by Bryan, would be in effect to reduce their wages.

The result of the election was as follows:

FOR MCKINLEY.		FOR BRYAN.	
New York.....	36	Missouri	17
Pennsylvania	32	Texas	15
Illinois	24	Georgia	13
Ohio	23	Virginia	12
Indiana	15	Tennessee	12
Massachusetts	15	Alabama	11
Michigan	14	Kentucky	1
Iowa	13	North Carolina.....	11
Kentucky	12	Kansas	10
Wisconsin	12	South Carolina.....	9
New Jersey.....	10	Mississippi	9
Minnesota	9	Arkansas	8
California	8	Louisiana	8
Maryland	8	Nebraska	8
Maine	6	South Dakota.....	4
West Virginia.	6	Colorado	4
Connecticut	6	Florida	4
New Hampshire.....	4	Washington	4
Rhode Island.....	4	Idaho	3
Vermont	4	Montana	3
Oregon	4	Nevada	3
Delaware	3	Utah	3
North Dakota.....	3	Wyoming	3
		California	1
Total	271	Total	176
Necessary to elect.....	224		
McKinley's majority over Bryan.....	95		

The Republicans elected 201 members of the House of Representatives, the Democrats 124, and the Populists 19. McKinley's plurality over Bryan in the popular vote exceeded 601,000.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV, PART II.

THE STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1896.—RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR CLOUGH.

The nomination of John Lind for governor by the Populists and the free silver wing of the Democracy made the campaign in Minnesota largely hinge upon the governorship. Lind, a Swede by birth, was a Republican up to 1894. After serving in Congress three terms as a Republican, he was succeeded by James T. McCleary. The object of selecting Lind as the leader of the fusion forces was to detach the Swedish element from the Republican party, to which it had always been loyal. This element in Minnesota politics numbers about 50,000 voters. If a large part of it could be detached from its old allegiance, because of a sentiment of nationality, and be brought to the support of Lind, it looked as if his election would be made certain. In addition to this, the fusionists counted on local objections to Governor Clough among Minneapolis Republicans, a defection growing out of Clough's succession to the executive chair when Washburn was defeated for reëlection to the United States Senate, in 1895, and Governor Nelson was chosen in his place.

The efforts of the fusionists were therefore directed mainly to securing the governorship. They entertained hopes to the last, however, of carrying the state for Bryan, and they would have done so if they had been able to keep with them the most intelligent and influential class of Democratic voters. They failed to do so. Very few Democrats of state reputation as party leaders supported either Bryan or Lind. Many of the old leaders, and among them three former candidates for governor,—Judges Flandrau and Wilson and Daniel W. Lawler,—took the stump in opposition to Bryan. They supported the Palmer and Buckner ticket, but the effect

of their efforts was to gain votes for McKinley. The Republicans made an exceedingly close and active canvass. The chairman of their state committee was Eli S. Warner, and their executive committee was managed by Tams Bixby. Never before was there so energetic and vehement a stump-speaking campaign carried on by both sides in Minnesota, or so enormous a distribution of campaign literature. The meetings ranged in magnitude from vast assemblages in the open air and in tents and auditoriums to country schoolhouse gatherings. The state swarmed with free silver orators, who were combated at every point by the speakers of the Republicans and the sound money Democrats. The hardest fighting was in the Sixth congressional district, where Chas. A. Towne, the sitting member, who had deserted his party and joined the free silver crusade, was a candidate for reëlection and was opposed by Judge Page Morris; and in the Seventh district, where the combined forces of Democrats and Populists largely outnumbered the Republicans at the election of 1894, but where the personal popularity and excellent services of Mr. Eddy won for him a notable triumph.

The result of the election was an unexpectedly large and complete Republican victory. Official returns have not been made up at the time these pages go to press. The majority for McKinley was over 53,000—the largest Republican majority, in proportion to population, given by any state save two—Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Governor Clough's majority was only 3,496—showing that the fusion scheme to detach the Swedish vote and to revive old causes of discontent in the Republican

ranks was largely successful. The remainder of the state ticket, however, was supported strongly, and ran little behind the Presidential ticket. The majorities are given in round numbers as follows:

For Governor—David M. Clough over John Lind, 3,496.

For Lieutenant Governor—John L. Gibbs over J. R. Bowler, 37,000.

For Secretary of State—Albert Berg over Julius J. Heinrich, 46,000.

For State Treasurer—August T. Koerner over Alexander McKinnon, 36,970.

For Attorney General—H. W. Childs over John A. Keyes, 40,914.

The Republicans carried all the seven congressional districts by the following majorities:

First District—J. A. Tawney over P. J. Fitzpatrick, 10,701.

Second District—J. T. McCleary over F. A. Day, 8,349.

Third District—Joel P. Heatwole over H. J. Peck, 5,951.

Fourth District—Fred C. Stevens over F. E. Clarke, 10,214.

Fifth District—Loren Fletcher over S. M. Owen, 2,987.

Sixth District—Page Morris over Chas. A. Towne, 719.

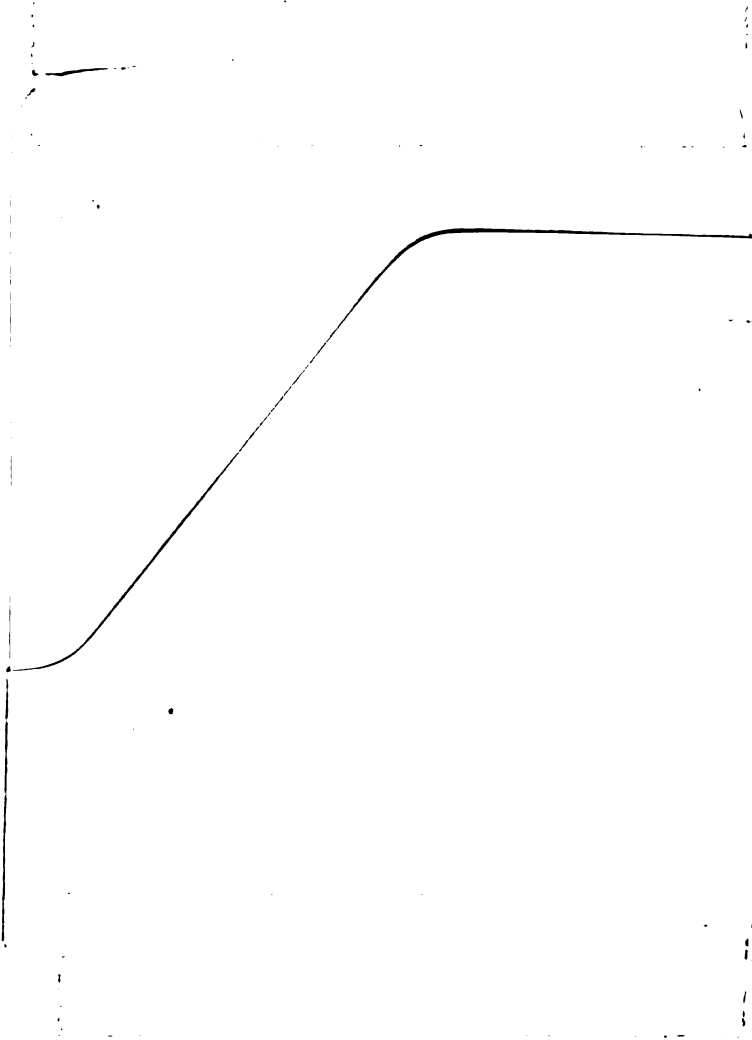
Seventh District—Geo. M. Eddy over E. E. Lommen, 2,275.

The victories of Judge Page Morris over Towne in the Sixth and of Eddy, the sitting member from the Seventh, over Lommen, were especially gratifying to the Republicans and the sound money Democrats. The Third and Fifth districts were also ranked as doubtful during the canvass, and were confidently claimed by the free silver fusionists.

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